
Fundraising for Government: Unpacking the Structure and Relationship of Government-Supporting Nonprofit Partnerships

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Abstract

Government-supporting nonprofits (GSNs) are 501(c)(3) organizations established in connection with a government agency to fundraise and support their mission. To date, little is known about the structural and substantive relationships that occur in this exclusive partnership. Applying the GSN model to public education in Florida, this study looks at data collected from 18 local education foundations (LEFs) and their school district partners. Interviews suggest that different structural models influence the relationships between the two organizations along the following dimensions: attention, successive engagement, resource infusion, and organizational identity. Even though LEFs exist to support their school district, they also aim to establish a separate identity to be able to fundraise and carry out a more community-based role. Through this research, a framework is proposed for studying the structural and partnership dimensions of government-supporting nonprofits. We conclude with a discussion on future research and relevant considerations for government agencies with a supporting nonprofit.

Keywords: Government-Nonprofit Relationships, Partnerships, Resource Generation, Collaboration

Points for Practitioners

Introduction

Scholars in the fields of public administration and nonprofit management continue to study the evolving and expanding intersectoral relationships formed between government and nonprofit organizations (Van Tulder, Seitanidi, Crane, & Brammer, 2016). Traditional sectoral relationships for service provision, including privatization, contracting-out services, public-private partnerships, and network collaborations among government and for- or nonprofit organizations have shaped the literature for some time (D. W. Brinkerhoff & Brinkerhoff, 2011; Bryson, Crosby, & Stone, 2015; Gazley, 2008; Hodge & Greve, 2007; Knutsen, 2012; Skelcher & Smith, 2015; Van Tulder et al., 2016). However, in light of increased funding uncertainty in the public sector, there is a renewed interest in the mechanisms for generating private resources to support the work of government (Cheng, 2019a, 2019b; Brecher & Wise, 2008; Ebdon & Landow, 2012; Smith, 2010; Toepler, 2018).

One model for this is the government-supporting nonprofit (GSN) structure where a 501(c)3 partner organization generates philanthropic funding for a single governmental entity (Smith, 2010). Different from a government-nonprofit partnership focused on

contracting for service provision or a one-time donation for a public project, GSNs have an exclusive connection to a single governmental entity. To better understand GSN partnerships, this paper addresses the following: 1) what are the different types of nonprofit/private support for government geared towards fundraising; 2) what makes the relationship between a government-supporting nonprofit to its partner governmental agency unique among other philanthropic partnership models; and, 3) using a specific context, what are the central components of the GSN structural relationship carried out between a government agency and its exclusive nonprofit partner organization?

Although there are contexts for GSNs in many fields (Cohen, 2012), this study focuses on the application to public education through local education foundations (LEFs) in Florida. LEFs in this study have an exclusive structural relationship with a school district to generate private resources for schools throughout the district (Zimmer, Krop, & Brewer, 2003). LEFs in Florida are structurally and functionally distinct from the more commonly referenced fundraising organizations in education, such as booster clubs, parent-teacher organizations (PTOs & PTAs), parent-teacher-student associations (PTSAs), and individual education funds because each raises private funding for a single school or program while LEFs in Florida support schools throughout the district.

Using data collected from 18 organizations, this paper proceeds with the following. First a summary of the research context of cross-sector interactions is presented, along with the development and distinctions of philanthropic support for government, government-supporting nonprofits as an exclusive structural relationship with a governmental entity, and the rise of local education foundations as one specific type of government-supporting nonprofit. The data and methods section describes the interviews with representatives from LEFs in Florida and the cross case analysis that informs the research findings. The results section presents the structural models and dimensions of a partnering relationship for resource generation. The discussion section summarizes the interaction of the structural models and partnership dimensions that outline a preliminary framework in which to study other GSN contexts. As GSNs are increasingly relevant mechanisms to fundraise for public services, we underscore their ability to act in a unique bridging role with the community to serve broader public purposes.

Literature Review

Since the 1960's, government's relationship with nonprofits in the U.S. has primarily consisted of service provision, contracting out services, and government grant funding for nonprofit services (see Boris, 1999; J. M. Brinkerhoff, 2002; Frumkin & Andre-Clark, 2000; Pettijohn & Boris, 2013; Saidel & Harlan, 1998; Shaw, 2003; Smith & Lipsky, 1993; Van Slyke, 2003). What may be considered the "transactional" orientation of cross sector study has further accounted for managing service oriented nonprofits with governmental contracts (see Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004; Salamon, 1995; Shaw, 2003; Thomson & Perry, 2006; Van Tudler et al. 2016), formal and informal cross-sector partnerships with government (see Gazley, 2008; Saidel, 2011; Saidel & Harlan, 1998) and nonprofit competition in contracting with government given uncertain environments (see Smith & Lipsky, 1993; Suárez, 2011;

Van Slyke, 2007). The literature has also extensively looked at cross-sector and within sector collaborations including why collaboration takes place (Acar, Guo, & Yang, 2008; Salamon & Topeler, 2015), implementation challenges (Bryson, Crosby, & Stone, 2006), supporting structures for collaboration (Connor, Kadel-Taras, & Vinokur-Kaplan, 1999), factors that contribute to success in collaboration (Kapucu, 2006), and shifts in public sector engagement in cross-sector interactions (Smith, 2004).

This study contributes to the same line of research in that we explore government-nonprofit relationships. However, it moves away from the model of partnering to provide services, to partnering with philanthropy for one-time donations, private fundraising support for various government services, and ultimately exclusive nonprofit partnerships with government agencies designed to generate all manner of private support and engagement.

The origins of private support and fundraising for government are varied among different types of engagement that fall under the heading of “public philanthropic partnerships” (Toepler, 2018). Research on philanthropic partnerships with government can be grouped into three orientations of interaction: studies involving private donors or foundations that donate to government projects and programs (Ebdon & Landow, 2012), studies where nonprofit organizations (usually foundations) partner with government entities to support public infrastructure and programs (Brecher & Wise, 2008), and studies where nonprofit organizations are structurally tied to a specific governmental agency to generate on-going private funding and support for its mission (Smith, 2010).

Among the first orientation, research has focused on the legitimacy of one-time donations and grants for public projects through philanthropy. Ebdon & Landow (2012) researched private giving to public infrastructure projects in Omaha, Nebraska, wherein donors practiced the “new philanthropy” characterized by greater involvement in public projects. Through a case study tracing private donations to support a public infrastructure project, their work provides a cautionary tale of the potential for private influence on public decisions and challenges with transparency in the budgeting process. In a similar study, Toepler (2018) traced the history of private support for government focusing on recent cases of philanthropic involvement in federal projects for technological innovation as well as major foundation bailouts of municipal governments. Like Ebdon & Landow he notes the issues that befall such partnerships in terms of legitimacy and public decision-making. He cautions against the use of ad-hoc or one-time partnerships between government and foundations given the potential for undue influence and ineffective uses of private funding. Toepler concludes by arguing for more formalized channels of interactions between government and philanthropy, such as government liaison offices designed to regularly interact with philanthropic entities.

The second orientation involves research on nonprofit organizations that provide private resource support for one component of a larger municipal offering, but not necessarily through an exclusive relationship. These studies capture varied partnership models and tend to focus on questions about the size and influence of private funding on equity and shifts in public funding of services. For example, in Brecher & Wise’s (2008) study of nonprofit partners with the New York City Department of Parks and Recreation, they use the term “nonprofit-as-supplement collaboration” to account for the “neglected

model" (p. S148) of nonprofit fundraising for a public agency through philanthropic resources. In this model, the government agency maintained its primary role in providing services associated with public parks, but did so with the help of over 50 nonprofits that provided funding, volunteers, and other resources or feedback. The partnerships are believed to have contributed to significant private resource infusions and innovations in management and oversight of public parks. However, fundraising tended to benefit already well-resourced parks rather than those with greater need. This is not unlike what Nelson & Gazley (2014) found in their account of different education-supporting nonprofits (referenced further in the Local Education Foundation section) that provide resources and support for public education throughout the U.S.. In their comparison of the private dollars generated relative to local school district budgets, they too found that already well-resourced districts benefit from higher private donations as compared to those districts with greater need. In the search for how to address this issue, Nisbet (2018) conducted two case studies of school districts working to create policies that would enable a more equitable distribution of private resources throughout the district. She concludes with a consideration of the challenges such efforts present in the face of "the dramatic growth in inequality that leaves a wealthier group able to pay for a different type of experience of public goods" (2018, p. 14).

Research has also looked at the effects on government spending when private resources are used specifically for supplementing public services. In research on library foundations in Illinois, Schatteman & Bingle (2015) found a greater reliance on funding from "friends of" nonprofits where the percentage of operating revenue from local taxation decreased. Similarly, Cheng (2019a) looked at the operational expenditures of parks and recreational services departments in the Ohio River Basin where park-supporting charities are numerous. He found that increases in funding from park-supporting charities resulted in decreases in public expenditures on parks.

The third orientation, and focus of this research, consists of government-supporting nonprofits in an exclusive structural relationship with a governmental entity to generate ongoing philanthropic resources. Studies that include this model of interaction tend to be descriptive, relying on qualitative data to explore how the organizational relationships and boundaries are navigated between government and their exclusive nonprofit partner. In simple terms, government-supporting nonprofits generate resources that are applied to the organizational goals or interests of a single governmental partner that are left unmet or unrealized given the limitations of public tax dollars. To do so, they must undertake the task of setting apart their purpose from their partner in order to establish an individual organizational identity and focus (Scott & Lane, 2000) that is conducive to fundraising and engagement. In Lippert and Walby's (2017) study of police foundation support for equipment and training, they explore the cross-sector boundaries between cities, their police departments, and the police foundation. Interviews were conducted with officials to highlight various intersectoral boundary challenges. One salient observation was the need to separate the identity of two closely linked organizations to avoid the perception of undue influence on police business or management and to attract the interests of donors. We also explore this in our study.

Besides generating financial resources, government-supporting nonprofits are in a position to manage some services or programs as well as foster citizen engagement in different ways and for different purposes than a governmental agency is able or expected. In Cheng's (2019) study of nonprofits that support parks and recreation departments, he uses a multiple case method to conduct interviews on governance mechanisms across different collaboration stages. The nonprofits in this study were in a position to take over some management of certain parks, thus moving beyond just philanthropy. Using Austin's (2000) three collaboration stages from philanthropic to integrative, Cheng explores the shifts in governance mechanisms that proceed through formal agreements, personal interactions, and leadership capacity. He argues that the institutional design of such partnerships contributes to higher level collaboration and may help governments relinquish some control to nonprofits as they build their capacity to support public services. This work builds on a similar study by Suárez and Esparza (2017) who looked at institutional shifts in cross-sector interactions within a local unit of the National Park Service and their nonprofit partner. As they looked at the institutional changes that come to shape collaboration, they proposed the term philanthropic coproduction, which captures "a powerful manifestation of nonprofit voice and engagement in public projects" (Suárez & Esparza, p. 650). Philanthropic coproduction involves partnering relationships to mobilize private funding and engagement with public entities, giving more control over to nonprofits to build the capacity to serve and engage citizens into public activities. The substance of philanthropic coproduction is therefore influenced by the structures in place, the purposes for which the partnership exists, and the different types of financial and human resources that are exchanged. We explore these characteristics further within our study to support our understanding of collaborative relationships for fundraising support in an exclusive partnership.

Drawing from this existing work, we proceed in some new directions. Rather than collaboration stages (Austin, 2000; Cheng 2019b), we focus on the structural position of the partner nonprofit to the governmental entity. Where does the partner nonprofit reside relative to the governmental entity? We also look at the ongoing partnership building processes that take place over time to determine what are the primary components that contribute to or detract from their success. Like much of the previous research on this type of public-private interaction, we rely on cases and interviews in a more grounded approach as we try to understand how this type of partnership is fostered. Based on the data collected in our study, we present an initial framework that includes different structural models and relationship dimensions between a GSN and their partner governmental agency.

Research Context: Local Education Foundations

In response to financial challenges and unmet expectations within public education in the 1980's (Sunderman, 2010), school districts pursued the resources and counsel of corporations, local businesses, and community members to support greater excellence in education (Brent, 2002; Fleming, 2012; Nelson & Gazley, 2014; Nisbet, 2018; Paarlberg &

Gen, 2009; Raphael & Anderson, 2002; Zimmer et al., 2003). Local education foundations were one organizational structure created to manage these relationships. Modeled after foundations in higher education (Bass, 2010), local education foundations are “privately operated, nonprofit tax-exempt organizations positioned between schools and communities” (Brent, 2002, p. 31). LEFs are commonly created to serve a single, public school district by generating and managing charitable resources and support for schools, students, and teachers (National School Foundation Association, 2013).

According to most recently available data from the National School Foundation Association there are over 4,800 education foundations that serve an individual school district in the U.S. (2013). However, the actual number of nonprofits dedicated to attracting resources for education in the U.S. may be much higher when accounting for foundations that serve a single school, PTAs that conduct parallel fundraising, or individual booster clubs for sports or other school activities. We know from recent research that distinguishing the various structures of fundraising in education from one another can be challenging. In Nelson & Gazley’s (2014) study on education nonprofits they found several variations of fundraising organizations, including PTAs, PTOs, booster clubs, and education funds. Within their study that included over 14,000 cases, they were unable to distinguish individual school support organizations from district support organizations in their sample although many existed across the country. Parrlberg & Gen (2009) researched nonprofit coproduction by looking at school support organizations in the San Francisco area. In their sample, nonprofit organizations were paired with the individual school they support. However, district education foundations were not identified. Deitrick (2009) looked at a combination of school and district level foundations in California and how their proliferation has challenged equity in funding across the state. To date therefore, research that has explored fundraising and nonprofits in education has focused on individual school or group-based fundraising activity, noting the occurrence of inequitable distributions of financial resources generated by such organizations.

This study takes a different approach all together by using district-wide fundraising organizations to explore the government-supporting nonprofit structural model. To do so, we use school district cases where we know the LEF partners directly with the school district and not an individual school or schools. By focusing on LEFs and their structural relationship at the district level, we purposely exclude from our study parent-teacher fundraising groups, booster clubs, or individual fundraising associations tied to a single school (although these do take place within the school districts in our study) as they do not align with the government-supporting nonprofit structural model.

Drawing on past research, interviews with preliminary informants, websites, and promotional materials, LEFs carry out several different roles with the school district we can connect to existing literature on government-nonprofit arrangements. As a “cooperative arrangement” (Gazley, 2008; Salamon, 1995; Smith, 2010), among government, nonprofits, and private actors from across the community, LEFs cultivate stakeholder relationships as the basis of their mission and work alongside the school district (Raphael & Anderson, 2001; 2002). Similar to other nonprofits in their everyday and year-to-year activities, local education foundations engage with multiple stakeholders and different constituent groups

to generate resources and carry out their mission to support public education. In the context of a public-private partnership (Nisbet, 2018), LEFs generate and manage financial resources, including private grant dollars and fundraising resources provided by the community. Going a step further, is the concept of co-production (Paarlberg & Gen, 2009) where the district and the foundation target resources to specific education issues through joint projects. LEFs provide supplementary educational programming (i.e. programs that require community volunteers in schools or additional private resources), neither replacing nor taking over the work of public education systems. Finally, we see philanthropic co-production (Suárez & Esparza, 2017), as relationships are generated within the community that are meant to provide resources as well as community education and awareness, representation, or policy advocacy at the state or local level (Raphael & Anderson, 2002). The extent of these types of activities, however, varies across school district contexts, as well as state contexts (National School Foundations Association, 2013). This study, therefore, is one attempt to account for different structural models and organizational relationships of government-supporting nonprofits using the context of public education in Florida.

Study Background and Methods

This research uses data collected from registered 501(c)(3) organizations established as government-supporting nonprofits with a clear link to the administration and/or structure of a school district. In Florida, lawmakers passed legislation in 1984 that allowed for the establishment of a single nonprofit organization within the community to directly support an individual school district (Direct-Support Organizations, FSS 1001.453). The legislation allowed all 67 county-wide school districts to establish one local education foundation or partner with an already existing nonprofit organization and in turn, these organizations were recognized by the state as the school districts' exclusive foundation partner.

Florida has approximately 60 established local education foundations that are in operation alongside county-level school districts. A statewide membership association, the *Consortium of Florida Education Foundations* (CFEF), was established in 1992 to support the work of LEFs. Through a biennial membership survey conducted by the Consortium, LEFs provide information on their mission and goals, revenue sources, board make-up and size, expenditures by programming area, and staffing characteristics and structures. The Consortium also lobbies for LEFs at the state and local level, provides information on education issues to board members of local LEFs, and supports philanthropic investment in local school districts.

Based on data from approximately 50 LEFs that completed the 2013 Consortium membership survey, the average age of the LEFs in Florida was 22 years, with average annual revenue of \$1.04M and median annual revenue of \$366,000. LEFs have an average of 3 full time staff. Relative to school district budgets, the revenue generated by LEFs in the 2013 survey reflects an average of 0.35% of total school district revenue. So, while their size and financial influence on school district budgets are relatively small, their work

alongside the school district provides insights into the dynamics of government-supporting nonprofits beyond just resource generation.

Using the membership survey data, with consultation from the executive director of the Consortium, a representative sample of LEF organizations was identified. The organizations were selected based on a number of factors that include LEF and school district size, geographic location (for conducting in-person interviews in different parts of the state), and some consideration for unique programming or roles with the school district partner that provided a richer context for understanding the interactions of the two organizations. The focus of the case selection was on the application of a multiple-case narrative design (Shkedi, 2005), where a purposeful selection of cases was identified from which to primarily conduct interviews, gather observations, and review relevant documents and other written or printed materials. Among the LEFs in operation, 18 (or a little over 30% of all cases) were selected to have executive director's (EDs) participate in semi-structured, open-ended, in-depth interviews. EDs were the primary sources of interview data as they are the primary individual responsible for LEF operations and maintaining the relationship with the school district. They were also best equipped to describe the structural relationship with the school district from the nonprofits' perspective. We also wanted some feedback from school districts, so we did so through three in depth cases.

Among the 18 organizations, three LEFs were identified as representative case studies (Stake, 1995), meant to illustrate three types of structural embeddedness in the district organizational structure (described in the Findings section). These case studies included additional interviews with the school district superintendent or a district representative, two to three members of the LEF board, and one community member who works with the organization. By purposely selecting three cases for representation of different structural relationships, specific narratives provide a way to compare organizational relationships and dimensions of partnership across the broader sample of LEF organizations. They also provide a counter perspective to that of executive directors by representing school district and community perceptions. Altogether, the organizations in this study, had an average of 25 years in operation, an average annual revenue of \$1.94M, and an average of 6 full time staff. LEFs in this study tended to be slightly older, with larger staff, and on average operated with higher revenue than the state average for all organizations.

A protocol of 10 questions was developed to guide interviews with 40 individuals in three primary areas of activity for GSNs: structure and relationship with the school district (government partner), role and type of engagement with(in) the community (philanthropic codproduction), and any activity related to advocacy or community engagement (traditional nonprofit role) (see appendix A for full interview questions). Researchers used a semi-structured interview approach, which allowed for follow-up questions and open-ended responses. All interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed and lasted anywhere from 45-75 minutes. Where possible, to support interview data, marketing materials, brochures, strategic plans, and websites were reviewed relative to analyzing interview content.

Given the in-depth nature of the interviews and the need to understand different structural relationships, the interview analysis relied on Creswell's (2009) recommendations

for “building patterns, categories, and themes” from the bottom up (p. 175). With some consideration for partnership theories in the public sector referenced in the previous section (e.g. cooperation, partnership, coproduction), interview analysis applied Yin’s (2009) process of iterative explanation building by coding, recoding, and grouping codes into more meaningful categories to capture the dimensions that characterize the structural model and relationships of government-supporting nonprofits. The qualitative coding analysis (Table 1.) proceeded in the following rounds.

Table 1. Data Analysis and Coding Process

Round 1	Round 2	Round 3
Focus on understanding topical areas of interviews	Focus on relative position with the school district	Focus on thematic recoding of LEF activities relative to structural position to describe partnership dimensions
Thematic codes in five categories: role, mission, activities, relationship, resources and assets	Thematic characterization of different structural positions with the school district: embedded, interdependent, independent-collaborative	4 identified dimensions of partnership relative to school district: attention, successive engagement, resource infusion, and organizational identity

Among the various organizations studied were nuanced but thematically similar accounts of the relationships carried out with the school district. This includes the dynamics of securing attention, building on the benefits of successive engagement, maintaining resource infusion, and managing organizational identity in a close partnership. The findings proposed below begin to enrich our understanding of the structural positions and partnering relationship of GSNs with a governmental agency.

Findings

LEFs had varying structural positions with their school district partner that influenced the organizational relationships. To begin to understand these positions we drew from the concept of a collaboration continuum (CC) that Austin (2000) uses to characterize nonprofit and business partnerships. In his research, Austin suggests that collaboration moves from philanthropic to transactional and then integrative, or from less to more engagement between two partnering organizations as they become more structurally connected. In the case of LEFs, we propose that they too fall along a continuum characterized by different levels of embeddedness- from more to less embedded in the administrative structure of the school district.

On one end of the continuum are structurally *embedded* organizations, wherein the LEF is a department of the larger school district organizational structure. An embedded LEF is typically located in the same administrative building as other senior administrative

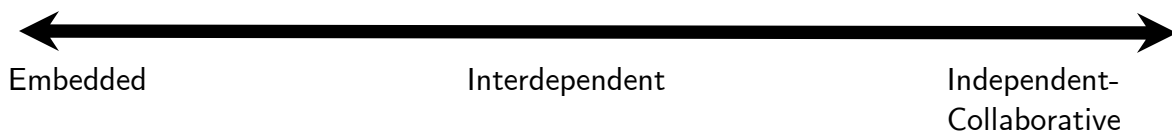
departments and receives some funding support from the school district for salaries and organizational operations. This type of LEF generally works as a department within the district as a “direct-support” nonprofit organization. This study consisted of seven organizations classified as embedded.

In the mid-range of the continuum are *interdependent* LEFs that operate with greater independence from the administrative structure. This position is realized through the LEF having its own office space outside district offices, maintaining operational resources apart from the district, and not being directly part of the organizational structure of the district. This type of LEF works jointly with the district, but operates outside the administrative structure. There were four organizations in the study considered to be interdependent. There were three additional organizations that fell somewhere between embedded and interdependent as they had a mix of characteristics.

On the other end of the continuum is the *independent-collaborative* position, where the nonprofit is completely independent of the school district structure and receives no financial support or resources in the form of salaries, office space, or in-kind donations. Independence from the district structures altogether allows the LEF to pursue its own initiatives around public education (i.e. advocacy or awareness in the community, innovations in programs, testing data-driven programs before district-wide implementation) and still work collaboratively with the district to support schools. There were four organizations that fell in this position along the continuum.

The structural positions modeled in Figure 1. provide a general continuum from which we can understand different types of embeddedness, or structural integration, among partnering organizations.

Figure 1. Continuum of Structural Embeddedness



LEFs may fall somewhere along the continuum of structural embeddedness, characterized by how closely the organizations are connected through physical office location, resource sharing, and organizational interactions and decision making. As we try to understand the complexities of embeddedness for government-supporting nonprofits, we consider four relationship dimensions that emerged in the interview analysis.

Dimension 1: Attention

Attention matters when two organizations choose to work together (Austin, 2000). In the LEF relationship with the school district *attention* was often characterized as coming from the school district in two ways: functionally and symbolically. Functional attention from the school district acknowledges and approves the everyday work of the foundation as it relates to the school district. Symbolic attention demonstrates appreciation, validation, and

inclusion of the foundation and its board members in long-term school district planning. Securing attention from the school district was more challenging depending on the structural position of the LEF.

Functional attention. Functional attention was characterized as coming from the school district superintendent and/or school board members. It served two purposes: 1) to help determine and acknowledge the purpose of the foundation to the school district and 2) to identify what the LEF can do for the school district to carry out its organizational mission. This typically involved holding regular meetings or discussions with the LEF to provide guidance and information on school district needs. Functional attention was often spoken of when it was not present, or when the superintendent or other school district representatives stopped participating in joint meetings or engaged less frequently with the foundation. LEF executive directors were then left with the challenge of “guessing at what it is that we should be doing...or what are the highest priorities that would create the highest impact in the school district.” Executive directors also suggested that leadership transitions (e.g. new superintendents, changing school board members) can make it difficult for an LEF to maintain attention and understanding of their role from the school district. A board member from one foundation shares a common experience with new school board members:

“We have a lot of new school board members, and I don't feel that they're as familiar with what we [the LEF] do. I also feel that they might have the impression...that, you know, we can just go out and raise money for about anything. There's a lot of money out there, and it's just a matter of us going out there and asking for it, and we can support whatever it is that they might suggest. So, I don't know that that's very realistic.”

This type of misunderstanding of the role of LEFs can lead to varied attention seen among different structural positions. LEFs embedded in the school district tended to report more struggles with consistent and constructive attention from school district officials. One executive director characterized this challenge:

“I am a very small agency. They are a very large organization. They have 64,000 students, 61 schools to manage with all of those inherent challenges. As much as they would probably like to be a bigger part of what I'm trying to accomplish, honestly, when I started...the foundation was kind of overlooked. So, I went about going through a formal communication process...that would begin to build our reputation.”

The experience of figuring out how to work with a large, public organization and gain the necessary attention was common among executives of embedded LEFs. Besides the relative size of the LEF compared to the school district, common explanations for attention issues included being seen as just another administrative department in the school

district, the busyness of the superintendent, and being underutilized by the school district as a nonprofit partner. As one executive director observed, “many [superintendents] attempt to start up another foundation, or they start doing direct fundraising not understanding the benefits of why you would want a foundation instead of directly fundraising for the school district.”

On the other hand, LEFs that were structurally more interdependent maintained consistent attention from school district leadership. Their work was inherently aligned to the districts’ broader goals, strategic initiatives, and fundraising efforts. Those LEFs that were closer to the independent-collaborative position reported no issues with functional attention from the school district. They tended to see their role as “a strong and independent compliment to the work the school district is doing.” Their activity as a nonprofit organization was driven by needs identified by the community, foundation board members, donors, or some combination of stakeholders and school district leadership. Functional attention therefore was necessary for embedded LEFs and less of a concern for more independent LEFs that generate their own activities.

Symbolic attention. Symbolic attention involved recognition of the LEF as a legitimate and valued partner by the school district. It was communicated to LEF executive directors, board members, and the broader community by including the LEF in specific efforts to enhance schools and support the changing needs in education. This included things like strategic planning between the school district leadership and the LEF, incorporating the LEF into school board retreats or planning sessions, and securing feedback, support, or data from the foundation on issues in the community related to public education. Where symbolic attention was lacking, the perception was that “if we're not at the table [with the school district] or we're not thought of, it is because no one sees what we do as being terribly vital.”

Nearly all executive directors characterized their desire for attention from the school district that communicates, “our work matters,” in contributing to education. While the majority of executive directors either had no issue with knowing their work mattered or felt a little more reinforcement from the school district would be beneficial, one executive director of an interdependent LEF shared their frustrations on the lack of symbolic attention:

“It just makes me sad that [the superintendent] won't, even in public, acknowledge us. We did the Philanthropic Strategic Plan kickoff, and the deputy superintendent sought me out to thank me for the role that we played in doing it. To this day, the superintendent has not said boo to me about it. Nothing. Which, you know, I just want them to acknowledge what we're doing... for somebody to say we're doing a good job.”

Board members who were interviewed felt similarly about recognition from the school district. They considered attention from the school district as something that ultimately promotes their dedication to volunteering with the LEF. As one LEF board

member argued, we “don't just want to be asked to pay for things...we want to be strategic partners.” Board members do not like feeling “micro-managed” by the school district or constrained to act in the best interest of the LEF, or at worst used as just an “ATM” for the school district. Attention in the form of inclusion and interaction communicated positive messages, fostering commitment from executive directors and meaningful collaborations in which board members want to invest.

Dimension 2: Successive Engagement

Wilson (1992) describes cooperative alliances between public and nonprofit organizations, referring to successive integration where “organizations begin cooperating at a distance in a weak joint venture” but “over time, the alliance becomes stronger” (1992, p. 251). This is similar to what was observed with local education foundations. In contrast to attention, engagement tended to flow from the foundation to the school district. *Successive engagement* characterizes the process of engaging in progressively more substantive ways with the school district. Successive engagement is not only seen in whom the LEF engages within the school district, but also in how LEFs leverage their existing relationships and work with the school district. Therefore, successive engagement captures the process of working with different parts of the organizational partner in a gradual process that moves from *transactional* to *instrumental*. Through this process, the two organizations strengthen their relationship.

Transactional engagement. Transactional engagement by the LEF involved working with specific staff in the district for the purpose of carrying out existing programs. An executive director characterized this approach:

“What I do is speak with the district on a routine basis to kind of ascertain what their needs are. I attend a lot of meetings on the district side, so I always try to keep abreast of the shortfalls. Then I'll just sit down and have a conversation with the curriculum department and try to see where we can best be of service.”

Some examples included coordinating the back to school supply drive, planning for senior scholarship applications, and organizing teacher recognition awards. Transactional engagement also involved some responsiveness to temporary or one time needs that arose in the district. As one foundation director stated, the foundation exists “to serve the superintendent's priority and support those things where there might be gaps in what they need.” Transactional engagement was a more frequent characterization of school district/LEF relations among embedded LEFs. At the same time, executive directors were cognizant of keeping senior staff informed of LEF activities to secure their buy-in for ongoing programs. As one executive director acknowledged, “I think the more you can keep multiple stakeholders on the same page, the easier it's going to be to create and grow a stronger relationship with the school district down the road.” Each foundation had some

degree of transactional engagement as part of the relationship with their governmental partner. LEFs with greater independence from the school district tended to build on their successes with transactional engagement by fostering more meaningful connections through instrumental engagement.

Instrumental engagement. Instrumental engagement captured specific efforts to engage with senior administrators on “big picture” initiatives that connect the long-term goals of the district and foundation around education. A board member for one LEF that works interdependently with the district described their perspective on the foundation’s work with the school district:

“Over time as we talk about changes and reform in education in our district and across the country, the education foundation has had to address those things if we’re going to support them by looking at different ways to do that. So we have been asking the question, ‘is this project, initiative or program still relevant,’ and if it is how can we make it more current in order to address the needs of today’s students and the focus that the school district has.”

Instrumental engagement manifested in different ways. It occurred as the result of some kind of data-driven problem identification, a focusing event or series of events that the foundation responded to in collaboration with the school district, or a challenge that impacted students in a significant way but was outside the scope of the school district’s focus. For example, one foundation started a program to support homeless student populations as the number of homeless youths began to increase in the county (data-driven problem); another sought to address college readiness amongst seniors when graduation rates became a public crisis (focusing event); and still another responded to local housing shortages for incoming teachers by pursuing the establishment of public housing units (outside the scope of the school district work). When issues affecting students or the community were identified, foundations helped to pursue a collaborative response with their governmental partner.

The distinction between transactional and instrumental engagement stemmed from a few practices identified in interviews. To begin, instrumental engagement occurred where LEFs and school districts together undertook a process for determining how to advance education in the community. It was achieved through strong leadership and strategic collaboration over time among foundation leaders and the school district. Given the longer-term focus on collaboration, instrumental engagement also involved working directly with senior-level administrators in the district rather than middle managers and staff. Finally, instrumental engagement was most often seen in organizations less embedded in the school district, or those with greater flexibility to identify and respond to needs. One reason for this was that it was difficult for embedded LEFs to force decisions upon a school district that had greater say in what they do. The board chair of an embedded LEF recalled a time period where this was the case:

"I almost left the board. I remember telling a couple of board members- 'I'm out of here. I'm not going to do this anymore. I'm just very frustrated' Nothing gets done. We're talking about the same crap all over and over again, and I said I don't see any movement, and I don't want to be part of an organization that's not executing and moving forward."

While nearly all foundations reported transactional engagement on an on-going basis, instrumental engagement was not always present and rarely occurred without first building credibility through transactional engagement. Successive engagement therefore enabled foundations to move past the initial role imposed on the foundation by the school district (e.g. "the foundation works for us"), in order to develop its capacity to support the broader goal of enriching public schools (e.g. "we support public education in the broader sense"). Through navigating attention and successive engagement, LEFs became better equipped to provide resources to their school district partners that would not readily exist on their own.

Dimension 3: Resource Infusion

By nature of their role as government-supporting nonprofits, LEFs are designed to accept, attract, and generate donations or other private resources. These included individual and corporate donations, in-kind support, as well as private philanthropic or state-sponsored grants. At the same time, having a community-based role, meant that LEFs also provided school districts with less tangible and harder to quantify resources. These included garnering business and community support for public schools, acting as a third-party representative for school district policies, facilitating community engagement in public schools, and fostering goodwill towards and greater trust in the school district. The third dimension of the LEF/school district relationship, enabled by attention and successive engagement, is *resource infusion*. Resource infusion refers to the unique combination of *tangible* (monetary) and *intangible* (nonmonetary) resources provided by the government-supporting nonprofit that contribute to the shared goals and objectives of both organizations.

Tangible resource generation. LEFs provide the legal mechanism for school districts to accept private money for public education. Although, executive directors were quick to acknowledge that the financial resources accepted on behalf of school districts were never large enough to make a substantial impact on district operations or budget shortfalls. Instead, as one executive director suggested, LEFs focus on a supporting role with their resources:

"We've always said our role is to facilitate things that tax dollars can't fully fund or support. So, sort of looking at needs of the district, but then outside the box. Okay, they're doing this. What could we do to supplement that or in addition to?"

Other executive directors support this characterization, arguing that the foundation's role is to attract tangible resources for "above-and-beyond" types of programs or activities. Above-and-beyond initiatives in education are considered to be non-essential functions, such as "innovations in learning," to "raise learning to the next level" within schools in need of additional resources, or generating funds to do "things school districts can't do with tax dollars" such as post-secondary scholarships or student/teacher school supply stores and recognition. Tangible resources included monetary donations and the procurement of in-kind supplies, technology, and capital donated to public schools.

While financial resources were presumably used in areas throughout the school district, LEFs made a concerted effort to determine the "best use" of resources to achieve greater alignment with the school district priorities. This is especially true of LEFs with more structural independence from the district, where resources were often generated for a specific goal or campaign. Tangible resources also served as a uniform measure of quality or performance for local education foundations. Each year an annual ranking of the top K-12 education foundations in the country is published using annual revenue as a primary measure. In 2014, 4 of the top 10 foundations were in Florida (Dewey & Associates, 2014). However, what is often left unaccounted for are the intangible benefits generated by LEFs.

Intangible resource generation. The value of LEFs is readily assessed by the dollars they attract, so accounting for the value of *intangible resources* or benefits the nonprofit provides can be more challenging. Intangible resources, like community relations and advocacy or representation, tend to be un-or under- reported as measures of quality when drawing comparisons between foundations (e.g. annual surveys on foundation activities, nation-wide rankings). However, they were discussed in nearly all interviews.

As government-supporting nonprofits working to support public education, LEFs are considered to be an important mechanism for engaging the community in public schools. A superintendent of a school district with an independent-collaborative foundation stated, "I also think [the foundation] can fill gaps with community engagement and, again, celebrate public education, demand that more people embrace public education, support it and play their own individual or collective role in doing that." What they, and other board members of foundations suggested is that the foundation can act as spokesperson for public education, a role that the school district cannot do on its own without appearing self-serving. The role of "spokesperson" for education was more prevalent among foundations that had greater independence from the school district structures. Although, even school districts with embedded foundations have been asked to do "PR" for school districts plagued by negative attention. One executive board member of an embedded LEF pointed out,

"Right now our focus is not necessarily on helping the superintendent pass a bond issue but changing that perception out in the public that [county name] Public Schools isn't that good, that there's corruption, there's waste and all of those kinds of things...that is our goal this year, to get out to the Rotary, get out to various

clubs and speak about the district and show people what good things and try to get them talking to other people about the good things that are going on in the district.”

The “third-party” and “neutral” perception of a foundation can also be beneficial when gaining support for policy changes or providing recognition for the school district. One community member that works with an independent-collaborative LEF argued,

“I think the independent role is critically important... shining a light on issues, good and bad- being a third party able to say we did really well on the FCAT testing and being able to unpack it and produce it or present it in a way that's really understandable...I think that's really important.”

Another example of a more neutral but supportive role came from several foundations involved in advancing past or upcoming efforts to raise local taxes to improve schools. While LEFs cannot support an individual position on raising taxes for the school district, LEFs with greater independence from the school district were seen as legitimate, independent partners in drawing attention to the needs of schools and the importance of supporting the local school system.

Another role LEFs can take on is acting as a convening organization where different organizations, groups, and individuals are brought together around an issue. One executive director shared:

“I have made contacts with the dean of the College of Education...I'm trying to get the chamber to own it, to have the K-12 and college level kind of come together for a town hall meeting about education and talk about the crisis in education and what we're doing to address it. A workshop or a seminar...something that talks about what we're all bringing to the table and how we can collaborate with each other.”

Such efforts to foster community engagement and awareness are impacted by how the LEF is perceived by their governmental partner and the community. LEFs with greater name recognition and a separate identity from the school district, are better positioned to speak about issues and needs in education. Therefore, as a government-supporting nonprofit, managing the identity of an LEF is critical to their viability and acceptance as a community-based organization.

Dimension 4: Organizational Identity

Scott and Lane (2000) argue that organizational identity construction is comprised of “the complex interactions among managers, organizational members, and outside stakeholders” (p. 44). In the case of local education foundations, the identity of an LEF was characterized by a combination of how the foundation viewed their role and

relationship with the school district, how the school district perceived the role of the foundation, and in turn how the foundation's role was perceived by and communicated to outside stakeholders. The interaction of these perceptions contributed to the *proxy* and *partner-intermediary* identities. Where some LEFs more closely identified as extensions of the school district (*proxy*), others were seen as external organizations with greater autonomy to carry out their role (*partner-intermediary*). It is through collaborative and balanced relationships among leaders and stakeholders of both organizations that LEFs achieved the *partner-intermediary* identity in the community.

Proxy. The identity as a proxy, or extension of the school district, was associated with a few common characteristics. First, LEFs that maintained more of a proxy identity were those that accepted operating funds, in-kind donations, or other financial/operational benefits from the school district (e.g. low rent or free office space, use of school district payroll systems, school district healthcare benefits programs for LEF staff, school district IT support, etc.). One executive director described the LEFs transition to an embedded structure within the school district:

"Back in 1999, the then superintendent kind of took a look at different education foundations across the state, and said, "Wow this is great!" Through their efforts and the school board, I say that they brought us more in alignment with the school district. We have offices onsite here [school district administrative offices]. They pay a portion of our salaries and benefits. And, uh, and I think it's been a great relationship."

Second, where LEFs accepted resources from the school district, they were tied together through the budgeting and oversight process, making them fundamentally more "public" organizations (Bozeman, 1987; Brecher & Wise, 2008). This was seen in LEFs where the school district provided employed LEF staff, and in return, required the executive director or others to be used in various roles throughout the school district. It was also the case that executive directors of proxy LEFs were identified on the organizational chart for the school district.

Third, LEFs that were connected to their districts through resources and oversight relinquished some autonomy and independence in their work with the school district. For example, by accepting public resources from the school district, foundations were more restricted in taking on any initiatives that may be seen as "critical" (i.e. criticizing) or controversial for the school district. One executive director commented that being so collaborative with the school district, "has its plusses and its minuses...you're so collaborative that if you want to step outside of that box, you can be met with some resistance." Another executive director expressed their frustration with school district oversight, "we have to send all of our news releases through the district — through district channels, and sometimes we don't want the media or the community to be confused about, who the foundation is." Proxy LEFs give up some of their identity in the community as a separate organization.

A little over half of the organizations in the study (primarily embedded LEFs) would associate some parts of their organizational identity as a school district “proxy,” or organizational extension of the school district. Interestingly, several executive directors of these LEFs expressed an interest in establishing a more strategic approach to programs and partnerships in the community that were only possible with a partner-intermediary identity.

Partner-Intermediary. As intermediary organizations (Berger & Neuhaus, 1977; Van Til, 1987) foundations acted in between the school district and community to connect external stakeholders to public education, gather and share information to support schools, and serve in a bridging role. The partner-intermediary identity is a result of strategic choices by the LEF around structure, programs, and work with outside groups. While some LEFs had an identity as a partner-intermediary organization at their inception, it was more often the case that a shift took place over time.

Foundations that moved towards a partner-intermediary identity redesigned their structural relationship with the school district. Foundation boards would strategically change how the organization was tied to the district through operational things like staff reporting, salaries, and office space. This involved alleviating the burden of “the executive director being pulled in a lot of other directions outside of what the foundation purpose was.” To do so, LEFs sought to generate private funds to pay for the executive director’s salary and would then hold them accountable for their performance through a review by the LEF board and not the superintendent. In taking this step, the LEF created greater accountability from within the foundation structure. In some cases, changing the structure also involved renaming and rebranding the organization to take out any name association with the school district (i.e. Partners for Education). Where it was necessary, LEFs established offices outside school district buildings to reflect their separation. Nevertheless, LEFs would strike a balance between independence and acting collaboratively. One executive director described the benefits of finding this balance:

“As we got started we were, for a lack of a better term, forcefully independent, which was good and bad...We had some really tough times in our relationship with the district particularly when we first got here. But it also gained us a lot of credibility in a community that didn't have a whole lot of faith in its public-school system. Now, we have gotten much, much, much closer to the district over the past four and a half years.”

LEF boards also reworked the organizational goals to partner with the school district through their own strategic programs, initiatives, or campaigns. As one executive director described, “we just wanted to have a little more emphasis on that convening, that advocacy...We didn't turn into advocates that were publishing white papers and critical, but we did get...laser focused on what we were going to do.” Since there was some difficulty in gaining access to data directly from the school district, donors were sought to provide funding that supported new or existing data collection that the foundation would

then use in guiding its work. For foundation boards, “owning” their own data collection processes shifted decision making from being school district driven to foundation driven.

Third, LEFs focused on outside groups through a greater emphasis on community engagement and representation. A few examples illustrate this role. One LEF with a partner-intermediary identity gathered community feedback on specific issues in education from parents, other educationally focused nonprofits, state universities and community colleges, and local businesses. Through surveys, focus groups, and community conversations, they developed a way to improve the direction and impact of their work based on specific issues identified in the community. The executive director described how their efforts as an LEF helped the community reinvest in public education after a tumultuous few years:

“We wrote a statement about our — what we all wanted for our schools, and I think we played a pretty lead role in bringing the community back to trusting that there could be something better and transparent...that is what people wanted for schools...I think we just wanted to establish that we were here for all of our children, and that we believed in education, public education. “

While LEFs can act as a bridge between the community and the school district, they can also help provide “cover” for tough decisions the school district needs to make. One executive director of an independent-collaborative LEF described their role as an organization between the school district and community:

“We're there to provide the superintendent and the school board cover when they're making tough decisions that are in the best interest of kids, political cover in particular. But we're also there when they're not doing what's in the best interest of kids to hold their feet to the fire. That's where it gets a little difficult, and we try to do that in private as much as we can.”

The partner-intermediary identity translates into a more nuanced relationship with the school district. LEFs with this identity not only maintain credibility in the community, but also with the school district when they are at odds. As the same executive director pointed out,

“We can't be effective if we are not independent. But we also realize that our primary partner is the school system, and so I tell people a lot we have zero authority to do anything. All of our authority comes from soft power. It comes from relationships our board members have. It comes from the smarts and intellectual capital in terms of our data and research work, and it comes from the great ideas that we can bear and the community mobilization that we've done.”

The partner-intermediary identity comes with significant commitments as an organization to engage the community on behalf of the school district and vice versa.

Discussion

This research conceptualizes the dimensions of the relationship between a governmental entity and its government-supporting nonprofit through a study of local education foundations. Throughout the research process and interview analysis, consideration was given to the structural position of LEFs along a spectrum of embeddedness with the school district that influenced their work to support public education and carry out their role as a GSN. Four dimensions of the GSN relationship were identified: attention, successive engagement, resource infusion, and organizational identity. Table 2. summarizes the three structural positions of embeddedness along the four relationship dimensions.

Embedded foundations typically maintained a “direct-support” role with the school district by serving the school district’s needs as they arise. Even though we expected an embedded foundation to receive a sufficient amount of functional attention and therefore understand the needs of the school district, this was often not the case. Embedded foundations struggled to attract functional attention, making it much less likely to receive symbolic attention. Interdependent foundations on the other hand were less in need of functional attention as they often worked in parallel with the school district and received a higher amount of symbolic attention. Independent-collaborative foundations rarely struggled with attention on the part of the school district, as they tended to shape their own work while collaborating with the district on longer-term initiatives.

Foundations practiced both transactional and instrumental engagement; however, the more independence a foundation asserted in relation to the school district the more their engagements became instrumental. Embedded foundations tended to stay at the transactional level of engagement given the challenges of gaining attention from the school district. Embedded foundations were also comparatively higher in providing tangible as compared to intangible resources or benefits. On the other hand, foundations that were less embedded in the school district were able to use their separation from the organizational structure to provide intangible benefits for the school district, moving beyond just money or supplies. These were the LEFs working to connect the community to schools through strategic initiatives.

LEFs that were independent-collaborative could be both a proxy and a partner/intermediary for the school district depending on the issue or program. Where interdependent foundations were slightly more embedded in the school district, they were able to carry out their role as an extension of the school district with marginally more autonomy than a fully embedded foundation. Those organizations embedded in the school district were less able to be seen or act as an intermediary with the community. Independent-collaborative foundations were structurally independent of the school district, which was always made explicit in both organizational form and operations.

Table 2. Summary Table of Partnership Dimensions by Structural Position

Structural Position with Governmental Partner			
Relationship Dimension	Embedded	Interdependent	Independent-Collaborative
Attention			
Functional	Low	Mixed	Mixed
Symbolic	Low	High	High
Transactional			
Transactional	Mixed	Mixed	Low
Instrumental	Low	High	High
Tangible			
Tangible	High	Mixed	High
Intangible			
Intangible	Low	Mixed	High
Proxy			
Proxy	High	Mixed	Low
Partner/Intermediary			
Partner/Intermediary	Low	Mixed	High

Finally, as government-supporting nonprofits, LEFs are legally, structurally, and institutionally separate organizations. But they are also largely “captured” by a governmental entity. As a result, their primary focus is on the development of a partnership that involves navigating the overlapping, dynamic, and shifting dimensions highlighted in this research. We draw parallels with Suárez & Esparza (2017) and Cheng’s (2019b) research that refers to the tradeoff between capacity and control of the governmental entity with the nonprofit partner. Where Taking into consideration that structural distance from the governmental partner enhances the capacities of the partnership to foster philanthropic coproduction, GSNs may do well to consider their structural position as part of the design of their organization and subsequent partnership. The combination of philanthropic resources and community voice are manifest in partnership structures where both organizations maintain an independent but connected identity.

Conclusion

This research focuses on the structural and relationship dimensions of GSNs and their exclusive governmental partner through a study of local education foundations. We argue therefore that the ability of a GSN to ultimately contribute to the public will vary depending on how the organization is structurally connected and the relationships maintained.

Although our research falls under the broader heading of philanthropy for government, we did not focus on some of the issues addressed in past research related to funding equity across communities, private influence on decision-making, and taxation over donations. These issues are outside the scope of this study, but no less important when looking at the broader shift in philanthropic influence on the public sector. Given our focus and approach to this study, there are some limitations to our findings. Public education is one field of study and LEFs in Florida are one specific type of GSN. Since LEFs in Florida are unique given the laws that established them, we may find different structural positions in other states and localities if we were to look again at a public education context. Further, public education is a distinct field within the broader public space. If we were to look at other fields, we may find that different dimensions would emerge or manifest in different ways given the structural arrangements in place. Nevertheless, the structural positions and partnering dimensions presented herein are valuable first steps in framing the relationship among nonprofit organizations established to specifically generate private resources for their partner government entity and the communities they serve.

We expect to find continued growth in government-supporting nonprofits across the U.S. (Toepler, 2018), if not for money, then for citizen engagement and volunteers. The combination of these contributions is captured in the term philanthropic coproduction, and we expect this trend will continue in both practice and in research. Therefore, we must push forward in our understanding of these relationships by looking at the effectiveness and outcomes of such partnerships, especially where and how communities are engaged. Future research on government-supporting nonprofits could explore other contexts outside of public education, but ones that reflect a similar one-to-one exclusive relationship. We would benefit from additional research because it may be that some government agencies would want to keep a philanthropic organization close and embedded, but the strength of philanthropic resource generation may well lie in having greater independence to enhance the work and responsiveness of government using nonprofit tools and philanthropic orientations. Future work would do well to explore the differences and consider the ongoing challenges of nonprofit support for government through philanthropic endeavors.

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Appendix 1

Interview Protocol

- 1) Please tell me your name and position within the foundation as well as a brief background on your experience in education and how you became involved with the foundation.
- 2) From the perspective of **the foundation** you lead, what is the role of the education foundation within the community and has this changed over time? Are there other roles/directions the foundation aspires to? (backward looking, forwarding thinking, some recognition of the spectrum of roles)
- 3) In general, how would you define the public value of **an** education foundation? Specifically, how would you characterize the public value of **the** foundation you lead? (creating public value- how so)
- 4) Describe the relationship between the foundation and the school district, including district administration, school leaders, and school board members. (changing relationships)
- 5) Characterize the autonomy and/or collaboration with the school district within the process of identifying programming and allocating funds. (changing programming)
- 6) As an LEF in a field of education foundations within Florida and outside the state, do you bench mark your work against other school district foundations, nonprofits, or other types of organizations? (changing position)
- 7) Who do you include in the concept of “community” and describe efforts to engage the “community” in the work of the foundation (e.g. parents, school leaders, institutions of higher education, civic groups, elected officials, business groups, etc.)? (engaging who)
- 8) From your perspective, who are the primary stakeholders concerning the work of the foundation? In other words, are there individuals and/or groups you are most concerned with engaging? Does this change over time?
- 9) What focus, if any, does the foundation have on education policy at the state or national level? Provide relevant examples of how the foundation demonstrates support or engagement in this policy area. (limitations of engaging in this area)
- 10) Looking forward, where do you see the foundation moving in the future and what are some of your considerations in pursuing this movement? Do changes in education policy impact your trajectory? (changes in direction, impact of policy)

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