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WORKFORCE TRANSITIONS
FROM THE PROFIT TO THE NON-PROFIT SECTOR

by

TOBIE S. STEIN

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New
York

1998

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

WORKFORCE TRANSITIONS
FROM THE PROFIT TO THE NON-PROFIT SECTOR

by

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Over the last 15 years, the numbers of professionals and managers displaced from corporate jobs has increased dramatically. This has coincided with a rapid expansion of employment in the non-profit sector, a sector which has a high proportion of managerial and professional workers among its employees. This raises the possibility of shifting unemployed private sector managers into new jobs in the non-profit sector.

However, stereotypes on both sides hinder such movement: suspicions by corporate managers that non-profit management is unskilled or inefficient confront suspicions by non-profit recruiters that corporate managers lack value commitments and correct orientations for non-profit work. It is clear that movement from corporate to non-profit employment requires re-socialization of the individuals making the transition, as well as surmounting negative stereotypes via the creation of new professional networks, new skills, and new ways to present oneself.

My research addresses these issues by examining the real differences in work roles and organizational cultures in the corporate and non-profit sectors, as well as

documenting stereotyping and its effects. I also follow several cohorts of displaced corporate professionals who have made the transition to the non-profit world, to study their experiences of the transition. The research uses open-ended interview techniques as well as participant-observation of training classes.

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Chapter I

Introduction

Since the early 1980s (Gardner 1996), the downsizing of corporate America has shattered the workforce identities of thousands of long-term white collar managerial workers. Among the casualties profiled in this study are Dan, a 35 year employee of the financial services industry; Jack, also a 30 year veteran of the financial services industry, and an investment banker named Ellen who was downsized after working in the private sector for almost 15 years.¹

Regardless of their ambiguous and tarnished statuses as unemployed managers (Newman 1988), these three managers all remembered an organizational corporate culture which treated their employees as family, rewarded them for their loyalty and gave them job satisfaction. Of course, while they reflect that many of the rewards gained in their organizational cultures came at the cost of playing the undeniable rules of the corporate game (Jackall 1988), they were basically satisfied, that is, before the culture changed.

For these three white collar managers, and many others profiled in this study, losing their jobs in the corporate sector was followed by a time of disenchantment and disengagement; a time of downward mobility which Katherine

¹These names are pseudonyms. All names of individuals and organizations have been changed in this study.

Newman (1988) calls a "falling from grace." Managers like Dan, Jack and Ellen had created their occupational identities around the statuses and rewards they had achieved as members of the corporate sector. Now that they joined the ranks of the unemployed, what would their colleagues and family members think of them? What did they think of themselves? If employment opportunities were limited due to the shrinking of their industries, what kinds of occupational opportunities awaited them?

The good news for these three managers was that during their corporate careers, they had become involved in a different sector of the economy: voluntary organizations within the non-profit sector. Dan had served on several boards and actually worked with non-profit or voluntary organizations as part of his management portfolio. Jack had spent more than 15 years raising money for his university and various arts organizations, and Ellen had been the treasurer of a religious organization. During the same period that corporations had been downsizing, ridding themselves of middle and senior managers, the non-profit or voluntary sector had been growing (Hodgkinson et al. 1996) for a variety of reasons including the expansion of government funding during the 1980s (Hodgkinson et al. 1996; Smith and Lipsky 1993). The growing social problems, in the United States, had created a public need for more non-profits and, with it, an accountability for the proper

management of non-profits (Smith and Lipsky 1993). One might think that since Dan, Ellen and Jack all had volunteer experience in the non-profit sector as well as management experience in the corporate sector that they would be likely managerial candidates for the non-profit sector.

Unfortunately, this was not the case. They were having difficulty convincing non-profit employers that they were suitable candidates for employment. Why?

The subject of this study, Workforce Transitions from the Profit to the Non-profit Sector, focuses on the career sequences of dislocated white collar managers, like Dan, Ellen and Jack, who wanted to move from the corporate to the non-profit sectors. It highlights their motivations, the structural barriers which prevented them from making the transition, and methods of penetrating the barriers. It uncovers the reasons why some corporate managers are able to make the transition and why others do not. Finally, it exposes the methods of adaptation as well as the frustrations incurred, with culture shock, as they struggle to adapt within their new environment. For Dan, Ellen and Jack, as well as for the others written about in this study, finding a new job became a process of re-invention; of restructuring their occupational identity to meeting the expectations of non-profit managers.

Chapter II

Methodology and Research Questions

This study of workforce transitions from the profit to the non-profit sector analyzes how the process of career transition and organizational assimilation occurs. It analyzes how dislocated corporate managers encounter the behaviors and attitudes of a new reference group--non-profit managers.

The literature review (Chapter III) provides a theoretical framework in the areas of organizational culture, social stratification in the workplace and adult socialization for this qualitative study. The remainder of the study (Chapters IV, V, VI and VII) utilizes ethnography and interviews to trace the workforce transition of dislocated corporate managers to the non-profit sector.

The study focuses on 117 displaced managers who participated in the Non-profit Management and Communications Program (Program) during 1991-1996.² 76 dislocated managers participated during 1991-1995, and an additional 41 dislocated corporate managers participated in the Program in 1996 (see Figure I: Sampling Structure: Displaced Manager).³

These 117 managers provide the central source of data

²For a detailed description of the Program, see Chapter V.

³During the six year period 1991-1996, 168 workers participated in the Non-profit Management and Communications Program, 117 of which were dislocated middle or senior corporate managers.

Figure I

Sampling Structure: Displaced Managers

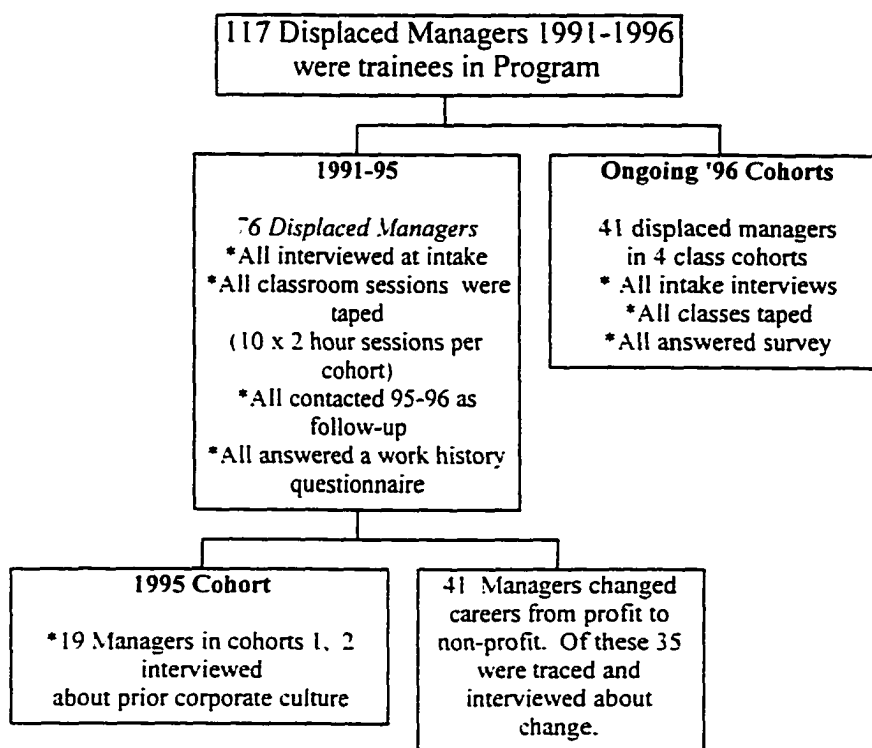


Figure II

Sampling Structure: Non-profit managers

120 non-profit managers 1995-1996
(not displaced, not trainees)

*All gave classroom lecture on their experiences in
non-profit organizations (lectures and
trainees/non-profit interaction observed and taped)

focusing on the managers' response to the socialization efforts of the Program's trainer and the lecturers within the classroom.

One aspect of the research was to characterize the culture of profit as compared to non-profit. Nineteen managers from two of the 1995 cohorts were taped during interview sessions to gain a picture of the old corporate culture as they experienced it prior to being displaced. An additional 35 managers from the 1991-95 cohorts who had successfully made a transition to a non-profit organization were taped during interview sessions to get their insights into contrasts between the sectors and the transition process which they had gone through. Of the 76 dislocated managers who participated in 1991-95, all were observed through taped classroom sessions (ten sessions of two hours each), all were also interviewed at intake (one to two hours each). They were contacted again during 1995 or 1996 to inquire about their work status and at that time all answered a work history survey.

Finally, I also wanted to obtain the viewpoint of established managers in the non-profit sector. These were not people displaced from the corporate world. They were lifetime successful non-profit career managers as well as career changers who had transitioned to the non-profit sector from the corporate world. Their perspective was important in determining expectations and culture in the

non-profit sector. I collected (see Figure II: Sampling Structure: Non-profit Managers) data on non-profit managers and the interaction between the displaced managers and non-profit managers in over 160 hours of taped classroom sessions.

The following section provides a summary of the topics and research questions to be covered in each chapter.

Chapter IV, "Differences and Barriers Between the Two Worlds," provides two sections of analysis: 1) "The Non-profit View on Cultural Differences and the Need for Culture Change;" 2) "Hiring Processes and Biases in the Non-Profit Sector."

"The Non-profit View on Cultural Differences and the Need for Culture Change" focuses on three views held by non-profit managers concerning the differences between the sectors, the problems which face the non-profit sector, and need for corporate managers to overcome these challenges. The following questions are analyzed:

- * To what extent do non-profit managers perceive differences between profit and non-profit cultures? What form do these differences take?
- * What problems and challenges does the non-profit sector face?
- * Why do some non-profit managers perceive a need for culture change and the hiring of corporate managers to initiate this change?

* What types of culture change have benefited the non-profit sector; what types have not?

The second section "Hiring Processes and Biases in the Non-profit Sector" describes the consequences of the belief that the cultures are drastically different. This belief leads to hiring bias and stereotyping. Structural barriers such as the absence of peer networks and volunteer experience which perpetuated these stereotypes are also discussed.

I address the following questions:

*How do non-profit managers describe their hiring processes and biases?

*Under what circumstances will a non-profit manager hire a corporate manager?

*What part do peer networks and volunteer experience/board membership play in the hiring process?

*Under what circumstances are non-profit managers more or less likely to change their impression or previous bias about a corporate manager?

Chapter V, "The Non-profit Management and Communications Program," introduces one particular anticipatory socialization process in which 117 dislocated corporate managers were selected to participate in the Non-profit Management and Communications Program during 1991-96. It focuses on the selection process for determining their eligibility for inclusion in the Program, as well as their

occupational backgrounds and motivations for changing careers.

I describe the attitudes of displaced corporate managers towards their corporate work roles and job satisfaction in the corporate sector before the culture changed. Displaced managers were asked to describe the processes which led to corporate culture change, and their motivations for career change to the non-profit sector. The field work observations are used to illustrate the processes which determined the selection of students for participation in the Program (e.g. processes for determining motivations and commitment to career change) and the structure employed in "setting the stage" for the pre-socialization process within the classroom.

Chapter VI, "The Program Components," focuses upon five processes which helped pre-socialize the dislocated managers, assisting them in relinquishing the ingrained habits learned in their prior corporate culture. Field work and interview materials are used to answer the following questions:

- * When corporate managers first entered the Program, how do they communicate their occupational identity nonverbally (dress); verbally (language) and in writing (resume, cover letter)?
- *What types of verbal and non-verbal communication do they use to express their motivations for changing careers?

*With the intervention of the classroom trainer, how does the corporate manager reconstruct his/her occupational identity to avoid being labelled an outsider? What types of intervention are used to help the manager achieve this change in occupational identity, motivation and self description?

*What is the role of the trainer in helping to transform occupational identities within the classroom?

*Why does the facilitated interaction between members of the profit and non-profit sector transform the occupational identities of the corporate managers? What processes are used to facilitate this interaction?

Chapter VII, "Transition from the Profit to the Non-profit World," provides three sections of analysis. The first "Learning Cultural Expectations" outlines the ways in which dislocated managers learn and assimilate the expectations and orientations of non-profit sector managers. The following questions are explored:

* What are the perceptions of career paths by non-profit managers?

* What does the successful career changer's career path look like? What methods do the manager use to secure a job in the non-profit sector? How important is anticipatory socialization and the use of networking with reference group members in getting a job?

* What are the roles of the executive director, the

financial managers, the communications managers, the institutional funder, the volunteer and board member?

* How is volunteerism used as a socializing method?

The second section of Chapter VII considers the odyssey of self or the struggles which dislocated workers encounter as they attempt to transform their occupational identities. It addresses these questions:

* What are the consequences of the disengagement of self from the corporate sector?

* As dislocated managers struggle to reconstruct their identities, what types of self-imposed barriers create frustration and self-doubt?

* How is cohort solidarity used to both resist and support the transformation of identity?

* How do the dislocated managers find reference group acceptance?

* To what extent is some type of deviance or resistance functional for career change?

The final section in Chapter VII "Non-profit Career Transition and Adaptation" examines the extent to which socialization techniques are successful and raises the following issues:

*What are the numerical outcomes of those who participated in the Non-profit Management and Communications Program?

*What expectations do for-profit managers bring when first entering the non-profit arena? What are their fears and

apprehensions, and what do they see as the attractive aspects of the non-profit sector?

* What unexpected aspects of the non-profit work world emerge during the job? How do career changers respond to these?

* What types of socialization techniques (training) are used by non-profit organizations to prepare these managers for their roles?

* What job demands are described by those who have successfully made the transition into the non-profit sector?

*What skills and capacities do they feel they have transported from their for-profit background? What have they not used? What new skills or orientations do they have to develop?

*Under what condition are career changers forced to leave their non-profit employers?

The Conclusion (Chapter VIII) summarizes my findings and identifies directions for future research on the transition of white collar managers into the non-profit sector (as well as the reverse transition). I recommend the use of this anticipatory socialization model for graduate degree programs in non-profit management, and as a training and recruitment tool within non-profit organizations.

Chapter III

Literature Review

The Growing Trend of White Collar Displaced Managers 1980-95

Starting with the recession of the early 1980s, white collar workers in America began to experience layoffs or displacement at an increasing rate. During the 1981-82 period, the rate of displacement among white collar workers was 2.6% as compared with 7.3% among blue collar workers. A decade later, from 1991-92, the rate of displacement decreased to 5.3% among blue collar workers and increased to 3.7% among white collar workers (Gardner 1995). The most recent study cites blue collar workers as having a rate of displacement of 4.2 percent and white collar workers as having a rate of 3.2 percent of displacement during the period 1993-94 (Gardner 1996). According to a March 1996 New York Times series on dislocated or displaced white collar managers, blue collar occupations such as "precision production, craft and repair, operators, fabricators and laborers" lost 24.8 million jobs during the period 1979-95 and white collar occupations such as "managerial and professional specialties, technical and sales and administrative support" lost 18.7 million jobs during the same period (Uchitelle and Kleinfeld 1996, 28; Gardner 1995, 10).

During the period 1981-1986, one in six laid off was

either a white collar manager or professional.⁴ The Wall Street Journal reports that in 1985, 600,000 managers were eliminated from the United States labor force (Newman 1988, 24-34). The New York Times reveals that in the 1990s those earning at least \$50,000 accounted for twice the share of lost jobs than they did in the 1980s. Furthermore, a University of Michigan longitudinal study of 5,000 families (1968 to present) found that the rate of layoffs among those over 50 years of age with college educations doubled from the 1980s to the 1990s (Uchitelle and Kleinfield 1996, 28).

Jennifer Gardner's (1995) study which compares the types of workers being displaced during 1981-82 with the types of workers being displaced ten years later in 1991-92, found that those workers in white collar occupations during the 1990's were more likely to lose their jobs than their counterparts a decade earlier, when the United States was in a much "deeper recession". The rate of displacement of managers and professional workers went from 2.1% in 1981-82

⁴The U.S. Department of Labor (1996) defines "managerial" occupations as including but not limited to: accountants, budget analysts, financial managers, personnel, training, labor relations managers, marketing, public relations managers, general managers and top executives, loan officers. "Professional specialities" include, but are not limited to: engineers, architects, computer scientists and systems analysts, lawyers, economists, writers and editors.

to 3.6% in 1991-92. The rate of displacement for older workers aged 55 or more was also higher in the 1990s than it was in the 1980s (3.6 vs. 4.4%).⁵ In addition, she found that these white collar workers who lost their jobs were, in fact, "long tenured workers" or workers who held their jobs for three years or more.

According to Uchitelle and Kleinfield's article, what distinguishes the more recent period of displacement from the displacement of the early 1980s is that white collar workers are "the big victims," and that large corporations account for many of the layoffs. In addition, in the early 1980s, workers were laid off during an economic recession, while the most recent layoffs are occurring during a time of economic recovery. In other words, it has become a growing trend for corporations to downsize in order to increase profits and maximize competition. Kleinfield reports that from 1985 to 1995, Chase Manhattan Bank's assets grew by 38% (from \$87.7 billion to \$121.2 billion), while their workforce shrank by 28% (from 44,450 employees in 1985 to 33,500) in 1995. Additionally, Kleinfield reports that 12,000 more jobs would be eliminated during

⁵The most recent study of displaced workers during 1993-94 (Gardner 1996) shows that during this period the rate of displacement among white collar managers was 2.9 percent and the rate of displacement among older workers was 3 percent.

the 1996 merger between Chase Manhattan Bank and Chemical Bank and it was estimated that an additional 74,000 jobs would cease to exist within three years of their 1996 merger (Kleinfeld 1996, 1). Additionally, IBM, since 1987, has cut 180,000 jobs and in January of 1996, AT&T eliminated 40,000 jobs (Sanger and Lohr; Kolbert and Clymer, 1996).

The Growth of the Non-profit Sector 1977-94

A Definition of the Non-profit Sector

Because the private sector has eliminated so many managerial and professional jobs, many managers have begun to look outside their original industries for reemployment. One sector that has been growing across the United States is the non-profit sector. According to the Independent Sector, "a national coalition of 800 voluntary organizations, foundations and corporate giving programs with national interest and impact in philanthropy and voluntary action," the non-profit sector or "independent sector", in the United States, encompasses some 1 million organizations.⁶ These organizations vary widely in their scope of activity and purpose. The Internal Revenue Service lists 25 different categories of tax-exempt organizations (non-profits) which are exempted from federal income tax. These

⁶The non-profit sector is a diverse sector. However, both the Independent Sector and scholars cited throughout this study argue that there are enough similarities among non-profit organizations that it is meaningful to look at the sector as a whole and contrast it with the profit sector.

span from holding companies for pensions to war veterans' organizations to credit unions to teachers' retirement funds. The Independent Sector, which conducts extensive research on the non-profit sector, studies the "independent sector" or those non-profit organizations which fall under the tax-exempt categories of 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(4). Salaman (1996) categorizes 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(4) organizations as "public serving organizations". In his working paper, Defining the Nonprofit Sector: The United States, Salamon maintains that the distinctions made between the tax-exempt categories is based upon the purpose of the organization. Therefore, the 501(c)(3) charitable organizations serve public purposes and can therefore receive tax-exempt contributions from individuals and corporations. Organizations which fall under this category are religious, educational, scientific, health care, arts and cultural, social service organizations and private foundations. 501(c)(4) tax-exempt organizations also work for the public's benefit and, unlike 501(c)(3) organizations, have no restrictions on their lobbying efforts. 501(c)(4) organizations include organizations that lobby on behalf of social welfare issues such as Social Security, gun control, environmental conservation, and so forth. Of the 1.1 million non-profit organizations reported to exist in 1994, 599,745 are classified as 501(c)(3)

organizations⁷ and 140,143 are 501(c)(4).⁸

The documented growth of the non-profit sector in terms of numbers of organizations and employment rates as well as other workforce characteristics including the age, race and gender of its employees is often described comparatively with the other two sectors--corporate and government. For the purposes of this study, the following section of the literature review includes work which compares the workforce characteristics of the corporate and non-profit sectors.

Workforce Characteristics

Organizational Growth

The Independent Sector reports that from 1977 to 1992 there was a 70 percent increase in the number of 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(4) tax-exempt organizations from 406,000 to 689,000. The rate of change among numbers of non-profit 501(c)(3) organizations was 4.7 percent a year during this period. For-profit entities grew at an annual rate of 3.5 percent.

⁷Though religious organizations are classified as 501(c)(3) organizations, they need not apply for tax-exempt status from the IRS and thus are not included in the IRS reporting of charitable organizations or in the number of organizations cited above.

⁸The remaining non-profit organizations are classified under various IRS tax codes including teachers' pension funds, credit unions, and business leagues, etc. which are not considered for purposes of this dissertation.

Revenue Growth

Smith and Lipsky (1993) suggest that the United States federal government as well as local and state governments were largely responsible for the proliferation of non-profit social service organizations between 1960 and 1980.

Between 1960 and 1980, total federal spending, on non-profit social service organizations, went from 1.14 billion to 13.5 billion dollars. This dramatic increase in federal spending was influenced by public pressure to expand social services such as daycare, legal services, family planning, employment and training. State spending for social services almost doubled from 1975 to 1980 (\$2.6 billion to \$4.8 billion). When the Reagan administration reallocated federal funding to the states, state and local spending on social services rose from 4.8 billion dollars in 1980 to 7.3 billion dollars in 1988. The total expenditures of government (including the federal government) went from \$13.5 billion in 1980 to \$15.24 billion in 1988.

When we look at total funding, rather than government funding alone, we find that from 1977 to 1992 there was an increase in total annual funds to the independent sector of 112 percent. In 1992, the three largest sources of revenue to the entire sector were private payments in the form of dues, fees and charges (39 percent); government payments in the form of contracts and/or grants (31 percent); and private contributions from individuals, corporations and

foundations (18 percent). Private contributions declined from 26 percent in 1977 to 18 percent in 1992. This was due to several factors including the high rate of inflation from 1977 to 1982; the passing of the 1986 Tax Act which eliminated the charitable deduction for non-itemizers of deductions and altered the rules for taking the full deduction for appreciated property for gifts and other charitable deductions; and the recession of the early 1990s. Payments and grants from government increased from 27 percent to 31 percent of the total over the same period. Increases in payments to Medicare and Medicaid resulting from the increase in uninsured individuals, children and the elderly pushed a lot of money into the medical segment of the non-profit world thus accounting for this percentage growth. Private payments declined from 41 to 39 percent during this period due to changes in public policy which raised government payments for healthcare after 1987, allowing for a decrease in private payments. (Hodgkinson et al. 1996).

Hodgkinson et al. (1996) report that in 1992, the health services subsector had the largest share of total annual non-profit sector funds (51 percent) followed by education and research (19 percent). The religious sector had 12 percent of the total annual funds and social services had 11 percent. All other subsectors comprised about 8 percent of total annual funds. Health services increased

its share of revenues from 46 percent in 1977 to 51 percent in 1992. Education's share of funds declined from 25 percent in 1977 to 19 percent in 1992. Social services increased its share from 9 to 12 percent during the same period. Religion was stable at 12 percent during this period and arts and culture showed a modest increase from 2 to 3 percent.

Employment Growth

According to the Independent Sector's analysis of the 1990 Census of Population survey, total paid employment grew faster in the independent sector (75%) than in business (36%) from 1977 to 1994. (Hodgkinson et al., 1996).

Jeremy Rifkin's book, The End of Work, and the papers adapted from it, recognize that the non-profit sector, also known as the "Third Sector," has "been growing twice as fast as both the private and government sectors and that more people are employed in the Third Sector than in construction, electronics, transportation, textile or apparel industries" (Rifkin 1995, 2). Lynn Burbidge's (1994) working paper Government, For-profit and Third Sector Employment: Differences by Race and Sex, 1950-1990 found that executive and managerial positions in the non-profit sector grew 185 percent from 1970 to 1990 compared to 66 percent in the corporate sector during the same period. The Independent Sector's 1993 study National Summary: Not-For-Profit Employment from the 1990 Census of Population and

Housing reports that more than half of all non-profit jobs are managerial or professional (51%) as opposed to only 19% in the corporate sector. Since the U.S. Department of Labor (1996) reveals that executives, managers and professional specialties will be among the fastest growing occupational groups through 2005, one can make the assumption that there will be increasing opportunities for these occupational groups in the non-profit sector.

Non-profit Industries and Type of Manager Employed

According to the Independent Sector's 1993 study on the non-profit sector, five major industries account for six out of ten non-profit jobs: hospitals, elementary and secondary schools, religious organizations, colleges and universities and social services. Furthermore, the Independent Sector's Nonprofit Almanac 1996-1997 states that 60 percent of all managers in service organizations; one third of health care managers and over one quarter of educational administrators are employed by the independent sector (Hodgkinson et al. 1996). According to the U.S. Department of Labor's 1996-97 Occupational Outlook employment growth is expected for each of these occupational groups through 2005.

Managerial Diversity: Women, African Americans and Older Workers

Burbridge's study (1994) establishes that over a twenty year period from 1970 to 1990, the percentage of white and black women managers and professional was lower in the corporate sector than in the non-profit sector. Accordingly

in 1990, The Independent Sector's 1993 study found that the non-profit sector employs more women in professional specialities (37 percent) and managerial jobs (15 percent) than does the corporate sector (8 percent and 14 percent respectively). However, professional and managerial women earn less in the non-profit sector (mean salaries: \$25,575 and \$25,833 respectively) than in the corporate sector (mean salaries: \$27,668 and \$26,151).

The non-profit sector also employs more African-Americans than does the corporate sector in professional specialities (25 v. 5 percent) and managerial positions (13 v. 7 percent). African-Americans in the professional and managerial occupational groups earn a higher mean salary in the non-profit sector (\$20,740 and \$27,575 respectively) than their counterparts do in the corporate sector (\$19,183 and \$27,466 respectively) (Hodgkinson et al., 1993).

Finally, there is documented growth in the transition of workers from the profit to the non-profit sector as these workers age. Burbridge found (1994) that as "cohorts age, most workers shift out of the for-profit sector, into the two other sectors. The biggest within-cohort shift over this period was into the third sector." In 1980, 69 percent of those aged 45-54 worked in the for-profit sector and 8.6 percent of the same cohort worked in the non-profit sector. Ten years later in 1990, 66 percent of those aged 55-64 were working in the corporate sector and 13 percent were working

in the non-profit sector. One reason for this workforce shift may be that non-profits are more likely to hire older workers than is the corporate sector. In 1990, 18 percent of the non-profit workforce was aged 45-54 and 11 percent was aged 55-64. During the same period, 15 percent of the corporate workforce was aged 45-54 and 8 percent was aged 55-64 (Hodgkinson et al., 1993).

Neither the Burbridge nor the Independent Sector studies document the transition of specific occupational groups from the profit to the non-profit sector such as the transition of managers and professionals from one sector to another. However, based on the growing social problems of society (Salamon 1994), the government's response to the public outcry for fiscal accountability of non-profits (Smith and Lipsky 1993), and the fundraising needs of non-profits to combat these increasing social needs, there is evidence that there is a demand for cross-sector managerial expertise.

The Documented Need for Managers in the Non-profit Sector

Non-profit organizations need employees with managerial expertise and a 1997 study conducted by the Development Resources Group (DRG), a non-profit executive recruitment firm founded by David Edell, confirmed this. Eighty-six percent of those non-profit organizations surveyed indicate that they had hired a fundraiser in the past two years and more than 50% of those charities had created new fundraising

positions (Chronicle on Philanthropy July 24, 1997, 29). Also, The Chronicle of Philanthropy (1992) reports an 8.2% increase in hospital fundraising salaries to attract those with "expertise in courting individual donors."

What accounts for the need to attract managerial expertise in the non-profit sector? A global study of the non-profit sector found that as government cuts back direct aid to citizens, non-profits are having greater difficulty in meeting demands for their services (Salamon 1994). This study concludes that "untrained managers will be less and less appropriate as non-profits play central roles in dealing with social problems" (Green 1994, 1).

Within the human or social services sector, the need for fiscal accountability and professional management has been fueled by the sector's reliance on the government for support (Smith and Lipsky 1993). Since the human services sector is dependent on the government for 50 percent (Hodgkinson et al. 1996) of its total annual revenues (Smith and Lipsky report 65 percent), it is inclined to adhere to the government's demand for greater fiscal and managerial accountability. Wolpert (1993) believes that "non-profits had become locked into a process of providing services and amenities to their own donors."

The government's insistence that non-profits be accountable for the allocation of shared and central costs, knowledge of social security tax reporting, insurance

issues, personnel policies, affirmative action procedures all demand the recruitment of skilled managers (Smith and Lipsky 1993). In fact, as the level of government support increases, so does the pressure of public officials to justify these expenditures to organizations. The consequences of this pressure is the "gradual displacement" of the founding executives, originally trained as social workers and clinicians, and their replacement by professional managers (Smith and Lipsky 1993).

The professional manager not only provides accountability, but brings with him/her a "network of colleagues, peers and expectations that are outside of the founding community..." While the "new" professional helps the organization become more competitive in securing government contracts, Smith and Lipsky (1993) are concerned that this professional orientation conflicts with the "commitment to the client and mission which provides the *raison d'être* for many community organizations." In addition, if non-profits become more like government agencies and they lose their "quasi voluntary" character, will the skilled professional be agreeable to working for a lower wage than could be obtained in another sector of the economy? Lipsky and Smith raise extremely interesting questions which require new research on the link between funding and non-profit recruitment. If government funding drives the management and recruitment structures of social

service non-profits, is there an association between the proportion of government funding and the proportion of professional managers in other non-profits? Hodgkinson et al. (1996) reports that in 1992, government supported 41 percent of the healthcare sector; 20 percent of the education sector and 15 percent of the arts and culture sector. If there is a significant relationship between government funding and the proportion of skilled managers, it is likely that there would be a higher proportion of professional managers in the healthcare than in the education or arts and cultural sectors. Additional research might uncover the extent to which there is support for this hypothesis.

Finally, there is the question of from where these professional managers will come. Smith and Lipsky (1993) discuss that professional managers in the social service sector come out of the governmental sector because they are familiar with the expectations and operations of government funding. Additional research might address the extent to which non-profits are likely to hire corporate executives with a background in corporate philanthropy. Though research conducted by the Development Resource Group did not study this particular pattern of career mobility, it did find that of 114 non-profit organizations surveyed, almost 60% had interviewed people from the business world for fundraising positions and 29% had actually hired a private

sector employee (Chronicle of Philanthropy 1997).

If fiscal accountability required by funders and the increasing number of social problems are driving the need for a greater number of professional non-profit managers with management experience in other sectors of the economy, it is important to examine the methods by which higher education is preparing and recruiting the future leaders of the non-profit sector.

Educational and Professional Training

The trained manager of a non-profit is a manager who understands the mission of the organization and the special requirements which are unique to non-profits, namely fundraising, advocacy, dealing with volunteers and non-profit boards of directors. It is the recommendation of Salaman and Anheier (1996) that a greater emphasis be placed on institutionalizing the training function within the sector (Salaman and Anheier 1996).

In order to appreciate the need for replacing "untrained managers" with non-profit managers who have managerial expertise, it is important to understand that historically, non-profit employees in traditional social service agencies were hired because:

they were respected clinicians and possessed some administrative expertise. In community-based social service agencies executives were hired after extensive volunteering in the agency....

New organizations were established by lay persons (volunteers), social activists or human service workers. These managers embodied the mission or

the ideal and goals of the organization and were typically the parent of a developmentally disabled child or a feminist concerned that there be a shelter for battered women: each having no formal training in organizational management (Smith and Lipsky 1993).

The need to create professional non-profit educational programs has been a topic of concern within the non-profit community since the 1970s. It wasn't until the 1980s, when the federal government reduced its role and the non-profit sector was forced to "do more with less" that non-profit leaders recognized the need for formalized managerial training (Mason 1992). In 1977, Yale University became the first university to offer a curriculum dedicated to non-profit management.

Within the non-profit academic community, educators and practitioners argue the pros and cons about creating a generic curriculum which is aimed at educating the non-profit manager, regardless of his/her chosen discipline (e.g. arts, education, human services) versus orienting management programs around the non-profit manager's discipline of choice. In 1986, the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation sponsored a conference on "Educating Managers of Nonprofit Organizations" which focused on this debate (O'Neill and Young 1988). DiMaggio (1988) and Levy (1988) have discussed this debate in great detail. According to Levy (1988), there are those who believe that "discipline is destiny" and that "graduate education must be rooted in traditional professional experience and credentialing, not

in a generic nonprofit course of study." Levy proposes that since the non-profit sector is facing reductions in government funding, and increased demands for its services and greater regulation, it is crucial that non-profit managers be well versed in generic management or functions such as fundraising, finance, planning and marketing. Furthermore, as educators decide on generic versus discipline-based curricula, he urges educators to take a look at the recruitment trends of non-profit organizations such as the Metropolitan Museum of New York, the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts and the Metropolitan Opera who have selected their managers from government, business and education. In making their hiring decisions, these non-profit employers obviously place more importance on generic management skills rather than on the prior occupational discipline of the manager.

DiMaggio (1988) writes that while non-profit discipline-oriented professionals (e.g. service delivery professionals) who want to upgrade their managerial skills may seek generic training, non-profit cross-over managers (e.g. those wanting to move from the arts sector to the education sector) as well as neophytes need "field specific knowledge and networks." Finally, he suggests that the best solution "would be to create nonprofit general management programs at large universities wherein students could supplement their generalized management training with

sector-specific courses in professional schools." It is this model that the newly-endowed Hauser Center for Nonprofit Institutions at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government has selected (Miller 1997).

While DiMaggio, Levy and others have discussed the need for specialized versus generic non-profit management programs, Mark Moore's (1996) Notes Toward A Curriculum in Nonprofit Policy and Management, argues for creating a program which specializes in non-profit management, maintaining that the non-profit sector differs from other sectors on specific issues including leadership through values, governance, fundraising, mission, recruitment and management of volunteers. Attention to the development of non-profit management curricula which is inclusive of the perspectives of the corporate and government sector was addressed at a special "by invitation conference" on June 3 and 4, 1997, hosted by the W.K. Kellogg Foundation. During the conference, the Foundation introduced a five year initiative (by invitation) to "help educational programs respond to the changing nonprofit management environment with more effective and efficient programs."

The Cross-Sector Student and Management Pool

The literature on non-profit formal education raises questions with regard to the types of students being recruited and the attention the programs have given to the non-profit sector recruitment of employees outside the

field. Non-profit educators and practitioners discuss four groups of students: non-profit mid-career leaders trained in a specific discipline such as social work, education or the arts who seek to return to school for managerial training; cross-over mid-career non-profit managers who are seeking to change disciplines within the non-profit sector; students who are entering the non-profit management field and want to be trained in non-profit management which will be applied to an area of specialization; and those board members who seek to be educated so that they are better able to perform their role. While all four groups of students represent a pool of talent for the non-profit sector as well as income-generating markets for the university, is there room for a fifth student group--the mid-career corporate manager who wants to move into the non-profit sector? In addition to studying the history, culture and networks of non-profit subsectors within the sector, this type of student needs to understand what functional imperatives distinguish the sectors. And if, as Levy (1988) states, the non-profit sector has determined that the cross-over or cross-sector candidate is gaining attention as a likely candidate within the recruitment pool, might not it be important to include the rationale for cross-sector employment within the curriculum of a non-profit program?

With rare exception, there has been little written about cross-sector employment--its origins and rationale. At

an Independent Sector Professional Forum in 1985, the then President of the AT&T Foundation, Dr. Reynold Levy, gave a speech entitled, Talent Matters: Attracting and Retaining Gifted Managers in the Third Sector. Dr. Levy challenged the sector to consider the concept of recruiting cross-sector employees:

How extensive is the search for the CEO and other high level management posts? Is it and must it be confined to the profession with which the institution is historically associated--physicians for the hospital, academics for the university, social workers for community centers, psychiatrists for mental health institutions and former musicians for orchestra managers? Wittingly or otherwise, do searches screen away able candidates by sex, marital status, race or ethnic/religious background?

His speech further elaborated on the need to look beyond traditional recruitment practices and to expand the applicant pool to include people from government and business:

What patterns of mobility, if any, can one discern within non-profit institutions and between them and government, on the one hand, and for-profit firms, on the other? Is it desirable to encourage circulation of personnel between and within sectors through executive release time, sabbatical leaves and executive loan? Indeed, if scale of enterprise is a critical variable in executive functioning and if loneliness and isolation are frequent complaints of upper management in the Third Sector, what can be done to stimulate professional exchanges outside of noninstitutional boundaries.....

That being so, a hard look ought to be taken on the neglected pools of management and trustee talent being insufficiently tapped for non-profit service--by age, by gender, by racial and ethnic background and by professional training...

I've counseled hundreds of men and women--professionals in need of career change and others fresh out of school--people of energy, idealism, vitality and resourcefulness who have not even thought of non-profit service as an option for themselves. When they do, more often than not the pathways to employment are bewilderingly primitive and complex, the barriers to the Third Sector entry formidable.

In order to understand why the "barriers to the Third Sector are formidable," as Levy suggests, it is important to examine the literature which is more likely to stress comparative differences than similarities in corporate and non-profit workplace cultures and work styles.

Organizational Cultural Differences and Similarities between the Profit and Non-profit Sectors

Cross-Sector Similarities and Interdependence

In his plan to create a curriculum for Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government's newly created non-profit center, Mark Moore begins with a statement which draws attention on the similarities between sectors:

Managers in all three sectors must figure out to whom and for what they are accountable, and how relationships to their overseers must be managed. They must all be engaged in defining the mission and purpose of their organizations, and the shaping of organizational identity. They must all be able to account for and control their use of financial resources. They must all be able to motivate and develop the people on whom they are relying. They must all be able to analyze and understand their production processes and be able to re-engineer and innovate to enhance efficiency, effectiveness or quality. They must all be able to do strategic planning that fits their current organization into anticipated future environments.

Furthermore, in addition to these similarities, corporations and non-profit organizations depend on each other. O'Neill (1989) reminds us of the important linkages including the purchasing of services between sectors, corporate philanthropy of non-profits, corporate donations of volunteer time and board service, non-profit contributions of research and employees to the corporate sector.

While these linkages and similarities interact, the majority of the comparative literature focuses on the differences in cultures and work styles of people working within the corporate and non-profit sectors.

Organizational Cultures and Expectations

Mirvis and Hackett's study of profit and non-profit workers (1983) found that profit and non-profit organizations differ in their goal orientations. Corporations exist to make a profit while non-profits attempt to make a difference in society. Similarly, Etzioni (1975) argues that normative or non-profit organizations have culturally oriented goals such as education, health care and research while corporations have economic rational goals. Consequently, results in each sector are measured differently. Mirvis and Hackett found that corporations view profit as the measure of success. Non-profit organizations have a difficult time measuring their results because tight controls between the internal staff, and the

external actions of their members, donors and beneficiaries often do not exist.

O'Neill and Young (1988) report that corporations depend on market sources of funds such as fees for services. While non-profits rely to some extent on fees for service, they are largely dependent on non-market sources of funds such as grants from individuals, foundations and corporations.

The two sectors differ in their employee composition and the degree to which employees profit from revenues. Corporations have paid staff. Non-profits also have paid staff, but often they depend heavily on non-paid staff (volunteers). Non-profits are extremely reliant on professionals who have credentialed expertise in executing service delivery (social workers, educators, artists) (O'Neill and Young 1988). Non-profits legally are required to impose a non distribution constraint where no member benefits excessively from a surplus. Corporations have no such requirement (O'Neill and Young 1989).

On average, there is a 20 percent difference between wages of managers and professionals in the profit and non-profit sector (Preston 1989 in Emanuele 1997). Different types of rewards are used to secure employee commitment in the profit and non-profit sectors. Etzioni (1975) reveals that normative organizations, of which non-profits are one type, use symbolic rewards such as

praise and esteem to secure employee commitment to cultural goals. Mirvis and Hackett's study found that non-profits emphasize intrinsic rewards which include variety, challenge and satisfaction from the work itself. Wages are less salient, according to Mirvis and Hackett, because non-profit organizations are, themselves, non-monetary in orientation. Non-profit employees are willing to work for lower wages because they are "donating some of their time" (Preston 1989 in Emanuele 1997). Emanuele (1997) also discusses that non-profit employees working in education and healthcare may be willing to work for less because their benefit packages are attractive and can be offered without incurring great costs (e.g. free tuition or health services). In contrast, Mirvis and Hackett and Etzioni view salaries as the most salient rewards for corporate employees.

The "organizational culture" perspective goes beyond structure and looks at organizational language, rituals, belief systems, and assumptions which are not formalized. Deal and Kennedy (1982) maintain that values or the basic beliefs of an organization form the heart of the organizational culture. Organizational culture guides the behaviors of its members and affect everything from who gets promoted, what decisions are made and even how employees dress. In strong cultures, Deal and Kennedy assert, there is little uncertainty because strong cultures have clear-cut structures and value systems. It is the culture which

determines if the workers are fast or slow; tough or friendly; team-players or individualistic in their approach. It is the culture which governs what kind of information is taken seriously for decision-making purposes, what kinds of people are most respected and what types of strategies are important for achieving the goal of the organization.

Ott (1989) found through ethnography that every organization's culture is different and what works for one may not work for another. For example, when the President of a small human services organization tried to make the organization more business-like by creating a computerized office and increasing income through the attraction of media coverage, the employees resisted, and the President eventually left the board of directors. Bush (1992), echoing the conclusions of organizational cultural theorists, contends that conflict will arise in non-profit organizations when corporate values such as "competition" are imposed on non-profits which value "collaboration". Trice and Beyer (1993) write that the reverse sequence of imposing humanitarian values within a corporation will generate conflict as well.

Both structural and organizational cultural theorists argue that value conflict is apparent in both types of organizations: profit and non-profit. The literature stresses, however, that the source of conflict for each sector is likely to differ. The source of value conflict in

non-profit organizations is oriented around the mission and the best way to achieve it. Etzioni (1975) establishes that when dual leadership, in a non-profit organization, consists of an expressive (mission-oriented leader) and an instrumental leader (profit oriented leader) and these roles are not clearly defined and separated, conflict will occur. Liedtka's (1991) model of value contention reveals that since goals are not often specified in non-profit organizations, conflict will arise when two highly regarded goals compete for primacy such as goals of maintaining employee versus constituency satisfaction.

Since the goals in the corporate sector revolve around profit, it is unlikely that the employee's satisfaction will take precedence over the customer's satisfaction. In fact, Jackall's Moral Mazes (1988) discusses the employee's imperative for avoiding conflict. At all costs, one adheres to the "moral rules of the corporation." Individuals show loyalty to their boss and never contradict him. Employees sacrifice their families for the corporation, mask emotions and separate consciousness from action. Additionally, employees avoid all blame and never leave a track which traces responsibility. In the event that contradiction does occur, the consequence is the severing or termination of corporate upward mobility. Conflict in corporations, therefore, originates around issues of internal and external competition and the best way to make a profit.

Work Styles

Hodgkin (1993) found that corporate and non-profit boards of directors differ in their governance styles and in their style of communicating and setting policy. She asserts that corporate boards are dominated by insiders or senior managers who are responsible for executing policy. Furthermore, the board members are usually paid and the Chief Executive is likely to have a vote (O'Neill and Young 1988). Since the board is made up of insiders, there is less need to consult other board members when an important decision is to be made (Hodgkin 1993). In contrast, the only insider who sits on a non-profit board is the executive director who is not likely to have a vote (and non-profit board members usually do not receive compensation) (Hodgkin 1993; O'Neill and Young 1988). Since many non-profit boards consist of community members, there is a greater need in a non-profit than in a corporation for the insider or the executive director to communicate the organization's goals to the other board members and there is a greater need in a non-profit than there is in a corporation for the other board members to understand the pressing needs of the non-profit.

With regard to setting policy, corporate boards concern themselves with the straightforward policy of making money and leave the day-to-day management of earning a profit to the Chief Executive Officer. For example, based on the

board's policy about a strategic approach to pricing (e.g. maximizing profit), corporate management sets and implements a pricing system of products. Pricing changes, as long as they maximize profits, will not require board approval. Hodgkin contends that non-profit managerial decisions regarding pricing changes will require board approval because many of their value-oriented decisions involve "significant policy issues" which affect people's lives. While the raising of prices in a non-profit organization may increase its income, it may also make it impossible for the constituency it serves to afford its services. The board of the non-profit will have to decide which course it wants to take based on the underlying values which support the organization's mission. Since so many of the management decisions in a non-profit organization are policy decisions which affect the public interest, there is a greater need to include the board in the discussion before making the decision.

Finally, Hodgkin maintains that profit and non-profit boards differ in their level of managerial expertise and this affects their governance and decision-making processes. Corporate board members tend to have considerable training and expertise for the industry they represent. Their primary responsibility is to their shareholders and they have no fiduciary responsibility to other constituencies. Every decision made is based on whether it will make money for the

corporation. In non-profit organizations, board members, as stated above, are outsiders and are more likely to have a poor understanding of their role and responsibilities. They are probably selected for their commitment to the organization rather than for their ability to address organizational problems. Since they are not experts in resolving the issues of organizational values and the conflicting constituencies of their organizations, they probably need a slower approach to problem solving.

Hodgkin (1993) concludes that value-based decision making in the non-profit sector differs drastically from the profit-based decision making of the corporate sector. While decisions in the corporate sector are often made for short-term gain, decisions in the non-profit sector are often made to support the long-term interests of the community. This severe difference is articulated by career changer Nancy Moses in the Wall Street Journal (1997): "I was used to making decisions whose consequences would be felt for 60 days or 60 months--not 60 years." O'Neill and Young (1988) maintain that it is important to stress this difference within the context of non-profit curricula.

Etzioni (1975) and Mirvis and Hackett (1983) insist that non-profit and corporate executives have different styles of leadership, language and giving feedback on performance. Etzioni (1975) argues that corporate or utilitarian organizations have instrumental leadership

because goals are rational. He asserts that it is functional for expressive leaders such as teachers, ministers, professors and doctors to dominate the leadership roles in non-profit or normative organizations because it is expressive leaders who build up commitments of organizational members and initiate goals.

Etzioni also contends that corporate organizations use instrumental or technical language and that communication within these types of organizations is more likely to be vertical. While expressive language or expressions of praise and acceptance do exist in corporations, Etzioni maintains that the degree to which it exists depends on the existence of peer relationships and the extent to which these actors are members of the same external organizations e.g. churches, unions and volunteer organizations. Language in non-profit organizations is more likely to be expressive, and horizontal communication predominates in many voluntary organizations. However, Etzioni points out that organizations such as universities which sustain a dual leadership structure (e.g. President (instrumental leader) and Provost (expressive leader) will have vertical communication structures.

A survey conducted by Mirvis and Hackett (1983) found that non-profit employees are less likely to receive feedback on their performance than are their corporate counterparts because results are difficult to measure in the

non-profit sector. Corporate employees, on the other hand, are more likely to receive feedback on their performance because results are easier to quantify.

Scholarship identifies the differences between corporate and non-profit cultures and work styles. The preservation of organizational differences perpetuates the identity of the in-group. Social stratification studies underscore the degree to which the in-group maintains its identity by stereotyping outsiders as "dirty" and recruiting members of like gender, age, race and occupational background. This literature sheds light on the barriers corporate managers face as they try to enter the non-profit sector.

Organizational and Individual Barriers Impeding Organizational Entry

Social Stratification and Processes of Stereotyping

While dichotomous distinctions attributed to non-profit and corporate organizational cultures and their organizational members are not commonly written about, those that are written are a part of a greater body of social stratification literature. This literature includes evidence of dichotomous distinctions between social categories (Epstein 1988) based on class distinctions (Halle 1992; Peterson and Simkus 1992; Zolberg 1992 in Lamont and Fournier (1992); Bourdieu 1984; Willis 1977); gender (Epstein 1995, 1992, 1988, 1981, 1971; Milkman 1987; Reskin and Hartmann 1986; Lorber 1984; Schur 1984, 1971; Kanter

1977; Walsh 1977; Douglas 1966) and race (Blalock 1982). Social identity theorists also concur that members of the in-group are more likely to treat members of their own group more favorably than members of other groups when it comes to allocating rewards (Ellemers and Van Rijswijk 1997).

Within the social stratification literature, it is recognized that social boundaries create insiders with greater access to wealth, power, knowledge and the elite occupations and outsiders who are prevented from attaining these rewards based on the perception that "one must be one to understand one" (Merton 1972). Especially stigmatized are outsiders who are in a transitional state (such as being unemployed or retired early). Since this means that one is not a member of any in-group, they are believed by others to be marginal human beings or "placeless" individuals (Newman 1988; Douglas 1966). Those without a definite status in our society are thought to be "dirty and dangerous" because their actions and values are thought to be uncertain (Douglas 1966).

What accounts for or explains the maintenance of such boundaries? Those who create boundaries are interested in maintaining their identities and the economic power associated with their identities. Intruders threaten those with power. Additionally, there is a need to reduce the anxiety and dilemma which are produced when status boundaries are not maintained (Hughes 1945). Furthermore,

contact with people who are different "may produce embarrassing and unpleasant experiences...people prefer to interact with others whose behavior can be predicted" (Blalock 1982). Stereotyping which involves labelling in the magnification of one or two attributes out of proportion to others (Schur 1984) is used by insiders as a mechanism of control to preserve the in-group's majority status and their privileged allocation of resources, rewards and power.

Occupational stereotyping, as defined by psychologist Jack Lipton (1991), is a "preconceived attitude about a particular occupation, about people who are employed in that occupation, or about one's own suitability for that occupation." Different organizational cultures in the profit and non-profit worlds are marked by unflattering stereotypes of the other and tend, therefore, to prefer hiring from within their own sector. Though very little has been written about the stereotyping of non-profit executives by corporate executives, a few examples do exist. One corporate executive addressed a group of displaced managers in New York and states that "motivation is not their (non-profits) strong suit, they are there because they love it" (Smith 1996, 4). In her article supporting the transition of non-profit executives into the corporate sector, Rosemarin (1995) warns that corporate managers believe that non-profit executives "lack the hard skills necessary for the change."

Stereotyping also has occurred on the non-profit side.

In David Mason's article (1992) "Invasion of the Soul Snatchers: Aliens in Our Midst: Are the invaders from the business world stealing our sector's soul?," he cautions that business values such as the profit motive and personal gain are displacing non-profit values such as "altruism, caring, fidelity, stewardship and safeguarding the public trust." Furthermore, Mason believes that, in the corporate world, money is the measure of success and that corporate managers therefore "think we're (non-profit managers) still playing around with our lives, and that someday we'll grow up and get serious jobs...business managers assume that people's success can be roughly measured by their salaries--that's the way its done in their culture." Another example of occupational stereotyping is found in Merchant's "Letter to the Editor" in Nonprofit World (1991). She believes that corporate superiority is a myth and concludes that corporate leaders use resources and money to cover up mistakes passing them along to "unsuspecting customers." In addition, she argues that "generally, corporate leaders didn't have an understanding as to why the third sector existed in the first place and they had very little insight into social missions and were unable to meet the nonprofit sector's high expectations of them for knowledge, skills and resources."

Another non-profit manager, who makes her living writing grants, advises against using business venture models to create new revenue streams for non-profit

organizations at the expense of "building strong fundraising programs. Non-profits are mission-driven; as opposed to making money," she states. And, she views the non-profit's use of the business venture as an "invasion of their (corporations') turf" (McMahon 1996).

Additional evidence of occupational stereotyping appears in Jennifer Moore's 1992 article, "Charity Workers' Job Market Jitters." Moore interviews non-profit managers who confirm worries about hiring corporate executives because "they don't have previous experience in charity work." In addition, non-profit managers question the commitment of corporate managers who have recently been laid off, perceiving the corporate manager as wanting a quick fix and fearing they will leave if offered a better high-paying job. Finally, non-profit managers "don't want to take a chance on people who are trying to do something different from what they have done in the past."

These stereotypes influence gatekeepers in the non-profit sector--those who review resumes and make hiring decisions. One only needs to look at the Chronicle of Philanthropy's "Professional Opportunities: Positions Available" section to realize that these stereotypes have become integrated within job descriptions. Ads include: "at least ten years in an academic environment required"; "museum experience preferred"; "background in environmental fundraising desirable."

These job advertisements make it apparent that an individual who does not share the same occupational status as those employees who already work for a university, museum or environmental organization will be disadvantaged when seeking employment within these types of organizations. These job advertisements, in essence, are a means of attracting those of like mind, those with a shared perspective. They are used to create a "homo-social reproduction" of the workplace (Kanter 1977).

Although those corporate managers who want to make the transition (nonmembers) into the non-profit sector and those who are members of the non-profit sector may both view the non-profit sector of organizations as reference groups, nonmembers will not be eligible for membership in a reference group if the in-group wishes to maintain a closed social structure where distinctive social relations--social relations which share a similarity of status are to be maintained (Merton 1968).

Shared statuses are a feature of many professional communities (Goode 1957). A profession is defined as a community which shares values and language in common and establishes role definitions for members and nonmembers. Control over access to training and recruitment sustains the professional community (Abbott 1988; Goode 1957). By maintaining control over recruitment, occupations are "in an excellent position to preselect new members who

fit within or to reinforce preferred elements of their occupational culture...to preserve the status quo" (Trice and Beyer 1993). Opportunities are reserved for those who fit. It is through the formation of an occupational opportunity structure that women are concentrated in sex-typed jobs and barred from entry into those jobs reserved for men. The sex-typed opportunity structure is perpetuated by cultural beliefs that since men and women have different personality traits, they are capable of only holding jobs which coincide with these traits. Recruitment processes perpetuate the concentration of the sexes in different occupations (Reskin and Hartmann 1986; Epstein 1970). Using this social process as a model, one could argue that each industry creates an opportunity structure where entry into a particular industry is based on the perceived similarities of personality traits between the recruit and the members of the industry.

Dominant members of a group control opportunities by recruiting members like themselves from homogeneous networks. The networks are comprised of people who have been trained, educated or socialized together and are thought to have the same values about work as well as shared class, race and gender (Epstein 1995; Lorber 1984). Occupations are able to maintain their homogeneous networks of employees through socializing those who wish to enter, or finding those who are "presocialized" and already have acquired the

requisite values and behaviors that the occupation seeks. If the entering recruit is presocialized, the organization needs to do less formal socialization (Schein 1990). These homogeneous networks control access to educational institutions, entry to types of organizations and the referral networks needed to advance (Epstein 1995; Lorber 1984).

One type of homogeneous network is an incumbent network. Waldinger (1992) found that in city government, incumbent networks were used for recruitment purposes in order to reduce risk and to control competition. In their study of recruitment practices at the American Cancer Society, Golden-Biddle and Linduff (1994) maintain that incumbent networks are used to reproduce cultural values.

Thus, the lack of incumbent or peer networks serves as another structural barrier to entry.

Absence of Networks and Mentors

According to Blau (1964), employees invest time to gain the rewards within their organization. Managers invest time in the corporation, at the expense of seeking other opportunities which may be found through networking outside of the organization. Their corporate loyalty impedes mobility. Blau also contends that when there is a decreasing demand for skills, there will be an unfair return for the investment that has been made in the corporation. The cost of past commitments, for the displaced manager, is

his/her failure to develop outside networks during his/her tenure at the corporation. Granovetter (1995) maintains that people who have stayed in a job for a long time, those who have few professional acquaintances, and those not well placed in the labor market such as the unemployed, will not have a large network of professional ties to facilitate the development of the next job.

The absence of networks or people who can support the manager's transition from one occupation to another is a significant barrier to "getting in." Wethington et al. (1986) discovered that the perception of having a network that is ready to support the individual with advice, coping methods, listening, cheering and referrals can be as important if not more important than an actual supportive network. Once inside the organization, Ibarra (1997) found that the degree to which a woman is able to secure "ties to co-workers outside their immediate groups" influences her likelihood of being promoted. A manager's introduction to new occupational hiring and internal networks can be facilitated more easily if the manager has access to a mentor or mentors who will "sponsor and back" the manager's transition. The "reflected status" of a mentor eases the transition of the newcomer (Kanter 1977). Those that are "sponsored" are more likely to achieve desirable jobs. In Zuckerman's (1977) study of Nobel laureates, those apprentices who have mentors are more likely to learn the

appropriate behaviors and attitudes, ask the right kinds of questions and propose the right kinds of solutions. She also found that those apprentices with mentors are more likely to have the confidence needed to achieve success in their profession. In her study of "glass ceilings" within law firms, Epstein (1995) found that a mentor gives women attorneys high visibility and insights into the corporate culture.

Those without mentors may have to depend on formal procedures both in getting into the organization (Granovetter 1995) and once in, working their way up through a multi-layered chain of command (Kanter 1977). Thus, building the appropriate occupational network with one or more mentors, and creating a bridge between the insider and the outsider, appear to be significant career strategies for those in the process of changing careers.

In addition to structural barriers preventing organizational entry, scholars discuss how individual barriers prevent the newcomer, unemployed manager or older worker from associating with a new organizational reference group. For example, the strong association between the loss of one's job and the loss of one's identity create a substantial barrier for entering and learning a new organizational culture and sustaining a new workforce identity.

Loss of Identity

The abandonment of prior occupational values, due to forced retirement or termination, is difficult for those workers who have experienced a loss of their workforce identity. Rather than admit defeat by taking a lower-paying job, the worker may remain retired or unemployed, emphasizing the success and values of his/her former status (Hutchens 1988; Wilensky and Edwards 1959 in Rosow 1974). Hence, loss of identity acts as a barrier to change. It implies that people find it difficult to give up their old occupational identity and embrace a new occupational identity.

Goffman explains that the identity of an individual is generated by interactions with others (Asylums 1961) and that an actor's identity is the "image of that individual in other people's minds" (Stigma 1963). Similarly, George Mead (1934) has observed that the "self is a reflection of social group behavior." Furthermore, Gregory Stone (1962) analyzes the "role of appearance in interactions and its effect through the reflected image of others back on the self."

Professional and managerial workers derive much of their sense of self from their work role and the expectations which significant others (employers, peers, family and friends) have of this role in our society. When corporate managers lose their jobs and are unable to quickly find another, they become emotionally devastated in part

because of financial problems that beset them. But in part, because their identity or claims to a certain self are now open to question. In her work, Falling From Grace (1988), Newman explains that being "unemployed is clearly a stigmatized condition in this society. It broadcasts to employers that there is something not quite right about this person. It prevents the job seeker from constructing an appealing image of himself." This inability to construct an appealing self-image is rooted in the loss of the social group or culture which imparts the individual's self-image.

One study of 1,000 retired mid-level managers who returned to work found that one third "wanted contact with people rather than the social emptiness of retirement" (Gray and Morse 1980 in Trice and Beyer 1993). "Retirement from work means more of a social loss for the professional class, whose friends are more likely to be work associates, than for the working-class whose friends are more likely to be drawn from the neighborhood" (Arlie Russell Hochschild 1973).

Corporate America's dislocation of white collar managers has forced many managerial workers into retirement or what some have called "early retirement." As of February 1996, 62% of those aged 65 and older who lost their jobs between January 1993 and December 1995 had not reentered the workplace, and 27% of those aged 55-64 who lost their jobs during the same period had not reentered (Gardner 1996). A

greater proportion of workers from these age groups had not reentered the workforce as compared to workers from younger age groups (Gardner 1996). Farber (1996) found that older and more educated workers "have seen their rates of job loss increase more than those of other groups." "Job loss," Farber maintains, "due to the position being abolished" has been increasing in recent years, largely among more educated workers." Hutchens (1988) hypothesizes that job opportunities decline with age and, in fact, found that "older workers have a lower probability of moving from unemployment to employment and are more likely to end a spell of unemployment with labor force withdrawal." Those who write about retirement argue that retirement is a social category into which those of advanced age should be placed, according to the norms set by our society. Unfortunately, those who are forced to retire at any age feel that their contributions are no longer valued. When one retires, there is no status succession as there is in earlier phases of the life cycle (e.g. college to work). Up until this point in the life cycle, there is role continuity: training in one phase supports the next stage of succession. There is no "distinctive retirement role" or "meaningful substitute" for the job the dislocated worker has dedicated himself to for a period of many years. An individual's role loss leads to an open, unstructured and ambiguous position. It deprives the individual of his/her social identity (Rosow 1974).

Additionally, there is little anticipatory socialization or preparation for the retirement role. There is no support for coping with the social losses e.g. the responsibility, authority, group memberships and rewards that come with role discontinuity. It is difficult to be motivated and to embrace old age when there is not significant compensation for these social losses (Rosow 1974).

"A successful transition to old age requires a shift in the actor's reference groups as a source of norms about a new role for him" (Rosow 1974). Reference groups (Merton 1968) serve as "frames of reference" for self-evaluation and attitude formation. It is through the acquisition of new reference groups that one is able to "abandon the earlier status." It is through this abandonment of the previous status, that the individual is able to identify with the norms of a new reference group (Rosow 1974). In identifying with the new reference group, the individual must be willing to be resocialized or to adapt the new values and behaviors of a new organizational culture. This is accomplished through learning the language (both spoken and non-verbal) and developing skills required to succeed in a new organizational culture, developing the required relationships with "significant others" such as peers and superiors, internalizing organizational norms, and surviving barriers created by the organization, as well as discrepancies between expectations and reality (Elkin and

Handel 1984; Van Maanen 1983, 1977, 1976; Rosow 1974; Brim and Wheeler 1966).

**Anticipatory Socialization and Adult Socialization:
The Processes of Acceptance and Adaptation in a New
Organizational Culture**

The Reshaping of Occupational Identity

The theory behind the process of reshaping one's occupational identity is explained within the writings of symbolic interactionist theorists Mead and Goffman. They discuss that the type of self revealed is based on understanding the role requirements and prescriptions of others (Goffman 1959). In other words, the response of the individual is based on the attitudes of others (Mead 1934). Both Mead and Goffman write that there are many different selves which make up the identity of an individual. Goffman (1959) asserts that different situations call for different selves, "we do not show ourselves to our employers as we do to our specific friends." Mead (1934) found that there are "all sorts of selves answering to all sorts of social reactions." Thus, in changing one's occupational identity, one must learn the role and value orientations of employees within a specific organizational culture. One must adopt the requisite expectations of significant others including the appropriate values, knowledge, attitudes, behaviors and motivations which correspond to a specific organizational culture. One must go through a process of adult or occupational socialization (Elkin and Handel 1984; Van

Maanen 1983; Rosow 1974; Brim and Wheeler 1966). In order for successful socialization to occur three conditions must be met by the socializing organization (Brim and Wheeler 1966). First, the actor must understand what is expected of him/her in the social role and this may be acquired through formal training programs or through informal means (e.g. peers). Second, the recruit must meet the requirements. Finally, the trainee must be motivated to learn. The process of adult socialization within an organization may be preceded by anticipatory socialization processes.

Anticipatory Socialization

It is through anticipatory socialization processes (Elkin and Handel 1984; Van Maanen 1983; Rosow 1974; Brim and Wheeler 1966) that one "learns the recipes of being" (Goffman 1959). Anticipatory socialization or role rehearsal and preparation (Elkin and Handel 1984) allow the employee to learn and practice the feelings, actions and values before he/she actually enters the organization. It helps reduce anxiety by allowing the employee to learn who the significant others in an organization are and how they relate to them (Van Maanen 1977). Anticipatory socialization helps reduce culture or reality shock in which a huge gap exists between the entering employee's expectations about the job and the actual demands of the job itself (Hughes 1981). Deal and Kennedy (1982) reveal that "culture shock may be one of the major reasons why people

fail when they leave one organization for another. Where they fail, however, is not necessarily in doing the job, but in not reading the culture correctly." Brim and Wheeler (1966) recommend using peer socialization and internships to facilitate this anticipatory socialization process. Peers provide the "means of adaptation" within an organization (Rosow 1974). Internships, which expose the recruit to peers, may take the form of volunteer work within non-profit organizations. In their study of volunteer motivations, Clary et al. (1996) found that a group of individuals who utilize volunteer work in non-profit organizations develop and practice skills which might otherwise go unpracticed; others use the volunteer experience to gain experiences which will benefit their careers.

People also volunteer to "combat feelings of inferiority" and to "enhance self-esteem" (Clary et al. 1996). Volunteering may help the individual expand his/her "role repertoire." "The broadening of a role repertoire promotes human development by facilitating interaction with persons occupying a variety of roles" (Moen et al. 1992). "Roles have a magic-like power to alter how a person is treated, how she acts, what she does and what she thinks and feels" (Bronfenbrenner 1979 in Moen et al. 1992).

Volunteerism also provides a source of new networks and employment opportunities. "Any voluntary participation at any time in adulthood appears to promote multiple role

occupancy in latter years--employment included" (Moen et al. 1992). The individual's engagement in multiple roles leads to increased networks, resources and emotional gratification.

In addition to internships or volunteer experiences, training programs which emphasize role rehearsal or exposing the trainee to interaction with his/her role set (peers) helps the trainee learn the appropriate skills as well as gain insight into a particular role. The trainee's interaction with his prospective role set is the only meaningful way to learn one's role. It is through this interaction that a trainee becomes invested or committed to the role and "changes his self-image in a manner appropriate to the role." Training programs which divorce the classroom from practical application on the job do not allow for this interaction with the peer group. Furthermore, trainers who can't demonstrate the actual practice of a role are weak role models as are younger employment counselors who hold statuses that the older worker achieves earlier in life--statuses which have been lost (Rosow 1974).

Adult Socialization

Scholarship on socialization identifies the ways in which adults become socialized in various occupations such as medicine (Becker et al. 1961); accounting (Montagna 1975); teaching (Lortie 1975) and nursing (Davis et al. 1966).

I will discuss the processes of socialization and the consequences of socialization within each of these studies by using Van Maanen's (1983, 1976) socialization typology (Wheeler 1966). The typology, delineated below, compares and contrasts formal and informal socialization; sequential and non-sequential socialization; fixed and variable socialization; tournament and contest socialization; serial and disjunctive socialization and investiture with divestiture socialization within the context of occupational studies described above.

Professions such as medicine (Becker et al. 1961) and accounting (Montagna 1975) use greater degrees of formal socialization to train recruits than do nurses (Davis et al. 1966) and teachers (Lortie 1975). In the process the recruit is separated from the workplace (e.g. medical school, off-site training), his/her role is made explicit and there is a strong attempt to influence the newcomer's values and behaviors to reduce dependence on prior skills learned in previous organization settings. Problems arise when participants are forced to learn everything presented to them, as in the case of Becker's medical students. In his study, Becker found that the students form their own perspectives apart from the professors which allow the students to cope with the situation. Problems also arise when there is a gap between the values and behaviors learned in school and those expected by the profession (Lortie 1975;

Davis et al. 1966). For example, while Davis's collegiate nurses are socialized to be humanistic in school, the hospital workplace setting requires a bureaucratic approach to healthcare. When there is a gap between what is anticipated or learned and what is expected by the profession, the individual experiences culture or reality shock (Hughes 1981). A study of Dade schoolteachers (Lortie 1975), shows an enormous degree of culture shock when the new teachers enter their schools, because their formal education focuses on the process of learning as opposed to processes of teaching and problem solving which are expected of them in the workplace.

Informal socialization or learning by trial and error occurs when there is no differentiation between the workplace and the learning setting. The recruit is dependent on learning the requisite behaviors and attitudes from his peers. Success depends on the newcomer convincing others to teach him/her the ropes. Peer groups often set the rules within an organization. Becker's illustrates that peer group's (students) shared ordeal of mastering uncertainty, forces it to form a collective perspective to share workloads and make a united good impression before the professors. In the absence of a unified peer subculture, the individual is forced to learn on his/her own as Lortie described in his study on Dade county schoolteachers.

Van Maanen's next two socialization strategies are

called sequential and nonsequential socialization.

Sequential socialization is found in professions such as medicine and accounting which have identifiable stages through which an individual must pass in order to achieve a defined status. Medical student's career sequence has four years of medical school, one year as an intern and three to five years as a resident (Becker 1961). The accounting career sequence consists of four to five stages during a fourteen year period. Problems arise for recruits who can't adhere to a predetermined schedule. Accountants who could not reach the "senior" stage by age 34 could not become a partner in the firm (Montagna 1975).

A occupation in which there is nonsequential socialization does not have defined career steps. For example, one doesn't have to be an assistant manager to be a manager in many occupations.

Sequential socialization and fixed socialization are related processes. Fixed socialization refers to the precise amount of time it takes to complete a step within an occupation. For instance, medical students know it will take a minimum of five years of formal education before they will be able to practice medicine (Becker et al. 1961). The accounting profession is age graded: four years as a junior; the CPA exam passed by age 29; manager by age 32; partner by age 36. If recruits undergo fixed socialization, it is likely that strong peer relationships will develop and

continue.

Variable socialization refers to a minimum amount of years the recruit must have received training, before entering an occupation, and it doesn't specify when the recruit will be able to perform the role within the occupation. Evidence of variable socialization is found in both Lortie's and Davis's studies. Although the schoolteachers acquire a minimum amount of education, they are not skilled enough to perform their roles adequately within the schools. Even though college-trained nurses undergo training within the university, there is no guarantee that they will obtain jobs in the hospital if the hospital continues hiring nurses without college degrees. Since the training is minimal for teachers and not standardized for nurses, it is unlikely that trainees will bond as peers in either profession. Furthermore, since the period between training and practice in the professional role is ambiguous, this type of socialization divides and drives the recruits apart, creating less loyalty between the recruits and the profession.

Tournament socialization fosters the separate selected clusters of recruits into different socialization programs and tracks the recruit based on presumed ability, ambition and background. Men, historically, have been tracked into accounting and medical professions and women into nursing and teaching professions. If tournament socialization is

used, the accomplishments of employees are more likely to be explained by the tracking process than by the achievements of the individual. Contest socialization avoids this type of tracking system and allows equal access to professional education and training.

When serial socialization is used, it provides the best guarantee that the organization will not change over time. Serial socialization is executed by experienced members of the organization. The individual serial socialization process is governed by a mentor. Mentors are important in transmitting organizational culture. Van Maanen (1983) maintains that this process is only used when the incumbent is perceived as the only one who can shape his/her successor. The newcomer is only accorded full membership in the organization when he/she conforms to the older member's expectations which are embedded in the values and norms of the organization. This type is important to women in blue and white collar occupations who face sex role socialization which is potentially contradictory to organizational socialization. Role socialization (Epstein 1988) occurs when mentors of white collar women teach them to speak the language of the organization (Collins 1983); apprenticeship helps blue collar women develop competencies in skilled jobs and demonstrate these competencies on the job (Deaux 1983; Walshok 1981). Zey (1991) found that problems arise within this type of socialization process when the role

expectations of the mentor and protege are not defined in advance. Collective serial socialization implies that recruits share a similar fate and it is the peer group itself which develops the method of problem-solving to deal with situations. Of course, the peer group's solution may run contrary to the governing authority's solution as is stressed in Becker's study. In addition, medical school does not socialize students in taking on a professional role in that it does not prepare them with the attitudes and behaviors for professional practice. Becker found instead that it is the situations of medical school which influence student actions and values, and that students form perspectives in order to cope with these situations.

Disjunctive socialization gives the recruit the opportunity to be inventive and original because there is no individual or group present to socialize the individual. The individual or the group is expected to be his/their own socializing agent (Brim and Wheeler 1966). In the case of the individual teacher in Lortie's study (1975), there is no peer group to help new teachers solve problems. The teacher is forced to "learn by doing." In the case of Becker's medical students, they are forced to find collective solutions to "work overload" in the absence of predecessors. Conflict arises when the peer group has greater influence over the new recruit than does the superior with formal authority. Wheeler (1966) contends

that when this occurs, the recruit will follow the direction of those he has spent the most time with--his peers. Becker et al. (1961) observes that medical students favor the student perspective of "learn what the faculty wants you to know" rather than the faculty perspective of "learning it all."

The investiture socialization process establishes the usefulness of the characteristics the individual already possesses (e.g. skills, behaviors and attitudes, relationships with previous organizational members) and the divestiture process aims to strip away the entering characteristics of the recruit (e.g. prior attitudes and behaviors learned from a prior reference group). In the divestiture process, individuals are expected to suffer, participate in "dirty work," and work for low pay. These phases detach the individual from former roles. Van Maanen (1976) calls this the "unfreezing process". Through the shared experience of suffering, recruits in the medical and accounting profession identify with peers. Those who survive these ordeals are viewed as committed members.

Using Van Maanen's (1983) typology, individuals are more likely to conform when formal, serial, sequential, fixed, divestiture and tournament socialization techniques are used. If an organizational culture allows for individual creativity, it will be more likely to use informal, disjunctive, investiture, variable and contest

socialization techniques.

Factors which Influence Socialization Methods

Environmental factors, the status of the organization within the social structure and organizational factors influence the success of socialization methods (Van Maanen 1976).

Environmental Factors. The cultural environment may undermine professional socialization or contribute to it (Van Maanen 1976). In my reading of Davis et al. (1966) study of collegiate nurses, I note that the values of marriage and motherhood, were more salient in socializing the collegiate nurses than the university's attempt to train them for positions as leaders in the nursing profession. Other examples of strong cultural values influencing socialization techniques are found in Trice and Beyer (1993) and Rosow (1974). Trice and Beyer found that values of capitalism undermine employees' dedication to humanitarian issues within a corporation. In conforming to society's capitalistic values, the downwardly mobile employee may feel reluctant to take a job for less pay. If he/she does take a job for less pay, he/she may still feel the need to aspire to the rewards that accompanied his/her old status. If this is the case, the socializing efforts of his new organization may fail to be effective (Wilensky and Edwards 1959 in Rosow 1974).

Status of Organization. The higher the status of the

organization within the social structure, the greater the aspiring member will be motivated to accept socialization. Since the statuses of the hospital and the university are not held in high esteem by the college-educated nurses, they sought to be socialized by other health care professions or the broader cultural values of the time which favored domestic roles for women (Davis et al. 1966). The high rank of the accounting and medical professions within society motivates recruits to become socialized to their professional roles (Montagna 1975; Becker et al. 1961).

Organizational Factors. An organization's ability to influence new members depends on its control over rewards valued by new members. These include suitable levels of comfort, health, safety, and limits on effort exerted (Goffman 1961). Katz's (in Van Maanen 1977) study on work satisfaction found that the same rewards such as autonomy, salary and feedback are not salient for all workers. He establishes that the degree to which autonomy is valued depends upon the length of time a worker has been with the organization. Autonomy is less important for newcomers than for veterans because they are more likely to value feedback on the effectiveness of their work. The degree to which rewards are salient also depends on the values of employees. Mirvis and Hackett (1983) discovered that intrinsic rewards such as worker satisfaction are more salient for non-profit employees, while monetary rewards are more salient for

corporate employees.

Factors which Influence the Control of Rewards

Three factors influence a profession's ability to control rewards: size, degree to which the profession is homogeneous and the extent to which the profession is insulated from the larger society (Van Maanen 1976). The smaller the profession, the more powerful it is in controlling rewards. The more homogeneous and the more insulated the profession is from the broader society, the more influential the profession is in controlling rewards. Accounting and medicine control size through a rigorous selection and socialization process. Only the top ten percent of business school graduates are recruited by the prestigious accounting firms. One half of those selected are weeded out after the first year (Montagna 1975). Not all recruits continue to make a "good impression" in medicine as well (Becker et al. 1961).

Thus through control of recruitment and training, a common body of knowledge and language enable professions to be distinctive.

Obstacles to Assimilation: Inefficacious socialization and lack of motivation

Inefficacious socialization

The unsocialized member of an organization is a product of inefficacious (Van Maanen 1976) or ineffective socialization methods. For example, if the actor learns outdated workplace skills in a formal educational setting,

he/she will not be able to survive or perform his/her role adequately within the organization (Hughes 1981). Another example of inefficacious socialization is the use of divestiture socialization when an organization initially desires a fresh perspective from the new recruit. If, for example, an organization is hiring a manager because he/she brings a fresh or an objective perspective, "any divestiture tactics could work at counterpurposes..." (Trice and Beyer 1993). On the other hand, if some organizational cultures expect managers to divest or completely shed their previous occupational identities which are comprised of ties and loyalties to members of a prior occupational group, a status or position within that group and the benefits which have accrued, resistance would be a likely response on the part of the managers. Of course an actor's motivations to be socialized or to conform are influenced by the environmental values, organizational status and control of reward factors which Van Maanen (1976) writes about. Depending on the strength of these factors, a newcomer entering an organization will not be motivated to divest all ties with his/her previous occupation because he/she has a fear of the unknown; is invested in performing in a certain way; is insecure about adopting new patterns of behaviors and/or is tied to self-interests which may be linked to his/her previous occupational status (e.g. reputation and rewards) (Trice and Beyer 1993). In this case, if divestiture

socialization, or the attempt to strip away the individual's entering characteristics, is inefficacious, he/she will be competent in performing his/her job, but will not be able to internalize the values and norms of the organization. This would lead the individual to become a chameleon⁹ or refuse to be socialized at all (Rosow 1965).

One final example of inefficacious socialization occurs when there is no peer acceptance of the newcomer. It is the informal socialization of the peer group that is essential in helping the new recruit learn the ropes within a new organizational culture (Van Maanen 1983, 1976; Rosow 1974; Brim and Wheeler 1966; Becker et al. 1961). As Epstein has observed, if the actor does not develop the support systems within an organization and is not taught the "trade secrets" of the organization, as occurs with women who want to break into non-traditional occupations, she will not be motivated to accept the socialization process of the organization (Epstein 1995; 1992; 1988; 1981; 1971).

Lack of Individual Motivation

Socialization depends upon motivation (Brim and Wheeler 1966). "If a person's motivation to belong is not sufficiently strong to induce the personal changes that allow the individual to adjust to the situation, he will leave" (Schein in Van Maanen 1976). An individual may not

⁹A chameleon is an organizational member who is competent in his/her performance, but will not embrace the values of the organization (Rosow 1965).

be motivated if his/her values are different from the values of the organization. Merton (1968) argues that the actor's attitude toward becoming a member in a reference group is associated with the relevance of the group's values to his own. The actor's values are influenced by the broader cultural values of society if these broader cultural values are viewed as relevant by the actor (Trice and Beyer 1993; Van Maanen 1976; Wilensky and Edwards 1959 in Rosow 1974; Davis et. al 1966). If the actor embraces or internalizes the broader cultural values (Van Maanen 1976) which emphasize self-interest he/she may not be motivated to adhere to the values of a humanitarian organization (Trice and Beyer 1993; Ott 1989). If the worker's self-image and self-esteem are so aligned with their previous statuses (Trice and Beyer 1993) and he/she doesn't have the confidence to learn the values and belief systems of a new culture, he/she may not be motivated to accept a new organizational culture.

Creative individualism and autonomy respectively are important to the success of socialization (Gecas 1989; Schein 1968 in Van Maanen 1976). The actor's ability to have some control over his actions leads to increased motivation to accept socialization processes.

When socialization methods are inefficacious and or when the worker is not motivated to accept the prevailing organizational method of socialization, workers experience

varying degrees of alienation and the outcome leads to deviance (Van Maanen 1976), absence of continuous commitment (Moore 1969) or resistance to career transition (Brim 1968). Within the life cycle literature, career transition is viewed as an integral part of the life cycle.

Career Transition and the Life Cycle

The degree to which workers resist an unrewarding work environment depends on the extent to which they have access to wealth, social status and political influence. The greater number of interpersonal networks the worker has outside the organization, the greater autonomy he/she has in seeking out people with the same interests and restructuring his/her relationships to fit his/her interests (Brim 1968). This attempt to find new role relationships within work is part of the life cycle.

The Life Cycle

The individual is able to "repot" him/herself (Brim 1968) or go through a "change of soul" (Van Maanen 1976) because the socialization process is a continuous one. Throughout the life course or life cycle, there are a succession of roles and multiple role changes. One makes the transition from childhood to adulthood; marriage and parenthood; employment to retirement (George 1993; Neugarten and Datan 1973). Moen et al. (1992) maintain that women who occupy multiple roles over a period of thirty years are likely to lead healthier lives. Furthermore, they found

that non-profit volunteer roles such as "churchgoer" and "member" of a socially related club are positively related to health and longevity. They argue that multiple role occupancy might be especially important in later life, when role reduction increases within the American culture. The study proposes that more research be done concerning the significance of the "duration, number of spells or timing of employment for health in later life." In addition, the researchers believe that more needs to be known about the health consequences of volunteer work. They hypothesize that volunteer work may provide "gratifying social involvement and recognition, reduction in anxiety and self-preoccupation as well as many forms of social emotional support."

In summary, life cycle theorists agree that actors experience changing roles throughout their lifetimes (e.g. volunteer, employee, member of organization). In this dissertation, I examine one example of changing adult roles: changing one's occupational status (from the corporate to the non-profit work world) through preparation, rehearsal and internalization of new non-profit organizational values and behaviors. In doing so I will draw upon the literature discussed above and will also extend it into a previously unstudied area.

Chapter IV

Differences and Barriers Between the Two Worlds

The Non-profit View on Cultural Differences and the Need for Culture Change

Every displaced manager trying to enter the non-profit world wonders how different this sector is compared to the corporate sector he/she is already familiar with. Every manager also wonders to what extent his prior stock of knowledge, skills and experiences will carry over, or to what extent he/she has to develop new competencies and attitudes. The larger the differences between the two sectors, the higher the hurdle for the career changer to get over, the greater the body of new information to absorb.

However, the issue of sameness and differences goes beyond any particular person trying to get over the hurdle. Powerful people inside the non-profit world, the gatekeepers who hire new staff, often have strong views on this issue. If a gatekeeper believes that non-profits are very unlike the corporate world, then that gatekeeper will not look favorably upon a displaced manager who keeps stressing in an interview, how useful his corporate skills and experiences are. The situation is made even more difficult by the fact that opinions on this issue vary dramatically within the non-profit world. Other gatekeepers within non-profits believe that non-profits share many features with the corporate world; and yet others believe that non-profits need to become more like the corporate world, in terms of

managerial technologies, systems of accountability, speed of decision-making, and so on. These kinds of gatekeepers will welcome displaced managers whose corporate skills seem useful.

These splits in opinion among gatekeepers inside the non-profit world are documented in other studies: some researchers view non-profits as quite different, in fact contrasting or opposite kinds of organizations from corporations, while others perceive large numbers of similarities between the two sectors.

In this chapter, I will examine differences between the sectors, drawing both upon the work of researchers, upon the works of gatekeepers inside the non-profit world, and the experiences and comments of career changers. By identifying what the differences and similarities are between the two sectors (whether perceived or real), we see the extent to which the hurdle between employment in the corporate and non-profit sectors is a matter of stereotyping, "turf wars" and prejudice, and to what extent it reflects real differences which can be overcome through training.

The Cultures Are Different

Differences in Structure, Goal Setting, the way Results are Measured and Rewards

Structure

This corporate manager turned "professional board member" describes distinct differences in structure, goal setting, the way in which organizational results are

measured, and reward systems:

Board Member of Three Non-profits: There is a distinct jargon used in both sectors which is influenced by the cultural values of each sector. The organizational model used by the corporation is the military hierarchy. It employs an authoritarian management style. The watchwords are command, communication and control. Accountability focuses on the bottom line. The Chief Executive Officer and the Board of Directors are accountable to the shareholders. The measure of success is linked to increasing the bottom line.

In non-profits, the measure of strength is the mission of the organization. The watchwords in the non-profit sector are oriented around cooperation, community and collegiality. Many constituencies are appealed to in order to secure a balance including students, alumni, clients, faculty, board, volunteers, federal, state and local regulatory agencies.

Other career changers argue that the corporate sector is "getting flatter" while the non-profit sector is more hierarchical:

Career Changer Healthcare: In the for-profit sector, there are a lot more layers. The further from the top you are, the further you are from the decision makers. In the non-profit sector, there are a lot less layers and there is interaction between all levels. Senior management is accessible and open to ideas and input.

Not all non-profit employees agree, however:

Career Changer Education: In my small educational organization, where we have 25-30 employees, I thought that the structure was pretty hierarchical. The corporate sector, on the other hand, is getting flatter and there are fewer layers between senior management and the other managers.

Career Changer, Human Services: Within my human services organization I had to talk to many people above. My immediate superiors and I had to sell the idea to them and they had to sell it to their

bosses and they to theirs.

Goal Orientations

In addition to differences in structure, corporations and non-profits have very different goal orientations: (Hodgkin 1993; Drucker 1990; Mirvis and Hackett 1983) Corporations exist to make money for their shareholders (Mirvis and Hackett 1983) and non-profits exist to make a difference in society (Drucker 1990) or to reflect the values of society (Hodgkin 1993). This view is widespread among non-profit employers, and is often used as an explanation for why non-profit salaries are markedly lower than corporate ones and why non-profit employees are more cooperative, or less competitive.

A career changer in the health care field believes that "corporations focus on the individual's achievement of making money for the company. In the non-profit sector, the goal orientation focuses on the collective achievement of mission. There are more people involved in the achievement of the mission--the board, staff and volunteers." A career changer in the housing sector found this to be true as well:

Career Changer, Housing: In the corporate sector, people are acting to achieve money on their own so cutting the throat of an associate is not uncommon. Goals, in the corporate sector, are achieved by being able to spend the least and achieve the most...Non-profit managers are not motivated by how much money they make, but by helping others.

Another career changer also discusses the different goal focus:

Career Changer, Human Services: The driver in non-profit organizations is altruism, not money. Don't go into the non-profit sector expecting to make a lot of money. Because the primary driver is altruism, they are not as professionally oriented as in the corporate sector.

Career changers also observe that there is a difference in the way goals are set and achieved. Corporations have a individual focus in the setting and achievement of goals; non-profits have a collective focus:

Career Changer, Human Services: In the corporate sector, most goals are set by people in charge, be it the head of the division or the company. These decisions are made without the participation of the supervisees. The attainment of the goals is not necessarily only because of the effort of the senior managers. However, it is always viewed and rewarded as their achievement.

In the non-profit sector, goals are actually set by funders, as well as accepted by funders. The agency must deliver the goals, even when you don't get the funding. It matters that the higher staff is aware of the goals and that they all have a part in achieving them.

A career changer now working for a school discusses how goals are set and achieved in both sectors:

In my financial services corporation, the goals were linked to the bottom line and dictated by the higher levels. At the school, we make our goals in a collegial fashion. They are always realizable goals and are more easily achieved on a team basis. If I have questions about a business decision, I call up the other administrators in the organization and discuss it. We aren't in competition. In the corporation sector, there was a fair amount of team play, but you really had to watch what you were communicating to others because you were in a competitive situation.

Some managers report that goals are more clearly defined in the profit sector than in the non-profit sector.

Goals are also thought to be more short-term than long-term in the non-profit sector. Hodgkin (1993) and Liedkta (1991) maintain that goals are clear in the corporate sector because they are driven by the bottom-line. Since non-profits are responsible to many constituencies and they each have their own set of values, it is more difficult to establish and achieve goals:

Career Changer, Arts Organization: I don't see any hard and fast goals in my cultural organization. I have to raise one million dollars for a project and that's the goal. Here, the goals are met, but they aren't quite as organized as they are in the corporate world. I'm not sure that they have a strategic plan and the ways to achieve what you set out to do.

Career Changer, University: Goal-setting is much more casual in the university (than in my previous job). We have some kind of objective settings in our department, but we are one of the few. In the corporate sector, you have objectives and you have to meet them. In the university, goal setting is much more free-flowing. Here we are meeting the day-to-day goals of the organization. The longest objective is one year. In my previous job, we had five year strategic plans.

Career Changer, Housing: Goals are vague and they change as time goes on. For instance, you build houses for the homeless and then you realize that you weren't successful in getting them to live in these houses or helping them get back into society. Then you have to change your goals.

Measuring Results

Mirvis and Hackett (1983) discovered that there are so many links between non-profits and their various constituencies (e.g. donors, board, staff, members, clients), that it is difficult to measure results. Corporations, they found, measure results "based on

calculating the rate of return for resources expended." A career changer now working for an educational organization asserts that since there is pressure to achieve goals in the corporate sector, they are reviewed frequently and quantitatively measured in terms of the amount of money generate. A healthcare career changer concurs that the amount of money generated is compared with the budgeted expectations in the corporate sector. An educational career changer found vast differences comparing how results are measured:

The corporate sector does a wonderful job on reporting its bottom line to the shareholders. In my educational organization, there was no visible means of measuring results. In fact, this was one of the things that we struggled with the most: 'How do you define when you are successful?' I don't think that non-profits invest the time in monitoring whether results are successful.

However, a human services career changer believes that "there is a lot more accountability in the non-profit sector if the agency is funded. In the corporate sector, there is more room for manipulation of the results."

Rewards

The reward system of the two spheres differ. Normative or non-profit organizations use symbolic rewards such as praise and esteem to secure commitment of people to cultural goals (e.g. arts, education, human and healthcare services) (Etzioni 1975). Several managers report receiving more feedback of this kind in the non-profit sector. A healthcare career changer explains:

I receive more feedback in the non-profit sector. I get more feedback because I work on more projects and events. Since there are a lot of people involved in putting these projects together, there is more feedback. People are encouraged to get and receive feedback. Since there is a better repertoire with managers in the non-profit sector, you're able to seek out feedback.

A healthcare career changer also found the same to be true:

In the corporate world, the feedback is not good. Most of the time, supervisors spend more time getting done what they need to get done. They are less interested in developing their supervisee. Most people in the corporation don't like or know how to give good feedback.

In the agency where I work, from the executive director on down to the head of each unit, we have mandatory weekly or bi-weekly meetings to discuss agency and departmental issues.

As a fundraising consultant, the following career changer found non-profits are more likely than corporations to give feedback to their employees:

In the corporate sector, you see that an employee is failing and you don't want to take the time and effort to do anything about it. I had twenty-five non-profit clients and I haven't seen anyone who didn't give immediate feedback after the project was done to the person who was responsible for the project. People in the non-profit sector seem to get a lot of feedback on how well they did, or what else they can do next time to improve.

Another human services career changer receives more behavioral feedback at his agency:

I received feedback on things that helped me perform in a better way. For example, they told me not to make a funding presentation with my hands in my pocket. In the corporate sector, they expect you to do the job, period. You are expected to do that and if you bring in a lot of business, then you might get a pat on the fanny.

Because results are difficult to quantify, there is less likely to be feedback on performance in the non-profit sector (Mirvis and Hackett 1983). Career changers also observe problems in receiving feedback on their performances:

Career Changer, University: Big corporations have a system for feedback that they have to follow; they must give you feedback. Feedback, in the non-profit sector depends on the relationship you have with your supervisor. It isn't necessarily implemented.

Career Changer, Human Services: There is no feedback here. I've been here for a year. My year (anniversary) came and ended, and no one has said anything about a review. The policy is, if you want to call something unwritten a policy, that there is supposed to be annual reviews.

Last year, I had been here just a few months, and my boss sent around a memo to his ten directors, asking them to rate themselves. I have no expectation here that I will get an increase in salary and that has nothing to do with performance. In the corporate sector, feedback, in the form of salary increases, are a given.

Career Changer, Education: In the non-profit sector, I never went through a review process. They didn't have one. Employees hadn't received raises in 2 or 3 years. I don't think that there is an internal desire to motivate people to achieve their goals. I don't think that there is a synergy among the company, goals and the individual.

Mirvis and Hackett (1983) observe that non-profit rewards are intrinsic: employees receive satisfaction from the variety and the challenge of the work itself. Wages are less salient, in the non-profit sector, because non-profits are non-monetary in orientation. Emanuele (1997) documented that there is a 20 percent wage differential between the

profit and non-profit sectors which favors the corporate manager. This is consistent with the view that salaries are the salient rewards for corporate employees (Mirvis and Hackett 1983). Etzioni (1975) similarly maintains that utilitarian organizations depend on remunerative rewards to secure calculative commitment, echoed by one career changer now working in a housing organization:

The reward system in the corporate sector is a formalized, rational and predictable process. Money is the primary reward. In the non-profit sector the voiced approval through testimonials and letters of appreciation are the most reliable rewards.

In these examples, we see that the scholarly literature parallels the empirical experiences of career changers who were once in the corporate world and now work in non-profits. Many career changers found that "psychic" or intrinsic rewards are more prevalent in the non-profit sector. A healthcare career changer illustrates:

There's a psychic difference. In the non-profit sector, you feel good about what you are doing. In the corporate sector you feel like your work goes to the bottom line and at the end of the day it doesn't make a difference in people's lives. In the non-profit sector, senior management is more appreciative, there is more positive feedback on your performance. In the corporate sector, there are rewards for working long hours and doing a good job, but the rewards are monetary and advancement oriented.

An educational career changer also talks about the differences in psychic and monetary rewards:

You have immediate satisfaction and gratification that you are working toward a goal in the non-profit sector. In a corporation, it's hard to

focus on what contribution you have made. You're a small cog in a huge wheel. Rewards are salary based and given at the end of the year.

A second educational career changer concurs:

The rewards in the non-profit sector are largely psychic. There is the feeling that I make my own job and I give it definition. I'm not just a person who sits behind a desk so if I left the desk I could be replaced. I have a unique role. The rewards are being around nicer people and being committed to a mission and ideals.

In my corporation, there was a lot more money. I ate at fine restaurants. I don't even take lunch now.

A career changer working in the human services field gave up the monetary rewards of the corporate sector for the intrinsic rewards of the non-profit sector:

I've given up some monetary rewards to be back on the non-profit side because what I am looking for in life revolves more around what I want to contribute to society as opposed to how well-off I and my family are. There are all different kinds of rewards...It all comes down to what you are looking for. If you want to get lots of money, cars or real estate, then you subjugate yourself to making money in the corporate sector. If you want to do more with your life, in terms of making a contribution to society, then you forgo some of the finer things in life. The true rewards in the non-profit sector come from what you have accomplished, how you have improved people's lives and improved society.

Another human services career changer believes the cut in salary is well worth it:

My starting salary was one third of my last salary in the corporate sector. But for the first time in thirteen or fourteen years, or maybe for the first time in my career, I want to get up in the morning and go to work. I want to learn my craft and want to do as much as I can to be successful in my position. I've just never had that attitude before...It's been ten years since my salary has

been this low, but I've never been happier.

This human services career changer also distinguishes the sector reward systems:

Don't go to work in the non-profit sector if you want money. There's no such thing as a bonus; only small increases in salary. However, the non-profit sector is more relaxed and you don't have people breathing over your neck. In the corporate sector, there is more money and bonuses, overtime etc.

Another career changer working in a university maintains that while there are fewer monetary rewards in the non-profit sector, there are non-monetary rewards such as "flexible hours and free tuition."

Differences in Governance and Leadership

Governance

Hodgkin (1993) found that corporate boards are dominated by "insiders and senior managers who are responsible for executing policy." Since most career changers interviewed for this study are at a middle management level, they did not have direct experience working with their boards in the corporate sector. The lack of involvement with boards in the corporate sector, contrasts with their interaction with their non-profit boards:

Career Changer, Association: I have to admit that my for-profit involvement with the board was fleeting. I'm much closer to the board in both the non-profits I've worked in because these non-profits are smaller (than was the corporation). Nevertheless, the boards are entirely different. The association board was made up of college professionals because the industry did not support

the organization. Most of these professionals had never managed anything in their lives and they felt that serving on this board was a way to further their careers. I found them hard to deal with because they just didn't understand the problems of managers and why you need staff who are professional managers. They (board of the association) didn't understand a lot of the issues because they were there only part time.

This career changer's experiences with his association board are consistent with Hodgkin's study which maintains that since non-profit board members are outsiders, "they have a poor understanding of their role and are not trained to address the problems of the organization."

A healthcare career changer talks about the fundraising role of his non-profit board:

The board was a distant entity in my corporation. The board of directors in my non-profit organization is essential. They raise money. They are our life and breath.

The "life and breath," which this career changer talks about is also discussed by Drucker (1990) who views the board of non-profit organizations as the guardians of the organization. They are responsible for raising money and making decisions which affects policy (e.g. mission).

Leadership

Corporations need instrumental leadership skilled in deciding matters concerning ends and means, rather than on values or commitments, because they have utilitarian or rational goals. Since non-profits (normative organizations) have cultural goals, it is functional to have expressive elites--people who inspire by their example and whose

expertise concerns values and mission--(e.g. teachers, ministers, professors and doctors) dominate the organization (Etzioni 1975). Since expressive leaders rarely have bosses who set defined goals, there is a possibility that the expressive leaders don't have clear objectives (Drucker 1990).

A university career changer maintains that a corporate leader must be "an expert in something, while a non-profit leader must know how to deal with people." A healthcare career changer concurred that non-profit leaders have "more of a caring approach and are interested in the total person, not just what they produce 9-to-5, five days a week." Another healthcare career changer maintains that corporate leaders are authoritarian in their style of management and non-profits tend to include the entire group in the leadership process. A banker turned fundraiser speaks in more detail about the differences in the styles of leadership:

The for-profit sector tends to be dictatorial, which is not to say that it can't be done this way in the non-profit sector. Non-profit leaders are usually more sensitive to the needs and feelings of individuals so their leadership style tends to be more of actually leading, as opposed to pushing and shoving. In the non-profit sector, there is a tendency not to beat up on everyone if the deadline is not met. There is more a tendency in trying to figure out how to get the work done. In the corporate sector, not only are they unhappy if you don't meet deadlines, but you might be (fired) if it were to happen again.

Differences in Decision-Making Processes and Language

Decision-Making Processes

Many non-profits, as opposed to corporations, make their decisions by consensus. The reason for this, as Hodgkin (1993) explains is that decisions are often made to resolve issues of organizational values and conflicting constituencies' impressions of those values (e.g. board, staff, donors, press, vendors, customers, volunteers). Several career changers talk about this difference in orientation:

Career Changer, University: I found that non-profit organizations engage much more in consensus building, particularly those which have a strong volunteer segment. Even in the university, because we have a fairly strong and independent board, I find there is a lot more need for consensus building. In the for-profit sector, you have to build consensus because you never have control of all the resources. There is still a lot less. In the private sector, you can work with a few people or a small group and get things done. In both the professional association I worked in and at the university, I spend a lot more time building relationships and building consensus in order to get things done.

Career Changer, Education: I have found that decisions are made through collaborative efforts; joint consensus. In the private sector, the opposite is true.

Career Changer, Healthcare A: In the corporate sector, decisions are made from the top down. In the non-profit sector, decisions are more consensual. Consensual is where the feelings of the entire group are taken into consideration.

Career Changer, Healthcare B: In the non-profit sector, there is more of a team approach and a lot of volunteer input in making decisions. In the for-profit sector, there is a top-down approach to making decisions. One has a say, but not as much.

Career Changer, Human Services: Decision-making in the non-profit sector is an inclusive process. It is done by committee and it is more satisfying because you feel you are a part of what is going on. In the business world, decisions are made by a group of senior people who are always making decisions for everything. As a result of their decisions, you are told what to do.

In addition to these observations, a career changer now working for a human service organization maintains that there are "more meetings, more consensus building and more analysis before making decisions in the non-profit sector." A career changer working for a university agrees:

In the corporate sector, you have to sell a product so you talk to your advisor and make a decision. In the non-profit sector, you want to develop interrelations with others in order to be involved with the community.

Language

Normative or non-profit organizations are more likely to have expressive language (e.g. expressions of praise or acceptance). In corporate or utilitarian organizations, the language is technical or instrumental (Etzioni 1975). Etzioni (1975) argues that expressive communication in corporations depends on peer relationships and the extent to which employees are members of the same external organizations (e.g. church, union, volunteer organizations).

"Non-profits," states a healthcare career changer, speak the "language of the mission whereas corporations have bottom-line language." A career changer working for a cultural organization observes that non-profits use instrumental language, but it differs from the corporate

sector. For example, non-profits use instrumental words like "funding, fundraising or development. These words are not used in the corporate sector." A career changer working for a university says that non-profits have language which is oriented toward "agreement" and is "not necessarily black and white." A career changer working in a school observes that non-profit language is "more politically correct and more sensitive to other human beings. Corporations, on the other hand, are more apt to use a language conveying orders and commands." While cursing and foul language would never be used in one career changer's human service organization, she notes that this practice was common in her prior organizational culture.

Appearance: Diversity and Dress Code

Diversity

The Independent Sector (1993) found non-profits to have more older workers, people of color and women than the profit sector. Career changers, on the whole, also observe there to be more diversity in the non-profit than in the profit sector.

Career Changer, Healthcare: I think that there are more women in the non-profit sector. I am being supervised in my current non-profit organization by a black man. This was not the case in my corporate experience.

Career Changer, Human Services A: There are a lot more women in key positions in the non-profit sector. In the corporate sector, most senior positions are held by men. It takes women and minorities three times as long to move ahead in the corporate sector.

Career Changer, Non-profit Consultant: There seems to be more women at the higher levels in the non-profit sector than in the profit sector. There are more accepted (in the non-profit sector, perhaps because they are not getting paid a heck of a lot...Since they are on the same pay scale (as their male counterparts), they are more easily accepted.

Career Changer, Human Services B: Non-profits are very tolerant of people of color and older workers. There are many retired people working in the non-profit sector. This wouldn't be the case in the corporate world.

Career Changer, Education: My school serves urban minority children. They have a full tolerance of everything here which is similar to my own approach. In the corporate sector (foreign corporation), they had considerably less tolerance on our whole society. They didn't even tolerate women.

One career changer now working in an educational organization believes that minorities are under-represented in the non-profit sector:

Interestingly enough, in the non-profit sector, I saw a big difference in the diversity of the managers and the people they were serving. For instance, if there was a minority community, I didn't see many minorities represented, as managers, in the organization serving these minority communities. I do believe that non-profits are tolerant of diversity. I just don't know if they have the desire to pull minorities into their organizations.

Not all of the career changers observe there to be a tolerance for older workers in their non-profit organizations:

Career Changer, Healthcare: There are very few who are of senior age in my non-profit. I think that it's difficult for older people to fundraise, given the nature of the work.

Career Changer Human Services: While there are

more older workers here than in the corporate world, early retirement was offered so that they were happy to push out people who had been here a long time.

Appearance

Stone (1962) asserts that "appearance is the phase of social transaction which establishes identifications of the participants." It is through one's appearance that one learns the values of others. Most career changers report that the non-profit sector has a more "relaxed dress code" than does the corporate sector. A healthcare career changer maintains that there is no need to wear a suit and tie "unless you have a client." In this career changer's human services organization the computer technicians come in "jeans everyday." And, one university career changer reveals that while the executives are expected to wear formal business attire, "the faculty have more freedom" in what they wear. He also believes that the dress code is associated with the organization's degree of professionalism. It is, of course, this professional style of dress, which is valued in this career changer's prior corporation, thus distinguishing him from those who are "less professional." A healthcare career changer, on the other hand, defends the difference by saying that "since people earn less money in the non-profit sector, there is less of an expectation to dress up." The casualness of non-profit sector dress is compared to the rigid guidelines imposed in a human service career changer's former

corporation. She admits that "women who wore pants were frowned upon." It may be assumed here that through dress, her corporation was able to maintain its gender boundaries (Epstein 1995, 1988, 1981, 1972; Lorber 1984; Walsh 1977).

Similarities between Profit and Non-profit Cultures

A small proportion of career changers and "career non-profit managers"¹⁰ observe similarities between the profit and non-profit sectors. Within the classroom, two career managers and one career changer lead the discussion:

Career Manager, Human Services Organization: How do profits differ from non-profits? Some have said that there is less pressure, less stress and that it is more relaxed than the profit sector and that we rest on our lofty, noble achievements. I have never worked there!

Career Changer (worked in non-profit, corporate and government sectors): Which ever sector you work in, leadership is leadership. You make decisions and develop a vision for what you believe in and you do that in any organization. Skills are transferable from one sector to another. There may be different jargon or different reasons for doing things, but management is the same.

Career Manager, Human Services Organization: One of the things that may not be obvious to those in the corporate sector is that we are no longer selling cookies to make organizations run. We are large and dynamic and are being run with greater efficiency. We are not so far from the corporate world.

The following career changers also agree that there is little difference in the areas of measuring results,

¹⁰The career non-profit manager is a manager who has spent his/her entire career in the non-profit sector.

leadership, workstyle, and support of outside interests. A healthcare career changer believes that like corporations, non-profit results are also measured quantitatively (e.g. how many people are served, how much money is raised for the organization, how many additional communities are served). A consultant to the non-profit sector asserts that since non-profits have less money to spend, they are more likely to measure the results of the direct mail campaign (e.g. response rate). With regard to leadership, one human services career changer believes that her non-profit leadership is similar to the leadership in her prior corporation. They both operate on "level-headed even keel." In an effort to equate the value of work within the non-profit sector with the value of work within the corporate sector one "career" manager tells the dislocated corporate managers that they will work harder when they make the transition into the non-profit sector:

Career Manager, Community Foundation: Just because the sector is called non-profit, doesn't mean that 'non-work' is implied. They work harder, putting in 12 or 14 hours work days and weekends. Many times there is no separation between their professional and personal lives.

In the area of support for outside services, it is observed that there are corporate environments which support volunteer activities, though one career changer questioned the self-interested motives of her corporation:

Career Changer, Human Services: There is a self-serving reason for the support of volunteerism within a corporation. Employees volunteered

because the Chair supported it and because it made (the employee) look good. In the non-profit sector, there aren't as many tangible rewards for volunteering. We do it because we want to.

Another career changer was expected to become involved with the community as part of his job and the self interest of the corporation:

Most bank lending officers have written into their job description that they participate actively in community affairs, become a board member of an organization, work for the benefit of the community, develop a reputation, do networking so that you benefit the reputation of the bank.

Non-profit Problems and Challenges

Despite the on-going debate of whether the sectors are more different than alike or more alike than different, there appears to be a consensus among non-profit managers that they are facing deeply troubling and challenging times.

"Career" non-profit managers, as well as career changers, are honest in the assessment of their sector's deficiencies.

A Tarnished Public Image

Career Manager, Human Services: We're in trouble and it's centered around our mission: the distinction between self-interest and altruism. Some non-profits are using their missions to advance their self-interests. The public, as a consequence, has a misperception of what we are about. I call this private interest approach 'mission creep'. As a result of mission creep, the IRS is now looking at the executive compensation levels of non-profit hospitals and universities to determine if their salaries are excessive. Mission creep has created a situation in which some states are threatening to take the non-profit's property tax exemption away. There is a growing mistrust of non-profits.

Whose responsibility is this mission creep? In the two cases I am thinking of, it was the board

who allowed the problems to occur. Non-profits must teach people to be good board members. There must be curriculum developed which teaches board people to be good members. The State is interested in board training because it is the board that establishes the mission. The board must maintain the mission as a North star to guide the organization. They must check what's going on against the mission. In fulfilling the mission, they must be concerned with the outcome. Fulfilling the mission goes beyond financial accountability. The board is the moral owner of a non-profit. They are trustees for the public and manage the assets of the non-profit on behalf of the public.

Career Manager, Human Services: There's less trust towards non-profit managers and we've earned it. Non-profit managers have become "me-centered" instead of organization and value centered.

A Need for Strategic Advocacy and Accountability

Career Manager, Services Organization: While non-profits are good about their organizational issues, few can talk about the sector as a whole.

We become tongue tied when we are attacked and feel the bottom is being pulled out from under us. As a sector, we need to work on a strategy which will help volunteers, staff and board members talk passionately about this sector; about its role, its issues and problems.

We also need to develop performance measures which prove the difference our sector is making. I believe there is a danger that in the absence of these performance measures, the government creates them for us.

Coping with Uncertainty: Mergers, Government Reduction and Attrition of Donors and Members and Organizations

Mergers in the hospital sector are becoming commonplace:

Career Manager, Healthcare: The biggest problem we face are the shifting sands. We don't know who's merging with whom. Donors ask us if we'll be here two years from now.

Government funding is being reduced:

Career Changer, Non-profit Management Consulting Firm: The biggest challenge is that small and medium non-profits have been living on government money and suddenly it has been reduced. Before this occurred, they didn't have the need to raise money. They are not ready. They don't have a fundraising budget, a fundraising staff or a plan which will identify a donor constituency.

Career Changer, University: Higher education is facing a financial crisis because there is less government money available to support tuition. We have a tuition-driven budget and a small endowment. We don't receive many outside donations and less than 10 percent of our alumni give. Since we are a commuter school, it's hard to generate the school spirit that would influence donations.

There is a growing attrition of donors and patrons:

Career Manager, Ballet Company: People who have always been philanthropic are getting older and passing away and the younger people aren't replacing them. Sources of support are disappearing.

Career Manager, Theatre: Our greatest challenge is our dwindling audiences. Our audience has aged, or they've passed away, or they are disenchanted. How do we get the families with young kids who don't have the time to commit to us? How do we diversify our audience?

Corporate Funder: There are corporations trying to walk away from their roles in community development...Making money is more important than social responsibility. Social responsibility is an investment in the community. Businesses survive and do better in a community that has a quality of life.

Community Foundation Manager: These are not business as usual times. We have observed from the proposals we are receiving that there is attrition in the field. We aren't getting proposals from new organizations. Organizations have skeletal staffs.

There is increasing competition for market share from the corporate sector:

Career Changer, Non-profit Services Organization: The registration fees to our conference were down this year because a for-profit organization ran a competing conference. They even stole our brochure layout. Since they were fueled by a bank and were able to hire some celebrities, they were able to outsell us.

A Lack of Bottom-Line Management Skills

Some "career" non-profit managers argue that deficiencies in their management practices are in fact making it difficult to survive amidst these growing threats:

Arts managers don't come in with the training needed to deal with people. They have no sense of how to motivate people; to reinvent an organization or to move it forward. They choose staffs who are unwilling to take risks...

They don't understand finance or technology. They are ten years behind the times in terms of technology. Many box offices are still run manually, or, in others, the last computer was bought in 1985. Arts organizations need managers who can bring in what they learned in their corporations.

Several career changers observe deficiencies in decision making processes chained to consensual methods:

Career Changer, Human Services: It takes so long to make decisions and people are afraid to move. Because non-profits have smaller budget, they have to look at things from every single side and probably don't want to take the risks that go with making a decision without consulting others in the organization. In the corporate sector, if I had an idea and explained it to the partner, he made the decision right on the spot.

Career Changer, Cultural Organization: In the corporate sector, I didn't have to run around and ask for a million opinions and approval. Sometimes, I think there is the tendency at my organization to micro-manage things, as opposed to giving people the latitude to get things done.

Career Changer, University: Non-profit decision

making is much more cumbersome. More things are done by committee instead of executive decision. In the corporate sector, decisions are made quicker, especially if they involve the bottom-line. People are usually given decision-making authority.

Another "career manager" comments on the deficiency in technology within her own non-profit, as well as the need for strong non-profit management due to public scrutiny and limited resources:

Community Foundation Manager: With regard to computers, we are retarded! With increasing public scrutiny and limited resources, non-profits have to be smarter about the way they manage. There is a need for MIS skills as well as the need to train non-profits how to use the technology. Foundations are asking non-profits to display good management. Now we are scrutinizing their audits and 990s, where we didn't before.

Smith and Lipsky (1993) report that public funders are requesting that non-profits place greater emphasis on organizational management and fiscal responsibility. It appears as though private funders are following their lead.

A service organization representing a regional consortium of 200 funders is working on making the collaboration between non-profits and funders operational. The executive director, who is also a "career manager," believes that corporate managers can help them shape and implement this goal:

We need to think strategically of how funders and non-profits can work together. Who do we share in terms of our neighbors and constituents? Non-profits are trying to think this way. Business people bring an expanded sense of what we should

be thinking about.

Another funder echoes this view:

Those people coming from outside the non-profit field can help non-profits think outside the box. They realize that they have to break their old ways, but don't know how to do it. Don't be shy about your perspective. They need to address greater board involvement, the tightening of the 'give or get' board policy, the sharing of resources, collaborating with others in the sharing of space, staff and materials.

Many executive directors came out of direct services and they have either had to acquire the business skills or had to rely on people like you.

Culture Change: The Need for Corporate Managers

According to several informants, these severe problems require a change in the way non-profits are managing their businesses. It requires the adoption of a rational model as a means of saving the "sacred" values of the sector. Rosow (1965) found that change within a system didn't necessarily have to affect the core values of the system. Rational solutions which require social change can be instituted without challenging the basic values of the system. It can be argued then that career changers, while respecting the core values of a non-profit organization, are able to bring "rational solutions" to non-profits which do not affect their *raison etre*.

Here are descriptions of the ways in which "rational solutions" such as advocacy, staff development, cutting costs, diversifying funding bases are being applied without changing core mission values:

Community Foundation Manager: As organizations are falling, others are taking over their work. The strong are surviving and getting stronger. What are they doing that the weak ones aren't? They are repositioning themselves. They are organizations which are involved in advocacy. They are taking staff development more seriously. They are paying attention to their middle managers. They are managing more efficiently by cutting costs, diversifying their funding bases and they have become aggressive in securing private and public support.

Since the resources from the government and foundations aren't endless, non-profits are looking for other ways to generate money. They have become more entrepreneurial.

The previous passage is an indicator that it is through the allocation and execution of rational solutions that non-profits are surviving. It is important to note that it is the change in management style, not in mission, that is allowing for the survival of the non-profits described above. Of course, an ongoing debate is centered around whether a different management style will actually harm or destroy the core values of non-profits. Culture change, therefore, in the cases outlined by the community foundation manager, is a change in attitudes and behaviors toward management style, rather than value orientation.

The Corporate Model

"Career" non-profit managers as well as career changers of non-profits use the corporate jargon of restructuring, reengineering, reinventing to indicate that they are finding it necessary to change the cultures in their non-profits. The methods of initiating non-profit culture change mirror

the corporate model of culture change (e.g. bringing people from outside to initiate change as in the case of the human service organization that brought in an MBA as President, or the case of the college President who brought in an entrepreneurial fundraiser to begin an "invest in us" campaign). Non-profit organizations are utilizing corporate marketing processes which focus on the customer. The non-profit customer includes the ethnic groups of a community, non-profit agencies or donors. For non-profits, hiring an MBA over a social worker for the presidency of a human services organization; hiring an entrepreneur over a traditional fundraiser and the utilization of corporate management jargon and practices such as "focus groups, customer orientation, business plan, investing, outcome measures, strategic direction" are clear indications that the corporate model of management is now at work. Examples of this are found in a human services organization, university, college, a cultural organization and in healthcare organizations which have gone or are going through culture changes using the corporate model. This human services manager reveals how her organization changed its managerial leadership, processes of raising money and concept of its constituency:

Career Changer, Human Services: Six years ago, we merged with another organization. We went through a process of justifying our mission. Were we a fundraising organization? Were we a service organization? Our vision statement made it clear: we are responsible for the human care needs of the

City. For us, the way in which we would implement our mission would drive whom we would serve. We began to identify new partners: new sources of funds from government and individuals. We reorganized. Our customers were our agencies, foundations and the government. We developed the expertise of our staff. A new President was brought in to make changes. He was an MBA and we were social workers. I remember that when he used the word 'customer' there was almost a riot! People were so upset. We needed a revolution or we wouldn't survive. Today, no one gets excited when the word customer is used. We are interested in outcome measures.

In producing change, Schein (1990) reports by bringing in people from the outside, the organization attempts to "unfreeze" the present system.

In the next example, culture change has been oriented around the need to establish a professional development department in order to save a college from a management regime which threatened its survival. The college's mission remained unchanged throughout the crisis:

President, College (Career Manager): The college owns river-front property. Many of the buildings are not tailored for educational use. In the 1980s, we had a president who was a high-risk taker. The board believed in the president and the board was not philanthropic. At that time, the president believed he could sell the expensive river-front property, build a campus with state-of-the-art facilities and turn a 40 million dollar profit into an endowment. He wanted to build this campus in a city which was voted the worst city. The net result was that the alumni screamed that the college belonged in its present location. Meanwhile, the real estate industry collapsed. It would now cost more to build the new campus than the property was worth. The college would never realize a profit of 40 million dollars. This ended up costing the college 15 million dollars. The president was forced to resign.

Now we need to create a vision to build a group of

donors--of stakeholders. We spent four years battling the issue of where we would be located. Many of our properties were run down and had inappropriate use. We tightened the budget and refinanced our debt. We purchased two new buildings and sold off some. We wired the campus. We created a new image. We reshaped the board leadership. We found a new Chair who was a national figure and had expertise raising money. We hired a new development officer. For the first time, we conducted a national search for the development officer. We hired someone who is entrepreneurial and will look for nontraditional ways to raise funds. He's building a team. The new message is 'invest in us.'

This non-profit career manager also speaks about becoming more corporate-like:

Communications Manager, Healthcare: My organization has been going through a reorganization. We have to become more business like and we are getting more and more like the profit sector. We now have business managers who are responsible for business plans for each of our strategic directions e.g. health education or community based services...We also will begin to go after large private donations.

The managers, up until this point, have addressed the management styles of their organizations as opposed to changing the mission of their organizations. The next two organizational representatives from a university and cultural organization talk about changing their organizational missions. The university, founded as a religious institution is embracing a new mission with the utilitarian goals of helping more students use education as a means of finding work. The cultural organization is changing its musical orientation in order replace the audience it has lost.

Career Changer, University: We are implementing an image building strategy which is targeted at changing our image from a religious based organization to an organization which deals with the major issues facing our students e.g. will I be able to get a job after graduation?

Career Changer, Services Organization: A cultural organization had lost its audience and so they came to the conclusion that it was necessary to redefine themselves. They realized that up until this point, they had been perceived by the community as an elite organization. When they held focus groups with different ethnic groups, they discovered that they could remake themselves by producing programs which corresponded to the interests of these various ethnic groups. The strategy worked.

Why is change necessary? The human services organization, the university, the college and the cultural organization all need to be more sensitive to their constituencies or customers if they are to survive. Mission, in its present or changed form, can only continue to flourish if the human services organization is more donor-oriented; the university is more student-sensitive; the college is able to bring in new stakeholders; the cultural organization needs to produce events oriented to the interests of the changing community.

Ott (1989) argues that "what works for one organization may not work for another." In other words, business practices don't always work in the non-profit sector (Bush 1992). While the corporate model may be helping some non-profits survive, the outcome is not always positive, especially when the core values regarded as "sacred" are replaced with rational utilitarian goals:

President, Hospital (Career Manager): Some in the non-profit sector are looking to the free enterprise system to solve our problems. I don't think that you can use the same system to sell grapefruits as to sell healthcare. You can take elements of it. I don't think I want to be told that if I operate in the black and do a good job, I will get a raise. It's a dangerous trend.

Medical Director: I went to a hospital where they needed 100 nurses and 30 days later, they laid off 30 nurses. All we talk about is restructuring and reengineering. To use staff properly is to reduce staff and to get more out of them.

It is of course the particular consequence of "eliminating the core values," that frightens non-profit managers and influences their hiring processes and biases within their selection processes.

Hiring Processes and Biases in the Non-profit Sector

Corporate Managers Experience Bias

In making the transition into the non-profit sector, corporate managers identify two particular types of "discrimination" based on their occupational background and to a lesser degree based on their age. Occupational stereotyping involves a "preconceived attitude about a particular occupation, about people who are employed in that occupation, or about one's own suitability for that occupation" (Lipton 1991). Occupational stereotyping allows the insider group (non-profit organizations) to create employment boundaries which prevent those with different occupational backgrounds (corporate managers) from entering. Mechanisms of exclusion are very evident within the recruitment process. The pre-eminent trade publication in the non-profit sector, The Chronicle on Philanthropy (1997) lists advertisements for non-profit managerial jobs which typically include the following language: "must have fundraising success in an institution of higher education" (this would exclude those with fundraising experience in other types of non-profit organizations); "The candidate must have at least 8-10 years of experience as a senior level manager for non-profit organizations" (this definitely excludes corporate managers); "Experience in a health related organization preferred" (Again, this may exclude those without this credential).

Career changers interviewed for this study experienced intense occupational stereotyping. Despite Jack's 15 year record of volunteering and raising money for various non-profit organizations, he found it difficult to "convince others why he wanted to switch":

I've been poking around the non-profit sector for four months. I need to determine if I am experiencing lip service from non-profits. They tell you that they need business skills, yet they want financial managers with 8-10 years of experience in the field or fundraisers with experience in the field. Is there a built in bias against us?

Michelle also found that her volunteer experience did not quite count as work experience:

I believe that one reason I did not get hired was because there were so many qualified people who were looking for work. If it was between choosing someone with five years of experience and me who didn't have non-profit work experience, they would hire the person with the experience.

I once was interviewed for a job and I thought I would be hired. At first, they said I was in the running and they liked me. Then someone who already worked for the organization was hired instead of me. She got the job because of her experience. If the difference is between hiring someone with real experience and someone with volunteer experience, they will hire the person with real experience...My (real) experience is in banking.

Though statistically, according to Lynn Burbridge's study (1994) and the Independent Sector (1993), non-profit organizations do hire more older workers than the corporate sector, career changers still maintain that there is discrimination based on age during the hiring process (Hutchens 1983; Rosow 1974; Hochschild 1973). David, who

transitioned from a Wall Street firm to a human services organization considered age discrimination a "real concern:"

Retooling oneself can be viewed skeptically by the non-profit sector. People are very much aware of age when they see people starting out again. Let's say it was subtle.

Kevin, a career changer now working for a human services organization, believes that the non-profit sector has trouble "accepting people over 45."

Why do some corporate managers experience bias when they are seeking employment in the non-profit sector?

1. "There is a perception that you're not one of us and you don't understand our mission" (Executive Director, Service Organization, October 1996):

Executive Director, Service Organization: You are perceived as good hard-headed managers. We in the non-profit sector believe that you believe that we are soft-headed and that we don't know how to manage. That irritates us. We believe that you are hard-headed and tougher. You are perceived as being able to handle complicated financial transactions. You can get the job done. Non-profits, on the other hand, are great at talking, but not as effective on delivering.

On the minus side, you're not one of us. You're perceived as not understanding our culture. We are progressives; we are Democrats; we are pro-gay and lesbian lifestyle; we are 60s people. You are not part of that. You don't have an awareness of understanding our work. You are not musicians or artists. You didn't do to social work school. H

The phrase "you're not one of us" corresponds to ways in which non-profits have historically selected their leaders. One "career" human services manager, for example, reveals that her sector is "slow to look at people on the corporate side, and that most people in the human services

field have human services (e.g. social work) backgrounds."

Many non-profit managers believe that only managers with non-profit backgrounds can understand non-profit cultures and missions. In other words, only insiders are able to understand the culture of an organization: "one must be one to understand one." This "insider doctrine" which Merton (1972) described, argues, for example, that only African Americans can understand and teach African American history; that only male lawyers can understand male clients (Epstein 1995, 1981) and that women doctors should only select specialities focusing on women and the family (Lorber 1984; Walsh 1977). This sense of "forced specialization" or the typing of jobs by race, gender (Epstein in Lamont and Fournier 1992; Milkman 1987) and occupation is echoed by a "career" human resources manager of a cultural organization. She maintains that "it matters whether you did direct mail in a department store or for a direct mail company because we want to know if you will understand our environment."

Of course the "insider doctrine is fallacious," states Merton (1972) because we "are all insiders and outsiders," we don't inhabit just a single status such as a corporate manager, but inhabit several of inter-related statuses (e.g. volunteer, board member, financial lender to non-profits, philanthropist, consultant to non-profits). "Different situations," says Merton (1972), "call for different statuses." One can be a community leader in the evenings

and a stockbroker during the day. The "boundaries between insider and outsider are not fixed. There may be an overlap between statuses. The individual may have attributes in common with other statuses. There is variation within a category" (Schur 1984). Despite the stereotype, that corporate managers care nothing for the non-profit sector, there are many corporate managers who have long been involved with the non-profit sector. Corporate managers who volunteer share that status with non-profit managers who volunteer. This sharing of status proves critical to piercing the insider doctrine. Many non-profit managers want corporate managers to understand that while they need their business skills, they need them without losing the "heart" or the core mission of the organization.

2. Corporate managers can't handle a culture with scarce resources and a different reward system.

Some non-profit managers perceive that corporate managers would think it beneath them to play a dual role of "chief cook and bottle washer" and to take a cut in salary as well. In other words, the culture shock (Hughes 1981) or the gap between what is anticipated and what is actually expected in the role would be so intense that the individual would not be able to conform and adapt in this new organizational culture. A "career" executive director of a service organization speaks about these fears:

We are afraid that corporate executives come in with expectations of a support system that isn't there. You must understand that there is a need

to pitch in at every level e.g. word processing and so forth. We know that this isn't necessarily the most efficient way to run an organization and we fear if we bring in a corporate person in, they will have different expectations.

Similarly, a non-profit financial manager who comes from the banking industry believes that one non-profit did not hire him because they could not offer him an expense account that could compete with his former position. After continuously finding it difficult to convince non-profit employers that she was willing to take a pay cut from her previous corporate position, one former banker realized that she needed to eliminate discussion of her prior salary from all future salary negotiations.

3. Corporate managers' motivation for making the transition may be questioned.

A successful career changer warns one cohort of corporate managers that non-profits will question the dislocated corporate manager's rationale for making the transition, fearing that the corporate manager is only interested in the job because he/she has been downsized. Another career changer believes that there is a perception in non-profits that people in the profit sector are "not as concerned as they are. They are also suspicious that you want to work for them because you can't get a job in the corporate sector." Non-profit employers question the motivation behind changing one's career and worry what prevents the corporate manager from changing his/her mind and returning to the corporate world.

The benefits and social relations acquired in one's occupation give that individual his/her identity (Trice and Beyer 1993). Rosow (1974) writes about the difficulty of withdrawing from a role which has defined one's identity and self image. It is, therefore, understandable that the non-profit manager questions whether or not the corporate manager is able, given the investment of time in building a reward and social network system around his/her corporate occupational identity, to relinquish this identity for another.

Of course those corporate managers who maintain their corporate identities through the use of a corporate resume perpetuate the biases and stereotypes mentioned above. Paul, a former banker, admits that his resume "didn't talk to the values and considerations for which the non-profit organization was looking." He sees a need to "fit oneself, to reinvent, to shape oneself into a mode of thinking and behaving which was more comfortable for those working within the non-profit culture." But he didn't do what he knew he needed to do. Ron, a former retailer turned fundraiser, didn't realize that his experience as the President of a non-profit organization was important to include in his non-profit biography (Goffman 1963):

I thought that I didn't have the background and experience, but when I looked closer, I realized that I did have volunteer experience...I didn't know how to package myself to include volunteering...My resume was a for-profit resume so the employer probably didn't understand how I

might fit.

The inability to package oneself; to re-invent oneself makes it difficult to penetrate biases and barriers maintained by non-profit employers. In addition, the lack of peer networks also serves as a barrier to employment.

Lack of Peer Networks

When an individual becomes a member of a group, he/she quickly learns what is expected with regard to behaviors and attitudes (Merton 1968). Peers are instrumental in socializing new recruits as to these expectations (Elkin and Handel 1984; Brim and Wheeler 1966; Becker et al. 1961). Peers may also serve as mentors guiding the recruit's career path or as references in determining the recruit's credibility or ability to conform and perform within the new environment. The majority of the career changers interviewed emphasize that their initial lack of peer networks in the non-profit sector was an enormous barrier in seeking a new career (Epstein 1995; Granovetter 1995; Trice and Beyer 1993; Golden-Biddle and Linduff 1994; Waldinger 1992; Lorber 1984; Kanter 1977; Rosow 1974; Brim 1968; Blau 1964).

Since the corporate manager's identity is reinforced by the reference group or his/her corporate occupational network, there is little need to create a new occupational network (Trice and Beyer 1993). It is this "cost of commitment" (Blau 1964) or the loyalty to one's profession

that prevents one from establishing differing networks of peers. One's peer networks tend to be homogeneous and found exclusively within one's occupation (Golden-Biddle and Linduff 1994; Lorber 1994; Waldinger 1992). Fred now working for a university, had always been able to find former members of his corporation in almost every corporate culture. As he struggled to make a career transition, he found there were "some but far fewer" of his colleagues in the non-profit sector. Ellen, now raising money for a human services organization admits that finding the "initial contacts," in the non-profit sector, was hard. John, who moved from financial services to a human services organization, began his non-profit search "without knowing anyone" in the field. Carole, now also working for a human services organization, "didn't know where to look and believed that it would be very hard to get into major organizations (without the support of a peer network)."

Chapter V

The Non-profit Management and Communications Program

Introduction

Millions of employees have been displaced over the last decade, and many of these have been professionals and managers. Unfortunately, government agencies have not deemed it necessary to create special programs for displaced managers. Only one program--The Non-profit Management and Communications Certificate Program¹¹ (Program) which is

¹¹In the Fall of 1991, Tom Cracovia, The Director of Continuing Studies at the City University of New York's (CUNY) Baruch College invited me to test a classroom training concept which would help dislocated corporate managers move, as employees, into the non-profit sector (see Appendix #3 "Career Transition Recruitment of Applicants). In the Spring of 1995, through the efforts of Drs. Paul Attewell, Professor of Sociology at CUNY Graduate Center and Bert Flugman, Director of the Center for Advanced Study in Education (CASE) at the CUNY Graduate Center, this experiment became a bonafide program of CASE called the Non-profit Communications Certificate Program. As the creator of the Program, I also serve as the Program's director and chief trainer.

During the past two years, the Non-profit Management and Communications Certificate Program has received funding from the Consortium for Worker Education and tuition which exceed \$300,000. The Federation Employment and Guidance Service (FEGS), a large 100 million dollar human services agency, has provided the Program with inkind classroom, administrative and office services. This unique collaboration among CUNY, the Consortium for Worker Education and FEGS is the setting for this ethnography.

studied in this dissertation--emerged to address this particular stratum, and it did so with the special intention of building a bridge to the non-profit work world. It therefore provides a unique resource for research concerning the adult resocialization of corporate managers. Other managers have made this transition alone, but by studying the Program, I could follow many managers all encountering similar problems and observe the range of responses and adaptations. No other setting that I am aware of would have provided such a research opportunity.

Description and Structure of the Program

Offered over a five week period, two nights or mornings a week, for two to three hour sessions within a classroom setting, the Program introduced 15 dislocated corporate managers, at a time, to the non-profit sector--its trends and culture.¹² More importantly, it helped these corporate managers create new occupational identities based on the expectations of non-profit managers. Sessions within the

¹²Since the success of the Program depended on interactions between employed non-profit managers and the dislocated corporate managers, and required extensive attention given to each corporate manager by the trainer, the class group was kept small and members were carefully selected. Usually, the trainer interviewed 40 candidates in order to achieve the optimum class size of 15. The people selected for the Program were typically mid-or senior level managers with expertise in a functional area which would be useful to the non-profit sector such as marketing, finance, computers, human resources, press relations or law.

Program were designed to help the corporate manager learn these expectations. Orchestrated around Goffman's (1959) metaphor of dramaturgy, the Program's curriculum concentrated on helping the corporate manager learn the role he/she was expected to play both during the interview and on-the-job by acquiring the attitudes and behaviors he/she would be expected to perform in front of an audience or in this case a group of non-profit managers. In the early sessions of the Program, these attitudes and behaviors were first learned and practiced by the corporate managers "off-stage or back-stage" (without an audience of non-profit managers) with the help of a coach or instructor, and in front of other members in the group who were also looking to change careers. It was during these backstage sessions that the corporate manager learned to create impressions, both verbally and in writing, which would favorably engage the non-profit manager during an interview or during social interaction with members of the non-profit sector. Methods used backstage included an interactive exercise called the "assessment" in which the trainer helped the corporate manager learn to tell his/her occupational story or "biography" (Goffman 1963) in such a way that a non-profit manager would find it compelling. Another method rehearsed backstage included helping the corporate manager design short (one minute) introductions. These introductions were used to create first impressions when introduced to 16 to 20

different non-profit managers from the human services, arts, health care and educational subsectors of the non-profit sector over a period of ten sessions. As the Program progressed, the corporate managers were socialized by this non-profit peer reference group regarding the career paths of non-profit managers; non-profit culture and its differences from corporate culture; managerial and volunteer roles; problems within the non-profit sector; the need for corporate expertise and culture change within the sector; the hiring processes and biases of non-profit managers; the methods of changing careers; adaptation and culture shock of career changers within non-profit cultures. This peer socialization was accomplished through lectures developed by the trainer and non-profit panelists, discussions between the non-profit manager and the corporate manager concerning non-profit cultural and role expectations, verbal and written feedback given by non-profit managers on the corporate managers' mock interviews, newly crafted resumes and classroom verbal introductions.

It was within this socializing process that the corporate managers determined whether or not they wanted to adopt the behaviors and attitudes of this new "reference group." If the corporate manager was indeed motivated to change identities and this process of peer socialization succeeded, there would be a distinct change in the verbal and written presentation of his/her self as the course

proceeded. This would be detectable in the introductions performed "on-stage" in the latter three to four sessions of the ten session Program and in the "new resume" oriented around the managerial needs of non-profit organizations. The identity change would also be apparent in the backstage "Dress Rehearsal" session where the corporate manager prepared, with the help of the trainer and the participation of his/her group, for a "mock interview" with a non-profit interviewer. This non-profit interviewer would either be a career manager with exclusive credentials in the non-profit sector or a career changer who had an understanding of the profit, non-profit and liminal (Newman 1988) perspectives. Merton (1972) calls an individual like this who has multiple perspectives a "free floating" individual, thereby having the abilities to understand the worlds of both the insider and outsider, and to help these groups understand each other. Having played both the parts of the corporate manager eager to change his/her occupational identity (outsider), and the corporate manager who had been socialized by the non-profit sector (insider), the successful career changer (free floating individual) was able to help both insiders and outsiders understand each other.

During these latter sessions of the Program, a few corporate managers were unable to make a break from their previous roles, or needed additional socialization or

volunteer opportunities before they could successfully interact with non-profit managers.

The Trainer as Participant Observer

This ethnography is written from the point of view of a researcher who was also an active participant who played the role of "trainer" within the classroom. It was within this context that I not only observed identity change throughout the five week, ten session Program, but was actively engaged in influencing that change by serving as a transmitter of non-profit organizational culture between the corporate managers and the non-profit managers. As someone, who had been both an employee and consultant in both the profit and non-profit sectors, I tried to serve as a "catalyst between cultures" (Gudykunst and Kim 1984), creating an environment which fostered the integration of nontraditional managerial candidates into the non-profit workforce, utilizing workforce education in non-profit management and culture; workforce socialization through interaction with a peer network of non-profit practitioners; and community service and volunteerism.

In an effort to create some distance between the two distinct roles of participant and observer, I have distinguished "the trainer" from "the observer" throughout the ethnography, and have used the third-person in describing various events.

Applicant Occupational Backgrounds

The dislocated corporate managers who applied and were interviewed for the Program had generally worked for large Fortune 500 hundred companies for a period of more than ten years and had been earning a median salary of between \$60,000 and \$100,000 before they were terminated from their corporate positions. The majority of these managers were white and aged 45-60; 60 percent were women and 40 percent were men. They worked for companies which once had taken care of them: all the dislocated corporate managers interviewed remember a time when their jobs were quite satisfying. When asked "what they liked most about their old jobs," the managers emphasized the following values: "autonomy and the freedom to think and create"; "the money"; "the ability to support one's peers and to cooperate with others"; "the opportunity to be a maverick in a bureaucratic company"; "the chance to work for a company who cared about the individual".

The majority of the middle and senior level managers interviewed remembered a time, before the mid 1980s, when their company was paternalistic and took care of them and their families. In return, they played by the rules of the game. Profiled below are excerpts from interviews with 19 dislocated managers who describe their corporations before their cultures changed:

Betty¹³, for example, believes that her company, a large consumer goods company, was definitely a company which cared about the employee and his/her immediate family. When Betty's husband, a long-term employee of this same company died, the company hired Betty. She believes that this company was "loyal to me as his widow" and that they "helped me get through his death." During the time immediately following her husband's death, this company would have "paid me just to lay on the floor." Betty rose through the ranks during her fifteen year stint with the consumer goods company. She remembered a time in the early 1980s when she was able to begin and market a program to universities, including Harvard and the City University of New York. She was given "carte blanche to do anything" and it was through her work that she was able to "bridge the corporate and academic fields."

Jack's tenure with a financial services company lasted 30 years. Before the culture changed in the 1980s, he remembered:

There used to be a collegial attitude in the bank..very social...they used to care about people, you felt good about being there, you had a certain pride...It used to be a meritocracy and promotion was by performance and merit.

Allen worked, for ten years, for a foreign-owned financial services company where he enjoyed "the money and

¹³ I have changed the names of people and organizations used in this study.

the good friends I made there." He went on to say that the corporation was "family oriented and until the mid 1980s they had picnics for the families of employees."

It became obvious that while the corporate managers appeared to have enjoyed many aspects of their corporate cultures, they were doing so while adhering to what Jackall (1988) calls the "moral rules". Jackall believes that employees who follow the rules make great sacrifices in exchange for the possibility of achieving status and power within the organization. From his ethnography Jackall claims that these rules include neglecting one's family responsibilities for the sake of the company, separating one's conscience from one's actions, and showing loyalty to one's boss and never contradicting him. In accepting the rules of the corporation and the benefits which accrue through adherence, the employees are essentially allowing the corporation to closely control their actions within the organization, through the use of benefits including paternalism, monetary rewards, autonomy, authority, creativity, and the opportunity for the accumulation of good friendship networks.

The dislocated managers discussed the costs attached to following these "moral rules." Frank worked on Wall Street for 25 years and felt that there was great pressure placed on the individual to "make the deal" at any cost, including sacrificing one's personal life:

Wall Street is not very kind; they will take everything from you, and try to ring out more; there's no empathy...Your so called friends will screw you...It was very high pressure and this pressure comes from getting there first and getting the trade done...My personal life and work life were unbalanced and I didn't do those other (personal) things. I spent all of my time climbing the corporate ladder. It's all bullshit. I would do it differently and wouldn't be so one-sided.

Other rules reported by the two cohorts are reminiscent of the portrait in Jackall's Moral Mazes (1988) and they include: "management doesn't like to hear bad news," "meritocracy is based on who can promote himself best," "allow your manager to take credit for your work," "you must deal with the politics or you're not part of the group," "perceptions are created by your network alliances," "if you attach yourself to a fallen angel, you're in trouble," "if it's traceable take the heat and don't blame your boss," and "staying up working all night is a rite of passage."

Another set of rules determined the gender and race of the manager who would have senior status within an organization. Both the women and men who were interviewed recognized the small proportions of women and people of color holding senior managerial positions within their corporate cultures. One woman marketing manager remarked, "Of the 32 vice presidents in my company, I was the only female vice president in the room." Another woman revealed that "it was nearly impossible for a woman to become a vice president within my industry." Still another woman admitted

that she was hired because she was a woman and she carried that "stigma" around with her. It was her impression that "men ran the show" and that her work was "always typed last" because of her gendered status in the company.

Keeping your mouth shut within an environment where men ran the show was an apparent rule for some women. One female manager was sexually harassed for a period of a year. When she approached a woman attorney, within the same company for some advice, she was advised to keep quiet. Dislocated managers observed that people of color were not treated any better. A Filipino manager who had been brought into his company by a colleague was asked by the vice president of operations if he spoke English. Another white woman manager, from a different company, observed a white male manager telling a black female worker, "we have a systems guy coming in and giving a presentation, you won't understand it, but try to listen up."

The categories of gender and race create insiders and outsiders within workplace cultures (Epstein 1995, 1988, 1981, 1971; Merton 1972; Blalock 1982). These distinctions also existed for Americans who worked for foreign-owned companies operating in the United States. Here are some examples of how American managers were made to feel like outsiders within their foreign-owned companies:

Americans were used. For six years, I worked for a company which showed no respect for Americans. The message was clear: you're not one of us...We were considered outsiders...The real decisions

were made by the non-Americans. They made the decisions for us...There was an atmosphere of stress and fear. Eventually you would adjust, but you were scared to death...One time I went out of my way to create a policy manual for the department. My manager (non-American) came into my office holding the manual and threw into the garbage saying "I did not understand this." I was devastated. I felt like shit for the next two months.

Another manager reported:

The company was run by non-Americans at the top. They would come over here and buy big houses and send their kids to private school and they didn't mingle much with the Americans. I had one non-American friend who had an American wife and he was looked down on; they were treated like outsiders...I was once sent to Nigeria by the company and I wanted to mingle with the locals and to get to know them. Was that accepted by the company? NO. The non-Americans had a club in Nigeria; they all went there together and hung out together. They didn't want to mix with the locals.

Despite the harshness of these rules, managers seemed to conform. The manager who had his policy manual thrown in the garbage, wrote a resignation letter that day, never delivered it, and managed to discover it four years later when he was forced out. The woman who was sexually harassed for a year and lost many "good assignments" kept quiet. Why? First, the benefits of long-term employment for many of these managers outweighed the costs incurred. Long-term employment benefits included healthy salaries, social and workplace networks, authority, autonomy and status within the workplace and community (Trice and Beyer 1993). Another reason for their willingness to stay was that, for the most part, these managers were employed during the economic

recession of the early 1980s and during the late 1980s when the elimination of managerial positions continued to occur. People "just like them" were losing their jobs. When there are fewer external opportunities within their industries, workers will tend to have greater dependence on the organization with which they are affiliated (Rosow 1965). Managers perceive limited opportunities within their own industries and outside their industries as well. Since most occupational networks of managers with rates of low mobility (e.g. long-term employed and/or unemployed) consist of within industry contacts (Granovetter 1995; Trice and Beyer 1993; Blau 1964), there are fewer opportunities to receive informal leads to jobs outside of one's chosen industry.

Thus, the reduction of jobs within the corporate sector and the likelihood that these long-term managers had not formed occupational networks outside of their industries compounded the anxiety and insecurity this group of managers faced as their corporate cultures began to change.

Almost all the displaced managers described a process whereby the old companies they liked underwent changes turning into very different places before these managers were eventually let go. Thus, we consider briefly the issue of organizations and culture change.

Schein's (1990) article on organizational culture describes seven stages frequently employed for producing change within an organization: 1) highlight threats to the

organization 2) articulate a new direction 3) fill key positions with new incumbents who may be brought in from outside 4) reward adoption of new direction and punish adherence to the old direction 5) create scandals to discredit those who try to preserve dysfunctional traditions 6) create new emotionally charged rituals around the new assumptions 7) seduce or coerce organizational members into adopting new behaviors.

During their interviews the dislocated managers revealed in detail the extent to which their corporate cultures had changed. These changes conformed to Schein's schema. For example, Alice recalled when change occurred in her company:

The industry really changed in the mid 1980s and got worse. My company and others cleaned house. We consolidated; everyone was brought to central headquarters...We had a massive reorganization and the new people had all of their own people; I didn't have entree to the new people. Then they started to offer lucrative early retirement packages and many people left. In recent years they have just been letting people go by the tens of thousands...There is a leaner, meaner environment today...The objective is to reduce costs and the best way to do this is to reduce the workforce...You keep the younger workforce without families, medical problems and pensions.

Culture change in this environment was characterized by articulating a new direction which emphasized the reduction of expenses. In this case, a new group of role models were brought in to execute this new direction. New role models were recruited from outside the corporation in order to impose a new direction. Established managers were believed

to embrace the old culture and were viewed as a problem. Allen was coerced through a sense of fear into working on Saturdays, Mary was seduced into training her replacement, and Dan's boss was strongly advised to discredit his subordinates. Older people or long-term employees within these corporate cultures were made to feel undervalued and in some cases were harassed until they left (as Jack reports), or just thrown out with out any notice or reason (as was Bob's case). In each circumstance, the old assumptions and the managers who represented them were displaced.

For Allen's company, restructuring began in 1992:

They brought in new management and started laying people off. It was an inside takeover with new reporting lines and new people. The new people made it clear that they were interested in getting rid of the old people...The hours of work got longer; forcibly longer...People were working weekends because you were expected to. People were coming in Saturdays so that everyone would know that they were there, it was a show. Maybe they didn't do squat, but everyone knew they were there...I came in one Saturday, I guess out of fear, and they didn't have their act together so I left; they gave me a hassle about it...I stopped getting bonuses, stopped getting reviews--it was corporate punishment.

Allen went on to describe the way his company's efforts to change the culture affected company morale and his own mental health:

There were a series of downsizes, it happened over time, you would hear about departments being wiped out. But you never knew, people were living day to day, there was uncertainty all the time...The last few years were terrible; I felt like an outsider...I wasn't sleeping at night, but I

became resigned to being a second class citizen; I lost all my drive...one day I went to my computer and it was turned off...The guy who fired me didn't even shake my hand. He just said something like 'we feel we should have a parting of the ways; Ron in personnel will take care of you'.

The same impersonal severing of a long-term employee is revealed in Bob's story:

In my case two firms merged and since I was the oldest, I was an easy target. I went home for the holidays on Friday, said goodbye to my boss and he didn't say anything. They called me on Monday and told me not to come in...I was fired over the phone; they read me a legal statement...They told me my personal things would be shipped to me.

Mary worked for a large consumer products company for ten years, and found she was expected to help reengineer herself out of a job in 1995:

They brought in 150 financial consultants who turned everything upside down. They made all of these cuts. These consultants are very smart kids (just out of) college who don't know squat and you have to train them. You train these people and then most of the existing people are cut, the consultants leave and you're left to pick up the pieces. It's true that my company needed to redo their systems, they were using stuff that was 20 years old...If you had successfully turned over a system, you were no longer needed...I thought that there was so much work that I was pretty safe...I had helped with the implementation and I was told that a consultant was taking over my job. One of the personnel people came to my office and told me I was cut.

Both Mary and Dan revealed that their bosses tried to save their jobs but the die had already been cast. Dan who spent 35 years in the financial services industry, remembered:

We went through a big downsizing called 'Fix '94', in 1994. They tried to identify all the

ways the company could become more efficient. They cut all the people over 45...40-50 percent were laid off. It was terrible for morale, it was devastating. They wanted to replace us with people they could hire for half as much...People who had never been tested...We got all new people. My boss was summarily fired, probably because he refused to give me a bad review. As part of 'Fix '94', the company tried to build a case against people so they wouldn't be taken to court when they cut people. My boss was told if he refused to give me a bad review it would go into his file.

When corporations began to change the corporate culture, managers reported experiencing a reduction in status including a loss of authority, lack of communication, disrespect and even humiliation. Jack recited one example:

They try to make the older people miserable so they'll leave, people in their 40s and 50s. They will harass you, give you lousy reports...They initiated internal on-line monitoring of monthly sales. They watch the number of calls you make, the number of prospects, who you talk to--it's all counted...Everyone is ranked by sales and there are imposed quotas...They circulate the daily numbers stating who brought in the most business. People are ranked with a zero after their name. It's humiliating to suffer that crap. Everyone comes down on the non-producer.

After long-term employees are terminated, they exist in a liminal state (Newman 1988). They are no longer corporate managers and they no longer enjoy the rewards their status once offered them. On the other hand, they have not entered a new workplace status so their occupational status is ambiguous (Newman 1988; Douglas 1966). Rosow (1974) notes that the ambiguous state derived from role loss deprives the worker of his social identity. Without an occupational role, the worker has no authority, no responsibility, no

rewards and no membership within a group. Trice and Beyer (1993) dramatize this process when the worker is forced to go through a withdrawal from his/her organizational culture, by describing his/her experience as "organizational death." A study conducted by Harrison and Sutton (1986) found that 23 out of 44 informants felt that this forced withdrawal was "worse than a serious illness" and 9 out of 44 felt that it was "worse than divorce or the death of a spouse."

These feelings affect the dislocated manager in a variety of ways: Some become ill. Dan spoke of colleagues having heart attacks. Many are angry. Mary believed her company took away her identity and self value. Allen promised himself that he would never be loyal to another company. He won't "kill himself for another organization...He won't be loyal to a group who won't be loyal to him."

Vicky believed that "people are so insecure that they are grabbing jobs they don't really want, and they are not committed to it." She reasoned that since the job one takes may be gone in two years, it was not likely that a commitment will be made. Jack was also certain that this mass dislocation of long-term employees would have negative effects on employee loyalty and commitment in the corporate sector:

They've destroyed any sense of loyalty in any corporation. No one feels safe today; everyone is looking over his shoulder and has three other jobs lined up in case he needs to leave. So the costs

of all this may be greater than what they thought they were going to save by cutting back...I don't think any employee today is going to really believe anything that management says today. Nothing is taken at face value today.

Still others, like Alice clung to their former identities since there appeared to be no replacement for what had been lost (Rosow 1974):

I was used to being in a position where people were always returning my phone calls. I was always able to identify with my job in the private sector. There's a comfort level being in a corporate environment. I understand corporate speak.

Not only does the dislocation of long-term employees cause a loss of workforce identity, self value, loyalty and commitment to those corporations which betrayed them, but many of these workers face major difficulties reentering the workforce and are in fact forced to take undesirable jobs just to stay a float. These are the managers Newman (1988) categorizes as "downwardly mobile" or "falling from grace".

Karen, a former advertising manager, spoke about this new status:

I hear so many of my peers today saying they don't understand what's going on. We all saved money and thought we were going to be ok. The money we saved is gone. We have to start over again. We can't believe it...There's no social consciousness today, just profit consciousness...You don't feel safe. You have to do more with less...I want to feel necessary, like my life isn't over. Now I make art out of ripped up rejection letters.

Frank is on the verge of bankruptcy and can't even find work in a department store as a sales clerk:

I went to a job fair a while ago. There were

three lines and they were three blocks long. I stood there for five hours and never got into the fair. I tried to get an entry level job at a department store and someone said they've decided not to hire anyone over 35.

In sum, corporate managers who applied to enter the Program were cast aside by their workforce cultures and for the most part had determined that it was unlikely that they would find work in their chosen fields again. It was precisely this shrinking pool of opportunities that caused these corporate managers to think about alternative careers.

Fred believes that his age will prevent him from finding work in his old field:

The most drastic thing for me was that after working for my company for 30 years, where would the opportunities be for me at age 52? I knew that trying to break back into another corporation, particularly into a highly competitive field like technology would be difficult...

The main thing was that after 30 years with the same company, I didn't think that I could do it again. It's not that I didn't think that I had the constitution, but I didn't think that I would be accepted. The technology world is very oriented to younger people and so too, as you get older, rightly or wrongly, people view you as being less and less in touch with technology. I don't think it is true. But I think that is the perception. I realized that I wouldn't get a fair shake in that industry...

Cindy also feels her industry limits its employment to those of a certain age:

It was my perception that, at age 50, it would be hard for me to get a job in the corporate sector. I don't know if this is true or not, but that was my perception. I thought that it was less likely that I would be discriminated against in the non-profit sector.

In the final analysis, Fred and Cindy's companies have indeed "reduced the role of the older worker," (Hutchens 1988; Elkin and Handel 1984) and so these employees conclude that their work commitments need to focus elsewhere.

Carole's decision to seek work in the non-profit sector came after her chairman and all of his allies (including Carole) were eliminated:

I had gotten very close to the chairman. The next thing you know, the chairman was axed and all of the people he liked were axed, as well. This really woke me up. I have family obligations and I really didn't want to get back into the same type of competitive and very difficult environment--and for what? To move up to the next level? After this happened, I became more active in looking at the non-profit sector and trying to determine where I could fit.

Finally Myron's decision to make a transition to the non-profit sector was influenced by diminishing opportunities in his industry and the fact that so many people are competing for the same positions:

I thought that it would be a lot easier to find a job in the insurance industry. I found that the industry was changing and that everyone was downsizing. I was coming out of middle management, where all of the downsizing was occurring and I was looking for a job at the same time as half the people in the industry. The competition was fierce.

While limited opportunities in one's field might be a motivation for changing careers, the selection process for entering the Program required that other motivations be present as well. The selection of students, therefore, was based on carefully analyzing the motivations of the

candidates.

The Selection of Students: Determining Motivations

In ascertaining whether or not the candidate was appropriate, the trainer looked for "the real motivation" behind the career change. This focus on discovering the "real motivation" was critical in determining whether the candidate was willing to accept the anticipatory socialization processes within the classroom. Brim and Wheeler (1966) and Schein (1976) maintain that any individual must be highly motivated to accept socialization processes; otherwise socialization will fail.

In changing careers, the dislocated manager has to be motivated to change his reference group from the corporate to the non-profit sector. Rosow (1974) maintains that in order for a successful transition to occur, there must be a shift in the actor's reference group: the group of people he looks to for affirmation and identity and norms. Transitioning from one role to another requires, breaking ones identification with a prior role and ceasing to conform with old standards. It demands identification with new norms. It is through role distancing and the selecting of one reference group over the other, that an actor is able to avoid possible role conflicts (Rosow 1974).

In ascertaining whether the corporate manager would leave his/her prior role behind, the trainer asked a series of questions concerning his/her motivation for changing

careers including the dislocated manager's need to acquire a new group identity, his/her history (commitment) of volunteerism within the non-profit sector and his/her willingness to internalize the values of a non-profit culture.

A Need for Group Identity

In addition to shrinking opportunities within one's field what is the primary motivator influencing their decision to change careers? The answers were as follows: "I like to be around non-profit people"; "many of my friends are social workers"; "I want to find meaningful work and service has always been important to me"; "I want to work in a nurturing environment"; "collaboration and the goals of non-profits have always been important to me;" "I'm now in a position to give up the income I'm used to making": "I need to feel a passion and I used to feel that'; "I've been isolated for too long and I want to be part of a team"; "the corporate culture is cold and stale and I believe I would like the team spirit of a non-profit"; "I have no desire to work around the clock any more"; "I can't find any work in my industry and I believe non-profits care less about age"; "I need to work."

For many of these workers the primary motivation is to be part of an organization which cares about them as individuals. The majority of them are more likely to focus on being motivated by the collaborative and team oriented

activities of organizational life than the money they made in the profit sector.

Corporate managers who are in a liminal state are insecure and struggle to re-orient themselves around new organizations which will help them gain the rewards they have lost--the main reward being a sense of self worth and renewal which come from being a part of an organizational community.

Their History of Volunteerism

While this group of dislocated managers was obviously eager to be part of an organizational community, it was important to determine if they indeed viewed the non-profit sector as their next reference group. Their history of, or commitment to, volunteerism and their desire to internalize the values of non-profit cultures were used to assess this.

In evaluating their commitment to becoming employees within the non-profit sector, the trainer asked questions concerning their history of volunteerism. Did they have a passion for a specific cause, within the non-profit community, whether it was arts in education or bringing computers to inner city kids, or bridging the communications gap between blacks and whites in South Africa? If so, what had his/her involvement been in the non-profit sector? Was he/she willing to continue this involvement through devoting time to volunteerism during his/her career search? Since so many non-profit employers view volunteer experience as an

important indicator of commitment to the non-profit sector, the degree to which applicants answered these questions favorably demonstrated their motivation to transform their occupational identities and accept the socialization into a new organizational culture.

Many of the managers have a long history of community service and volunteerism. For example, Ellen's volunteer work has included raising money and lending her financial expertise to a variety of Jewish philanthropic organizations. Her observations are as follows:

There's very little difference in terms of management style. I think it's similar to the profit sector: people are focused, dedicated and hard-working...A good number of my friends are involved with the non-profit sector, maybe 30-40 percent...I'm getting to know people who seem interested in my skills because I bring a lot to the table...I'm finding people very receptive and they're very open for informational interviews... I don't really see barriers; I think I'll land something if I wait long enough.

Dan has extensive volunteer experience as a board member and as president of a civic association; as president of a trade association and as president of an alumni association. In addition to his pro bono work, he has worked with non-profit managers as part of his corporate job. His depiction of non-profits is based on working with community based non-profits since the beginning of his corporate career:

I have many relationships with non-profit groups. There is less trust in the business world than there is in the non-profit sector...Non-profit managers take on more work and more responsibility

(than corporate managers do). They tend to take on more work themselves than they should; they should learn to use more volunteers, do more fundraising...I see the non-profit sector as change agents that are necessary for the well-being of communities and civilization. Government is getting out of a lot of services and there will be more need for the non-profit sector...New or younger non-profits haven't developed their management styles; they think things will just happen for them...When I asked one group how they were going to manage their debts, they said 'God will provide.' Many of these people are well-trained in the arts or service, but not in business...Many groups that should do well don't get off the ground because they don't have the management; then people get discouraged, resources get used up, and the whole thing falls flat. Then non-profits get a bad rap...

Though Michael has only been volunteering for two years, he has immersed himself in many different volunteer activities within the organization including fundraiser, board member of an affiliate organization and staff attorney. Here is what he learned:

The sense of mission and purpose appeal to me. This organization attracts a different sort of person: kinder and gentler, and that appeals to me. I don't want to work the insane hours I worked before...They make a strong effort to involve volunteers, people who are not employees. But otherwise I think this organization is run similar to a corporation. Non-profits seem not as pressure-packed, but things do get done...They seemed thrilled to have me and I think that I've had enough volunteer experience that people can see I'm serious about it (making the transition).

Bob's 30 year experience as a board member resulted in these impressions:

It's not true that non-profits have a slower pace of work; it's just different. Some people work seven days a week. You're not going to sit back and relax...They have a lot of managerial problems. They've never looked at things from a

business point of view. The new director at the organization where I volunteer is better. He's a manager. He's organized and understands control and business. In the past, we didn't select good people to run it and it was micro-managed by the trustees...Our board is huge and unworkable. They have to change this; they have to be able to ask inactive people to resign.

In contrast, those with little or no volunteer experience are less willing to leave their corporate roles behind. Mary's contact with the non-profit sector has been "very limited" and when she did volunteer she felt that she was "always an outsider and not very welcome." For this reason, "it was easy for her to walk away." She believes that the non-profits will regard her as a know-it-all and after taking the course ultimately decided not to target her search to include non-profits.

Keith believes that non-profits are less efficient than corporations. He also believes that non-profits view him as an outsider because he doesn't have any volunteer experience. He admits that not having this experience has probably hurt him and that "putting it (volunteer work) off was probably a mistake."

Even though Allen has not been exposed to many non-profit organizations, he is "not convinced that everyone in non-profits are out to do good." After having an interview with a human services organization he remarks that "non-profit people seem flighty; different from business people." He complains that the "environment was very distressing, it was all under construction, and they said that 'it had been

like that forever.'" Allen adds that he " would have a hard time working in an environment like that." While he has begun to volunteer, he doesn't understand why the lack of volunteer work should hurt him. He also admits that he may not be getting better responses to his resume because he tends to send non-profit organizations his "corporate resume."

When comparing the responses of dislocated workers without volunteer experience with the responses of those with volunteer experience, it becomes apparent that those without experience are more likely to use generalized categories or "closed stereotypes" such as "less efficient," "saintly" or "flaky" when describing non-profits and are less likely to justify or give concrete examples of these behaviors. Many dislocated workers have a view of the non-profit sector which is based on their limited exposure to the sector and its managers. Deaux and Lewis (1984) write that in the absence of behavioral evidence, beliefs may be implicated and this process of belief implication is called stereotyping. Of course, stereotyping results from the "need for coherence, simplicity and predictability in the face of a complex social environment" (Bodenhausen and Wyer 1985 cite Tajfel 1981). Skryphek and Snyder's (1982) study indicates that stereotypical tasks are distributed based on the expectation of interaction with a group. Wilder's (1984) research determines that "persons expect differences

between groups and homogeneity within groups."

For those who cling to their old corporate statuses or are debilitated by their "unemployed" or "downwardly mobile" statuses, stereotyping the non-profit manager as "less efficient" or "saintly" serves to distance themselves, in a positive manner, from those who work for non-profit organizations. Rosow (1974) cites Wilensky and Edwards (1959) who found that downwardly mobile workers tend to "deny failure and strive for success, asserting and reinforcing the values of their former position." Through the process of stereotyping and the creation of insider and outsider boundaries between the profit and non-profit cultures, dislocated workers try to sustain the belief that they are part of the elite insider group (Merton 1972).

Those with volunteer experience are more likely to give examples of non-profit behaviors as distinct from stereotypes. Those who volunteer have an understanding of the relationships which exist between non-profit employees and between board and staff. Through volunteering, there is an opportunity to learn and adopt the behaviors and attitudes which predominate in non-profits and in essence become an accepted member of the organizational culture.

Some dislocated workers appear to be committed to leaving their former occupational statuses behind and view non-profit organizations as the reference groups, composed of individuals, they wish to emulate. Nevertheless, the

limited contact with the non-profit sector affects the way in which these workers view the non-profit sector, creating barriers for entry as well. After a long career on Wall Street, Frank who had almost no volunteer experience with non-profits had this to say:

I don't see any real differences between the private and non-profit sectors; they're all about making sales. But in the non-profit sector, they're backward in terms of finance and management and investment policy...There are two types of non-profits: those who have built up an endowment over the years and provide a real service; the other are the rag-tags that are dependent on the state...The non-profits are probably more committed than the private sector is. What they're lacking is an understanding of private sector ideas and techniques.

Though priority was given to those who had previous experienced volunteering, students such as Frank who were genuinely interested in the non-profit sector and expressed a willingness to volunteer were accepted into the Program as well.

Internalizing Values

Since it is likely that the corporate manager will bring the attitudes and behaviors he/she has acquired from one organizational culture into the other (Trice and Beyer 1993), it was important to assess the extent to which these attitudes and behaviors would be rewarded by the non-profit culture, to what extent there would be a conflict in values and to what extent there would be a willingness, on the part of the corporate manager to internalize new organizational values. For example, did the candidate enjoy working on

his/her own, or working as part of a team? What types of processes were used to complete work tasks: motivating his/her subordinates or getting the job done at the expense of others? Would a different pace of work frustrate him/her? What stereotypes did he/she have of managers working in the non-profit sector? How much emphasis was placed on the maintaining the reward and status structure of his/her prior organization?

Candidates who emphasized the enjoyment of working on their own to the exclusion of organizational goals, as well as getting the job done at any cost were counselled out! Furthermore, those who were committed to a specific pace of work and had little tolerance for adapting or changing within new organizational cultures were also unsuitable candidates for the Program. Mary, for example, confides that she really doesn't have any particular commitment towards a cause and that maybe her values are different. She asserts:

I don't necessarily have the strong commitment. Non-profits stress mission and commitment...Maybe the skills I value highly are not as valued in the non-profit sector: I like good, solid management and fiscal accountability. I think that maybe they need more accountability, could improve their efficiency and tighten up their practices. Then, maybe they would have more money to do what they need to do.

Since many non-profit organizations will not be able to match the displaced managers' prior compensation, it was important to assess how strongly each displaced manager identified with the corporate reward system. Did he/she

realize that the majority of non-profit organizations offered salaries far below the salaries offered in the corporate sector? Was he/she really ready to give these rewards up? Did he/she believe that this career change was "a step down?" What was it about the corporate culture before it changed that really motivated him/her--the money or the sense of workplace community?

Some corporate managers said they couldn't go below a certain salary range because of family obligations. After discussing the realities of non-profit salary ranges, which fall approximately 20 percent below corporate salary ranges (Emanuele 1997), the candidate and the trainer determined if the candidate could realistically achieve his/her salary goals. Others were definitely unwilling to take a salary outside of their subjective predetermined range. For some, this was "a step down" or downward mobility (Newman 1988). This was an indication that the candidate was tied to his prior status and reward system and unwilling to work within the reward system of a new organizational culture (Trice and Beyer 1993; Rosow 1974). If the candidate's expected non-profit salary range was "by non-profit industry standards" unrealistic, the trainer usually recommended that the candidate not take the Program. The ideal candidate responded that he/she was flexible with regard to salary and would work within the reward structure of the new reference group.

Van Maanen (1976) suggests that the tendency to be motivated by monetary values is rooted in the influence of the larger society. Within the United States, industries which provide great monetary rewards are held in high esteem. Trice and Beyer (1993) maintain that the "American culture places extraordinary emphasis on the individual...and the execution of individual goals, rather than entities pursuing collective goals." To illustrate this point, Waldinger (1992) found that municipal workers left government managerial positions in the early 1980s when opportunities and greater monetary rewards arose in the corporate sector.

A proportion of these dislocated workers do not identify non-profits as their new reference group (Merton 1968) because they still identify with the monetary values of the corporate sector: Alice admits that she has become both "elitist and snobbish" about her former corporate status and while she began her career in the government sector, she doesn't know if she has "a burning desire to work in the non-profit sector." She still very much identifies with her old industry and at this time is "not shifting her energies in the direction of non-profits."

Vicky is having a difficult time deciding if the non-profit sector is the right next move. She is "overwhelmed by the [difference in] jargon." She doesn't understand how the non-profit she interviewed with will be able to find

someone to work for "\$22,000 a year." Furthermore, she doesn't know if she "would be challenged" if she entered this new world of work. She knows that in order to do that she will have to transform her occupational identity. This concept of "remaking" herself "scared her."

Sarah believes that because she has associated herself with the consumer products industry for 20 years, it will be difficult to focus on "identity change and transformation." In fact, she reveals that it is the "psychological transition" that is "harder than the search itself."

Finally, after the Program was explained to the candidate, a series of questions was asked to determine whether the candidate was willing to make a commitment to the class itself and to the subsequent job search: How much time was he/she willing to give to this career search? Was he/she willing to do the necessary research and arrange a significant number of informational interviews? Did he/she understand it would take between six and eight months to land a job? Was he/she willing to learn what motivated others in new organizational culture or was he/she convinced that "he/she knew it all and his/her way was the best way?" Was he/she willing to try to understand why some non-profit managers had a hiring bias towards corporate managers?

For those who had severe financial concerns, six to eight months may have seemed like an eternity. Even some without financial concerns found this time-consuming

commitment to be problematic since "being in transition" or "unemployed" for so many in our society induces a stigma that one is not worthy of employment (Newman 1988). The stress that this stigma places on the self-esteem of these managers prevented some of them from continuing their non-profit search. If the candidate had a volunteer history, workplace values which were oriented towards the non-profit sector, and was willing to invest time in learning the non-profit culture through conducting the appropriate research and necessary networking, the candidate was encouraged to join the program despite his/her concerns about the time commitment.

Each candidate admitted, accepted the spot already having been oriented toward the non-profit sector by the trainer. This orientation or induction (Van Maanen 1983, 1977, 1976) stressed the value placed on peer socialization through volunteerism, cultural differences in workplace values, biases against hiring outsiders, need to observe cultural expectations with regard to management style vs. imposing a previously learned management style, importance of investing time in research and networking within the new reference group.

The First Day: Setting the Stage

When each corporate manager entered the training room ("the stage"), the trainer was there to greet the manager by name, to introduce the manager to the others who had

arrived, to show the manager where to hang his/her coat, to inform the manager where the restrooms were, to show the manager to his/her seat indicated with a personalized name tag and red packet of articles on the non-profit sector. Each corporate manager who arrived was seated with other newcomers around a large oval table. In addition, the trainer invited each manager to partake in some coffee, tea and cookies with the other managers who had arrived before them. It was through this initial orientation process, that the managers learned that they were respected participants in the eyes of the trainer and that they began to informally identify with the shared experiences and expectations of the other members in the group. The managers were noticeably excited about the class and the interaction which took place among the managers was almost immediate.

For the most part, the corporate managers came to the class dressed in formal business attire: the men wore suits or pants and a sweater; the women wore dresses, suits or slacks and a blouse. A few managers did not observe this "unofficial" dress code. It was unofficial because, the trainer didn't indicate at any time what to wear to the class. The trainer expected that since the corporate managers understood they would be meeting potential employers in the class that the executives would want to dress in an appropriate fashion and give their best appearance. This wasn't always the case and it was

interesting to watch. Deviant cases included a former Wall Street manager who wore a lime-green tee shirt and short outfit; a high level government manager who wore jeans and a flannel shirt; a former marketing manager of an advertising firm who wore farmer jeans with a tank top; another advertising manager who wore workout sweats.

Since the purpose of the first class was to help these managers regain some of the self-esteem that had been lost as a result of their being dislocated, the trainer deliberately avoided correcting this behavior. In addition, this deviant behavior was observed to be self-correcting. As Gregory Stone (1962) notes in an article on appearance and self, appearance corresponds to "reflected image of others back on the self." Since the majority of these managers were interested in aligning themselves with both the corporate managers and the non-profit employers, they usually conformed to the "unofficial" dress code by mirroring what the "others" were wearing in subsequent classes.

The most important function of the class was to provide the dislocated corporate managers a structure for forming their new identities. From starting on time, to learning what to wear, from the kinds of questions asked, to the tone of concern and respect, corporate exiles were being socialized into patterns appropriate to the non-profit world.

In the next chapter, I will describe five major steps which each cohort undertook, each of which had a practical purpose, but was also a way of molding or transforming the self.

Chapter VI

The Program Components

Introduction

In this chapter, I will describe the important steps or components of the Program which displaced managers experienced. Some of these will seem, on the first impression, to be mundane and practical things such as one's introduction of self, reworking of the resume and preparation for an interview. They are indeed practical skills, but for our theoretical purposes, they are also important markers or evidence about peoples' sense of self, self confidence, or lack of ability to adopt another world view.

When I describe these components, I will begin by showing how unsocialized managers still shaken up from their displacement and still committed to their corporate sense of self do these mundane activities. Then I will show how they undertake the same activities after their socialization and sense of self have changed. This chapter therefore provides the ethnographic proof of the extent to which these individuals change and become resocialized.

"The Introduction"

Early Introductions

When the dislocated corporate managers first entered the class and had assembled around the large oval table, they were each asked, by the trainer, to go around the table

one by one and introduce themselves stating their background, area of expertise and involvement with the non-profit sector. These initial introductions were performed without an audience of non-profit managers. Even this ordinary activity provides a window into how these managers initially viewed themselves:

I Am My Industry

Manager A: I did marketing for a bank and for an advertising company. I volunteer for a clinic where children are waiting to be adopted.

Manager B: I worked in real estate for fifteen years where our objective was to make money. Before that, I worked for the government where I wrote a manual which taught non-profits how to get money from the federal government.

Manager C: I was an accounting and systems manager for a financial services company and while there I volunteered with non-profits.

My Company No Longer Needed Me

Manager D: I was the head of human resources for a financial services company where I was asked to downsize the organization and I was downsized as well. My area of expertise is downsizing.

Manager E: I spent six years in retail as a planner and analyst. I was the by-product of a merger. I want to take my volunteer experience and turn it into a full time job.

Here's a Sentence about my Non-profit Life

Manager F: I started my career in art museums doing publicity and public relations. For the past fifteen years, I have been an executive in a family business where I did everything from managing people to sales and finance. When the business closed, I thought about what I wanted to do. I want my own passion. I bring a lot to the non-profit sector.

Manager G: I've spent my career doing commercial

real estate and I've also been involved in a financial capacity on the board of a non-profit which provides affordable housing. I'd like to marry my commercial real estate background with my interest in affordable housing.

Manager H: I've been messing around with the federal debt (class laughs). For the last four years, I've been the treasurer of an organization dedicated to feeding the homeless. This has given me the greatest pleasure.

I Want to Make a Difference

Manager I: I am a lawyer and I practiced law with a large firm. I now have the opportunity to think about what I want to do when I grow up. Non-profits make a difference and I never had that feeling when I worked for the firm. I can use my legal skills in the non-profit sector and I want to figure out what else I can do.

Manager J: I'm a fashion designer and for over 20 years I've had great success doing that. I love my work. For four years I've been out of a job. I've been able to spend more time with family and friends. I have found that I am a social being...I began my career in the non-profit sector and have clung to the memories of what work can be when it is meaningful. I want to give to others what my industry has given to me.

Manager K: I also worked for a financial services company and took the buy-out. I'm tired of financial services (class laughs). I want to do something with the elderly.

The Non-profit Sector is my Career Goal

Manager L: I seized the opportunity to take early retirement from my financial services company because I have been involved with the non-profit sector for the past 15 years and want to spend the rest of my working career as a fundraiser or financial person of a non-profit organization.

Manager M: I'm an ex-financial services manager and I'm liberated! I have extensive non-profit experience and I want to play a leadership role in strategic marketing, management training and budgeting. I have a deep interest in non-profits and I serve on the board of several non-profit

organizations. I helped establish a non-profit consulting firm. I want to offer the non-profit sector my expertise and hope that they will allow me to assist them.

Manager N: I was with a financial services company for thirteen years and did their marketing and communications. Since leaving, I have been volunteering at two human services organizations in order to gain experience in fundraising. I am also volunteering for a large agency which needs communications because of its complexity.

These early introductions usually follow a pattern.

First, an introduction begins with the identification of a specific industry whether it be banking, financial services or advertising. Second, the introduction continues with an explanation of the person's current situation (e.g. in early retirement or recently downsized). Third, those with non-profit volunteer experience tend to mention it, usually as an after thought, at the end of the introduction, or as a lead-in to their more significant work history within the corporate sector. Fourth, while many talk about their need for "greater satisfaction" or "to make a difference", these concepts are not linked to any specific career-goal or role within a specific type of non-profit organization.

This pattern is not surprising given the fact that these managers have been socialized in the corporate sector and still identify themselves as members of this particular reference group. A select few have begun to withdraw from their prior role and do have a specific goal which they are able to articulate, even at this early stage.

After the corporate managers introduced themselves

before the group and the trainer for the first time, the trainer helped the corporate manager understand the purpose of the introduction as well as recommendations for reshaping it:

The objective of the introduction is to show the non-profit manager that you have an understanding of their world and that you want to support their mission or goal through your skills and resources.

You want to build a bridge of communication between you and the non-profit manager through telling brief, targeted and compelling, as well as passionate stories that relate to them.

You build a bridge of communication using concepts which the non-profit manager can and will relate to. Be careful in selecting your choice of words. If you choose to label yourself as "unemployed" or that "you have taken early retirement" and you do not have the opportunity, in a short introduction to express or define what you mean by those words, the listener may form his/her impression based on his/her own interpretation of these labels. I suggest that instead of forming an impression based on the usage of these concepts, you define yourself based on what the listener is interested in hearing. Here is what I mean:

1) Stress your present and past relationships with the non-profit sector as a volunteer, philanthropist, trustee or employee. Be succinct about your role and the type of organization. In other words, what did you do and for whom did you do it? Here are some examples: I've worked for the United Nations in helping to resettle Filipino refugees and I'm now helping a housing organization which supports patients with AIDS create a fundraising plan; I've supported the management of non-profits through directing a corporate giving program; I'm volunteering my legal expertise to a Jewish philanthropic organization.

2) State your expertise. (e.g. the Internet, management information systems, telemarketing, fundraising, finance and knowledge of the non-profit sector's new accounting rules, special events, communications and the media).

3) State your objective as concretely as possible: Using this expertise, I want to be the executive director of a small educational non-profit.

4) What do you want to learn from the non-profit managers? Some of you might want to know where you fit in; or how the non-profit organization uses computers; or about the relationship between the financial officer and the development officer; or the need for advocacy; or the need for publications and so forth.

5) Don't forget to smile and maintain eye contact!

6) You should be able to make a dynamic impression in fifteen seconds. The outline for reconstructing your introductions should follow this format: skills (e.g. marketing, finance); passion (e.g. for a particular cause(s)); volunteer experience (e.g. name an accomplishment of which you are most proud); goal (e.g. to support the marketing needs of a community development organization).

Based on some of your backgrounds and occupational goals, I have constructed three examples of how you might transform your occupational identities:

The transformation of a banker to a development officer:

Trainer: I've spent the last ten years developing the non-profit market for my company. My clients included....In order to be able to build this client base, I spent the majority of my time learning about the financial and investment needs of non-profits. I know how to help non-profits maximize their income and have helped universities like...increase their capital goal by 150 percent. I would now like to do this full time for a non-profit organization as a development officer.

The transformation of a partner in a law firm to a community activist and leader:

Trainer: For over thirty years, I have had experience facilitating the crusade for the empowerment of victims, children and communities in the United States and abroad through law, teaching and community work. My leadership

experience includes working with diverse socioeconomic groups in challenging health-related, housing and educational situations. My skills embrace mediation and conflict resolution, facilitation and team building, strategic planning and board development as well as fundraising. I am seeking a leadership position with an organization which serves as a catalyst in community and individual empowerment.

The transformation of an investment banker to a development officer:

Trainer: I want to work for an educational school of higher learning which is specifically aimed at offering all kids of all economic levels a good education. I am a product of Jesuit schools so I understand their commitment to children of all socioeconomic backgrounds. I have spent my career cultivating and retaining high net worth individuals and would like to help a Jesuit school of higher learning do the same.

This initial "backstage" exercise, pushes the corporate managers to present themselves as managers who have an understanding of and respect for the non-profit world. The managers worked on their introductions at home. These introductions were later performed before 16-20 different non-profit managers throughout the ten session Program. As the sessions progressed over time, the corporate managers' introductions continued to be restructured as they were influenced by the non-profit manager's attitudes

towards them.¹⁴ Since the corporate managers also respected each other, as peers, they also tended to influence the transformation of each others' introductions prior to interacting with their audience of non-profit managers. Here, one corporate colleague advises another:

Corporate Manager A: I am a financial manager with 16 years of experience in planning, budgeting and auditing. I also have 7 years of experience in a non-profit educational and training organization.

Corporate Manager B: Why don't you mention your non-profit experience up front. You're too general in talking about that part of your career. You need to be more specific so non-profit managers can zero right in on you. I don't remember anything you just said, but when I first met you, you said that you had spent the first part of your career helping children. That stuck. That's non-profit to me. All this corporate stuff is gobblety gook. It doesn't sink in. Seven years of non-profit works sinks in.

¹⁴Demo (1992) writes that the "self-concept is a working copy, subject to revision and is a function of situational demands." "Different situations call for different selves which are based on the role requirements and prescriptions of significant others" (Goffman 1959). The identity is developed through a sequence of interactions with significant others such as employers and peers. Identities are shaped through learning the requisite expectations of others including the appropriate values, knowledge, attitudes, behaviors and motivations which correspond to a given situation. This process is called socialization (Elkin and Handel 1984; Van Maanen 1983, 1977, 1976; Rosow 1974; Brim and Wheeler 1966).

Thus, among the corporate peer group, there appears to be an effort to support each other's struggle in creating a good impression before the audience of non-profit managers.¹⁵

New Introductions

As the corporate managers listen to the panels of non-profit managers lecture about their workplace experiences, they work to restructure and refine their own presentations of self in the final sessions of the class. They aren't just working on a presentation, they are working on an identity change or a "change of soul" (Van Maanen 1976).

Here are some examples of introductions which are given in the latter third portion of the class:

Corporate Manager I: I have a background in finance and administration. I have a passion for affordable housing and was recently appointed president of a housing organization.

Corporate Manager II: Nice to meet you. (class laughs)

Corporate Manager III: I am a creative professional involved with the arts and children. I want to use my marketing skills to support the educational needs of children. I volunteer with an international children's organization and I have created cause-related marketing projects to help them raise money.

¹⁵The importance of the peer group's support in maintaining both individual and collective good impressions is discussed in Becker et al.'s (1961) study of medical school students, Boys in White.

Corporate Manager IV: I work as a volunteer for a fledgling non-profit which raises money for the public schools. After being an attorney for 18 years, I want to help grow this organization so that they can hire me.

Corporate Manager V: I have a passion for an organization which raises money for non-profits. I am now volunteering for that type of non-profit. I managed a special event for them which raised \$100,000 for five non-profits. I want to use my experience in special events, planning and research to help support the educational needs of children.

Corporate Manager VI: I, too, like everyone else in this room felt that I had to make a difference in the lives of someone else. I work with homeless children. In my professional background, I do marketing and communications. I enjoy the medium, but not for whom I've done it. I now have a non-profit client and I'm using my skills to help them launch a national donor campaign.

Corporate Manager VII: My presentation is a work in progress (class laughs). It's constantly changing and expanding. I'm influenced by everyone that I'm meeting (in this classroom). I want to serve the planning giving and major gift needs of a human services organization. I've been in the investment field. I've taught business and economics at the college level. I'm interested in being involved with an organization that conveys a broad positive feeling. Where the journey takes me, it remains to be seen.

"Transforming the Corporate Resume"

Early Resumes

When the corporate managers first describe their occupational identities, they typically gloss over their volunteer experience and the rationale or motivation for wanting to make the career change is not fully developed. The reason for this may lie in the fact that in the corporate sector, volunteer experiences, as well as the

desire and motivation to change careers, are not greatly valued. The same situation holds true for the resume. Within the corporate sector, a corporate manager is expected to have a resume which reveals an appropriate career path (company names), educational credentials, jargon and accomplishments considered appropriate within his/her particular industry. Here are some examples of "professional summaries" which begin corporate resumes:

Manager a: Skilled corporate attorney with broad experience, including large and small mergers and acquisitions, UCC aspects of secured transactions, insurance regulatory matters, trademark, employment, securities, loan and licensing matters.

Manager b: Manager in the international and domestic retail banking field with in-depth experience in operations, and loan and financial audits.

In addition to the "corporate resume summary," the full corporate resume begins with the last corporate employer. The last corporate employer for the majority of these managers was a large financial or consumer products corporation. Underneath each corporate position held is a list of accomplishments written in the language of that particular corporate culture:

Manager a

The Bank
Vice President, Marketing

Established marketing communications objectives to meet the changing needs of the dynamic corporate finance industry.

Manager b

The Retailer
Planner/Analyst, Fashion Accessories

Analyzed store sales and stock levels for distribution purposes. Established 300K in replenishment models for basic stock items.

Manager c

The International Bank
Assistant Vice President, Loan and Audit

Led a highly effective multi-disciplinary team, with representatives from EDP, loan and operational auditing to check integrity of confirmation system for a \$25 billion dollar volume.

Manager d

The Accounting Firm
Associate

Participated in the divestiture of a \$100 million dollar subsidiary of a conglomerate.

Manager e

The Law Firm
Associate

Worked on UCC aspects of secured transactions; corporate owned life insurance matters; tender offers, management buyouts, stock and asset transactions (including stock-for-stock mergers).

Since these descriptions were written with the expectations of corporate employers and their industries in mind, there is little or no attempt to relate these descriptions to a different industry of employers. A non-profit attorney, for example would probably not be involved in "stock for stock mergers" since there are no shareholders in a non-profit corporation. It is unlikely that a non-

profit organization would be involved in the divestiture of a 100 million dollar subsidiary except perhaps in the case of a non-profit hospital. A corporate communications manager's resume emphasized that the communications plan was specifically developed for the financial industry with no mention of its applicability in other industries. How often might a non-profit manager seek the skills of a retailer with distribution skills in the fashion accessories business?

When the industry, skills and language communicated in a resume are far removed from the language used in an arts organization, or a hospital, or an institution of higher learning, and when the skills of a banking loan manager, a retailer, a corporate mergers and acquisitions lawyer, an accountant specializing in divestitures appear to be very different from those in a human services organization, the "corporate resume" becomes a barrier to entering a non-profit organization. What then does the corporate manager do to restructure his/her occupational identity within the framework of a resume? Within the classroom, the trainer gave corporate managers advice on restructuring their identities within the context of a resume. First, there was the arduous task in selecting the resume structure. Should the manager use a chronological or functional resume? The trainer explains:

There is no one model for getting a job. You are being exposed to many different employers in this

class who will have different opinions concerning the proper resume format. There are those non-profit employers who believe that resumes are a screening device used to exclude people from dissimilar backgrounds so that if you can avoid using the resume as a representation of your "first impression" you are better off.

If the non-profit organization demands a resume, the situation and comfort level will dictate which resume to use. A functional resume is often used when making career transitions because it focuses on the skills and achievements which can be transferred to any industry. This type of resume presents you as a manager with a skill set, rather than a manager raised and groomed within a specific industry. It is designed to help you come across as a marketer or a financial manager rather than a banker or a retailer.

Chronological resumes, or a chronological listing of employment, are more likely to be used when seeking jobs within the same industry. A career changer using a chronological resume is more likely to have positive results, if there is a personal connection between the employer and the candidate, or if the employer is also a career changer and can identify with your motivation to change careers as well as how your skills will support the skill requirements of the position.

Executive recruiters and human resources people function as screeners for their clients or employers and are more likely to request a chronological resume because many have expressed that functional resumes are "often used to hide something." Make sure your functional resume also has a chronological listing of employment, and when submitting resumes to executive recruiters or human resource personnel, ask permission to submit both types of resumes.

The trainer also helped the ex-corporate managers think about using the non-profit organization's language within the fabric of their resume:

Before submitting a resume, please try to read the annual report of the non-profit organization. The resume should, where possible reflect the language of the annual report as well as the language in

the job description itself.

The trainer then provided sample formats of functional and chronological resumes. In the class, each of the corporate managers were asked to compose both a functional and chronological resume which would be presented to a non-profit manager, before engaging in a mock interview during the closing sessions of the Program.

Format of a Functional Resume:

Job Objective: To serve the mission and leadership of a (select one) healthcare, cultural, educational organization through a well-developed skill base encompassing administration, communication, direct and data base marketing, finance, systems and fundraising skills.

or:

Summary of Qualifications: Seasoned communications professional serving the healthcare, educational and insurance sectors with a well-developed skill base including finance, systems (list other functions)....

Primary List of Accomplishments

(list the skill first, then list three work and/ or volunteer accomplishments in both profit and non-profit organizations under each skill; emphasize in each accomplishment how you saved or made money and/or what the results of your actions were; in order to reveal your networks and access to resources (e.g. money); work in the names of your clients if you are able.

Administration

- . accomplishment
- . accomplishment
- . accomplishment

Communications

- . accomplishment
- . accomplishment
- . accomplishment

Direct and Data Base Marketing

- . accomplishment
- . accomplishment
- . accomplishment

Other resume categories include:

Chronological Listing of Employment

(list your last job first: company, title and dates only)

Community Service

(list your volunteer/board affiliations: organization, title and dates)

Professional Memberships

(list organization and dates of membership)

Education

Since these managers already had experience developing chronological resumes, the trainer emphasizes how to make these chronological resumes more "non-profit":

First, eliminate all of the jargon your industry uses. Next, begin your chronological resume with your current volunteer work, listing your achievements underneath. After you list your corporate jobs, accomplishments under each job and the years at each job, make sure there is a category of "Community Service" which indicates a chronological listing of your volunteer work.

Next, the trainer told the class that this exercise of written identity reconstruction would be easier if the corporate managers were first able to verbally express their new identities and in essence reorganize their career

stories¹⁶, by emphasizing their skills and volunteer experience. The story was more detailed than the classroom introduction. The trainer, once again, helped the corporate executives structure a story by giving them the outline of the story:

What are your functional skills? Identify yourself as a marketer, human resources, financial, public relations manager, or manager of information systems.

What have your significant accomplishments been in the profit and the non-profit sectors? How did you help your organization save or make money; how did you change and/or help improve the systems of the organization; what types of improvements/innovations did you bring or make?

What is your management style? Do you enjoy making decisions as part of a team; what is your knowledge of managers in the non-profit world in terms of how they make decisions, how they perform their roles and how they will interact with your function? Have you worked with all levels of the organization; how do you build relationships with other workers within an organization; how would you do it within a non-profit organization (board, staff and volunteers)

What types of resources can you bring to the non-profit organization? Who do you know within the corporate, foundation and funding community? Can you recruit board members and volunteers? What types of donated services could you cultivate?

What has your commitment been to the non-profit sector? Where have you volunteered? What types of projects have you been involved with and what happened as a result of your participation?

¹⁶In Goffman's *Stigma* (1963), he asserts that through the creation of a biography, the individual can sustain different selves and can to a degree claim to be no longer something he was.

The Assessment

With the help of this outline, and an in class "backstage"¹⁷ exercise called "the assessment," the corporate managers began to reconstruct their occupational verbal identities with the help of the trainer. These assessments were conducted one-on-one between the corporate managers and the trainer in front of the class. Here are some examples of the process:

Trainer: Tell me about your background.

Manager: (reads it off a sheet of paper) I am a computer services professional. I began as an engineer and worked my way up to manager.

Trainer: Do you know what you did?

Manager: Yes.

Trainer: So why are you reading it?

Manager: I'm nervous. I also worked at saving my company two million dollars a year.

Trainer: How did you save the company two million dollars a year? Here's the challenge. You need to be able to tell a non-technical manager how you did it. For example, how did you work with your users, how did you help to assess their needs?

Manager: I went to departments within the company and reviewed their business processes. Then, I determined which business practices were costing too much money and set up a team to solve the problem.

Trainer: I understand that some of your clients

¹⁷In Goffman's (1959) Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, he uses the concept "backstage" to describe activities which the audience doesn't see or participate in. Non-profit managers are never in the classroom when "backstage" activities with corporate managers are occurring.

were non-profit organizations. I want you to take your background and relate it to a non-profit organization.

Manager: For the past five years, I have been helping foster inner city kids aged 8-12 years learn the computer.

Trainer: What do you want to do next?

Manager: I want to help public school systems become computerized.

In the early part of the class, corporate managers had not yet formulated how their career story or biography could be used to manage the impressions of a non-profit manager. This particular exercise helped the corporate manager think about the different selves encased within his/her biography. "X" is not just a computer person, but a computer person who has helped inner city kids learn computers. In managing the impressions of public school officials, he could create a biography which stresses his inner city kid self.

Here is an assessment conducted with an advertising manager:

Trainer: Why do you want to work in healthcare?

Manager: With my remaining years...

Trainer: I don't mean to interrupt, but is the language you really want to use to communicate your first impression?

Manager: I'm interested in working in the health field, specifically for an AIDS related organization. I currently volunteer for an AIDS unit of a hospital.

Trainer: Why is this field compelling to you?

Manager: I have first hand experience working with AIDS patients. I have an understanding of direct

service and I want to support this type of organization with my financial and operations skills.

Trainer: When I asked you "why" you wanted to work in this field, I was really asking what is motivating you to move from advertising to working for an AIDS related organization? The "why" in your case is about the organization's mission, not about you. Your understanding of the organization's direct services is motivating you. It may be assumed that the non-profit employer of this type of organization may also be motivated by the organization's mission. Through your understanding of their process, you are identifying with the values of the listener. Through your skills you will be able to support their mission.

If the listener is meeting this manager for the first time and she begins her story with "in my remaining years" several assumptions could be made on the part of the listener. First, that this person plans on disengaging herself from the workforce in a few years. And if this is the case, she may not be motivated to give 100 percent of herself to the mission of the organization. Therefore, she is deadwood. Of course, as the trainer digs a little deeper, she finds that this is not the case at all. This manager has a great deal to offer an AIDS-related organization. Her biography should intentionally reveal her commitment to this type of organization at the beginning of her oral and written presentation.

Another assessment was conducted with a marketing manager:

Trainer: Tell me about your background.

Manager: I've done communications, public

relations, documentaries. I've worked with non-profits on diverse issues.

Trainer: You gave me a skeleton. What kinds of media, what kinds of issues? Who did you work with in the media. Drop some names. What types of publications covered your work? Who were your clients?

Manager: I produced a documentary on public television. It was an educational documentary on an organization which supports battered women.

Another Manager: Non-profits will want what you've done. In this case, bring your corporate life with you--they want it.

Trainer: You need to relate your accomplishments to your non-profit audience. You do know non-profit employers and you do understand at least one non-profit culture. You're not just any marketing manager--you're a marketing manager who understands the non-profit world.

Manager: I developed a communications plan for this non-profit which they can use to develop their media and funding relationships. I created a newsletter for them which is directed at publicizing their educational programs.

Trainer: What are your goals?

Manager: My goals are fuzzy. This volunteer work is more rewarding and more meaningful than the my work in the corporate sector.

Trainer: What does that mean?

Manager: Creating media campaigns for this organization is more meaningful than dealing with the FCC or insider trading.

In this case, the corporate manager has the components of a good non-profit biography. As the manager is probed, the manager becomes more detailed in describing her non-profit behaviors and attitudes, demonstrating her knowledge and understanding of the sector, its managerial

relationships and decision making processes regarding communications, education and fundraising. Her motivation for selecting this reference group over a corporation is specifically defined. It's not just that non-profits give meaning to her life, but that creating media campaigns to reveal the horror of abused women is more meaningful than constructing a media campaign about insider trading. And, yes, this corporate manager's peer is right. This biography must stress the prior corporate culture and positive consequences which arise from the interdependence between the profit and non-profit cultures (Moore 1996; O'Neill 1989).

The following assessment was done with a lender from a financial services corporation.

Trainer: Tell me about your background.

Manager: I have been an adjunct Professor in business for over twenty years.

Trainer: I like that introduction. It conveys that you have been working in the non-profit sector for a long time. Defining yourself as a teacher is very different from defining yourself as a financial services manager.

Manager: As a result of being involved as an adjunct, I was able to assist the Dean of the Business School in creating a graduate summer institute in financial management.

Trainer: You created this institute with the Dean?

Manager: Yes, and with the Chairman of my corporation.

Trainer: You forged a public-private partnership?

Manager: Yes, it ran for eight years. I helped

plan the curriculum and recruitment.

Trainer: Of students?

Manager: And faculty. Every financial service corporation in the area participated.

Trainer: Is this in your resume?

Manager: No.

Trainer: Please make sure this accomplishment is in your resume.

Manager: It will go to six pages!

Trainer: These are great non-profit accomplishments. You developed programs for a university. You built relationships between academics and business people. You raised grant money from financial institutions and you raised tuition from students.

This corporate manager is able to portray himself as a non-profit person with the ability to create interdependent relationships between the corporate and non-profit sectors. However, as was discussed before, many corporate managers do not place their "non-profit selves" on their corporate resumes because it cannot not be used to create a favorable impression before the corporate managerial audience. If this corporate manager eliminates the industry jargon and accomplishments which do not relate to his non-profit audience, he will not have a six page resume!

The New Non-profit Resume

In the classroom, the corporate managers learned that the majority of non-profit human resource managers desire a chronological resume:

Human Resources, Educational Organization: When I

see a resume that is not chronological, I wonder what they are trying to hide. I want to see a summary of qualifications up top, the dates of employment and accomplishments. Volunteer activities are important to list.

Human Resources, Cultural Organization: I want a chronological resume. I want to know where you did it and for how many years. I don't like to see that you have jumped around.

Again, there are always exceptions:

Human Resources, Human Services Organization: I don't care if you send me a functional or a chronological resume. If it's functional, make sure there is a chronological listing of employment. There should also be an objective statement up on top of the resume that tells me what type of job you're looking for.

The following is a discussion between corporate managers and the non-profit human resource managers concerning whether to submit a chronological resume versus a functional resume:

Human Resources Manager: I prefer the chronological resume from people who have eclectic backgrounds. I welcome a cover sheet that helps me make sense of it.

Corporate Manager: What about submitting both (a functional and chronological resume)?

Human Resources Manager: Since we are screening for our organizations, we need to make sure that people aren't selling us a bill of goods. Submit the chronological resume.

Regardless of the debate among human resource professionals around whether or not to submit a functional or a chronological resume, corporate managers were expected to prepare functional and chronological resumes, as a requirement of the class. The rationale behind this is

centered around the belief that even if the corporate manager submits a chronological resume, he/she must be able to convey both in the cover letter and the interview the set of functional skills which he/she will bring to the organization. It is in knowing these functional skills, that corporate managers are able to shed their prior industrial statuses of "banker" and "insurance broker," and take on functional statuses which relate to non-profit organizations such as marketing, management information systems, human resources and financial managers. One can be a corporate or a non-profit manager and share the same functional status. In addition, since resumes would be reviewed and critiqued by a non-profit manager in class, the corporate manager was advised to relate and orient the resume around the mission, language and objectives of the organization with which he/she was interviewing.

In the earlier portion of this paper, examples of "corporate resumes" were presented as indicators of "corporate selves and identities." Here are some examples of the newly crafted non-profit resume (biographies) objectives/summaries and accomplishments which give a different presentation of self utilizing the mission-oriented language and skills needed by non-profit organizations:

Objectives/Summaries

Manager i: Hands-on Accounting Manager with accomplishments and expertise in for-profit and

non-profit accounting and accounting operations, financial systems design, development of managerial policies, financial and MIS procedures, and financial and operational audits.

Manager ii: To support the development activities of a non-profit institution, utilizing over 30 years of multi-faceted leadership experience as a new business developer, fundraiser, board member and corporate planner.

Manager iii: To support the development efforts of a cultural organization utilizing expertise in special events, direct mail, corporate solicitation, organizational management, budget planning and research.

Manager iv: To support the fundraising and marketing efforts of a Human Services organization, utilizing expertise in new business development, marketing and fundraising, financial management, and managerial and organizational leadership.

Manager v: To contribute to the mission and effectiveness of a community-based organization. To support its leadership with over 17 years of nonprofit, corporate and agency marketing communications experience in developing and executing programs that link issues and results among diverse constituencies.

Within these functional resumes, here are examples of how corporate managers selected functions relevant to non-profit organizations, highlighting the accomplishments conducted in both their profit and non-profit work and volunteer lives:

Career Changer I

Fundraising and Project Management

Volunteered and provided musical talent to create audio cassette which will be sold state wide to raise funds for religious organization.

During special assignment with Nigerian affiliate, collaborated and negotiated with African

management to achieve settlement of long overdue funds totalling \$2.1 million.

Career Changer II

Legal

As a volunteer, currently working with the General Counsel of a non-profit human services organization on a variety of legal issues.

Served as Law Clerk to Associate Justice of The Supreme Court of New York.

Closed or nearly closed many large and small transactions (ranging from \$2 million to \$300 million in value), such as tender offers, asset purchases.

Served as Editor of University Law Review.

Career Changer III

Finance

Performed financial analyses for companies with sales ranging from \$30 million to \$12 billion for an investment bank. Efforts involved critiquing projections and recommending cost saving measures. Presented recommendations to board of directors of clients.

Served on budget committee of religious organization. Duties included preparing annual projections for the nearly \$2 million annual budget and comparing the budget to the actual results. Recommended cost saving measures and revenue enhancements totalling \$50,000.

Career Changer IV

New Business Development, Marketing and Fundraising

At a large retail store, increased national sales from \$2 to \$3.5 million dollars in 540 stores.

As President of a human services organization, planned annual Toy Drive/Christmas Party to collect 170 toys for distribution to the Harlem Hospital Orphanage Unit and the Single Parent Resource Center.

Career Changer V

Managerial and Organizational Leadership

Established annual fundraising record of \$80,000 as past President of a 650 member volunteer organization which raises money for charities.

Created high-performance, 12 member team for the bank, delivering average annual net earnings increases of 16% over budget of \$2.5 million.

Finally, corporate managers were encouraged to begin their chronological resumes with their current non-profit volunteer activities. Here is an example:

Nonprofit Communications Consultant

Advising social service agencies regarding opportunities to increase visibility and distinguish their broad range of services.

As a volunteer for a human services organization, plan and execute fundraising campaigns for 10 accounts. Initiate set-up meeting, train campaign captains, address employee groups and provide all appropriate support to assure positive results.

Develop and implement plan to improve marketing and revenue opportunities for a human services organization.

Consulted on Annual Report and communications opportunities for a human services organization.

"The Cover Letter"

Learning the language, values, belief systems, management styles, and goals of an organization, prior to sending in a resume and a cover letter, may appear obvious to the mid-career manager. But, states one human resources manager, "you'd be surprised at the garbage people will send...the cover letter should have some indication that you understand what we do...people tell us they want to work for

a museum and we don't have one!" Another human services human resources manager tells one cohort that people confuse her human services organization with an airline that bears part of the same name.

Within the classroom, non-profit managers tell the corporate managers that cover letters are used to explain both your skills and motivations for wanting to make the transition. One non-profit educational manager states that a cover letter must reveal:

What is compelling you to make this transition? Tell me in your cover letter. Someone who really wants to work for a social service agency won't stay here long and won't be good for our organization over the long term.

Another non-profit financial manager suggests:

A good cover letter is more important than a good resume. The cover letter gets you reading the resume. The resume is presented in a restricted format. The cover letter can answer all questions up front. It makes your reasons for making the transition clear. It shows you really thought about the job.

Cover letters should be succinct and explain any inconsistencies in the resume as this human resource manager explains:

I like a succinct cover letter which highlights your accomplishments. If there is a break in your employment, tell me why in the cover letter. For example, we are about to make an offer to someone who explained that for the past five years, he had been out of the workforce taking care of his children, while his wife worked.

Process for Submitting the Resume and Cover Letter

Presentation of self extends to the written document or

resume, the processes of submitting the resume and the cover letter. With regard to process, many human resources managers of large organizations reveal that they do not take kindly to cold calls from anxious job seekers. One manager of a foundation tells the class that she receives 8,000 resumes a year and many calls from people who "think she has a few minutes." Another warns that she doesn't like people who "bug her to death" because she doesn't have "the staff to answer calls." She maintains that if unsolicited resumes are received and there is a position, she will be in touch.

Of course there are always exceptions to this rule. Another human resources manager of a large non-profit human services organization encourages phone calls from overly persistent job seekers because she "knows you're interested."

Few non-profits use executive recruiting firms or "headhunters" unless they are hiring a senior executive due to expense. Instead they use advertising, the Internet and alumni associations in order to recruit managers.

One human resources manager from a university describes their selection process:

You can't network yourself into a university. It isn't like a corporation. Every job is posted and we are required to advertise all jobs so that any applicant can apply. You must meet the minimum qualifications. I post the jobs on our home page. In addition to the using the Internet to post jobs, we use the Chronicle of Higher Education for jobs that require academic experience and the New York Times for financial and technical jobs.

The recruitment process varies from one organization to another. Another human resources manager informs the class that because she works for a well-known non-profit, there is no need to advertise because she is "deluged with resumes."

"The Non-profit Interview": Achieving the Right Chemistry

In class, the corporate managers learned that the non-profit interviewer expects that the corporate manager not only come armed with a set of appropriate skills and volunteer experience, but be passionate about and motivated towards the mission of the organization. Aspiring employees need to anticipate the non-profit manager's expectations concerning appearance, attitude and commitment. It is only by anticipating and adhering to the expectations of the interviewer that "the right chemistry" or identification with the other occurs.

Having "the right chemistry" is essentially a managed interaction where the expectations of both the audience and performer are met. A non-profit communications manager gives the class her definition of chemistry:

Everybody has a style with which they are comfortable. Through the interaction between the two of us, I get to feel if the chemistry is right. The way you speak, your ability to listen and pay attention, your appearance, your handshake, your eye contact, your efforts to learn about our organization and your enthusiasm about our organization will affect the chemistry between us.

A career changer who is now the executive director of a non-profit organization tells the class why chemistry is

important:

The chemistry must be based on how well the candidate knows my organization, and how well I think his personality will fit within this culture. Since my organization is small, you can't afford to have one person in there who irritates the others.

The Rules for Achieving Chemistry

Human resource and non-profit managers suggest the following rules for achieving the right chemistry in an interview:

Watch your Attitude during the Interview

In achieving the "right chemistry" one human resources manager warns against bullying:

I won't be bullied. People from corporations may have the attitude that they are so superior because they were with a big corporation for 30 years. Well, that's great. But, if you want to be here, you had better think about presenting yourself in a different way.

People make big mistakes walking into a non-profit assuming they know what we know. They know nothing about the backgrounds of the people they will be working with. For all they know, their old boss from a bank may be working for the organization they are interviewing with. Why assume things? There's a fine line between offering your expertise and assuming that the people you are talking to have no idea what you are talking about.

Another human resources manager wanted to make sure that career changers who are out of work are prepared to take a reduction in salary:

If career changer was making \$75,000 a year and now they are out of work, they can't expect to make \$85,000 in their new career because they aren't making \$75,000 any more. You must be prepared to go down because of the reality of the

economy, or because you are making an investment in yourself in order to change careers.

Learn the Culture and Where You Fit

One human resources manager from a cultural organization maintains that the corporate manager's presentation of self must incorporate the culture of the organization with which he/she is interviewing:

People in transition must present themselves in a fresh way to each organization, learning as much about the organization as possible beforehand. You must learn about the culture before you interview. We have to believe that you'll fit in and give to us.

Another human resources manager comments:

We look to see that you have made a commitment to our industry, that you have an understanding of what we do. If someone has made the effort to learn the human services sector, that gets my attention. If you know where you might fit, that impresses me.

Our culture is paternalistic and we nurture our employees to a great degree. We do less of pushing people out and try to counsel people back in. We need to know what your supervisory style is like and what you're comfortable with regarding your work environment. It's important that you have a good feeling about our City and that you are comfortable in the City or you won't like us.

In learning where to fit in, a human resources manager of a foundation advises that corporate managers think about "taking a job of lower status and then transforming the function and operation of the whole organization."

Volunteer

The executive director of a service organization advises corporate managers to volunteer so that they can

learn the culture and be perceived as a member of the culture:

It is through volunteering that you learn the underlying substance of the work. It is also through volunteering that you will be perceived as having learned it. They will think of you as one of them.

Once inside a culture, it is possible for a corporate manager to form a cognitive map of the organization so that links with significant individuals are formed and their expectations, in order of importance, may be learned (Van Maanen 1977). A community foundation manager believes that volunteering is "the best training ground for understanding what the sector is about." The volunteer experience may lead to a position within the organization. A human resources manager tells the class the reason why:

A volunteer who has been with us for six years is now looking for a job inside the organization. He'll be taken seriously because he knows important people in the organization and has learned the culture.

Listen to your Interviewer

It is not only important that the corporate manager have the skills and expertise, but he/she must understand how those particular skills and expertise can help solve organizational problems. A human resources manager points out that one manager she interviewed did not understand who his "audience" was:

I just interviewed someone who didn't listen to anything I was saying. He didn't watch my body language. I told him that I was a very 'cranky' user (computers) and that there were a number of

us who had concerns from the user point of view.

Well, this was his opportunity to ask me what my problems were. He said nothing. When you're interviewing, everything is a conversation. I'm your audience.

Preparing for the Mock Interview: The Dress Rehearsal

Recap: During the first session of the Program, the corporate managers were asked, by the trainer, to select one non-profit organization from a list of four non-profit organizations (designated by the trainer). Consequently, all assignments, including the resumes and mock interview, were based on the non-profit organization the corporate manager selected. In preparation for their mock interview with a career changer, now employed in the non-profit sector or with a non-profit "career manager", the trainer coordinated an exercise, during session #8, called "the dress rehearsal." This interactive exercise, between each corporate manager in the class and the trainer, helped the corporate manager "learn his/her lines." Before the interactive exercise between the trainer and the class commenced, the 15 corporate managers broke up into four different groups, based on the organization they had selected, and were charged with figuring out how they could each make a difference in the organization they had selected. After about 15-20 minutes, trainer asked the four groups to reassemble around the large table and to present their ideas, individually, before the group and before the trainer, who played the role of the non-profit manager. The

trainer, then critiqued each corporate manager. This exercise forced the corporate manager to revisit the expectations of non-profit managers and project an understanding or empathy towards the non-profit culture. Empathy, according to Gudykunst and Kim (1984), involves "a display of respect, responding to others in a non-judgmental way, initiating and terminating interaction based on the needs and desires of others. People who empathize with others don't use the perspective of their own culture when interpreting other cultures."

In "making a difference" the manager was challenged to demonstrate empathy by linking his motivation with the mission of the organization. Here are some examples of the dress rehearsal responses to "making a difference" within several non-profit organizations:

Human Services Organization

Corporate Manager I: I know, from reading your annual report, that you want to create a donor-oriented program. With my background in strategic planning, I could help you evaluate the process, evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the process and segment the donor market. I would conduct in-depth interviews with segments of the donor market. I would then, take the results of the interviews and map them against the mission of the organization.

Trainer: I want to see you going through the process. How will you make this happen? I see your path: step 1, step 2, step 3. What are you doing in between those steps? How would you go about segmenting the donor market? Who do you think these donors are? How would you get to them? What would be discussed in the interviews?

Corporate Manager II: I know that you are

responsible to donors and the agencies in which you deliver funds. I know you are also looking at ways to cut costs. I can assist you in becoming more efficient and economical. I can help you determine which services can be consolidated. My budgeting background could assist me in analyzing how your agencies use their funds, whether they are using their funds and where the shortfalls are.

Trainer: I can see the big picture. You're a big picture person. I still need to see you doing it. I need to see you in action. How would you go about determining if there is a duplication of services among agencies? When organizations make these kinds of inquiries, people "freak out." It may mean that you will get rid of people. How do you handle the sensitivity of that situation. Effectiveness in the corporate and non-profit sector may mean different things. Within this particular non-profit, do you understand the criteria for success and how to measure it? Most non-profits are lean to begin with and there is no room to cut. What words can you use to convey that you are sensitive? You want to help them in using "their money effectively." If there are, in fact, a duplication of services, you want to be able to develop systems which encourage collaboration and cooperation among agencies. These are positive words.

Healthcare Organization

Corporate Manager I: I believe that I may be able to assist you in identifying new sources of funds. I have been effective in making links and raising new sources of income. I can also assist you in recruiting volunteers.

Trainer: Give life to your ideas. Let the interviewer know the kinds of funding sources you will be able to approach. What is your strategy for helping them attract volunteers? What types of volunteers would you go after? What would they look like? The more specific you are, the greater impression you will make.

You will come across better when you give concrete examples of what you mean and when you believe that you actually can make a difference. More importantly, the interviewer has to believe you. A former student of mine who just made a

transition said that he got the job because "they believed me...they believed that I wanted to be there and to raise money for them." You must believe this yourself or they will not. OK, now how can you (Corporate Manager II) make a difference?

Corporate Manager II: One of your major challenges is that you want to fund research. I know that you want to create an awareness about your cause. I can help you by creating special events.

Trainer: Fill in the blanks. Dream. What type of event would you do? If you come up with an event which is really "special" it will separate you from the rest of the applicants.

Cultural Organization

Corporate Manager I: I want to help reduce the deficit by creating an event.

Trainer: What kind of event?

Corporate Manager I: An event with great musicians.

Trainer: For example? Come up with an event!

Corporate Manager II: I know you're facing a deficit. I can produce a direct mail campaign for you which would be segmented--getting the right message to the right person. In developing the mailing list, I would use the lists of other cultural organizations.

Trainer: Which organizations?

Corporate Manager II: The Metropolitan Opera, museums, Art News, Crains.

Trainer: Let the interviewer know that you know the kinds of lists you would need to launch an effective direct mail campaign. Tell the interviewer that you have a feel for their audience, that your dad is a musician.

Community Development Organization

Corporate Manager I: When I visited your organization, I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. X and he told me that you are developing a new

strategic plan. I understand that its purpose is to build a broad communications program targeted at your constituencies: the board, funding sources and government agencies.

Trainer: What would your message be?

Corporate Manager I: They are the social, economic and cultural anchor of their community.

Corporate Manager II: I believe that in order to raise funds, you need a comprehensive marketing and communications plan. You need a strategy that encompasses the execution of materials, brochures and advertising...

Trainer: Be careful in assuming that they need this! You might begin with, "I understand from reading your literature that you are engaged in developing a new strategic plan. I may be able to help..." Ok, now be specific, what would you do?

Corporate Manager II: I would create, produce and narrate a public service announcement to help create a wider awareness for your goals, mission and needs.

Trainer: What has to be communicated within this public service announcement? What is the angle? What would you stress? What would make it sexy? Think about a campaign. Start to dream. If you got in the door, what would you do to show them off to their constituencies? What about creating a video that brings people to tears?

The Mock Interview

By the end of the five week Program, the corporate managers were at different stages in the development of their identities and this became apparent in the one-on-one interviews between the corporate managers and the non-profit interviewers. During these mock interviews, the corporate manager had a five minute interaction, a back and forth dialogue, with either a non-profit manager who had themselves originated in the corporate sector or with

someone who had spent their whole career in the non-profit sector. Of course, "in real life," the corporate manager might encounter either type of non-profit manager. The purpose of including career changers in this exercise is that it is likely that he/she both identifies with the struggle of the corporate manager and understands the expectations of the new organizational culture. The career changer is in a position to help the corporate manager anticipate, learn and adapt within his/her organization. The non-profit "career" managers, on the other hand, are interested in assessing whether the corporate manager is ready to become a bonafide organizational member in a new sector.

I first focus on interviews which indicate that additional anticipatory socialization, such as volunteering or interning is required:

Human Services Organization (Career Non-profit Manager)

Non-profit Manager: I've looked at your resume. It seems that your expertise is in marketing and public relations. How do you think your skills translate from profit to non-profit?

Corporate Manager: I worked for a small corporation and when I started, I was making \$150 a week. When I left, I was making \$150,000 a year. I increased their sales from \$3 to \$7 million with no advertising budget and lots of press.

Non-profit Manager: You mentioned salary (class laughs). If you worked for us, you'd be working long hours for less pay. What is it about the non-profit sector that interests you? Where does your interest in us come from?

Corporate Manager: Last year, I began volunteering. I love it. They appreciate me.

Non-profit Manager: You've had volunteer experience and exposure to non-profits?

Corporate Manager: Yes, I get clothing manufacturers to donate clothing to this organization, and then they receive donations for the clothing.

Non-profit Manager: Volunteering has given you a taste of non-profits. Volunteers are essential to us. They provide the oversight; they own the organization. If you were given a position in the non-profit sector, you would be working with volunteers. What is your understanding of the role of the professional manager vis-a-vis the volunteer who would be working with the professional manager?

Corporate Manager: Can you speak English?
(At this point, it was clear that the corporate manager was having difficulty understanding the language and the role relationships of the non-profit sector.)

Non-profit Manager: Non-profits have professional managers and volunteers working together. The board members volunteer their time, give money, expertise and skills. The professional manager is hired by the board to run the day-to-day operations. Any manager who gets a job with a non-profit organization will be working with volunteers and with volunteer committees. The public relations committee is composed of volunteers. You are considered staff. It is likely in an interview that you will be asked about your staff role in working with volunteers. In fact, it may be the question on which your interview turns.

Many professional managers fail because they don't have an effective working relationship with their volunteers. The volunteers own the organization. In every field, there is jargon e.g. the role of the professional manager vs. the role of the volunteer or board member and how they interact. It's better you hear this now.

Corporate Manager: I have never gotten a job through a resume. People hire me because they

like me.

Non-profit Manager: When you work in a non-profit organization, you have to be people oriented. The fact that you are a people person suggests that you like working with people. That gives me a positive impression that you will have the ability to meet with people and that they will like you. If someone were to ask you how do you work with volunteers, you might say I'm a people person and I love working effectively with all types of people.

If you really are interested in working in the non-profit sector, give examples of your interest during the interview such as other volunteer experiences.

Corporate Manager: I will be working with two other human service organizations.

Non-profit Manager: Bring that out in the interview. Do you want the job because you're interested in the non-profit sector or because you want a job? Are you committed and involved? I suggest that you bring it out. I always look for that. I've seen hundreds of resumes. I look for people who have been involved with the non-profit sector. The non-profit sector must be part of your personality and thinking.

This corporate manager needs additional anticipatory socialization because the non-profit manager is not convinced that the corporate manager understands the culture, language and role relationship between the non-profit manager and the volunteer. The non-profit manager wants to see evidence that the corporate manager has a non-profit self. Perhaps, the volunteer experiences would help shape the expected identity.

The following manager also had problems exposing his non-profit self:

Human Services Organization (Career Changer)

Non-profit Manager: I'm curious, what position did you report to and how did your boss's job differ from yours?

Corporate Manager: I reported to the controller. He was the head of budgeting systems.

Non-profit Manager: Were you one of a number of assistant controllers?

Corporate Manager: Yes. I wore two hats. I also was the controller of the corporate foundation.

Non-profit Manager: How did you juggle both your profit and non-profit hats?

Corporate Manager: I only wore my non-profit hat 10 percent of the time. I enjoyed that part of my job the most, especially the discussion of the grants.

Non-profit Manager: What information did you provide?

Corporate Manager: Financial reports and procedures.

Non-profit Manager: Do you see your transition into non-profit as a challenge?

Corporate Manager: The cultures are different. I've been having lots of informational interviews. At the corporate foundation, I was involved with endowment investment income. I didn't get involved with fundraising. I never went home feeling satisfied. I hope to feel that way working for a non-profit.

Critique

Non-profit Manager: You want to be prepared to offer more. You need to get me to think that you really want to be in the non-profit sector. Relate your experience to the non-profit world. You did that towards the end. Talk more about the (corporate) foundation. Take advantage of opportunities in the interview. The interviewer has a list of questions. The interviewer will stop you if you're taking too much of their time. You were forthcoming and I appreciated that.

There was no appearance of being overly cocky.

The Human Services interviewer is looking for the corporate manager to talk more about his foundation because it would be an indication that he understands how the non-profit world works. The interviewer also indicates that the tone of voice used in communicating knowledge or the avoidance of appearing "cocky" is appreciated. Thus, the way in which one presents oneself becomes as important as the knowledge itself. Here is an example of a corporate manager who still has this lesson to learn:

Healthcare Organization (Career Changer)

Non-profit Manager: Why do you want to work for a non-profit?

Corporate Manager: Over the years, I have worked in both profit and non-profit and frankly, I sleep better when I work in non-profit. It's more satisfying. I'm not motivated by profit. The non-profit world is the real world. There's more emotional satisfaction; more emotional profit in non-profit.

Non-profit Manager: Tell me about your job in local government. How did you jump right in?

Corporate Manager: I didn't jump in. It jumped on me! I've always been a political volunteer. After moving to my community I was asked to run and I did.

Non-profit Manager: And you served for six years?

Corporate Manager: Seven years total. I was instrumental in changing the old form of government into a new form of government where the people would elect the officials directly. They first elected me by committee and when we changed the government, I became the first elected official.

Non-profit Manager: What is it about your skills

and experience that is propelling you into the non-profit sector?

Corporate Manager: I'm a good communicator. I have won over 100 awards for my writing skills. I'm a good manager and spokesperson.

I've done every form of communication: strategic planning in government, non-profit and business. I have good skills as a writer. I've written a novel, a screen play and articles. I'm a good manager. Most managers can't create and most creative people can't manage. I'd like to think I can do both well.

Critique

Non-profit Manager: You come on strong. You might come on a little heavy. I wanted to know more about your skills and how they can be applied to our organization.

Mental Health Organization (Career Changer)

Non-profit Manager: Please tell me about your self and your strengths.

Corporate Manager: My specialty is people and fundraising. I've also been doing organizational development for 20 years, since I was five (laughs).

The organizational development work combines systems theory and psychoanalytic theory. In other words, what motivates people to think and how can they move organizations forward. The area I'm interested in is mergers and creating new corporate cultures. I've been working with a bank which merged with another bank. You're dealing with two cultures. I've also worked in South Africa helping the black and colored townships achieve financial viability working together with the whites. I've built a strategy in which the local radio stations are working with the local non-governmental agencies and they are working with the local corporations and foundations. It's community development work.

Non-profit Manager: How did you develop the strategy?

Corporate Manager: In South Africa or in general?

Non-profit Manager: Either one.

Corporate Manager: It varies depending on the corporation. There's no formula. I see that your organization is about to merge with another non-profit.

Non-profit Manager: How did you know?

Corporate Manager: I did my homework.

With mergers, systems get thrown in the air. Important things get stirred up. After the merger, it doesn't go away. I look at the issues in defining a new structure and a new culture.

Non-profit Manager: I notice that you have raised money. Please elaborate.

Corporate Manager: Yes I raised money to promote a literacy campaign in 200 cities throughout the world.

I'm well connected with corporations and foundations throughout the country. I sold what I believed in....Your organization is so large that the tendency may be to swallow up the organization you are merging with and it just becomes a program. This is a disservice to you. Their culture could be expansive to you. You need to create a compelling vision that the entire organization will buy into. If you don't you'll be in trouble.

Critique

Non-profit Manager: You have great credentials and I like the way you presented yourself. You are articulate. There's one problem. You have two areas of expertise. It's hard to consider you because it's difficult for me to determine what it is you do. Focus on either organizational development or fundraising.

Corporate Manager: What should I have focused on with you?

Non-profit Manager: We need both of the things you have. Select one thing and stick with it.

In this particular case, the non-profit manager wants

the corporate manager to define the role she wants to play in terms of a singular function. This, of course, is not always the case. There are organizations with scarce resources which may need to recruit managers to assume multiple tasks. There are other organizations which are interested in understanding all of the possible tasks the applicant can perform before directing him/her to the appropriate department managers within the organization, for more extensive interviews. It's difficult to anticipate what the expectations of an interviewer might be. This corporate manager might have asked the non-profit manager, up front, what the organization's greatest challenges were regarding both organizational development and fundraising and after learning these expectations, focused on the manager's greatest area of concern. It's important to engage the interviewer so that the corporate manager can build a biography filled with non-profit selves based on the expectations of the interviewer.

The Successful Mock Interview

Successful mock interviews occur when a corporate manager meets the expectations of the non-profit manager. The corporate manager, in each of these cases, is able to engage the interviewer through the use of a non-profit biography which portrays an empathetic non-profit self, sharing a similarity of experience and status with the non-profit interviewer. Here are some examples:

Human Resources Organization (Career Changer)

Non-profit Manager: Please tell me about your background.

Corporate Manager: I've spent most of my career doing product marketing, specifically to the \$20 million a year African-American market. Before that, I sold holiday items which generated \$3 1/2 million a year for the company.

I wanted to interview with you because three weeks ago, I read your ad and learned that you help 5,000 people every month and that "all of these people got a second chance at happiness." I thought "wow", if I could work for an organization which gives that much to people, well...I have something in mind.

As a volunteer, I have created events for non-profits. I know that every year you do the XX event. I want to be an events planner and plan an event which would complement your event. In the Spring, I would bring together the manufacturers, retailers and designers of the home care industry. Their contributions would benefit the homeless and we would call it "Homeward Bound."

Critique

He was excellent. You have the passion. You found the fit, the angle--the link. You gave me a specific example that I valued right away. You know a lot about us. You did your homework.

Hospital (Career Manager)

Non-profit Manager: I don't know how much you know about hospitals.

Corporate Manager: You know something, I read your annual report!

Non-profit Manager: Then you know that we're in the midst of a capital campaign and we are building a donor base to support us beyond the campaign. I'm interested to know what is motivating you to move to the non-profit sector?

Corporate Manager: That's a fair question. The last couple of years, I've been volunteering for a non-profit human services organization. I have

found my passion. I realize that I like being involved in a cause which benefits society. I don't get the same feeling when I'm drafting merger agreements. I realize that I have a commitment to this organization because I believe in what they're doing. My belief in them has caused me to experience fundamental career happiness. It's not too late to change careers.

Non-profit Manager: What skills do you bring?

Corporate Manager: As a corporate lawyer, I bring analytical skills. I have some knowledge of the healthcare field, but it is not my area of expertise. I have a smattering of experience as a fundraiser. As a volunteer, I have been successful in soliciting donations from others. Before I asked people for donations, I found that it was important to listen to what was going on in their lives. The donor has needs and most successful fundraising builds on those needs.

Non-profit Manager: Did you like asking for money?

Corporate Manager: Yes, I did. For me soliciting face-to-face makes a difference. Connections aren't made over the phone. My strength is in developing relationships.

Non-profit Manager: You could initiate a planned giving program. Do you have experience in planned giving?

Corporate Manager: No. But I have received some materials on planned giving.

Non-profit Manager: It wouldn't take you long to learn.

Corporate Manager: When I worked for a law firm, I organized a fundraising campaign for this organization with which I'm now volunteering. Colleagues wanted to know why they should commit their money and devote their time to this organization. I was able to answer their questions.

Non-profit Manager: What type of organization do you want to work for?

Corporate Manager: I'd like to work for a healthcare organization and I'm not just saying

that (class laughs). I was a biology major in college and once entertained notions of going to medical school. I volunteered for a hospital between my sophomore and junior years in college. Recently, personal family experiences have led to interactions with hospitals and I recognize the importance of total healthcare; of caring for the individual, and not just the disease.

Critique

Non-profit Manager: If I could get my boss to sign off on my hiring an assistant, I would hire you tomorrow.

Corporate Manager: I'd start tomorrow!

This manager also interviewed a systems manager:

Non-profit Manager: I see that you have an extensive background in accounting. Why do you want to move to a hospital?

Corporate Manager: It's a two step decision. The first decision was to work in the non-profit arena. I've been involved with non-profits for 25 years and I know the difference between an organization which earns a profit and an organization which cares about people. I'm an accountant and a systems analyst. I bring the skills of financial control and systems building. I understand that hospitals are on the cutting edge of technology and have gleaned that they are investing in managed care.

I'm uniquely qualified to help hospitals identify cost savings within their present systems and processes and to help them build cost effective systems and processes.

Non-profit Manager: I like that a lot. Hospitals are behind in their infrastructure. They need technology to run the hospital.

Corporate Manager: It's good to hear that there's a need. I've been taking courses in healthcare management. I have a certificate in healthcare management.

Non-profit Manager: Do you have recent experience in non-profit management?

Corporate Manager: Yes, I've done consulting for a mental health organization.

Critique

Non-profit Manager: I'd be happy to pass your resume a long within my organization. I'd be more aggressive in stating your skills up front.

Cultural Organization (Career Manager)

Non-profit Manager: I see that you have non-profit clients. Why do you want to make the shift from profit to non-profit?

Corporate Manager: I spend a lot of time on the job.

Non-profit Manager: This will not change!

Corporate Manager: If I spend time working advertising tooth paste, it means nothing. I volunteer for an organization that saves homeless kids and I know I want to work for a non-profit.

Non-profit Manager: Define direct response.

Corporate Manager: If a television commercial has a phone number at the end--that's direct response. If a radio announcement has a phone number in it, that's direct response.

Non-profit Manager: Why do you want to work for us?

Corporate Manager: I'm the only "suit" in my family. Everyone in my family is a classical musician and has played at jazz clubs in Harlem. I like the marketing area. I would like to market something I believe in.

Non-profit Manager: You must put your soul into your fundraising pitch. You must believe in what you're doing. You know when someone's trying to sell you something, they don't believe in.

Critique

Non-profit Manager: Your skills are transferable. I love the story about your family. We are looking for someone with marketing skills. Please keep in touch.

Community Based Organization (Career Changer)

Non-profit Board Member: Please give me a two minute overview of yourself.

Corporate Manager: I've been working as a volunteer fundraiser. I am learning how non-profit agencies work in the Bronx and in Brooklyn. I also do pro bono marketing work for another human services agency. Prior to these two experiences, I did marketing and communications for a financial services organization.

Non-profit Board Member: What position are you interested in?

Corporate Manager: A group of us visited your organization and we discovered that you are developing new directions for the organization. I would be interested in creating a strategic communications plan which would reach all of your constituencies.

Non-profit Board Member: We are in the midst of change. We are moving towards economic development as the underpinning of our organization. We support other non-profit services. We need to find a way to sustain these non-profit services. There's not enough public funding. We need to look for a way to augment the funding of this organization. We believe that it can be done through economic development.

Corporate Manager: I understand from visiting your organization that you're developing moderate, affordable housing. Tell me more.

Non-profit Board Member: Over the years, our neighborhood has suffered economically. We now see a change. The middle class is coming back. How can we convince younger people to come back? They won't come unless we can provide services so that they feel something is happening.

If you come to work with us, what is your salary range?

Corporate Manager: I'm flexible. It depends on the job responsibilities. I'm anxious to continue my non-profit career.

Non-profit Board Member: Why do you want to make a

transition?

Corporate Manager: For the last two years, the corporate sector hasn't excited me. I've been active in the non-profit sector, to some extent, all of my life. I want to give back.

Critique

You did a great thing which surprised me. You came out to see our organization. I wasn't prepared for the amount of knowledge you had about us. It was a very comfortable interview. There is a possibility that if we were looking for a strategic communications person, you'd be a serious candidate. You were very direct. You curried me. You became involved. The question you asked me strengthened my impression of you.

All five of the corporate managers interviewed in this section are now working for non-profit organizations because they learned to anticipate the cultural expectations of the interviewer. They learned to anticipate the interviewer's expectations through observing and networking with the non-profit manager in and outside of the classroom.

It is through the process of networking with non-profit employers that career changers ultimately find employment in the non-profit sector.

Networking

Granovetter (1995) notes that when career changers have few professional ties in occupations other than their own, they must build new professional ties through voluntary groups in order to build a new occupational network. It is only through joining a new group that the career changer will be able to shorten the information chain between his/herself and the employer. The shorter the information

chain between the recruit and the employer, the more likely it is that the recruit will be hired. The best information chain is the zero information chain, where the employer and the recruit know each other. A chain length of two indicates that there are two intermediaries between the employer and the recruit. An employer looks to an intermediary's network of contacts, if the employer does not have the likely candidate as part of the original applicant pool.

Within the classroom and in interviews with 35 additional career changers, I found that the majority of these career changers find their jobs through contacts either with the employer or with an intermediary of the employer. In other words, the majority of the career changers find their jobs through networking. A smaller percentage find their jobs through formal means (e.g. advertisements in newspapers, employment agencies).

Within the classroom, corporate managers learned about and engaged in the process of networking. Successful graduates of the Program tell the class how important networking is in finding their jobs in the non-profit sector:

Development Manager, Human Service Organization:
The most direct link to employment was through this class. A person from my organization came to speak to the class and he referred me to his colleague. The colleague introduced me to my future boss. It took a long time for me to find a job and it's all in the timing. Circle back to the people you interview with. People leave and

retire. Persistence pays off. Think of excuses to write to people. Send them articles. Send them thank you notes. Zero in on what they think is important.

Database Manager, Human Services Organization: A direct personal contact gets you the job faster than reading the paper. I heard about this position through the class.

Development Manager, Human Services Organization: I immersed myself in networking. I did lots of informational interviewing and then had a regimen where I followed up. Even people I didn't think I should call I did. Be persistent. Go back to those you interview with. Volunteering in the community helps you network.

International Development Manager: There are 135,000 former volunteers in my organization--a good network. When you tell former volunteers that you were doing international development, they know what that means.

Here is an example of the networking process within the classroom between a corporate and non-profit manager:

Corporate Manager: If you were hiring a development person and got resumes from someone who didn't have the typical development background, what would make you invite this person in for an interview?

Development Manager: It would depend on the level of the job.

Corporate Manager: I haven't been a development manager, but I can raise money. I recently raised \$300,000 for a community development project.

Development Manager: That sounds like fundraising to me.

Corporate Manager: I raised one million dollars in advertising for a national literacy campaign.

Development Manager: Please see me after class.

It is within this chapter, that we see the extent to

which the corporate manager's identity is tied to his/her prior corporate world view. The Program and each of its components are an effort to help the manager relinquish the many ingrained habits that have become "second nature" to the long-term corporate manager. It is within each of these steps that the corporate managers are able to develop a greater sensitivity to the non-profit sector.

In summary, a component in becoming fluent in the language and culture of the non-profit sector is a result of learning these expectations from established employees in the non-profit world. Not only did the corporate managers need to learn the facts and expectations from a non-profit peer group, but they needed to begin networking with this peer group as well. It was through the various Program components, that the managers were, in fact, able to present their new non-profit selves, network with non-profit employees and learn their cultural expectations. The interactions (e.g. interviewing, feedback on resume and introductions from non-profit managers, discussions between the corporate and non-profit managers during classroom sessions on non-profit role and cultural expectations) were intended to give the corporate managers practice in dealing with non-profit gatekeepers and to gain access to employment opportunities within the non-profit sector.

Chapter VII

Transition from the Profit to the Non-profit World

Learning Cultural Expectations

Introduction

Non-profit managers understand what is needed to succeed in their sector. Within the context of the classroom, many non-profit managers came and talked to the displaced managers about their own careers. Instead of teaching in an abstract way, non-profit managers related their own personal experiences as a way of showing the importance of certain roles and ideas. Their "moral tales" are in fact professional sign posts which describe the most important roles in the non-profit sector.

From the corporate manager's perspective, these lectures by non-profit managers informed them about the expectations held by people in the non-profit world. However, the students have to separate out the personal details of the stories from the message: what is expected of them when they interview and when they get a job.

Within the classroom, the dislocated managers learned about the role expectations of key managerial positions as well as some of the values guiding behavior in non-profit cultures. They learned that volunteerism is an essential socializing process in both learning the cultural expectations of non-profits and in substantiating their commitment to the sector. It is in learning the expected

attitudes and behaviors from this reference group of future peers, that the dislocated managers are able to continue reshaping their identities.

Non-profit Managerial Career Paths

Dislocated managers learned non-profit cultural expectations by hearing established non-profit managers describe their own career paths. The Program arranged for two kinds of non-profit managers to address the students: "career non-profit managers" and those corporate managers who have successfully attained managerial positions in the non-profit sector. This first section focuses on the career paths of those non-profit career managers who have spent their entire career in the non-profit sector.

Bill is a healthcare fundraiser who has spent his entire career in healthcare. He describes his career path this way:

I knew when I was in college that I was committed to healthcare. I wanted to be involved in finding a cure for cancer! After college, I worked for a surgeon who was also a researcher and I was exposed to the medical side of a hospital. While working for this surgeon, the hospital paid for my MBA. I later learned that the development department was about to launch a huge capital campaign and was looking for an entry level person to do foundation and corporate fundraising. The development department believed that they could train the right person to do development, but could not teach someone the hospital culture in such a short amount of time. It was a perfect melding of their needs and my background. I worked my way up in the development department. It was a great place to be trained and I spent sixteen years with this institution.

What did corporate managers learn from this hospital

fundraiser who was raised in a hospital culture the beginning of his career? First, the non-profit manager's biography indicates that he entered the field motivated by the mission of the organization. Second, the organization does not want to spend either the time or the money training a manager unfamiliar with the hospital culture. Third, though the hospital culture may not have been willing to invest its resources in the training of an outsider, it is willing to invest its resources in the staff development of a loyal, committed employee. Fourth, the investment results in the long term career advancement of this employee within the organization. The lesson in Bill's biography is that non-profit people put their sense of mission on their sleeve, that they prefer promoting insiders. That once inside, demonstrating commitment, promotion opportunities follow.

Bill continues:

The next logical career move was to go to a smaller institution for a bigger job. I was recruited by a smaller institution where I became the number two fundraiser. I'm now the chief fundraiser at another hospital.

I think when you are starting out in the healthcare field, you should select a hospital where you are exposed to everything in a fundraising department--capital campaigns, planned giving, major donors. You need to learn the big picture.

Here the corporate manager learns that if one begins as generalist working for a large institution, the next logical career move is to become a more senior manager at a smaller

or medium sized institution.

Bill continues:

I now have a career changer working for me. He doesn't know development, but he has made it his mission to take on anything.

This was a hint that successful adaptation within a new organizational culture requires the new recruit to be willing to "take on anything."

Sam, the president of a national arts organization reveals his career path:

When I was in college, my father wanted me to become a lawyer or a dentist. I went for the big money--I was an English major!..After college, I faced my first bold reality: all of the poet jobs were taken! I began substitute teaching in junior high which I believe every American should do. Then I went into real estate for three years where I learned marketing, accounting and sales. I knew that I wanted to be involved with the arts world. I knew that being an artist was not my calling. But I found a field called arts administration where I could combine my creative impulses with business management skills. I entered the field the traditional way through an internship and eventually worked my way up to executive director.

For the past ten years, I have been the president of a national organization committed to the local arts agency movement. It's a growing movement. In 1965, there were 600 local arts organizations. Today, there are 3,800 local arts organizations.

Peter Drucker (1990) claims that the first job "is like a lottery and the chances of being in the right place are not very good (in the beginning of one's career)." He believes that "it takes a few years to find out where you belong and to begin self-placement." Similarly, in the case of this manager, it takes some time before he finds the

career sequence (Hughes 1981) which will lead him to his present position. The arts administration career sequence begins with an internship. Internships, according to Brim and Wheeler (1966) provide "an opportunity for using what is learned" within the organization. For this manager, the internship is a socializing process which prepares him for leadership roles within his organization.

Both Bill and Sam have homogeneous career sequences. In other words, they have moved exclusively within their own industries, and their networks involve members of the same occupation. Rosow (1965) categorizes such managers as "socialized." A socialized member conforms to expectations about the behaviors and values of his/her group. The more committed, the more intense his/her effort is within the organization. A socialized member, according to Rosow, conforms to the values of his/her organization on moral rather than utilitarian grounds. Bill and Sam's self-image and identity are linked to their role within the occupation (Trice and Beyer 1993; Rosow 1974).

Corporate managers who change careers, or withdraw from their prior role, have a harder task than Bill and Sam. They must develop a new peer network of non-profit practitioners who can socialize, mentor and help them structure the next occupational sequence of their life cycle.

The Successful Career Changer's Sequence

Throughout the life-cycle, an individual is engaged in

a series of role changes and life transitions (George 1993; Moen et al. 1992; Neugarten and Datan 1973). An important part of the Program involved successful career changers discussing these role changes and life transitions with the corporate managers. Since some of them have been in the same situation as the displaced managers, their advice carries special weight, and their insights are often quite deep. Dan was a financial lender who began his own non-profit:

My career started as a commercial banker. Most loan officers have written into their job descriptions that they take a leadership role in the community. That means working with non-profits and their boards. I did this for twenty-five years or longer. I had the responsibility for raising over 100 million dollars for my community.

I believe that you're best off getting a generalized background in development before you specialize. Most Chief Executives of decent size agencies have a broad managerial background.

Dan was able to create a peer network of non-profit managers through his work at his corporation. He is familiar with the role of fundraiser because he has practiced this role, under the "guardianship of peers" for over 25 years. Since he was socialized by this peer network and had acquired their values, he felt comfortable creating a non-profit fundraising organization which helps non-profit managers survive government reductions. It is also interesting to note that having been socialized by non-profit managers, Dan takes their point of view with regard

to the career sequence of fundraisers.

Utilization of Successful Anticipatory Socialization

In his various corporate and volunteer roles, Dan was exposed to anticipatory socialization processes which allowed him the opportunity to practice and learn the expected attitudes and behaviors from a reference group of future non-profit peers. In understanding the importance of involving the peer or reference group in the anticipatory socialization process Rosow (1974) maintains that "a peer group is a rich source of models. The authority group personifies the goals of socialization. The peer group provides many of the means of adaptation." Volunteerism is one role which allows Dan to interact with the non-profit network of peers, and leads to his later employment within the non-profit sector. This is not surprising. Moen et al. (1992) found that "any voluntary participation at any time in adulthood appears to promote multiple role occupancy in latter years--employment included." Similarly, Granovetter (1995) asserts that it is through the contacts made in these voluntary organizations that one is able to develop the network of informal ties which leads to career change.

Since, as Rosow (1974) discusses, it is the peer group that provides "direct exposure to the new reference group," the Program deliberately provided direct exposure to the non-profit reference group as a means of achieving successful anticipatory socialization. Successful career

changers who had gone through the Program were invited into several classes to discuss their ability to anticipate the expectations of the non-profit interviewer.

Becky, who transitioned from corporate law to hospital management reveals:

The class was very helpful in terms of learning about the non-profit organization before the interview. I was able to gain a knowledge about what non-profits were doing by talking to non-profit managers in the classroom. I also met career changers who had made the transition. I learned about the managerial issues of non-profits: their mission, financial issues and their new accounting systems.

Myron, who moved from insurance to human services, also learned what to expect in an interview:

I learned what the mind-set of non-profits are and what the culture is like. The organization chart may say something in words, but there is a feeling in the agency that has a lot to do with why they are there and why they exist. Without the class and the interaction with the non-profit managers, I never would have been able to understand this. I never would have been able to translate what I had been through in business into something that made sense to someone in a non-profit organization.

Fred, a former manager with a large communications corporation, who had transitioned first to a trade organization and then to a university, concurs:

Since I didn't have experience in the non-profit sector, having the knowledge helped build my confidence...I learned about the many kinds of non-profits (e.g. universities, trade and professional organizations, hospitals). I learned how to think about their perspective (e.g. their motivation and what they were looking for). I learned to figure out where they were coming from.

Carole, previously with a consumer products company,

and who had found her new managerial position with a human services organization, believes that the non-profit managers she met in the classroom gave her "a better view of non-profits":

We learned that they are driven by serving, rather than by private gain. We learned that different things needed to be stressed in a non-profit interview and that our presentation must reflect their way.

Furthermore, Carole used the class as an opportunity to "make connections and open doors for networking purposes."

Walt, who moved from financial services into education, thinks that it was the "exposure to the (reference group) which convinced him to persevere in his career search":

Meeting the non-profit managers in class made it real for me. I could touch (the new career) in an experimental phase. The course helps you eliminate some of the areas of non-profit and to differentiate between non-profits.

Finally, career changers report that they are better able to anticipate the ways in which non-profit managers will behave and think on the job. Michael, who transitioned from a law firm to a human services organization, remembers: "You got insight into the personality profile and attitude profile of people who work in the non-profit sector. Every person you met, you got a better feel for the non-profit profile." Kevin, a Certified Public Accountant turned fundraiser, believes that the class "prepared us for the consensual style of decision making."

Non-profit Roles

As a critical part of the anticipatory socialization process within the classroom, the corporate managers learned about non-profit role expectations for specific kinds of jobs. Examples of peer socialization are found in the interactions between the non-profit and corporate managers where the non-profit managers are imparting the important expectations of various roles to the corporate managers. This section reviews the roles of executive director, financial manager, communications manager, fundraising manager, volunteer, board member and the relationship between the funder and the development officer.

The Executive Director

Kathy, a career changer, spent more than twenty years in an insurance company before assuming the Executive Director role at a two million dollar human services organization. She talks about her relationship with the program staff and the board of directors:

I have to be the jack of all trades. I have to be able to deal with the air conditioning and the personnel. In my case, a broad management background was ideal. You have to handle the administrative side of things and leave the program side to the professionals. As the leader of the organization, I can't tell the professionals how to do therapy, but I can ask a lot of questions. The board must be supported by the staff. The non-profit board helps us do fundraising, marketing and government affairs. They help us make connections with foundations and individuals who can support the organization.

In Kathy's case, she was expected to bring her broad

managerial expertise from the corporate sector into the non-profit organization because the organization recognizes the "usefulness of the character this individual already possesses" (Van Maanen 1976). She also learned that her instrumental or administrative role is quite distinct from the expressive role of the therapist. In order to avoid conflict, she respects the fact that the "dual leadership roles" of the administrator and the therapist ought to be kept separate. She understands that in this type of organization it is functional for the expressive leaders to "dominate the organization since they initiate goals and build up commitments" (Etzioni 1975). Within the context of her role as executive director, Kathy focuses on instrumental activities such as fundraising and board relations.

James, a manager from a human services organization, talks about the role of the Chief Professional Officer (chief executive) in making the board of directors look good:

In the non-profit sector, you have a responsibility for volunteer leadership. Your role, as the chief professional officer, is to make the volunteers look good. The Chair of the Board doesn't write his own speeches. Volunteers are not trained so you have to make them look good. If you come from a corporation where you're visible and now your role is to make others look good, that's a significant change.

This particular organizational culture does not tolerate the pursuit of individual goals over collective

goals (e.g. personal visibility vs. visibility of volunteers), but according to Etzioni (1975) and others this is a common feature in non-profit organizations.

The Financial Manager

Marshall, a financial manager, made the transition from a communications corporation to a non-profit which helps women form their own businesses. He describes how the culture influenced his role:

As you know, business enterprises are organized around profits and they employ operational accountability measures efficiently. Non-profit's don't always realize revenues as a result of economic activity. We do training and counseling and receive ten percent of our revenue from these activities. We also get grants and contributions. Our revenue from these sources isn't directly connected with the services we provide. Non-profit accounting has to reflect that. In non-profits, dollar accountability and integrity is reflected in the mission.

Unlike corporations which are able to measure results based on calculating the rate of return for resources expended, non-profits find it difficult to measure results because there are weak links between donor revenues and the beneficiaries served (Mirvis and Hackett 1983). Many non-profit organizations do not produce outcome measures which give an indication of how grants and contributions improve or change the lives of their beneficiaries. Scholars such as Lipsky and Smith (1993) and Drucker (1990) repeatedly urge non-profits to develop outcome measures to document their significance or usefulness.

Marshall explains that he had to learn the new

accounting rules of the non-profit sector, and discusses these changes with a corporate manager:

Marshall: Non-profit financial managers now have to be familiar with Financial Accounting Standards Board (FASB) 116 and 117. Under these new rules, unconditional promises or pledges to make contributions must now be recorded at the time of the pledge.

Corporate Manager: I believe that the most significant change went against tradition. In traditional non-profit accounting, revenues were matched with expenses in the year it was received. Now, a pledge comes in and it must be recognized as revenue in the year it was pledged. The pledge may, in fact, be a revenue stream for a lot of years thereafter. People who want to give money are confused because based on this new system, you may look like you're in better shape than you are.

Marshall: Yes, that's the major drawback.

Next, Marshall discusses his role with the corporate manager and what he may expect:

Corporate Manager: I have another question. You work four days. I understand that some non-profits can't afford a full time financial person so that the financial person may work two days for one organization and three days for the other. Is that true?

Marshall: Yes, some non-profits can't afford to pay someone full-time.

Corporate Manager: I've also heard that non-profit organizations are less concerned with a financial person's abilities to cut costs and efficiency and more concerned with their ability to help in the fundraising effort. Is there a dual focus?

Marshall: Not in our organization. I'm expected to make sure that our revenue is keeping up with expenses. I analyze all contracts with government agencies. I do the payroll twice a month. I pay our vendors. I do all of the reporting requirements to funders who give us money. I fill out the 990 tax form. I do all of the budgeting and cash flow projections. Cash flow is not

always easy to predict. We may lay out money to hire people for a project and it is difficult to know when the money will come. Funders make grants as they see fit. It's difficult to plan.

Another Corporate Manager: What kinds of reports do you do for donors?

Marshall: If a donor sponsors a program, they want to know how many came--the results. They want a comparison of budgeted to actual expenses.

The Communications Role

In Ott's (1989) ethnographic work on organizational culture, he argues that what works for one culture may not work for another. Similarly, Bush (1992) worries that conflict may arise if corporate values are imposed on non-profit goals. In two cases which follow, however, it is apparent that what worked for a corporate marketing culture may indeed work for a non-profit culture. Both the healthcare and the educational foundation non-profit managers are using "corporate" marketing strategies such as segmentation, catalog marketing and direct response in order to support non-profit activities:

Corporate Manager: You all have different messages to get out to different constituencies. Who are your primary audiences and how do you reach them?

Educational Foundation: Our Association has twenty-two market segments. I reach them through catalog marketing and the Internet. The messages I send are different depending on the group. One group is not interested in what another group is doing unless it relates to them. At the Foundation (within the Association), I work one-on-one with students and professors.

Healthcare Organization: We don't do an education piece without a marketing hook. We put

educational pieces with coupons which people can send in for a free copy of our magazine. We capture a name and then they begin to get direct mail from us. Hopefully, they become members. Segmenting can't be carried too far.

Another non-profit manager relates a more typical, and less corporate, way of reaching her constituency:

Human Services Organization: We have a newsletter. We have a wide audience and we must touch all audiences. The newsletter goes to parents, the media, donors, volunteers. We need to be able to relate how a particular service helped an individual family. The donors are interested in whether their money was used wisely. They want to know how much of their grant went to direct services versus administrative costs.

In the following discussion, the class learned about the close links between the communication and the development roles in non-profits, which are very different from the corporate situation:

Another Corporate Manager: What percentage of your job involves fundraising?

Healthcare Organization: We are a fundraising organization and everything we do is promoting the fundraising machine. I direct a communications department which produces publicity for the fundraising department. We do the TV spots and their media campaign. The development department isn't set up for that.

I'm involved in raising money for my department. I had to find an underwriter for one of my magazines. I wrote the proposal and raised the money.

Educational Foundation: I am involved with corporate fundraising. We do little direct mail solicitation of donors. We approach corporations directly for large gifts.

Finally, there was a discussion about "cause-related marketing": an interdependent relationship between the

corporate and non-profit sectors. Note the corporate jargon the non-profit manager uses below such as "customer" "broker" and "bottom line". Also note the need for the non-profit organization to maintain its non-profit ethics and integrity amidst the corporate goals of profit and competitiveness:

Another Corporate Manager: What is cause-related marketing?

Human Services Organization: You go after marketing rather than donation dollars from a corporation. For every product they sell, they will donate a certain portion to us. Cause-related marketing is a win-win. Both the corporation and the non-profit organization have a stake in the same consumers. Corporations used to do social marketing--they would give money to feel good. There isn't that kind of money around any more. If they give us money, there has to be a bottom line benefit for their customers.

I think that there's room for consultants who can broker large organizations like ours with corporations. We do have strict guidelines concerning which corporations may use our name.

Another Corporate Manager: Aren't you concerned with the amount of increased cynicism which may arise from having your name on scarves and shoes?

Human Services Organization: There is an ethic to it. If we lend our name to a product, the product will have a tag about our organization which says for more information, please call us.

The Development Role

Development managers of a theatre, a research organization and a hospital spoke to the corporate managers about this very important role. Common themes which led the discussion included listening to donors, the need to have role relationships with organizational members, conflict

between short-term and long term goals, reduction of funding sources and the challenge to replace them and fundraising methods:

Trainer: Please describe your responsibilities as a fundraiser.

Hospital: My current role is a challenging one. As the Director of Development, I have to worry, on a daily basis, how much money is being raised. I have to deal with follow-up. I have to make sure that the donor feels good about his/her gift, and I have to worry about my staff. When you get caught up in the day-to-day, sometimes you forget about raising money. It's easier to do that than to raise money! You need to manage your time and set priorities within the organization and for your staff. There are aspects of the job I hate. Working with your staff as a team can be fun or not so fun. There is an ongoing process of educating your board and staff about development.

I have a passion about the hospital. I need to let other people see that passion. Donors want to know that you care about the organization. As a development person, you have to learn to listen to what the donor is saying. Donors can have different agendas; different reasons for giving. Research Organization: Development is so different than what I thought it was. I thought it was making cold calls. Development, in fact, draws on every skill you can imagine... You're in the middle of everything. It involves strategic planning, public relations, marketing. You get to know everyone in an organization. You're involved in the major decisions of an organization. Your job is to know everything about what that organization does in terms of their relationships with donors, board members and volunteers. You're never bored.

It's hard to think about your long term fundraising goals. Every day you're involved with volunteers and board members... You need a high tolerance for dealing with demanding people. You have to be the sort of person who doesn't need to be out in front all of the time.

It's important to find out why people want to give to your organization. A donor may have a passion

for one part of the organization. The more you listen to the donor, the more you're able to figure out what they want and the better it is for the donor and the organization.

Theatre: Yes, in development, you're at the heart of what goes on in programming and even building maintenance! You have to know everyone in the organization. You have to be able to interview the lighting designer so that the fundraising proposal to a foundation reveals why it is important to have upgraded lighting equipment.

Your effectiveness depends on how others in the organization do their jobs. You can't be expected to come in and save an organization. You are part of a team. When you're interviewing for a job, you have to assess if the organization has a clear sense of what it is doing. Look at the board and the leadership. Does the board have confidence in the executive director? If you are representing the organization to funders and there is no confidence in the executive director, you won't receive funding. Public confidence is important too. If people don't feel that you are properly managing your resources, they won't give you money.

Corporate Manager: Do you use telemarketing and the Internet to raise money?

Hospital: No way. You raise money from major donors one-on-one. We respect the privacy issues of wealthy donors and we only use public sources to conduct research on them.

Another Corporate Manager: How do you actually wrestle the funds?

Hospital: Wrestle is not a good word. You have to ask for the donation, no matter how much cultivation you do. You have to find a connection between the donor and the institution. That connection could be a doctor or a trustee. It's nice if the staff person is there in case someone falters and then you have to ask for the donation. The reality is that the person who asks for the donation should be a person the donor feels close to. In healthcare, it shouldn't be the doctor.

Research: The cultivation of a donation from a major donor usually happens over time. Over time,

you are able to get to know the person, and you will have a sense of whether the person is interested in giving.

Hospital: If you are talking about a major donor, they expect to be asked. You don't make "the ask" in a letter. Foundations and corporations have established guidelines for making donations. They expect a written proposal. You never ask a major donor for a gift in writing.

In this case, the non-profit manager is adamant about not imposing corporate strategies (e.g. telemarketing, Internet, wrestling) on non-profit fundraising efforts. Fundraising from major donors is done face-to-face over a period of time. In this case, what works for one culture does not work for the other (Ott 1989).

The Role of the Institutional Funder

Relationships in the non-profit world between the institutional funder (e.g. foundation/corporation) and the development officer are important for corporate managers to learn:

Foundation: Most people who approach us are making a difference in the city and they need our help. We don't have an application. We ask non-profits to contact us through a letter of inquiry. If we feel the project has merit, we call them and ask them to submit a five page letter with a budget. I often work through several re-writes of their letter before it is submitted to the funding committee. Most of our applicants don't have a background in proposal writing. I then bring the proposal to the staff and if the staff is favorable, it is submitted to the funding committee of our board. I rarely take anything to the board that is turned down (by the staff). We don't like to be the sole funding source of an organization. We like to give declining support over two to three years.

These institutional funders have different goals.

Since the foundation is a non-profit organization, its goals are cultural and are designed to change people's lives (Drucker 1990; Etzioni 1975). Since a corporation's goals are instrumental, their giving guidelines are "market oriented". In other words, grants and loans made to non-profits are made to improve the environment in which the company does business. If the environment is a fertile one, more money is made for the shareholders. Grants and loans to non-profits are viewed by corporations as a means to an end. The fundraiser has to keep the instrumental goals of the corporate funder in mind when submitting a proposal. This corporate funder stresses his corporation's goals and their relationship to the non-profit sector:

Corporate Funder: This generation of non-profit managers need to understand that we are driven by the market. Those non-profits that have political clout can provide credibility to the funder. We tie our giving to our business strategy: our products, services and employees. We give to a business school that will provide us with the best people. We support charity dinners because we make business contacts at these dinners.

Corporate Manager: Is grantmaking similar to lending money?

Corporate Funder: We have a revolving loan fund which supports the creation of jobs, housing and so forth. The quality of the relationships we have with those receiving loans and grants are similar. Our motivation to invest in these organizations is similar.

Another Corporate Manager: Do you think that mergers between non-profits offer opportunities?

Corporate Funder: It is possible that non-profits can offer better service if there is an effort to streamline and consolidate.

Another Corporate Manager: How do you measure results?

Corporate Funder: All funders are human beings and they want to have a sense that they are touching people's lives. Beyond that, we do head counts, survey the number of jobs created, and number of housing units built.

Another Corporate Manager: If the focus of giving has to do with the corporation's image, what does a small organization do if they can't compete and make the same banners as Lincoln Center?

Corporate Funder: Image is a broad term. We want to create the perception that we are good corporate citizens. We are concerned with the well being of children and the organizations which serve children. We are influenced by the policies of our local community managers. If they are involved, we may get involved. There has to be some relationship between the organization and our company. Maybe we support an organization in a community where our employees live.

Another Corporate Manager: How does your corporation view the corporate matching gift program when it can't always control the outcome of whom the gift is made to?

Corporate Funder: Most company matching gift programs are oriented to education. Others are broader. Some match dollar for dollar; others are a three-to-one match. We treat this program as a 'corporate benefit'. It shows the company cares about its employees. We go one step further, if the employee volunteers for six hours a month, we will give a donation, in the employee's name, to the non-profit where he/she volunteers.

This institutional funder has instrumental goals which are "market driven," evaluated for quantitative results, and tied to its image or reputation (Etzioni 1975). Philanthropy is tied to his corporation's business strategy and thus a non-profit manager must think rationally in order to receive a contribution from this business. This business is also

interested measuring the results of philanthropy in a quantitative fashion which illustrates that the non-profit must be accountable for its funding (Smith and Lipsky 1993). Finally, the corporate managers learn that this particular funder, as a way of enhancing its reputation and image among its employees, ties its philanthropy to the communities in which its employees live and work.

The Volunteer and Board Member Roles

Corporate managers learned that the roles of the board members and volunteers are critical in understanding the accepted values and behaviors of non-profit organizational members. In gaining access as a volunteer, they learned that their relevance in terms of the skills they provide are extremely important to the non-profit organization. In addition, they observed that the non-profit volunteer experience has to be relevant to the dislocated manager's own motivations including learning new skills, anticipating behaviors and attitudes, meeting potential employers and building their self-esteem. They also learned the extent to which non-profit organizations use volunteerism as a method in confirming the career changer's commitment to the sector.

Relevant Skills

Non-profit organizations recruit board members and volunteers with management skills which they identify as relevant to them. This board member confirms this:

Board Member: I'm a former banker and now I am a trustee for three boards. One organization has an

annual budget of over 100 million dollars; one is the equivalent of a mom and pop grocery store with a budget of \$200,000 and one is a healthcare organization with a budget of two million dollars. Your corporate skills are transferable. The contacts I made in business are useful. Investment skills, strategic planning, public relations, financial planning are used as well.

When the individual enters a new culture, he/she must earn the respect of the insider group before he/she may be allowed to participate (Wax 1983). The open or closed structure of a group will also determine whether the outsider will have access to the group (Merton 1968). This attorney is successful, as a volunteer, because the group is indeed open to learning new skills:

I was with the first group of business development volunteers. We were pioneers. I was the only attorney in Central Europe. I developed connections throughout the region because people wanted to do foreign trade at the borders...The most difficult task was teaching contract negotiation and the two rules of contract negotiation: signing a contract is not a preliminary negotiation, and honor thy contract! Just to get that concept across was hard. These people had a thirst for basic knowledge...By the time I left, people knew what a letter of credit was.

Other non-profit managers give additional examples of openness towards outsiders with business skills:

Non-profit Manager: We look for people with professional skills very much like you. We need people with marketing, computer, strategic planning and financial skills. We recruit pro bono consultants and assign them to our non-profit agencies. Increased cutbacks in government funding makes life difficult for non-profits. Non-profits don't always have the money to hire someone to do something as simple as selecting the right telephone system or helping them through an RFP (request for proposal) process. These are

daunting tasks for some non-profits. We had 94 projects last year. We act as a broker in identifying consultants for these non-profits.

Relevant Motivations

Learning New Skills

Reference groups play an important part in gaining acceptance into the group (Merton 1968). The individual must view the values of the new group as being relevant to him/herself. For this manager, volunteering for a non-profit would only be relevant if she trained to learn fundraising skills:

Volunteer: After being downsized, I wanted to use my skills for an organization with a mission dedicated to something other than making money. I went to the Foundation Center and learned about this volunteer opportunity. At first, I was hesitant. I wanted to volunteer for an organization where I would have hands-on experience. This particular organization told me they would train me so I would be able to raise money in the workplace. I now volunteer with a group responsible for raising 2-3 million dollars. I feel comfortable doing it because I was trained.

Rehearsing Roles

Volunteer roles serve as an important type of anticipatory socialization process for the career changer in learning, as well as practicing, the expected role requirements of a particular job. This volunteer learned how to raise money through workplace campaigns and is able to practice this skill as a volunteer:

Volunteer: Some organizations I contacted didn't want to run campaigns. A lot of people who said no initially, now say yes. I am able to reach people I think because twenty years ago I needed help from this organization and they gave it to me. My

speech comes from the heart. I tell people every day, you buy a cup of coffee for 75 cents. Once a week, give that money to an organization who helps so many.

Another volunteer, also previously from the corporate sector, decided to move to the community where his organization was located to be closer to the constituency they served. He speaks about his fundraising and advocacy roles:

Volunteer: My organization provides housing for people infected with the AIDS virus. They had no history of reaching donors. I started their fundraising program. I took some courses in fundraising and I was able to raise \$8,000 from local corporations in the community. I also helped to create two community parks. Both of these spaces were previously filled with garbage and crack vials. They are now maintained by a community organization which I helped found. People in the community now garden in these parks and raise their own vegetables and flowers. The city threatened to destroy one of the parks and I helped run a campaign to stop them. Now our organization contributes \$2,000 each year to help improve the park. I have a passion for helping this community through fundraising, organizing and creating parks.

Building Self-Esteem

Volunteer work serves two purposes: it offers credentials and skills that may impress a non-profit employer. It also provides a way to offer a new identity for the displaced manager. I found that when managers take on non-profit roles, they found they were treated with respect as valued people: their values mattered, not just their profitability. They feel wanted. They feel like insiders:

Attorney, Human Services Organization: I went on interviews with many law firms. They made me ill. Then I became a volunteer attorney with the organization I'm working for now. I gave them two days a week without pay. Last November, they hired me full time. I'm much happier. I believe in what I'm doing.

Development Director, Human Services Organization: Throughout my corporate career, I stayed involved with the community. Through housing and social services organizations, I worked closely with the Latino and African American communities. It is the other sides of you that propel you anywhere.

Internal Auditor, Mental Health Organization: I volunteered for a small agency which was a sub-agency of my current employer. When I met my "employer to be" he was impressed with the work that I had done for this sub-agency and he offered me a consulting job. When his budget ran out, I finished as a volunteer. A year later, I saw a job advertised with this agency and had the best interview I have ever had.

Communications Manager, Healthcare Organization: Through my volunteer experience, I learned what fundraising was about. I didn't think of myself as a fundraiser. I was given ten accounts and I became a fundraiser. There is a link between fundraising and communications. We are all fundraisers. Whatever you do you will fundraise. As a volunteer, I always felt a part of the family; the organization. I never felt like an outsider.

Employment Opportunities

As corporate managers struggle "to become" non-profit managers, many found that volunteerism helps them ease into a new identity which they believe will ultimately lead to employment opportunities:

Transitional Manager and Volunteer: My career is a work in progress. I'm an attorney. I chose my volunteer organization as a stepping stone. I will do community service for two years. I have chosen an organization in central Harlem and I have chosen to live in Harlem to live close to the

community. Living close to the community gives me a chance to know people.

My impression is that a non-profit employer will view this experience as evidence of dedication and commitment. The employer won't question my commitment. Few people have the passion and dedication to do what needs to be done in the non-profit world. For most people, the principle concern is the paycheck.

Volunteerism as a Sign of Commitment

Successful career changers reveal that non-profit organizations did indeed view their volunteer work as a genuine sign of dedication to the sector and how this experience did lead to employment:

Human Services Financial Manager: After being with a bank, the non-profit sector didn't think I would fit in. They didn't think I was serious about it. I had to come up with a way to become a credible candidate. I really wanted to commit to the non-profit sector. The way to show commitment is to volunteer.

One reason my boss took a chance in hiring me is that she saw my commitment to be part of the non-profit world. She wanted to know if I enjoyed it. She wanted to know how I found the people. The people are different. There's an intensity, but not a competitiveness that you find in a bank. Non-profit people work just as hard, put in long hours and are just as productive, but they focus on furthering the organization as opposed to squeezing out another dollar.

Human Services Volunteer Manager: I've been volunteering for a long time. After law school, I got interviews with non-profits and they wanted to hear about my volunteer work. Volunteering opened my eyes to what they expected from me. I proved, by putting in the time, that I was dedicated to the sector and that's what made the difference in my being hired. Four people in my organization were hired after volunteering for a period of 3-4 months.

Recruiter, International Organization: There's a

certain amount of incest in our organization. Many of us have been volunteers. You're comfortable with people you know. Many people want to hire people with international experience. Where are you going to get that experience? Volunteering!

In the sections above, I have described the ways that Program participants learned about and assimilated the expectations and orientations of the non-profit sector and of specific parts within that sector. And in the previous chapter, I described certain tools such as the resume, introduction and mock interview, which were intended to help the participants in the most practical way in their job search. These tools and steps in the Program also had another agenda, that of pre-socializing the displaced managers for their future jobs, of remaking their occupational identities. However, selves are not re-socialized or remade without considerable emotional upheaval. No matter how well motivated, the program participants could not go through this training and these changes without having emotional responses. These often had little to do with the specific skills and knowledge they were learning, and everything to do about how they felt about themselves. In the next section, I turn the spotlight upon the responses of my students to their training experiences as they experienced an "Odyssey of the Self."

An Odyssey of the Self

Mead (1934), Goffman (1959) and others maintain that individuals show different sides of themselves based on the expectations of significant others or those most important to the individual. Displaced managers disengage from their corporate identity--from the "significant others" who gave them their identity. As these ex-corporate managers faced various new "significant others" including the trainer, the non-profit managers and their peer group of dislocated managers, different selves emerged. The selves that emerged were indeed based on the expectations of others but in some different ways: ex-corporate managers often searched for comfort from the trainer, respect and empathy from their peers and acceptance from the non-profit employers.

It is hard to assume a new identity as evidenced by the fact that at times the selves which emerged were combative or deviant selves: ex-managers became emotional, yelling at and challenging the trainer, some spoke incessantly about non-related issues in front of their peers and the non-profit guests making everyone feel uncomfortable, others refused to follow the logic and path of the class--missing homework assignments, showing up late or avoiding class all together. Some were unwilling to support peers through this transition, others didn't come to class dressed in formal business attire. Some didn't accept advice from the trainer and wouldn't prepare for their meetings with non-profit

employers. Finally, there were some ex-managers who while having episodes of deviance, managed to continue working through their odyssey of self.

The Disengagement of Self

These individuals had amassed their prior workplace status and rewards by remaining good and loyal soldiers and by following the corporate "rules of the game" (Jackall 1988). Despite their loyalty and commitment, they became the casualties of a mass disengagement of the white collar workforce. The abuse they encountered and conveyed during this period of being dislocated is extensive, as was discussed in Chapter V (The Non-profit Management and Communications Program). Not only did they lose their jobs, they had essentially lost everything that gave them status: salary, job title, corporate affiliation and co-worker friends (Trice and Beyer 1993; Newman 1988).

Role loss has created great psychological strain and pain among this group of workers. When the dislocated managers came for their initial intake interviews with the trainer, it was observed that while the majority came well dressed in their former corporate attire--looking like and still claiming to be business people--others had already begun to disengage themselves from this identity by wearing casual clothes. A few were in total disarray and had not taken the time to comb their hair or, in a couple of cases wash their clothes. One former manager admitted that she

wore the same suit to every interview and she hadn't taken her suit to the dry cleaner in weeks.

Their introductions often communicated a very bland and dispassionate chronological history of their work life. Monumental achievements including their management of people, international projects, innovative and cutting edge ideas and their implementation were not mentioned except with the insistence and excessive "nudging" of the trainer. There was little or no attempt among the entire group of interviewees to impress the trainer with their knowledge of the non-profit sector--the sector they wished to enter as mid-level employees earning an average salary of \$50,000. Some believed that just their willingness to take a pay cut from \$100,000 to \$50,000 would be enough to convince the sector to hire them. They were not aware of the time and effort it would take to reinvent themselves.

Signs of meritocratic individualism (Newman 1988) or the blaming of oneself for the unfortunate demise of their careers is common among displaced managers. One thing the managers point to is age. Many managers blamed themselves as being "too old" to reenter their fields. One manager made frequent calls to the trainer distressed that his age would prevent him from employment in the non-profit sector as well.

In essence, this is a defeated group of individuals with negative self-images and skepticism towards a new

career. Many questioned whether anyone would really want to hire them if they are over age 50, viewing their age as a significant barrier to future employment. Others demanded statistical proof that the non-profit sector is indeed a growth sector, and hires proportionally more older workers than does the corporate sector.

These are an anxious and insecure group of dislocated workers. After I spent a minimum of one hour with each dislocated worker, many broke down, admitting both that they were hurting financially and that they had been unable to find work within the same industry or the same salary level which they had left behind. One manager in his mid 60s who had worked on Wall Street for most of his career was bankrupt and living with his sister and her husband. Another manager over 50 had moved in with his mother. Several managers had taken jobs in the retail industry as sales clerks over the Christmas holiday "just to pay the bills." Three of these managers have their MBA degrees from Ivy League universities.

Throughout the interviews, managers shed tears because they were isolated: they had not previously encountered a support network devoted to helping them find their new sense of occupational self. Still others were petrified with the notion that they would be embarking upon a new career which would require a reinvention of self. By being accepted into the Program they were hoping that the trainer and the non-

profit sector would hold the answers and give them a new and better sense of themselves.

The Reconstruction of Identity: Self-Doubt and Frustration

Throughout the Program, each member of each cohort was asked to shed their prior occupational assumptions of workplace rewards and values and re-orient their attitudes and behaviors to a new set of values and assumptions about workplace culture. They were asked to leave their prior status behind; the status they had worked so hard to achieve; the status which gave them their identity among co-workers, family and friends; the status that was stripped away from them. This is a difficult and arduous task for many of these liminal workers who feel lost without their prior occupational statuses and troubled by the fact that there appears to be a severe bias, on the part of non-profit employers, to their entering a world which is largely unknown to them.

In an effort to help each dislocated manager achieve a new status, the trainer worked with the group on constructing verbal definitions of self based on what the non-profit managers were interested in hearing. In other words, the dislocated manager has to learn to become relevant to the needs of the non-profit managers. The trainer asked each manager to construct a verbal identity which would be about 15 seconds long. After the cohort rehearsed their introductions for the first time, the

trainer asked each of them to leave out negative labels like "downsized" or "unemployed" or "seizing the opportunity for early retirement." Since the majority of the managers tended to "ramble" as they introduced themselves, the trainer reminded them that they needed to make a coherent group impression as well as individual impressions. Many of the managers sought approval from their classmates and the trainer concerning the content of their introductions. One manager, in particular, called the trainer, after each class, to ask the trainer if her introduction was "ok." Not all managers sought the approval of the "significant other." Another manager challenged the trainer's 15 second time limit, requesting that a more accurate time limit be given in which to accomplish this task. The request was actually more combative in nature questioning the origin or theory behind the time limit: "Is 15 minutes an arbitrary number? Or is it really 15 minutes?" To avoid an obvious conflict between the student and the trainer, the trainer elected to assure the student that the 15 second limit was not "set in stone," but given as a guide in which to make a good impression while respecting the impressions of his fellow classmates. This seemed to reassure the student who was focusing on structure, rather than the intended content of his expression.

There were students who regardless of the sighs and non-verbal signs of disapproval from their peers would

nonetheless continue to ramble pointlessly throughout their introductions. One manager would take the opportunity in his introduction to ask the non-profit guest if he/she had any jobs, not realizing that the timing of his question was inappropriate and of great embarrassment to his peers. Another manager would boast her Ivy League educational credentials "a la used car salesman" again evoking great non-verbal disapproval from her peers. Despite the peer group's shunning of these individuals, both succeeded in finding jobs in the non-profit sector.

In preparation for reconstructing one's occupational identity within the context of a resume, the trainer also took the class through an assessment of their occupational strengths. Again, since most dislocated managers began their "biographies" with their old industrial affiliation (e.g. banker, advertiser, insurance), the trainer helped the dislocated managers restructure their biographies stressing their functions and occupational achievements across their corporate and volunteer lives (e.g. I have raised money for both the corporate and non-profit sectors; I have done television ads for both sectors etc.). Since most of these managers view themselves chronologically as bankers or advertisers, often leaving their volunteer work out of their communication completely or mentioning it as something "they do in their spare time," they view this reconstruction of self based on functional achievement across two sectors as

overwhelmingly difficult to accomplish.

Thus, after this session concluded, the trainer learned (as this occurs for cohort after cohort) to expect that the majority of the class would line up one after another asking for a one-on-one private meeting with the trainer. Students often appeared extremely worried that they couldn't compete with others in the cohort. "I've listened to everybody else and I don't measure up." "I need your help." "I don't know if I can do this." Others defended their prior sense of self: "What's wrong with my corporate affiliation? I don't think we have anything to be ashamed of." "If they don't want us, too bad." These are the common expressions of self-doubt, frustration and resistance to changing workforce identities.

In the private one-on-one meetings with the trainer, students would often come to the trainer's office with blank pieces of paper, not having done any preparation--expecting the trainer to structure their new identities on paper. While some students were paralyzed and needed reassurance and confidence from the trainer, before they attempted the first draft of their resumes, others began to show the first signs of self-confidence in changing their workforce identities. As managers changed their resumes, they were in essence changing their written portraits of self. Many remarked on how much they liked their new resumes and that these new resumes were better indicators, than their prior

resumes, on who they really were. Managers were proud to include their volunteer selves within the context of the resume. During their final mock interviews, the verbal reaction they received from the non-profit employers on their new resumes reinforced this pride and sense of self worth. During this written revision of self, there were also ex-corporate managers who began to show signs of resistance. For example one manager refused to give the trainer a "non-profit" resume. When the trainer urged her to try to construct this type of resume, the manager cried, "you can't tell me what to do, you are not my mother." Eventually, she reoriented her resume and transitioned into the non-profit sector.

Resisting Identity Change

For some, the resistance to identity change comes at the beginning as a response to self-doubt and frustration within themselves. For others, making the commitment to changing careers becomes increasingly unbearable, creating significant barriers in their quest to change their workforce identities.

For the majority, the loss of workforce identity, ambiguous occupational status and fear of rejection from a new group of employers creates insecurity and anxiety in the managers. Within the anticipatory socialization components of the classroom, these struggles were articulated both individually and in solidarity. Their anger and

frustrations, communicated in the absence of non-profit managers, were directed at the non-profit employers, the trainer and themselves.

In almost every second session of the Program, the cohort became angry with the message communicated by the first non-profit panel or non-profit speaker featured in the first session. In order to understand the basis of the groups' anger, it is important to shed light on the first (prior) class in which the cohort had been introduced for the first time to members of their new reference group--non-profit managers. The non-profit managers were asked by the trainer to speak about their mission (e.g., the purpose of their organization). They were also asked to talk about the need for corporate managers in their sector and the qualifications of an ideal applicant. The message in the first session was organized around new language, new values and new goals. In order to be accepted, the corporate managers were expected to understand and be familiar with this new language, values and goals. They were also confronted with the reality of making much less money. They were faced with having to give up the rewards achieved in their prior status (Rosow 1974).

During the second session of the Program, in the absence of the non-profit reference group, the dislocated managers had an opportunity to grapple with these realities. In one instance, a dislocated manager began the class by

confronting the trainer in a combative manner: "Was it your intention to have the non-profit speakers talk about mission, without talking about structure, goals, processes for achieving goals and results? Not one of the managers really talked about their missions. I was very disappointed." The trainer responded by stating that mission language is often spoken about in very general terms, stressing purpose and changing quality of life rather than highlighting the process in which to accomplish it. After the class concluded, the manager who questioned the trainer, reassured the trainer that he was not trying to "give the trainer a hard time and was impressed with the way in which the trainer was able to respond." This deference represented the initial signs of conformity and socialization. This manager is now the executive director of an educational organization.

Another manager was unhappy that one of the non-profit managers present represented the organization which provided the subsidy for his non-profit training. This manager was uncomfortable with being reminded that he was out of work and really needed any one's help. His attitude prevailed throughout the Program. Unable to find a non-profit job, he eventually re-entered the corporate sector. In another Program, a former real estate manager demanded to know why non-profit managers tended to stereotype corporate managers as authoritarian. The trainer based the answer on the

subordinate relationships which non-profits have historically had with corporate managers who are board members or funders. If they experienced authoritarian behavior, it was more likely that they would believe that the entire group of managers was indeed authoritarian. Throughout the Program, this manager showed deference toward the trainer and the non-profit managers in the class, seeking the appropriate ways to think and behave within a new organizational culture. This manager eventually found work in a non-profit housing organization.

As the class progressed, resistance to identity change was more apt to come from specific individuals who seemed to be having difficulty in internalizing new organizational values. Signs of resistance included refusal of meeting deadlines for first, second and final drafts of resumes. One manager handed in a hand written resume for his final resume being submitted to an employer. When the trainer asked him why, he began screaming at the trainer--informing the trainer that he didn't have a secretary and how could the trainer expect a typed resume from him during this very stressful time. Later he called the trainer apologizing for his outburst. He eventually found a position in his prior industry where he was obviously more comfortable. Another manager had an emotional outburst telling the trainer that her non-profit volunteer culture was drastically different from the culture in the corporate sector. "They are so

slow. The money isn't good. I don't know if I can do this." The trainer reassured her that she was experiencing "culture shock" and that in time she would adjust if she truly believed the mission of the organization. Later this same non-profit organization hired her because she had raised a significant amount of money for them.

Some managers found it impossible to relinquish their prior identities. A handful of managers submitted their final resumes, but didn't show up for their final mock interview with a non-profit employer. After the mock interviews occurred, some dislocated managers blamed the non-profit employers if their interviews didn't go well. One manager remarked that her interviewer didn't listen to her. Another who allowed her voice to drop didn't understand why her interviewer kept asking her to speak up. One manager told the trainer that the values of the non-profit sector continued to be so foreign to her that the class was a waste of her time. Another manager told the trainer that one non-profit manager was full of herself; another didn't think the non-profit manager was a good public speaker. Some managers revealed that they hadn't learned to be sensitive to the values and cultures of organizational members. One manager visited the interviewer's office "unannounced." Another told a fundraiser she "wasn't raising enough money." These managers were unable to meet the expectations of a new

reference group and are currently either employed in the corporate sector or remain unemployed.

Cohort Solidarity

In the initial resistance to identity change, an interesting phenomenon occurs: cohort solidarity. In one case, a class who had been sitting in two unconnected tables, pushed the tables together. This was a deliberate rebellion: the organization, where the class was held, asked that the tables be left the way they were when the class arrived each day. Despite this, the class began a ritual of pushing the tables together at the beginning of each class and pulling them apart at the end of the class. The class unity was also evidenced by students leaving together after class, taking the subway together to and from class, sharing and presenting homework assignments together, counseling each other. In one case, a manager who had decided that his stage fright would make it impossible for him to perform his mock interview was convinced by a group of his peers to do it anyway. After his performance, they applauded and cheered him. The trainer did not know until after this had happened that cohort solidarity among this class gave the student the courage to perform his mock interview and ultimately move into the non-profit sector.

Finding Reference Group Acceptance

Ultimately, each cohort member was able to regain a sense of identity within the framework of a new occupation.

Meeting and networking with open-minded non-profit managers, some of whom had been dislocated corporate managers themselves, dislocated managers began to feel a sense of achievement and acceptance by their new reference group. As the classes progressed and their introductions and questions to the non-profit managers became more polished, they received more and more positive feedback from the non-profit managers: "I wish I could hire all of you." "Wow, I didn't expect to hear the amount of volunteer experience each one of you has." "I have job descriptions which I will leave with the trainer." "We really do have a position and I want you to interview for it." (To the trainer) "Where did you find these people?" As each cohort member finished their mock interview and received their "certificate of achievement" they were applauded by their cohort peers, the non-profit interviewers and the trainer.

In reflecting upon the odyssey of self, it is clear that deviance or rebellion on the part of the individual may take place during the resocialization process (Van Maanen 1976). It appears that allowance for self-efficacy or the need to feel some control over one's actions is important to the resocialization process (Gecas 1989). A degree of resistance encourages participation, self-evaluation and eventual career transition.

Non-profit Career Transition and Adaptation in the Workplace

Introduction

Armed with the non-profit values and roles expectations they have learned in the classroom and in their volunteer experiences, trainees are ready to assume their new occupational identities in the non-profit sector. In terms of successful career transition and adaptation, they now encounter a new two-fold challenge. First, as they encounter different attitudes towards work, are they willing to learn the requisite behaviors and attitudes of their new organizational culture? And, even if they are, will the organization provide the necessary socialization techniques which will instruct the recruit on the proper way to act and think? It is the employee's motivation to learn and the organization's ability to teach which determine if career transition will be successful.

First Encounters and Culture Shock

No matter how prepared one is for entering a new culture, one always experiences a degree of culture shock (Van Maanen 1983). There is always a gap between anticipated expectations and what is actually demanded on the job (Hughes 1981). Career changers talked about how their expectations differed from the realities of the job and how they began to adjust.

When recruits were asked how they were treated when they first entered their organizations, the majority

discussed having a good feeling about their first encounters as employees. For example, though still wounded from their prior organizational experiences, career changers expressed a certain relief about their new surroundings. Darlene explains:

I was treated very well. I was shocked that everyone was so nice as opposed to my last work experience. On the first day I was shown where to put my coat. I was introduced to people and they explained the workings of the organization to me.

Ellen had a similar experience:

I was welcomed with open arms, respected and given the right attention. I benefited from this because I was coming off the hills of being fired.

Becky also noticed a different type of treatment:

People were friendly and helpful. They appreciated what I did. It was nice to be part of a community which was concerned about the services being provided, not just the money being taken in. It was also nice not to have to keep time sheets.

Martha's initial treatment was radically different from the above mentioned experiences:

Some of the junior staff were resentful since I succeeded a woman who was totally beloved and had worked here a long time. She didn't leave because she wanted to, but rather because some of the top managers were making her miserable. This happened before I was hired and I didn't have anything to do with it, but I was resented anyway.

I found it amusing that one woman (a subordinate) was annoyed that she didn't get to interview me. She actually told me this and I told her that you don't get to interview your boss. But, my predecessor had this sort of attitude that everyone does everything together all of the time...They resent that I don't do things the same way.

Coming from a corporate background, many career

changers are surprised that non-profits have a different approach to managing the organization. Martha, for example, didn't expect the extent to which "everyone would have to be involved in decision-making." Ira is surprised at the "amount of time" he has to work, "putting in many nights and working till 8 or 9pm." Ira is also surprised to learn that his non-profit culture is far less "team-oriented, friendly and cooperative" than he had expected. Larry also feels isolated, having been placed in charge of a housing field office with little direct contact "with people at my level that I could deal with or talk to."

Some career changers find the differences in expectations to be more rewarding. Becky states that as compared to her law firm, the hospital culture is "less grueling and the goals are less strict." She finds that the hospital is more concerned with "getting the job done" than "beating the pants off the competitor." Like Becky, Ellen finds the slower "laid-back" pace of work refreshing. "People," she says, "walk into offices and chat more, and I'm still not used to it. It's nice."

Kevin believes that the change actually improved his health:

I worked in the corporate sector for 20 years. While there, I had high blood pressure. Now its down 40 points. I have found my niche. I work with 40 non-profit homeless and childcare agencies. I am so satisfied. I can't place a dollar figure on it.

Ron didn't expect his healthcare organization to have

such a "laid-back" culture. As a fundraiser, in this organization, he wasn't prepared for the "lack of a sense of urgency." In adjusting, Ron has to get used to an environment that is "not as deadline sensitive or high pressured as was in the corporate sector." It took Cindy two years to adjust to a slower pace of work, as well as inferior systems and an "unprofessional" dress code:

Everything here goes so slowly. People here are used to saying 'if it doesn't get done today, then maybe it will get done next week. There isn't as much urgency to get things done or to do things. At the beginning I was much more involved with running around and trying to get things done quickly. I don't do that any more. I just go with the flow. I found it very annoying and most people from the corporate sector find it galling. People don't follow procedures, they just do what they do.

Everything is so outdated and antiquated: things, systems and programs. The systems aren't first class. For example, the human resources systems I have to work with still use carbon paper, if you can believe that. Maybe by the time I retire, they will have updated it.

At my prior corporate job, everyone dressed so well. At first, it bothered me that people dressed casually. I didn't think it looked professional. Now, I'm used to it.

Barry was "used to getting things done" when he worked in retail. He complains:

I was used to analyzing things and setting out a one, two, three type of plan and then doing it. My ideas here don't receive a reaction or feedback. People worry about being nice so performance standards aren't set. People think that having standards and making people live up to them is not nice.

Joe is also surprised to learn the "extent to which

there is a lack of expectations on the part of the non-profit manager." He "expected more achievement from others in the organization and consequently himself."

Fred, on the other hand, expected non-profit managers to be more laid-back and less performance oriented, but finds the opposite to be true. "Non-profit employees are far more dedicated than I expected them to be. Many people come in on Saturdays and spend a lot of time working. I just didn't expect that." Michelle agrees:

They are always working so hard. I never thought of them as working so hard, and they work for no money. I definitely had culture shock because I couldn't image people working so hard for so little money. It's unbelievable that these people are so dedicated.

Since certain role relationships such as the volunteer-staff relationship, the board-staff relationship and the staff-funder relationship do not exist in the corporate sector, several corporate managers experienced some culture shock with regard to these particular role relationships. Fred and Carole talk about their experiences:

Fred: I probably underestimated the amount of personal contact that I had to keep with volunteers. I underestimated how much I had to go out and work the room, work the territory and make contact with people. I was very used to my former corporation where I had personal contacts and most were professional contacts where we just chatted for awhile. I didn't have to constantly massage their egos. I do have to do this with volunteers. My association is volunteer driven, not staff driven. So as a staff member, you must acknowledge that the volunteers are in control and that you, as a staff person, are following their orders. I underestimated that.

Carole: I didn't have to interact with the board in the corporate sector. I had to supply the corporate board with financial highlights, but only met with them once a year socially. In my non-profit job, I have to attend board meetings and present a budget. At first, I found that aspect a bit intimidating. My executive director was very supportive so that helped in my getting over that...

I am frustrated by the funding deadlines I have to meet because we are so dependent on state and federal funding. I get calls from funders asking me to make changes for minuscule amounts of dollars. For instance, 'change five schedules for a discrepancy of \$1.'

Obstacles to Assimilation

In order for assimilation to occur, the recruit must be motivated to be socialized (Brim and Wheeler 1966) and socialization efforts must be successful (Van Maanen 1976). Since career changers are likely to bring bits and pieces of their corporate culture with them, they experience some frustrations in their new culture. While some repress their frustrations, others do not. Limited resources and lack of monetary incentives, for example, frustrate career changers. If their monetary goal orientation differs significantly from the non-profit's goal orientation, assimilation may not occur since the majority of non-profits cannot motivate their employees by offering the monetary incentives that they were used to receiving. Other career changers maintain that the achievement orientation they had in their instrumental organizations is not respected in the non-profit sector. They complain that they are "used to getting things done without going through so many layers of people

to make a decision." Additionally, the feedback which comes from achievement oriented actions in the corporate sector is not forthcoming in the non-profit sector because it isn't valued. And, since the broad cultural values of capitalism (Van Maanen 1976) and the dream of regaining their prior sense of identity is not a distant memory, (Trice and Beyer 1993; Rosow 1974) some career changers are inclined to return to the corporate sector.

If organizations tend to be weak in their socialization techniques (Van Maanen 1983; Lortie 1975), in terms of guiding and training the new recruit in accepting the attitudes and behaviors of the organization, socialization is inefficacious. Frustrated career changers complain that the training they receive in "cultural orientation" is minimal or non-existent. They simply don't know how to behave in their new environments. In the absence of guidance from peers or role models, career changers struggle to make their own cognitive maps (Jackall 1988; Van Maanen 1976) to learn the significant relationships and the expected ways to behave towards these "others." Career changers describe three significant frustrations which they have to repress in their attempt to assimilate: limited resources, lack of monetary incentives, and having a different goal orientation from the non-profit organization.

Limited Resources

Parsons (1951) argues that every social system has an

ordering of rewards related to attitudes. Since profit and non-profit organizations have different attitudes towards rewards (e.g. monetary vs. non-monetary), it can be assumed that there will be a difference in the way they each order or rank their rewards. Career changers must be sensitive to this difference. In addition, according to Parsons (1951), there is always a competition for rewards such as money, status, and facilities. Since there is less money, in the non-profit sector, it may be assumed that managers will strive to compete for scarce resources and to protect or control what they have earned. To some extent, managers who have invested their time in the accumulation of rewards, may have vested interests in the maintenance of these rewards. Vested interests, states Blau (1964), take the form of preventing mobility, differentiation of status (you versus us) and the devaluation of rewards. Since non-profits are more likely to have limited resources than the corporate sector, career changers find that non-profits have control and vested interest issues centered around the scarcity of resources. Some of the managers we studied found that change (e.g. mobility) within organizations is met with resistance and an attitude of "that's the way we've always done it." Organizational members have vested interests in maintaining their rewards which newcomers threaten to change. Other career changers report that this problem is rampant throughout their organizations. Here is one example:

There are turf issues between me and the other departments. People are afraid of losing control. People are territorial about tasks and functions. They are easily threatened. They are so entrenched in their jobs, they can't change. In my corporate job, people were relieved if you were willing to do their work. Power in my non-profit manifests itself in control rather than pay.

Eight career changers in our sample agree that limited resources have an adverse effect on getting the job done in an effective manner:

Darlene: There are too few people to do the job right. Yes, there is too much bureaucracy. Every item purchased has got to go through a whole rigmarole. Implementation is difficult.

Fred: The only thing that frustrates me is the lack of resources. We are fairly resource poor and have to make due with what's available.

Jack: In my corporate life, I was able to delegate. Now since I'm in a smaller setting and it's more hands-on, I've had to repress not attempting to delegate. I have to roll up my sleeves and do it myself.

Jerry: On the first day, I thought that I would get an office or at least a cube. I shared a space with four other people. There is no privacy. You take for granted having privacy when you're talking on the phone. One of the shocks, for me, was the sharing of resources.

Michael: I didn't have the same support I was used to--like help in photocopying things.

Ron: The physical environment is different from the corporate sector. In my corporation, there were nice plush offices. My office now is not as nice. In the corporate sector, I just took supplies when I needed them. But in the non-profit sector, it's different since there is less money. I needed to learn to become more sensitive to spending money on basic things.

Walt: You bring in certain expertise, but you have to alternate your time between doing the budget and making sure the toilet gets fixed. In the

last year, I spent a lot of time shoveling snow.

Paul: There are no layers and layers of resources to be mined to get things done. The scale is dramatically different in the sense that if you have to send out letters, you buy and lick the stamps yourself.

Reward System

While career changers know there is a difference in reward systems, some have a difficult time adjusting to this significant reality as two report¹⁸:

Jerry: I always used to bring this expensive pen to work, but I realized that in the non-profit sector, this might be perceived as flashy. I realized I needed to downplay the finer things in life.

Cindy: The lack of pay frustrates me. Not necessarily for me, but for attracting the best candidates. We can't compete in the marketplace. People are leaving all of the time and that is frustrating.

Different Goal Orientation

A significant obstacle to assimilation is the ability to manage their frustrations concerning goal orientations between the profit and non-profit sectors. Since there is minimal training and weak socialization efforts in many non-profits, corporate managers are more likely to utilize "corporate techniques" in achieving non-profit goals within their new organizational cultures. Of course, this is often met with great resistance. While frustrated by consensual decision making and the length of time it takes to make

¹⁸Please refer to pages 84-89 for a more detailed explanation of rewards.

decisions, many career changers are motivated to "fit in" and weather the differences in management styles. Here are six examples:

Ellen: Sometimes it takes a long time to get things done and for decisions to be made. Things that should take a day or a week, take a month or weeks. Results in lost productivity mean less money coming in. People are not aware of the degree of urgency that should be attached to things to ultimately raising more money. I think that my frustration comes from working in my prior environment. People that come from a social work background think we work too quickly and that we are always in a rush to raise more money. They think that we should step back and plan more, think more. I think it depends on what your perspective is.

Ron: I needed to repress the sense of urgency in myself. I am high strung and driven and I've had to repress that. I've been given a hard time by my co-workers for the way I dress (suit and tie), but I haven't really changed that.

I'm used to working long hours, but people tell me to go home and quit working. So, I've repressed the urge to work late. I was conditioned to work this way.

I'm frustrated with the amount of time it take to get things done. Simple requests like getting people paid. I have to go through all these different steps that I didn't have to go through in the corporate sector.

Cindy: I had to learn to slow it down and loose my edge. I learned to go with the system. You get used to it. You learn to deal with people without being offensive. Sometimes, coming from the corporate world, you have to be very aggressive if you want to get things done. You can't do that here.

Larry: I saw that there was a lack of motivation among employees. I expected everyone to do it the way I wanted them to do it. I became frustrated and tried to micro-manage people. They resented me. It didn't work.

Barry: I'm frustrated with the slow decision making and the lack of performance standards. I've had to repress initiative, imagination and drive.

Kevin: I've had to repress my desire to take charge; to grasp the vice president by the throat and yell "decide!"

Paul: I had to repress the sense to insist that business logic carried the day. If there is an argument for doing something a certain way and it could be made clear that there was an economically rational way to do it, I had to adjust to the idea that this organization wouldn't necessarily do it. There was a realization that people valued the way in which they worked together, rather than the amount which could be saved by working a different way...I had to learn to share their values.

In the most severe cases when the career changer is not able to repress his/her frustrations, the career changer is asked to leave the organization because he/she will not adopt the values of the organization. In some cases, it is believed that career changers are dismissed because they are not motivated to internalize the values of their new non-profit cultures. In other cases, it is believed that since most non-profits conduct minimal training, their socialization techniques are weak and ineffective in properly helping the recruit learn the requisite behaviors and attitudes.

Minimal Training: Weak Socialization

How did these career changers learn to meet the expectations of a new organizational culture? Though the majority of career changers are expected to learn the appropriate attitudes and behaviors on their own, a small

proportion of the newcomers are formally trained by the non-profit organization. Formal socialization implies that recruits are formally oriented and trained around specific organizational rules and guidelines. Formal socialization takes the form of educational training outside the organization or on the job training (apprenticeship) by a designated individual(s) within the organization. One career changer believes that his human services non-profit has "the most extensive training program of any I've been involved in:"

My organization trains everybody. We learn about the clientele we serve and the whole reason for the organization.

Another career changer maintains that each department, within her human services organization, has a formal orientation of employees. Every newcomer is paired off with a veteran employee and shown everything she has to do in her job. Two other career changers were given a formal on-the-job two week training course in presentation and solicitation skills before they were each placed as volunteer fundraisers within the same human services organization. As volunteers, they learned the expectations of the job through working with experienced peers in their groups. When these career changers made the transition from volunteer to employee within the same human services organization, they knew what to expect.

It is more common to find career changers who are

expected to come in with a certain set of skills and learn the details on their own or through trial and error. One career changer mentions that when he entered the association, there "was no one who I could have as my mentor; no good role models...You had to just jump in and start swimming."

Another career changer was also expected to learn his role on his own through trial and error:

I was thrown into the situation and I learned as I went along. There wasn't a formal orientation, but I learned on my own by going through the manuals and interfacing with the system. There was a fairly steep learning curve.

This career changer also asserts that he was "expected to come in with a certain amount of skills and that he had responsibility for learning computer skills on his own."

While most of the career changers interviewed are expected to bring the skills of their prior culture with them, this career changer experienced an attempt to strip away her entering characteristics such having the independence and authority to get the job done without the constant approval of her boss:

Since there was no training process, I did what I would normally do in a new situation. I just came in and tried to do what I do best. My boss was quick to tell me that this was not the way it was done in the past.

After running with the ball several times, I realized, through trial and error, that I needed to get my boss to sign on.

Some career changers report learning by both formal and

informal means. When Ellen first entered her human services organization, she received three to four days of formal orientation by the organization itself (e.g. writing and presentation skills). However, it is through the informal mentoring of peers and observation that Ellen learned "the unspoken language of the organization." (e.g. who the powerbrokers are, when to press for something and when to take a break for lunch) (Van Maanen 1977). Schein (1990) calls this unspoken language the "basic assumptions" of the organization.

In learning the unspoken language of the organization, Barry relied exclusively on learning by trial and error. It is through this method that he learned that his department has no clout within his organization. It was also through trial and error that he learned the mechanics and the relationships important to doing his job:

I had no job training. Maybe a half an hour of orientation with my manager, but nothing substantial. Learning the mechanics of the job wasn't hard, but I had no help with the direction of the job, and the relationships within the organization.

My boss, who hired me, was very bright and business-like and she gave me encouragement and feedback. However, since she was atypical of the culture, she didn't help me in adjusting.

Since Cindy was hired to create a new role in her department, she tried to both create and learn her role by talking to other human resources people in other departments within the university. She learned the basic assumptions of

the university by informally speaking to a veteran 25 year employee and through trial and error. For example,

At first, I was much more aggressive in trying to get things done and it just didn't happen and it antagonized people. I also learned that if I used certain people's names (a higher power), things could get done.

In terms of learning the work hours, I watched people. People have flexible hours here. I'm an early person and come in around 7:30 am, but others come in at 10am. This is not the kind of place where if you come in at 9:05, you will get fired.

Career changers believe that there needs to be greater emphasis on formal training within the non-profit sector and that this lack of formal training has an adverse effect on retaining people:

Ira: I wasn't taught how to operate and what the rules of the game were. Everything that is learned is still learned through trial and error. I have re-defined my self, in the course of the first year about ten different times.

Myron: I know that money is hard to come by in the non-profit sector, but in order for people to do their jobs, there needs to be a commitment from management or by the board to train staff. I think the turnover in the non-profit sector wouldn't be as great if there were the potential for people to come in and get an objective sense of where they are, what they are part of and what is expected of them.

Weak Socialization

In the absence of clear direction or formal training, corporate managers are unable to decipher, practice and meet the expectations of their bosses. One non-profit "career manager" observed this to be true with an advertising manager:

Career Manager: Corporate culture is a mindset. This individual was hired from the beauty industry to market arts events. This person could not react to the day to day selling of the "product." This person had no sensitivity to the live performance as opposed to the product she had been selling. She couldn't make the transition. Mentally, she and the culture were not in synch. The support she needed to make the transition was not there. She had to do the brochure herself. She wasn't used to this.

Since they don't know how to behave corporate managers like this advertising manager use their prior experience in making decisions resulting in culture clash. In the following excerpts, both Myron and John used their prior experiences in making decisions. This did not serve them well. They were both asked to leave.

Myron: In the corporate sector, I was used to handling myself in a certain way. I was surrounded by a structure that I could lean on. but in my non-profit organization, since decision making was centralized, I had to go to the top to get answers. I had been used to picking up a phone or walking over and asking someone. In the non-profit organization, I had to go to my boss all of the time and he was busy all of the time. It meant delays on everything that I did and it left me with a sense of being left-out. I didn't feel I was contributing. I didn't feel important. I decided to just keep busy, rather than doing something to feel productive...

My boss called me in and chewed me out for writing a letter and sending it out without being reviewed. I set up an appointment, with the expectation that my boss was going to meet with me and go through some things. My boss sat right there, in front of me, and said that she had better things to do than sit in a room with me. After a few of those things occurred, I had to take a wait and see attitude.

John: I had a conflict with the senior manager and she decided to let me go. I was asked to write a letter introducing my organization to a corporate

funder. I had a good idea about how to do this and who the audience would be. Three versions of the letter were sent back to me for more revisions. I suggested that my manager write the letter and that generated a rebellion. The organization didn't respect my knowing the audience that I was writing to better than they did. It came to a dead end.

I realized now that things are different in the non-profit sector. You have to go through a chain of command and people don't make instantaneous decisions and execute them like they do in the corporate sector. I didn't realize that when I was going through it.

Lack of Motivation

Some career changers appear to have a lack of motivation in learning the new values of their employer. Walt remarks about one career changer in his organization who continued to resist his new cultural expectations:

One of the new people seems to have expectations of being taken care of like he was taken care of in the corporate sector. I run the business office and most people have learned to get by with less, but this person still is resisting that. For example, here, I don't charge things to the institution that I would have charged in business. None of us ever do, and this person does.

Susan, a career changer who moved from banking to a trade organization, reveals how one particular career changer clashed with his culture:

Manager A: A business-oriented financial guy, who was all about numbers and the bottom line, came in to the non-profit and pissed everybody off--to the point where negative stories were being told about him. He was a good business leader and he wanted to run it like a business. The non-profit people, on the other hand, were devoted to their mission. You have to keep the mission in mind. You want to carry a big stick, but speak softly.

Though Jerry and Martha were not motivated to stay with

their first non-profit employers, they since have been able to secure jobs with new non-profit employers. This is what they have to say about their first non-profit cultural experiences:

Jerry: No one at the lower levels can make a decision. It always has to go through a consensus team. There are a lot of forms to fill out and a lot of people that you have to get to concur. This was one of the frustrating aspects of the non-profit sector. I had to get acceptance from outside constituencies and the organizations with which I was working.

I left my position because it didn't allow me to accomplish anything. It was more like babysitting and making sure people's feelings weren't hurt.

Martha: Everyone in my institution considers himself to be a gourmand. Give me a break. Everyone has to have input on the food (for a special event). I believe that you choose the food and decor according to whom it is that you are entertaining. Here, everyone always likes to get involved in those decisions. You get so frustrated and angry.

This was one part of the corporate world where no one got involved. I did it and it was done and it didn't take all the time it takes here.

Also, I find that there is a lot of nickel and diming that goes on here. I know we have to save money, but it is absolutely outrageous that people will spend time bickering with the vendor over \$10. It's a waste of time. There are other things that need to get done.

The lack of training or formal socialization techniques in the non-profit sector creates an environment where the career changer is expected to learn by trial and error. While many career changers are successful (36 of the 41 are still employed in the non-profit sector), others are unable to adapt (3 returned to the corporate sector and 2 are

unemployed). In addition, if non-profits are organized around a "non-profit" model of management where consensual decision making is considered the norm, corporate managers like Martha and Jerry who find this style frustrating and are not motivated to conform will tend to look for other opportunities more in line with their previous management style e.g. the corporate model of management. If indeed, more non-profit organizations are seeking to hire managers from different occupational backgrounds, they must be willing to reveal their expectations regarding the appropriate management style within a formal training process. If the appropriate style is "non-profit," the career changer must be aware of this expectation from the beginning. If the prior skills of the manager are needed in order to effect culture change, this must be communicated as well. Without knowing the perspective of the non-profit employer, it is difficult to adapt and to become a member of the new reference group.

Chapter VIII

Conclusion

Non-profit and corporate employee attitudes and behaviors are shaped by their organizational cultures. It is the culture which determines value orientations of managers (Trice and Beyer 1993; Ott 1989; Deal and Kennedy 1982), the profile of the employee within each sector of the economy: his/her gender, race, earnings, age and compensation. It is the difference in cultures that produces the difference in value orientations among employees. Differing value orientations distinguish the identities of employees within sectors of the economy. Occupational identities are laden with the values of the occupation (e.g. reward system, personal and professional networks). Since employees are rewarded for investing time in their occupational identities and the core values which support them, they may not find it necessary to build alternative occupational networks (Trice and Beyer 1993; Blau 1964).

When limited opportunities within one's chosen industry caused by culture changes within the industry threaten the employee's survival, he/she may be motivated to seek alternative careers within other industries. Without having the necessary occupational networks, this may be a difficult task. Those who do not have links to an industry through occupational networks are often viewed as outsiders

(Epstein 1995, 1988, 1981, 1971; Lorber 1984). Outsiders who are perceived as not having a similar occupational identity or value orientation may pose a threat to those insiders who guard the rewards and statuses achieved within their occupations. In order to guard these rewards, insiders categorize or stereotype these differences, regarding them as dirty and dangerous (Schur 1984; Douglas 1966). Branded as a manager with differing value orientations, the corporate manager is believed by non-profit managers to be unable or unwilling to adapt within a new occupational culture. Insiders guard their precious rewards through established hiring practices which screen out and negatively stereotype those without a shared occupational background (Epstein 1995, 1988, 1981, 1972; Trice and Beyer 1993; Abbott 1988; Milkman 1987; Lorber 1984; Walsh 1977).

Breaking these occupational hiring barriers, while not easy, may take the form of building a new occupational network through joining voluntary or non-profit organizations (Granovetter 1995). Through association with voluntary organizations one can meet individuals with differing occupational backgrounds.

Outsiders may also break hiring barriers through learning the expectations of their reference group. (Rosow 1974; Merton 1968). Internships, volunteering and classroom training which emphasize anticipatory socialization expose the outsider to behaviors and attitudes of the peers of the

new reference group (Clary et al 1996; Elkin and Handel 1984; Van Maanen 1983, 1977, 1976; Rosow 1974; Brim and Wheeler 1966; Becker et al. 1961). Interaction with the new peer group is a necessary component to effective socialization and adaptation within the new reference group. Peer socialization minimizes culture shock and maximizes assimilation of the newcomer (Rosow 1974; Brim and Wheeler 1966). Without informal mentoring by peers, recruits may not successfully adapt (Van Maanen 1983, 1977, 1976). Of course, the recruit must also view the new values of the reference group as relevant and be motivated to conform to these new values. (Merton 1968). Finally, peer socialization enables the new reference group to get beyond negative stereotypes and to accept differing management styles as necessary means of growth and survival.

Implications

This study found that while profit and non-profit managers view their cultures to be different, they recognize the need for strong management in the non-profit sector. The greatest single fear that non-profit managers have, which may lead to the maintenance of distinctions through negative stereotypes, is that the sacred values of the non-profit culture will be altered through the management practices of corporate executives (Rosow 1965). At the same time, non-profit managers believe that good management practices are important to the survival of their

organizations. This type of rational thinking is being fostered by funding organizations seeking accountability for the funds allocated, by the public wanting greater scrutiny of non-profit organizations and by the organizations themselves who want to survive into the next century (Smith and Lipsky 1993). Non-profit organizations, thus may be more likely to consider hiring individuals with corporate backgrounds, because funding sources and the opinion of the broader society maintain that interdependence between the profit and non-profit sectors, may influence the survival of many non-profits into the next century. Culture change within non-profits doesn't necessarily mean a change in the value system, but a change in the way the "sacred values" or the mission are managed (Rosow 1965). Within non-profit organizations, it means fostering another type of interdependence between the corporate and non-profit sectors (O'Neill 1989). Culture change, for non-profits, means that what works for one organization may, indeed work for another if the core values of the organization are respected by those entering from another type of organizational culture (Ott 1989; Rosow 1965).

Members of an organization determine the acceptance of a newcomer into the group (Merton 1968). It is their approval that governs a newcomer's membership. In order to earn the respect of the group, the newcomer must be able to demonstrate an understanding of the group's core values (Wax

1983).

For the career changer, anticipatory socialization learned within a classroom coupled with on-the-job learning through volunteerism creates an interactive relationship where both the peer and the newcomer can learn to accept and appreciate each other and negotiate the extent to which the newcomer must adapt and the degree to which his/her prior skills, attitudes and behaviors will be accepted by the new peer group (Van Maanen 1983, 1977, 1976).

Anticipatory socialization of corporate career changers is critical because it not only earns them respect by their new non-profit peer group, but it helps them distinguish the important non-profit significant others within the non-profit organizational culture.

Changers interviewed for this study were frustrated by the amount of trial and error they engaged in before they properly learned their roles. It is recommended that if non-profit organizations do indeed want and need the corporate management skills of former corporate executives that it is important for non-profit organizations to devise a greater number of formal and informal socialization settings in which peers and newcomers can meet and understand role relationships and expectations.

Without formal and informal socialization settings, career changers may use their corporate management skills without understanding the relationship between these skills

and the value systems operating in their new organizational cultures. Thus, the corporate manager may experience a high level of culture shock and may be unable to adapt to his/her new surroundings (Hughes 1981). Career changers are also unwilling to adapt if their motivation to embrace the values of the reference group is not strong (Trice and Beyer 1993; Schein in Van Maanen 1976; Merton 1968). Again, volunteerism indicates the career changer's motivation to be affiliated with the non-profit sector. Non-profit managers who hire need to assess how strongly the career changer's motivation is to conform to non-profit values. This may be done through initiating questions organized around the following topics: compensation and the importance of monetary versus psychic or intrinsic rewards; the willingness to work hours outside the normal work day; need for autonomy or lack of autonomy; comprehension of, experience in and willingness to participate in decision making by consensus; knowledge of volunteer-staff relationships, the lack of resources, the need to spend time building relationships with peers; desire to change from an individual to a collective goal orientation; knowledge of and training in fundraising methods and accountability; meeting donor expectations, and so forth.

Recommendations

This research examined 117 dislocated corporate

managers who attended and participated in a Non-profit Management and Communications Program from 1991-96 (see Figure I on page 5). The most recent 1996 participants were still going through the class experience and were studied through ethnography as they shifted their presentation of self--from profit to non-profit managers. The earlier 1991-95 participants were studied in the classroom and additionally were interviewed in terms of their prior workplace cultures and transition to non-profit jobs. The managers exemplify a diverse cross-section of displaced managers, but cannot be viewed as representative of all displaced corporate managers in a strict sampling sense.

This research provided preliminary findings on the workforce transition from the profit to the non-profit sectors. In the future, there needs to be more extensive qualitative and quantitative work done in this area conducted on a random sample of dislocated white collar managers as well as their non-profit managerial counterparts within the non-profit sector. In addition, more attention needs to focus on the diversity of the sample with regard to gender, race, age and marital status.

This study focuses on the movement of dislocated corporate workers into the non-profit sector. To the knowledge of the researcher, this is the first study which focuses on this particular white collar employment pattern. While such a small study cannot show conclusively that there

is a national trend of movement from one sector to another, it posits that in light of the expansion of the non-profit sector and the decline of the corporate sector, there is reason to study the employment patterns of dislocated white collar manager and whether there is an association between the dislocated white collar manager and his/her re-employment in the expanding non-profit sector. While the US Department of Labor has statistics regarding the re-employment of dislocated workers by industry, they have not studied the re-employment of white collar managers by industry. It is possible that a future study might reveal the larger trend that is implied by this study.¹⁹

This study also recognizes the transition of dislocated white collar corporate managers without comparing it with others who have made the reverse transition. It is hypothesized, for example, that since members of a group tend to create boundaries to protect cherished rewards and statuses, that non-profit managers seeking to move to the corporate sector might encounter a similar bias to their entry. It is also hypothesized that the creation of peer occupational networks through internships and anticipatory classroom training is necessary to overcoming the biases held by insiders of any occupational group.

¹⁹Burbridge's (1994) study, while not focusing on the movement of corporate displaced managers to the non-profit sector reveals that as corporate managers age, they tend to move into the non-profit sector.

A future study might compare the career transitions of those who move into the non-profit sector versus those who move back into the corporate sector.

In addition to an expanded qualitative and quantitative study on the transition of white collar dislocated managers into the non-profit sector, it is recommended that the model of anticipatory socialization, outlined in Chapter VI be tested in institutions of higher education. As non-profit management programs within higher education continue to develop their curricula, and they look at the interdependent relationships between the profit and the non-profit sectors, it is important that the curricula include a cross-sector management perspective. A cross-management perspective would be organized around the expectations of the career changer and the employer. It would provide classes on human resources and the creation of non-traditional applicant pools. Such a class would, for example, teach first time students and returning practitioners how to prepare job descriptions which use inclusionary language to attract a wider pool of non-traditional candidates. It would draw attention to the ways in which incumbent networks restrict opportunities to bringing in managers with different perspectives and new resources. These new curricula might focus on the peer training of non-traditional candidates as well as the first time student. It could include internships, community service or volunteerism. Case

studies, based on the volunteer experience or internship, could be presented in the classroom by the peer socializer and the student. Such case studies would highlight the way in which leadership roles are negotiated within the organization between experienced members and the newcomer. These internships would also help the non-traditional students and the first time students build the necessary occupational networks for employment opportunities in the non-profit sector.

Appendix

1. Dislocated Worker Intake Interview

code: **date of interview:**

gender:

Thank you for agreeing to participate in our research.

This interview is part of a study of careers and workplace culture in the private sector, and about peoples' ideas about moving from the corporate to the non-profit sector.

All the information we are collecting is strictly confidential.

No peoples' names will be mentioned in any publications, or even stored with the data.

The data will be used to look for general trends and patterns, to understand what professional and managerial life in the corporate and non-profit sectors is like.

I would like to use a tape recorder, because that enables my notes to be more complete. But if you don't want me to use the tape recorder, or if you want me to stop it at any point, please let me know.

Could you please sign this consent to be interviewed form?

I would like to begin by talking first about your experiences with, and perceptions about, the non-profit sector.

A bit later on I will want to ask you a series of questions about your work experience in the corporate sector.

1. Perceptions of the Non-profit Sector

I know you have been attending workshops about jobs in the non-profit sector.

a. Before you attended Tobie's class, what were your links to the non-profit sector, ie. were you a volunteer, a board member, a manager, a consultant? What roles have you had in the non-profit sector?

Did your friendship networks include friends who are managers in the non-profit sector?

b. What reservations, negative beliefs or stereotypes do/did

you have about the non-profit sector as a place to work?

(Ken, as possible probes: slower pace of work; non-profits as less goal and bottom-line driven; less hierarchical, more consensus; more people oriented, less numbers-oriented; more tolerant of diversity; requiring more commitment to ideals; non-profits as less demanding of quality performance.)

c. What things appeal(ed) to you about the non-profit sector as a work place?

Why do you want to work there?

(Prompts: more sense of community; can't find anything in the profit sector; economics; more tolerance of age, gender, etc; slower pace; more time with family; better sense of self.)

d. What perceptions do/did you have of the non-profit culture and management style?

2. Experiences in Interviews for Non-profits

a. Did you apply for any jobs in non-profit organizations prior to starting Tobie Stein's course? What types of non-profit positions are you inquiring about?

b. How did you find out about those non-profit job openings?

c. Did you get interviews? And if you did, what were your experiences in those interviews? If not, why do you think you didn't?

d. Did you feel recruiters in non-profits had a particular view of you, as someone coming from the corporate world?

e. What barriers were/are in your way of getting a job in the non-profit sector? (prompts: anger; loss of confidence; loss of identity; non-networks; poor communication)

3. Corporate Job History

Okay, I'd like to shift to your experience in the corporate or private sector. could you please walk me briefly through your private sector job history, from the time you left college until the present?

I'm interested in the two or three main jobs you held, roughly for how long, and why you left.

4. Job culture in last, longest, or most important corporate job.

I would like to focus on your job at _____. I am interested in getting a sense of the corporate culture and the atmosphere of the place when you worked there.

a. Could you describe what you like most about working there?

b. Could you describe what aspects you liked least about working there?

Now I would like to go through several individual features of corporate culture, and ask you about where your company fit in relation to them:

c. The pace of work.

Some companies seem to really pile on the pressure. The pace of work is very intense, people have to take lots of work home. There is a lot of stress. Other firms are more relaxed. People work hard but there isn't the same feeling of time or workload pressure.

What was the pace of work like at your firm? Did it change while you were there?

d. Work measurement

Some people I have interviewed say that their firms use a lot of performance targets and quotas or work measurement. They measure every aspect of performance and are constantly scrutinizing numbers.

Managers have to spend a lot of time looking over these statistics and explaining to higher management why the numbers look like they do.

What was your firm like? (could you describe what it felt like?)

How were you evaluated in your work?

e. Politeness at work

Some people I have interviewed describe their corporation as having a very cordial and polite culture. Bosses are polite and friendly to their subordinates and try to be supportive or understanding when people make mistakes. They use praise rather than criticism.

Others describe their firms as having a more rough and tough style: Managers are hard-driving and often sarcastic to their subordinates. They may criticize people quite publicly. Lower level employees may be fearful of their bosses.

Could you describe what your corporations was like on these issues?

(possible follow-up: did this change during the time you were there?)

f. Identification with the firm (loyalty)

Some firms manage to make employees feel like they are a member of a family or a team. People become very loyal to the company itself. They identify with the company, and feel the firm cares about them.

Other firms have a much cooler relationship towards their employees, and employees have less loyalty. How was this in your firm? Did it change over time?

g. Competition among professionals

In some firms, managers or professionals are very competitive among themselves, even to the point of deliberately making one another look bad. They seem to enjoy conflict and intrigue as a way of seeing who is top dog. Other firms seem to build a feeling of mutual support among employees. Decisions are less ego-driven. In fact there is an effort to build consensus, and not to offend anyone.

Could you describe your company in this regard? (How did you feel in that kind of an environment?)

h. Connections, networks, and alliances

Some people say that in their firm, connections, who you know, are very important. If you aren't allied or connected in certain ways, or don't have friends looking out for you, you won't get promoted, or you won't get information that is critical for doing you job well.

Other people describe their firms very differently: networks and alliances don't seem to be important. could you tell me how it was in your firm?

i. Hierarchy and Centralization (Authority, Discretion)

Some people I have interviewed describe their firms as being

very hierarchical or centralized. All important decisions (and sometimes even unimportant decisions) need someone's approval high up in the firm.

Other firms seem to delegate a lot of authority and give a lot of discretion to lower managers. Decision-making is not so centralized.

Could you describe your firm's pattern of authority and responsibility?

(Follow-up: Are people in your firm often held responsible for things they can't really control?)

j. Jargon, slogans, belief systems (new thinking)

Some firms seem to use a lot of slogans and jargon, or they have an official value or belief system. There is a certain language one has to talk if one is to be a successful manager. Sometimes this is Total Quality Management talk, sometimes it's "empowerment" or some other managerial theory.

Did your firm have this quality of language, slogans, or an official belief system?

(Follow-up: Was this official belief system sincere? What was it like working in that environment?)

k. Honesty & Speaking One's Mind (politics)

Some of the people I've interviewed describe their workplaces as very honest up-front places. People speak their minds. They aren't worried about being outspoken, so long as they do their job well. They feel they can argue against a policy if they believe it is mistaken.

Other people describe their workplaces as very political. They say you have to be very careful what you say in public. People censor themselves, and don't feel they can be honest to their bosses or others. If they oppose or are even lukewarm about a proposed policy or initiative, they feel they will be viewed with suspicion, as disloyal or something. Could you describe how things like this were in your company?

l. Top Down Communication

Some firms seem to be relatively open in terms of top-down communication: employees are told what is going on. Communication up and down the company works well.

Others are more secretive at the top. People speculate and gossip a lot about what is really going on. And there may be collusion in the middle ranks not to let those at the top know when things are going wrong, or what one is up to.

Could you describe how it was in terms of communications and secrecy in your company.

m. Restructuring and innovation

Some people I have interviewed say their firms are constantly undergoing restructuring: who reports to whom, how many layers of management, new programs or procedures. sometimes the pace of change is quite frantic.

Others say their companies change very slowly, and may even be resistant to change.

Could you describe how your company was in terms of change?

(Probe if they say it was frantic. How did people cope? Did change create disorganization?)

n. Social conformity

Some corporations seem to stress conformity for their employees. They tend to select people of a certain background, or require a certain style of dress and behavior. Others encourage more individuality. What was your firm. like?

o. Diversity

Some companies seem to deal with diversity very well. Women, minorities, older workers all blend in. Other companies seem to be less open. They may make older workers, for example, feel like they are viewed as deadwood. What was the situation in your company?

p. Opinion of management

Did you feel your company was well managed? Were top management in touch with the realities of the rest of the company? What is your assessment of that company's direction and management?

Follow-up: Were there occasions when you felt that a bad decision was made, either by top management or by your immediate superiors?

Could you give an example of such a decision, and what resulted from it?

2. Career Transition Follow-up Interview Questionnaire

code:

date of interview:

gender:

1. What do you think are the major differences between the non-profit and for-profit sectors? (probe: decision making processes, language, professional development, support of outside interests and commitments e.g. family, volunteer activities; governance (board of directors role), rewards, workforce characteristics, tolerance of diversity e.g. women, older workers, people of color; goals and methods of achieving goals; the way results are measured; leadership styles; types of entrepreneurs who are attracted; feedback on performance; structural differences--chain of command; dress codes) Any thing else??
2. When you decided to make a transition to the non-profit sector, how did the people closest to you react? (probe: spouse, children, family, colleagues, friends, members of your community)
3. What influenced your decision to transition into the non-profit sector? (probe: lost your job, your values conflict with corporate values, no jobs left in the industry, job security)
4. What were the major obstacles which stood in your way? (probe: did not have non-profit network, did not have understanding of non-profit culture, not able to get interviews, was not able to convince perspective non-profit employer that I would "fit in", did not have the proper resume, did not fit the non-profit employer's image of the non-profit ideal type; lack of money to "fund your search", lack of family support; unemployed status; age discrimination)
5. What are the ideal qualifications for a non-profit job? in terms of work experience, skills, educational credentials; values of non-profit manager)
6. How do these qualifications and values differ from your last for-profit job?
7. During your corporate career, what was your involvement with non-profit organizations? (probe: volunteerism, philanthropy, served on board, serviced by non-profits, had non-profit clients, funded non-profits, responsible to building non-profit business)
8. If you volunteered, what did you learn about the non-

profit culture? How did you learn? Did it prepare you for the transition, how?

9. Did your volunteer experience lead directly/indirectly to your present job? Explain.

10. If you had a mentor during your volunteer experience, what role did h/she play in helping you make the transition?

11. How did you find the non-profit job you finally took? (probe: how did they become aware of you, how were you contacted, who interviewed you, how many interviews occurred)

12. How did this process differ from the hiring process of your last for-profit job?

13. In addition to your skills, why do you think you were hired? (probe: volunteer experience, types of resources (examples), interpersonal connection)

14. Who was most helpful in helping you get into your non-profit job? (probe: direct relationship with employer; knew someone who knew employer)

15. What adjustments did you make when you are transitioning from volunteer to employee within the same organization or between one organization to another?

16. When you first entered the non-profit organization as an employee, how did your expectations differ from the actual demands of the job and culture? (probe: extent to which there is culture shock; in what way did employee attitudes/behaviors differ from your expectations)

17. How would you characterize the way you were treated when you first entered the organization?

18. What obstacles did you face in assimilating?

19. What types of attitudes/behaviors have you had to repress for this job? (probe: what frustrates you)

20. What situations have led you to repress these behaviors/attitudes? (probe: how does the organization let you know that a certain behavior is not acceptable)

21. What types of training processes did you experience? (probe: trial/error; on-job-training through seminars, mentoring; formal orientation)

22. How did you learn the "unspoken language" of the organization? (probe: who the powerbrokers are and their significance to you; when to press for something/or not e.g. promotion, new programs, strategy implementation; when to share an idea/or not; when to take a break--go to lunch)
23. What kinds of situations generate conflict in your present job? Did this differ from conflicting situations in your last for-profit job?
24. Are there other people working in your organization who have made the transition from the profit to the non-profit sector?
If so, who?
25. Do you know anyone in your current non-profit organization who was forced to leave? Why?
26. Are there official rules and unofficial rules in your organization which conflict with your values? Explain.
27. Did this ever happen in the corporate sector? Explain.
28. What types of non-profit practices make it difficult to carry out the mission? (bureaucracy, conflicting values of staff, board, constituencies, goals not clearly defined, two equally valued goals compete for primacy; competition between staff members)
29. What types of business practices has your non-profit organization adopted? (probe: strategic/financial planning, restructuring, language, computers, furniture, dress code, decision making, rewards--monetary incentives) Describe these in detail.
30. What types of for-profit practices have worked/not worked in your non-profit organization and why?
31. How did Tobie Stein's Career Transition Program prepare you for making the transition? (probe: job search skills (resume, interviewing, presentation, networking, formal strategies e.g. ads, internet, recruiters; built confidence; learned to anticipate employer's expectations during interview; learned to anticipate employer's expectations on the job; learned to anticipate behaviors/attitudes of significant others e.g. peers, boss; learned role expectations of other managers in the organization; certificate from university was a useful credential)

3. Career Transition Recruitment of Applicants

During 1991 and 1992, I contacted the corporate and non-profit press about the Non-Profit Management and Communications Program (also called the Career Transition Program) with the expectation that press would help me recruit students for the early phases of the Program. This press along with word of mouth attracted students between 1991-1993. From 1994 on, the Consortium for Worker Education provided me with the majority of applicants. Here is a listing of the eighteen articles which were written about the Program as well as two articles (1991-92) which I published for purposes of recruiting students:

"Academics." The Village Voice (August 20, 1991).

"Alumni News." Emerson College Beacon (Fall 1991).

Breznick, Alan, Linda Moss and Marcia Parker. "Switching Direction." Crains New York Business (October 7, 1991).

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"Course Set on Shift from Profit to Non-profits." Gannett Suburban Newspapers (October 10, 1991).

Gatewood, Dallas. "Profit from Nonprofits." New York Newsday (October 27, 1991).

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Jackson, Tommi. "Calender Listing." New York Newsday (March 9, 1992): 34.

"Managing Your Portfolio of Careers: Five Career-Changers Tell Their Stories." FWA New York News (November 1991): 6.

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"Nonprofit Training." Reporter Dispatch (February 2, 1992).

"Nonprofit Training Program at Baruch." The Graduate School and University Center Newsreport (September 1991).

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"Save These Dates." New York Women In Communications: Connection (Fall 1991): 1.

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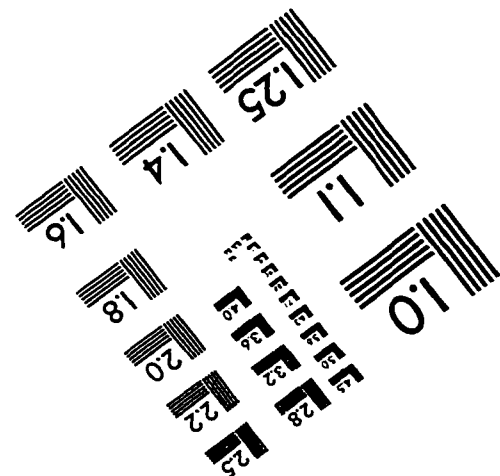
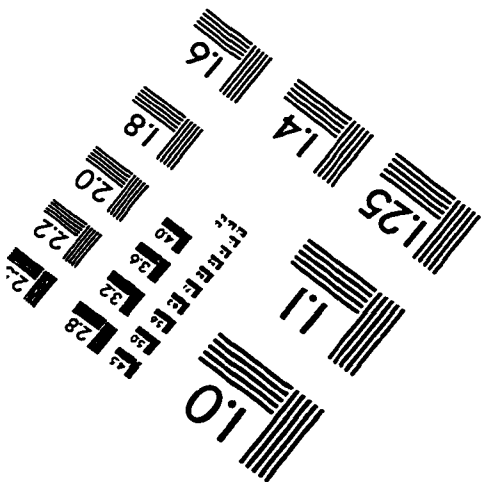
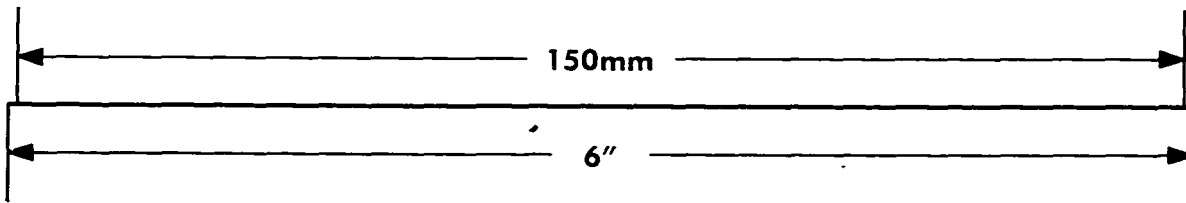
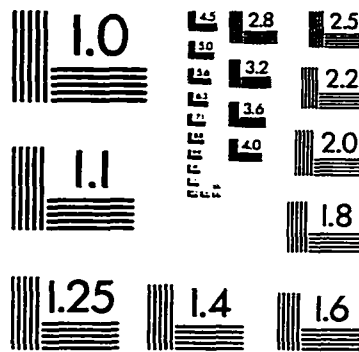
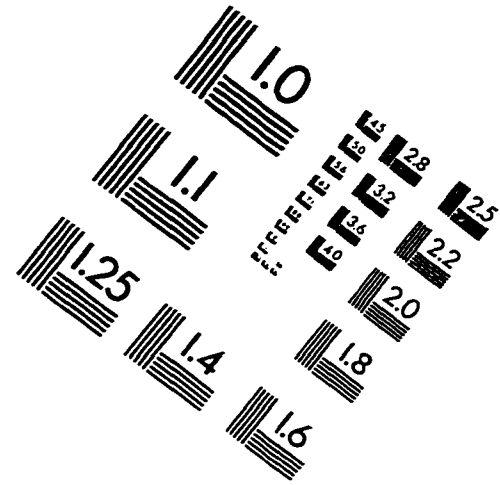
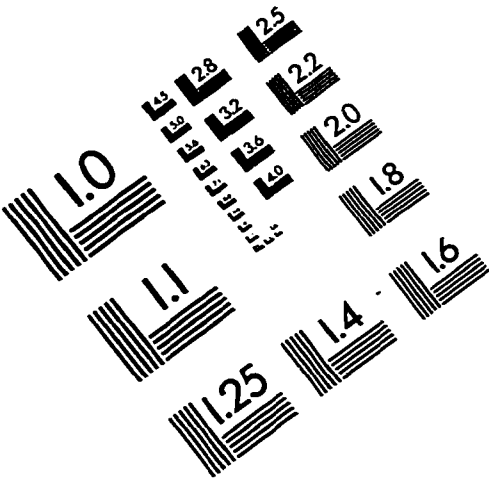
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