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School of Social Work

SHOULD I STAY OR SHOULD I GO NOW?
TURNOVER AND RETENTION IN PUBLIC CHILD WELFARE

A dissertation
by

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Abstract

Children are vital members of our society and arguably its most vulnerable. The job of public child welfare workers is to serve children who are experiencing abuse and neglect and their families. Essential to the public child welfare systems serving these families are the employees who work directly with them – frontline workers and supervisors. Their relationships with families are a key component in the life of the case and can have a strong impact on case outcomes. These workers, however, are under considerable stressors, and turnover rates are a continual problem. Despite extensive research on worker turnover, further work is still needed to better understand the processes by which these workers decide to stay or go. These include a deeper understanding of the impact of safety perceptions, how workers of color might differently experience these systems, and what factors into supervisors' intent. Focus on retention rather than turnover is an additional area in need of a broader evidence base. This study seeks to add knowledge on how safety perceptions, organizational culture, job satisfaction, and role impact public child welfare employees' retention decisions. Utilizing a statewide data set derived from a survey of Texas public child welfare workers and supervisors, this study uses regression models to learn more about their experiences and how they might shape decisions on whether to leave or remain. We found that in workers, feelings of unsafety are significantly associated with intent to leave; this was moderated by perceived organizational support. We additionally found that inclusion is significantly related with both intent to leave *and* intent to remain, and this does not vary by race in this study. Supervisors were just as likely to intend to leave or remain as their workers; intent to remain was moderated by perceived organizational support in both. Intent to leave and intent to remain are similar in some ways, but rather than being flip sides of the same coin, they are unique constructs. Increasing retention of these workers is vital to the long-term outcomes in the lives of children and families. Strengthening the child welfare workforce strengthens the families they serve.

This dissertation is
dedicated to our foremothers who paved the way.

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My wish is that through my work I can support other families – equally cherished – and the workers who serve them.

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Chapter I. Introduction

Background

This study is the latest work in a decades-long lineage of research on public child welfare, its workers, and the children and families they serve. This dissertation builds on these areas as well as those that specifically focus on what leads these workers to leave or remain with their agencies. An overview of recent literature in these areas follows.

Literature Review

Children, Families, and Public Child Welfare. Children are vital members of society and arguably its most vulnerable. Experiences during childhood have lifelong implications for physical, mental, and social health (Reuben et al., 2016). Children who experience higher levels of trauma often become adults with increased mental and physical health challenges (Felitti et al., 2019). Intervening in children's lives when abuse and/or neglect is present is the crucial work of public child welfare agencies, and it can play a role in disrupting cycles of abuse and neglect in the service of long-term positive outcomes (Courtney et al., 2007). While the frequency of childhood abuse and neglect is not precisely known, approximately four million referrals of child abuse and/or neglect cases involving more than eight million children are made in the U.S. annually (Child Trends, 2020; U.S. Department of Health & Human Services, Administration for Children and Families, 2019). In 2019, approximately 380,800 of those children were in situations where maltreatment was substantiated and their families received services from public child welfare. This includes approximately 75% where neglect was substantiated, 17.5% physical abuse, 9.3% sexual abuse, and 15.4% other types of maltreatment (medical neglect, psychological maltreatment, sex trafficking) (U.S. Department of

Health & Human Services, Administration for Children and Families, 2019). In about a quarter of those cases, the child was removed from the family of origin due to serious safety concerns. At any given time, more than 400,000 children are in foster care (Administration for Children and Families, 2020). In foster care, children are provided with 24-hour substitute care outside their homes of origin; this can include foster family homes, the homes of relatives, group homes, emergency shelters, and residential facilities. The purpose is to keep children safe from abuse and neglect, and foster care placement can be an effective intervention for children whose homes of origin are not safe at the time of removal (Finster & Norwalk, 2021).

The Importance of Public Child Welfare Worker Retention. When a family is involved with public child welfare, a variety of factors influence the family's ultimate outcomes, including in more serious cases whether or not the child returns to the family after having been removed for safety concerns (reunification). Factors include severity and type of abuse and/or neglect, parental willingness to engage, and the ability of the public child welfare system to meet the family's needs (Courtney et al., 2007). That system's abilities largely depend on the workers providing needed services to these families. It has been found that more positive worker/client collaboration is correlated with better child and family outcomes. This can include higher rates of family reunification after removal as well as lower rates of family re-involvement with child welfare systems (Cheng & Lo, 2016; Cheng & Lo, 2019). One study found that having one worker across the life of a case is associated with better case outcomes, such as reunification, and also the likelihood of poorer outcomes (like permanent termination of

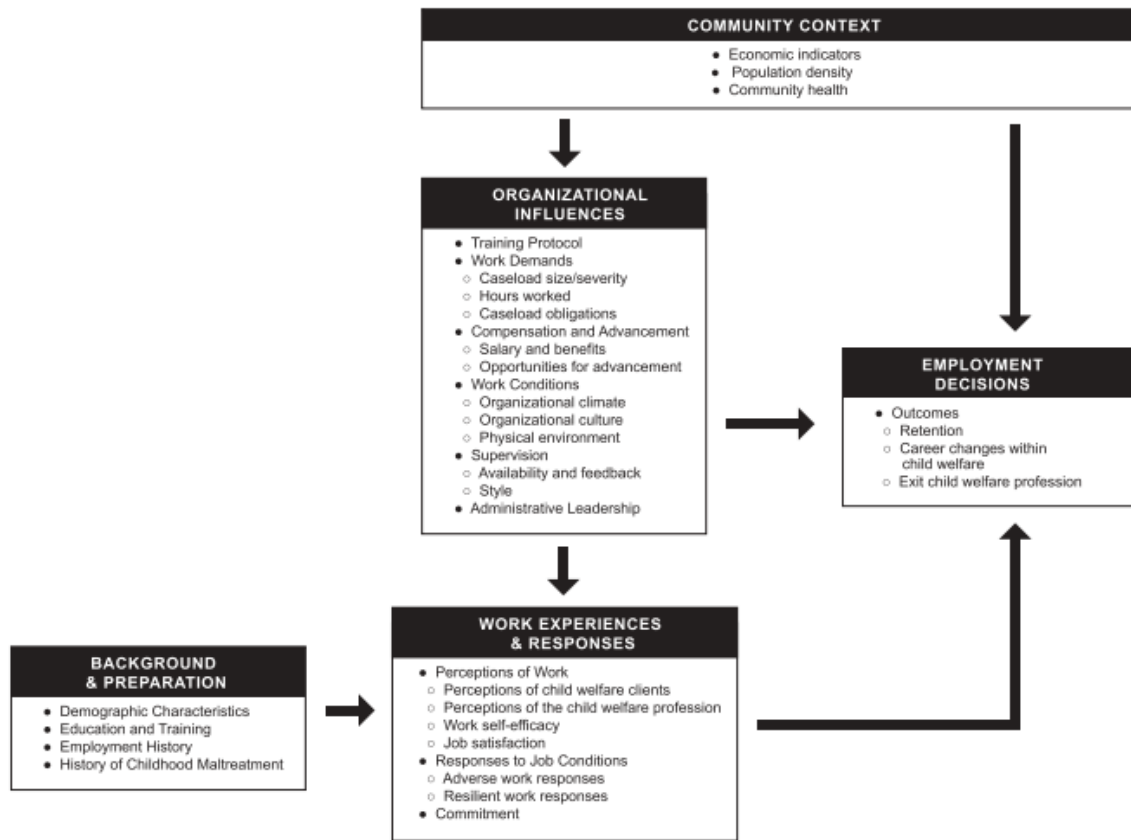
the parental relationship) increases with each new worker assigned (Cheng & Lo, 2016).

Worker retention is also important at the agency level; it is estimated that it costs agencies approximately \$54,000 in hiring, training, and onboarding an employee to replace each worker who leaves (Texas Sunset Advisory Commission, 2014). Turnover also negatively impacts those workers who remain; their cases are redistributed, increasing workloads and stress and adding to a negative cycle in addition to harming morale (Kim & Stoner, 2008a; Texas Sunset Advisory Commission, 2014). While the number of workers nationally is unavailable, we know that Texas CPS employs approximately 3,100 ongoing workers who serve about 50,000 children and their families on any given day (Texas Department of Family and Protective Services, 2019a, 2019c, 2019d). Texas has a statewide annual turnover rate of around 21%, other states in the U.S. have an annual turnover range of between approximately 14% and 22%. Given the implications of turnover, the goal of improved worker retention is urgent (Texas Department of Family and Protective Services, 2019b).

Factors That Influence Public Child Welfare Worker Retention. Wilke and colleagues (2018) published a concise model summarizing current understandings of factors that impact public child welfare turnover and retention, as seen below in Figure 1. Workers join the agency with their own background and preparation; this can include demographic characteristics, education, employment history, and their own personal history of child maltreatment, if any. These influence how they experience another major factor, work experiences and responses. This entails perceptions of work (clients, the profession), self-efficacy, job satisfaction, adverse and resilient responses to job

conditions, and organizational commitment. Work experiences and responses are also impacted by organizational influences like training, work demands, compensation and advancement, work conditions, supervision, and administrative leadership. Community context influences employment decisions directly and also through organizational influences. Community context refers to economic indicators (including other organizations with potentially higher pay), population density, and community health. All these factors - background and preparation, work experiences and responses, organizational influences, and community context - directly and indirectly factor into an employee's decision to leave or remain with the agency.

Figure 1. A multi-level conceptual model of child welfare workforce turnover (Wilke et al., 2018)



Areas in Need of Additional Research

Research related to public child welfare workforce retention is not new (Mor Barak et al., 2001; Moss & Moss, 1967). However, there is still much more to learn. For example, there is limited research on how workers' perceptions of the organization may impact their intent to remain (or leave). Unlike stressors like case complexity, state-mandated salary, and required paperwork, organizational culture is an integral part of workers' retention decisions and one of the few that can be improved by leadership. Administrators cannot make cases less complex, for example, but they can choose how

workers are supported in navigating those cases through training and supervisor collaboration (Collins-Camargo & Royse, 2010; Griffiths, Desrosiers, et al., 2019).

Organizational culture can include perceptions about how the agency attends to worker safety as well as how organizational climate might be differently perceived and experienced based on positionality. For example, while worker safety in public child welfare is acknowledged as being a concern “unique” to this often compulsory service (as compared to other social workers), there is little research exploring workers’ perceptions of safety, as well as how this might impact intent to leave or remain (Kim & Hopkins, 2015; Kim & Kao, 2014).

Positionality, too, can impact perceptions of the organization. Who we are, our multiple demographic backgrounds, where we come from, how we relate to others – our positionality – all matter in how we navigate these systems. This can include how workers of color and/or supervisors differently experience and perceive their agencies. However, there is limited information about workers of color are impacted by the public child welfare systems. While literature has explored disproportionality and systemic racism in public child welfare (Child Welfare Information Gateway, 2016; Green et al., 2011; Watt & Kim, 2019), little attention has been paid to these systemic impacts on workers of color. People of color living in this country steeped in systemic and cultural racism can experience discrimination in multiple levels of their lives, often leading to negative economic, health, and psychosocial outcomes (Pascoe & Richman, 2009). For example, perceived racism has been associated with increased depression and hypertension (Pascoe & Richman, 2009; Williams & Mohammed, 2013). It would make

sense that if public child workers of color perceive discrimination against themselves, they may also differently experience the organizations in which they work. Supervisors, too, have not often been asked about their perceptions of the organization and what impacts their own intent to leave or remain, despite their vital role in retention of frontline workers (Griffiths, Murphy, et al., 2019; McCrae et al., 2015).

Additionally, despite the fact that the agency goal is staff retention, most extant research uses intent to leave as the outcome of interest. Instead of asking how to keep workers, questions surrounding turnover have been the primary focus. To that end, there is abundant literature looking at factors including burnout, turnover, turnover, and other negative outcomes (Barbee et al., 2018; Brabson et al., 2019; Dickinson & Painter, 2009; Griffiths, Murphy, et al., 2019; Hopkins et al., 2010; H. Kim & Kao, 2014a; H. Kim & Stoner, 2008a; Mor Barak et al., 2001). Increasingly, however, researchers are engaging a more strengths-based approach and exploring not only workers' stressors, but also their supports with a focus on retention as an outcome (Burns et al., 2019; Boraggina-Ballard et al., 2021). Instead of asking why workers might leave, researchers are asking why workers might stay. Worker stressors should be addressed, but it is also important to understand and replicate what is working well. For example, perceptions of positive organizational culture is associated with intent to remain (Lee et al., 2011; Morazes et al., 2010).

Literature addressing intent to remain is still sparse, especially in child welfare. Similar fields of study, like nursing, have more frequently explored the concept of intent to remain (Cowden et al., 2011; Hewko et al., 2015; Kang et al., 2017; Tourangeau et al.,

2017). However, many studies in all fields continue to treat intent to leave and intent to remain as interchangeable measures of the same concept (Cowden et al., 2011; Falk, 2021). It appears that the reality of turnover and retention is more nuanced. In the data set used for this dissertation, for example, workers were asked if they intended to leave (“I am actively seeking primary employment outside of DFPS”) or remain (“I plan to be working for this organization in one year). If these items were interchangeable, we would see similar responses to these two questions. However, in this data set, while 19.93% of respondents said they intended to leave, only 5.28% indicated that they did not intend to remain. More research is needed to clarify their similarity or uniqueness, for example, whether they share the same predictors (Cowden et al., 2011). Knowing more about what leads workers to remain is an important component in improving their work environment.

Finally, few studies on public child welfare utilize a theoretical framework (Benton, 2016; Rambajue & O’Connor, 2022; Strolin et al., 2006). Utilizing a well-tested theory to guide this work will contribute to the literature base. Using the common language of that theory, which is increasingly used in similar research, and having an identified set of factors on which to concentrate, enhances the field’s ability to hone in on the interplay of those factors and how they impact retention and turnover.

Theories

A constellation of factors have been identified to explain what leads to workers’ decisions to leave or remain with their agencies. As mentioned above, these have been succinctly modeled by Wilke and colleagues (2018), who note that these decisions are

influenced by a worker's background and preparation, work experiences and responses, organizational influences, and community context. This is reminiscent of Bronfenbrenner's socioecological model, which, like social work more generally, sees a person as existing within several layers of environment (1979). These person-in-environment ideas essentially point to personal and situational influences in individuals' behavioral choices (like leaving or remaining with an agency). And while an agency has some limited control over who they hire (including specifying minimum educational and professional backgrounds), the agency is must more able to control and improve the environment in which these employees operate (Mor Barak et al., 2001).

One theory related to the role of an organization in workers' choices was especially notable for its alignment with existing literature on public child welfare. Perceived Organizational Support Theory (Eisenberger et al., 1986) focuses on fairness, supervisor support, and organizational rewards and conditions, which neatly organize the many individual pieces identified across public child welfare literature (DePanfilis & Zlotnik, 2008; Kim & Kao, 2014; Mor Barak et al., 2001; Webb & Carpenter, 2012). For example, organizational rewards and conditions include often-discussed factors like autonomy; role stressors; training; recognition, pay, promotions, job security. This theory will be discussed in more depth below and will be used in chapters one and three.

Chapter two relates to how workers of different racial identities feel differently supported by their organizations and how this might impact decisions to leave or remain. Here, a framework in alignment both with Perceived Organizational Support as well as extant literature on inclusion was warranted. Research on the experiences of public child

welfare workers of color tells us that their experiences differ from their white coworkers (Mor Barak, 2015). Black, Latinx, Asian-American Pacific Islander, Indigenous, and/or multi-racial workers report feeling less included and more like outsiders in a system some describe as “white-normed” (Gosine & Pon, 2011). To further explore possible feelings of being an outsider, and in keeping with the current focus by organizations on inclusion, chapter two will utilize the Inclusion Framework by Shore and colleagues (2011). This framework, as discussed below, hones in on how perceptions of belongingness and an acceptance of individual uniqueness interplay and inform a worker’s feelings of inclusion. This theory will be discussed in more detail below.

Critical Race Theory. All chapters in this dissertation are guided by a critical lens, most prominently Critical Race Theory (Crenshaw, 2010; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001), especially as relates to naming the institutionalized racism of the public child welfare system – illustrated in part by disproportionately high representation of children of color and disproportionately low numbers of supervisors of color; differential access to power; and standpoint epistemology. Systemic racism is seen in the disproportionate involvement of children of color and the higher turnover rates of workers of color. Power dynamics are illustrated by the fact that supervisors are statistically more likely to be white. Standpoint epistemology – that members of marginalized groups have the authority and ability to speak about racism in ways that others cannot – is kept at the forefront of the author’s mind as this work is meant to be a vehicle for and not an interpretation of those voices. Critical race theory is a crucial part of the lens and guiding lodestar for the entirety of this work.

Perceived Organizational Support Theory. Perceived Organizational Support Theory (Eisenberger et al., 1986) examines the relationship between the worker and the organization (Kim & Mor Barak, 2015; Masterson et al., 2000). This theory posits that a worker's perception of how the organization supports them is directly related to a variety of worker outcomes, including intent to leave or remain with the organization (Strolin et al., 2006). Perceived Organizational Support includes ideas from social exchange theories and also addresses "psychological processes underlying consequences of Perceived Organizational Support" (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Similar to social exchange theories, Perceived Organizational Support posits that workers' receipt of resources or aid that is perceived as voluntary is more highly valued than those perceived as compulsory. For example, a pay raise will be more valued if a worker perceives it as stemming from an organizational appreciation of good work than the work of outside agents like unions or regulations. Psychological processes include reciprocity and socioemotional needs. If a worker perceives organizational support, they are more likely to feel obligated to care about the organization and desire to help it succeed (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Additionally, the caring and respect connoted by Perceived Organizational Support should provide socioemotional fulfillment such that a worker will incorporate organizational membership into their social identity (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Perceived Organizational Support is negatively related to intent to leave and positively related to intent to remain. When a worker perceives this organizational support, feels valued by and obligated to the agency, and sees their work as part of their identity, they are more likely to want to remain. When a worker perceives lower

organizational support, the usual stressors of their jobs will not be moderated by feelings of being supported and valued, and they are more likely to intend to leave.

A worker's perception of organizational support in this model comes from three general categories: fairness, supervisor support, and organizational rewards and job conditions (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002).

Fairness. Fairness, sometimes called procedural justice, is related to the distribution of resources among employees and involves both structural and social aspects (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Structural determinants include employees receiving, "adequate notice before decisions are implemented, receipt of accurate information, and voice (i.e., employee input in the decision process)" (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002, p. 700). For example, if workers are being asked to complete a new required form in their cases, receiving training and having adequate notice to plan for this change can increase perceptions of fairness. Social aspects, sometimes referred to as interactional justice, include treating employees with respect, equitable distribution of resources, and providing employees with information related to how outcomes are determined. When workers perceive consistent fairness, the cumulative effect is workers perceiving organizational concern for their welfare. In their meta-analysis of 73 independent studies on Perceived Organizational Support, Rhoades and Eisenberger (2002) found that perceptions of fairness were most strongly related to perceived organizational support. This held true even when controlling for supervisor support and organizational rewards and job conditions.

Supervisor Support. Perceived supervisor support is positively related to Perceived Organizational Support (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002; Travis & Mor Barak, 2010). Supervisor support generally refers to the degree to which a worker feels a supervisor “values their contributions and cares about their well-being” (Travis & Mor Barak, 2010, p. 192). Supervisors, acting as agents of the organization, are seen by employees as reflecting the organization’s level of support (Eisenberger et al., 2002; Lizano & Mor Barak, 2012; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). They additionally communicate their evaluations of workers to those in upper management, further solidifying employees’ associating them with Perceived Organizational Support. In Travis and Mor Barak’s study (2010), workers who perceived supervisory and organizational support were less likely to intent to leave their agency.

Organizational Rewards and Job Conditions. This third category of Perceived Organizational Support refers to human resources practices reflecting recognition of employees’ work as well as to the conditions in which they work. In their meta-analysis of 73 independent studies on Perceived Organizational Support, Rhoades and Eisenberger (2002) found that organizational rewards and job conditions were conceptualized as relating to recognition, pay, promotions, job security; autonomy; role stressors; and training. “Recognition, pay, and promotions” refers to employees’ perceptions that these are fairly distributed and available in recognition of employee contributions to the organization. Job security is a worker’s perception that the organization desires to retain the employee in the future. Autonomy refers to an employee’s perceived control over how to conduct their job and that the organization trusts them to carry out their duties

wisely. Role stressors are demands of the job that are perceived as controllable by the organization and not necessarily inherent in the job. These can include work overload (demands exceeding a worker's ability given time restraints), role ambiguity (unclear information about job responsibilities), and role conflict (incompatible job responsibilities). Training refers to an employee's perception that additional training conveys an investment in the employee (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). In other words, workers are more likely to favorably perceive organizational rewards and job conditions if they perceive acceptable job conditions (manageable caseloads, for example) and if they feel that salary is similar for workers in similar roles.

Retention Intentions. These three general categories of perceived organizational support – fairness, supervisor support, and organizational rewards and job conditions – have been found to have significant relationships with workers' intentions to either leave or remain with their agencies (Eisenberger et al., 2002). For example, in a three-time-point longitudinal study of public child welfare workers (n=349 at baseline; n=181 at six-month follow-up; n=130 at one-year follow-up), Kim and Mor Barak (2015) found that Perceived Organizational Support was negatively associated with turnover intention. Because intent to remain is still emerging as an outcome of focus, there are fewer studies linking Perceived Organizational Support with retention. One study, however, found a positive significant relationship between one component of Perceived Organizational Support, career development, and retention (Clark et al., 2013). In their 15 year study of 415 Title IV-E MSW graduates, Clark and colleagues (2013) surveyed workers at the 26 to 36 month post-graduation mark, and found that continuing education and agency-

supported supervision for licensure (opportunities for career development) predicted retention. Additionally, seventy-two months after graduation, promotion to supervisor was significantly related to a worker remaining with the agency. Having these tangible opportunities for professional growth is significantly and positively related to a worker's intent to remain; an employee's perception that they are valued by the organization and have a path to advancement and a long-term career can go a long way in retaining workers.

Inclusion Framework. As noted above, the Perceived Organizational Support framework posits that a worker's perception of organizational support is directly related to outcomes including intent to remain or leave (Strolin et al., 2006). The three main categories of interest in Perceived Organizational Support are perceptions of: fairness, supervisor support, and organizational rewards and job conditions (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Shore and colleagues' (2011, 2018) Inclusion Framework includes all of these with an eye toward how these factors contribute to an employee's perception of inclusion within the organization. In this theory, inclusion consists of an organization both valuing uniqueness as well as promoting belongingness (as illustrated in Figure 2, below).

Uniqueness involves individuals maintaining distinctive and differentiated senses of self, bringing their own talents and perspectives to the workplace. This is often related to the supervisory relationship, a major focus of Perceived Organizational Support. Belongingness speaks to having strong and stable interpersonal relationships and feeling like an "insider" – feeling they have a place with their coworkers, in promotions, and in

decision-making processes – thus aligning with the Perceived Organizational Support focus on fairness and organizational rewards and job conditions. Workers who perceive that the organization values their uniqueness and that they belong there feel included. As was the case with Perceived Organizational Support, those who perceive inclusion have higher levels of job satisfaction and are less likely to plan to leave their agencies (Brimhall et al., 2014; Hwang & Hopkins, 2015).

Figure 2. Inclusion Framework (Shore et al., 2011)

	Low Belongingness	High Belongingness
Low Value in Uniqueness	Exclusion Individual is not treated as an organizational insider with unique value in the work group but there are other employees or groups who are insiders.	Assimilation Individual is treated as an insider in the work group when they conform to organizational/dominant culture norms and downplay uniqueness.
High Value in Uniqueness	Differentiation Individual is not treated as an organizational insider in the work group but their unique characteristics are seen as valuable and required for group/ organization success.	Inclusion Individual is treated as an insider and also allowed/encouraged to retain uniqueness within the work group.

There is currently a breadth of research on public child welfare worker retention. Some areas require additional depth, however, including how workers' perceptions of safety impact their decisions to leave or remain. This is a surprisingly understudied area given the inherent risks involved in working with families who are involuntary engaged with public child welfare. The experiences of workers of color is also understudied. As noted above, while there is a steadily growing research base related to the experiences of families of color and disproportionality, there remains little work on the experiences of

workers of color (Chenot et al., 2014, 2019; Lawrence et al., 2020). Existing work suggests that workers of color differently experience their workplaces as compared to their white coworkers. They are less likely to be promoted and less likely to feel included (Huggins-Hoyt et al., 2019; Lawrence et al., 2020). More work is needed to amplify their voices and experiences. More research is required on supervisors' experiences as well; these more experienced and tenured employees are important in supporting their ongoing workers and communicating with leadership. In most areas of public child welfare research, there is more need for the use of theory in order to provide common language and understandings of the topics being discussed. Critical lenses, such as critical race theory, are also increasingly but still modestly represented in public child welfare. These are vital as we aim to interrogate these systems that can be both oppressive and life-changing – in positive and negative ways – for thousands of children and families. This three-paper dissertation has purposes and aims aligned with these, as discussed below.

Research Questions

The purpose of this research is to add knowledge on factors that play into frontline workers' and supervisors' intent to either leave or remain with their public child welfare agency. As such, the research questions are:

- Q1: What is the nature of the relationship between workers' perception of job-related safety and intent to leave or remain with their agency in a statewide sample of public child welfare workers?
- Q2a: What is the relationship between perceptions of organizational inclusion and intent to leave or stay in a statewide sample of public child welfare workers?

Q2b: Does this vary based on the worker's racial identity?

Q3: To what extent does Perceived Organizational Support impact public child welfare supervisors' intent to leave or remain with their agency, and how does this compare with frontline workers, in a statewide sample of public child welfare employees?

Terminology

For the purposes of the current research, “ongoing worker” will be used to refer to workers in public child welfare who carry caseloads and work directly with children and families that are intact (Family Based Safety Services) or with families where children have been removed from their families and are in state custody (Conservatorship). Here, “ongoing” refers to the fact that worker serves the family in an ongoing and sustained way and not that they are continuing at the agency rather than leaving. FBSS workers serve families where abuse and/or neglect has been substantiated but does not warrant removal of the child. They provide services – sometimes Court-mandated – that strengthen the family. This can include case management, conferences, and home visits. CVS workers serve families where abuse and/or neglect has been substantiated and was severe enough to warrant removal of the child from the home. Their services include case management, conferences, and home visits but also involve placing and maintaining the child(ren) in substitute care (ex – foster care, kinship placement, group homes).

Methods

Study Design

All three papers for this dissertation will consist of descriptive quantitative analysis of a secondary cross-sectional data set involving a sample of public child welfare

frontline workers (n=2,030). Paper three will also include analysis of data on these workers' supervisors (n=313). Papers one and two will utilize logistic and linear regression models while paper three will only include logistic regression.

Background of Data Collection

The data used for this dissertation was collected in 2018 by the Institute for Organizational Excellence at the Steve Hicks School of Social Work at The University of Texas at Austin. The Institute was founded in 1979 to provide agencies with research services, assessment, and information related to organizational climate, human resource engagement, customer service evaluation, and leadership development (Institute for Organizational Excellence, n.d.-b). Staff at the Institute collaborate with these agencies to distribute and analyze surveys to their employees (and in some cases, validating new measures for existing instruments). This data set was requested by the author, and a de-identified Excel spreadsheet was provided. The Institute gave written permission for this data to be analyzed and published.

Among the organizations served by the Institute is the Texas Department of Family and Protective Services (DFPS), one of four under the auspices of the Texas Health and Human Services Commission. Under the DFPS umbrella, there are several agencies, including Statewide Intake, Prevention and Early Intervention, Child Protective Services (CPS), and Adult Protective Services (APS). The subjects of interest for this dissertation focus on employees of Child Protective Services (CPS), which is the focus of all three questions.

Data Set

The data used for this dissertation comes from the 2018 wave of the Survey for Employee Engagement (SEE) (Institute for Organizational Excellence, 2018). The SEE began in the late 1990s as the Survey of Organizational Excellence (SOE) and evolved into the SEE in 2009 (Collins-Camargo et al., 2012; Lauderdale, 1999). The goal throughout both manifestations has been to learn more about employees' perceptions of personal, interpersonal, organizational, and environmental factors related to organizational effectiveness as well as their satisfaction with their agency. The SEE is now distributed every other year to a quarter million Texas public employees in organizations including public child welfare, adult protective services, correctional facilities, and public schools (Institute for Organizational Excellence, n.d.-a). The base survey consists of 48 items on a five point Likert scale ranging from Strongly Disagree (1) to Strongly Agree (5). Agencies have the option to add additional questions. DFPS leadership provided additional questions covering knowledge of support services and office procedures, more information related to supervisors, and questions about how employees felt they were being treated. Vital to this study, it also includes questions about belongingness (ex – "I am treated fairly in my workplace") and worker intent (ex – "I am actively seeking primary employment outside of DFPS").

Data for this wave was collected from March 5, 2018 through April 6, 2018. In both cases, the agency provided all employee emails to the Institute, which in turn emailed DFPS employees directly with invitations to participate and a link to the instrument. Survey responses were collected and housed by the Institute, and no

identifying information was provided either to the agency or to researchers (Collins-Camargo et al., 2012). In this way, workers' responses could not be traced back to them, and their confidentiality was ensured.

As noted above, this research will focus on workers and supervisors from the two areas of DFPS who are involved in direct and ongoing work with families: Family Based Safety Services (FBSS) and Conservatorship (CVS). Agency employees who are in other areas (office support, for example) and those who are within two years of retirement are not included in these analyses. Investigators were excluded from this sample as they are in a separate part of the agency, and their workplace culture is likely to be different from those of CVS and FBSS workers.

Additionally, respondents who did not answer at least 70% of the items used for this dissertation were deleted. Of the 2,559 employees who provided information, only three did not meet this minimum and were deleted. The remaining missingness was not completely at random, so multiple imputation was used to handle missing data (see Paper Two for details).

One notable limitation of this data set is that in the demographics section, workers were only given the choices of "female," "male," and "prefer not to answer." Those who use non-binary identifiers were not given the opportunity to choose the correct category for themselves. Similarly, the only options for "race" included options that were both race as well as ethnicity. The choices included: African-American or Black, Hispanic or Latino/a, Anglo-American or White, Asian, American Indian or Pacific Islander, or Multiracial or Other. It is notable that "Hispanic or Latino/a" is counted here as a race

and not an ethnicity. As such, it is impossible to separate out those who identify as both “Hispanic or Latino/a” and, for example, African-American or Black or “white/Hispanic” as compared to “white/non-Hispanic.” These would be race/ethnicity in census and other venues, but in this data set, they are both counted as race.

Research Ethics

Before workers accessed the email survey, they completed an informed consent form developed by the Institute and approved by that university’s Institutional Review Board (IRB). Their responses are stored at the Institute and are de-identified before they are sent out to researchers. Approval was obtained from the Boston College IRB to analyze this de-identified secondary data provided by the Institute.

Conclusion

Involvement with child welfare systems is a serious and often traumatic event for children and families (Greeson et al., 2011). Once a child is involved with public child welfare, they are likely to experience multiple placements before arriving at a permanent outcome (including reunification, adoption, and others). Each new placement is associated with lowered outcomes across a variety of measures, including education, behavioral, and emotional challenges (Barn & Tan, 2015; Courtney et al., 2007; Goyette et al., 2021).

Children and families with consistent workers with whom they have a good working relationship are often in a better position for positive outcomes (Cheng & Lo, 2016). Increasing public child welfare workforce retention, then, is vital to serving our most vulnerable children and families. Strengthening the child welfare workforce

strengthens the families they serve. In the following chapters, the relationships between perceived organizational support and workers' intent to leave or remain will be explored. The following chapter begins this examination by asking how the relationship between a worker's perceptions of personal work-related safety and intent to leave or remain might be moderated by perceived organizational support.

Chapter II. Worker Safety, Perceived Organizational Support, and Intent to Leave or Remain

Introduction

Amid increasing calls to “defund” police and redirect portions of their budgets and duties to professionals who are arguably better suited to respond to certain situations, social work scholars and practitioners are engaging in a national conversation about the field’s role in a potential new alignment of task delegation (Dettlaff, 2020; NASW, 2020; Ray, 2020; Social Work Podcast, 2020). While social workers do currently work alongside police, some of the proposed new arrangements would have social workers responding without police presence to calls that are currently being handled by police officers (National Association of Social Workers, 2020). These could include domestic violence and other “nonviolent calls” that could potentially become dangerous. Worker safety, then, should be a focus of research on worker retention as the field explores questions about the evolving nature of social workers’ role in society. Public child welfare workers, serving in perhaps the only government agency working with clients in their homes involuntarily (Ellett et al., 2007; Horejsi et al., 1994), work in one of the most dangerous areas in the field of social work. Despite feeling that unsafety is “prevalent” and “part of the job” (Strolin-Goltzman et al., 2016; Zelnick et al., 2013), public child welfare workers continue in their work. As conversations turn to involving other social workers in more dangerous roles, the field can learn much from an examination of how safety perceptions impact retention of public child welfare workers.

Literature Review

Safety and Public Child Welfare

Public child welfare turnover has remained problematic since its inception (Moss & Moss, 1967) and can result in high human and fiscal costs, as discussed in the introduction. While there are several factors related to intent to leave or remain that receive perennial attention, some important factors receive comparatively little attention. One such variable is workers' perception of personal safety (Kim & Hopkins, 2015). Though the frequency of workplace violence toward public child welfare workers is unknown, it is thought to be "prevalent," and workers sometimes characterize it as "part of the job" (Lamothe et al., 2018; Strolin-Goltzman et al., 2016; Zelnick et al., 2013). One statewide study of public child welfare workers in Florida (n=1,162) found that in their first six months on the job, a majority experienced non-physical violence (i.e. being yelled at, property damage) (75%), about a third received threats (37%), and 2.3% experienced physical violence from their clients (Radey & Wilke, 2018). A qualitative study with 34 workers from that statewide sample noted that workers identified predictable patterns of violence in clients and circumstances, and felt that their agencies treated client-perpetrated violence as "business as usual" (Radey et al., 2020).

Safety and Turnover

In a meta-analysis of turnover intention, Kim and Kao (2014b) found that safety is a concern which is "unique" for child welfare workers, as compared to other social workers. The authors further found that feelings of unsafety were highly related to turnover intention. Kim and Kao suggested that additional research is needed to determine how this impacts the turnover process.

Few studies look at the relationship between safety and turnover in public child welfare. Two exceptions found differing results, which highlights the need for more study in this area. In their study exploring worker safety and turnover intention, King and colleagues (2020) looked at the relationship between client-perpetrated violence and intent to leave in a sample of 705 early-career child welfare workers. They found that despite experiences of violence being “near universal,” there did not appear to be a significant relationship with turnover intention. One possible explanation offered was that this relationship might be impacted by organizational responses. They suggested future research on how organizational factors might impact this relationship. The current work seeks to address this gap. However, in their study of 601 public child welfare workers, Kim and Hopkins (2015) found that public child welfare workers’ frequent exposure to unsafe working environments was associated with higher rates of burnout and lower levels of organizational commitment, both of which are highly associated with turnover. They also suggested further work on the relationship between worker unsafety and turnover.

Safety and turnover have been studied somewhat more in mental health nursing, a “sister field” to social work. In their meta-analysis of 64 articles related to workplace violence by patients against mental healthcare workers, d’Ettorre and Pellicani (2017) noted that these experiences can result in higher turnover and difficulty with retention. Similarly, in their study with 1,534 Dutch mental health professionals, van Leeuwen and Harte (2017) found that about two-thirds had experienced at least one violent incident; they additionally found that this was linked to absenteeism and turnover.

Gaps in the Literature on Safety and Turnover in Workers

As noted above, while there is a growing body of evidence describing the prevalence of feelings of unsafety and experiences of violence in public child welfare workers, there is limited scholarship on the relationship between workers' perceptions of safety and retention and turnover (Littlechild et al., 2016). The studies described above suggested future research focus in this area (H. Kim & Kao, 2014b; King et al., 2020; Radey et al., 2020).

This research study seeks to address the gap related to the impact of perceptions of job-related safety on intent to leave as well as on intent to remain. Knowing that workers continue in public child welfare despite the known safety risks, it seems likely there are moderating variables between safety perception and intent. Existing scholarship suggests that organizational culture is a major factor in workers' decisions to leave or remain with their agencies (H. Kim & Kao, 2014b; Wilke et al., 2018). For the purpose of this study, among the first on safety and intent, we test the moderating effects of perceived organizational support on the relationship between perceptions of personal safety and a workers' intent to leave or remain in public child welfare.

This study additionally joins a growing body of work that use statewide samples (Ellett, 2009; Griffiths et al., 2017; Radey & Wilke, 2018; Willis et al., 2016). Finally, as discussed in the introduction, literature addressing intent to remain is still comparatively sparse, as the typical outcome measures tend to be turnover, burnout, and intention to leave rather than on a worker's intent to remain with the agency. This work additionally seeks to address these gaps by using a sample of an entire workforce from a large state as well as by using outcomes of intent to leave as well as intent to remain.

Conceptual Model

As noted in the introduction, the Perceived Organizational Support theory posits that a worker's perception of organizational support is directly related to a variety of worker outcomes, including intent to leave or remain with the organization (Eisenberger et al., 1986; Strolin et al., 2006). Perceived Organizational Support assumes that worker behavior is based on mutual exchange – when a worker feels supported, they are more likely to wish to remain. The extent to which stressors impact a worker's intent to stay or leave is similarly related to the extent to which a worker believes the organization can control those stressors. If a worker believes the organization could reduce a stressor, but does not do so, they perceive less support and are more likely to wish to leave (Benton, 2016; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). The theory specifically suggests three main areas of interest which play into a worker's perceptions of organization support, including fairness, supervisor support, and organizational rewards and job conditions. Taken together, these components of perceived organizational support can play a moderating role between a worker's perceptions of safety and their intent to leave or remain.

Research Question and Hypotheses

The current research addresses the following research question:

Q1: How is the relationship between a worker's perception of job-related safety and intent to leave or remain with their agency moderated by perceived organizational support in a statewide sample of public child welfare workers, if at all?

Hypothesis 1: Workers who perceive less job-related safety are more likely to have turnover intent.

Hypothesis 2: This relationship will be moderated by perceived organizational support; workers who feel unsafe but perceive organizational support will be less likely to intend to leave.

Hypothesis 3: Workers who perceive more job-related safety are more likely to intend to remain.

Hypothesis 4: This relationship will be moderated by perceived organizational support; workers who feel unsafe but perceive organizational support will be more likely to intend to remain.

Methods

Design

This study is a secondary analysis of data collected in 2018 in a cross-sectional statewide sample (n=2,030) of public child welfare workers in Texas, one of the largest child welfare systems in the United States (Child Trends, 2020). More information related to the data set can be found in chapter one. Using Stata/SE 16.1 for Windows, we first ran descriptive statistics and then employed multiple linear and logistic regression to understand the relationship between workers' perception of safety and intent to leave as well as intent to remain with the agency and how this relationship is moderated by perceived organizational support, if at all.

Sample. All child protective services employees in the state of Texas were invited to take this survey in 2018, including those working directly with clients as well as administrative workers and leadership. For the purpose of this study, only those doing ongoing and direct work with children and families were included; these include “conservatorship” (CVS) workers who work with families whose children were removed due to severe abuse and/or neglect as well as “family based safety services” (FBSS) workers whose clients are families whose children are still with them but serious concerns about abuse and/or neglect are present. Investigators were excluded from this sample because they are in a separate part of the agency, and their workplace culture is

likely to be different from those of CVS and FBSS workers.

Of the approximately 3,767 CVS and FBSS employees asked to complete this survey, about 72% responded (n=2,720). For this paper, those who did not indicate that they were ongoing workers (ex – supervisors) (n=385) were dropped, as were those who were within two years of retirement (n=218), and those who did not indicate “race/ethnic identification” (n=87). This resulted in a new sample size of 2,030.

Measures

The primary measures are workers’ perception of job-related safety, perceived organizational support (POS), and intent to either leave or stay with the agency (along with demographics, including job type). Perceptions of job-related safety come from the question, “Adequate safety precautions are in place for me in the field or office.” Because those who agreed or strongly agreed comprised only 8.84% and 3.43% respectively of the total and also for a more streamlined interpretation, the safety variable was dichotomized. Those who answered “strong disagree” and “disagree” are thought to be reporting feeling unsafe, and those who replied “neutral,” “agree,” or “strongly agree” will be thought of as not reporting feeling unsafe.

The outcome variables for this study are “intent to leave” and “intent to remain.” “Intent to leave” comes from the item, “I am actively seeking primary employment outside of DFPS,” while “intent to remain” comes from the item, “I plan to be working for this organization in one year” (Institute for Organizational Excellence, n.d.-a). With the exception of demographics, safety (binary), and intent to remain (binary), all variables are measured on a five-point Likert scale: (1) strongly disagree; (2) disagree; (3) neutral; (4) agree; and (5) strongly agree.

Perceived organizational support consists of a worker's perceptions of fairness, supervisor support, and organizational rewards and job conditions (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Construct development and testing on perceived organizational support and its subconstructs can be found in the Results section, below.

Data Analysis Plan

Before data analysis began, we checked the missing data. Most variables had less than 1% missing data. Exceptions included the outcome variables of intent to leave (missing 7.83%) and intent to remain (7.34%) as well as gender (4.48%). As part of data cleaning, respondents who did not answer at least 70% of the questions of interest were removed listwise ($n=3$). Afterward, we used Little's test (1988) to determine whether data were missing completely at random for the remaining respondents. This test was significant ($p<0.001$), indicating the data was not missing completely at random.

Multiple imputation by chained equations was then used to handle missing data as it relies less heavily on normality assumptions (Azur et al., 2011) and can yield less biased results than listwise deletion (Allison, 2001). T-tests were used after multiple imputation to confirm that there were not statistically significant differences between imputed and un-imputed data.

Multiple regression was used to answer questions related to the relationship between workers' perception of safety (independent binary variable) and intent to leave (dependent variable on Likert scale). Multiple logistic regression was used for the relationship between the safety perceptions and the binary outcome of intent to remain. Analysis proceeded incrementally to evaluate the novel effect of demographics, perceptions of safety, and perceived organizational support (both as one construct and

separately as three subconstructs) on intent to leave and intent to remain with the agency. Evaluating the p values using the Holm-Bonferroni method was initially proposed to control for the false discovery rate. The current version instead provides more transparency and reports all results with an alpha below 0.05, here at levels $p < 0.001$, $p < 0.01$, and $p < 0.05$. This is reflected in the results section as well, with those at alpha levels below 0.01 discussed separately from those at $p < 0.05$, as those involve a higher risk for a Type I error.

For the first outcome variable, intent to leave, the first step (Model 1) used the predictors of race, gender, age, education, tenure, and job role (conservatorship and family based safety services). In the second step (Model 2), workers' perceptions of safety and perceived organizational support were added. Interactions amongst the predictors were also tested in this model (for example, the interaction between safety perception and job role), but finding none that were statistically significant at $p < 0.05$, this was not repeated. In order to learn more about how the overall construct as well as the three subconstructs were associated with the outcome variable, Model 2a included the overall construct while Model 2b included the three subconstructs.

Model 1 and Models 2a and 2b were compared to evaluate the unique effect of perceptions of safety and perceived organizational support on intent to leave using the average change in Adjusted R² across ten imputation sets (see Table 3). The range of Adjusted R² results will additionally be included in Table 3.

Model 3a added the interaction between safety perception and perceived organizational support to test whether perceived organizational support moderates the relationship between workers' perceptions of safety and their intent to leave. A

significant interaction ($p < 0.05$) is seen as evidence that perceived organizational support moderates perceptions of safety and worker intent to leave. Model 3b tested the same using the three subconstructs.

All above steps (Models 1, 2a, 2b, 3a, and 3b) were repeated using multiple logistic regression with intent to stay (binary outcomes of “yes” and “no”) as the outcome variable rather than intent to leave. Those results will be shown in Table 4.

Results

This study uses data collected from 2,030 public child welfare workers in Texas who work directly with families (see Table 1 for descriptive statistics). These include 1,372 conservatorship workers and 658 in family based safety services. About a third of the workers were white, approximately one third African-American or Black, and another third Hispanic or Latino/a. An additional 1.33% identified as Asian or American Indian or Pacific Islander and 3.05% were Multi-racial or “Other.” A majority had a Bachelor’s degree (61.58%) and most identified as female (86.01%). While most felt safe at work (87.04%), this study focuses on the 12.41% who do not.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics (n=2,030)

	n	%
Racial Identity		
White	700	34.48%
African-American or Black	563	27.73%
Hispanic or Latina/o	678	33.40%
Asian or American Indian or Pacific Islander	27	1.33%
Multi-racial or Other	62	3.05%
Total	2,030	100.0%
Gender		
Female	1,746	86.01%
Male	193	9.51%
Not reported	91	4.48%

Total	2,030	100.0%
Age		
(in years)		
16-29	558	27.49%
30-39	716	35.27%
40-49	433	21.33%
50+	306	15.07%
Not reported	17	0.84%
Total	2,030	100.0%
Education		
HS or GED	51	2.51%
Some College or Associate's	322	15.86%
Bachelor's	1,250	61.58%
Master's or PhD	399	19.66%
Not reported	8	0.39%
Total	2,030	100.0%
Tenure		
(in years)		
Less than One	237	11.67%
1 to 2	646	31.82%
3 to 5	558	27.49%
6 to 10	340	16.75%
11 to 15	152	7.49%
16+	72	3.55%
Not reported	25	1.23%
Total	2,030	100.0%
Job Role		
Conservatorship		
Ongoing worker	1,372	67.59%
Total Conservatorship	1,372	67.59%
FBSS		
Ongoing worker	658	32.41%
Total FBSS	658	32.41%
Total ongoing workers	2,030	100.0%
(CVS+FBSS)		
Adequate Safety Precautions in Place		
Agree or Neutral	1,767	87.04%
Disagree	252	12.41%
Not reported	11	0.54%
Total	2,030	100.0%
Mean Perceived Organizational Support*		
Fairness		3.94
		(SD 0.85)

Supervisor Support	4.20 (SD 0.89)
Organizational Rewards and Job Conditions	3.50 (SD 0.78)

* Mean of a Likert scale of 1 to 5
(1=Strongly Disagree; 3=Neutral; 5=Strongly Agree)

Perceived Organizational Support and Its Subconstructs

Perceived organizational support consists of a worker's perceptions of fairness, supervisor support, and organizational rewards and job conditions (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Fairness consists of employee input in and transparency of the decision process, being treated with respect, and equitable distribution of resources; these lead to a worker perceiving organizational concern for their welfare. Supervisor support generally refers to the degree to which a worker feels a supervisor "values their contributions and cares about their well-being," (Travis & Mor Barak, 2010, p. 192). This in turn reflects the organization's level of support (Eisenberger et al., 2002; Lizano & Mor Barak, 2012; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Organizational rewards and job conditions refers to human resources practices reflecting recognition of employees' work as well as to the conditions in which they work. This can include recognition, pay, promotions, job security; autonomy; role stressors; and training.

Perceived organizational support theory conceptualizes one cohesive construct comprised of three subconstructs (fairness, supervisor support, and organizational rewards and job conditions). Each subconstruct is unique but considered as a whole. As such, it was preferable to develop a robust construct in line with the theory. The current data set, which focuses on organizational climate, includes items comparable to

Eisenberger's and Huntington's instrument (1986); these were proposed as three subconstructs. Initial scale validation focused on each of these with the intention of subsequently testing them as a combined overall construct.

Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) using maximum likelihood estimation was run on each of the three subconstructs with all 14 of the proposed items. It was hoped that the 14 questions would fit into three factors. To evaluate the confirmatory factor analysis results, we used "ideal" ranges suggested by Kline (2015) of RMSEA between approximately 0.05 to 0.08 and the "ideal" range of ≥ 0.95 for CFI (Hu & Bentler, 1999), and ≥ 0.95 for TLI (Sharma et al., 2005). Using these recommendations, the CFA on all 14 items yielded poor fit, and one item stood out from among the rest as it impacted the covariances of two of the subconstructs, indicating that it does not neatly reflect just one subconstruct ("My supervisor is consistent when administering policies concerning employees"). This led to us to return to theory and reconsider all variables. Four additional questions were noted to be more "general" and did not necessarily speak to the worker's individual experience (for example, "I feel that salaries are applied consistently across the agency"). The remaining nine questions more closely align with the theory and are used for the remainder of this dissertation and can be seen in Table 2, below.

Confirmatory analysis (CFA) using maximum likelihood estimation was run on the remaining nine items, and their fit was good as a three-factor model (RMSEA 0.061; CFI 0.98; TLI 0.96). Looking additionally at Cronbach's alpha, a measure of internal consistency used here to test the reliability of the subconstructs, all three were above the proposed cutoff of 0.7 (fairness, $\alpha = 0.79$; supervisor support, $\alpha = 0.83$; organizational rewards and job conditions, $\alpha = 0.76$).

However, when run as a single construct, despite an alpha suggesting high internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.86$), the fit was no longer good (RMSEA 0.131; CFI 0.88; TLI 0.84). Because of this, conclusions using a sum or mean score of all nine items should be viewed with caution. Given this information, and because the theory strongly encourages viewing perceived organizational support as one cohesive construct, this paper will use both models – one set with the three factors and another with the single construct.

Because there is not an equal number of items in each subconstruct (fairness and supervisor support are comprised of two items each while organizational rewards and job conditions is the product of five), mean scores will be used rather than sum. If we had used sum, the scores would be on different scales, making analysis more challenging. For example, if using summed scores, the range of fairness and supervisor support would be from zero to ten while the range for organizational rewards and job conditions would be a range of zero to 25. Instead, by using the mean, all three subconstructs will be on a range of zero to five.

Consistent with extant literature, covariates will include race, gender, age, education, job type, and length of tenure at the agency, as previous studies suggest these impact a worker's perception of organizational support (Faller et al., 2010; Griffiths et al., 2017; Landsman, 2008; Strolin et al., 2006).

Table 2. Questions related to a perceived organizational support – Perceived Organizational Support Construct (n=2,030)

Question	Perceived Org Support Category*	Overall Mean**	Overall SD
The communications I receive at work are timely and informative.	Fairness	3.86	0.98
I am treated fairly in my workplace.	Fairness	4.00	0.91
My supervisor evaluates my performance fairly.	SS	4.13	1.02
My supervisor provides me with a clear understanding of my work responsibilities.	SS	4.24	0.95
I feel I am paid fairly for the work I do.	Org RJC	2.82	1.24
I believe I have a career with this organization.	Org RJC	3.99	0.94
Training is made available to me so that I can do my job better.	Org RJC	4.07	0.88
The amount of work I am asked to do is reasonable.	Org RJC	3.16	1.22
I am confident that I have job security.	Org RJC	3.43	1.16

* Perceived Organizational Support consists of fairness, supervisor support (“SS”), and organizational rewards and job conditions (“Org RJC”)

** Likert scale of 1 to 5 (1=Strongly Disagree; 3=Neutral; 5=Strongly Agree)

Results

Intent to Leave

The first outcome variable for this study, referred to as “intent to leave,” is derived from the item, “I am actively seeking primary employment outside of DFPS,” to which respondents can respond on a five-point Likert scale: (1) strongly disagree; (2) disagree; (3) neutral; (4) agree; and (5) strongly agree. Other variables include workers’ perceptions of job-related safety; perceived organizational support and its three subconstructs of fairness, supervisor support, and organizational rewards and job conditions; and demographic variables (age, race, gender, education, tenure, and job

type).

A total of five models were run to learn about the relationships between these variables and intent to leave: Model 1 included demographic variables and safety perception; Model 2a added the perceived organizational support construct while Model 2b included the three subconstructs; and Model 3a added an interaction between safety perception and perceived organizational support while Model 3b included an interaction between safety perception and each of the three subconstructs.

Hypothesis One, that workers who perceive less job-related safety are more likely to have turnover intent, was tested using linear regression in Model 2a. This hypothesis was supported by the results of the current study. When controlling for demographic variables, respondents who felt unsafe were more likely to intend to leave than their coworkers who felt safe or neutral ($b=0.31$, $SE\ 0.09$, $p<0.001$).

Hypothesis Two, that this relationship will be moderated by perceived organizational support (workers who feel unsafe but perceive organizational support will be less likely to intend to leave) was tested using an interaction effect in Model 3a. Before testing the hypothesized interaction, it was found that controlling for all other variables, as perceived organizational support increases, workers are less likely to intend to leave ($b=-0.30$, $p<0.001$). One subconstruct yielded similar results; as perceptions of supervisor support increase, workers are less likely to intend to leave ($b=0.17$, $p<0.001$).

When testing for the moderating effect, in workers who felt unsafe, as perceptions of organizational support increased, intent to leave decreased ($b=-0.45$, $SE\ 0.11$, $p<0.001$). This interaction shows that these variables are more impactful together than when just one or the other is present – they are “more than the sum of their parts.”

For example, when controlling for demographic variables, those who feel unsafe are more likely to intend to leave ($b=0.31$, SE 0.09, $p<0.001$), and when controlling for demographic variables and safety, those who perceive organizational support are less likely to intend to leave ($b=-0.37$, SE 0.04, $p<0.001$). But when both are present – workers feel unsafe but supported – they are that much more likely to intend to stay ($b=-0.44$, SE 0.11, $p<0.001$). In other words, the relationship between feelings of unsafety and intent to leave are moderated by organizational support, supporting hypothesis two.

This was true of one of the three subconstructs as well; in workers who felt unsafe, as perceptions of organizational rewards and job conditions increased, intent to leave decreased ($b=-0.66$, SE 0.13, $p<0.001$). These results can be found in Table 3 and are illustrated in Figures 1 and 2.

Table 3. Multiple regression models for variables predicting intent to leave (n=2,030)

Predictor Variables	Model 1	Model 2a	Model 2b	Model 3a	Model 3b
	Coeff (SE)	Coeff (SE)	Coeff (SE)	Coeff (SE)	Coeff (SE)
Age					
16-29	0.24	0.26	0.27	0.27	0.26
30-39	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)
40-49	-0.21	-0.22	-0.22	-0.21	-0.21
50+	-0.24	-0.26	-0.26	-0.26	-0.26
Race					
White	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)
African-American or Black	0.28	0.24	0.23	0.24	0.23
Hispanic or Latina/o	0.24	0.24	0.23	0.24	0.23
Asian or American Indian or Pacific Islander	-0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	-0.01
Multi-racial or Other	0.27	0.19	0.18	0.19	0.19
Gender					
Male	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)
Female	-0.22	-0.26	-0.25	-0.26	-0.24
Education					
HS or GED	-0.04	-0.07	-0.08	-0.07	-0.07
Some College or Associate's	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.03
Bachelor's	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)
Master's or PhD	0.15	0.13	0.13	0.12	0.12
Tenure					
Less than one	-0.17	-0.11	-0.12	-0.12	-0.13
1 to 2	0.11	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.15
3 to 5	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)
6 to 10	0.11	0.08	0.09	0.08	0.07
11 to 15	0.03	-0.01	-0.00	0.00	0.00
16+	0.09	0.01	0.01	-0.01	0.00
Job type					
FBSS	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)
Conservatorship	-0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Safety Perception					

(dichotomized)					
Agree or Neutral	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)
Disagree	0.31	0.06	0.07	1.56	1.88
	(0.09)***	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.37)***	(0.38)***
Perceived Organizational Support		-0.37		-0.29	
		(0.04)***		(0.05)***	
POS Subconstructs					
Fairness			-0.06		-0.06
			(0.05)		(0.06)
Supervisor Support			-0.16		-0.16
			(0.04)***		(0.05)***
Org Rewards & Job Conditions			-0.16		-0.07
			(0.05)***		(0.05)
Safety perception					
(dichotomized) * POS				(Ref)	
Agree or Neutral				-0.44	
Disagree				(0.11)***	
Safety perception ^a * POS Subconstructs					
Safety * Fairness					-0.05
					(0.13)
Safety * Supervisor Support					0.07
					(0.11)
Safety * Org Rewards & Job Conditions					-0.66
					(0.13)***
<i>B</i>	2.29	3.80	3.82	3.49	3.49
(Cons)	(0.12)***	(0.21)***	(0.21)***	(0.23)***	(0.23)***
Adjusted R ² average ^b	0.039	0.079	0.079	0.087	0.095
	(0.035, 0.042)	(0.075, 0.083)	(0.075, 0.083)	(0.083, 0.091)	(0.090, 0.098)
Δ Adjusted R ² average		0.040	0.040	0.008	0.016

^a Those who feel unsafe as compared to those who feel neutral or safe

^b Average of Pseudo R² across ten imputations (min, max). *** p<0.001; ** p < 0.01; *p <0.05. Significant estimates at p < 0.001 are bold

Figure 3. Interaction Between Safety and Perceived Organizational Support on Intent to Leave

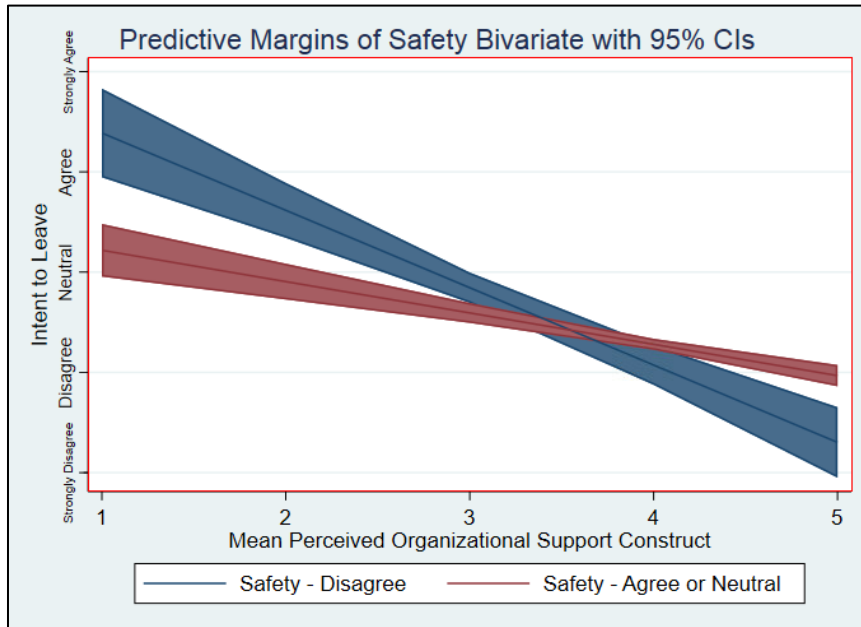
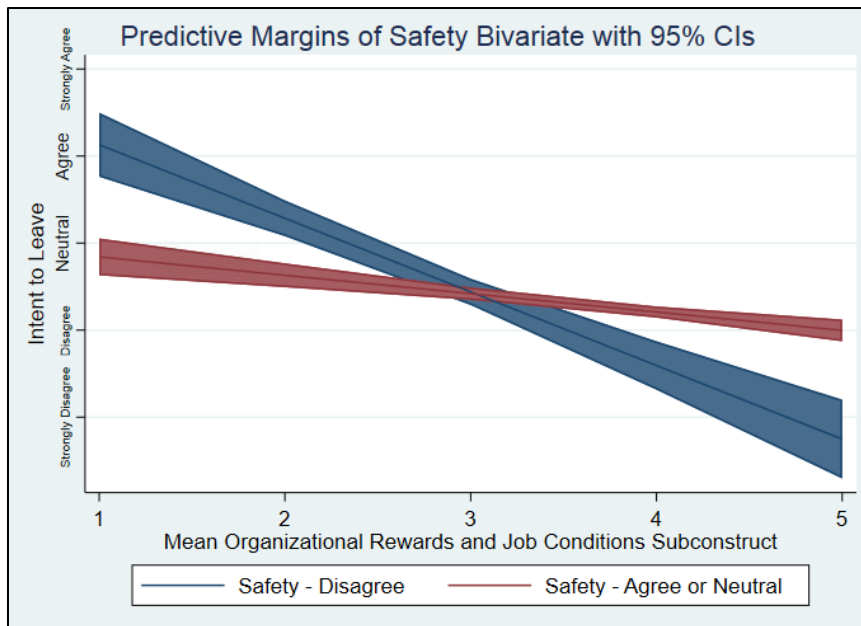


Figure 4. Interaction Between Safety and Organizational Rewards and Job Conditions Subconstruct on Intent to Leave



Intent to Remain

The second outcome variable, referred to as “intent to remain,” comes from the item, “I plan to be working for this organization in one year,” to which respondents could answer “yes” or “no.” Other variables included workers’ perceptions of job-related safety; perceived organizational support and its three subconstructs of fairness, supervisor support, and organizational rewards and job conditions; and demographic variables (age, race, gender, education, tenure, and job type).

As was the case with intent to leave, a total of five models were fitted to learn about the relationships between these variables and intent to remain: Model 1 included demographic variables and safety perception; Model 2a added the perceived organizational support construct while Model 2b included the three subconstructs; and Model 3a added an interaction between safety perception and perceived organizational support while Model 3b included an interaction between safety perception and each of the three subconstructs.

Hypothesis 3 theorized that workers who perceive more job-related safety are more likely to intend to remain.

Hypothesis 4 theorized that this relationship will be moderated by perceived organizational support; workers who feel unsafe but perceive organizational support will be more likely to intend to remain.

These were tested using logistic regression but were only partially supported by this study. With the exception of Model 1, which only included demographics, there was no significant relationship between safety perception and intent to remain. In that model, we see that workers who feel unsafe are less likely to remain (OR 0.45, 95% CI 0.28-

0.72, $p < 0.001$).

One statistical reason for fewer significant results than expected could be that the subsample who felt unsafe was underpowered. For example, in the (nonsignificant) interaction between safety and perceived organizational support, the confidence is quite large (OR 0.85, 95% CI 0.47-1.53, $p > 0.01$). Additionally, this confidence interval straddles the 1.0 mark, indicating that we would not even be able to discern which direction this effect would have gone.

It should be noted that there could be issues of power with the outcome of intent to remain. Only about 6% of respondents do not intend to remain. Ideally, the difference between those who do not intend to remain and those who do would not be so large. It is possible that this impacted the results as well.

Table 4. Multiple logistic regression models for variables predicting intent to remain (n=2,030)

Predictor Variables	Model 1	Model 2a	Model 2b	Model 3a	Model 3b
	OR (95% CI)	OR (95% CI)	OR (95% CI)	OR (95% CI)	OR (95% CI)
Age					
16-29	0.57* (0.35-0.94)	0.50* (0.30-0.83)	0.53* (0.32-0.89)	0.50** (0.30-0.83)	0.53* (0.31-0.88)
30-39	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)
40-49	10.37 (0.77-2.44)	1.44 (0.80-2.59)	1.49 (0.82-2.70)	1.44 (0.80-2.59)	1.48 (0.81-2.70)
50+	1.50 (0.74-3.06)	1.69 (0.80-3.56)	1.68 (0.79-3.55)	1.69 (0.80-3.56)	1.69 (0.80-3.58)
Race					
White	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)
African-American or Black	0.76 (0.47-1.24)	0.92 (0.55-1.52)	0.92 (0.55-1.53)	0.92 (0.55-1.52)	0.92 (0.55-1.54)
Hispanic or Latina/o	0.76 (0.47-1.24)	0.76 (0.46-1.26)	0.82 (0.49-1.37)	0.76 (0.46-1.26)	0.83 (0.49-1.38)
Asian or American Indian or Pacific Islander	0.41 (0.11-1.49)	0.35 (0.09-1.32)	0.34 (0.09-1.29)	0.35 (0.09-1.33)	0.35 (0.09-1.37)
Multi-racial or Other	1.23 (0.36-4.26)	1.60 (0.45-5.70)	1.54 (0.43-5.45)	1.59 (0.45-5.69)	1.53 (0.43-5.43)
Gender					
Male	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)
Female	1.37 (0.73-2.56)	1.56 (0.82-3.00)	1.38 (0.71-2.69)	1.57 (0.82-3.00)	1.38 (0.70-2.72)
Education					
HS or GED	0.61 (0.10-3.67)	0.63 (0.10-3.99)	0.82 (0.12-5.53)	0.64 (0.10-4.00)	0.80 (0.12-5.35)
Some college or Associate's	0.65 (0.37-1.14)	0.63 (0.36-1.12)	0.71 (0.40-1.23)	0.64 (0.36-1.13)	0.71 (0.40-1.28)
Bachelor's	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)
Master's or PhD	0.53** (0.33-0.84)	0.54* (0.33-0.87)	0.54* (0.33-0.88)	0.54* (0.33-0.88)	0.54* (0.33-0.88)

Tenure					
Less than one	1.19 (0.53-2.67)	1.04 (0.45-2.40)	1.00 (0.43-2.35)	1.04 (0.45-2.39)	1.01 (0.43-2.36)
1 to 2	0.78 (0.47-1.30)	0.67 (0.40-1.14)	0.62 (0.37-1.06)	0.67 (0.40-1.14)	0.63 (0.37-1.06)
3 to 5	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)
6 to 10	0.84 (0.42-1.67)	0.94 (0.46-1.92)	0.95 (0.46-1.96)	0.94 (0.46-1.91)	0.96 (0.47-1.98)
11 to 15	0.67 (0.31-1.47)	0.73 (0.32-1.63)	0.73 (0.32-1.64)	0.73 (0.33-1.64)	0.73 (0.32-1.64)
16+	0.52 (0.18-1.53)	0.66 (0.22-2.03)	0.54 (0.18-1.64)	0.66 (0.21-1.98)	0.53 (0.17-1.62)
Job role					
FBSS	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)
Conservatorship	1.00 (0.64-1.57)	0.97 (0.63-1.50)	0.93 (0.59-1.47)	1.00 (0.64-1.57)	0.93 (0.59-1.48)
Safety Perception (dichotomized)					
Agree or Neutral	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)	(Ref)
Disagree	0.45*** (0.28-0.72)	0.93 (0.55-1.58)	1.16 (0.67-2.03)	1.51 (0.24-9.59)	1.03 (0.13-8.25)
Perceived Organizational Support		2.84*** (2.20-3.67)		2.95*** (2.21-3.92)	
POS Subconstructs					
Fairness			0.96 (0.69-1.33)		0.97 (0.66-1.44)
Supervisor Support			1.26 (0.97-1.62)		1.31 (0.97-1.76)
Org Rewards & Job Conditions			3.05*** (2.19-4.25)		2.85*** (1.93-4.20)
Safety perception (dichotomized)*POS					
Agree or Neutral				(Ref)	
Disagree				0.85 (0.47-1.53)	

Safety perception ^a * POS					
Subconstructs					
Safety * Fairness					0.95 (0.48-1.91)
Safety * Supervisor Support					0.86 (0.48-1.55)
Safety * Org Rewards & Job					1.39 (0.59-3.23)
Conditions					
Cons	23.75***	0.42	0.26	0.37	0.26
	(10.47-52.86)	(0.12-1.51)	(0.07-1.02)	(0.09-1.44)	(0.06-1.11)
Pseudo R ² average ^b	0.043	0.102	0.138	0.113	0.140
	(0.035, 0.051)	(0.100, 0.135)	(0.124, 0.164)	(0.100, 0.135)	(0.125, 0.166)
Δ Pseudo R ² average		0.059	0.095	0.054	0.028

^a Those who feel unsafe as compared to those who feel neutral or safe.

^b Average of Pseudo R² across ten imputations (min, max). *** p<0.001; ** p < 0.01; *p <0.05. Significant estimates at p < 0.001 are bold

Discussion

Feelings of unsafety have a significant relationship with intent to leave. As compared to those who feel neutral or safe, workers who feel unsafe are more likely to intend to leave. This relationship is moderated by perceived organizational support; in workers who feel unsafe, if they perceive organizational support, they become less likely to intend to leave. That support counteracts the negative impacts of feelings of unsafety.

However, this relationship is not really seen in intent to remain. As will be seen throughout this dissertation, intent to leave and remain, often treated as mirrors, are in fact distinct variables. If they were simply mirrors, then feelings of unsafety would have a significant negative relationship with intent to leave and a significant positive relationship with intent to remain. Instead, there is a significant negative relationship with intent to leave and no significant relationship with intent to remain.

Intent to Leave

Controlling for all other variables, as perceived organizational support increases, workers are less likely to intend to leave ($b=-0.30$, $p<0.001$); this also holds true for one subconstruct, organizational rewards and job conditions as well. This tells us that while safety may be sometimes considered “part of the job,” a key component in retaining workers in this environment is to ensure that they feel supported. In particular, feeling fairly paid; having reasonable workloads; and job security, training, and seeing a future with the organization all seem to contribute to provide buffers between feelings of unsafety and intent to leave. When workers positively perceive organizational rewards and job conditions, even when feeling unsafe, they are less likely to have turnover intention.

It is notable that controlling for all other variables, workers who are more likely to intend to leave are those aged 16 to 29 years (as compared to workers aged 30 to 39); workers who are African-American or Black or Hispanic or Latina/o (as compared to white workers); and those who feel unsafe (as compared to those who feel neutral or safe) (all at $p < 0.001$). This is in keeping with extant research that suggests that client-perpetrated violence may vary, perhaps even between racial groups (King et al., 2020). Certainly more research is needed to discern these relationships, especially as agencies strive to hire and retain a more racially representative workforce (discussed in more depth in paper two).

Intent to Remain

There was only one significant relationship between safety perception and intent to remain. In Model 1, when controlling for demographic variables, as workers' perceptions of unsafety increased, their odds of remaining decreased (OR 0.45, 95% CI 0.28-0.72, $p < 0.001$).

Nor was there a significant moderating relationship of perceived organizational support on safety and intent to remain. As noted above, the (nonsignificant) interaction between safety and perceived organizational support had a confidence interval that straddled 1.0, so it is not possible to know which way this effect would have gone. This was the case with all subconstructs as well. This could be an issue of power, as discussed above. It could also be that issues of safety are not part of the decision-making around retention. Feelings of unsafety could be described as negative, and they seem significantly related to the (negative) intent to leave. It is possible that they are not part of the more positive decision to remain. No other works have yet looked at the

relationship between safety perceptions and intent to remain in public child welfare workers (previous studies focused on intent to leave). More work is certainly indicated with this interesting finding.

How Do Intent to Leave and Intent to Remain Differ?

Several significant relationships were found between the independent variables and intent to leave. However, only one relationship was seen between safety and intent to remain. This suggests that different factors are at play in a worker's decision to leave as compared to intention to remain; they are not two sides of the same coin. Indeed, while 18.37% of respondents said they intended to leave, only 5.57% indicated that they did not intend to remain. Perhaps it is the case that workers accept that the work environment will be unsafe. As discussed in previous literature, feelings of unsafety may be seen as "part of the job" and "business as usual" in this, the only area of social work sometimes requiring involuntary in-home involvement (Balogun et al., 2020; H. Kim & Hopkins, 2015; Lamothe et al., 2018; Radey et al., 2020; Radey & Wilke, 2018; Strolin-Goltzman et al., 2016). It may be that perceptions of unsafety only become problematic when workers are already considering leaving (Radey & Wilke, 2018). It appears that organizations can better retain workers despite feeling of unsafety if they can improve their perceptions of organizational support.

While this study suggests that improvements in worker perceptions of safety and organizational support can reduce turnover intent, it does not provide such clear information on ways to improve intent to remain. Reducing turnover is important, but more focus is needed on the more strengths-based questions surrounding intent to remain (Griffiths et al., 2017; H. Kim & Stoner, 2008a; Lawrence et al., 2020). There is a

difference between a worker who wants to leave and a worker who wants to stay.

Finding more ways to improve worker satisfaction and retention is an important strategy worthy of further research (Ellett, 2009).

Limitations

Though the subconstructs used here are derived from questions that are similar to those in the scale suggested by the theory's authors, they are not the same. For example, the item in the instrument by the theory's authors (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002) "[My supervisor] really cares about my well-being" is similar to our survey's question, "[My supervisor] cares about [their] employees." These questions are not the same, but they are similar, and we treated them as identifying a particular facet of supervisor support.

Using the validated scales in the present study, we find significant differences between the overall construct and the three subconstructs. Here, the overall construct did not achieve an ideal fit while a three-factor model did. When both single factor and three-factor models were analyzed, it was found that while the overall construct was significant in many areas, only one or two subconstructs had significant relationships with other variables. This could be because social work is significantly different from the professions envisioned by Eisenberger (1986). It could also be that if the original scale were used, a one factor model would have yielded significant results. It would be useful for future research to test Eisenberger's instrument with social workers. Similarly, this limitation highlights the need for using consistent theory, as well as consistent instruments in future work. In so doing, studies could more easily be compared with one another. If, for example, several studies used the same instrument, their results would be more comparable than if they used different but similar ones. In this way, we could more

easily discern patterns in respondent answers.

The category of “race/ethnicity” in the original data set is problematic. As mentioned in the introduction, the categories were African-American or Black, Hispanic or Latino/a, Anglo-American or White, Asian, American Indian or Pacific Islander, or Multiracial or Other. It is notable that “Hispanic or Latino/a” is counted here as a race and not an ethnicity, thereby making it impossible to separate out those who identify as both Hispanic or Latino/a and, for example, African-American or Black. This lack of accurate choices could be part of the reason that 4.4% of the sample (n=94) did not answer this item.

Future Research

More in-depth understanding of workers’ perception of safety would be beneficial, however, and future qualitative research in this area could add much needed understanding of the origin of these perceptions as well as how they play into the larger system of variables that impact retention. Additional qualitative work would also be helpful in ensuring that perceived organizational support is indeed a moderator and not a mediator where safety is actually a product of perceived organizational support.

It is notable that in addition to those who felt unsafe, younger workers, workers who are African-American or Black, and/or those who were Hispanic or Latina/o were also more likely to intend to leave (all at $p < 0.001$). This has been addressed in some research, and the current work suggests workers in these groups call for more focused research on their perceptions and intentions. Qualitative work to learn how these workers define and experience safety could provide helpful insight into how they may differently respond to their work environments. Given the relationship between safety and intent,

this would be helpful in retaining these workers that organizations have sought to hire and keep on.

Worker safety is a concern that is “unique” for public child welfare workers, who are among the only workers who work with clients who are involuntarily involved (Kim & Kao, 2014a). It is, however, an understudied variable in discussions on intent to leave and intent to remain. As social workers are increasingly involved in less safe situations (Dettlaff, 2020; NASW, 2020; Ray, 2020; Social Work Podcast, 2020), lessons learned from this population can be useful in retaining social workers in other fields.

Chapter III. Organizational Inclusion, Racial Identity, and Intent to Leave or Remain

Introduction

Racial inequalities in public child welfare systems have been well documented, with children of color disproportionately represented and experiencing poorer outcomes than their white counterparts. Conversely, workers of color are proportionately more represented in public child welfare in some states, including Texas (Texas Department of Family and Protective Services, 2019a). And while there is a wealth of research on client disproportionality in these systems, far less attention has been paid to the experiences of public child welfare workers of color (Lawrence et al., 2020). What research does exist suggests that while representation of workers of color has been increasing, retention is an ongoing issue, with higher rates of intent to leave (Griffiths et al., 2017; Hopkins et al., 2010) as compared to their white counterparts. These workers have reported being treated less fairly, experiencing microaggressions, and feeling less included in public child welfare organizations (Gosine & Pon, 2011; Lawrence et al., 2020). Researchers are increasingly honing in on this idea of inclusion, which is thought to play a role in workers' decisions to leave or remain with their agencies. If workers of color feel less included and have higher rates of turnover, perhaps there is a connection that could inform future efforts to support and retain these vital employees. This study, then, explores the relationships between inclusion and intent to leave or remain with public child welfare agencies among workers of color.

Literature Review

Children of color are disproportionately represented in public child welfare systems as compared to the general population (Child Welfare Information Gateway, 2021; Courtney et al., 1996; A. J. Dettlaff & Boyd, 2020; Green et al., 2011; Huggins-Hoyt et al., 2019; McRoy, 2014). Once children are involved with these systems – receiving family services in the home or being placed outside their homes – they often experience poorer outcomes than their white counterparts (Watt & Kim, 2019). However, in many areas, workers of color^{1,2} – those who identify as Black, African-American, Latinx, Asian-American, Pacific Islander, Indigenous, and/or Multi-Racial – are proportionately more represented in public child welfare than in general populations, especially within urban agencies (Dolan et al., 2011; Lawrence et al., 2020). Public child welfare has come a long way in recent years in terms of the racial diversity of its workforce. While it used to be the case that the public child welfare workforce consisted almost entirely of white workers (Lide, 1973), modern public child welfare is more racially diverse than ever.

In the most recently available national survey of public child welfare workers, about 40% identified as people of color (Dolan et al., 2011), a higher rate than the 35% in the general U.S. population at the time (U.S. Census Bureau, n.d.-b, n.d.-a). Texas, the focus of this paper, appears to reflect this higher representation as well, with about 64.5% of workers identifying as people of color (including those who identify as Hispanic or Latinx) as compared to 42% in the overall Texas population (Institute for Organizational Excellence, 2018; U.S. Census Bureau QuickFacts, n.d.).

However, simply “diversifying” a public child welfare workforce is not a panacea

for a culture that is often described as “white-normed” (Gosine & Pon, 2011) and a “handmaiden of the status quo” (Abramovitz, 1998; Davis & Gentlewarrior, 2015) (Brimhall et al., 2017; Mor Barak et al., 2016). “Diversity is not the same as inclusion” (Lawrence et al., 2020, p. 53). Simply hiring workers of color does not guarantee they will feel included in the workplace. Additionally, race is predictive of intent to remain employed. In their study of 757 public child welfare workers, Lawrence and colleagues (2020) found that despite lower levels of personal and client-related burnout – often seen as strong predictors of turnover – workers of color were less likely to intend to remain than their white counterparts. The authors suggested that there may be differential factors between workers of color and their white coworkers in intent to leave or remain (Lawrence et al., 2020). For example, workers of color in this sample were more likely to have additional family responsibilities at home (for example, elder care). Despite this, they reported lower levels of work-related and personal burnout. Given their lower intent to remain, Lawrence and colleagues suggest that workers of color may have different lived experiences at work which should be further explored.

Hiring workers of color without shifting the culture can leave those workers vulnerable to racism manifested in both micro-aggressions as well as discrimination in promotion and advancement. For example, in their study of 441 public child welfare workers, Hopkins and colleagues (2010) found that being a worker of color remained the second highest contributor (behind stress) to job search behavior. And in their qualitative study of 14 public child welfare workers of color, Gosine and Pon (2011) relayed participant reports of demoralizing micro-aggressions including coworkers making jokes about Black hair, silencing, being “pigeon-holed” into certain kinds of cases, and not

being “groomed” for leadership. Indeed, in their study of study of 757 public child welfare workers, Lawrence and colleagues found that inequitable representation was present from the levels of supervisor and above (2020). This appears to be the case in Texas as well, where white employees account for 35% of caseworkers but 42% of supervisors (Texas Department of Family and Protective Services, n.d.-b).

Researchers have found that public child welfare workers of color tend to feel less included (Gosine & Pon, 2011), are treated less fairly, and are less likely to be in supervisor positions. Lawrence and colleagues (2020) found that workers of color were significantly more likely to be caseworkers while white workers were significantly more likely to be in supervisory roles. This gap increased at the managerial level, with only one third of managers being workers of color despite comprising nearly half the sample (46.71%). These factors – feeling less included – are thought to play a role in lower levels of organizational commitment and job satisfaction (Brimhall et al., 2014; Faller et al., 2010) and, in turn, intent to leave.

Scholarship on racial diversity in public child welfare settings emphasizes the importance of a workplace culture of inclusion (Mor Barak et al., 2016; Shore et al., 2018). This involves workers feeling respected for their unique characteristics, fully accepted as individuals, being part of the formal and information process of the organization, and having opportunities for decision-making, development, and promotion (Brimhall et al., 2014; Lawrence et al., 2020; Mor Barak et al., 1998, 2016). In other words, workers of color perceive they can bring their whole selves to the workplace, and their full range of talents as individuals are utilized (Mor Barak et al., 2016, p. 309).

Workplaces that are less inclusive tend to have higher rates of employee turnover,

both among workers of color as well as with white workers (Hwang & Hopkins, 2015; Mor Barak et al., 2016). As discussed in this dissertation's introduction, turnover is a perennial and costly problem in public child welfare, with human and financial costs (Mor Barak et al., 2001). Turnover is driven by a variety of factors, including lack of inclusion, low job satisfaction, dissatisfaction with high workloads, lack of professional development opportunities, and perceived lack of supervisor support (Barbee et al., 2018; Griffiths et al., 2017; Mor Barak et al., 2001; Mor Barak et al., 2009; Wilke et al., 2018). Here, the focus is on the impact of a culture of inclusion, which has been found to have a significant impact on a worker's decision to leave (Brimhall et al., 2014; Hwang & Hopkins, 2015; Mor Barak et al., 2016; Shore et al., 2011, 2018).

Scholarship in this area is increasingly focusing on intent to remain as well as (or even instead of) intent to leave (Kim & Stoner, 2008). While these two outcome measures are sometimes viewed as two sides of the same coin (the focus is on whether the worker stays or goes), this strengths-based strategy also seeks to learn about supports and what can be replicated to improve worker retention (Ellett, 2009). Literature addressing intent to remain is still comparatively sparse, as the typical outcome measures tend to be turnover, burnout, and intention to leave rather than on a worker's intent to remain with the agency (Griffiths et al., 2017). Some notable exceptions include works that link retention intention with supportive organizational climate (de Guzman et al., 2020; Zeitlin et al., 2014), reasonable caseloads and opportunities for advancement (Johnco et al., 2014), coworker support (Sedivy et al., 2020), and supervisor support (Benton, 2016). The current study considers both intent to leave as well as intent to remain as outcome variables in order to provide a deeper understanding of worker

motivation.

Gaps in the Literature

Organizational inclusion is a newer concept and still in its “infancy” (Hwang & Hopkins, 2015). There have been a small number of studies exploring organizational inclusion and its impact on public child welfare. For example, Findler and colleagues (2007) found that a worker’s perceptions of inclusion is related to organizational outcomes, including job satisfaction, often cited as a predictor of turnover intention. Hwang and Hopkins (2012) similarly found that perceptions of inclusion were significantly related to turnover intention, though here this was mediated by organizational commitment. In other words, when a worker has higher levels of organizational commitment, their intent to leave remains low even in the presence of low levels of inclusion.

However, to date, only one study has focused on the relationship between organizational climate of inclusion and intent to leave *among public child welfare workers of color* (Hwang & Hopkins, 2015). This study, analyzing data on 544 public child welfare workers from a Mid-Atlantic state, found that “diversity characteristics” (including race/ethnicity) were significantly related to intent to leave. “Nonwhites” felt less inclusion than did their white counterparts. “Workers’ minority status” was indirectly associated with intent to leave – when these workers perceived increased organizational inclusion, this increased organizational commitment or job satisfaction, which in turn decreased turnover intention (Hwang & Hopkins, 2015). This work did not directly connect organizational climate with turnover intention; this study addresses that gap by seeking to draw a direct link between inclusion and turnover intent in workers of color as compared to their white coworkers. The researchers also suggested future

replication studies using other samples to learn more about these relationships. Lawrence and colleagues (2020) similarly note that there is limited research in child welfare on differences in job satisfaction [which is highly linked to intention to leave] between racial groups. More research is needed to gain a fuller picture of the nature of the relationships between these factors.

Despite being a large proportion of the workforce, there is scant research on how their experiences may differ as compared to their white coworkers, if at all (Lawrence et al., 2020). The current study seeks to continue exploring the relationships between worker perceptions of organizational inclusion and how these impact both intent to leave as well as intent to remain, with a particular focus on these relationships may differ for workers of color as compared to their white counterparts, if at all. Using a statewide sample of public child welfare workers in Texas (n=2,030), this research uses regression models to learn more about the experiences of workers of color in a large public child welfare agency.

Theoretical Framework

Factors related to workplace inclusion have been succinctly modeled by Shore and colleagues (2011, 2018) who conceptualize inclusion as valuing uniqueness and promoting belongingness (as illustrated in Figure 2, below). Uniqueness involves individuals maintaining distinctive and differentiated senses of self, bringing their own talents and perspectives to the workplace. Belongingness speaks to having strong and stable interpersonal relationships and feeling like an “insider” – feeling they have a place with their coworkers, in promotions, and in decision-making processes.

In an organization that embodies inclusiveness, workers are more likely to place a

high value on uniqueness and feel high levels of belongingness. As seen in Figure 2, below, workers who have lower levels of either will have less inclusive experiences in the workplace. For example, if a worker feels a sense of belonging, but does not perceive uniqueness to be valued, they may engage in assimilation. For public child welfare workers of color, this might mean conforming to the dominant culture in the organization. Instead of questioning policies that differ from their experiences and values, they may instead choose to conform to and thus perpetuate the status quo (Ashton, 2010).

Figure 2. Inclusion Framework (Shore et al., 2011)

	Low Belongingness	High Belongingness
Low Value in Uniqueness	<p>Exclusion</p> <p>Individual is not treated as an organizational insider with unique value in the work group but there are other employees or groups who are insiders.</p>	<p>Assimilation</p> <p>Individual is treated as an insider in the work group when they conform to organizational/dominant culture norms and downplay uniqueness.</p>
High Value in Uniqueness	<p>Differentiation</p> <p>Individual is not treated as an organizational insider in the work group but their unique characteristics are seen as valuable and required for group/ organization success.</p>	<p>Inclusion</p> <p>Individual is treated as an insider and also allowed/encouraged to retain uniqueness within the work group.</p>

The idea that workforce diversity of all kinds is beneficial to all, and that workers from various backgrounds should be included at all levels, has been discussed for many years in public child welfare literature and practice (Mor Barak et al., 1998; Texas Department of Family and Protective Services, n.d.-c). This inclusion framework of Shore and colleagues has itself been cited multiple times in public child welfare literature since its publication less than a decade ago. For example, in their longitudinal study of 363 workers in a large urban public child welfare agency, Brimhall and colleagues

(Brimhall et al., 2014) found significant direct effects of a climate of inclusion on job satisfaction. They also found indirect effects on intention to leave as well as on job satisfaction through the supervisory relationship (via increased feelings of inclusion). Similarly, in a sample of 544 public child welfare workers in a mid-western state, Hwang and Hopkins (Hwang & Hopkins, 2015) found that for workers of color, turnover intention was indirectly affected through the mediating variables of organizational inclusion and commitment. In other words, organizational inclusion did not have a direct impact on turnover intention. Instead, the relationship between inclusion and turnover intention were impacted by a worker's organizational commitment or job satisfaction. This study will similarly look at whether there is a direct relationship between inclusion and intent as well as whether that relationship is impacted by organizational factors.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Building on this growing body of literature, the purpose of the current study is to better understand the relationship between worker perceptions of organizational inclusion and their intent to leave, especially among workers of color. By looking at variables related to belongingness (fair treatment and potential for promotion, for example) as well as uniqueness (freedom to be oneself and a perception that the organization seeks to hire workers of diverse backgrounds, for example), this work will look at how these play into whether a worker is actively seeking alternative employment.

As such, the primary research questions being asked is:

Q2a: What is the relationship between perceptions of organizational inclusion and intent to leave or stay in a statewide sample of public child welfare workers?

Q2b: Does this vary based on the worker's racial identity?

The study hypotheses include:

- Hypothesis 1: Belongingness scores and uniqueness scores will vary by race such that workers of color – in this data set including those who identify as African-American or Black; Hispanic or Latina/o; Asian or American Indian or Pacific Islander; and “Multi-racial or Other” – will have significantly lower belongingness and uniqueness scores than their white counterparts.
- Hypothesis 2a: Public child welfare workers with higher uniqueness and belongingness scores (indicative of perceptions of higher levels of organizational inclusiveness) will be associated with lower desire to **leave** the agency.
- Hypothesis 2b: Public child welfare workers with higher uniqueness and belongingness scores (indicative of perceptions of higher levels of organizational inclusiveness) will be associated with more desire to **remain** with the agency for the next year.
- Hypothesis 3a: Belongingness scores and uniqueness scores will have a larger significant negative effect on intent to **leave** in workers of color as compared to white workers.
- Hypothesis 3b: Belongingness scores and uniqueness scores will have a larger significant positive effect on intent to **remain** in workers of color as compared to white workers.

Methods

Design

This cross-sectional quantitative study will employ linear and logistic regression models to analyze a statewide sample (n=2,030) of public child welfare workers in Texas, one of the largest child welfare systems in the United States (Child Trends, 2019).

Sample

As discussed previously, data for this study were collected in early 2018. All child protective services employees in the state of Texas were invited to take this survey.

As in previous papers, only conservatorship (CVS) and family based safety services (FBSS) workers are included in this sample. Of the approximately 3,767 employees asked to complete this survey, about 72% responded (n=2,720). For this paper, those who did not indicate that they were ongoing workers (for example, supervisors) (n= 385) were dropped, as were those who were within two years of retirement (n=54), and those who did not indicate “race/ethnic identification” (n=87). This resulted in a new sample size of 2,030.

Measures

The outcome measures are worker intent, both to leave the agency as well as to remain, as described in Paper One (intent to leave is on a five-point Likert scale while intent to remain is binary). Predictor variables include racial identity, gender, age, education, job type (CVS vs FBSS), and length of tenure at the agency, as previous studies suggest these impact a worker’s perception of inclusion (Auerbach, McGowan, Ausberger, et al., 2010; Brimhall et al., 2014; Hwang & Hopkins, 2015). To explore employees’ perceptions of an organizational culture of inclusion, its two components (uniqueness and belongingness), will be used. Workers who have higher scores in both feelings of belongingness as well as a welcoming of their uniqueness are described as experiencing inclusion by the theory’s authors (Shore et al., 2011, 2018). Questions related to and testing of these variables discussed in detail in the Results section.

Data Analysis Plan

Before data analysis began, we checked for missing data. As part of data cleaning, respondents who did not answer at least 70% of the questions of interest were removed listwise (n=3). Afterward, sensitivity analyses was conducted to test the

assumption that data are missing at random for remaining respondents. Afterward, Little's test (1988) was used to determine whether data were missing completely at random for the remaining respondents. This test was significant ($p < 0.001$), indicating the data was not missing completely at random. Multiple imputation by chained equations was then used to handle missing data; this is discussed in more detail in Paper One.

Uniqueness and belongingness scales were used as predictors of respondents' intent to leave or remain with the agency for the next year (discussion of the testing of these scales can be found in the results section). We opted to retain the ordinal Likert scoring for the uniqueness and belongingness constructs, with a range from strongly disagree (0) to strongly agree (5). The theory's authors use the terms "high" and "low" frequently, but these terms are not operationalized (Shore et al., 2011). As such, we will speak of responses in terms of "higher" and "lower" scores on these constructs.

To get at the "inclusion" idea posited by Shore and colleagues (2011), an additional model will utilize a dichotomous variable to isolate those who have "higher" inclusion scores and will use "neutral" or "lower" scores as comparison groups.

The five-point Likert scales do not easily align with Shore's quadrants. As such, those who more actively agree (as opposed to being "neutral" or disagreeing) were chosen to represent those who indicated stronger feelings of uniqueness and belongingness respectively. To achieve this, those whose mean uniqueness score is the equivalent of "strongly agree" or "agree" will be thought of as feeling uniqueness (equivalent to 4 or 5 on the Likert scale), and those who score lower (equivalent to "neutral," "disagree," and "strongly disagree") will be thought of as not feeling uniqueness. The same will be repeated for belongingness. The dichotomous "inclusion"

variable will include those who are high on both uniqueness and belongingness (coded as 1) and all others as not (coded as 0) to best mirror Shore's idea of "inclusion" consisting of high scores in both areas (see again Figure 2, Inclusion Framework, above).

Thus, this paper looks at how, if at all, uniqueness, belongingness, and/or inclusion; and race predict an individual's intentions to either leave or stay with the agency for the next year. Because intent to leave is an ordinal outcome, multiple linear regression is used. Because intent to remain is a binary outcome, multiple logistic regression is used.

Analysis proceeded incrementally across six models. Model 1 includes demographic variables of age, race, gender, education, tenure, and job type. Models 2, 3, and 4 add the constructs of uniqueness, belongingness, and inclusion, respectively. For Models 2, 3, and 4, two versions were run: one with its respective construct (version a) and one with an interaction term between that construct and race (version b). In other words, Model 2 builds on Model 1 by adding uniqueness (2a) and then an interaction between uniqueness and race (2b). Model 3 adds only belongingness (3a) and its interaction with race (3b). Model 4 adds only the inclusion construct (4a) and the interaction between inclusion and race (4b). Results are discussed below and shown in Table 4 (intent to leave) and Table 5 (intent to remain).

Post hoc analysis was run to stratify the results related to each outcome variable (intent to leave, remain) by race to test whether direction, magnitude, and significance of effects varied by worker race. Results are discussed below and can be found in Tables 5 through 10 (Appendixes A through F).

Results

This study uses data collected from public child welfare workers in Texas who work directly with families (n=2,030) (see Table 1 for descriptive statistics). About one third of the workers are African-American or Black (27.73%), another third Hispanic or Latino/a (33.40%), and approximately one third are white (34.48%). An additional 1.33% identified as Asian or American Indian or Pacific Islander and 3.05% were Multi-racial or “Other.” A majority had a Bachelor’s degree (61.58%) and most identified as female (86.01%). When asked if they were actively seeking primary employment outside DFPS, the mean score was 2.36 (1.25) on a scale of one (strongly disagree) to five (strongly agree) with three being “neutral.” When asked if they planned to be working for the organization in one year, 94% said they did.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics (n=2,030)

Variable	Number	Percentage	Intent to Leave M(SD) (1 to 5)*	F (df) †	P	Intent to Remain No (%)	Chi² ††	p
Race								
White	700	34.48%	2.18(1.19)			4.99%		
African-American or Black	563	27.73%	2.48(1.29)			6.59%		
Hispanic or Latina/o	678	33.40%	2.45(1.28)			6.40%		
Asian or American Indian or Pacific Islander	27	1.33%	2.16(1.14)			13.04%		
Multi-racial or Other	62	3.06%	2.55(1.11)			5.36%		
Total	2,030	100.0%	2.36 (1.25)	8.84 (4)	0.00	6.01%	3.74	0.44
Gender								
Female	1,746	86.01%	2.33(1.24)			5.79%		
Male	193	9.51%	2.50(1.33)			7.30%		
Not reported	91	4.48%						
Total	2,030	100.0%		2.99 (1)	0.08		0.66	0.42
Age (in years)								
16 to 29	558	27.49%	2.59(1.33)			8.27%		
30 to 39	716	35.27%	2.39(1.26)			5.59%		
40 to 49	433	21.33%	2.17(1.17)			4.70%		
50+	306	15.07%	2.10(1.12)			5.37%		
Not reported	17	0.84%						
Total	2,030	100.0%		9.15 (4)	0.00		8.88	0.06
Education								
HS or GED	51	2.51%	2.12(0.98)			4.76%		
Some College or Associate's	322	15.86%	2.28(1.24)			6.51%		
Bachelor's Degree	1,250	61.58%	2.35(1.24)			5.04%		
Master's or PhD	399	19.66%	2.48(1.31)			8.63%		
Not reported	8	0.39%						
Total	2,030	100.0%		1.29 (5)	0.27		8.74	0.12
Tenure (in years)								
Less than one	237	11.67%	2.21(1.30)			4.87%		
1 to 2	646	31.82%	2.50(1.35)			7.40%		
3 to 4	558	27.49%	2.32(1.18)			5.05%		
5 to 10	340	16.75%	2.36(1.21)			5.26%		
11+	152	7.49%	2.27(1.07)			6.38%		
Not reported	25	1.23%						
Total	2,030	100.0%		3.25 (4)	0.01		4.06	0.40
Job Type								
Conservatorship	1,372	67.59%	2.36(1.24)			5.87%		
Family Based Safety Services	658	32.41%	2.38(1.28)			6.29%		
Total	2,030	100.0%		0.17 (1)	0.68		0.13	0.72

* 1=strongly disagree; 3=neutral; 5=strongly agree. † ANOVA was run to test between-group differences. †† Chi² test of independence was run to test between-group differences. p<0.01 indicated in bold

* 1=strongly disagree; 3=neutral; 5=strongly agree. † ANOVA was run to test between-group differences.

†† Chi² test of independence was run to test between-group differences. p<0.01 indicated in bold

In order to learn more about uniqueness and belongingness, confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) using maximum likelihood estimation was run on each of the constructs with all 12 of the initially proposed items. To evaluate the confirmatory factor analysis results, we used “ideal” ranges suggested by Kline (2015) of RMSEA between approximately 0.05 to 0.08 and the “ideal” range of ≥ 0.95 for CFI (Hu & Bentler, 1999), and ≥ 0.95 for TLI (Sharma et al., 2005).

For the uniqueness construct, the five proposed items together yielded good fit (RMSEA 0.064; CFI 0.99; TLI 0.87). Looking additionally at Cronbach’s alpha, a measure of internal consistency used here to test the reliability of this construct, uniqueness was above the proposed cutoff of 0.7 ($\alpha = 0.86$). The five items comprising uniqueness can be seen in Table 2 below (Lauderdale, 1999; Lauderdale, 2002).

The seven items initially proposed for the belongingness construct, however, yielded poor fit (RMSEA 0.166; CFI 0.88; TLI 0.82). As with paper one, questions that were noted to be more “general” and not necessarily reflective of the worker’s individual experience were removed. These included: “I feel that promotion practices are fair;” “My supervisor is consistent when administering policies concerning employees;” and “I believe I have a career with this organization.” Testing the construct with the remaining four items yielded good fit (RMSEA 0.072; CFI 0.99; TLI 0.85; $\alpha = 0.81$). The four items that comprise the belongingness construct can be found in Table 3.

Hypothesis 1: Belongingness scores and uniqueness scores will vary by race such that workers of color – in this data set including those who identify as African-American or Black; Hispanic or Latina/o; Asian or American Indian or Pacific Islander; and “Multi-racial or Other” – will have lower belongingness and uniqueness scores than

their white counterparts.

ANOVA tests were conducted in order to determine whether there are statistically significant differences in workers' perceptions of uniqueness and belongingness between racial groups. Results showed that there is a statistically significant difference in the uniqueness construct between the groups ($F(4) = 6.07, p=0.0001$). The same holds true for the belongingness construct ($F(4) = 5.78, p= 0.0001$). See Tables 2 and 3.

Because this test only tells us that there are differences and not where they can be found, additional tests were conducted to determine which groups are statistically different from one another.

For the uniqueness construct, the mean scores for Hispanic or Latina/o workers were 0.17 higher than those who were African-American or Black on a scale of one to five ($p=0.001$). Similarly, white workers' mean uniqueness scores were 0.19 higher than those of their African-American or Black coworkers ($p<0.001$). In other words, white and Hispanic or Latina/o workers had significantly higher scores on uniqueness than their African-American or Black coworkers.

Similar results were found for the belongingness construct. The mean scores for Hispanic or Latina/o workers were 0.17 higher than those who were African-American or Black on a scale of one to five ($p=0.001$). Similarly, white workers' mean uniqueness scores were 0.17 higher than those of their African-American or Black coworkers ($p=0.001$). In other words, white and Hispanic or Latina/o workers had significantly higher scores on uniqueness than their African-American or Black coworkers.

Table 2. Questions related to a culture of inclusion – Uniqueness Construct (n=2,030)

Question	Mean (SD) by Race							p
	Overall	White	African-American/Black	Hispanic/Latinx	AAPI	Multi-racial/Other	F [†] (df)	
I feel free to be myself at work.	3.83 (1.03)	3.81 (1.06)	3.78 (1.06)	3.92 (0.95)	3.59 (1.12)	3.58 (1.12)	2.87 (4)	0.02
My organization works to attract, develop, retain people with diverse backgrounds.	3.86 (1.03)	3.92 (1.00)	3.74 (1.06)	3.92 (1.00)	3.59 (1.22)	3.68 (1.16)	4.02 (4)	0.00
The people I work with care about my personal well-being.	3.96 (0.99)	4.08 (0.94)	3.80 (1.08)	4.00 (0.92)	3.78 (1.05)	3.77 (1.03)	7.27 (4)	0.00
In my work group, my opinions and ideas count.	4.00 (1.03)	4.11 (0.96)	3.87 (1.12)	4.01 (1.02)	4.07 (1.07)	4.00 (0.91)	4.35 (4)	0.00
My supervisor makes good use of my talents.	3.96 (1.02)	4.02 (0.98)	3.81 (1.12)	4.06 (0.95)	3.96 (0.90)	3.77 (1.20)	5.68 (4)	0.00
Mean Uniqueness Score (Scale of 1 to 5)	3.93 (0.81)	4.00 (0.80)	3.81 (0.85)	3.98 (0.76)	3.80 (0.83)	3.75 (0.87)	6.07 (4)	0.00

(1=Strongly Disagree; 3=Neutral; 5=Strongly Agree); p<0.01 indicated in bold

† ANOVA was run to test between-group differences

Table 3. Questions related to a culture of inclusion – Belongingness Construct (n=2,030)

Question	Mean (SD) by Race							p
	Overall	White	African-American/Black	Hispanic/Latinx	AAPI	Multi-racial/Other	F [†] (df)	
My supervisor evaluates my performance fairly.	4.13 (1.02)	4.20 (0.97)	4.01 (1.07)	4.19 (0.97)	4.22 (0.93)	3.82 (1.45)	4.65 (4)	0.00
I trust the people in my workplace.	3.77 (1.04)	3.91 (1.01)	3.53 (1.11)	3.83 (0.98)	3.67 (0.96)	3.69 (0.96)	11.47 (4)	0.00
Training is made available to me for personal growth and development.	3.95 (0.99)	3.94 (1.00)	3.95 (0.99)	4.00 (0.97)	3.70 (1.03)	3.85 (0.97)	1.05 (4)	0.38
I am treated fairly in my workplace.	4.00 (0.91)	4.01 (0.91)	3.90 (0.97)	4.10 (0.84)	4.04 (0.87)	3.81 (1.07)	4.49 (4)	0.00
Mean Belongingness Score (Scale of 1 to 5)	3.97 (0.78)	4.02 (0.77)	3.86 (0.82)	4.03 (0.73)	3.91 (0.81)	3.79 (0.91)	5.78 (4)	0.00

(1=Strongly Disagree; 3=Neutral; 5=Strongly Agree); p<0.01 indicated in bold

† ANOVA was run to test between-group differences

Intent to Leave

Hypothesis 2a was that higher uniqueness and belongingness scores (indicative of perceptions of lower levels of organizational inclusiveness) will be significantly associated with decreased desire to leave the agency. We tested for this using linear regression; results for uniqueness (Model 2a) and belongingness (Model 3a) can be found in Table 4. The additional model run on inclusion can be found in Model 4a.

There was a significant negative relationship between perceptions of uniqueness and intent to leave. When controlling for demographic variables, as perceptions of uniqueness increased, desire to leave decreased ($b=-0.06$, SE 0.01, $p<0.01$).

Similarly, there was a significant negative relationship between perceptions of belongingness and intent to leave. When controlling for demographic variables, as perceptions of belongingness increased, desire to leave decreased ($b=-0.06$, SE 0.01, $p<0.01$).

For those who feel higher levels of inclusion, as compared to those who do not, there is a more pronounced significant negative relationship with intent to leave. The effect size of the inclusion construct was much larger (-0.41 , SE 0.01, $p<0.01$, as compared to -0.06 , $p<0.01$). This means that belongingness and uniqueness separately have an impact on the decision to leave, but when a worker has *both*, as indicated by the inclusion construct, this is more impactful and they are less likely to leave.

Thus, Hypothesis 1a was supported. Belongingness, uniqueness, and especially inclusion have a significant negative association with intent to leave. When a worker feels inclusion, they are significantly less likely to intend to leave. See Table 4 for full results.

Hypothesis 3a was that belongingness scores and uniqueness scores will have a larger significant negative effect on intent to leave in workers of color as compared to white workers. We tested for this using an interaction between each construct and race in a linear regression. Results for uniqueness (Model 2b) and belongingness (Model 3b) can be found in Table 4. The additional model run on inclusion can be found in Model 4b.

For all three constructs, the only group for whom there is an interaction with race is in those who are Hispanic or Latina/o. For uniqueness, in Hispanic or Latina/o workers (as compared to white workers), as perceptions of uniqueness increased, intent to leave increased ($b=0.05$, SE 0.02, $p<0.01$). The opposite effect from the hypothesis was found. Similarly, in this group, as belongingness increased, as inclusion increased, so too did intent to leave ($b=0.04$, $p<0.01$).

For inclusion, a stronger effect was seen. For Hispanic or Latina/o workers (as compared to white workers), as perceptions of inclusion increased, intent to leave increased ($b=0.40$, SE 0.16, $p=0.01$). This effect was stronger than uniqueness or belongingness alone, even at its conservative estimate (SE 0.09-0.71).

Hypothesis 3a was not supported. For most groups, there was no interaction between race and intent to leave, though the main effects remained significant for uniqueness ($b=-0.06$, SE 0.01, $p<0.001$), belongingness ($b=-0.06$, SE 0.01, $p<0.001$), and inclusion ($b=-0.41$, SE 0.06, $p<0.001$).

Even if these interactions *had* been significant, they were quite close to null. For example, when looking at the interaction between race and inclusion on intent to leave, for Multi-racial or Other workers, the coefficient was -0.06 ($p>0.05$) with a standard error of 0.35. This means the coefficient could feasibly have been anywhere from -0.41 to

0.29. As such, it would be challenging to even determine whether this trended in a positive or negative direction.

The one interaction exhibited was in the opposite direction; uniqueness, belongingness, and inclusion have a positive significant relationship on intent to leave. In other words, as these increase, Hispanic or Latina/or workers' intent to leave increases.

Across the models, coefficients for those aged 16 to 29; African-American or Black, Hispanic or Latina/o, and female remained fairly stable such that even when controlling for other demographic variables as well as uniqueness, belongingness, and inclusion, workers in these groups were more likely to intend to leave than their respective comparison groups. See Table 4 for full results.

Post hoc analysis was run to stratify the results related to intent to leave by race to test whether direction, magnitude, and significance of effects varied by worker race. The relationship between uniqueness and intent to leave was weak in all groups, though they were all in the same direction; those who felt uniqueness was valued were slightly less likely to intend to leave. The largest magnitude was with white workers (-0.09, SE -0.12--0.07, $p < 0.001$), followed by African-American/Black (-0.05, SE -0.08--0.02, $p < 0.001$), then Hispanic/Latino/a/AAPI/Multi-racial/Other (-0.04, SE 0.01, $p < 0.001$).

Similar results were found in belongingness. In all groups, feeling belongingness was modestly related to lower intent to leave. This was most pronounced in white workers (-0.08, SE -0.10--0.07, $p < 0.001$). The other two groups, African-American/Black and Hispanic/Latino/a/AAPI/Multi-racial/Other, had identical results to one another (-0.05, SE 0.01, $p < 0.001$).

As was the case in previous results, inclusion – having that combination of higher

scores in both uniqueness and belongingness – had a much stronger impact on intent to leave. While the relationship was negative in all groups; workers who felt inclusion were less likely to intend to leave. The highest magnitude was in white workers (-0.62, SE -0.82--0.41, $p<0.001$), followed by African-American/Black workers (-0.37, SE -0.63-0.12, $p<0.001$), then those who identified as Hispanic/Latino/a/AAPI/Multi-racial/Other (-0.24, SE 0.11, $p<0.001$). These post hoc results can be found in Tables 5 through 7 in Appendixes A through C.

Table 4. Multiple linear regression models for intent to leave (n=2,030)

Predictor Variables	Model 1 Demographics	Model 2a Uniqueness Main Effect	Model 2b Uniqueness Interaction	Model 3a Belongingness Main Effect	Model 3b Belongingness Interaction	Model 4a Inclusion Main Effect	Model 4b Inclusion Interaction
Age	Coeff(SE)	Coeff(SE)	Coeff(SE)	Coeff(SE)	Coeff(SE)	Coeff(SE)	Coeff(SE)
16-29	0.24	0.27	0.28	0.28	0.29	0.26	0.26
40-49	-0.20	-0.18	-0.17	-0.18	-0.17	-0.20	-0.19
50+	-0.21	-0.25	-0.25	-0.25	-0.25	-0.22	-0.22
Race							
African-American or Black	0.29	0.26	-0.48	0.23	-0.56	0.26	0.09
Hispanic or Latina/o	0.23	0.26	-0.78	0.24	-0.88	0.24	-0.05
Asian or American Indian or Pacific Islander	0.01	-0.02	-0.32	-0.03	0.48	-0.01	0.02
Multi-racial or Other	0.31	0.20	0.27	0.19	-0.33	0.26	0.27
Female	-0.22	-0.28	-0.28	-0.31	-0.31	-0.26	-0.26
Education							
HS or GED	-0.08	-0.07	-0.09	-0.13	-0.16	-0.12	-0.14
Some College or Associate's	0.05	0.11	0.10	0.04	0.03	0.05	0.04
Master's or PhD	0.17	0.14	0.14	0.12	0.12	0.15	0.15
Tenure							
Less than one	-0.20	-0.17	-0.17	-0.10	-0.10	-0.16	-0.16
1 to 2	0.11	0.14	0.13	0.18	0.18	0.15	0.15
6 to 10	0.14	0.10	0.11	0.07	0.08	0.11	0.11
11+	0.07	0.03	0.03	-0.03	-0.02	0.05	0.05
Conservatorship	-0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	-0.01	0.01	0.01
Uniqueness		-0.06	-0.09				
Belongingness				-0.06	-0.08		
Inclusion						-0.41	-0.61
Race*Uniqueness							
African-American or Black			0.04				
Hispanic or Latina/o			0.05				
Asian or American Indian or Pacific Islander			0.01				
Multi-racial or Other			-0.004				
Race*Belongingness							
African-American or Black					0.03		
Hispanic or Latina/o					0.04		

Asian or American Indian or Pacific Islander						-0.02	
Multi-racial or Other						0.02	
Race*Inclusion							
African-American or Black							0.24
Hispanic or Latina/o							0.40
Asian or American Indian or Pacific Islander							-0.08
Multi-racial or Other							-0.06
<i>B</i>	2.33	3.62	4.16	4.08	4.66	2.63	2.77
Adjusted R ² average ^a	0.03	0.07	0.08	0.09	0.09	0.06	0.06
Δ Adjusted R ² average		0.040	0.003	0.057	0.003	0.022	0.002

^a Average of Adjusted R² across ten imputations is indicated (min, max). ***p<0.001; **p < 0.01; *p <0.05. Significant estimates at p < 0.001 are bold

Intent to Remain

Hypothesis 2b was that public child welfare workers with higher uniqueness and belongingness scores (indicative of perceptions of higher levels of organizational inclusiveness) will be associated with more desire to remain with the agency for the next year. We used logistic regression to test for uniqueness (Model 2a) and belongingness (Model 3a). The additional model run on inclusion can be found in Model 4a. Significant positive results were found for all three. See Table 5 for full results.

When controlling for demographic variables, as perceptions that uniqueness is valued increased, so too did the odds that a worker would intend to remain (OR 1.20, 95% CI 1.14-1.25, $p < 0.001$). Very similar results were found for belongingness; as feelings of belongingness increased, the odds of a worker intending to remain increased (OR 1.17, 95% CI 1.13-1.21, $p < 0.001$). The effect of inclusion was larger; as perceptions of inclusion increased, intent to remain increased (OR 3.57, 95% CI 2.39-5.34, $p < 0.001$). It should be noted that though the confidence interval is wider in inclusion than in uniqueness and belongingness, even its most conservative estimate is still higher than the other two. In other words, the inclusion construct has the strongest impact on intent to remain.

Thus, Hypothesis 2a was supported. Belongingness, uniqueness, and inclusion have significant positive associations with intent to remain. When a worker feels belongingness or uniqueness, they are significantly more likely to intend to remain. When a worker has both belongingness *and* uniqueness – inclusion – the impact was much stronger than when a worker had one or the other. Thinking back to the two by two figure showing the inclusion framework, when we think of those who only feel

belongingness, we call this assimilation. They feel like an insider but only if they conform to dominant culture and downplay their own uniqueness. When they have only uniqueness, we have differentiation. They feel like an outsider but feel their unique characteristics are valuable, so they highlight those and differentiate themselves. When a worker has both, though, they have inclusion. These workers feel like insiders and also feel valued for their unique contributions for the group. They can bring their whole selves to the work, contribute in their own unique ways, and feel like an insider. There is a clear impact of being in this group. Workers who feel included are much more likely to intend to remain than those who are assimilating or differentiating. See Table 5 for full results.

Hypothesis 3b looked at how these constructs interacted with race, if at all. The hypothesis was that belongingness scores and uniqueness scores would have a larger significant positive effect on intent to remain in workers of color as compared to their white coworkers. We used logistic regression to test for the interaction with uniqueness (Model 2b) and belongingness (Model 3b) in Table 5. The additional model run on the inclusion interaction can be found in Model 4b.

No significant results were found for any of the three interactions, though the main effects in these models remained significant for uniqueness (OR 1.24, 95% CI 1.14-1.34, $p < 0.001$), belongingness (OR 1.21, 95% CI 1.14-1.28, $p < 0.001$), and inclusion (OR 5.36, 95% CI 2.56-11.23, $p < 0.001$). Looking at the confidence intervals, even if these interactions *had* been significant, they were so close to null as to have been rendered inconclusive. For example, when looking at the interaction between race and uniqueness on intent to leave, for African-American or Black workers, the confidence intervals

straddled the 1.00 mark, so we could not say with confidence whether they trended positive or negative (OR 0.95, 95% CI 0.85-1.07, $p>0.001$).

These results tell us that while the impact of inclusion on intent to remain does not significantly differ between workers of color and their white counterparts, inclusion *does* have a positive significant impact on intent to remain. In other words, regardless of racial background, when workers feel included, they are more likely to intend to remain with their agencies. Inclusion is good for all workers (Hwang & Hopkins, 2015; Mor Barak et al., 2016). Full results can be found in Table 5.

Post hoc analysis was run to stratify the results related to intent to remain by race to test whether direction, magnitude, and significance of effects varied by worker race.

For uniqueness, results were nearly identical in each of the three groups (here, white; African-American/Black; and Hispanic or Latino/a/AAPI/Multi-Racial/Other). In all groups, as perceptions that uniqueness is valued increased, so too did the odds that a worker would intend to remain. The largest magnitude was in white workers (OR 1.26, 95% CI 1.16-1.38, $p<0.001$), followed by African-American/Black (OR 1.21, 95% CI 1.10-1.34, $p<0.001$), then Hispanic or Latino/a/AAPI/Multi-Racial/Other (OR 1.20, 95% CI 1.10-1.30, $p<0.001$).

Similar results were found in belongingness. In all groups, as perceptions that belongingness is valued increased, so too did the odds that a worker would intend to remain. The odds ratios ranged from 1.24 (95% CI 1.15-1.33, $p<0.001$) in white workers to 1.18 (95% CI 1.10-1.27, $p<0.001$) in African-American/Black workers.

As was the case in previous analyses, inclusion scores were much higher than either uniqueness or belongingness. In all groups, as perceptions that inclusion increased,

so too did the odds that a worker would intend to remain. And again, the largest magnitude was with white workers (OR 7.10, 95% CI 3.14-16.04, $p<0.001$). This was followed by the still-large magnitude in African-American/Black workers (OR 4.24, 95% CI 1.18-9.59, $p<0.001$), then workers who were Hispanic or Latino/a/AAPI/Multi-Racial/Other (OR 3.10, 95% CI 1.60-6.00, $p<0.001$).

Post hoc analysis, then, shows us that while uniqueness and belongingness have similar impacts on intent to remain between the racial groups, the impact of inclusion is much more pronounced overall, and this is especially true for white workers. Full results can be found in Tables 8 through 10/Appendixes D through F.

Table 5. Multiple logistic regression models for intent to remain[†] (n=2,030)

Predictor Variables	Model 1 Demographics	Model 2a Uniqueness Main Effect	Model 2b Uniqueness Interaction	Model 3a Belongingness Main Effect	Model 3b Belongingness Interaction	Model 4a Inclusion Main Effect	Model 4b Inclusion Interaction
	OR (95% CI)	OR (95% CI)	OR (95% CI)	OR (95% CI)	OR (95% CI)	OR (95% CI)	OR (95% CI)
Age (compared to 30-39)							
16-29	0.618 (0.40-0.99)	0.52* (0.31-0.88)	0.52* (0.30-0.87)	0.53* (0.31-0.89)	0.52* (0.31-0.87)	0.56* (0.34-0.92)	0.56* (0.34-0.93)
40-49	1.28 (0.71-2.31)	1.31 (0.70-2.45)	1.28 (0.68-2.40)	1.44 (0.75-2.76)	1.43 (0.75-2.75)	1.27 (0.70-2.31)	1.21 (0.67-2.12)
50+	1.46 (0.74-2.88)	1.64 (0.78-3.46)	1.69 (0.79-3.59)	1.51 (0.74-3.08)	1.56 (0.76-3.22)	1.45 (0.73-2.89)	1.43 (0.72-2.87)
Race (compared to white)							
African-American or Black	0.79 (0.48-1.31)	1.03 (0.60-1.77)	2.30 (0.33-15.96)	0.98 (0.58-1.68)	2.91 (0.36-23.70)	0.86 (0.52-1.43)	1.05 (0.55-2.02)
Hispanic or Latina/o	0.81 (0.50-1.32)	0.74 (0.44-1.22)	1.51 (0.21-10.93)	0.80 (0.48-1.34)	1.90 (0.22-16.35)	0.79 (0.48-1.29)	1.11 (0.56-2.18)
Asian or American Indian or Pacific Islander	0.35 (0.10-1.24)	0.37 (0.10-1.39)	0.51 (0.00-78.08)	0.35 (0.09-1.32)	1.40 (0.01-278-71)	0.37 (0.10-1.32)	0.22* (0.05-0.96)
Multi-racial or Other	1.21 (0.36-4.13)	1.93 (0.44-8.49)	156.75 (0.04-591554.90)	1.46 (0.42-5.12)	23.05 (0.11-4628-38)	1.35 (0.39-4.62)	3.02 (0.38-23.88)
Female (compared to male)	1.33 (0.72-2.47)	1.45 (0.75-2.81)	1.47 (0.75-2.85)	1.63 (0.85-3.11)	1.62 (0.84-3.11)	1.53 (0.82-2.85)	1.56 (0.84-2.93)
Education (compared to Bachelor's)							
HS or GED	1.02 (0.24-4.39)	0.79 (0.18-3.47)	0.78 (0.18-3.46)	0.90 (0.20-4.10)	0.90 (0.20-4.01)	1.18 (0.27-5.11)	1.20 (0.28-5.23)
Some College or Associate's	0.67 (0.38-1.16)	0.77 (0.41-1.44)	0.77 (0.41-1.45)	0.79 (0.43-1.47)	0.78 (0.42-1.45)	0.66 (0.38-1.16)	0.68 (0.39-1.20)
Master's or PhD	0.54** (0.34-0.85)	0.58* (0.36-0.95)	0.58* (0.35-0.94)	0.60* (0.37-0.97)	0.59* (0.39-0.97)	0.57* (0.36-0.90)	0.57* (0.35-0.90)
Tenure (compared to 3 to 5)							
Less than one	1.16 (0.56-2.43)	1.14 (0.50-2.58)	1.15 (0.51-2.61)	0.90 (0.41-1.98)	0.91 (0.41-2.02)	0.97 (0.46-2.06)	0.94 (0.45-2.00)
1 to 2	0.73 (0.44-1.22)	0.66 (0.38-1.13)	0.68 (0.39-1.16)	0.59 (0.34-1.01)	0.60 (0.35-1.03)	0.62 (0.37-1.04)	0.61 (0.36-1.03)

6 to 10	0.85 (0.44-1.64)	0.91 (0.46-1.81)	0.91 (0.45-1.82)	1.05 (0.52-2.12)	1.05 (0.52-2.13)	0.92 (0.47-1.80)	0.93 (0.48-1.81)
11+	0.60 (0.29-1.23)	0.69 (0.32-1.48)	0.68 (0.31-1.46)	0.80 (0.37-1.73)	0.78 (0.36-1.69)	0.64 (0.31-1.32)	0.63 (0.31-1.32)
Conservatorship (compared to FBSS)	1.03 (0.68-1.55)	1.06 (0.69-1.64)	1.08 (0.70-1.66)	1.10 (0.71-1.69)	1.11 (0.72-1.72)	0.98 (0.65-1.49)	0.98 (0.64-1.48)
Uniqueness		1.20*** (1.14-1.25)	1.24*** (1.14-1.34)				
Belongingness				1.17*** (1.13-1.21)	1.21*** (1.14-1.28)		
Uniqueness						3.57*** (2.39-5.34)	5.36*** (2.56-11.23)
Race*Unique (comp white)							
African-American or Black		0.95 (0.85-1.07)					
Hispanic or Latina/o		0.96 (0.86-1.07)					
Asian or American Indian or Pac Islander		0.98 (0.74-1.31)					
Multi-racial or Other		0.79 (0.52-1.18)					
Race*Belonging (comp to white)							
African-American or Black				0.96 (0.88-1.04)			
Hispanic or Latina/o				0.96 (0.89-1.05)			
Asian or American Indian or Pac Isl				0.94 (0.77-1.16)			
Multi-racial or Other				0.89 (0.73-1.09)			
Race*Inclusion (comp to white)							
African-American or Black						0.63 (0.23-1.77)	
Hispanic or Latina/o						0.49 (0.18-1.30)	

Asian or American							
Indian or Pac Isl							
Multi-racial or							0.21
Other							(0.02-2.71)
<i>B</i>	2.75***	0.76	0.43	0.31	0.15*	11.06***	9.22***
(<i>Cons</i>)	(10.10-55.88)	(0.24-2.47)	(0.09-2.15)	(0.09-1.06)	(0.03-0.82)	(4.57-26.78)	(3.70-23.00)
Adjusted R ² average ^a	0.03	0.10		0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10
	(0.03,0.04)	(0.10,0.10)		(0.10,0.10)	(0.10,0.10)	(0.10,0.10)	(0.10,0.10)
Δ Adjusted R ² average		0.064		0.064	0.064	0.004	0.004

^a Average of Adjusted R² across ten imputations (min, max).

*** p<0.001; ** p < 0.01; *p <0.05; Significant estimates at p < 0.001 are bold

Discussion

Questions surrounding uniqueness, belongingness, inclusion, intent, and race are complicated. Some variables differ by race, including feelings of inclusion and intent to leave. Some do not significantly differ, as is the case with intent to remain. And while inclusion is significantly related to both intent to leave as well as intent to remain, this does not significantly vary by race (with one exception, as discussed below). Discerning what impacts intent to leave or remain and how inclusion differently impacts workers of color and white workers is ongoing and important work. The current paper aligns with previous research, differs in some ways, and contributes to the conversation about how the experiences of workers of color compare to their white counterparts, as discussed below.

Intent to Leave

Workers' intent to leave is negatively associated with uniqueness, belongingness, and inclusion, meaning that as perceptions of uniqueness, belongingness, and inclusion increase, intent to leave decreases. However, despite the fact that workers of color are significantly more likely to intend to remain and have significantly lower scores on uniqueness and belongingness, there were few interactions between them and race. This means that while workers of color score significantly differently on intent and inclusion, the interaction between them is not significantly different than it is for white workers.

The only exception was in Hispanic or Latina/or workers; in this group, as uniqueness, belongingness, and inclusion increased, these workers were more likely to intend to leave as compared to their white coworkers.

In this sample, increased feelings of uniqueness ($b=-0.06$, $SE\ 0.01$, $p<0.001$),

belongingness ($b=-0.06$, SE 0.01, $p<0.001$), and inclusion ($b=-0.41$, SE 0.06, $p<0.001$) are each significantly associated with decreased intent to leave. In other words, as uniqueness increases, for example, intent to leave decreases. When a worker feels their uniqueness is valued and that they can bring their whole selves to the workplace, they become less likely to intend to leave. Tenure was not significantly related to intent to leave. This is much strong when both uniqueness and belongingness are present – when they can be said to feel inclusion. When this is the case, and worker feels they can be themselves and also be an insider, they are even less likely to intend to leave.

When comparing how these constructs might differently impact intent to leave by racial group, almost no interactions were found. We know that workers of color are significantly more likely to intend to leave as compared to their white coworkers (see Table 1). They also feel significantly lower uniqueness and belongingness (see Tables 2 and 3). This is in keeping with the limited research in this area, which also found that these workers tend to feel less included in their “white-normed” organizations (Gosine & Pon, 2011). Hwang and Hopkins (2015) additionally found that workers of color were significantly more likely to intend to leave and felt less inclusion than did their white counterparts.

However, as compared to white workers, African-American or Black, Asian or American Indian or Pacific Islander, and Multi-racial or “Other” workers did not significantly differ in how uniqueness, belongingness, and inclusion effected intent to leave. In other words, these groups feel less included and more likely to wish to leave, but it is not feelings of inclusion that differently impact their intent to leave as compared to white workers.

This is in contrast to similar works that found that feeling less included played a role in higher rates of intent to leave in workers of color (Griffiths et al., 2017; Hopkins et al., 2010). However, some works did find an indirect link between inclusion and intent to leave. For example, Hwang and Hopkins (2012) found that racial identity and perceptions of inclusion were both significantly related to turnover intention and mediated by organizational commitment. Other authors cited additional factors, such as organizational commitment and job satisfaction (Brimhall et al., 2014; Faller et al., 2010). Similarly Hwang and Hopkins (2015) found that “workers’ minority status” was indirectly associated with intent to leave – when these workers perceived increased organizational inclusion, this increased organizational commitment or job satisfaction, which in turn decreased turnover intention.

This could be in keeping with the current work. While workers of color were significantly more likely to intend to leave and had significantly lower levels of uniqueness and inclusion, there was not an interaction between race and uniqueness, belongingness, and inclusion (with the exception of Hispanic or Latina/o workers, discussed below). It could be that, like the Hwang and Hopkins study, there is another mediating factor not accounted for in the current study. Like that study, that unaccounted-for variable could be job satisfaction and/or organizational commitment; it could additionally include other factors explored in similar retention studies, including self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997; Ellett, 2007) or the impact of secondary traumatic stress (Schuler et al., 2016). It could be these and/or something more specific to workers of color – perhaps perceptions of organizational commitment to social justice (Abramovitz & Zelnick, 2021).

The only group for whom there is an interaction between uniqueness, belongingness, and inclusion and race is in those who are Hispanic or Latina/o. As compared to white workers, increased feelings of uniqueness ($b=0.05$, SE 0.02, $p<0.01$), belongingness ($b=0.04$, $p<0.01$), and inclusion ($b=0.40$, SE 0.16, $p=0.01$) were associated with increased intent to leave. While uniqueness and belongingness were close to null, inclusion was not. With coefficients of 0.05 and 0.04, uniqueness and belongingness have minimal impact on intent to leave. However, when both are present – as in the variable inclusion, the coefficient is sizably larger at 0.40. This supports the theory that a worker needs both belongingness and uniqueness to feel inclusion and that both must be present to have an impact on intent.

It is feasible that this is unique to Texas and other states with larger proportions of Hispanic or Latina/o residents. Texas, for example, has about twice the national percentage of people who are “Hispanic or Latino” (39.7% as compared to 18.5% nationally). A third of this sample identified as Hispanic or Latina/o ($n=678$, only 22 fewer than identified as white). Further work should further explore this unique finding.

Intent to Remain

Belongingness, uniqueness, and inclusion have significant positive associations with intent to remain in this sample. The effect of inclusion was much larger; this suggests that similar to intent to leave, when a worker has both uniqueness *and* belongingness, they are more likely to feel included and intend to remain.

However, intent to remain is not significantly associated with any race/ethnicity. This conflicts with the scant literature in this area. For example, Lawrence and colleagues (2020) found that white workers were more likely to intend to remain than

their coworkers of color. This was despite the fact that workers of color had lower levels of burnout. Lawrence and colleagues suggested there may be different factors at play in intent to remain between workers of color and their white coworkers. This appears to be confirmed in the current study, which found no interaction between these variables and uniqueness, belongingness, or inclusion.

We know that workers of color have significantly lower scores on uniqueness and belongingness as compared to their white colleagues (see Tables 2 and 3). **We also know** that there is a positive significant relationship between these constructs and intent to remain in all workers. **We further know** that mean scores for intent to remain do not significantly differ between workers of color and white workers. Given the lack of interaction, **we can say** that while workers of color and white workers experience inclusion differently, there is no significant difference in how this might impact their intent to remain.

Inclusion positively impacts all workers' intent to remain, and this does not significantly vary by race. In other words, while workers of color differently experience inclusion, it does not have a statistically different impact on intent to remain as compared to white workers.

Inclusion is More Than the Sum of Its Parts

Inclusion, as discussed by Shore and colleagues (2011), consists of a worker feeling both uniqueness and belongingness. Those who only feel one or the other do not exhibit feelings of inclusion. For example, in this sample, while increased feelings of uniqueness ($b=-0.06$, SE 0.01, $p<0.001$) is associated with decreased intent to leave, as is belongingness ($b=-0.06$, SE 0.01, $p<0.001$), the impact of having both – feeling inclusion

– is much higher ($b=-0.41$, SE 0.06, $p<0.001$). Even with its larger effect size, inclusion has a stronger impact on intent than uniqueness or belongingness separately (its conservative SE is -0.35). This aligns with Shore and colleagues’ (2011) inclusion framework. Workers who feel both belongingness and uniqueness fall into the “inclusion quadrant” (see again Figure 2). Those who feel only one or the other (or neither) fall into one of the other three quadrants: exclusion, assimilation, or differentiation. So, workers who felt uniqueness (differentiation quadrant) were slightly less likely to leave. Workers who felt belongingness (assimilation) were slightly less likely to leave. But when workers felt both uniqueness being valued and also felt belongingness (inclusion), they were much less likely to intend to leave.

However, despite literature suggesting otherwise, no interaction was found between inclusion and race in either intent to remain or intent to leave (with the exception of Hispanic or Latina/o workers). Feelings of inclusion do not significantly differently impact workers of color as compared to white workers (with the noted exception). This does align with other works that suggest that inclusive environments are good for all workers. Existing research suggests that less inclusive workplaces tend to have higher rates of employee turnover, both among workers of color as well as with white workers (Hwang & Hopkins, 2015; Mor Barak et al., 2016). Inclusion, then, remains an important organizational goal. As demonstrated here and in previous research, inclusion reduces turnover and increases retention for workers regardless of racial background.

Limitations and Future Work

As a cross-sectional quantitative study, we cannot infer causation or explore in depth questions about why workers are having these experiences. For example, some research has

indicated that workers of color may feel less comfort with their job over time (Faller et al., 2009). It could be illuminating to conduct longitudinal studies with workers of color or to use the current cross-sectional data set to compare newer workers with those who have been with the agency longer to determine whether time is an additional factor at play.

Terminology surrounding race is also problematic. While language use to discuss people of different racial backgrounds is evolving, the current study is bound by the terms used in the instrument. Here, for example, the categories are White, African-American or Black, Hispanic or Latina/o, Asian or American Indian or Pacific Islander, or “Multi-racial or Other.” One issue is that “Hispanic or Latino/a” treats ethnicity as a race and does not differentiate between “Hispanic White” and “Hispanic Non-White.” It is possible that this lack of specificity accounts for lower levels of dissatisfaction in “Hispanic” respondents – those who identify as people of color *and* Hispanic or Latinx may have different perceptions of the culture and organization than do their white counterparts. The lack of clarification of the race of those who identify as Hispanic or Latina/o could be impacting the results. The Census Bureau states that Hispanics may be of any race and are included in multiple race categories and indicates that those who are “white alone” comprise 61.6% and those who are “Hispanic” make up 18.7% (U.S. Census Bureau QuickFacts, n.d.). In this sample, however, “white” workers and “Hispanic or Latina/o” workers each make up about a third of the respondents. This lack of accurate choices could additionally be part of the reason that 4.4% of the sample (n=94) did not answer this item.

There may also be concerns related to statistical power, especially in the area of intent to remain. Only 5.57% (n=113) of the sample reported not intending to remain (with 7.34% not answering). Of those, only 47 were African-American or Black, 53

Hispanic or Latina/o, 4 Asian or American Indian or Pacific Islander or Multi-racial, and 6 Multi-Racial or Other. Future work should include larger samples of workers of color or, less ideal, dichotomize this variable to compare workers of color with those who are not.

Implications

Workplaces that are less inclusive tend to have higher rates of employee turnover for all workers (Hwang & Hopkins, 2015; Mor Barak et al., 2016). Inclusion, then, is good for workers regardless of race. So, too, is a diverse and representative workforce (Mor Barak et al., 2016).

Public child welfare agencies have prioritized hiring a more racially diverse workforce (Mor Barak et al., 2016; Texas Department of Family and Protective Services, n.d.-a). However, recruiting more workers of color, without working toward a more inclusive organizational culture, can lead to higher turnover in precisely these workers whom agencies seek to retain (Shore et al., 2011). Workers of color who point out microaggressions, for example, may be perceived as “rocking the boat” in an organization that does not value uniqueness and insights that highlight its built-in biases.

Retaining these workers and building a more inclusive organizational culture has the potential to move closer to racial equity in public child welfare (Lawrence et al., 2020). Knowing more about the experiences of these workers is necessary for public child welfare leaders and decision-makers as they strive to build more just and equitable organizations. This work sheds light on how workers’ feelings of belongingness and freedom to be themselves impacts their intent to remain or stay and how this might vary for workers of color in this “white normed” environment. Namely, it is also noted that

while workers of color feel less included and are more likely to intend to leave as compared to their white counterparts, inclusion does not have a significantly different impact on their decision. **This tells us that other factors are at play**; perhaps including job satisfaction, organizational commitment, self-efficacy, secondary traumatic stress, and/or perceptions of organizational commitment to social justice (Abramovitz & Zelnick, 2021; Bandura, 1997; Ellett, 2007; Hwang & Hopkins, 2012; Mor Barak, 2015; Mor Barak et al., 2016; Schuler et al., 2016).

Listening to these workers can help organizations better support and retain them, potentially leading to better organizational health and client outcomes. Their retention may even improve the outcomes of families of color in particular, as there is some evidence that suggests that “ethnic matching” between workers and clients may be related to better case outcomes (Chenot et al., 2019; McBeath et al., 2014; Ryan et al., 2006; Sawrikar, 2013).

In the interim, administrators should continue working on organizational inclusion with the goal not only of seeing no differences in feelings of inclusion between workers of color and their white counterparts (equality) but that all workers feel included as opposed to not (equity).

Organizational inclusion is good for workers of all racial identities and backgrounds; workers of color and white workers alike have been found to be more satisfied and less likely to leave when they perceive higher levels of organizational inclusion (Hwang & Hopkins, 2015). We know that workers of color are not significantly less likely to intend to remain, and this is a possible strengths-based place from which to build. Perhaps the factors that contribute to retention are positive and

common in all employees. Future qualitative research to learn more about the nature of inclusion, how it differs between races, and intent to leave or remain would be helpful in order to understand their nuances and how decision-makers can adequately respond.

Chapter IV: Organizational Support and Public Child Welfare Supervisors

Introduction

Retention of public child welfare workers is an ongoing concern for agencies and policymakers (DePanfilis & Zlotnik, 2008; McGowan et al., 2009; Mor Barak et al., 2001; Moss & Moss, 1967; Wilke et al., 2018). Retention of these workers is associated with better outcomes for families, including lower rates of termination recidivism (Cheng & Lo, 2016b, 2019a). Turnover, on the other hand, is associated with poorer family outcomes, including higher rates of termination; lowered morale of coworkers left behind with higher caseloads and having to take on cases midway through; and high costs to the agency (Cheng & Lo, 2016; Kim & Stoner, 2008; National Child Welfare Workforce Institute, n.d.). One of the major factors impacting a worker's intent to stay with or leave an agency ("intent") is the quality of the supervisory relationship, which is seen as one of the vital components of a healthy child welfare workforce (National Child Welfare Workforce Institute, 2019; Kim & Kao, 2014). Positive experiences with supervisors are correlated with higher rates of retention (Griffiths, Desrosiers, et al., 2019). From this relationship, a worker can derive professional guidance, clinical skills, case support, and a supportive interpersonal relationship (McCrae et al., 2015; Mor Barak et al., 2001; Mor Barak et al., 2009). Supervisors in themselves are also important – not just as they relate to workers. They tend to be more experienced workers in whom the agency has invested a great deal of resources. Retention of supervisors, vital on their own and in their strong contributions to employee retention and organizational health, is an important piece in addressing intent in the frontline workers they supervise (McCrae et al., 2015).

Literature Review

As is the case in many states, public child welfare supervisors in Texas manage frontline workers and, also serve as their link with upper level management. In Texas, supervisors comprise approximately 15% of the public child welfare workforce (Texas Department of Family and Protective Services, 2019a). However, they are rarely the focus of research on retention, and they are often grouped with workers when they are included (Brabson et al., 2019). Some notable works that do focus specifically on supervisors have found that organizational factors, including job stress, supervisory support, pay and benefits, salary and recognition, communication in the agency, and opportunities for promotion, have been linked to supervisors' turnover intent. These vital employees also reported lower job satisfaction than both their workers as well as their own supervisors (Griffiths, Murphy, et al., 2019; H. Kim & Kao, 2014a). Despite – or perhaps in spite of – the pressures, some supervisors have reported an intent to remain (Ausbrooks, 2010). Learning more about variables associated with intent to leave or remain with their agency is vital both to maintaining this large portion of the public child welfare workforce as well as the frontline workers they support.

Organizational Factors and Intent to Leave

A factor often linked to both supervisors' and workers' intent to leave or remain is how they perceive organizational support (Carpenter et al., 2013). In their study of retention and job satisfaction with 111 child welfare supervisors, McCrae and colleagues (2015) found significant relationships between job satisfaction and job stress and intent to leave. In that work, job satisfaction measured feelings of accomplishment and appreciation and was found to have a significant negative relationship with intent to

leave. These supervisors also reported high levels of job stress, which for them had a significant positive relationship with intent to leave.

Similarly, Griffiths and colleagues (2019) surveyed 117 child welfare supervisors on how job satisfaction was related to intent to leave, if at all. Supervisors indicated significant dissatisfaction with multiple factors in the job satisfaction scale, such as salary and recognition. Two organizational factors, dissatisfaction with workload and administrative support, significantly predicted that supervisors planned to leave within the next 12 months. These factors are examined in the current study as well, and we similarly find that these factors were associated with intent to leave in supervisors.

Organizational Factors and Intent to Remain

Focusing instead on retention, rather than turnover intention, Ausbrooks' (2010) qualitative study asked 50 Texas public child welfare supervisors about their stressors and why they remained with the agency. She found that respondents' primary stressors were related to organizational climate. This included having limited autonomy, high caseloads, lack of resources, "having no input" in decision-making, and general lack of organizational support. This in turn contributed to job satisfaction and burnout, which are often associated with turnover intent. However, for these supervisors, the negative agency climate "appears to serve as a bonding agent, which allows the supervisors to experience a sense of camaraderie and belonging," leading them to remain "in spite of" lack of organizational support (Ausbrooks, 2010, p. 57).

Supervisors as Compared to Workers

Public child welfare supervisors are typically either not included in research on retention or are grouped in with ongoing workers; either way, their unique voices rarely

stand alone (Carpenter et al., 2013; Falk, 2021). When we do hear from them, it is clear that they experience their workplace differently. Like workers, they often have direct interactions with clients and experience the accompanying stressors. Additionally, though, they are responsible for a team of workers and their cases and also carry administrative responsibilities (Collins-Camargo, 2013). Theirs is a distinctive position within the agency.

Findings from a study of 151 child welfare supervisors by Strand and Dore (2009) illustrated the unique experiences of supervisors succinctly. They found that as compared to their frontline workers as well as their own supervisors, they had the lowest levels of job satisfaction, which is often linked with turnover intention (Griffiths, Murphy, et al., 2019; Kim & Kao, 2014). These supervisors indicated particular dissatisfaction with their own supervisory support, pay and benefits, communication in the agency, and opportunities for promotion. However, many questions remain as there is still a sparse body of literature examining what impacts child welfare supervisors' intent to stay with or leave an agency.

Gaps in the Literature

Little empirical knowledge is available related to public child welfare supervisors' experiences and what inform their decisions to leave or remain with their agencies. There are substantive and methodological gaps in the research base on these topics, as discussed below.

Substantive Gaps. The majority of research involving supervisors either focuses on their supervisory skills or groups them with frontline workers in studies of intent to leave or remain (McCrae et al., 2015). However, their roles are different, and they may

experience and contribute to turnover in ways not currently known (Brabson et al., 2019). For example, one study of 73 administrators and 247 clinicians at 29 child-serving public behavioral health organizations found that these two groups had significantly different views on organizational culture and climate (Beidas et al., 2018). Administrators reported more positive organizational climate, specifically finding their organizations to be more proficient, more functional, and less rigid than did the workers. This lack of concordance, which could potentially impact work group functioning, is especially notable in the current study as it highlights the necessity of separately analyzing these two groups rather than seeing them as a monolith.

Given the important role these supervisors can play in frontline workers' intent to stay or leave means that these workers could be quite vulnerable to decreased job commitment and increased turnover when they experience supervisor turnover (Smith, 2005). Understanding what is associated with supervisor intent to stay or leave is vital and currently understudied (Ausbrooks, 2010). Some exceptions in recent years, discussed above, have identified similar intention predictors to those of frontline workers, including organizational factors such as job satisfaction and quality of supervision.

Methodological Gaps. These studies have fairly low sample sizes, ranging from around 50 to 151 respondents (Ausbrooks, 2010; Griffiths et al., 2019; McCrae et al., 2015; Strand & Dore, 2009). Of those, only one compared supervisors with their frontline workers (Strand & Dore, 2009), and none had data specifically asking about workers' intent to leave, as well as their intent to remain. Using a supervisor sample size two to three times larger than these (n=313), and with comparison to frontline workers (n=2,030), this research seeks to add knowledge about how perceived organizational

support can impact supervisors' intent to either leave or remain with their agency.

Theoretical Framework

This research will utilize the Perceived Organizational Support Theory (Eisenberger et al., 1986), which posits that a worker's perception of how the organization supports them is directly related to a variety of worker outcomes, including intent to leave or remain with the organization (Strolin et al., 2006). Perceived Organizational Support neatly combines some of the major organizational factors often examined in child welfare agency research, as noted above. These include autonomy, distribution of resources, input in decision-making (Ausbrooks, 2010); appreciation, job stress (McCrae et al., 2015), supervisory support, pay and benefits, communication within the agency (Strand & Dore, 2009); salary, recognition (Griffiths et al., 2019); and workloads (Ausbrooks, 2010; Griffiths et al., 2019). In the Perceived Organizational Support framework, these all fall under three general categories: fairness, supervisor support, and organizational rewards and job conditions (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Using the Perceived Organizational Support framework, this study builds on existing research in identifying how the multi-faceted idea of perceived organizational support contributes to supervisors' intentions to either leave or remain with their agencies.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Building on this growing body of literature, the purpose of the current study is to better understand the relationship between perceived organizational support and intent to leave or remain among public child welfare supervisors, if any. As such, the primary question is:

- Q3: To what extent does perceived organizational support impact public child welfare supervisors' intent to leave or remain with their agency, if any, and

how does this compare with frontline workers, in a statewide sample of public child welfare employees?

Hypotheses for this study are:

- Hypothesis 1: Perceived organizational support will be stronger in supervisors than in workers.
- Hypothesis 2: Perceived organizational support will be significantly and negatively related to public child welfare supervisors' intent to leave.
- Hypothesis 3: Perceived organizational support will have a stronger (negative) relationship with intent to leave in public child welfare workers as compared to public child welfare supervisors.
- Hypothesis 4: Perceived organizational support will be significantly and positively related with public child welfare supervisors' intent to remain.
- Hypothesis 5: Perceived organizational support will have a stronger (positive) relationship with intent to remain in public child welfare workers as compared to public child welfare supervisors.

Methods

Design

Stata/SE 16.1 for Windows was used to run descriptive statistics to summarize demographic characteristics of the sample and then to conduct multiple logistic regression on two binary outcome variables. This study uses secondary data from a cross-sectional statewide sample of public child welfare supervisors (n=313) and frontline workers (n=2,030) in Texas.

Sample

As discussed in the introduction, data for this study were collected in 2018 by the Institute for Organizational Excellence at the Steve Hicks School of Social Work at The University of Texas at Austin. This data was provided for this study through a direct

request to the institute, and written permission to analyze and publish was provided.

All child protective services employees in the state of Texas were invited to take this survey, including administrative workers, frontline workers, and leadership. For the purpose of this study, only supervisors and ongoing workers involved in direct work with children and families were included; these include “conservatorship” (CVS) workers who work with families whose children were removed due to severe abuse and/or neglect as well as “family based safety services” (FBSS) workers whose clients are families whose children are still with them but serious concerns about abuse and/or neglect are present. Investigators, workers who initially respond to reports of maltreatment but do not carry ongoing caseloads, were excluded from this sample because they are in a separate part of the agency, and their workplace culture is likely to be different from those of CVS and FBSS workers.

Of the approximately 3,767 CVS and FBSS ongoing workers and supervisors asked to complete this survey, about 70% responded (n=2,629). For this paper, those who did not indicate whether they were ongoing workers or supervisors (n=56) were dropped, as were those who were within two years of retirement or who did not answer (n=130), and those who did not indicate “race/ethnic identification” (n=100). This resulted in a new sample size of 2,343. Of those, 2,030 (86.64%) were ongoing workers and 313 (13.36%) were supervisors. Descriptive statistics can be found below in Table 2.

The supervisor sample size is fairly small (n=313), though it is higher than previous studies, which range from around 50 to 151 supervisor respondents (Ausbrooks, 2010; Griffiths et al., 2019; McCrae et al., 2015; Strand & Dore, 2009). Even so, with a sample size of 313, both outcome variables were dichotomized. Intent to remain is

already binary; it is derived from the yes/no question, “I plan to be working for this organization in one year.” Intent to leave, derived from the Likert-scaled question, “I am actively seeking primary employment outside of DFPS,” was recoded to binary outcomes. Those who responded “strongly agree” or “agree” were coded as “yes,” and those who were neutral or answered “disagree” or “strongly disagree” were coded as “no.”

Predictor variables include perceived organizational support as a single factor as well as each of its three subconstructs – fairness, supervisor support, and organizational rewards and job conditions – separately (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Detailed information about testing and decisions surrounding the makeup of these constructs can be found in Paper Two. Questions used for these constructs can be found in Table 3 below.

Covariates include race, gender, age, education, job type, and length of tenure at the agency, as previous studies suggest these impact perceptions of organizational support as well as intent to leave or remain (Faller et al., 2010; Griffiths et al., 2017; Landsman, 2008; Strolin et al., 2006).

As was the case with the outcome variables, these covariates had to be collapsed due to small numbers of supervisor respondents in certain categories. For example, only nine supervisors were aged 16 to 29; this was too small for the purposes of multiple imputation. As such, race became “people of color” and “white” (was African-American or Black; Hispanic or Latina/o; Asian or American Indian or Pacific Islander; and “Multi-racial or Other”). Age became “16 to 39” and “40+” (previously 16 to 29; 30 to 39; 40 to 49; 50+). Education is now “HS, GED, Some College, Associate’s, or Bachelor’s” and

“Master’s or PhD” (originally high school or GED; some college or Associate’s; Bachelor’s degree; and Master’s or PhD). Length of tenure was dichotomized to “0 to 2 years” and “3+ years” (was less than one; 1 to 2; 3 to 4; 5 to 10; 11+). Descriptive statistics on these variables can be found in Table 2.

Data Analysis

Stata/SE 16.1 for Windows was used to run descriptive statistics to summarize demographic characteristics of the sample and then to conduct data analysis. This study uses secondary data from a cross-sectional statewide sample of public child welfare workers and supervisors in Texas (n=2,343).

Before data analysis began, missing data were checked. As part of data cleaning, respondents who did not answer at least 70% of the questions of interest were removed listwise (n=3). Afterward, Little’s test (1988) was used to determine whether data were missing completely at random for the remaining respondents. This test was significant ($p < 0.001$), indicating the data was not missing completely at random. Multiple imputation by chained equations was then used to handle missing data; this is discussed in more detail in Paper Two.

Multicollinearity was also tested for by examining correlation matrixes. Any values below 0.60 are considered acceptable. The only values above this cutoff are among perceived organizational support and its constructs; this is expected as they are comprised of the same variables. No other indication of concerning multicollinearity appears. Results can be found in Table 1.

Table 1. Correlation Matrixes for All Variables

	Seek- ing	Age	Educ	Race	Gender	Service	Job Type	POS*	Fair- ness	Super- visor
Seeking										
Age	-0.13									
Education	0.04	0.07								
Race	-0.08	-0.01	0.0001							
Gender	0.05	0.02	0.06	-0.02						
Service	-0.07	0.37	0.04	-0.01	-0.06					
Job Type	0.02	0.02	0.01	-0.06	0.01	-0.04				
POS*	-0.04	-0.14	-0.06	0.02	0.07	-0.20	0.01			
Fairness	-0.03	-0.12	-0.06	0.01	0.09	-0.19	0.002	0.91		
Supervisor	-0.07	-0.12	-0.06	0.02	0.04	-0.12	-0.03	0.84	0.67	
OrgRewards	0.01	-0.12	-0.02	0.01	0.05	-0.20	0.05	0.81	0.66	0.46

* Note that perceived organizational support, an overall construct, is highly correlated with its three subconstructs

Multiple logistic regression was used to model the relationship between intent to leave and perceived organizational support (and, separately, its subconstructs) for workers and for supervisors. Analysis proceeded incrementally to evaluate the novel effect of these constructs as well as demographics. A total of five models were run to learn about the relationships between these variables and intent to leave. Model 1 included demographic variables for each group: workers and supervisors. For models two and three, two version were run: one with perceived organization support as a single construct (version a) and one with perceived organizational support separated into three subconstructs (version b). Models 3a and 3b added an interaction between their respective constructs and job role (ongoing workers vs supervisor) in order to test whether the impact of the constructs on intent to leave differs between workers and supervisors. These results are shown in Table 4.

Because the sample size of supervisors is fairly small (n=313), p values are set at equal to or less than 0.01 in order to minimize the possibility of accepting a false positive.

All above steps (Models 1, 2a, 2b, 3a, and 3b) were repeated using multiple

logistic regression with intent to remain (binary outcomes of “yes” and “no”) as the outcome variable rather than intent to leave. Those results are shown in Table 5.

Results

This study uses data collected from public child welfare workers in Texas who work directly with families (n=2,030) and their supervisors (n=313) (see Table 2 for descriptive statistics). About two-thirds of ongoing workers were people of color (65.52%), as were just more than half of supervisors (55.91%). Most identified as female (85.62%). Supervisors tended to be older; 49.20% were aged 40 years or over as compared to 34.60% of ongoing workers. The majority of ongoing workers had education up to a Bachelor’s degree (79.95%) while nearly half of the supervisors had a Master’s or doctorate (field of study unspecified) (40.89%). Most supervisors had tenure of three or more years (96.81%) as compared to 55.27% of ongoing workers.

Intent to leave and remain were similar in workers and supervisors; their results were not significantly different from one another. When asked if they were actively seeking primary employment outside DFPS, 18.37% (n=373) of workers indicated that they were as compared to 17.89% (n=56) of supervisors ($\chi^2=0.05(1)$, $p=0.825$). When asked if they planned to be working for the organization in one year, 87.09% (n=1,768) said they were as compared to 91.37% (n=286) of supervisors ($\chi^2=2.54(1)$, $p=0.11$). Descriptive statistics can be found below in Table 2.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics (n=2,343)

	Workers (n=2,030, 86.64%)		Supervisors (n=313, 13.36%)		Total (n=2,343)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Racial Identity						
People of Color [†]	1,330	65.52%	175	55.91%	1,505	64.23%
White	700	34.48%	138	44.09%	838	35.77%
Gender						
Female	1,746	86.01%	260	83.07%	2,006	85.62%
Male	193	9.51%	28	8.95%	221	9.43%
Not reported	91	4.48%	25	7.99%	116	4.95%
Age (in years)						
16-39	1,274	62.76%	154	49.20%	1,428	60.95%
40+	739	34.60%	154	49.20%	893	38.11%
Not reported	17	0.84%	5	1.60%	22	0.94%
Education						
HS, GED, Some College, Associate's, or Bachelor's	1,623	79.95%	184	58.79%	1,807	77.12%
Master's or PhD	399	19.66%	128	40.89%	527	22.49%
Not reported	8	0.39%	1	0.32%	9	0.38%
Tenure (in years)						
0 to 2	883	43.50%	8	2.56%	891	38.03%
3+ years	1,122	55.27%	303	96.81%	1,425	60.82%
Not reported	25	1.23%	2	0.64%	27	1.15%
Job Role						
Conservatorship	1,372	67.59%	214	68.37%	1,586	67.69%
FBSS	658	32.41%	99	31.63%	757	32.31%
	n	%	n	%	χ^2 (df)	p for difference
Intent to Leave ^{††}					0.05(1)	0.825
0/No	1,498	73.79%	233	74.44%		
1/Yes	373	18.37%	56	17.89%		
Not reported	159	7.83%	24	7.67%		
Intent to Remain ^{††}					2.54(1)	0.11
0/No	113	5.57%	11	3.51%		
1/Yes	1,768	87.09%	286	91.37%		
Not reported	149	7.34%	16	5.11%		

[†] Includes those who identify as African-American or Black; Hispanic or Latina/o; Asian or American Indian or Pacific Islander; and Multi-racial or Other"

^{††} χ^2 was used to determine whether the means on the indicated outcome variables were significant different between ongoing workers and supervisors.

Hypothesis One was that perceived organizational support would be stronger in supervisors than in workers. Student's t-test showed that there was indeed a significant difference in how ongoing workers and supervisors answered this and other items. However, in the overall construct as well as in all three subconstructs, supervisors had significantly lower scores. For example, supervisors perceived less organizational support (mean=3.69, SD 0.61) than did ongoing workers (mean=3.88, SD 0.72) ($p<0.001$). This was also the case for most of the questions within these constructs. For example, for the item, "The amount of work I am asked to do is reasonable," supervisors' mean score was 2.84 (SD 1.17) on a scale of one to five, where lower scores indicate less agreement. This is compared to ongoing workers' mean of 3.16 (SD 1.22) ($t=-4.45$, $p<0.001$). These results are shown in Table 3, below.

Table 3. Questions related to perceived organizational support construct (n=2,343)

Question	Perc Org Support Category*	Ongoing Worker Mean (SD) (n=2,030)	Supervisor** Mean (SD) (n=313)	<i>p for difference</i>	
The communications I receive at work are timely and informative.	Fairness	3.86 (0.98)	3.61 (0.87)	-4.30	0.00
I am treated fairly in my workplace.	Fairness	4.00 (0.91)	3.91 (0.75)	-1.65	0.10
<i>Fairness Subconstruct</i>	<i>Fairness</i>	<i>3.94 (0.85)</i>	<i>3.77 (0.68)</i>	<i>-3.45</i>	<i>0.00</i>
My supervisor evaluates my performance fairly.	SS	4.13 (1.02)	3.90 (0.996)	-3.71	0.00
My supervisor provides me w/a clear understanding of my work responsibilities.	SS	4.24 (0.95)	4.19 (0.79)	-0.83	0.41
<i>Supervisor Support Subconstruct</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>4.20 (0.89)</i>	<i>4.05 (0.79)</i>	<i>-2.87</i>	<i>0.00</i>
I feel I am paid fairly for the work I do.	Org RJC	2.82 (1.24)	2.35 (1.13)	-6.24	0.00
I believe I have a career with this organization.	Org RJC	3.99 (0.94)	4.04 (0.86)	0.94	0.35
Training is made available to me so that I can do my job better.	Org RJC	4.07 (0.88)	3.96 (0.77)	-2.04	0.04
The amount of work I am asked to do is reasonable.	Org RJC	3.16 (1.22)	2.84 (1.17)	-4.45	0.00
I am confident that I have job security.	Org RJC	3.43 (1.16)	3.17 (1.17)	-3.67	0.00
<i>Org Rewards and Job Conditions Subconstruct</i>	<i>Org RJC</i>	<i>3.50 (0.78)</i>	<i>3.27 (0.72)</i>	<i>-4.89</i>	<i>0.00</i>
Overall Construct		3.88 (0.72)	3.69 (0.61)	-4.27	0.00

* Perceived Organizational Support consists of fairness, supervisor support (“SS”), and organizational rewards and job conditions (“Org RJC”)

** Supervisors are supervised by program directors and receive regular supervision and feedback.

Student’s t-test was used to determine whether the means on the indicated outcome variables were significant different between ongoing workers and supervisors. Those with $p < 0.001$ are indicated in bold

Intent to Leave

Our second hypothesis was that perceived organizational support will be significantly and negatively related with public child welfare supervisors' intent to leave. We used logistic regression to test the perceived organizational support construct as well as its three subconstructs in Models 2a and 2b respectively. We found that there was no significant relationship between perceived organizational support and supervisors' intent to leave. Neither was a significant relationship found between any of the three subconstructs and supervisors' intent to leave. Hypothesis two was not supported.

Our third hypothesis was that perceived organizational support will have a stronger (negative) relationship with intent to leave in public child welfare workers as compared to public child welfare supervisors. As with hypothesis two, we used logistic regression to test the perceived organizational support construct as well as its three subconstructs in Models 2a and 2b respectively.

Only one significant relationship was found in these constructs for workers; for this group, as perceived *supervisor support* increased, the risk of intent to leave decreased (OR 0.74, 95% CI 0.62-0.88, $p=0.001$). As there were no significant relationships found with supervisors, hypothesis three was not supported.

For workers, across the models, coefficients for age, race, and tenure remained fairly stable such that even when controlling for other demographic variables as well as perceived organizational support, younger workers (as compared to those 40 and older), workers of color (as compared to white workers), and less tenured workers (as compared to those with three or more years of service) were more likely to intend to leave. There was no significant relationship in these variables for supervisors. Results can be found

below in Table 4.

Table 4. Multiple logistic regression models for variables predicting intent to *leave* (worker n=2,030) (supervisor n=313)

Predictor Variables	Model 1		Model 2a		Model 2b		Model 3a	Model 3b
	OR		OR		OR		OR	
	(95% CI)		(95% CI)		(95% CI)		(95% CI)	(95% CI)
	Workers	Supervisors	Workers	Supervisors	Workers	Supervisors	Entire Sample	Entire Sample
Age (as compared to 40+)								
16-39	1.93***	1.40	1.98***	1.41	2.00***	1.39	1.89***	1.90***
	(1.47-2.54)	(0.75-2.63)	(1.50-2.60)	(0.75-2.65)	(1.52-2.64)	(0.74-2.61)	(1.46-2.43)	(1.47-2.46)
Race (as compared to white)								
People of Color	1.47**	1.59	1.48**	1.56	1.47**	1.59	1.48**	1.49**
	(1.15-1.90)	(0.84-3.00)	(1.14-1.89)	(0.82-2.95)	(1.14-1.89)	(0.84-3.04)	(1.17-1.87)	(1.18-1.88)
Female (as compared to male)								
Female	0.72	0.71	0.71	0.66	0.70	0.64	0.71	0.70
	(0.51-1.04)	(0.28-1.81)	(0.49-1.01)	(0.25-1.71)	(0.49-1.01)	(0.25-1.68)	(0.50-0.99)	(0.50-0.98)
Education (compared to HS, GED, Some college, Associate's, or Bachelor's)								
Master's or PhD	1.25	1.17	1.22	1.16	1.22	1.16	1.22	1.22
	(0.95-1.64)	(0.62-2.22)	(0.93-1.61)	(0.61-2.20)	(0.93-1.61)	(0.61-2.19)	(0.95-1.56)	(0.95-1.56)
Tenure (as compared to 3+)								
0 to 2 years	1.44**	1.58	1.51**	1.60	1.45**	1.60	1.51***	1.45**
	(1.14-1.81)	(0.30-8.43)	(1.19-1.90)	(0.30-8.58)	(1.15-1.83)	(0.30-8.64)	(1.20-1.90)	(1.15-1.83)
Conservatorship (compared to FBSS)								
Conservatorship	1.03	0.59	1.03	0.59	1.08	0.58	0.96	1.00
	(0.80-1.33)	(0.08-0.87)	(0.80-1.33)	(0.50-1.34)	(0.84-1.39)	(0.32-1.08)	(0.76-1.22)	(0.79-1.26)
Perceived Organizational Support			0.82	0.82			0.83	
			(0.70-0.96)	(0.50-1.34)			(0.51-1.34)	
POS Subconstructs								
Fairness					0.97	0.72		0.75
					(0.77-1.21)	(0.39-1.32)		(0.41-1.36)
Supervisor Support					0.74**	1.09		1.10
					(0.62-0.88)	(0.67-1.76)		(0.68-1.76)
Org Rewards & Job Conditions					1.19	1.05		1.01
					(0.96-1.45)	(0.60-1.82)		(0.59-1.73)
Job Role*POS							0.99	
							(0.59-1.64)	
Job Role ^a *POS Subconstructs								
Role * Fairness								1.29
								(0.68-2.46)
Role * Supervisor Support								0.69
								(0.42-1.15)
Role * Org Rewards & Job Cond								1.17
								(0.66-2.07)
Cons	0.13***	0.27	0.27**	0.60	0.26**	0.63	0.34	0.34
	(0.08-0.20)	(0.08-0.87)	(0.13-0.59)	(0.06-6.28)	(0.12-0.55)	(0.06-6.7)	(0.05-2.19)	(0.05-2.21)
Pseudo R ² average ^a	0.029	0.053	0.032	0.055	0.039	0.058	0.031	0.037
	(0.027-0.033)	(0.046-0.067)	(0.029-0.035)	(0.048-0.069)	(0.035-0.042)	(0.049-0.070)	(0.027-0.034)	(0.033-0.040)
Δ Pseudo R ² average			0.003	0.002	0.007	0.005	-0.013	-0.012

^a Average of the Pseudo R² across ten imputations (min, max). *** p<0.001; ** p < 0.01; Significant estimates at p < 0.001 are bold

Intent to Remain

Our fourth hypothesis was that perceived organizational support will be significantly and positively related with public child welfare supervisors' intent to remain. We used logistic regression to test intent to remain and perceived organizational support construct as well as its three subconstructs in Models 2a and 2b respectively.

A significant and positive relationship was found between a supervisor's perceived organizational support and intent to remain; for supervisors, as perceived organizational support increased, the "risk" of intent to remain for supervisors increased (OR 8.08, 95% CI 0.00-1.51, $p < 0.001$). Similarly, a significant positive relationship was found between a supervisor's perceptions of organizational rewards and job conditions. As these perceptions increased, the "risk" of a supervisor's intent to remain increased (OR 9.42, 95% CI 2.58-34.37, $p < 0.001$). In other words, organizational support is important for supervisors. When supervisors feel supported, they are more likely to intend to remain. This is true of organizational support generally and also particularly in the subconstruct of organizational rewards and job conditions. When supervisors perceive training, pay, and a future with the agency, they are more likely to intend to remain. Therefore, hypothesis four was supported.

Our fifth hypothesis was that perceived organizational support will have a stronger (positive) relationship with intent to remain in public child welfare workers as compared to public child welfare supervisors. We used logistic regression to test intent to remain and perceived organizational support construct as well as its three subconstructs for both groups in Models 2a and 2b respectively.

For ongoing workers, a significant and positive relationship was found between

perceived organizational support and intent to remain. For these workers, as perceived organizational support increased, the “risk” of intent to remain for increased (OR 2.76, 95% CI 2.18-3.50, $p < 0.001$). Similarly, a significant positive relationship was found between a worker’s perceptions of organizational rewards and job conditions. As these perceptions increased, the “risk” of their intent to remain increased (OR 3.09, 95% CI 2.25-4.25, $p < 0.001$). As hypothesized, while both workers and supervisors had significant positive relationships between perceived organizational support (and one of its subconstructs) and intent to remain, the relationship was stronger in supervisors than in workers. Put plainly, when workers and supervisors feel supported by their organization, they are more likely to intend to remain. Therefore, hypothesis five was supported.

Results can be found below in Table 5.

Table 5. Multiple logistic regression models for variables predicting intent to **remain** (worker n=2,030) (supervisor n=313)

<i>Predictor Variables</i>	<i>Model 1</i>		<i>Model 2a</i>		<i>Model 2b</i>		<i>Model 3a</i>		<i>Model 3b</i>
	OR (95% CI)		OR (95% CI)		OR (95% CI)		OR (95% CI)		OR (95% CI)
	Workers	Supervisors	Workers	Supervisors	Workers	Supervisors	Entire Sample	Entire Sample	
Age (compared to 40+)									
16-39	0.67 (0.44-1.03)	0.92 (0.27-3.15)	0.56* (0.36-0.88)	1.00 (0.26-3.76)	0.57* (0.36-0.90)	0.77 (0.18-3.28)	0.60* (0.40-0.90)	0.59* (0.39-0.90)	
Race									
People of Color (white)	0.75 (0.50-1.14)	0.22 (0.04-1.05)	0.77 (0.51-1.18)	0.24 (0.04-1.28)	0.80 (0.52-1.23)	0.28 (0.05-1.59)	0.71 (0.47-1.07)	0.74 (0.48-1.13)	
Gender (comp to male)									
Female	1.16 (0.65-2.08)	1.68 (0.32-8.84)	1.38 (0.76-2.50)	5.82 (0.87-39.11)	1.24 (0.67-2.29)	8.27* (1.10-62.46)	1.52 (0.85-2.69)	1.39 (0.77-2.51)	
Education (com to HS, GED, Some college, Associate's, or Bachelor's)									
Master's or PhD	0.62 (0.41-0.94)*	0.53 (0.15-1.87)	0.68 (0.44-1.05)	0.56 (0.14-2.33)	0.67 (0.43-1.04)	0.49 (0.11-2.20)	0.66 (0.44-1.00)	0.65* (0.43-1.00)	
Tenure (compared to 3+)									
0 to 2 years	0.84 (0.56-1.25)	0.31 (0.03-3.62)	0.66 (0.44-1.00)	0.32 (0.02-5.80)	0.62* (0.41-0.95)	0.41 (0.01-14.01)	0.65* (0.43-0.97)	0.61* (0.40-0.93)	
Conservatorship (compared to FBSS)	1.06 (0.71-1.59)	1.56 (0.46-5.26)	1.04 (0.68-1.57)	2.06 (0.53-8.07)	1.21 (0.73-1.72)	2.24 (0.52-9.55)	1.09 (0.73-1.64)	1.19 (0.78-1.80)	
Perceived Org Support			2.76*** (2.18-3.50)	8.08*** (2.56-25.23)			6.40*** (2.34-17.47)		
POS Subconstructs									
Fairness					0.90 (0.66-1.22)	1.40 (0.43-4.59)		1.23 (0.43-3.49)	

Supervisor Support					1.25 (0.98-1.61)	1.06 (0.44-2.53)		1.08 (0.50-2.33)
Org Rewards & Job Cond					3.09*** (2.25-4.25)	9.42*** (2.58-34.37)		8.13*** (2.58-25.71)
Job Role*POS							0.43 (0.15-1.22)	
Job Role ^a *POS								
Subconstructs								
Role * Fairness								0.74 (0.262.19)
Role * Supervisor Support								1.15 (0.512.62)
Role * Org Rewards & Job Cond								0.38 (0.111.26)
Cons	23.88*** (11.07-51.51)	49.87** (4.18-595.26)	0.62 (0.20-1.95)	0.01-0.03 (0.00-1.51)	0.43 (0.13-1.41)	0.00 (0.00-1.28)	0.06 (0.00-1.54)	0.03 (0.00-1.78)
Pseudo R ² average ^a	0.012 (0.008-0.016)	0.080 (0.069-0.093)	0.082 (0.073-0.093)	0.262 (0.239-0.300)	0.109 (0.093-0.123)	0.359 (0.303-0.410)	0.096 (0.086-0.109)	0.129 (0.111-0.146)
Δ Pseudo R ² average			0.070	0.182	0.097	0.279	-0.076	-0.105

^a Average of the Pseudo R² across ten imputations (min, max).

*** p<0.001; ** p < 0.01; Significant estimates at p < 0.001 are bold

Comparing Results Between Supervisors and Workers

Workers and supervisors had similar scores on several factors but scored significantly differently in others. Supervisors and ongoing workers are comparably likely to intend to leave; there was no significant difference in their scores. This was true for intent to remain as well. For both groups, there is a significant positive relationship between perceived organizational support and intent to remain. However, this relationship was stronger in supervisors; perceived organizational support had a stronger impact on intent to remain as compared to workers. Supervisors also have significantly lower scores for perceived organizational support and its subconstructs. Like workers, there was no significant relationship between perceived organizational support and intent to leave in supervisors (with the exception of a significant relationship between supervisor support and intent to leave in workers). These findings suggest that while the relationships between perceived organizational support and intent trend in the same directions between the groups, there is not a *significant* difference in their answers. This is further illustrated by the lack of interaction between job role and perceived organizational support. When testing for the effect on intent of the interaction between role (supervisor vs worker) and perceived organizational support, no significant findings emerged. In other words, when combining the conditions of being both a supervisor and perceiving organizational support, there is no more cumulative impact than if we had combined being a worker and perceiving support.

In summary, supervisors and workers are comparably likely to intend to leave as well as to remain. Organizational support is significantly and positively related to intent to remain in both groups; this is stronger in supervisors. Supervisors also have

significantly lower perceptions of organizational support, though this is not significantly related to intent to leave. Supervisors and workers experience and react to their shared workplace differently. Full results can be found below in Table 5.

Discussion

Supervisors and workers experience their shared workplace differently. As compared to the workers they supervise, supervisors have significantly lower levels of perceived organizational support as well as perceptions of fairness, supervisor support, and organizational rewards and job conditions. And unlike workers, there is no significant relationship between these constructs and supervisors' intent to leave the agency. On the other hand, supervisors were just as likely to intend to leave their agencies as the ongoing workers they support. Both groups are statistically as likely to intend to remain, and in both, as perceived organizational support increases, so too does intent to remain. This relationship is stronger in supervisors than in workers, however.

Supervisors Differ from Workers

The results in this study clearly demonstrate that workers and supervisors have different perceptions of the workplace. Supervisors had significantly lower scores in perceived organizational support and all three of its subconstructs. For example, in the organizational rewards and job conditions subconstruct, the mean score for supervisors was 3.27 (SD 0.72), significantly lower than workers' 3.50 (SD 0.78) ($t=-4.89$, $p<0.001$). And for the overall construct, supervisors perceive significantly less organizational support 3.69 (SD 0.61) than workers (3.88, SD 0.72) ($t=-4.27$, $p<0.001$). Supervisors feel less supported than workers in all measures.

Perceived supervisor support is significantly related to workers' intent to leave,

but this is not so with supervisors. In what appears to be the only other work separating out and comparing workers with organizational leaders, Beidas and colleagues (2018) found that administrators had *more* positive perceptions of organizational climate. It should be noted that in that study, the 73 leaders included in their sample included supervisors as well as clinical directors and executive directors. The current work, then, may be the only one comparing public child welfare supervisors and workers. Despite typically being lumped in with workers or excluded from samples, it has been clearly demonstrated in the current study that they differ in their experiences and how these differently impact retention intentions. More work is clearly necessary to better understand the perceptions of supervisors and what factors contribute to their intent to leave as well as to remain.

Different Factors Impact Supervisors' Intent to Leave

The current study found that supervisors were just as likely to intend to leave their agencies as the ongoing workers they support. They additionally have significantly lower levels of perceived organizational support as well as perceptions of fairness, supervisor support, and organizational rewards and job conditions. This aligns with previous research. In their study of 151 child welfare supervisors, Strand and Dore (2009) also found that they had lower job satisfaction than ongoing workers. Those supervisors expressed particular dissatisfaction with their own supervisory support, pay and benefits, communication in the agency, and opportunities for promotion. In both studies, supervisors had significantly lower scores on supervisory support and organizational rewards and job conditions.

Results from the current sample did not, however, find a significant relationship

between perceived organizational support (or its subconstructs) and intent to leave in supervisors. Does this mean perceived organizational support is not a significant factor in intent to leave in supervisors? Two studies did find this relationship. McCrae and colleagues (2015) found significant relationships between job satisfaction and job stress (similar to organizational rewards and job conditions here) and intent to leave in their study with 111 child welfare supervisors. Griffiths and colleagues (2019) similarly found organizational factors (dissatisfaction with workload and administrative support) were significantly related to intent to leave in 117 child welfare supervisors.

It is possible that the current study lacked sufficient power for interactions or for the many variables under consideration with the comparatively small number of supervisors who noted intent to leave ($n=56$ as compared to $n=373$ workers intending to leave). While demographics were an important factor to include, they increased the degrees of freedom and may have impacted power. Further, the estimates of both perceived organizational support and its subconstructs were in the “right” direction – if significant, they would have indicated a negative relationship between three constructs and intent to leave. The odds ratio for supervisors, 0.82, was the same as for workers, which is not close to null. The confidence interval is wider for supervisors (0.50-1.34) than for workers (0.70-0.96) as well, further suggesting this may be an issue of underpowering. It could also be the case that other factors are involved; future work should additionally consider job satisfaction and role stress.

Organizational Support More Strongly Impacts Supervisors’ Intent to Remain

As was the case with intent to leave, supervisors are statistically as likely to intend to remain as are workers. Supervisors had significantly lower levels of perceived

organizational support as well as its three subconstructs. In both workers and supervisors, there is a significant positive relationship between perceived organizational support and intent to remain. This relationship is stronger in supervisors. The same can be said of the subconstruct organizational rewards and job conditions. In other words, while supervisors are as likely to intend to remain, they have lower levels of perceived organizational support. And while this support is significantly associated with intent to remain in both groups, it has a greater effect on intent to remain in supervisors.

The current study appears to be the first quantitative work that looks at intent to remain in public child welfare supervisors. One qualitative study by Ausbrooks (2010) found similar results. Asking 50 supervisors about stressors and intent to remain, she found that primary stressors were related to organizational climate such as high caseloads and “having no input” (comparable to items in the organizational rewards and job conditions here). However, these supervisors stated an intention to remain “in spite of” these stressors. This is similarly seen in the current study, where supervisors have significantly lower scores on organizational rewards and job conditions, but they are no less likely to intend to remain than workers.

Supervisors have different experiences and motivations. What research does exist suggests that their perceptions of their organizations may change over time, and with experience and change in role, their decision-making processes around retention may change as well (Falk, 2021). More work is needed to better understand their experiences and how these connect to their intentions.

Supervisors are a unique group within the child welfare workforce. They inhabit the world of direct work with families and also play some role in administration and

leadership. They have been described as the glue that holds these systems together. They have direct contact with families in support of their workers and at the same time, they are so much part of leadership that the words “supervisor ” and “organization” are sometimes used interchangeably (as is the case with Perceived Organizational Support Theory). They are often cited as key ingredients in worker retention (Griffiths, Desrosiers, et al., 2019; Wilke et al., 2018). They are important to workers, but they are also vital in and of themselves. Supervisors are often more experienced, more highly trained employees in whom the organization has invested a great deal of resources. And yet – or perhaps because of – these many roles and expectations, they feel less supported by the organizations they serve. Perhaps they feel pulled in too many directions or feel disconnected from those above and below them in the organizational chart. More qualitative work is needed to better understand their unique stressors and how best to support them.

Limitations

While a sample size of 313 supervisors is promising, it does present challenges. For example, no significant relationships were seen between intent to leave and either demographics or the construct and subconstructs. This null result could indicate that there is indeed no relationship and other factors contribute to supervisors’ intent to leave. Existing research, however, suggests otherwise. One possible reason is that the supervisor sample is underpowered. For example, in the (not significant) relationship between perceived organizational support and intent to leave, despite supervisors having the same coefficient as workers (0.82), their confidence interval is much wider (0.50-1.34 as compared to 0.70-0.96).

Significant relationships between perceived organizational support and its subconstruct, organizational rewards and job conditions, and intent to remain were found with supervisors. However, these results should be viewed with caution given the large confidence intervals. With an odds ratio of 8.08 ($p < 0.001$), the effect is certainly strong. However, as compared to workers (OR 2.76, 95% CI 2.18-3.50, $p < 0.001$), the confidence interval is notably wider in supervisors (OR 8.08, 95% CI 2.56-25.23, $p < 0.001$). As was the case in intent to leave, this suggests that the supervisor sample results, while significant here, are underpowered.

Given that the supervisor sample was utilized in multiple analyses, the chances for increased Type I error is a limitation of this study. In other words, because the sample is being tested multiple times, the potential for inadvertently finding something “significant” that is, in fact, a false positive, is increased. The fairly small size of the supervisor sample ($n=313$) also limits power, which could also lead to a Type II error. Smaller sample sizes can be less sensitive and may also yield false negatives. For example, larger samples sizes are required to detect smaller effects. If the sample size is too small, smaller effects may falsely appear to be insignificant.

Additionally, the outcome measures, intent to remain and intention to leave, are not always seen to be directly associated with turnover itself (Chernesky & Israel, 2009). They have been used as proxy measures, though many other factors may be at play, including commitment to child welfare and lack of availability of other attractive job options (Auerbach, McGowan, Augsberger, et al., 2010). We would have asked additional questions related to the constellation of factors influencing intent, including whether employees perceived other viable job options outside the organization, use of

validated and relevant instruments pertaining to organizational commitment and administrative support (Griffiths, Murphy, et al., 2019; Wilke et al., 2018), and use of the original perceived organizational support scale or subscale (Eisenberger et al., 1986; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002).

Implications

Most literature on retention in public child welfare either focuses exclusively on workers or groups supervisors with workers. The current study shows these groups are significantly different – supervisors perceive less organizational support, and the impact of organizational support has a much larger impact on their intent to remain as compared to workers. However, we still know so little about their retention intentions. Given that approximately 15% of the public child welfare workforce are supervisors, knowing more about factors related to their intention is vital. Retaining these workers can have an impact on worker retention as well; the current work found that supervisor support is negatively related to intent to leave in workers. Maintaining experienced supervisors is an important piece of the retention puzzle not only for supervisors but for the workers they supervise as well (McCrae et al., 2015). Assuming the variables are the same as in workers has been shown to be an inaccurate approach given the differences between these groups. Future research should focus on supervisors as a unique group; ideally first engaging in exploratory qualitative work to better hear directly what goes into their decisions to leave or remain with their agencies.

The current work has shown that supervisors have lower perceptions of organizational support. It has additionally showed that higher perceptions of organizational support are associated with higher intent to remain. It seems clear that

increasing organizational support for these vital employees is key to their retention.

While few studies have focused specifically on this population, there are clues as to what would be particularly helpful in supporting them. Changing variables like job stress and pay are not as straightforward, but other factors might be. For example, supervisors had a significantly lower mean on the item, “training is made available to me so that I can do my job better (3.96, SE 0.77 as compared to 4.07, SE 0.88, $t=2.04$). It has been suggested that specialized training for supervisors is now as robust as the kinds of trainings made available for ongoing workers (Falk, 2021). Perhaps making additional training available to help them better do their jobs would be beneficial not only to supervisors but the works they support. Supervisors also scores significantly lower on the item, “The communications I receive at work are timely and informative” (3.61, SE 0.87 as compared to 3.86, SE 0.98, $t=-4.30$, $p<0.001$). Providing more open communication and transparency could be a straightforward and low-to-no-cost way to better support supervisors and increase their feelings of organizational support. Other items not covered in these questions but perhaps also to be explored could include support groups with their supervisor peers to debrief and perhaps share wisdom and concerns.

This study provides new information on supervisors’ organizational perceptions, how these might relate to intent to leave or stay, and how these compare to ongoing workers. Knowing that supervisors have lower perceptions, similar intent, but that there may not be a relationship between these is important to note moving forward. It is hoped that these findings will contribute to the ongoing and growing conversation on supervisors’ experiences and how to better retain these invaluable members of the public

child welfare workforce.

Chapter V: Implications and Conclusion

Implications and Conclusion

Chapter two establishes a relationship between safety perceptions, organizational support, and intent to leave or remain. It is the first to do so despite feelings of unsafety have being described as prevalent, “part of the job,” and “business as usual” (Lamothe et al., 2018; Radey et al., 2020, 2020; Strolin-Goltzman et al., 2016, p.; Wilke et al., 2018). This provides a baseline for future research looking at safety in public child welfare and how it relates to intent to leave or remain. Additional research is needed in this area. For example, qualitative research asking workers to describe how they define safety can help provide additional paths for researchers to explore. Workers may identify physical, emotional, or other types of unsafety. Additionally, in recent years in Texas, additional safety concerns have arisen with the advent of “children without placement” – children who are in care but there is temporarily nowhere for them to be placed. In these cases, children stay in offices or in hotels rented by the state. Workers provide care to these children who sometimes present with acute behaviors, severe mental health challenges, and trauma. Many are older youth who have had experienced much trauma in their lives; others have been and are continuing to be trafficked while in foster care. Workers have been assaulted and have reported feeling emotionally and physically unsafe.

In addition, the current study shows that organizational support can buffer the relationship between safety concerns and turnover. This highlights the need for leadership to focus on how it can better support workers in a work environment that comes with inherent risks. Some practical policy and practice implications could be trainings in self-defense – even if only verbal. Workers who go into less safe situations

(especially in police-related work) could be provided co-responders rather than being expected to act as sole responders.

“Safety” has become more complex since 2018, the time of this data set. In addition to children without placement, the advent of COVID19 further complicates an already complex set of safety risks. This study lays the foundation for future work by showing a significant relationship between safety perceptions, organizational support, and intent to leave or remain in a large, state-wide data set. As is the case with all three research questions, the information gained in this study provides an onus for organizations to focus on one of the few things over which they have control – organizational culture and support. Organizations cannot change the nature of the cases and unsafety, but they can provide additional supports and training to decrease potential resulting turnover intention.

Results from chapter three are less straightforward and raise additional questions. Is this a series of informative nulls? Is inclusion less of an issue in Texas public child welfare? Are there variables not being considered? Is retention of workers of color about something besides or in addition to inclusion? Chapter three provides some new information and knowledge building about the relationships between inclusion, race, and retention and supports existing research. For example, in all racial groups, inclusion was positively related to intent to remain. Previous studies have similarly shown that inclusion is good for all workers and not only for workers of color (Hwang & Hopkins, 2015; Mor Barak et al., 2016).

It may be the case, however, that future research should be more granular. Texas is a large and diverse state, and each of the many regions is demographically distinct.

Future work would do well to replicate the current study by region. For example, in Region 10 (El Paso) 89% of workers are Hispanic; in Region 6 (Houston), 70% of workers are Black; and in Region 7 (Austin), 50% of workers are white (Texas Department of Family and Protective Services, 2019a). It is possible that in combining all workers into one group, some of the nuances of each region's unique culture are lost. Replicating this study by region could shed additional light on how organizational culture and race relate to one another and with intent to leave or remain.

Chapter four provides new information and knowledge-building about factors that inform supervisors' intent to leave or remain. Supervisors in this sample felt significantly less supported than workers – they had significantly lower levels of perceived organizational support as well as perceptions of fairness, supervisor support, and organizational rewards and job conditions. And unlike workers, there is no significant relationship between these constructs and supervisors' turnover intent. Knowing that supervisors and workers differently perceive their shared workplace – they are a different group – further research is needed that separately analyzes supervisors rather than excluding them or including them in with workers. Questions about their particular stressors, supports, and reasons for staying or leaving are important to continue building knowledge about this vital group within the public child welfare workforce. It should be noted that supervisor perceptions change over time, so longitudinal work is also suggested (Falk, 2021).

Some practical applications are suggested from the data. Organizational support has a strong effect on intent to remain, so what organizational changes might help? Given their responses to survey questions, it appears that more open communication from

upper management would be helpful to supervisors. For example, they had a significantly lower mean, 3.61, in response to the question, “The communications I receive at work are timely and informative.” Increasing supervisors in decision-making could ensure their knowing about changes in a timely fashion and could potentially increase feelings of inclusion as well. It could also be useful to increase the human connection between supervisors and their managers (program directors). Perhaps, like some units, these groups could have informal, non-work related lunches each month. Social connections can go a long way to increase positive perceptions and open communications.

Across all three chapters, we clearly showed that turnover and retention are not mirror images of one another. Despite being often treated as flip sides of a coin, they are distinct from one another. Indeed, while 18.37% of respondents said they intended to leave, only 5.57% indicated that they did not intend to remain. If they were different sides of the same measure, these numbers would be essentially the same (for example, if 18% intend to leave, 18% would also intend to not remain). Similarly, if feelings of unsafety have a negative relationship with intent to leave, it should also have a positive relationship with intent to remain, which it does not. It is clear that different factors impact the negative intent to break with the organization as opposed to the positive (or neutral) intent to remain. It is useful to know what factors should be mitigated to reduce turnover. It is also important – and in keeping with the field’s strengths-based approach – to know what factors impact retention and should be replicated.

These chapters establish safety as an important variable of intent, add knowledge (and questions) related to the role of inclusion in turnover and retention, and demonstrate

that supervisors' responses and intent differ from those of workers. Taken together, these chapters – this dissertation – provide new knowledge and directions and set a baseline for future work. This is partly that it builds on previous research and also, unexpectedly, that it provides a snapshot of the public child welfare workforce before the pandemic that can be compared to the new world in which we find ourselves. Safety is different now, inclusion may vary as workers are less face-to-face and may differently experience office culture, and supervisors may be rethinking their own roles and intentions. What seems to be a constant is that time and again we see that organizational support, one of the few factors directly changeable by administration, has a large impact on turnover and retention. Increased focus on supporting employees in a new workforce, whether it be in working alongside law enforcement or navigating a world still grappling with a global pandemic, appears more important than ever in retaining a consistent workforce of experienced workers and supervisors who not only do not intend to leave but also choose to stay. Increasing retention is best for employees, the organization, and – most importantly – the families served by public child welfare. Taken as a whole, this dissertation affirms that when we support the public child welfare workforce, we strengthen the families we serve.

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Appendix A

Table 5. Multiple linear regression models for intent to leave for white workers (n=627)

<i>Predictor Variables</i>	<i>Model 1 Demographics</i>	<i>Model 2 Uniqueness</i>	<i>Model 3 Belongingness</i>	<i>Model 4 Inclusion</i>
	Coeff(SE)	Coeff(SE)	Coeff(SE)	Coeff(SE)
Age (compared to 30-39)				
16-29	0.03 (-0.22-0.28)	0.07 (-0.17-0.31)	0.14 (-0.10-0.38)	0.07 (-0.17-0.32)
40-49	-0.32 (-0.58--0.05)	-0.22 (-0.48-0.03)	-0.20 (-0.46-0.06)	-0.28* (-0.54--0.02)
50+	-0.07 (-0.34-0.20)	-0.12 (-0.38-0.15)	-0.10 (-0.36-0.17)	-0.07 (-0.34-0.20)
Female (compared to male)	-0.14 (-0.47-0.18)	-0.29 (-0.60-0.02)	-0.27 (-0.59-0.05)	-0.21 (-0.53-0.11)
Education (compared to Bachelor's)				
HS or GED	0.02 (-0.60-0.64)	0.03 (-0.60-0.66)	-0.09 (-0.68-0.49)	-0.11 (-0.72-0.49)
Some College or Associate's	0.16 (-0.14-0.45)	0.14 (-0.15-0.43)	0.10 (-0.19-0.39)	0.17 (-0.12-0.46)
Master's or PhD	0.04 (-0.20-0.28)	0.00 (-0.23-0.23)	-0.02 (0.25-0.21)	-0.00 (-0.24-0.23)
Tenure (compared to 3 to 5)				
Less than one	-0.07 (-0.41-0.36)	-0.12 (-0.45-0.20)	0.04 (-0.29-0.37)	-0.02 (-0.35-0.31)
1 to 2	0.30* (0.06-0.55)	0.32* (0.06-0.55)	0.38** (0.15-0.62)	0.36 (0.12-0.59)
6 to 10	0.22 (-0.06-0.51)	0.17 (-0.11-0.45)	0.18 (-0.09-0.46)	0.23 (-0.05-0.51)
11+	-0.02 (-0.38-0.35)	-0.10 (-0.46-0.25)	-0.09 (-0.44-0.26)	-0.05 (-0.40-0.31)
Conservatorship (compared to FBSS)	0.13 (-0.08-0.34)	0.11 (-0.09-0.32)	0.13 (-0.07-0.34)	0.15 (-0.06-0.35)
Uniqueness		-0.09*** (-0.12--0.07)		
Belongingness			-0.08*** (-0.10--0.07)	
Inclusion				-0.62*** (-0.82--0.41)
<i>B (Cons)</i>	2.09*** (1.68-2.51)	4.11*** (3.49-4.73)	4.48*** (3.84-5.13)	2.56*** (2.13-2.98)
Adj R ²	0.01	0.11	0.13	0.07
Δ Adj R ²		0.10	0.02	-0.06

*** p<0.001; ** p < 0.01; *p <0.05; Significant estimates at p < 0.001 are bold

Appendix B

Table 6. Multiple linear regression models for intent to leave for African-American/Black workers (n=472)

<i>Predictor Variables</i>	<i>Model 1 Demographics</i>	<i>Model 2 Uniqueness</i>	<i>Model 3 Belongingness</i>	<i>Model 4 Inclusion</i>
	Coeff(SE)	Coeff(SE)	Coeff(SE)	Coeff(SE)
Age (compared to 30-39)				
16-29	0.46** (0.13-0.79)	0.52** (0.19-0.85)	0.53** (0.20-0.85)	0.49** (0.17-0.82)
40-49	-0.07 (-0.38-0.23)	-0.06 (-0.37-0.26)	-0.07 (-0.38-0.24)	-0.06 (-0.37-0.25)
50+	-0.36 (-0.73-0.02)	-0.33 (-0.71-0.05)	-0.32 (-0.70-0.07)	-0.33 (-0.71-0.38)
Female (compared to male)	0.06 (-0.34-0.46)	-0.00 (-0.41-0.40)	-0.03 (-0.43-0.38)	0.04 (-0.36-0.44)
Education (compared to Bachelor's)				
HS or GED	-0.15 (-1.03-0.71)	-0.24 (-0.10-0.62)	-0.26 (-1.16-0.64)	-0.27 (-1.14-0.59)
Some College or Associate's	0.10 (-0.27-0.47)	0.22 (-0.17-0.61)	0.13 (-0.25-0.51)	0.09 (-0.28-0.46)
Master's or PhD	0.12 (-0.15-0.39)	0.08 (-0.20-0.35)	0.03 (-0.25-0.30)	0.08 (-0.20-0.35)
Tenure (compared to 3 to 5)				
Less than one	-0.32 (-0.73-0.10)	-0.32 (-0.74-0.11)	-0.23 (-0.64-0.18)	-0.28 (-0.70-0.13)
1 to 2	0.08 (-0.23-0.38)	0.04 (-0.27-0.35)	0.06 (-0.25-0.37)	0.06 (-0.24-0.37)
6 to 10	0.14 (-0.23-0.52)	0.13 (-0.26-0.51)	0.04 (-0.34-0.42)	0.06 (-0.31-0.44)
11+	0.19 (-0.24-0.63)	0.17 (-0.27-0.61)	0.07 (-0.36-0.51)	0.14 (-0.29-0.57)
Conservatorship (compared to FBSS)	-0.02 (-0.27-0.22)	-0.00 (-0.25-0.25)	-0.04 (-0.29-0.20)	-0.03 (-0.27-0.22)
Uniqueness		-0.05** (-0.08--0.02)		
Belongingness			-0.05*** (-0.08--0.03)	
Inclusion				-0.37*** (-0.63-0.12)
<i>B (Cons)</i>	2.33*** (1.85-2.81)	3.38*** (2.61-4.15)	3.92*** (3.11-4.74)	2.62*** (2.11-3.14)
Adj R ²	0.02	0.05	0.07	0.04
Δ Adj R ²		0.03	0.02	-0.03

*** p<0.001; ** p < 0.01; *p <0.05; Significant estimates at p < 0.001 are bold

Appendix C

Table 7. Multiple linear regression models for intent to leave for Hispanic/Latino/a/AAPI/Multi-racial/Other workers (n=651)

<i>Predictor Variables</i>	<i>Model 1 Demographics</i>	<i>Model 2 Uniqueness</i>	<i>Model 3 Belongingness</i>	<i>Model 4 Inclusion</i>
	Coeff(SE)	Coeff(SE)	Coeff(SE)	Coeff(SE)
Age (compared to 30-39)				
16-29	0.22 (0.13)	0.22 (0.13)	0.23 (0.13)	0.23 (0.13)
40-49	-0.23 (0.14)	-0.27 (0.15)	-0.25 (0.15)	-0.26 (0.14)
50+	-0.35 (0.18)	-0.42* (0.19)	-0.40* (0.18)	-0.36* (0.18)
Female (compared to male)	-0.45* (0.16)	-0.458 (0.16)	-0.50** (0.16)	-0.46** (0.16)
Education (compared to Bachelor's)				
HS or GED	-0.48 (0.36)	-0.39 (0.37)	-0.37 (0.37)	-0.47 (0.36)
Some College or Associate's	-0.05 (0.13)	0.03 (0.14)	-0.05 (0.14)	-0.04 (0.13)
Master's or PhD	0.21 (0.14)	0.17 (0.14)	0.19 (0.14)	0.21 (0.14)
Tenure (compared to 3 to 5)				
Less than one	-0.26 (0.16)	-0.19 (0.17)	-0.21 (0.17)	-0.25 (0.16)
1 to 2	-0.06 (0.13)	-0.02 (0.13)	0.03 (0.13)	-0.02 (0.13)
6 to 10	-0.03 (0.16)	-0.06 (0.16)	-0.08 (0.16)	-0.04 (0.15)
11+	0.02 (0.18)	0.00 (0.19)	-0.10 (0.19)	0.02 (0.18)
Conservatorship (compared to FBSS)	-0.12 (0.10)	-0.13 (0.11)	-0.16 (0.11)	-0.11 (0.10)
Uniqueness		-0.04*** (0.01)		
Belongingness			-0.05*** (0.01)	
Inclusion				-0.24** (0.11)
<i>B (Cons)</i>	2.96*** (0.19)	3.79*** (0.33)	4.32*** (0.35)	3.13*** (0.20)
Adj R ²	0.03	0.04	0.06	0.04
Δ Adj R ²		0.01	0.02	-0.02

*** p<0.001; ** p < 0.01; *p <0.05; Significant estimates at p < 0.001 are bold

Appendix D

Table 8. Multiple logistic regression models for intent to remain for white workers (n=546)

<i>Predictor Variables</i>	<i>Model 1 Demographics</i>	<i>Model 2 Uniqueness</i>	<i>Model 3 Belongingness</i>	<i>Model 4 Inclusion</i>
	OR (95% CI)	OR (95% CI)	OR (95% CI)	OR (95% CI)
Age (compared to 30-39)				
16-29	0.78 (0.30-2.04)	0.50 (0.18-1.37)	0.44 (0.15-1.25)	0.58 (0.21-1.56)
40-49	1.63 (0.43-6.23)	1.15 (0.28-4.72)	1.24 (0.29-5.32)	1.09 (0.27-4.34)
50+	0.55 (0.19-1.58)	0.67 (0.21-2.16)	0.65 (0.20-2.09)	0.45 (0.15-1.35)
Female (compared to male)	1.52 (0.42-5.45)	2.17 (0.58-8.12)	2.10 (0.55-8.06)	1.42 (0.38-5.35)
Education (compared to Bachelor's)				
HS or GED				
Some College or Associate's	0.89 (0.28-2.88)	0.72 (0.19-2.79)	0.76 (0.21-2.70)	0.91 (0.27-3.10)
Master's or PhD	1.03 (0.39-2.70)	0.93 (0.34-2.54)	1.04 (0.38-2.89)	1.06 (0.39-2.85)
Tenure (compared to 3 to 5)				
Less than one	3.77 (0.45-31.56)	3.96 (0.45-34.97)	4.96 (0.43-57.75)	2.91 (0.34-25.10)
1 to 2	0.60 (0.25-1.48)	0.72 (0.28-1.84)	0.55 (0.22-1.41)	0.50 (0.20-1.27)
6 to 10	1.31 (0.38-4.58)	1.54 (0.41-5.23)	2.14 (0.51-8.88)	1.28 (0.36-4.60)
11+				
Conservatorship (compared to FBSS)	0.46 (0.17-1.25)	0.47 (0.16-1.32)	0.43 (0.15-1.24)	0.41 (0.15-1.14)
Uniqueness		1.26*** (1.16-1.38)		
Belongingness			1.24*** (1.15-1.33)	
Inclusion				7.10*** (3.14-16.04)
<i>B (Cons)</i>	28.65*** (5.18-158.52)	0.11 (0.01-1.24)	15.27** (2.55-91.26)	
Pseudo R ²	0.05	0.17	0.22	0.15
Δ Pseudo R ²		0.12	0.05	-0.07

*** p<0.001; ** p < 0.01; *p <0.05; Significant estimates at p < 0.001 are bold

Appendix E

Table 9. Multiple logistic regression models for intent to remain for African-American/Black workers (n=437)

<i>Predictor Variables</i>	<i>Model 1 Demographics</i>	<i>Model 2 Uniqueness</i>	<i>Model 3 Belongingness</i>	<i>Model 4 Inclusion</i>
	OR (95% CI)	OR (95% CI)	OR (95% CI)	OR (95% CI)
Age (compared to 30-39)				
16-29	0.55 (0.21-1.44)	0.49 (0.17-1.42)	0.48 (0.17-1.37)	0.46 (0.17-1.24)
40-49	1.44 (0.50-4.21)	1.67 (0.49-5.73)	1.58 (0.49-5.16)	1.48 (0.50-4.36)
50+	3.76 (0.78-18.13)	2.68 (0.53-13.62)	2.87 (0.57-14.34)	3.98 (0.80-19.78)
Female (compared to male)	3.08* (1.10-8.61)	3.61* (1.11-11.78)	5.15** (1.67-15.88)	3.79* (1.32-10.87)
Education (compared to Bachelor's)				
HS or GED				
Some College or Associate's	0.40 (0.13-1.19)	1.00 (0.20-4.96)	0.52 (0.15-1.86)	0.37 (0.12-1.16)
Master's or PhD	0.38* (0.17-0.87)	0.49 (0.20-1.20)	0.56 (0.23-1.39)	0.44 (0.19-1.00)
Tenure (compared to 3 to 5)				
Less than one	0.88 (0.23-3.38)	1.59 (0.24-10.47)	0.92 (0.18-4.58)	0.65 (0.16-2.64)
1 to 2	0.70 (0.24-2.03)	0.70 (0.22-2.22)	0.81 (0.27-2.47)	0.73 (0.25-2.13)
6 to 10	0.58 (0.16-2.05)	0.64 (0.15-2.67)	0.93 (0.23-3.71)	0.74 (0.20-2.70)
11+	0.57 (0.14-2.37)	0.59 (0.13-2.78)	0.69 (0.16-3.04)	0.61 (0.14-2.55)
Conservatorship (compared to FBSS)	1.85 (0.87-3.93)	2.42* (1.05-5.57)	2.38* (1.04-5.47)	2.00 (0.92-4.33)
Uniqueness		1.21*** (1.10-1.34)		
Belongingness			1.18*** (1.10-1.27)	
Inclusion				4.24*** (1.18-9.59)
<i>B (Cons)</i>	7.24** (1.86-28.16)	1.21*** (1.11-1.32)	0.05* (0.00-0.56)	2.56 (0.58-11.29)
Pseudo R ²	0.08	0.18	0.19	0.14
Δ Pseudo R ²		0.10	0.01	-0.05

*** p<0.001; ** p < 0.01; *p <0.05; Significant estimates at p < 0.001 are bold

Appendix F

Table 10. Multiple logistic regression models for intent to remain for Hispanic/Latino/a/AAPI/Multi-racial/Other workers (n=664)

<i>Predictor Variables</i>	<i>Model 1 Demographics</i>	<i>Model 2 Uniqueness</i>	<i>Model 3 Belongingness</i>	<i>Model 4 Inclusion</i>
	OR (95% CI)	OR (95% CI)	OR (95% CI)	OR (95% CI)
Age (compared to 30-39)				
16-29	0.49 (0.22-1.11)	0.42 (0.18-1.01)	0.47 (0.20-1.12)	0.47 (0.20-1.07)
40-49	0.97 (0.37-2.54)	1.36 (0.49-3.74)	1.55 (0.52-4.61)	1.10 (0.42-2.90)
50+	2.91 (0.57-14.85)	4.03 (0.75-21.66)	3.90 (0.69-21.85)	3.10 (0.60-15.88)
Female (compared to male)	0.97 (0.33-2.90)	1.01 (0.33-3.09)	1.05 (0.33-3.38)	1.09 (0.36-3.31)
Education (compared to Bachelor's)				
HS or GED	0.40 (0.08-1.98)	0.22 (0.04-1.16)	0.20 (0.04-1.04)	0.30 (0.06-1.54)
Some College or Associate's	0.99 (0.40-2.47)	0.74 (0.29-1.88)	1.22 (0.42-3.57)	0.93 (0.37-2.33)
Master's or PhD	0.47 (0.22-1.00)	0.62 (0.27-1.42)	0.48 (0.21-1.09)	0.48 (0.22-1.05)
Tenure (compared to 3 to 5)				
Less than one	1.71 (0.52-5.67)	1.43 (0.42-4.86)	1.07 (0.30-3.79)	1.54 (0.46-5.17)
1 to 2	1.03 (0.45-2.34)	0.90 (0.37-2.18)	0.69 (0.28-1.70)	0.84 (0.36-1.86)
6 to 10	0.80 (0.28-2.31)	0.82 (0.28-2.42)	0.89 (0.29-2.76)	0.80 (0.27-2.35)
11+	0.42 (0.14-1.28)	0.39 (0.12-1.25)	0.66 (0.18-2.43)	0.41 (0.13-1.25)
Conservatorship (compared to FBSS)	0.87 (0.45-1.71)	0.89 (0.43-1.80)	0.92 (0.44-1.90)	0.82 (0.42-1.62)
Uniqueness		1.20*** (1.10-1.30)		
Belongingness			1.19*** (1.11-1.28)	
Inclusion				3.10*** (1.60-6.00)
<i>B (Cons)</i>	25.93*** (7.16-93.92)	0.86 (0.13-5.88)	0.23 (0.03-1.89)	12.91*** (3.38-49.31)
Pseudo R ²	0.04	0.10	0.13	0.07
Δ Pseudo R ²		0.06	0.03	-0.06

*** p<0.001; ** p < 0.01; *p <0.05; Significant estimates at p < 0.001 are bold