

of women's property to men. The Muslim practice of *pardah* obligates women to stay close to home, limit contact with unrelated men, and avoid visibility in public. Such restrictions make it difficult, even impossible, for women to go to a village market.

In their study, the researchers also looked at how BRAC, an NGO, has worked to build inclusive markets by addressing these voids. BRAC works in several countries to combat poverty and promote economic development.

In Bangladesh, BRAC reduces inequality in two ways: by creating structures that redefine the market, and by educating people on their rights. For example, BRAC creates meeting spaces where people of unequal status can interact. It also has produced dramatic plays that serve as a medium for the com-

munity to discuss controversial issues. Fostering conditions to build inclusive markets is "a process that not only takes time but also takes engagement with the local realities, which are constantly evolving," Mair says.

The lesson from Bangladesh is that understanding local traditions and cultural norms is crucial to establishing markets that include all citizens. What works in Eastern Europe probably won't work in Southeast Asia. "Markets might be the solution for social and economic development," Mair says, "but we need to really take a look and try to think about markets in an inclusive way and not think that one model fits all."

—Corinna Wu

Johanna Mair, Ignasi Martí, & Marc J. Ventresca, "Building Inclusive Markets in Rural Bangladesh: How Intermediaries Work Institutional Voids," *The Academy of Management Journal* 55(4), August 2012.

NONPROFIT MANAGEMENT

Getting Volunteers in the Door

► Consider two nonprofits: an environmental organization in the heart of a downtown district and a history museum on a city's outskirts in a community with older residents. By virtue of its mission and location, the environmental nonprofit will likely have an easier time recruiting young volunteers.

Although the museum could also try to attract younger people, the demographic of its volunteers may be harder to change than other factors, such as the organization's culture, says Mark Hager, an associate professor of nonprofit studies at Arizona State University. "There's an assumption that

managers can always create strategies to be able to conquer issues, and I think many problems or issues they face are beyond the ability to manage them," he says.

Hager and Jeffrey Brudney, a professor of urban affairs at Cleveland State University, decided to divide factors that could affect volunteer recruitment into two categories. "Nature" factors, which are more difficult to change, included the organization's size and typical age of volunteers; "nurture" factors, which might be more easily changed, included volunteer management practices and organizational culture. To find out which factors had the biggest effects on recruitment, they analyzed volunteer-related survey data gathered from 1,361 US charities.

On the nature side, younger

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volunteers were linked to fewer recruitment problems. This came as a surprise, because a previous study using the same survey data suggested that young volunteers were harder to retain. But the factors that make young volunteers prone to leave an organization, such as a desire to explore new experiences, might make them easier to recruit in the first place, Hager says.

Among the nurture factors, organizations whose staff members were trained to work with volunteers and had more welcoming attitudes had fewer recruitment problems. Other practices, however, such as screening and matching volunteers with the right jobs and recognizing volunteers' accomplishments, had little effect—even though previous research found they were important for retaining volunteers. "Why people are motivated to volunteer is different from what keeps them volunteering once they're with an organization," says Karen Smith, a volunteer management researcher at the Victoria University of Wellington.

But the nature-nurture framework could help organizations decide which issues to tackle first, suggests Nathan Dietz, associate director for research and evaluation at the Corporation for National and Community Service, which partly funded the study. Making cultural changes, such as improving staff's attitudes toward volunteers, isn't necessarily expensive, he says: The organization just needs to make those issues a priority, and "this analysis shows that that will pay dividends."

—Roberta Kwok

Mark A. Hager and Jeffrey L. Brudney, "Problems Recruiting Volunteers: Nature Versus Nurture," *Nonprofit Management & Leadership*, 22, 2011.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT

The New Chinese Underclass

► For the first time in China's long history, more than half of its population lives in cities and towns. This rapid urbanization has led many to believe that China's middle class will grow to unprecedented numbers, becoming an enormous consuming class that will drive the global economic engine for years to come.

But according to geographer Kam Wing Chan of the University of Washington, that assessment is over-optimistic. His analysis of Chinese population data shows that many rural workers move to cities only to join the ranks of the urban poor, and they have few prospects of improving their lot.

The reason: China's complicated and poorly understood *hukou* household registration system. Formally established in 1958, the system controls Chinese citizens' place of residence and once served to enforce a rural-urban divide—keeping peasants in the countryside to grow food and forbidding them to work in the cities.

Since 1979, peasants have been allowed to move to cities to work, but they maintain their rural *hukou*, with no access to the more generous benefits available to those with urban *hukou*, such as social security, unemployment insurance, and free public education for their children. (They maintain access to very limited rural social security, however, and their children can attend school in the coun-



A homeless father living on the streets of Shanghai holding his son close to keep him warm on a cold winter day.

tryside.) "It's a two-tier citizenship system," Chan says. "It's really quite amazing, because about 150 to 200 million people are affected by this. This is a gigantic phenomenon."

Without an urban *hukou*, most of the employment open to rural-born workers is factory jobs and menial labor. The system, Chan says, conveniently allowed China to create a massive, exploitable labor force during its industrialization period in the '80s and '90s. "China became the world's factory," he says. "They needed this supercheap labor to compete in the global market."

Now, with the *hukou* system still firmly in place, Chan argues that Chinese urbanization will not result in the creation of a huge middle class but rather in a huge underclass. Without significant reforms in the system, he predicts that China will become more like Latin America, with a large gap between rich and poor and many people living in urban poverty.

Migrants do make more money working in the cities

than they did in the countryside, "but that extra income isn't enough to overcome the barriers to upward social mobility that they face," says Dorothy Solinger, a political scientist at the University of California, Irvine, who studies China's urban poor. For instance, many migrants can't afford the fees to send their children to good schools. "It's some-

times possible to break through, but you have to have a lot of money to do it," she says.

Chan also warns that continuing this two-tier citizenship system could become a potential source of social unrest. As migrants begin to recognize their rights and demand change, they could become a destabilizing force in China. This would most likely happen among factory workers who are congregating in one place and have the same set of grievances, Solinger says. Her studies have shown that urban poor who don't work in large factories are more isolated from each other and are unlikely to speak out.

The Chinese government has enacted some reforms of the *hukou* system, but will have to accelerate the pace of that change to maintain the country's social stability and economic growth. At the current speed of reform, the demise of the *hukou* system would probably take 50 years, if not more, Chan says, so for now, "If you think that China's urbanization can save the world, you have to think twice."

—Corinna Wu

Kam Wing Chan, "Crossing the 50 Percent Population Rubicon: Can China Urbanize to Prosperity?" *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 53, 2012.