



"The Snowy Marshlands"
Peter Henry Emerson, 1893

JPNA

Fall 2019
Volume 5 Issue 3

JOURNAL OF PUBLIC AND NONPROFIT AFFAIRS

Research Articles

- Bibliometric Mapping of Emotional Labor Studies in Public Administration
Chih-Wei Hsieh
Mary E. Guy
Daan Wang
- God in the Workplace: Religiosity and Job Satisfaction Among US Public Servants
Michael Bednarczuk
- Service-Learning as a Tool to Cultivate Democratically Minded Students: A Conceptual Framework
Hannah Lebovits
Del M. N. Bharath
- Barriers and Challenges to Service Delivery and Funding: A Case Study of a Nonprofit Organization in the Western Cape, South Africa
Simone Martin-Howard

Current Issues in Practice

- Local Sustainability Innovation Through Cross-Sector Collaboration: Lessons from a Neighborhood Energy Competition
William L. Swann

Book Reviews

- Research Methods Matter: Essential Skills for Decision-Making by Susan Gooden and RaJade Berry-James
Samuel L. Myers, Jr.
- World's Leading National, Public, Monastery and Royal Library Directors: Leadership, Management, Future of Libraries by Patrick Lo, Allen Cho, and Dickson Chiu
Vanjury "V" Dozier

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JOURNAL OF PUBLIC AND NONPROFIT AFFAIRS
a journal of the Midwest Public Affairs Conference

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Statement of Purpose

The *Journal of Public and Nonprofit Affairs (JPNA)* focuses on providing a connection between the practice and research of public and nonprofit affairs. This is accomplished with scholarly research, practical applications of the research, and no fees for publishing or journal access. *JPNA* publishes research from diverse theoretical, methodological, and disciplinary backgrounds that addresses topics related to the affairs and management of public and nonprofit organizations.

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Midwest Public Affairs Conference

September 19 – 20, 2019

2019 Award Recipients

The Midwest Public Affairs Conference (MPAC) presents several awards during its annual conference. The 2019 award recipients are:

Journal of Public and Nonprofit Affairs (JPNA)

2018 Best Article Award

“Nonprofit Economic Development Organizations and the Institutional Arrangement of Local Economic Development”

William Hatcher, Augusta University

Augustine Hammond, Augusta University

MPAC Best Conference Paper Award

“Now You’re Tax-Exempt, Now You’re Not: The Case of Florida Assisted Living Facilities”

Sarah Larson, University of Central Florida

Deborah Carroll, University of Central Florida

MPAC Best Student Conference Paper Award

“Does the Stringency of Rainy Day Fund Rules Matter? Principal Component and Heteroskedastic Regression Analyses of RDF Policies”

Eunjoo Choi, University of Illinois at Chicago

Community iMPACt Award

Matt McIntyre, Founder and Executive Director of Brackets for Good

Journal of Public and Nonprofit Affairs

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Introduction to the Issue

Lindsey M. McDougale – Rutgers University - Newark

Editing this final issue of 2019 has allowed me an opportunity to reflect on some of the many highlights that *Journal of Public and Nonprofit Affairs* (JPNA) has experienced during this year; and, there are three highlights, in particular, that I would like to share with readers.

First, I successfully completed my first year as sole editor of JPNA. In the process, I had the opportunity to speak on editor's panels at nearly half a dozen academic conferences across the United States, as well as in Asia and Africa. Having these opportunities is exciting because they allow me to promote the work of JPNA to broader audiences.

Second, the journal has a new sponsor. The Center for Public Affairs Research, which is housed at University of Nebraska at Omaha in the College of Public Affairs and Community Service's School of Public Administration, is now JPNA's fiscal sponsor. This sponsorship will allow us to continue disseminating high quality research in public and nonprofit affairs.

Finally, the 2019 Midwest Public Affairs Conference (MPAC) has come and gone; and, the turnout was impressive to say the least! Whether or not you attended this year's MPAC conference, I encourage you to submit your best work to JPNA. The journal provides a rigorous, open-source, and free-of-charge outlet for disseminating high quality research from diverse theoretical, methodological, and disciplinary perspectives focusing on topics related to the affairs and management of public and nonprofit organizations.

In this issue of the journal, there are four insightful *Research Articles* as well as a useful *Current Issues in Practice* piece—all of which focus on various aspects of public and nonprofit affairs. In the first *Research Article*, Hsieh, Guy, and Wang (2019) present results of their bibliometric mapping of emotional labor studies in public administration. In recent years, research using bibliographic data has provided significant insight into the intellectual history and diffusion of research in a variety of fields and disciplines. In their study, Hsieh and colleagues rely on bibliographic data to map the study of emotional labor in public administration; and, they reveal gaps that enable and encourage future researchers to move forward with further investigation and theory building on this topic.

In the second *Research Article*, Bednarczuk (2019) examines the role of religiosity in the public sector workforce. Specifically, he looks at the extent to which religiosity is associated with job satisfaction among public servants. Using data from the General Social Survey (2000–2016), the findings from this study demonstrate that religiosity has a direct impact in the public sector workplace. This finding, Bednarczu suggests, has numerous implications for public managers—ranging from management practice to service delivery.

Education has long been considered an important tool to adequately prepare future public servants to lead in complex environments. In the third *Research Article* of this issue, Lebovits and Bharath (2019) employ John Dewey's constructivist pedagogical approach to make the case that service-learning can be a vehicle to cultivate students' understanding of democracy as movement toward the common good. They use the term "real democracy" to describe the ways that substantive practices of Dewey's communal democracy materialize in today's public sector.

Often in nonprofit and public service delivery, there are marginalized and underrepresented voices. In the fourth and final *Research Article* of this issue, Martin-Howard (2019) highlights the underreported voices of black and coloured men and women employed at nonprofit organizations and living in underserved communities of South Africa. Specifically, using a single case study, she explores barriers and challenges to service delivery and funding at a nonprofit organization operating in South Africa's Western Cape Province (WCP).

Our *Current Issues in Practice* piece in this issue asks two questions: *How can cross-sector collaborations involving policy entrepreneurship, local government, businesses, and community organizations produce sustainability innovation? And, how can communities design and implement a successful energy-reduction competition?* The findings from this study offer practical insights for implementing bottom-up energy competitions as a tool for local sustainability.

The issue is completed with two book reviews. The first, by Meyers (2019), provides a review of Susan Gooden and RaJade Berry-James' book titled, *Why Research Methods Matter: Essential Skills for Decision-Making*. The second, by Dozier (2019), provides a review of Patrick Lo, Allen Cho, and Dickson Chiu's book titled, *World's Leading National, Public, Monastery and Royal Library Directors: Leadership, Management, Future of Libraries*.

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Journal of Public and Nonprofit Affairs

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Bibliometric Mapping of Emotional Labor Studies in Public Administration

Chih-Wei Hsieh – *City University of Hong Kong*

Mary E. Guy – *University of Colorado Denver*

Daan Wang – *City University of Hong Kong*

Although emotional labor is increasingly recognized as an essential element in public service delivery (and more generally in the citizen–state encounter), research into emotional labor is at an incipient stage. Therefore, to aid theory development and empirical testing, in this article we use bibliometric mapping to reveal the intellectual networks and paths that emotional labor research has followed in its early diffusion into the field. Four network maps are drawn: one showing the co-authorship network of emotional labor studies, one showing the co-citation network, one showing the network of co-cited scholars, and one showing keyword co-occurrence. These maps reveal gaps that enable and encourage future researchers to move forward with further investigation and theory building. Additionally, this article serves as a model for how other subfields of inquiry can be similarly mapped and how this technique can be used to reflect the diffusion of knowledge within and across disciplines.

Keywords: Emotional Labor, Bibliometric Mapping, Knowledge Diffusion, Network Analysis

The Affective Turn

Decades ago, after observing how flight attendants dealt with frightened, hungry, thirsty, and demanding passengers, sociologist Arlie Hochschild (1983) coined the term “emotional labor” to conceptualize the emotive aspect of service work. The focus of her work was on business enterprises where the quality of the employee–customer relationship determines whether there will be repeat transactions. This concept is especially relevant in public service, where the citizen–state encounter often involves emotions far more intense than those encountered in a sales relationship. The power of the state can enrage citizens, especially in instances when it takes people’s freedoms away, results in police arrests, when zoning officials enforce unpopular restrictions, or when caseworkers remove a child from abusive parents. The state also provides lifesaving services in the midst of chaos and panic, such as in emergency response and disaster management.

Whether constraining freedoms or responding when citizens are panicked, public service workers must manage their own emotive state while also managing the emotions of citizens. They must do so either to achieve compliance or to calm and reassure victims of tragedy. Thus, emotional labor is an important element of public service delivery, and its role has warranted both theoretical and empirical attention. Indeed, there has been an affective turn in public administration scholarship.

The citizen–state encounter, an event highlighted by Charles Goodsell (1981) and more recently by Koen Bartels (2015), requires the management of feelings. If the affective component of public service is to be rendered successfully, workers must manage their own emotions as well as the emotional state of the citizen. This work ranges from authentically displaying one’s own feelings to donning a mask so that the emotion displayed is not what is actually being experienced. For example, the firefighter who is running into a burning building while others are running out of it must display confidence, not fear. The caseworker investigating a complaint of child abuse must display neutrality, not horror. The public information officer must display warmth, compassion, and confidence in front of a microphone while delivering horrific accounts of crimes, floods, and accidents. In other words, public service work requires energy and focus and an embrace of human emotion. As Dubnick (2018) has pointed out, public administration theories should be more “sensitive and responsive to reflexive and emotional human beings as well as the complexities and chaos of social life” (p. 100).

Conceptual Development

When public service delivery requires workers to engage in face-to-face or voice-to-voice exchanges with citizens, successful performance of this work hinges not only on how they detect the other’s state of mind and heart but also on how they adjust their own affective state and exhibit situationally appropriate emotions (Guy, Newman, & Mastracci, 2008). Even though public service practitioners are well aware of the ubiquity of emotional labor, scholars have been reluctant to acknowledge that which cannot be easily counted. Without sully their work with the word “emotion,” most scholars who focus on frontline services write around the subject by explaining how workers must “manage” or “cope” in service exchanges (Lipsky, 1980; Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2003; Tummers, Bekkers, Vink, & Musheno, 2015).

Over time, however, a handful of scholars have helped to overcome the field’s reluctance to using the word “emotion.” Catching up with what practitioners have long known, scholars are now delving into the antecedents, correlates, and consequences of emotional labor in the public service. Leading the way are Mary Guy and Meredith Newman whose 2004 article, *Women’s jobs, men’s jobs: Sex segregation and emotional labor*, marked the beginning of emotional labor studies in public administration (Guy & Newman, 2004). After more than a decade of development, it is now time to take stock of the field’s intellectual integration of emotional labor into theory and research.

Emotional Labor

Emotional labor is job-based and is required in order to perform one’s work effectively. It involves managing one’s own emotional state as well as managing the emotional state of the person with whom one is engaged in order to accomplish the job. To perform emotional labor, the worker goes through an almost instantaneous progression of the following steps:

- 1) sensing the other person’s emotional state;

- 2) analyzing one's own affective state;
- 3) determining whether the other person's affect needs to change (e.g., from hysteria to calmness, such as in an emergency);
- 4) determining whether to suppress one's own emotional state (e.g., fear) in order to display another (e.g., calmness); and,
- 5) acting on these determinations in order to display the emotion that will elicit the desired response from the other person.

While the concept of emotional labor has primarily been studied within the context of retail sales and the hospitality industry (Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 1983; Morris & Feldman, 1996), it is perhaps more germane to public service work. This is because the citizen–state encounter often occurs in emotionally charged situations due to the exercise of power and constraints on freedoms that can be imposed. Hsieh, Jin, and Guy (2012), therefore, analyzed emotional labor across a range of public service occupations. Mastracci, Guy, and Newman (2012) analyzed emotional labor among emergency response workers, while Jin and Guy (2009) analyzed emotional labor in the relatively emotionally benign setting of consumer complaint workers.

In the next section, we provide an overview of bibliometrics. In general, this type of analysis allows scholars to analyze extant studies, illuminate the connections among scholars who are investigating a topic, and assess linkages between research foci. Thus, bibliometric analysis provides us with a means for investigating the evolution, diffusion, and integration of emotional labor scholarship into public administration research.

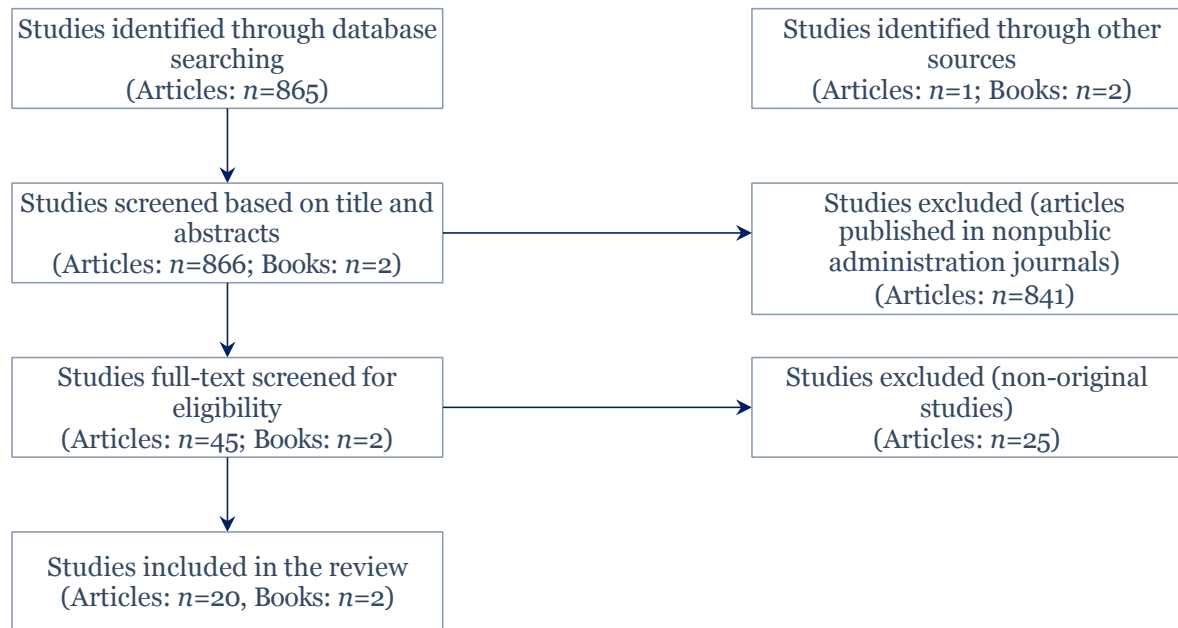
Bibliometric Analysis

Bibliometric analysis, also known as scientometrics, provides a statistical means for analyzing scientific literature. It does so by providing the tools to gauge a discipline's publications and research topics (Osareh, 1996). The method is used to study the body of a given literature and it generates results in various ways, including co-occurrence relationships among keywords, co-authorship collaborations among researchers, co-citations (i.e., relationships among publications, journals, and/or researchers based on the frequency that they are co-cited), and bibliographic coupling networks, which are relationships among publications, journals, and/or researchers based on the frequency that they share the same references (Van Eck & Waltman, 2014). Ultimately, bibliometric analysis provides a tool to probe the evolutionary development of scientific knowledge (Garfield, 2004).

In public administration, bibliometrics has been used to examine publishing trends in journals (Goyal, 2017; Ni, Sugimoto, & Robbin, 2017), knowledge exchanges between disciplines (Vogel, 2014), and the diffusion of Christopher Hood's seminal article, *A public management for all seasons* (Chandra & Walker, 2018). However, bibliometrics has not yet been used to evaluate the degree and pattern of knowledge diffusion in emerging subfields of research within the broader field. Therefore, in this study, we use bibliometric analysis for two purposes: one substantive and the other methodological.

The substantive purpose of this study is to determine the extent to which emotional labor research has diffused through the field of public administration. The methodological purpose is to demonstrate the utility of bibliometrics in assessing the degree and pattern of diffusion of a research focus. The contribution of this work is therefore twofold. First, the bibliometric maps in this study reveal whose work has contributed to the current body of knowledge, whose work has influenced this research, and which subtopics have been studied. These maps also reveal remaining gaps that can enable and encourage future researchers to move forward with further

Figure 1. PRISMA Flowchart for Study Selection



investigation and theory building. Second, this study serves as a model demonstrating how other public administration subfields of inquiry can be mapped to reflect the diffusion of knowledge within and across disciplines.

The sections that follow describe our analytic technique and present our findings in terms of co-authorship, co-citation, and keyword co-occurrence networks. This is followed by a discussion that identifies contributions of existing research, highlights gaps that have yet to be addressed, and explores the utility of bibliometric mapping for other subfields.

Method

The bibliometric data in this study were collected in early 2018 using the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) in the Web of Science Core Collection database. Figure 1 outlines the steps of the study selection process, which adhered to the principles of Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA, 2015). In accordance with PRISMA guidelines, multiple steps for searching and screening the data were conducted. In the first step, we used the keyword “emotional labor” for topical retrieval. There were 865 documents that met this selection criteria. Then, we narrowed our focus to original emotional labor research published in public administration journals.

We focused our analysis on the 47 public administration journals listed in the SSCI database to screen the 865 documents (see Appendix). For the purposes of this study, original emotional labor research was operationalized as research that presents new knowledge rather than existing knowledge. Pursuant to this criterion, commentaries, summaries, or reviews of existing findings that produced no novel contributions to the literature were deleted. Similarly, publications that did not focus on emotional labor as a central concept as well as publications that cited the relevant literature but did not elaborate on the subject or empirically examine it were deleted. Given that

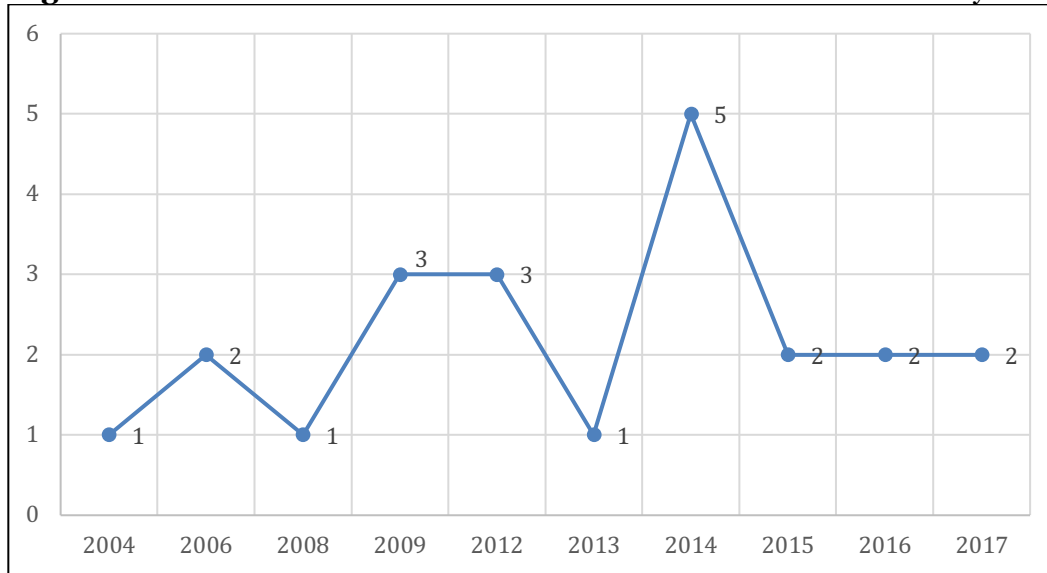
Table 1. List of Emotional Labor Studies in Public Administration with Year of Publication

	Author(s)	Title	Source	Type
1	Guy, & Newman	Women's jobs, men's jobs: Sex segregation and emotional labor	<i>Public Administration Review</i> , 2004, 64(3), 289-298	Journal article
2	Mastracci, Newman, & Guy	Appraising emotion work: Determining whether emotional labor is valued in government jobs	<i>American Review of Public Administration</i> , 2006, 36(2), 123-138	Journal article
3	Meier, Mastracci, & Wilson	Gender and emotional labor in public organizations: An empirical examination of the link to performance	<i>Public Administration Review</i> , 2006, 66(6)	Journal article
4	Guy, Newman, & Mastracci	<i>Emotional labor: Putting the service in public service</i>	M. E. Sharpe Inc., 2008	Book
5	Newman, Guy, & Mastracci	Beyond cognition: Affective leadership and emotional labor	<i>Public Administration Review</i> , 2009, 69(1), 6-20	Journal article
6	Hsieh, & Guy	Performance outcomes: The relationship between managing the "heart" and managing client satisfaction	<i>Review of Public Personnel Administration</i> , 2009, 29(1), 41-57	Journal article
7	Jin, & Guy	How emotional labor influences worker pride, job satisfaction, and burnout: An examination of consumer complaint workers	<i>Public Performance & Management Review</i> , 2009, 33(1), 88-105	Journal article
8	Hsieh, Jin, & Guy	Consequences of work-related emotions: Analysis of a cross-section of public service workers	<i>American Review of Public Administration</i> , 2012, 42(1), 39-53	Journal article
9	Hsieh, Yang, & Fu	Motivational bases and emotional labor: Assessing the impact of public service motivation	<i>Public Administration Review</i> , 2012, 72(2), 241-251	Journal article
10	Mastracci, Guy, & Newman	<i>Emotional labor and crisis response: Working on the razor's edge</i>	M. E. Sharpe Inc., 2012	Book
11	Guy, & Newman	Emotional labor, job satisfaction and burnout: How each affects the other	<i>Human resource management in the public sector</i> , 2013, pp. 132-150	Book chapter
12	Lu, & Guy	How emotional labor and ethical leadership affect job engagement for Chinese public servants	<i>Public Personnel Management</i> , 2014, 43(1), 3-24	Journal article
13	Sloan	The consequences of emotional labor for public sector workers and the mitigating role of self-efficacy	<i>American Review of Public Administration</i> , 2014, 44(3), 274-290	Journal article

14	Tomsich, & Guy	Perceptions of authority: How gender affects citizen ratings of judges	<i>Administration & Society</i> , 2014, 46(5), 471-495	Journal article
15	Hsieh	Burnout among public service workers: The role of emotional labor requirements and job resources	<i>Review of Public Personnel Administration</i> , 2014, 34(4), 379-402	Journal article
16	Wilding, Chae, & Jang	Emotional labor in Korean local government: Testing the consequences of situational factors and emotional dissonance	<i>Public Performance & Management Review</i> , 2014, 38(2), 316-336	Journal article
17	Yang, & Guy	Gender effects on emotional labor in Seoul metropolitan area	<i>Public Personnel Management</i> , 2015, 44(1), 3-24	Journal article
18	Guy, & Lee	How emotional intelligence mediates emotional labor in public service jobs	<i>Review of Public Personnel Administration</i> , 2015, 35(3), 261-277	Journal article
19	Mastracci, & Hsieh	Emotional labor and job stress in caring professions: Exploring universalism and particularism in construct and culture	<i>International Journal of Public Administration</i> , 2016, 39(14), 1125-1133	Journal article
20	Hsieh, Hsieh, & Huang	Self-efficacy as a mediator and moderator between emotional labor and job satisfaction: A case study of public service employees in Taiwan	<i>Public Performance & Management Review</i> , 2016, 40(1), 71-96	Journal article
21	Guy	Mom work versus dad work in local government	<i>Administration & Society</i> , 2017, 49(1), 48-64	Journal article
22	Cho, & Song	Determinants of turnover intention of social workers: Effects of emotional labor and organizational trust	<i>Public Personnel Management</i> , 2017, 46(1), 41-65	Journal article

the Web of Science database contains only SSCI publications, some original emotional labor studies do not appear (e.g., books written by Guy et al. [2008], Mastracci, Guy, & Newman [2012], and Mastracci & Hsieh [2016]). Therefore, in order to obtain a more accurate account of original emotional labor research in public administration, we conducted a search of non-SSCI publications using Google Scholar. These results were added to the data (see Table 1). Figure 2 displays the number of publications by year.

To analyze the bibliometric data we used VOSviewer, which is a free software developed by Van Eck and Waltman (2010). We used VOSviewer to facilitate network mapping. Network mapping is one of the key procedures in bibliometric analysis. This is a procedure that visualizes the connections in a corpus of work. Each network contains two types of information: nodes and edges. Nodes are publications, journals, authors, and keywords. Edges represent relationships and the strength of those relationships between pairs of nodes (Van Eck & Waltman, 2014).

Figure 2. Number of Emotional Labor Studies in Public Administration by Year

Findings

This section presents three networks: co-authorship, co-citation, and keyword co-occurrence networks. These networks respectively reveal which authors have contributed to scholarly knowledge of emotional labor in public administration, those who have influenced this research, and what topics have been studied.

Co-Authorship Network

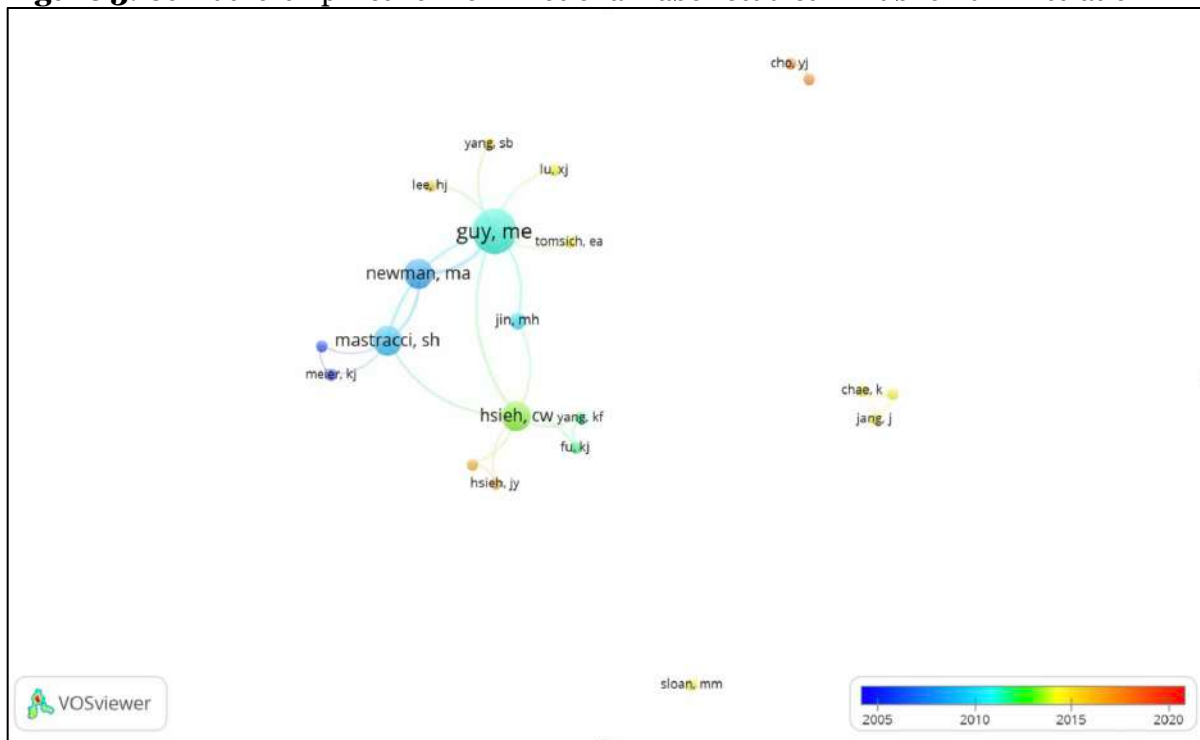
The first analysis shows the network of co-authors. There are 21 authors in total. In Figure 3, a node represents an author. The size of the node indicates how frequently the author's research appears in the collected data. The coloring of the node (using the color scheme illustrated in the legend) shows the average year of publications by a particular author. An edge between two nodes represents a co-authorship relationship for one or more publications in the data. In the network, the average number of collaborators with an author is 1.11.

The largest connected subgraph of Figure 3 is a group of 15 researchers. Within this group, there is an inner circle, consisting of Mary Guy, Meredith Newman, Sharon Mastracci, Chih-Wei Hsieh, and Myung Jin. As previously mentioned, Guy and Newman's (2004) article called attention to emotional labor in public service. Not long after, Mastracci joined the two researchers as their work probed this topic. Together, they pioneered emotional labor research by publishing books, book chapters, and journal articles.

As for Hsieh and Jin, they were doctoral students under Guy's supervision and both of them published their first emotional labor research with Guy in 2009. Together they produced another publication in 2012. Hsieh also co-published a comparative study on emotional labor with Mastracci in 2016.

Apart from this inner circle, 10 researchers joined the core group by working with the abovementioned authors. Elizabeth Tomsich, Seung-Bum Yang, Hyun Jung Lee, and Xiaojun Lu are all associated with Guy, while Kenneth Meier and Kristin Wilson are co-authors of Mastracci.

Figure 3. Co-Authorship Network of Emotional Labor Studies in Public Administration



Hsieh has co-published with two groups of scholars. One group consists of Kaifeng Yang and Kai-Jo Fu. The other consists of Junyi Hsieh and Irving Huang.

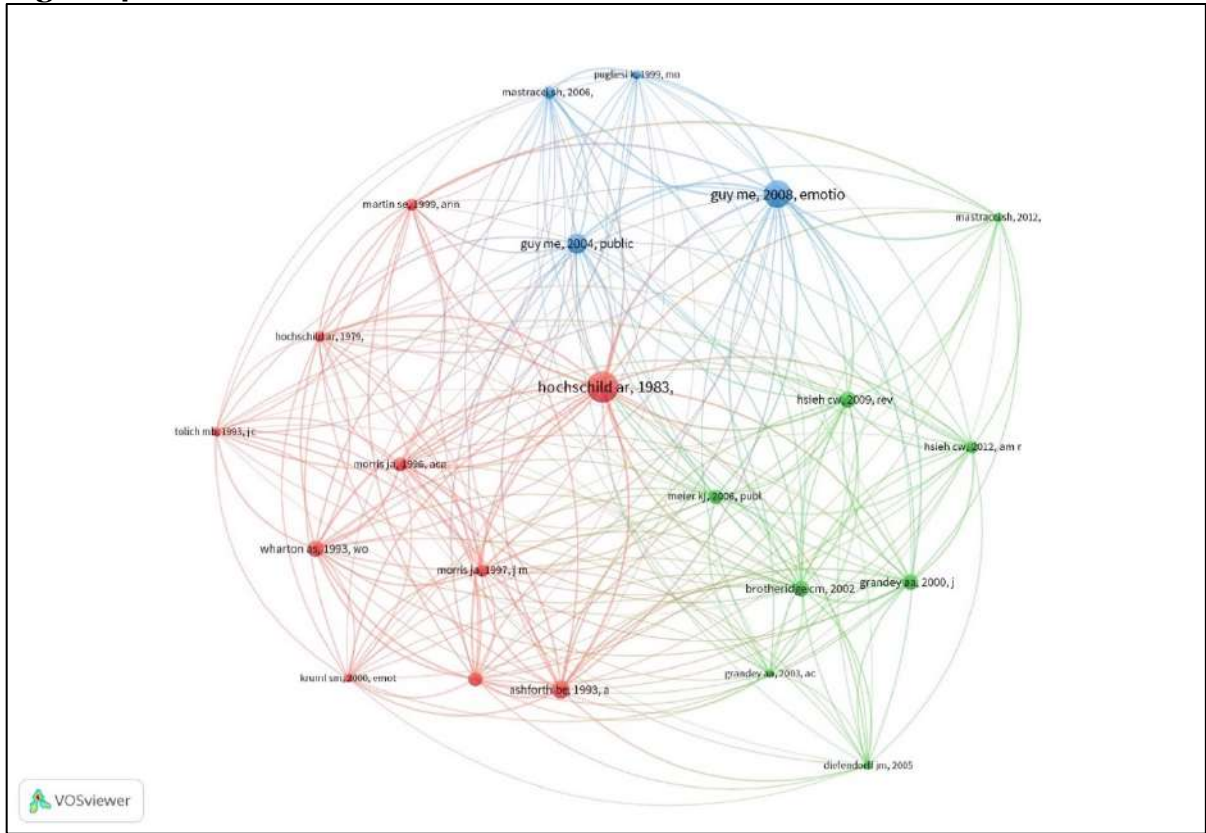
Separated from the core cluster of researchers are three smaller clusters: 1) Melissa Sloan; 2) Mark Wilding, Kyungjin Chae and Jiho Jang; and 3) Yoon Jik Cho and Hyun Jin Song. Each of these clusters reflects a publication produced by the author(s).

It is worth noting that early scholars who contributed to the literature on emotional labor in public administration are based in the United States (US). More recently, international researchers have penetrated this Americentric focus by working with American scholars. Collaboratively, they have examined emotional labor-related content in non-US contexts, such as China (Lu & Guy, 2014), South Korea (Guy & Lee, 2015; Wilding, Chae, & Jang, 2014; Yang & Guy, 2015), and Taiwan (Hsieh, Hsieh, & Huang, 2016). One study in particular, the work of Mastracci and Hsieh (2016), was conducted specifically utilizing a comparative lens. These authors compared job stress among nurses in individualist and collectivist cultures.

Co-Citation Network: References

The second and third networks show co-citation relationships. To understand the corpus of emotional labor scholarship in public administration, it is important to understand its origins as well as its evolution. By delving into what and whom researchers cite, the full scholarly progression is revealed.

To serve this purpose, we mapped co-citation networks of references and scholars (see Figures 4 and 5). We created these maps using VOSviewer. The maps considered the attributes of the bibliometric data.

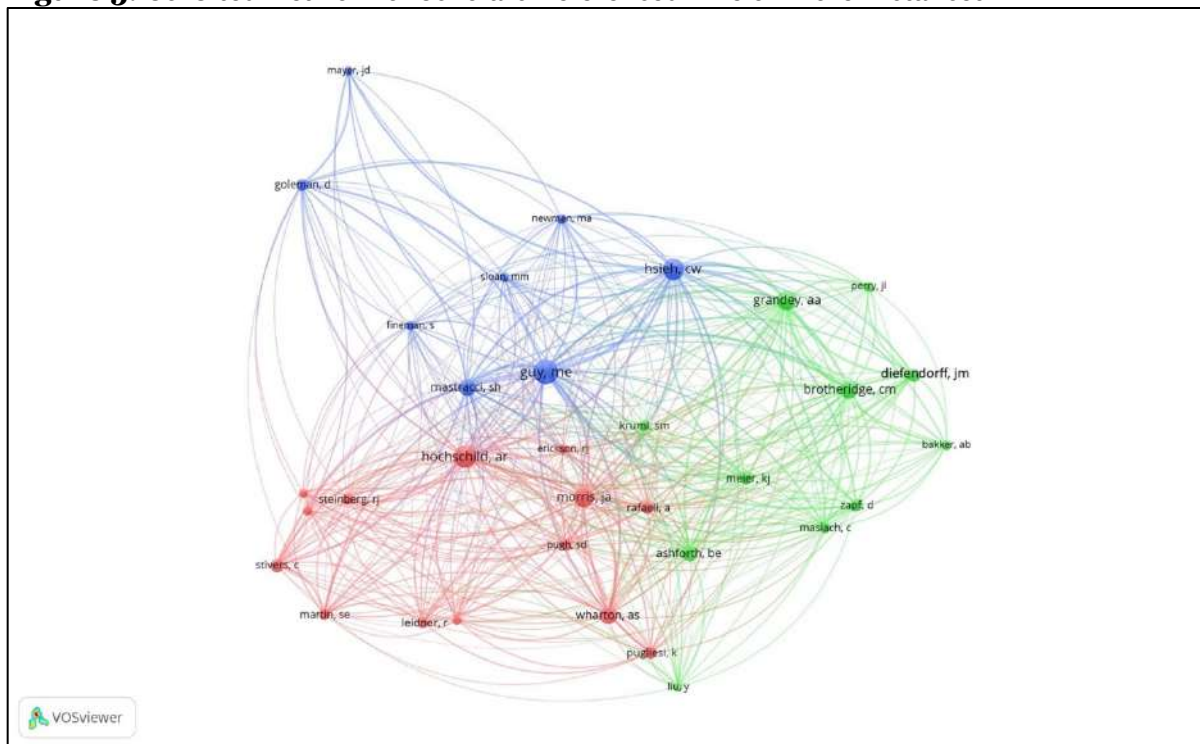
Figure 4. Co-Citation Network of References Cited Five or More Instances

A node in these networks depicts a reference or a scholar, and an edge between two nodes indicates a co-citation relationship (i.e., being cited together by one or more studies). The size of the node reflects how frequently the reference or the scholar was cited by the collected literature, while the location and the color of the node is based on relatedness (or similarity) with other nodes (Van Eck & Waltman, 2014). For instance, proximity to one another signifies a strong co-citation relationship, and identical coloring indicates the same property shared by two nodes. Due to the magnitude of co-cited references ($n=457$) and scholars ($n=574$), it would be indecipherable if all of the nodes were included in a single map. Therefore, only references and scholars cited five or more instances are presented.

Figure 4 displays the co-citation network of references. The references can be classified into three clusters. The first cluster (displayed in red) consists of generic emotional labor research developed in the last century. Unsurprisingly, one publication in particular, Hochschild (1983), has been referenced extensively. Since she developed the concept of emotional labor in her seminal book, *The managed heart: Commercialization of human feeling*, this is to be expected. Thus, this publication naturally lies at the center of the network. There are, in total, 17 citations of this book in public administration, making it the most cited reference on emotional labor.

In addition to Hochschild's book, other early work has exerted significant influence on emotional labor research in public administration by offering a broader understanding of its conceptualization and operationalization (e.g., Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Kruml & Geddes, 2000; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). Some of these early studies, including Hochschild's, are qualitative in nature. Overall, the studies show an evolution in scholarly inquiry

Figure 5. Co-Cited Network of Scholars Referenced Five or More Instances



from interviews and case studies to quantitative analyses of large sample surveys. While qualitative work can better provide in-depth insights into emotional labor, quantitative research has made it possible to explore the psychometric properties of emotional labor (e.g., constructs and measures) and their associated antecedents, correlates, and consequences in large samples.

The other two clusters in Figure 4 illustrate how emotional labor research has developed within public administration. The second cluster (displayed in blue) contains mostly early research by Guy and colleagues. Within the public administration literature, Guy and Newman (2004) were the first to publish on the concept; and, the work of Mastracci, Newman, and Guy (2006) underscored the centrality of emotional labor in job tasks. Yet, the most influential piece of their work is the 2008 book, *Emotional labor: Putting the service in public service*. This book presents a mixed-methods investigation into the emotive demands of public service jobs. Based on interviews with workers in a range of jobs, the authors developed and applied the Guy-Newman-Mastracci Emotional Labor Questionnaire, which they designed to measure elements of emotional labor and its sequelae (including pride in work, job satisfaction, and burnout). This book has been cited 15 times by other public administration studies.

The third cluster (displayed in green) reveals continuing scholarly development as cited references cover a broader scope of research. For example, Mastracci, Guy, and Newman (2012) focused on the work experiences of crisis responders. The work in these jobs is, by definition, emotionally intense. The book provides insights from interviews of responders as they explain what their day-to-day work experiences involve.

Also in the third cluster, Meier, Mastracci, and Wilson (2006) as well as Hsieh and Guy (2009) examined emotional labor's effect on public service performance. Moreover, many references in the third cluster such as Grandey (2000, 2003) and Diefendorff, Croyle, and Gosserand (2005)—

both of which focus on emotional labor in for-profit jobs—introduced conceptual frameworks grounded in Hochschild’s work. These generic management studies have informed and enriched public sector research on emotional labor, whose focus is not on intra-office and sales relationships but rather on citizen–state relationships.

Co-Citation Network: Scholars

While Figure 4 shows the network of citations, Figure 5 reveals another variant on the research. It shows the extent to which individual scholars have had an impact on emotional labor research in public administration. There are 33 authors broadly clustered into three groups based on the likelihood that they are co-cited by the same study. With no attribution of causation, the presentation here focuses on the simple frequency of reference.

Similar to Figure 4, Arlie Hochschild who is the foremother of generic emotional labor research, is near the center of this bibliometric map. She is undeniably one of the most influential scholars as she has accumulated 26 citations. Yet, as the figure shows, Mary Guy who pioneered the subject within public administration, extended the discussion of emotional labor to public service jobs and is the most referenced scholar in this field (with 32 citations). Among the top 10 most-cited authors, there are three public administration scholars: Chih-Wei Hsieh (with 25 citations), Sharon Mastracci (with 15 citations), and Mary Guy. This analysis reveals the interdisciplinary nature of public administration research and its compartmentalization. The field relies heavily on the “import” of generic literature (primarily from sociology and business) to inform its theory building and research.

Keyword Co-Occurrence Network

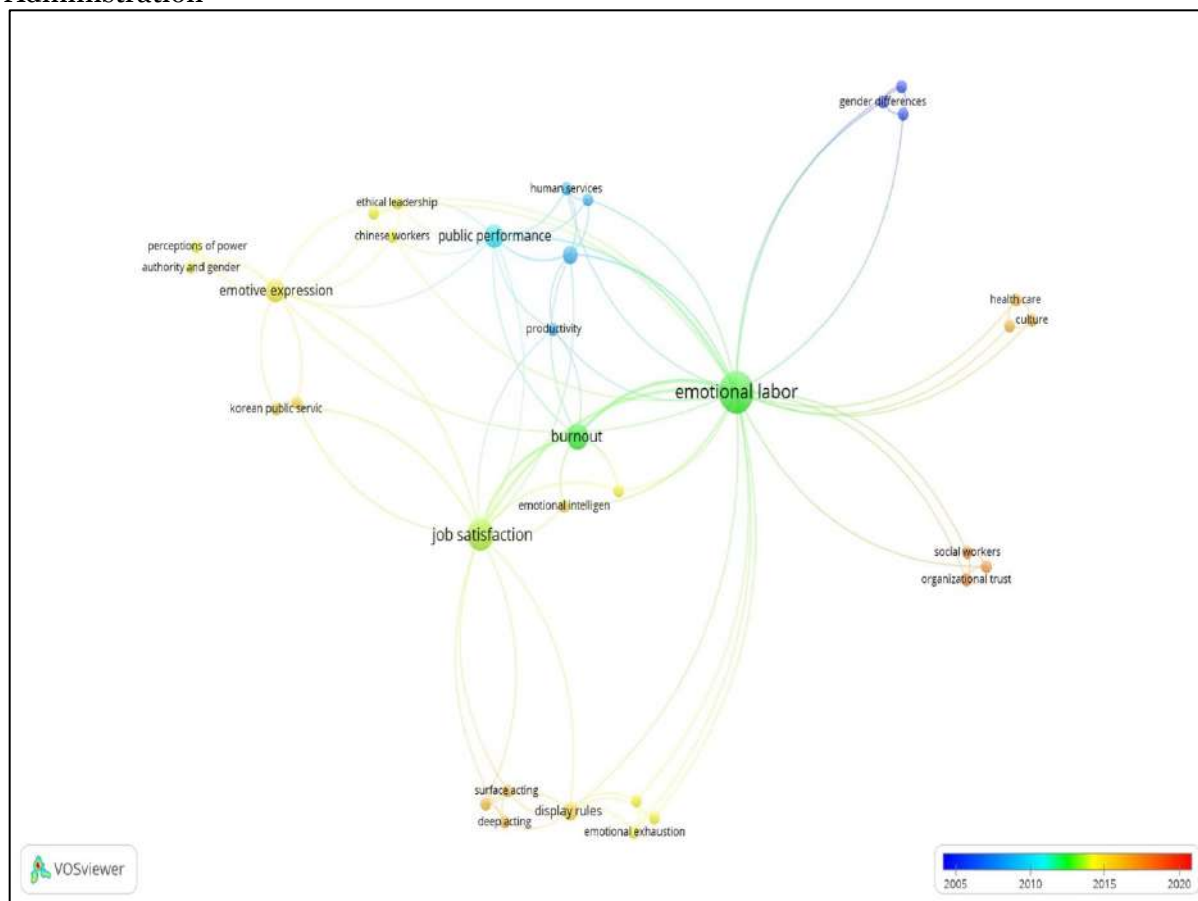
Keywords are supplied by authors and indicate the topics covered in publications. They usually appear in the abstract of a publication. To understand the subjects and themes covered by the collected bibliometric data, we analyzed the co-occurrence of author keywords. Keywords of each publication were obtained from the Web of Science or Google Scholar databases used in this analysis. Keywords were not available for the two books and the one book chapter.

The results of our network mapping are presented in Figure 6, where a node represents a keyword. The size of the node indicates how frequently the keyword appears in the data. The coloring of the node is based on the average year of publication of the keyword. An edge between two nodes indicates a co-occurrence relationship, which ultimately indicates that the connected keywords appeared together in one or more studies.

The data set consists of 34 keywords, of which the following terms occur most frequently: “emotional labor” and its synonym “emotion work” (12 occurrences), “job satisfaction” (six occurrences), “burnout” (four occurrences), “emotive expression” (three occurrences), and “public performance” (three occurrences). There are also terms such as “display rules,” “deep acting,” and “surface acting” that are subdimensions of the emotional labor construct, suggesting that public administration researchers have also studied the distinctive effects of various emotional labor demands and strategies.

To display the evolution of research content, we mapped the co-occurrence network of keywords using the overlay visualization function of VOSviewer (see Figure 6). Temporal variation in research topics and themes can be detected by checking the average publication year of each keyword (Goyal, 2017). As the figure shows, “gender differences” and “emotional labor” are

Figure 6. Keyword Co-Occurrence Network of Emotional Labor Studies in Public Administration



connected, which reflects the fact that gender equality is the major impetus for the naissance of emotional labor research in public administration. That is, when Guy and Newman (2004) introduced the concept to the field, they did so against the backdrop of gender segregation in the workplace. They argued that emotional labor, especially in terms of nurturance, is characterized as “women’s work” and is undervalued in the labor marketplace. This has led to an increase in the number of scholars who have focused their work on the gender effects of emotional labor (e.g., Guy, 2017; Mastracci, Newman, & Guy, 2006; Meier et al., 2006; Tomsich & Guy, 2014; Yang & Guy, 2015).

Public service performance is another popular theme among studies. Guy, Newman, and Mastracci (2008) contend that emotional labor helps public service workers produce a better dyadic interaction with citizens. However, except for the studies of Meier, Mastracci, and Wilson (2006) and Hsieh and Guy (2009), most publications do not include a performance measure as the variable to be explained or examined. Instead, these studies focus on issues surrounding behavioral and physiological consequences of emotional labor. Studies that use keywords such as “job satisfaction,” “job engagement,” “burnout,” “emotional exhaustion,” “job stress,” and “turnover intention” are emblematic of this line of inquiry. In the collected publications, 12 of these studies contained at least one of these keywords. Given that the consequences of performing emotion work can be troublesome, some of these studies even explore ways to mitigate burnout, such as “emotional intelligence,” “emotive skills,” “job resources,” and “self-efficacy.”

Discussion

The networks and maps in this study provide insights into pathways of theory development and measurement for emotional labor in public service. These networks and maps also demonstrate how research diffuses across the spectrum of social sciences and into public administration from other fields as well as out of the former and into the latter. This diffusion is unidirectional if the diffusion occurs only from one field to another and bidirectional when it occurs in both directions.

From the networks and maps presented in this study it is obvious that scholars have gradually formed an intellectual community around the subject of emotional labor in public service. It is also obvious that the business-focused literature serves as a backdrop and informs this work. However, the extent to which public administration scholars' research has contributed in the opposite direction remains unclear. To measure the contributions of the 22 collected publications in this study, we relied on the Web of Science database to obtain citation information from SSCI journals (both public administration and nonpublic administration). We then tallied the frequency with which the 22 emotional labor publications in public administration had been cited by articles in other fields and by public administration articles published by SSCI journals. Tables 2 and 3 present these findings.

Altogether, the 22 public administration emotional labor publications have been cited 68 times in nonpublic administration publications focusing on emotional labor. These nonpublic administration publications are from several disciplines, including general management (30 citations), psychology (17 citations), occupational health (14 citations), and gender studies (seven citations).

In contrast, public administration has made greater "use" of the 22 emotional labor publications. There are 186 citations by 87 articles published by SSCI public administration journals, such as *Public Administration Review* (13 articles), *Review of Public Personnel Administration* (11 articles), *Public Personnel Management* (10 articles), *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* (eight articles), and *American Review of Public Administration* (eight articles). Most of the articles share a common focus on either employee wellbeing or gender equity. The 187 citations by public administration articles is nearly three times as many as the frequency of citations in the generic emotional labor literature. Thus, the generic research informs its counterpart in public administration but not necessarily the other way around. This highlights the balkanization of the academy, where each discipline focuses more inwardly than outwardly (except in the case of inherently interdisciplinary fields such as public administration).

Tables 2 and 3 also show that the pioneering work of Guy and Newman (2004) is the most referenced publication, which has been cited 15 times in nonpublic administration emotional labor publications and 49 times in public administration emotional labor publications. This is followed by the seminal book of Guy, Newman, and Mastracci (2008), which has been cited 14 times in nonpublic administration publications and 26 times in public administration publications. In Table 2, there is a gap between the two above-mentioned publications and the rest of the collected bibliometric data. As the third publication on this list, the article by Meier, Mastracci, and Wilson (2006) has been referenced six times; and, although it has not significantly contributed to the generic emotional labor literature, this publication *has* influenced public administration scholarship (22 citations).

Table 2. Emotional Labor Studies in Public Administration Cited in Nonpublic Administration Articles

# of Cites	Author(s)	Title	Source
15	Guy, & Newman	Women's jobs, men's jobs: Sex segregation and emotional labor	<i>Public Administration Review</i> , 2004, 64(3), 289-298
14	Guy, Newman, & Mastracci	<i>Emotional labor: Putting the <u>service</u> in public service</i>	M. E. Sharpe Inc., 2008
6	Meier, Mastracci, & Wilson	Gender and emotional labor in public organizations: An empirical examination of the link to performance	<i>Public Administration Review</i> , 2006, 66(6), 899-909
5	Hsieh, Yang, & Fu	Motivational bases and emotional labor: Assessing the impact of public service motivation	<i>Public Administration Review</i> , 2012, 72(2), 241-251
5	Mastracci, Guy, & Newman	<i>Emotional labor and crisis response: Working on the razor's edge</i>	M. E. Sharpe Inc., 2012
5	Mastracci, Newman, & Guy	Appraising emotion work: Determining whether emotional labor is valued in government jobs	<i>American Review of Public Administration</i> , 2006, 36(2), 123-138
4	Hsieh, & Guy	Performance outcomes: The relationship between managing the "heart" and managing client satisfaction	<i>Review of Public Personnel Administration</i> , 2009, 29(1), 41-57
4	Newman, Guy, & Mastracci	Beyond cognition: Affective leadership and emotional labor	<i>Public Administration Review</i> , 2009, 69(1), 6-20
3	Jin, & Guy	How emotional labor influences worker pride, job satisfaction, and burnout: An examination of consumer complaint workers	<i>Public Performance & Management Review</i> , 2009, 33(1), 88-105
2	Lu, & Guy	How emotional labor and ethical leadership affect job engagement for Chinese public servants	<i>Public Personnel Management</i> , 2014, 43(1), 3-24
1	Guy, & Lee	How emotional intelligence mediates emotional labor in public service jobs	<i>Review of Public Personnel Administration</i> , 2015, 35(3), 261-277
1	Sloan	The consequences of emotional labor for public sector workers and the mitigating role of self-efficacy	<i>American Review of Public Administration</i> , 2014, 44(3), 274-290
1	Yang, & Guy	Gender effects on emotional labor in Seoul metropolitan area	<i>Public Personnel Management</i> , 2015, 44(1), 3-24
1	Hsieh	Burnout among public service workers: The role of emotional labor requirements and job resources	<i>Review of Public Personnel Administration</i> , 2014, 34(4), 379-402
1	Hsieh, Jin, & Guy	Consequences of work-related emotions: Analysis of a cross-section of public service workers	<i>American Review of Public Administration</i> , 2012, 42(1), 39-53

Table 3. Emotional Labor Studies in Public Administration Cited in Public Administration Articles

# of Cites	Author(s)	Title	Source
49	Guy, & Newman	Women's jobs, men's jobs: Sex segregation and emotional labor	<i>Public Administration Review</i> , 2004, 64(3), 289-298
26	Guy, Newman, & Mastracci	<i>Emotional labor: Putting the service in public service</i>	M. E. Sharpe Inc., 2008
22	Meier, Mastracci, & Wilson	Gender and emotional labor in public organizations: An empirical examination of the link to performance	<i>Public Administration Review</i> , 2006, 66(6), 899-909
14	Newman, Guy, & Mastracci	Beyond cognition: Affective leadership and emotional labor	<i>Public Administration Review</i> , 2009, 69(1), 6-20
11	Mastracci, Newman, & Guy	Appraising emotion work: Determining whether emotional labor is valued in government jobs	<i>American Review of Public Administration</i> , 2006, 36(2), 123-138
11	Hsieh, & Guy	Performance outcomes: The relationship between managing the "heart" and managing client satisfaction	<i>Review of Public Administration</i> , 2009, 29(1), 41-57
10	Hsieh, Yang, & Fu	Motivational bases and emotional labor: Assessing the impact of public service motivation	<i>Public Administration Review</i> , 2012, 72(2), 241-251
10	Mastracci, Guy, & Newman	<i>Emotional labor and crisis response: working on the razor's edge</i>	M. E. Sharpe Inc., 2012
9	Hsieh, Jin, & Guy	Consequences of work-related emotions: Analysis of a cross-section of public service workers	<i>American Review of Public Administration</i> , 2012, 42(1), 39-53
7	Jin, & Guy	How emotional labor influences worker pride, job satisfaction, and burnout: An examination of consumer complaint workers	<i>Public Performance & Management Review</i> , 2009, 33(1), 88-105
6	Hsieh	Burnout among public service workers: The role of emotional labor requirements and job resources	<i>Review of Public Administration</i> , 2014, 34(4), 379-402
3	Lu, & Guy	How emotional labor and ethical leadership affect job engagement for Chinese public servants	<i>Public Personnel Management</i> , 2014, 43(1), 3-24
2	Guy, & Lee	How emotional intelligence mediates emotional labor in public service jobs	<i>Review of Public Administration</i> , 2015, 35(3), 261-277
2	Sloan	The consequences of emotional labor for public sector workers and the mitigating role of self-efficacy	<i>American Review of Public Administration</i> , 2014, 44(3), 274-290

2	Wilding, Chae, & Jang	Emotional labor in Korean local government: Testing the consequences of situational factors and emotional dissonance	<i>Public Performance & Management Review</i> , 2014, 38(2), 316-336
1	Yang, & Guy	Gender effects on emotional labor in Seoul metropolitan area	<i>Public Personnel Management</i> , 2015, 44(1), 3-24
1	Tomsich, & Guy	Perceptions of authority: How gender affects citizen ratings of judges	<i>Administration & Society</i> , 2014, 46(5), 471-495

Recency also factors into citations. Indeed, for studies published after 2010, only Hsieh, Yang, and Fu (2012) and Mastracci, Guy, and Newman (2012) have five citations or more in Table 2 and 10 citations in Table 3. Thus, one conclusion may be that in a new area of research that goes against the grain of the canon (e.g., research where emotion is seen not as a troublesome byproduct but an inherent aspect of human behavior) it can take longer for a subject to resonate with scholars and be considered worthy of investigation. Indeed, the popularity of “behavioral” public management is rising despite the fact that its advocates continue to avoid the reality of emotion. Instead, the research focuses on cognition and attempts to acknowledge the cognitive sequelae to emotion rather than the *experience* of emotion (e.g., see Tummers et al., 2015). As long as the field turns a blind eye to the reality of emotion, however, public administration scholars will never fully comprehend all of the dimensions that produce behavior.

Conclusion and Looking Forward

Several caveats are in order when interpreting the networks displayed in this article. First, the points on the maps are moving targets. In fact, as we were writing this article, there was more work on emotional labor being published. Thus, it is best to view these maps as pictures of the field at one point in time with an understanding that progression will continue, and new work will be continually added. Second, as convenient as online database searches are they inevitably miss some publications. Although we sought to find all of the relevant literature, we may have missed some. Still, this study demonstrates the utility of bibliometric analysis in assessing the state of a subfield. It also demonstrates the extensiveness and intensiveness of networks of scholars who probe similar subjects, where the most growth is, the rapidity or slowness of the subfield, and the existing gaps in knowledge.

Working backward from the mappings, there is room for growth in comparative and international research on emotional labor in public administration. The Anglo-centric approach to public administration theory is only reflective of Western thought, culture, and norms. It has little cognizance of other approaches. The citizen–state relationship will be better understood when more research is available to illuminate it around the globe.

Based on the identification of keywords, the research in this study focused on the sequelae to emotional labor in terms of job satisfaction, burnout, performance effects, and emotional intelligence correlates, as we know little about how emotional labor influences the citizen–state relationship. For example, how does emotion work performed by public servants influence citizen engagement, participation, and commitment? Is citizen participation affected by the quality of transactions between government officials and citizens? To what degree do feelings of trust increase citizens’ interest in engagement with the state? How does the role of contractors as

intermediaries between government and citizens affect engagement? How does it influence the affective relationship between citizen and state? How does it affect the performance of emotional labor? These are questions that have yet to be investigated, but the answers could have a substantive impact on practice.

Extending the focus beyond the subfield of emotional labor, this study demonstrates how to map the diffusion of knowledge using software for bibliometric analysis. The display technology offers a microscope-like tool that allows us to examine the structure of literature in full detail. The networks of co-authors and of co-citations reveal the “research tribes,” which provide us with information about boundaries and edges. While the former blinds scholars to related research, the latter opens their eyes to it. In other words, boundaries are hard lines that circumscribe what is read and incorporated into theory. Edges are penetrable areas of knowledge that are ripe for more investigation. They, therefore, invite theory building. To the degree that public administration scholarship lends itself more to edges than boundaries, the networks within which scholars circulate will be broad.

Keyword co-occurrence networks reveal topics of existing studies. They also make obvious topics that have yet to be addressed. By undertaking a detailed examination of keyword co-occurrences, scholars are better informed of the current state of knowledge as well as potential directions for future research in their field. Thus, we hope that this study will spur additional analyses of important topics within public administration. As a caveat, however, it is important to note that selection of keywords carries with it an inherent bias that should be acknowledged. That is, keywords selected by authors of original works as well as keywords selected by authors of this research are subjective. This may skew results.

Ultimately, bibliometrics is another tool that public administration scholars can use to study the literature in the field, learn how its knowledge diffuses, where its edges are, and what research gaps need to be filled. With the proliferation of searchable databases, these should yield valuable information for doctoral students as they search for dissertation topics. These databases should also yield valuable information for established scholars as they track existing networks and build theory.

Disclosure Statement

The authors declare that there are no conflicts of interest that relate to the research, authorship, or publication of this article.

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Author Biographies

Chih-Wei Hsieh is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Public Policy at City University of Hong Kong. His research focuses on the management of human resources in public service as well as related equality and morality challenges. He has published articles on emotional labor, public service motivation, workplace diversity, and employee well-being.

Mary E. Guy is a Professor in the School of Public Affairs at the University of Colorado Denver. Her research focuses on the human processes involved in public service delivery with a special emphasis on emotional labor. Recent books include *The Palgrave handbook of global perspectives on emotional labor in public service* (with Sharon H. Mastracci and Seung-Bum Yang) and *Essentials of public service: An introduction to public administration* (with Todd Ely). She is past president of the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA) and a fellow of the National Academy of Public Administration (NAPA).

Daan Wang is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Public Policy at City University of Hong Kong. He has multiple years of work experience as a policy researcher in Chinese local government. His research interests focus on public sector human resource management, public management innovation, and collaborative governance. He is currently working on a research project focusing on civil service selection in China.

Appendix

Table A1. List of Public Administration Journals in 2016 SSCI

Journal	Journal Ranking
Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory	1
Public Administration Review	2
Journal of Policy Analysis and Management	3
Journal of European Public Policy	4
Public Administration	5
Regulation & Governance	6
Climate Policy	7
Governance	8
Public Management Review	9
Policy Studies Journal	10
Policy & Politics	11
Journal of Public Policy	12
Environment and Planning C-Government and Policy	13
Policy Sciences	14
International Public Management Journal	15
Journal of European Social Policy	16
Review of Policy Research	17
Science and Public Policy	18
Public Policy and Administration	19
Review of Public Personnel Administration	20
Journal of Social Policy	21
American Review of Public Administration	22
International Review of Administrative Sciences	23
Journal of Accounting and Public Policy	24
Social Policy & Administration	25
Nonprofit Management & Leadership	26
Public Money & Management	27
Policy and Society	28
Administration & Society	29
Australian Journal of Public Administration	30
Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis	31
Public Personnel Management	32
Local Government Studies	33
Contemporary Economic Policy	34
Public Administration and Development	35
Public Performance & Management Review	36
Lex Localis-Journal of Local Self-Government	37
Canadian Public Policy-Analyse de politiques	38
Policy Studies	39
Human Service Organizations Management Leadership & Governance	40
Journal of Homeland Security and Emergency Management	41
Transylvanian Review of Administrative Sciences	42
Canadian Public Administration	43
Gestion y Politica Publica	44
Revista del CLAD Reforma y Democracia	45
Civil Szemle	46
Amme Idaresi Dergisi	47

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God in the Workplace: Religiosity and Job Satisfaction Among US Public Servants

Michael Bednarczuk – Grace College

Given the myriad positive effects of job satisfaction, analyzing its determinants continues to be a much-examined topic in public administration. Research on religiosity in the public sector suggests that faith is uniquely important among bureaucrats. However, the direct effect of religiosity on public employee job outcomes remains unexamined. This study brings together these fields to examine the role that religiosity plays in job satisfaction among public servants. Using a framework that integrates religion into the public sector workplace, I hypothesize that religiosity will have a positive effect on job satisfaction. Drawing on data from the General Social Survey from 2000 to 2016 and through the estimation of an ordered logit model, the findings from this study support this hypothesis. Ultimately, this study demonstrates that religiosity has a direct impact in the public sector workplace. This finding has numerous implications for public managers—ranging from management practice to service delivery.

Keywords: Job Satisfaction, Public Servants, Religiosity

Religion can cause tension in the workplace, especially in the public sector. Public managers often have to negotiate requests from employees concerning the exercise of their faith on the job, such as if and where public prayer is allowed or how to accommodate religious dress. These types of religious considerations can have an impact on the implementation of policy. For example, a county clerk in Kentucky cited her religious beliefs when she ordered her office to no longer issue marriage licenses to same-sex couples.

While the interplay of religion and the public sector is a regular occurrence, many unanswered questions remain about religiosity among public sector workers. For example, although faith plays a heightened role among government workers, its direct effect on their jobs has not been examined. Indeed, scholars have found that faith is not only more prevalent among those in the public sector, but public sector workers are more likely than their private sector counterparts to want to incorporate their faith into their jobs (Freeman & Houston, 2010; Houston & Cartwright, 2007; Houston, Freeman, & Feldman, 2008). What scholars have yet to analyze, though, is the impact of this faith in the work that public servants undertake.

As a first step in addressing this issue, in this article I examine the role of religiosity on job satisfaction among bureaucrats. Given the positive workplace behaviors associated with job

satisfaction (e.g., increased job performance and decreased turnover intention; see Borgogni, Russo, Petitta, & Vecchione, 2010; Tschopp, Grote, & Gerber, 2014), any of its potential determinants should merit detailed examination. Using a framework that focuses on the needs of self-identified religious public servants and the fulfillment of those needs, I hypothesize that job satisfaction will be higher among religious bureaucrats than nonreligious bureaucrats. To test this hypothesis, I rely on data from the General Social Survey (GSS) covering a 16-year period from 2000 to 2016.

To test this hypothesis, which I later find is supported, I estimate an ordered logit model. I find that religious bureaucrats are more likely to express satisfaction with their jobs than those who are not religious. These results could suggest that religiosity has an impact on how bureaucrats view their work. Scholars, therefore, should begin exploring whether work performance among bureaucrats is shaped by their faith. These findings could have important consequences for public sector managers—especially as they learn how best to lead their workers. It will also be important for scholars to begin exploring which *types* of bureaucrats are more likely to be religious and what the behavioral implications of religion in the public sector workplace might be.

The article proceeds as follows. The literature is reviewed, followed by a presentation of the hypothesis. The data are then described. The results are examined, followed by a discussion of their implications and a brief conclusion.

Literature Review and Hypothesis

Though defined in different ways, at its most basic level job satisfaction focuses on the joy derived from one's labor. Indeed, Spector (1997) defined job satisfaction as "the degree to which people like their jobs" (p. vii); further, in the realm of public administration, Jilke (2016) defined job satisfaction as "...the outcome of employees' individual expectations from their jobs and what they perceive they get" (p. 374). Simply put, job satisfaction focuses on how much people enjoy what they do for a living.

There have been numerous studies on job satisfaction within the private and public sectors. From 2000 to 2018, based on an Internet search of the term "job satisfaction" in peer-reviewed journal abstracts, there have been hundreds of articles published on the topic. In public management specifically, Jilke (2016) found that since 2000 there has been almost a score of articles on job satisfaction published annually.

Job satisfaction may be a popular research topic due to the number of positive outcomes associated with it. Perhaps most notably, research has shown an association between job satisfaction and job performance (Borgogni, Russo, Petitta, & Vecchione, 2010; Judge, Thoresen, Bono, & Patton, 2001).¹ Job satisfaction is also associated with behaviors such as increased job commitment (Meyer, Stanley, Herscovitch, & Topolnytsky, 2002) and decreased turnover intention (Tschopp, Grote, & Gerber, 2014).

Some correlates of job satisfaction are unique to the public sector. For example, satisfaction among public sector employees tends to be more strongly linked to affective and normative job commitment than it is among private sector employees (Markovits, Davis, Fay, & Dick, 2010). Additionally, public sector employees who are satisfied are less likely to express a desire to switch to the private sector (Kankaanranta et al., 2007).

Given these positive outcomes, it is perhaps unsurprising that numerous studies have explored the causes of job satisfaction. In the public sector, some scholars have examined individual level factors, such as demographic characteristics (Jung, Jae Moon, & Hahm, 2007) or personality traits (Cooper, Carpenter, Reiner, & McCord, 2014). Others have looked to more intermediate factors, such as organizational characteristics (Steijn, 2004). There has also been a focus on more macro factors, such as regime change (Jilke, 2016) or government budget cuts (Keifer, 2014). In one of the more comprehensive studies to date, Taylor and Westover (2011) found that public service motivation, intrinsic and extrinsic characteristics, and work relations all contributed to job satisfaction. Still, there remains a factor that has been largely neglected in this literature—that is religiosity.

There have been few studies explicitly concerning religion in the public sector. Over the past 20 years the number of articles concerning these two topics together is less than a dozen. This may be due to a level of discomfort that public administrators have regarding discussions about faith. For example, in a survey of American Society for Public Administration (ASPA) members, Bruce (2000) found that a majority believed it was inappropriate to discuss spirituality in the profession. Among those who were not personally spiritual, this number was close to 80%. As King (2007) wrote, “Once the idea of religion or spirituality is raised, public administration professionals—academic and practitioner alike—raise the red flag and wave it furiously...” (p. 110).

Articles in public administration that do discuss religiosity tend to cluster around similar themes. A few of the articles call on those in the public sector to use spiritual wisdom or the teachings of Jesus in their work (e.g., deHaven-Smith, 2003; Lynch & Lynch, 1999). Others have made preliminary observations on the role of spirituality among bureaucrats and have urged researchers to undertake more studies (e.g., Bruce, 2000; Lowery, 2005). In one of the broadest examinations into this issue, King (2007) introduced a model that reconciled religiosity and spirituality in the private sector and suggested ways that this reconciliation could be used in the public sector.

Some of the more quantitative studies in this area have provided evidence of descriptive and practical effects of religiosity among public servants. Studies, for example, have shown that bureaucrats are generally more spiritual and more committed to their faith than those in the private sector (Freeman & Houston, 2010; Houston & Cartwright, 2007). Beyond mere differences in faith commitment, bureaucrats are also more likely to report that they try to carry their religious beliefs into the workplace (Houston, Freeman, & Feldman, 2008). This is in line with Lowery (2005) who found in interviews with religious bureaucrats that they believe their faith informs the work they do. In other words, not only are bureaucrats more likely to be religious, they may also be more likely to make attempts to infuse their faith into their jobs.

While bureaucrats may want their work to be guided by their faith, studies have yet to show if they actually do. Thus, what remains unknown is whether faith has a direct impact on the work of those in the public sector.

Theory and Hypothesis

What is the expected effect of religiosity on the job satisfaction of bureaucrats? To answer this question, previous research provides some clues.

Although King (2007) was among the early researchers to study religion and spirituality in the public sector workplace, it was Nash, McLennan, and Blanchard (2001) who developed the notion of “catalytic engagement” with regard to religion. Catalytic engagement defines religious practice

as learning about or feeling the presence of God or some equivalent and then becoming “personally enhanced” as a result (Nash, McLennan, & Blanchard, 2001, p. 230). This is religiosity as an inflection point leading to transformation.² It is not religiosity manifesting itself in the form of proselytization or only relying on religion in moments of ethical quandaries. Rather, it is religiosity that alters the needs and perceived fulfillment of those needs within people. Catalytic engagement with faith allows religious believers to incorporate their religiosity into the workplace as they focus on fulfilling specific needs brought on by their beliefs.

When considering the idea of catalytic engagement in the public sector, it is important to understand which workplace needs are altered by religiosity and also how those needs are fulfilled in public sector settings. Indeed, research has shown that having a religious or spiritual experience can have myriad attitudinal effects, such as an increased sense of “small self” or spiritual humility (Preston & Shin, 2017). These types of religious experiences can also have behavioral effects, such as getting people to think beyond themselves and more on serving other people (Fredrickson, 2002; Piedmont, 1999). Abundant evidence shows that those who are more religious are more likely to serve others, whether this means helping their neighbor or the homeless (Brooks, 2007; Putnam & Campbell, 2012), volunteering (Putnam & Campbell, 2012; Ruiter & De Graf, 2006; Uslander, 2002), or being more civically active (Smidt et al., 2008; Wald & Calhoun-Brown, 2007). Collectively, these findings seem to suggest that religious individuals have a need to serve others; as a result, in their employment decisions they may seek ways to fulfill this need.

It is this need to serve that likely connects religiosity to job satisfaction in the public sector. Public sector employees serve others by the nature of their employment. Their jobs directly focus on their communities. Religious bureaucrats may, therefore, fulfill their need to serve by working in public service.

This need to serve others is likely to be stronger among religious bureaucrats; further, the work that these bureaucrats undertake in the public sector may allow them to meet this need. Thus, religious bureaucrats are likely to be more satisfied with their work than nonreligious bureaucrats. Religiosity, then, could have a positive effect on job satisfaction in the public sector and I propose the following hypothesis:³

Hypothesis₁: Job satisfaction will be higher among religious bureaucrats than nonreligious bureaucrats.

Data and Methods

The data for this study comes from the General Social Survey (GSS), a full probability survey that includes in-person interviews. The National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago has administered the GSS since 1972. Alongside standard demographic questions, the survey covers a number of national topics ranging from confidence in institutions to intergroup relations.

Based on the availability of questions, the data for this study comes from the surveys administered every other year from 2000 through 2016 for a total of nine different surveys. Given the nature of the research question motivating this study, the sample is limited to include only responses from bureaucrats. To determine if a respondent was a bureaucrat, I used the question, “Are you employed by the federal, state, or local government or by a private employer (including nonprofit organizations)?”

The dependent variable is a measure of job satisfaction. Specifically, on the GSS, respondents were asked, “On the whole, how satisfied are you with the work that you do? Would you say you are very satisfied, moderately satisfied, a little satisfied, or very dissatisfied?” Given the ordinal nature of the responses, I estimated an ordered logit model.

The key independent variable is a measure of religiosity. It has long been acknowledged that there are multiple dimensions to religiosity (Durkheim, 1912; Stark & Glock, 1968; Vaillancourt, 2008); therefore, in this analysis I used different measures of religiosity in an attempt to capture these dimensions. In particular, scholars have suggested that religiosity can be categorized as either public or private (Graham & Haidt, 2010; Paxton, Reith, & Glanville, 2014; Van Tienen, Scheepers, Reitsma, & Schilderman, 2011; Wuthnow, 1993). Public religiosity consists of actions that others can witness, while private religiosity is concerned with more personal displays of devotion. For the purposes of this study, I measured public religiosity as church attendance. I measured private religiosity as frequency of prayer.⁴

The GSS survey question that I used to measure public religiosity asked, “How often do you attend religious services?” Responses ranged from “Never” to “More than once a week.” This variable was, thus, coded as days per year and then log transformed to reduce skew.⁵ Such a transformation is common in the literature (e.g., Lim & Putnam, 2010; Paxton et al., 2014). The GSS survey question that I used to measure private religiosity asked, “About how often do you pray?” The responses to this question ranged from “Never” to “Several times a day.” Given that these responses do not allow for differentiation based on frequency of prayer (e.g., differentiating between someone who prays twice a day and someone who prays five times a day), I dummy coded this variable—with those who pray at least once a day coded as 1 and all others as 0. This coding scheme is in line with prior research (Paxton et al., 2014).⁶

I included other independent variables as controls. Specifically, in keeping with recent work on job satisfaction in the public sector (Van Ryzin, 2014; Jilke, 2016), I included demographic variables such as age (measured continuously), education (dummy coded), race (dummy coded), and sex (dummy coded). I also included the number of hours worked, personal income, and family income. Each of these variables was measured continuously. Descriptive statistics for the variables are available in the Appendix.

Results

As shown in Table 1, over 30% of bureaucrats in the survey indicated that they attend church, i.e., engaged in public religiosity, at least once a week.⁷ This is more than five percentage points higher than the number of nonpublic sector employees who indicated that they attend church at least once a week. For the private measure of religiosity, almost 60% of bureaucrats reported praying at least once a day. This is approximately three percentage points higher than those in the nonpublic sector. These findings are similar to those from earlier studies showing that bureaucrats are more religious than nonbureaucrats (Houston et al., 2008).

Among all bureaucrats in the sample, about 55% identified as Protestant, 22% identified as Catholic, 2% identified as Jewish, and 15% identified as “none” meaning that they either did not identify with a specific faith, they were atheist, or they were agnostic. This distribution differs slightly from the rest of the country, but it is in line with previous studies of religion in the public sector. According to a Pew Forum survey conducted in 2014, about 70% of Americans identify as Christian, with about 45% identifying as Protestant and 20% identifying as Catholic (Pew Research Center, 2014). Around 6% of Americans identify with a non-Christian faith, with those

Table 1. Percentage of Public and Nonpublic Sector Workers by Religiosity ($n=1,397$)

	Religiosity	
	Public	Private
Public Sector	30.38	61.27
Nonpublic Sector	24.15	58.22

Table 2. Faiths of Religious Bureaucrats ($n=1,187$)

Religious Affiliation	Percentage
Protestant	60.84
Catholic	28.75
Christian	3.63
Jewish	2.19
Other	1.33
Buddhism	0.84
Islam	0.61
Inter-Denominational	0.58
Orthodox-Christian	0.51
Hinduism	0.42
Other Eastern	0.18
Native American	0.13

of Jewish faith occupying 2% of the total and the rest consisting of Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus, and other faiths. Americans who identify as atheist, agnostic, or “nothing in particular” total over one-fifth of the sample, with those in the latter category making up over 15% of this total. In summary, Christians (specifically Protestants) are overrepresented in the public sector, while those identifying as have “none” in terms of religion are underrepresented.

The results in Table 2 display the distribution of religious membership among bureaucrats who identified with a religion. The table shows that the sample is overwhelmingly Christian, with almost 95% identifying as such. More than 60% of the total sample identified as Protestant and another almost 30% identified as Catholic. Approximately 4% identified as either Orthodox-Christian, interdenominational, or simply “Christian.” With the exception of Judaism, no other faith totals more than one percentage point.

Regarding the distribution of job satisfaction among all bureaucrats, as shown in Figure 1, most bureaucrats indicated that they are satisfied with their jobs. Almost half said that they are fully satisfied with their jobs. Less than 13% said that they are either a little satisfied or very dissatisfied with their work.

Does this distribution change when the satisfaction of religious bureaucrats is analyzed separately? Figures 1 through 3 show the difference in job satisfaction between religious and nonreligious bureaucrats using each measure of religiosity. Those who indicated that they attend church at least once a week appear to be less likely to say they are very dissatisfied, a little satisfied, or moderately satisfied with their jobs than those who are not religious. However, these individuals appear to be almost 10 percentage points more likely to say that they are very satisfied with their jobs.

Figure 1. Government Employees' Job Satisfaction

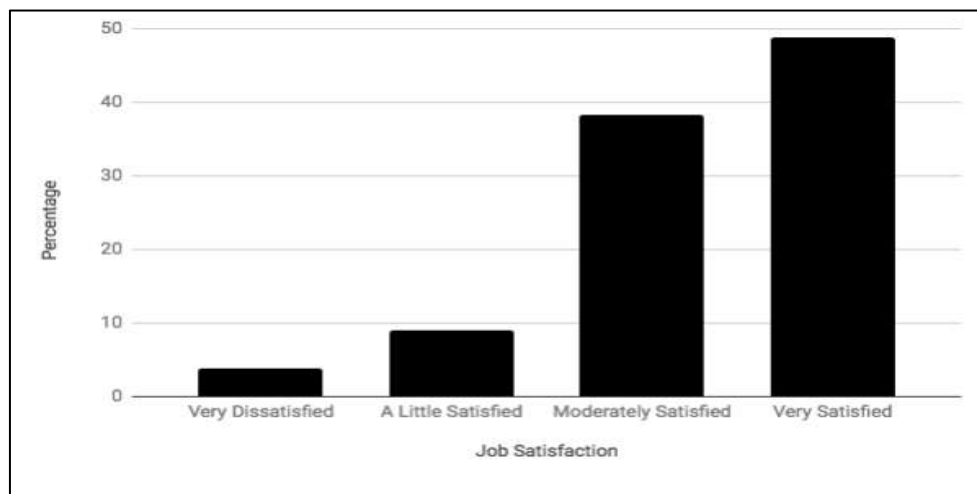


Figure 2. Government Employees' Job Satisfaction by Public Religiosity

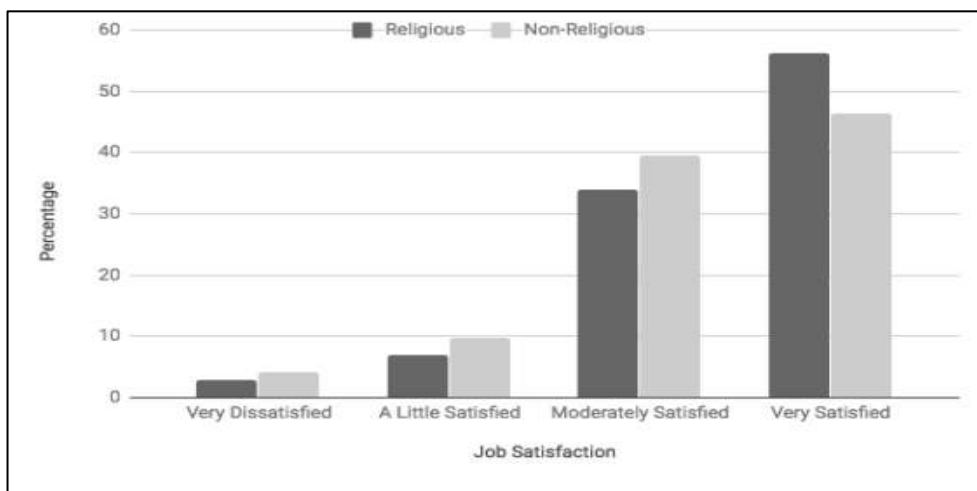


Figure 3. Government Employees' Job Satisfaction by Private Religiosity

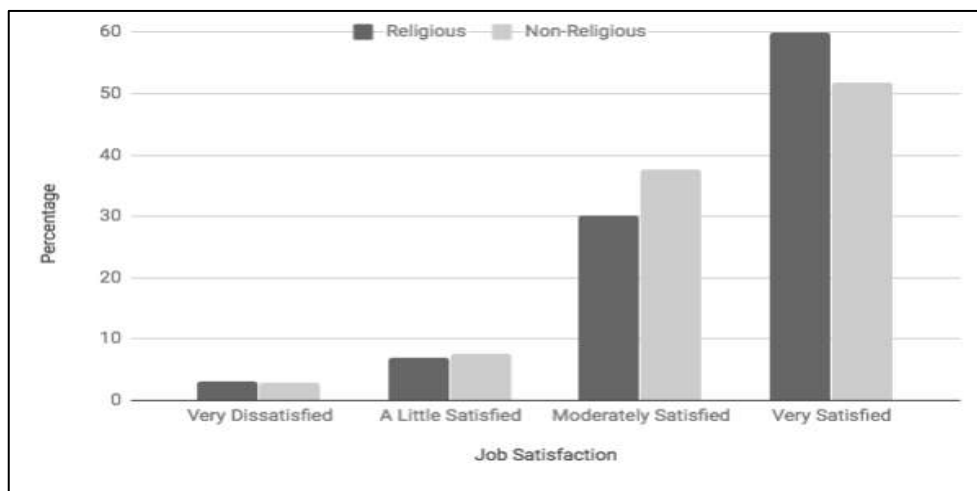
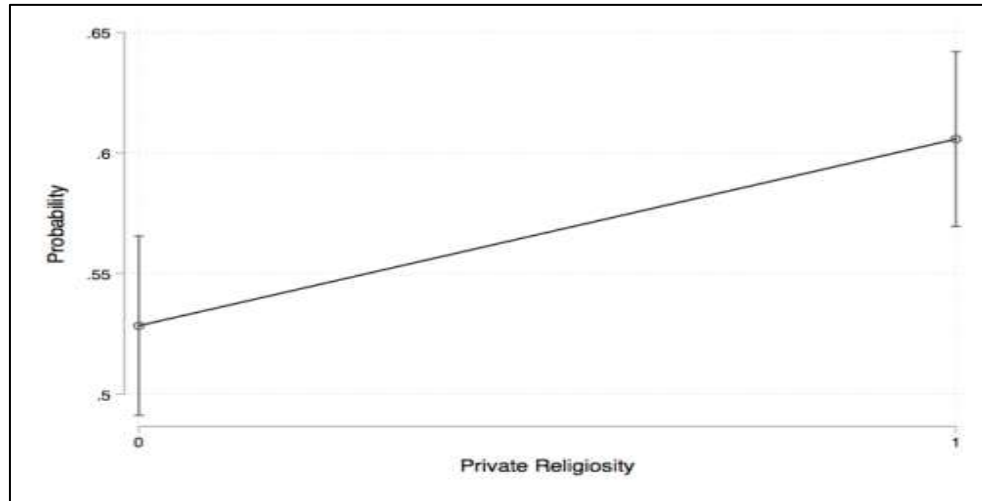


Table 3. Ordered Logit Model of Job Satisfaction, 2000–2016

Variable	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.
Public Religiosity	1.02	0.04
Private Religiosity	1.40	0.15
White	1.84	0.25
Age	1.01	0.01
Male	0.97	0.08
College	0.82	0.09
Personal Income	1.01	0.03
Family Income	0.98	0.07
Work Hours	1.23	0.10
Cut One	-2.63	1.04
Cut Two	-1.20	1.12
Cut Three	0.88	1.16
N	1397	
Pseudo R ²	0.02	
AIC	2616.82	
BIC	2658.76	

Note: Variables significant at 0.05 level in bold.

Figure 4. Predicted Probability of Being “Very Satisfied” by Private Religiosity, with 95% Confidence Intervals



This same pattern holds when considering the private measure of religiosity. While those who indicated that they pray at least once a day are almost seven percentage points less likely to say that they are moderately satisfied with their jobs, they are about 10 percentage points more likely to say that they are very satisfied. Although these figures provide prima facie support for the proposed hypothesis, additional analysis is still required.

The effect of religiosity on job satisfaction is estimated in Table 3 and displayed graphically in Figure 4. Those indicating they do not pray at least once a day have a predicted probability of

0.53 of being very satisfied, all else constant. For those who indicate that they pray at least once a day, the predicted probability increases to 0.61, all else constant. These findings demonstrate that the effect of religiosity on job satisfaction is both statistically and substantively significant.^{8,9}

Discussion

The results of this study suggest that religious bureaucrats are more likely to be satisfied with their jobs than nonreligious bureaucrats. Given the unique roles that government employees play and the tasks that they perform, the findings from this study are undoubtedly important. Although public sector managers are prohibited from making hiring decisions based on religiosity, the effects of religiosity still need to be understood in the context of public sector management. For example, knowing this information can allow managers to ensure that the workplace is supportive of those who are religious. Pargament (2002) noted that when religious identity is not supported, religious adherents can suffer emotional distress.

The framework of catalytic engagement may be useful in further examining this topic. That is, public sector managers may wish to look at the needs of their workers in order to determine if and how the workplace is able to meet those needs. As Llorens, Klinger, and Nalbandian (2015) have suggested, focusing on need fulfillment may separate organizations from focusing on creating a “culture of commitment” to a “culture of compliance” (p. 219).

These managers may also wish to borrow ideas and language from the literature on diversity management. Religious public sector employees may have different needs than their nonreligious counterparts. As noted by Groeneveld (2011) in her study on diversity management, policies in public sector workplaces need to reflect the diverse needs and values of different groups of employees. Learning how to meet and fulfill those needs has tangible consequences for the workplace. Indeed, research has shown that the successful implementation of diversity management can lead to an increased sense of well-being (Mor Barak & Levin, 2002).

These findings have several other implications. In particular, studies have long shown a link between job satisfaction and job tenure (Brawley & Pury, 2016; Brown & Peterson, 1993; Dougherty, Bluedorn, & Keon, 1985; March & Simon, 1958; Tschopp, Grote, & Gerber, 2014). Increases in job tenure are generally associated with increases in power. Thus, it may be reasonable to assume that bureaucrats who stay in their jobs longer accrue more power. Future research should explore how religiosity influences this relationship.

Additionally, little is known about which types of bureaucrats are religious. This study grouped all bureaucrats together. It is possible, though, that some areas of government work may be more attractive to religious bureaucrats. Are religious bureaucrats more likely to work in positions that require person-to-person interaction? Or, do they prefer to work alone? Are religious bureaucrats more likely to work in their own communities? Or, do they want to serve the nation? These and other questions still need to be explored.

It should be noted that this study only focused on the United States (US), where the religious composition is changing and fewer people identify with a religion. There has also been growth in smaller faiths such as Islam and Buddhism in the US. Additionally, the separation of church and state is foundational to America. What happens in bureaucracies where the government operates as a theocracy? How might an adherence to a particular faith have an impact on the delivery of services? These are certainly other areas worthy of investigation.

Finally, it should be noted that this study only used two variables to measure religiosity. Other studies have included a battery of questions and/or other variables to capture this multidimensional concept. While both church attendance and frequency of prayer are commonly used measures of religiosity, the use of other measures could help to determine the robustness of the findings from this study.

Conclusion

Scholars have long examined the causes and effects of job satisfaction in the public sector. However, the role of faith had yet to be incorporated into these studies. In this study, I hypothesized that increases in religiosity would be associated with increases in job satisfaction in the public sector. Using surveys spanning a nearly 20-year period, I estimated statistical models to test this hypothesis. The results indicate that religious bureaucrats are, indeed, more satisfied with their jobs than nonreligious bureaucrats.

For scholars, this article provides additional support for the idea that bureaucrats may not be neutral instruments in carrying out their duties and responsibilities. Although Weber (1922; 2013) called for neutral and rational administration, myriad studies have shown that discretion and active representation can shape the implementation of policies (e.g., Denhardt & deLeon, 1995; Lipsky, 1980; Sowa & Selden, 2003). Thus, scholars should continue to explore how faith impacts the delivery of government services.

For practitioners, the findings from this study suggest that religion can play an important role in the work lives of bureaucrats. Thus, it is important for public sector managers to make sure that the workplace remains a tolerant and respectful place for those of all religious affiliations. This may also encourage public servants to increase their knowledge and tolerance of other faiths and better understand their coworkers.

Bureaucracy remains an essential element to good governance. For many, religion remains an essential part of life. This study increases our understanding of both.

Notes

1. Some studies show that job satisfaction has no effect on performance (e.g., Keaveney & Nelson, 1993; Shore & Martin, 1989). Furthermore, the exact causal mechanism for the relationship between job satisfaction and job performance is still disputed (see Judge et al., 2001).
2. This is similar to Pargament's (1997) view that religion is "a search for significance in ways related to the sacred" (p. 32). This includes objects such as community and work that are sacred due to their relationship to a higher power.
3. One can also argue that religious individuals will have higher job satisfaction because they view their work as a way to serve God. If this is the case, however, the effect of religiosity on job satisfaction should be the same across the private and public sectors. To test this, I estimated an additional model using private sector employees. I then compared this model with the public sector model using seemingly unrelated regression. The joint covariance matrix allows for a test of any restriction involving the coefficients across the models; therefore, a Wald test was used to compare the equality of the religiosity coefficients. The effect of religiosity on job satisfaction was significantly larger in the public sector than in

the private sector. This suggests that the effect of religiosity in the public sector is different from that in the private sector.

4. Tests indicated that these variables should not be combined into one measure (i.e., Cronbach's alpha was less than 0.60). These variables were also not collinear. As such, I modeled them as separate variables.
5. Other measures of attendance, such as a dummy for those who attended at least once a week, were also used. Use of these measures did not alter the substantive findings.
6. Other measures of prayer, including use of a categorical variable, were also used. Use of these measures did not alter the substantive findings.
7. While this variable is coded as the natural log of the frequency of attendance at religious services in the statistical models, it is presented as a dummy variable in the descriptive section for ease of interpretation.
8. Other models, including a fixed-effects model, were also tested. Analysis of every specific year was also conducted. The results were robust across the various specifications.
9. It is possible that job satisfaction is confounded with life satisfaction. While it has been suggested that the relationship between job and life satisfaction may only run from job satisfaction to life satisfaction in the public sector (Mafini & Dlodlo, 2014), other studies have shown that a more reciprocal relationship exists across sectors (e.g., Unanue, Gómez, Cortez, Oyanedel, & Mendiburo-Seguel, 2017). Although there was not a measure of life satisfaction in the data set, there was a measure of happiness. These two measures have been shown to be highly related over time (DeJonge, Veenhoven, Kalmijn, & Arends, 2016). I included this measure as an additional independent variable. The results were statistically and substantively unchanged. As such, I omitted this variable from the analysis.

Disclosure Statement

The author declares that there are no conflicts of interest that relate to the research, authorship, or publication of this article.

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Author Biography

Michael Bednarczuk is an Instructor of Political Science at Grace College. His research focuses on the attitudes and behaviors of public servants and has appeared in a variety of journals, including *The American Review of Public Administration*, *Administration & Society*, and *Public Administration Quarterly*.

Appendix

Table A1. Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	N
Job Satisfaction	3.46	0.72	1	4	1397
Public Religiosity	2.36	1.74	-0.69	4.64	1397
Private Religiosity	0.66	0.47	0	1	1397
White	0.73	0.45	0	1	1397
Age	44.86	12.40	19	88	1397
Male	0.39	0.49	0	1	1397
College	0.43	0.50	0	1	1397
Personal Income	10.89	2.40	1	12	1397
Family Income	11.63	1.30	2	12	1397
Work Hours	0.20	0.40	0	1	1397

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Service-Learning as a Tool to Cultivate Democratically Minded Students: A Conceptual Framework

Hannah Lebovits – Cleveland State University

Del M. N. Bharath – California State University, Dominguez Hills

The field of public administration is intrinsically linked to a substantive experience of democracy and the development of a democratic community. This article employs John Dewey's constructivist pedagogical approach to make the case that service-learning can be a vehicle to cultivate students' understanding of democracy as a movement toward a common good. We use the term "real democracy" to describe the ways that substantive practices of Dewey's communal democracy materialize in today's public sector. We highlight the concerns "real democracy" presents for public administrators before arguing that Master of Public Administration (MPA) programs are a particularly suitable setting to cultivate Dewey's constructivist approach to democratic education given that the spirit of the approach is already well-aligned with MPA core competencies. Finally, we present public administration educators with a *democratic service-learning* conceptual framework that ties together pedagogical goals, service-learning design and outcomes, and Dewey's constructivist, democratic student experience.

Keywords: Public Administration, Democracy, Service-Learning, Social Justice

Over 100 years ago, John Dewey's *Democracy and education* (1916) moved the conversation about democracy from one focused on a form of government to a discussion about the process of creating a more empowered populace working toward a common good. This shift in focus from neo-liberal (or representative) democratic government to substantive democratic citizenship called for a change in the way that citizens viewed themselves as community members (Box, Marshall, Reed, & Reed, 2001).¹ A democratic educational experience, according to Dewey (1916) must be an intentional effort to create community and increase equity through a deeply constructivist approach. Dewey encouraged educators to not only teach democratic practices but to instill democratic ideals in their students through an inquisitive and context-dependent process.

Dewey's perspective highlighted the need for students to experience and wrestle with ideals in order to truly internalize them. Dewey placed increased importance on the role of higher education institutions and their educators in cultivating this experience. Specifically, Dewey noted

the need for educators to prepare students for uncertainty and to encourage adaptability in understanding and applying democratic principles to new situations (Dewey, 1916; Lipman, 1991). From its onset as a discipline, the field of public administration has prioritized professional training of public servants as one of its main goals. Whether as managers, leaders, or co-producers, public servants are expected to be at the helm of the ontological process of creating a democratic community (Box et al., 2001). Today, as Dewey's democratic principles of community, engagement, and direct service face real and existential threats, we contend that the constructivist approach is as timely as ever.

Contemporary public agencies face new challenges in a highly technologized, privatized, and polarized world. We use the term “real democracy” to describe the ways in which Dewey's socially connected democratic ideals are challenged in an era where technology shapes information and learning, public agencies function in austerity, and residents are unsure of their trust in government. In accordance with Dewey's predictions, the current practices of government agencies require institutional adaptability and a highly engaged citizenry. In this article, we recommend that institutions of higher education utilize service-learning as a pedagogical tool to instill substantive democratic ideals in Master of Public Administration (MPA) students. By instilling these ideas, instructors are preparing future public administration professionals to overcome challenges to democracy and serve as “responsible administrators” (Burke & Cleary, 1989).

Service-learning is a type of experiential learning in which students engage with a community partner (e.g., organizations, political/administrative actors, and/or individuals) not only to develop the community partners' capacity, but also to develop students' ability to perform tasks, build relationships, and gain knowledge of a particular field (Bringle & Hatcher, 1996; Britt, 2012). Service-learning can help develop students academically, personally, and professionally. However, we contend that service-learning courses can also be designed to develop students civically and democratically—a process we refer to as *democratic service-learning*. In the article we explore how public administration educators can design and execute service-learning courses in a way that aligns with Dewey's ideals in an age of “real democracy.”

While the case for increased service-learning in the public administration classroom is neither new nor groundbreaking (Imperial, Perry, & Katula, 2007), it can be challenging to intentionally design and execute a valuable service-learning experience aimed at achieving a specific outcome or set of outcomes (Dicke, Dowden, & Torres, 2004; Felten & Clayton, 2011). Currently, there is little guidance for MPA faculty on how to conceptualize a course with the explicit goal of increasing students' substantive democratic ideals. This article seeks to fill this gap. We contend that democratic service-learning, which emphasizes social justice and critical citizenship as well as components of reflection and responsibility, can be a unique method to increase students' ability to internalize democratic ideals. In making our argument we develop a conceptual framework for MPA faculty and program staff to consider.

The Rise of “Real Democracy”

Democracy is of vital importance to the practice and study of public administration (Diamond & Schultz, 2018; Gaynor & Carrizales, 2018). Indeed, some have even suggested that democracy *requires* (italics in original) the field of public administration (Meier, 2010). Public administration would not be a field without the public, a public sector, and public service work—all of which are cogs in the system of the communal democratic experience. Because democratic ideals are the foundation of our public sector, there is value in integrating aspects of democracy

in public administration pedagogy. However, due to waning connections between citizens and their communities, some have argued that the value of substantive democracy has decreased in the last century (Box et al., 2001).

“Real democracy” is a term that we have coined to represent the ways that Dewey’s democratic principles of engagement, service, and citizenship exist in our present world, a world where the provision of government services increasingly occurs outside the control of government agencies (Warner & Hefetz, 2008), where these agencies rely more heavily on technologies to screen and service clients (Eubanks, 2017), and where government must continuously prove its trustworthiness (Kettl, 2018; Roberts, 2018). Private companies, data scientists, and technology corporations are increasingly replacing public sector services and administrators (Eubanks, 2017); and, although some of the threats to democracy are as old as the system itself, new advances in technology and privacy (Eubanks, 2017) coupled with increasing demands to provide more services with fewer public dollars (Brown & Potoski, 2003) have impacted the application of substantive ideals of democracy within the public sector.

The development of the Internet has also blurred geographic boundaries and globalized concerns that were once local in nature. This has resulted in a weakening of the institutional, state, and political boundaries (Brewer, Neubauer, & Geiselhart, 2006); and, although scholars continue to argue that information technology can increase trust in government systems (Kettl, 2018; Song & Lee, 2016), the rapid rise in “fake news” and social media trolls has reshaped citizens’ knowledge of and interactions with their own government systems (Allcott & Genskow, 2017). Ultimately, then, the use of technology has led to a distancing of citizens from public servants (Eubanks, 2017). This has undoubtedly altered the public sphere and is limiting the ability of street-level bureaucrats (Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2012) to apply the substantive ideals of Dewey’s democracy.

It should also be noted that when data scientists determine how values are institutionalized within technological systems they effectively become public administrators creating systems that can limit citizens’ voices and representation within large government systems (Lebovits, 2018). Collectively, these issues can lead to questions about the legitimacy of government agencies as a substantive democratic apparatus that maintains the ideal of democracy and creates community and citizenship. These questions about government’s legitimacy can result in increasing citizen dissatisfaction with government (Ariely, 2013).

In order to promote substantive democratic ideals and ensure an application of these ideals in public service outcomes, we argue that public administration education can and should prepare students for the world of “real democracy.” As a professional degree program, the MPA curriculum is already designed to prepare students to be leaders and responsible administrators. Thus, the degree has objectives that supersede the course goals of undergraduate education in public administration (Haupt, Kapucu, & Hu, 2017; Morse & Buss, 2014). Therefore, we maintain that MPA instructors are uniquely positioned to develop democratic citizens at the graduate level.

We explore this idea through an approach to experiential education that we refer to as “democratic service-learning.” In particular, we propose that public administration educators should consider service-learning—an experiential learning approach that allows students to practically apply the theoretical knowledge from their coursework—as not only a tool to develop professional skills but also as a way to increase students’ ability to connect with and cultivate substantive democratic values and understand their role within a democracy as both citizens and public administrators.

Using examples from the literature we show that service-learning can be intentionally designed to produce the democratic development of MPA students. Moreover, we suggest that public administration educators are uniquely situated to provide this type of development through democratic service-learning, as Dewey suggested.

In the following sections, we elaborate on the idea of democratic service-learning. We begin with a review of the design elements, goals, and outcomes of service-learning. We also highlight the role of educators and institutions in creating and executing a constructivist environment for student growth. This review allows us to frame the discussion of democratic service-learning within the larger institutional goals of learning and citizenship. We then continue with a discussion of the distinctly democratic elements of MPA education and how the objectives of MPA programs can be achieved through service-learning. Finally, we combine these components within a single democratic service-learning framework, which is intended to provide a guide for MPA faculty and program staff seeking to cultivate democratic ideals through service-learning. We augment the framework with examples from public administration courses, democratic and social justice initiatives in higher education, and service-learning research.

Service-Learning: Purpose and Design

Dewey's (1916) approach to learning advocated for connecting practical experience with knowledge while linking individuals to society and placing educators at the nexus of this relationship. Proponents of Dewey's method have suggested that educators can enhance democratic citizenship through experiential learning (Giles & Eyler, 1994; Kapucu & Knox, 2011). Higher education, it is believed, plays an integral role in the democratic development of students and community problem-solving because it encourages educators to use their expertise to benefit communities (Bryer, 2011).

Building on these ideals, Bryer (2014) suggested that educators should teach students how to be: a) socially connected with others; b) politically intelligent enough to understand how to pursue individual and collective interests within governing and political processes; c) socially aware and empathetic to the conditions in which others, both locally and globally, live; and d) economically self-sufficient and able to use skills necessary to earn a competitive salary. By working toward these outcomes, students are believed to become empowered to help strengthen their communities.

One way to intentionally infuse the pursuit of these goals into higher education is through the use of service-learning, which is a form of experiential education that encourages civic engagement. It is a context-dependent practice that allows students to apply the principles of the institution and/or discipline in a community-based setting (Bringle & Hatcher, 1996). The integration of service with an academic curriculum increases the value of both environments (Celio, Durlak, & Dymnicki, 2011) as students serve their community by using knowledge and newly acquired skills in realistic situations (Terry & Bohnenberger, 2004).

The use of service-learning in college classrooms has increased due to national initiatives and federal funds (Madrell, 2014). At the undergraduate and graduate levels, service-learning courses often take the form of students assisting community organizations and applying lessons from the classroom in the real world (Imperial et al., 2007). Service-learning experiences can range from short-term modules, semester-long activities, or multi-year/multi-course projects, with students providing direct and/or indirect service (Felten & Clayton, 2011). Service-learning can be a useful workforce development tool and a meaningful opportunity for students to engage with

community members and learn new perspectives and behaviors (Britt, 2012; Simon, Yack, & Ott, 2013; Stout, 2013).

Student outcomes of service-learning range from increasing students' academic ability and technical skills to encouraging their substantive development as citizens (Britt, 2012; Bryer, 2014). Students gain professional networks and they learn about the real-life experiences of professionals. They are also able to enhance their résumés (Gallaher & McGorry, 2015). Service-learning participants develop academically by improving in their grades and gaining a better understanding of course material (Astin, Vogelgesang, Ikeda, & Yee, 2000). Personally, service-learning participants develop social skills, self-efficacy, leadership, and inter- and intrapersonal skills (Astin et al., 2000; Celio et al., 2011). Service-learning can also provide an outlet for students to build relationships with faculty and community members all while cultivating new behaviors in an experiential activity that occurs within a community setting (Britt, 2012; Simon et al., 2013; Stout, 2013).

Service-learning differs from other forms of experiential learning such as internships, practicums, and job placements. As opposed to these forms of experiential learning, service-learning focuses on reality, reciprocity, reflection, and responsibility (Godfrey, Illes, & Berry, 2005). Specifically, scholars have argued that service-learning projects should be *realistic* and have an explicit connection to the service project and learning objectives. Being realistic suggests that there are appropriate time and participant commitments. This also means that there are clear goals and an understanding of impacts as well as proper design and management (Imperial et al., 2007; Maddrell, 2014). Service-learning projects should not be time-consuming for participants. Everyone should be fully aware of their roles, responsibilities, and commitments needed for completion of the project. Best practice suggests formalizing project management protocols in order to detail expectations, roles, and responsibilities (e.g., Maddrell, 2014); define success; and identify processes for clear and constant communication. Contracts between participants can act as a tool to allow for role clarity and understanding of responsibilities, outcomes, and outputs. These contracts can be used as tangible tools to ensure the design of realistic service-learning projects (Bennett & Green, 2001) that are able to connect student learning outcomes with community service activities (Hydorn, 2007).

Reciprocity means that all parties are involved to assist in the structuring of the activity (Hilosky, Moore, & Reynolds, 1999, p. 143). Service-learning projects should be designed for co-education outcomes between community partners and instructor(s), where community partners work with instructor(s) to develop the course, share course objectives, and design the project (Blouin & Perry, 2009). Feedback loops and constant communication can facilitate the increased partnerships needed for reciprocity and increased outcomes for all participants (Imperial et al., 2007).

Reflection in service-learning means that these projects allow for the construction of knowledge (Fisher, Sharp & Bradley, 2017). Reflection differentiates service-learning from other forms of experiential education as it specifically connects the service experience to desired learning outcomes. Reflection, however, can be the most challenging part of service-learning to implement effectively; as a result, it is often done poorly or not at all (Barnes & Caprino, 2016). Reflective exercises can be journals, group discussions, or short-answer responses. These exercises should be designed to allow students an opportunity to connect the service to their learning by asking questions or discussing problems and fostering intellectual and emotional engagement in their service experience (Dubinsky, 2006). Without reflection, the service-learning experience risks being meaningless to the democratic development of students. Our conceptualization of democratic service-learning is dependent on reflection as it allows students to consider not only

how the service had an impact on them and the community they serve (Barnes & Caprino, 2016; Terry & Bohnenberger, 2004) but also how the service had an impact on their role as a citizen in that community.

These three components (*realistic*, *reciprocity*, and *reflection*) are considered to be the three Rs of service-learning. However, Godfrey, Illes, and Berry (2005) include *responsibility* as a fourth service-learning component needed to promote the development of students as citizens. While these authors noted that responsibility is related to the ethical behavior of business, in this article we argue that responsibility is relevant in the neoliberal environment within which public administrators work. Responsibility draws students' attention to issues of equity and civic values, where they are grounded in their responsibility to contribute to others (Godfrey et al., 2005).

Still, while the aforementioned design components all lend themselves to effective service-learning projects, the results of service-learning can vary significantly. Together, the four components (*reality*, *reflection*, *reciprocity*, and *responsibility*) can produce outcomes from professional development to democratic development. We contend that public administration educators can connect ideals from Dewey (1916) and Bryer (2014) to move beyond conceptualizing service-learning as a tool solely used for knowledge dissemination and professional skill development and move toward conceptualizing service-learning as a vehicle for the development of students as citizens and community members. We highlight this combination of Dewey (1916) and Bryer (2014) as well as the specific pedagogical goals of MPA programs in the conceptual framework discussed later in the article.

It should be noted that even with the best intentions, service-learning projects can still be ill-designed and badly executed if components of these courses are not clearly delineated and specified in the design phase. Students can be triggered by this immersive process. Thus, individual needs should be identified and addressed so that students are not negatively impacted by the experience (Larsen, 2017). Poor design can also reinforce students' existing paternalistic and stereotypical ideas of community members as being deficient and them (students) acting as community savior (Chupp & Joseph, 2010; Fisher et al., 2017). Proper design can elicit positive emotions as well as increased positive outcomes overall (Chupp & Joseph, 2010).

Service-Learning: Goals and Outcomes

The design and implementation of service-learning courses vary significantly (Bryer, 2014). As a result, service-learning outcomes differ across instructors and institutions. Britt (2012), however, developed a typology of service-learning outcomes that could be expected from these courses (e.g., "skill-set practice and reflexivity, civic values and critical citizenship and social justice activism" [p. 80]).

Skill-set practice and reflexivity are *cognitive* outcomes connected to learning course materials by applying the theoretical knowledge to practical experience. This goal is met when service-learning acts as a method to connect theory and practice. Students are individual learners and the end goal is to develop students' competencies and feelings of self-efficacy.

Civic values and critical citizenship are outcomes linked to students as citizens "providing the experience of being an individual in relation to the collective community" and "exploring what it means to exist in relation to others in community" (Britt, 2012, p. 250). Courses that expect these outcomes do so with the intent of "rais[ing] awareness of and critical thinking about social issues and students' values and morals" (p. 250) and fostering *relational* change in students.

Finally, social justice activism outcomes allow students to take collective action against systems of oppression. Courses that expect these outcomes can create a behavioral change in students whereby they become change agents. Students, for example, can act against societal injustices and power imbalances. Outcomes of a single service-learning project can overlap to develop students as learners, citizens, and/or change agents (Britt, 2012).

Britt's (2012) outcomes align with Dewey's (1916) call for an adaptive and engaged student learning experience. These outcomes can encourage public administration educators to better utilize experiential learning programs to cultivate the relational and behavioral components of democratic public service, in addition to skill-set practice. Britt (2012) notes that service-learning is often used as a means to reinforce skills and train students for future employment. We contend, however, that in the face of "real democracy" a singular focus on using service-learning to produce skill-set and reflexivity outcomes will not necessarily provide students with the democratic stamina to perform as responsible public administrators (Burke & Cleary, 1989). In addition to professional skills development, future public administrators need democratic development.

Ultimately, democratic service-learning courses can be designed with the goals of increasing students' ability to engage with the community and create a sense of their own citizenship. Planning and executing a course in this manner requires the support of educators and institutions, a thoughtful combination of the four R design components outlined above (i.e., *reality*, *reflection*, *reciprocity*, and *responsibility*) and an understanding of the democratic underpinnings of higher education—specifically, public administration. Therefore, before outlining our framework for democratic service-learning, we describe the importance of democratic education in the MPA classroom.

Dewey's Democracy and Public Administration Education

In combining Dewey's call to institutions and educators with the challenges of "real democracy," we see MPA educators as being integral to the development of democratic students. Institutions of higher education have historically played a significant role in the development of students as active citizens (Felten & Clayton, 2011); however, more recently these institutions have focused on becoming economic drivers keen on producing students who are competitive candidates for the labor market (Bryer, 2014).

One of the main goals of graduate MPA education is to produce graduates who will efficiently and effectively act as public servants (Lazenby, 2010; Vicino, 2017). In accordance with Dewey's (1916) approach, we argue that, in order to produce the engaged citizenry needed for a well-functioning democracy, public administration educators must build on Dewey's foundation and begin to shape students as democratic and engaged citizens.

A number of studies have provided evidence to support the notion that educators (especially those in public affairs, political science, and social work fields) should foster the constructivist development of students as democratic citizens (Britt, 2012; Chupp & Joseph, 2010; Waldner, Roberts, Widener, & Sullivan, 2011). Scholars within public administration have, therefore, suggested that the MPA environment is uniquely positioned to cultivate students as future practitioners, community builders, and engaged citizens (Morse & Buss, 2014; Vicino, 2017).

While graduates of MPA programs need technical and practical skills to succeed in the workforce, the theoretical and ethical components of public administration curricula are still considered core competencies of graduate public administration programs (Haupt et al., 2017). The focus on dual

competencies in these programs can leave faculty with mixed priorities. For example, they must ensure that students are able to do the work required for gainful employment while also attempting to instill ethical public service values (Brintnall, 2008; Vicino, 2017).

The Network of Schools of Public Policy, Affairs, and Administration (NASPAA) has highlighted five core competencies that accredited MPA programs must integrate into their curricula: 1) leading and managing in public governance; 2) participating in and contributing to the policy process; 3) analyzing, synthesizing, thinking critically, solving problems, and making decisions; 4) articulating and applying a public service perspective; and 5) communicating and interacting productively with a diverse and changing workforce and citizenry (NASPAA, 2014, p. 7). Several of these competencies go beyond practical knowledge of administrative duties and focus more on engaged duties of applying democratic principles to administrative work, engaging with community members to resolve conflicts and encourage social change, and creating and maintaining an environment that encourages diversity and social equity (Haupt et al., 2017; Lopez-Littleton, Blessett, & Burr, 2018). Each of these is a key objective of public administration; and, while these objectives might appear straightforward in classroom settings, they can be difficult to contextualize in the workplace.

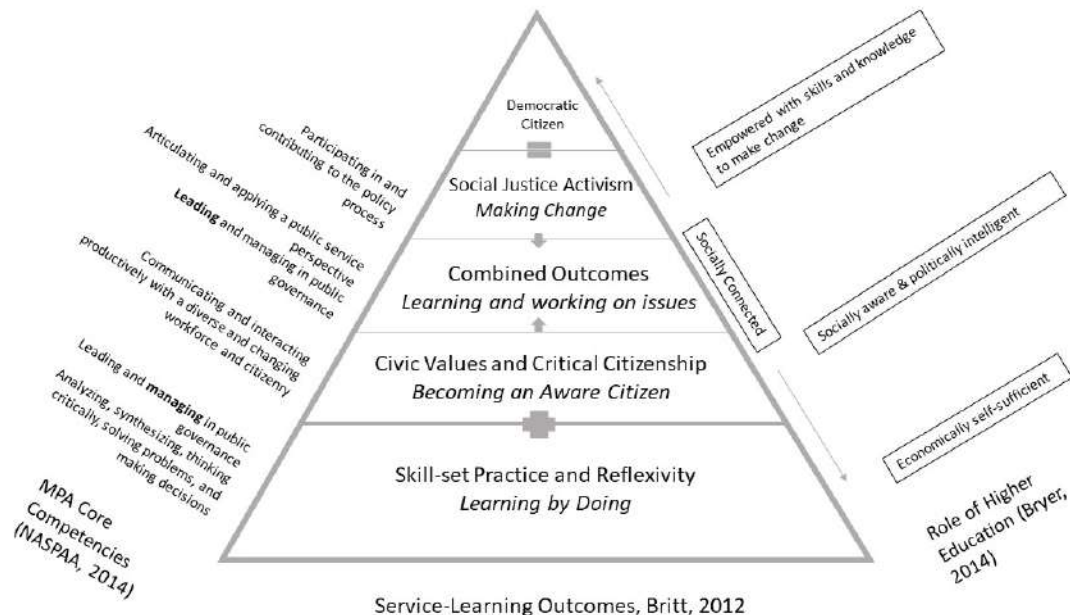
In their research on the value that managers place on these competencies, Haupt, Kapucu, and Hu (2017) found that the application of democratic principles and practices as well as the ability to understand and develop policy were the most important qualities that managers believed were necessary to succeed in public governance and the policy process. Similarly, Lazenby (2010) found that public managers ranked ethical behavior and community-building skills as more relevant tools to succeed in public management than technical and service delivery skills. This trend goes even further back to when Nalbandian (1999) found that the substantive notion of democracy and the goals of community and citizenship were a strong focus for public managers. Collectively, these studies highlight the importance of knowledge dissemination, information provision, and ethical citizenship in MPA programs.

Still, there may be some disagreement between MPA educators as to the intended outcomes of service-learning. Some educators, for example, may view service-learning as a method for students to acquire knowledge, apply skills, and analyze issues (Astin et al., 2000). Thus, these educators may not use service-learning to instill democratic ideals. Other educators, however, may view service-learning as a way to develop students as citizens (Britt, 2012; Bryer, 2014). Public affairs educators, in particular, who have intentionally designed service-learning courses to emphasize these objectives have reported believing that the effort was valuable (Kimoto, 2011; Nickels, Rowland & Fadase, 2011; Simon et al., 2013; Stout, 2013). Despite the value that these educators find, there is no comprehensive overview of how to design a uniquely democratic service-learning experience that is intended to produce critical citizenship and social justice activism (Britt, 2012), while also meeting the goals of higher education (Bryer, 2014) and specifically designed to address NASPAA's core competencies. Thus, in the following section we integrate all of these components into a single conceptual framework and provide examples of service-learning courses that we believe are a representation of democratic service-learning.

Democratic Service-Learning: A Conceptual Model

The values of substantive democracy and the constructivist democratic approach are integral to public administration education and practice, particularly in our current state of "real democracy." To help guide public administration educators on their path toward democratic service-learning, we combine Britt's (2012) typology of service-learning outcomes with Bryer's

Figure 1. A Conceptual Framework for Democratic Service-Learning



Note: Adapted from Britt (2012), Bryer (2014), and NASPAA (2014).

(2014) development of students as community members and NASPAA's (2014) graduate core competencies to create a unified conceptual framework (see Figure 1). The framework visually highlights the steps toward developing democratically minded public administrators through a well designed democratic service-learning experience in MPA degree programs.

The central components of the framework correspond to Britt's (2012) typology of service-learning outcomes. The categories are independent and can be produced individually or in different combinations for each course. However, some degree of skill-set practice and reflexivity underlies all service-learning activities because, by definition, these courses enable students to learn by doing. As a result, students are able to develop practical skills. If these projects had no connection to learning by doing or skill-set practice and reflexivity then they would not be considered service-learning. They would merely reflect more traditional experiential learning experiences such as community service or volunteering (Furco, 1996; Kapucu & Knox, 2011).

Wodicka, Swartz, and Peaslee (2012) noted that MPA students often work with government officials on program evaluations; and, Mottner (2010) described how service-learning can be used to teach students about nonprofit marketing. In these instances, the service-learning projects were connected to course materials for professional development or skill-set practice. These types of service-learning projects, only aimed at professional development skills, are useful but do not sufficiently develop students in all four areas of Bryer's (2014) institutional goals of student development nor do they exemplify Dewey's (1916) democratic constructivist philosophy of education. We, therefore, encourage MPA instructors to focus on outcomes that lead to the development of democratically minded students, i.e., students who are also citizens and who have the potential to uplift their communities and become responsible public administrators.

Bryer's (2014) ideas about the role of higher education institutions in the development of students are listed on the right side of Figure 1. As shown, institutional outcomes are directly linked with Britt's (2012) student outcomes. At all levels, students gain social connections while working with other students, community partners and members, and educators. Skill-set practice and reflexivity projects can foster economic self-sufficiency, as the development of professional skills can increase the likelihood of gainful employment. Outcomes related to civic values can develop politically intelligent and socially aware students who know their role as citizens and who want to learn more about the political system and how they can interact with it.

The NASPAA (2014) core competencies are listed on the left side of Figure 1 along with their relationship to the goals developed by Bryer (2014) and the outcomes identified by Britt (2012). We separate "Leading and managing in public governance" into distinct competencies (i.e., leading *and* managing) as we believe that the goals of "managing in public governance" and "analyzing, synthesizing, thinking critically, solving problems and making decisions" align with skill-set related competencies (Haupt, Kapucu, & Hu, 2017).

Also shown in Figure 1, the competency related to, "Communicating and interacting productively with a diverse and changing workforce and citizenry" is likely to be developed through outcomes that correlate with civic values and critical citizenship. The competency related to "Articulating and applying a public service perspective" as well as the competency related to "Leading in public governance" are best achieved through a mixture of activities that cultivate social justice and critical citizenship (Lopez-Littleton et al., 2018). Finally, we link social justice activism to the competency focused on "Participating in and contributing to the policy process." Throughout the framework, the NASPAA core competencies align with the institutional goals developed by Bryer (2014) as well as the outcomes identified by Britt (2012).

At the apex of the framework is the democratically-minded student. This is a student who has participated in service-learning experiences that build on skill-set practice, critical citizenship, and social justice behaviors. This development is fostered by democratic service-learning which promotes meaningful engagement through *reflection* and *responsibility*. Democratic service-learning develops students who are politically intelligent, socially connected, socially aware, and economically self-sufficient. By engaging in this type of service-learning students are connected to the community. They also understand the needs of the community and they feel empowered to make a change within the community. This, for us, is the democratic student (as per Dewey's writings) who now has the increased potential to become a responsible public administrator.

While our conceptual framework is unique, several examples in the literature highlight the components we describe. Student philanthropy service-learning projects, for example, highlight strong relational growth among students, organizations, and the social values of nonprofit partners (Benenson & Moldow, 2017; Olberding, 2009). In their review of the *Pay It Forward* initiative, Benenson and Moldow (2017) found that students reported higher rates of confidence in their own skills when the experience allowed them to engage with the organization and play an active role in organizational leadership and decision-making. Similarly, Olberding (2009) found that through student philanthropy, students felt more connected to and aware of nonprofit organizations and the social issues they attempted to tackle.

Bryer (2011) also provides an example of democratic service-learning in his description of an MPA course that assisted students in studying collaborative governance. In the course, students practiced data analysis (a skill that public administrators need) to provide recommendations to a nonprofit organization while they learned about the theory and practice of collaborative governance and other governmental processes. Waldner and colleagues (2011) also noted the

importance of social justice service-learning in a public policy course where MPA students worked with local health officials to analyze policy data and provide relevant recommendations. In this course, students were immersed in a social equity experience that allowed them to not only learn about historical and current inequities but to also work toward resolving them (Waldner et al., 2011). Both of these service-learning projects were intentionally designed to not only give future public administrators the opportunity to actively participate in the policy process but to also allow them to understand the functioning of government and issues of social equity.

These types of projects undoubtedly build students' social awareness. They allow students to develop empathy for the conditions of others and to cultivate their relational capacity. Still, these projects are not social justice advocacy focused, which is a key component of our conceptual framework. Interestingly, in our review of the literature, we failed to find evidence that social justice advocacy projects are utilized in MPA courses, although they are at times present in undergraduate public administration education (Nickels et al., 2011). These types of courses would be useful for MPA instructors in providing the training needed for students to function as responsible administrators in an age of "real democracy."

Conclusion

In his journey to the United States, de Tocqueville (2003) noted that the substantive experience of democracy does not simply consist of cognitive awareness and understanding of society's issues, but it demands an empowered populace willing to confront difficult issues. Almost 200 years later, austerity and privatization, technology and the lack of clarity concerning information, along with low levels of citizen trust in government have created cracks in our democratic foundation. Therefore, fostering key elements of constructivist democracy—i.e., civic values and social justice behaviors—in public administration graduate students can allow for the development of democratic students and future public administrators who are empowered to create change.

This article presents a framework that can prepare future public administrators to enter the world of public service with Dewey's democratic ideals deeply ingrained. We began by describing the general principles of service-learning including the design, objectives, and outcomes of service-learning courses. We noted that service-learning can be an ideal vehicle for instilling the principles of Dewey's constructivist, context-dependent democratic approach. We then highlighted the discipline specific pedagogical goals of public administration and the role of service-learning in cultivating democracy in the MPA classroom. Finally, we presented a conceptual framework describing a service-learning path uniquely intended to cultivate civic values and social justice-oriented democratic students, which we defined as "democratic service-learning."

Our conceptual framework outlines the core components of democratic service-learning by aligning MPA core competencies, the roles of higher education institutions in student development, and service-learning outcomes. Educators can use this framework to guide the intentional design of meaningful projects. Although this is not a simple task, we believe that in an age of "real democracy" public administration students must enter into the public sector with these ideals already ingrained; and, democratic service-learning can foster this development.

Public administration educators are responsible for the professional skills development of their students, particularly their graduate students who are being primed to enter the workforce as leaders and skilled contributors. We contend that public administration educators are also

responsible for the development of responsible administrators who are democratically developed citizens capable of bridging the public servant and citizen divide. These are students who have been prepared not only to act as effective administrators but who have also been prepared to understand their obligations as a citizen in a substantive democracy. Moreover, these are students who now have the skills to navigate “real democracy” and work with their communities to address the potential challenges of democracy in present times. It is, therefore, not enough for public administration educators to send skilled labor into the workforce. We must also produce responsible professionals who can uphold the ideals of democracy and the bureaucracy that they serve.

Notes

1. The term “citizen” has exclusionary connotations, particularly in an age in which the term has been co-opted by communities that seek to narrowly define one’s capacity to engage within a democratic system. Similar to existing literature, we use the term with the hope that a new word or series of words will soon be adopted and integrated into public administration literature and research.

Disclosure Statement

The author(s) declare that there are no conflicts of interest that relate to the research, authorship, or publication of this article.

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Author Biographies

Hannah Lebovits is a doctoral student at Cleveland State University. Her research is predominantly focused on urban, suburban and metropolitan governance. Hannah’s interest in service-learning stems from her experiences in service-learning courses as an MPA student. She is passionate about using service-learning as a vehicle to cultivate idealism and a social justice mindset in future public servants.

Del Bharath is a faculty member in the College of Business Administration and Public Policy at California State University, Dominguez Hills. As a public administration educator and student, she is interested in researching and utilizing service-learning to connect theory to practice and increase learning and development outcomes in students.

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Barriers and Challenges to Service Delivery and Funding: A Case Study of a Nonprofit Organization in the Western Cape, South Africa

Simone Martin-Howard – Long Island University, Brooklyn

There is limited qualitative case research focusing on the underreported voices of black and coloured men and women employed at nonprofit organizations (NPOs) and living in underserved communities of South Africa. The purpose of this single case study, then, is to explore barriers and challenges to service delivery and funding at one specific NPO in South Africa's Western Cape Province (WCP). To do so, I rely on observations and in-depth semistructured interviews with 11 staff members. According to a majority of the staff, religion and race are the primary barriers that prevent the organization from achieving its goals and objectives. Moreover, they note that poverty and poor living conditions, child abandonment and neglect as a result of maternal alcohol abuse, and racial and cultural tensions are contextual challenges that inhibit organizational effectiveness. While these barriers and challenges are specific to this particular NPO, the contextual factors that staff identified are evident in other townships in the WCP. As such, the findings from this study add to the knowledge of NPOs in the WCP and provide insights into how to improve service delivery for low-income and underserved populations in the region.

Keywords: Nonprofit Service Delivery, South Africa, Underserved Populations

In the Western Cape Province (WCP) of South Africa, nonprofit organizations (NPOs) provide services for mothers and children who have historically been socioeconomically disadvantaged. These families often face a number of negative social conditions on a daily basis as a result of the country's complex history of apartheid. They, therefore, tend to depend on nonprofit service provision. As Vered, Tzafirir, and Laor (2018) have suggested regarding nonprofit services in general, "Nonprofit organizations (NPOs) deliver social services, going beyond government responsibilities" (p. 134).

The complexity of contextual factors explored in this study (poverty, child abandonment and neglect as a result of maternal alcohol abuse, and racial and cultural tensions) have impacted the effectiveness of NPOs seeking to improve social conditions in the WCP. In addition to these contextual factors, though, I find in this study that religion and race often serve as additional barriers for these NPOs. Although this is a single case study of only one NPO, it provides an in-depth look at the struggles that NPOs in this region face.

As stated by Iwu, Kapondoro, Twum-Darko, and Tengeh (2015):

According to the Western Cape Government...NPOs include non-governmental organizations (NGOs), community-based organizations (CBOs), organizations that are registered as Section 21 Companies under the Company Act 61 of 1973, trusts that are registered with the Master of the Supreme Court under the Trust Property Control Act 57 of 1988, and any other voluntary association that is not for profit. (p. 9565)

These organizations are known collectively as civil society organizations (CSOs). Contemporary South African CSOs include NGOs and CBOs; however, while the former are generally located in predominately “white, upper-middle class enclaves, that tend to be large and well-funded (\$30,000-\$100,000 USD monthly budget) and fully staffed (fifteen to thirty full-time staff members),” the latter “tend to be small with limited funding (\$500-\$2,000 USD monthly budget), poorly staffed (zero to three full-time staff members), and located in lower income communities that they serve” (Warshawsky, 2013, p. 597).

According to the Department of Social Development in South Africa (2012), the growth of CSOs in the country has been rapid with over 85,000 registered CSOs currently in existence. For the purposes of this study, the terms NPOs, NGOs, CBOs, and CSOs are used interchangeably and refer to any voluntary, private, nonprofit organization engaged in education, health, housing, or other developmental activity that raises money from voluntary, private sources, donor agencies, or governments and is managed autonomously at local, national, and/or international levels (Kajiita & Kang’ethe, 2017).

The purpose of this single case study is to explore nonprofit funding barriers and the contextual factors that impact nonprofit service delivery in the WCP. To explore these issues, I rely on observations and in-depth semistructured interviews, which can be found in Appendix A, to conduct a program evaluation with 11 staff members at Table Views, an NPO in the WCP of South Africa.¹ The study addresses the following research questions: 1) What are the barriers, if any, for clients in effectively using the resources and/or services of the organization?; 2) What are the barriers, if any, that prevent the organization from achieving its goals and objectives?

This study is not intended to be generalizable outside of the distinct sample of black and coloured NPO staff members who were interviewed. Instead, the study is intended to provide evidence that the voices of those who are underrepresented in the literature can provide important insights into understanding the challenges associated with nonprofit service delivery in under resourced communities.

Literature Review

Race in South Africa

“South African CSOs reflect the diversity of African, European, and Asian peoples who have inhabited the country over the centuries” (Warshawsky, 2015, p. 93). The South African population is diverse and consists of three major reported racial groups, namely South African blacks (80.2%), whites (8.4%) and coloureds (8.8%) (Liebenberg, L’Abbe, & Skull, 2015). Coloured, a term historically and currently fraught with conflict and contradiction, refers to a heterogeneous racial group primarily consisting of persons of mixed racial ancestry (Goldin,

1987). As stated by Isaacs (2014), the term coloured is not a derogatory identity in South Africa but a racial classification used by both apartheid National Party (NP)-led and post-apartheid African National Congress (ANC)-led governments. The term coloured is a “race” by legal definition; however, to some citizens it is viewed as more cultural than racial. The black African classification refers to the indigenous groups found in South Africa such as the Xhosa and the Zulu ethnic groups (Isaacs, 2014). The remaining 2.5% of the population of South Africa consists mainly of individuals classified as Asian and Indian (Statistics South Africa, 2014).

In South Africa, there is a social hierarchy that exists based on these classifications. As stated by Adhikari (2006), the term coloured does not refer to black people in general but instead alludes to a phenotypically diverse group of people descended largely from Cape slaves, the indigenous Khoisan population, and other people of African and Asian descent who had assimilated into Cape colonial society by the late nineteenth century. These individuals partly descend from European settlers. Coloured individuals have historically held intermediate social status in the South African racial hierarchy (Adhikari, 2006).

Although the CSO sector in South Africa is the largest in Africa (Salamon, Sokolowski, & List, 2004), these organizations are segregated (Warshawsky 2013, 2014). Indeed, race plays an important role in South African culture, specifically in the WCP. The WCP is the only province in the country where black Africans are not a majority. In this province resides the highest population of coloured individuals, at nearly 48% (Western Cape Community Survey, 2016).

Poverty in South Africa

Although the World Bank classifies South Africa as an upper-middle-income country, the country is marked by high levels of inequality (Coovadia, Jewkes, Barron, Sanders, & McIntyre, 2009). Many South African families live in isolated communities characterized by extreme poverty where access to resources and professional services is limited (Meth, 2013). According to a recent report by Statistics South Africa (2017), although poverty in the country declined between 2006 and 2011, poverty levels rose in 2015 and the poverty headcount increased to 55.5% from a low of 53.2% in 2011. This translates to over 30.4 million South Africans living in poverty in 2015 (Statistics South Africa, 2017).

In general, children (aged 17 years and younger), black Africans, women, people from rural areas, and those with little or no education are among the main groups to experience poverty in South Africa (Statistics South Africa, 2017). According to the World Bank (2018), nearly half of the population of the country is chronically poor at the upper-bound national poverty line of ZAR 992 per person per month (in 2015 dollars). These factors have had an impact on the health and quality of life for many black and coloured South Africans, especially women and children.

Child Neglect and Maternal Alcohol Abuse in South Africa

As a result of maternal instability and alcohol abuse, many children under the age of five in South Africa are neglected and live in hunger (Atmore, 2013). According to Black et al. (2008), South Africa is classified as one of 36 high-burden countries for child malnutrition and neglect. The country also has one of the riskiest drinking cultures in the world (World Health Organization, 2011). Indeed, alcohol consumption in the country has a long and complex social, cultural, and political history (Olivier, Curfs, & Viljoen, 2016).

During colonial times (from 1652 to 1948), settlers introduced the *dop* system whereby farm workers were paid for their labor with alcohol (London, Sanders, & te Water Naude, 1998;

London, 2000). When apartheid began in 1948, alcohol was used paternalistically to economically and socially control these workers (Olivier et al., 2016). Heavy drinking among men and women in South Africa today, including pregnant women, can be traced back to this *dop* system (Eaton et al., 2014). These problems are particularly prevalent in the WCP (Myers, Stein, Mtukushe, & Sorsdahl, 2012).

The country's history of alcohol consumption has had an impact on child health and social outcomes. A recent survey of low-income South Africans found that the lifetime prevalence rate for physical abuse of children was 55% and 36% for emotional abuse (Meinck, Cluver, Boyes, & Ndhlovu, 2015). Interestingly, the survey found that caregivers were the primary source of this abuse. Thus, one might conclude that these caregivers, typically mothers, abuse their children at high rates due to high levels of alcohol abuse and the ramifications of such abuse.

Systematic reviews have provided promising evidence that parenting programs may reduce the risk of child maltreatment while improving positive parenting, parental mental health, and early childhood development outcomes (Barlow, Johnston, Kendrick, Polnay, & Stewart-Brown, 2006; Chen & Chan, 2016; Furlong et al., 2013). According to the National Integrated Early Childhood Development Policy, these programs should provide daily care, development, and early learning support to children from birth until the year before they enter formal school (Baloyi & Makhubele, 2018).

Racial and Cultural Tensions in Post-Apartheid South Africa

Policies of apartheid in South Africa, which lasted from 1948 to 1994, have created institutional and structural discrimination and large disparities between racial groups in terms of socioeconomic status, employment, education, housing, and health services (Charasse-Pouele & Fournier, 2006). Indeed, darker-skin-toned South Africans are often overrepresented in lower socioeconomic categories in the country (May, 2000). The apartheid bureaucracy consistently collected demographic information, and every public agency in the country used this data to enforce differential treatment under the law as well as unequal distribution of education and welfare funds. These practices further legitimized the country's racial categories (Birn, 2009). Thus, the categories have historical significance, and their continued use in South Africa is important for monitoring improvements in health and socioeconomic conditions, identifying vulnerable individuals within the population, and planning effective prevention programs (Gossage et al., 2014).

While there has been a considerable inflow of white immigrants to South Africa since the early 2000s, black African immigration to South Africa was limited until the end of apartheid. Even then, there was minimal contact between South Africans and black foreigners (Tella, 2016). According to a recent South African Community Survey (2016), around 1.6 million (or 2.8%) of the country's 55.6 million inhabitants are foreign born. These foreign nationals include a mix of documented and undocumented migrants, along with refugees and asylum seekers (Landau & Segatti, 2009).

Over the past few decades, increasing numbers of semi- to highly skilled black Africans have migrated to South Africa, particularly from Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Congo, and Cameroon (Statistics South Africa, 2012). Zimbabweans are by far the largest immigrant group living in the country, amounting to around 1.5 million (Landau & Segatti, 2009). Zimbabwe shares a land border with South Africa and suffers from a collapsed economy, a severe lack of jobs, hyperinflation, and a number of human rights violations (Bloch, 2010).

According to Tella (2016), people from Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland are more welcome than those from countries such as Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Tembo (2017) states, “South Africa is a rainbow nation, a term coined by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and widely employed by President Nelson Mandela to celebrate the country’s differences, diversity, and the latent psychosocial issues” (p. 662). The term refers to the country’s post-apartheid stance on being a melting pot of different tribes and cultures.

Since the mid-1990s, however, a range of NPOs, human rights actors, and academics have observed ongoing patterns of discrimination induced violence. This violence specifically targets people on the basis of race and nationality (Breen & Nel, 2011). In certain provinces (e.g., Gauteng, Western Cape, Free State, Limpopo, and KwaZulu-Natal) xenophobic violence against foreign nationals has worsened over the years (Saleh, 2015); and, despite media publicity about recurrent and sporadic violence against foreigners, many government departments have made little effort to address the issue (Breen & Nel, 2011). As described by Bauder (2008), immigrants are often categorized in the homogenous group of foreigners; thus, they represent outsiders. This has led to negative attitudes toward them.

Nonprofit Organizations and Government Policies in South Africa

In this context, NPOs provide an intervention that can improve the health and well-being of historically underserved South African women and children. While the South African government has played a major role in the delivery of services since the end of apartheid, gaps still exist in the allocation of services to underserved and at-risk populations. For poor South African communities, in particular, nongovernmental CBOs that provide free or low-cost services are often the first call when seeking assistance for health and other social problems (Pasche, Myers, & Louw, 2008). Although these organizations may receive international aid or government support, they fill gaps that international programs and government policies are unable to fulfill due to political or logistical limitations.

It is important to note that “as service organizations, NPOs play a significant role in society, particularly with regard to the economic, cultural and social development of a country” (Lynn, 2003, p. 91). Many NGOs in South Africa grew out of the struggles against apartheid, which involved not only struggles against injustices but also implicitly against the values of post-colonial society and Western influence (Jackson & Haines, 2007).

According to Tanga and Mundau (2014), “Progress in developing countries is highly characterized by immense donor funding of community-based projects by local organizations due to high levels of poverty which has led to the rise of NPOs as partners in development work” (p. 466). They further suggest, “This is all done in an endeavor to empower rural communities to confront the adverse effects of poverty and apartheid on their own” (Tanga & Mundau, 2014, p. 466).

Financing has a major influence on most NPOs, and very few of these organizations can be managed without any financial support (Conradie, 1999). The main sources of NPO funding in South Africa are the government (national, provincial, and local), the private sector, development agencies, foreign governments, and private companies (Conradie, 1999). Warshawsky (2015) has noted, “South African CSOs are funded by government (44%), fees (32%), and philanthropy (24%), with most of this funding flowing to organizations focused on social services (26%), development/housing (18%), and culture/recreation (18%)” (p. 95). Furthermore, Warshawsky (2015) adds that “most South African CSOs are small, as 80.5% have 10 or fewer employees” (p. 95).

The government of South Africa has, for some time, put in place socioeconomic policies and programs to alleviate poverty. These policies include affirmative action, feeding schemes for school children, free medication for pregnant women and children, and programs to promote education and skill acquisition (Serumaga-zake, Kotze, & Madsen, 2005). A specialized poverty alleviation program (PAP) was also designed to address rural poverty with a specific focus on assisting women, disabled individuals, and young people (Tsheola, 2012).

In attempts to reverse the ramifications of apartheid, the South African government has sought to legitimize NPOs by passing policies such as the 1996 Growth, Employment, and Redistribution (GEAR) Act, the Nonprofit Organizations Act of 1997, and the National Development Agency Act of 1998. The South African government also implemented the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) program in 2003 (and amended in 2011) to fund NPOs focused on alleviating poverty among the country's most vulnerable populations.

The BEE program is one of the country's attempts to make amends for past practices that systematically excluded nonwhites from participating in mainstream economic activities. The BEE program strives for employment equity among all of the legal racial categories that are recognized in the country. The South African government considers the program to be one that will eventually close the inequality gap and foster economic growth. Some of the program's activities include providing access to financing opportunities to start new businesses and empowering impoverished rural communities through access to land and ownership. To many, BEE has provided enhanced opportunities for black individuals to improve their social position in South Africa (Ponte, Roberts, & van Sittert, 2007). BEE was later expanded and renamed the Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) (Mersham & Skinner, 2016).

Research Setting

The Western Cape Province (WCP) and Maraval Township²

The WCP, the location of this study, is the southernmost province of South Africa's nine provinces and is divided into six municipalities. According to a recent Western Cape Community Survey (2016), the province is home to almost 6.3 million people. In South Africa, poverty varies from province to province due to large differences in economic structure (Serumaga-zake et al., 2005). The WCP is an urban district with diverse living conditions ranging from wealthy suburbs to underdeveloped informal urban and rural areas (Smit, Kassier, Nel, & Koen, 2017). After the new democratic government came into power in 1994 (post-apartheid), black South Africans migrated in large numbers, especially to areas where they had previously been denied the right to live and to areas from where had been forcibly removed during the apartheid period (Serumaga-zake et al., 2005).

After apartheid, a number of large informal settlements were established and the population in or near the cities grew dramatically (Serumaga-zake et al., 2005). In the WCP specifically, high levels of poverty continue to exist (Klasen & Woolard, 2009). The province's unemployment rate is estimated to be around 25% (Western Cape Government, 2015).

Maraval township is located within WCP's largest city, Cape Town (CPT). As of 2016, most of the population in the WCP (63.8% or approximately four million people) resided in CPT (Western Cape Provincial Profile, 2016). Maraval township is plagued by high rates of poverty, child neglect, and racial and cultural tensions. Established in the first few decades of the twentieth century, Maraval is one of the oldest informal settlements in the WCP. The township was created as a coloured township during apartheid.

Table Views Foundation

In 2008, the soon-to-be founder of Table Views Foundation resigned from her position at another local foundation. At the time, several NPOs were operating in Maraval. Having learned of her resignation, the community of Maraval called on her to help foster development in their neighborhood. She was overwhelmed at first, largely because the area did not have a building or any equipment. However, after visiting Maraval, she felt an empty void as she looked at the neighborhood and its inhabitants. It was at this moment that she decided to create Table Views Foundation.

Initially, she worked out of her personal vehicle. She studied social cases (a practice she learned while becoming a social worker); further, she worked with youth in the township to take ownership of their community. While her vision and passion were mostly focused on youth, the needs of Maraval were greater than just this population, and she believed that the broader community (specifically women), could also benefit from Table Views' services. According to her:

There was nothing happening for kids whose parents were addicted to drugs and alcohol. The kids were just roaming the streets; and, there was nothing to stimulate the women because they were asking for support, yet nothing was being given to them.

Table Views' Total Staff Breakdown

Table Views Foundation is staffed by a total of 18 paid and volunteer administrative and programmatic staff members. The staff is dedicated to improving the lives of Maraval's residents. Eleven of the eighteen staff members participated in this study. Table 1 provides an overview of all staff at Table Views.

All five administrative staff members were interviewed. Of the three Sewing and Beading Center staff, the manager/trainer was interviewed. Of the five organic gardening staff, one gardener was interviewed. The adherence counselor for health and nutrition, who was also interviewed, is the only staff member in the Counseling Center; in addition, of the four early childhood development (ECD) staff, the principal, one teacher, and a volunteer were interviewed.

Although they are dedicated to the organization, the employees are generally underpaid due to limited funding. They also tend to be untrained as community health workers. As a result, service delivery often depends on nonspecialist community workers who are either volunteers or low-paid paraprofessionals (Altman, 2009). The adherence counselor for health and nutrition is the only employee within Table Views that is professionally trained as a community health worker.

By serving as intermediaries between the community and the formal health system, community health workers are in a unique position to serve resource poor communities (Condo et al., 2014). According to Perry, Zulliger, and Rogers (2014):

During the past decade, there has been an explosion of evidence concerning CHWs and their potential for improving population health where a) health workforce resources are limited and access to basic services is low (mostly in low-income countries), and where b) large disparities in health outcomes exist between selected subpopulations and the population at large in spite of the presence of well-developed health systems (mostly in developed countries). (p. 400)

Table 1. Table Views' Total Staff Demographics (n=18)

Staff Roles	Total
Administrative Staff	n=5
• Founder/Director • Project Manager • Administrator • Bookkeeper • Marketing and Events Manager	
Programmatic Staff	
<i>Sewing and Beading Center Staff</i>	n=3
• Manager/Trainer • Supervisor • Beading Facilitator	
<i>Organic Garden/Feeding Scheme Staff</i>	n=5
• Gardener 1 • Gardener 2 • Cook 1 • Cook 2 • Cook 3	
Counseling Center Staff	n=1
• Adherence Counselor for Health and Nutrition	
Early Childhood Development and Aftercare Center (ECDAC)	n=4
• ECD Principal • ECD Teacher • ECD Teacher • ECD Volunteer	

Demographics of Participating Table Views Staff

Table 2 provides a background overview of the staff members who participated in this study. As previously mentioned, Maraval is a majority coloured community and Table Views is a majority coloured organization. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that less than 30% of the participating staff identified as black. Approximately 50% of the participating staff have been employed with the organization for less than five years. The other 50% have been at Table Views between five to 10 years. The educational backgrounds of the staff include less than a high school education, some high school education, and a high school diploma. The founder, however, is the only staff member with a college degree. None of the administrative or programmatic staff have received professional training in health education with two exceptions: the adherence counselor for health and nutrition and the founder who is a social worker.

Table Views' Programs and Goals

Table Views has an overall mission to accomplish social and economic improvement through various programs that educate, inform, and support the people of Maraval and its surrounding communities. Table Views offer six programs that encourage people in the community to take responsibility for their lives, their families, and the Maraval community. Table 3 provides an overview of each program's goals.

Table 2. Demographics of Participating Table Views' Staff (n=11)

Staff Characteristics and Roles	Total
Positions	
Administrators	n=6
Program Staff	n=5
Race	
Coloured	n=8
Black	n=3
Time at Organization	
<5 years	n=6
5-10 years	n=5
Educational Attainment	
Less than High School	n=2
Some High School	n=4
High School Diploma	n=4
College/University Degree	n=1

Table 3. Table Views' Programs and Goals

Program	Acronym	Goals
Organic Garden/ Feeding Scheme	FS	To ensure that all vulnerable and disadvantaged groups get the support, guidance, and mentoring that they need to fulfill their aspirations...by alleviating hunger in the community and encouraging a healthy lifestyle.
Sewing and Beading Center	SBP	To equip women in the community with needed self-esteem and professional skills and to enable them to support their children and be strong role models in the area.
Computer and Business Course Program	CBC	To reduce the unemployment rate and create new income opportunities.
Nutritional and Health Support Group	NHSG	To target and equip the women in the community with chronic problems (such as diabetes, HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, high blood pressure, and high cholesterol) with the skills needed to manage their individual diseases.
Early Childhood Development and Aftercare Center	ECDAC	To develop and implement learning programs that target neglected and abused children in the area whose parents are (or have been) addicted to drugs and/or alcohol.
Parenting Workshops	PW	To develop and implement learning programs that target parents addicted to drugs and/or alcohol whose children participate in the ECDAC.

Funding

In resource-strained communities such as the WCP, the government is not always able to provide funding for NPOs. Donors are, thus, often more relied upon for organizational success. At Table Views, funding is generated in three ways: by proposals that three administrative staff members draft (the founder, marketing/events manager, and project manager) and send out to potential

international and local donors, by small events that the founder hosts at the organization for international volunteers, and through networking with other local NPOs.

Details from the most recent general proposal (that took place from March 2016 to March 2017) revealed that the basic operational costs for the organization (i.e., staff salaries, participant stipends, outreach, printing and stationary, staff development, transport costs, workshop materials, electricity and gas, and other expenses) was approximately R2,100,000 (USD \$165,000) per year. Numerous international organizations and volunteers, mainly from Denmark and Germany, invested in the organization during this time. These entities and individuals provided the bulk of grants (70%) for Table Views' programs.

The Sewing and Beading Center is the only cash flow positive program for the organization. The Early Childhood Development and Aftercare Center (ECDAC) receives funds from a trust in South Africa and international donors. Donors also provide noncash support such as laptops. Table Views has attempted to diversify funding sources by applying for financial support from local entities and other South African NPOs. At the time of this study, the executive director (who is also the founder) was in the process of reapplying for additional funds for the ECDAC because the current funding would soon expire. Operational costs are covered by general funds, but these funds do not cover the entire year, which is supplemented by international organizations that provide funds toward Table Views' development programs.

During the semistructured interviews, multiple employees acknowledged that funding is something that is not openly discussed in the organization. Those who implement the programs, even at the administrative level, may know little to nothing about where funding comes from or where it goes. When specifically asked about funding, one staff member nervously laughed and whispered, "I am not sure because we are not allowed to ask about the funding." Another programmatic staff member when asked about funding stated, "We don't know that information...I do not know who is funding it." Similarly, several other staff members indicated that they "honestly didn't know" much about the organization's funding and that administrative staff have only stated that "there is no funding." Thus, while reports (such as the general proposal) are transparent to funding agencies, this information may not be readily provided to those who work for the organization.

Methods

Selection of the Case Study Site

A case study was conducted to describe and analyze the experiences and perceptions of black and coloured staff members employed at Table Views Foundation. These experiences and perceptions provide a richer perspective of the service delivery efforts that the organization undertakes to solve social and regional problems for low-income and underserved populations in the Maraval township of the WCP. Stake (2013) and Yin (2003) suggest that the main purpose of a case study is to learn more in-depth information about the subject of study.

As the principal investigator (PI) for this study, I served as a fellow with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Community Chest of the Western Cape, an NGO that provides funding to NPOs in the province. A staff member at Community Chest provided me with a database of NPOs in the area. I then selected the organization of focus for this study—Table Views Foundation. Table Views was selected based on the services that it provides to those in Maraval. To assess the suitability of the case selection site, I conducted exploratory research of

Table Views from June to July of 2016. In-depth interviews of staff were conducted in January 2017. The interviews took place over a series of visits.

Data Collection and Analysis

A nonprobability sampling procedure, common in qualitative studies, was applied, and snowballing techniques were utilized to select interview participants. With the assistance of the executive director, program manager, and adherence counselor, I undertook snowballing techniques to recruit male and female participants. I informed staff members about the study emphasizing that participation was strictly voluntary. Participants were then selected based on their willingness to participate. They were eligible to participate if they were aged 18 years or older; English, Afrikaans, or IsiXhosa-speaking; a Table Views staff member; able to provide consent; and willing to be audio recorded.

Eleven semistructured interviews were conducted with Table Views staff members to obtain their perceptions about the environmental and resource barriers and challenges facing the organization. These semistructured interviews were conducted at the Table Views site location and took place in a private room. The questions were carefully designed to address the purpose of the research. The interviews lasted between 30 minutes to one hour; they were audio-recorded (with permission) and then transcribed. All of the interviews totaled 482 minutes and 35 seconds. Data saturation was attained during the in-depth interviews with the 11 research participants (Tutty, Rothery, & Grinnell, 1996). Major themes were identified based on the study objectives. They were then manually coded and analyzed using Dedoose.

I also extensively reviewed documents from each of Table Views' programs, conducted site visits, and observed each program's functions. From the interviews and analysis of documents, I was able to better understand each of the foundation's program goals and objectives; the program functions, components, and activities; and the ways that each of these components were linked. All of this information provided me with a better understanding of each program's processes. This also allowed me to evaluate the range of services offered by Table Views and to examine whether challenges existed to program effectiveness. Assessing the adequacy of program process is an important evaluation function because it compares the program activities that take place with services that are delivered (Rossi, Lipsey, & Freeman, 2003).

Ethical Considerations

Full ethical approval was obtained from Rutgers University and the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) in Pretoria, South Africa prior to commencing fieldwork. Consent was obtained from individual participants prior to all interviews.

Study Limitations and Trade-Offs

Due to the racial demographics of the study site, there is little variation among races in this study. However, the employees varied by level of education, length of time at the organization, and administrative and programmatic positions held. Future research should focus on NPOs in South Africa that are less homogenous. It should also be noted that, while generalizability is not a typical goal of qualitative case study research, the in-depth description of the program allows the reader to make connections to the phenomenon through the opinions of staff.

Results and Discussion

Themes

The thematic results are presented in two sections: 1) Contextual challenges to service delivery, which addresses the first of the study's two research questions, and 2) barriers and challenges to organizational goal achievement, which addresses the study's second research question. Descriptive excerpts of responses from the interviews are provided. These responses are juxtaposed with findings from relevant literature.

Contextual Challenges to Service Delivery

Three salient themes emerged from the data as contextual factors that have an impact on organizational effectiveness: 1) poverty and poor living conditions; 2) child abandonment and neglect as a result of maternal alcohol abuse; and 3) racial and cultural tensions.

Theme 1: Poverty and Poor Living Conditions. Poverty and poor living conditions were the most frequently mentioned contextual factors that staff believed inhibited Table Views' effectiveness. In South Africa, the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) was intended to solve issues associated with the apartheid regime and build a better life for citizens through the improvement of social rights and opportunities for gainful employment (Hemson, 2004). Due to changes in the institutional framework "from RDP to [Growth, Employment, and Redistribution] GEAR, from loosely managed systems to the production of key performance indicators, from national to local government delivery" (Hemson, 2004, p. 3), the program has not been as successful as the government had intended. Table Views has, therefore, stepped in to help alleviate the issue of poverty through income-generating programs such as its computer and business course and its Sewing and Beading Center.

One administrative staff member provided an example of a woman who was living under a boat with her two children because she had no other housing options. Poor South Africans in need of housing face challenges associated with accessing affordable human settlements. These challenges exist for a number of reasons such as segregated housing policies, enormous housing backlogs, and complicated bureaucracy (Juta & Matsiliz, 2014). According to this administrative staff member, Table Views' founder "brought her in, gave her nice clothes and put her in a house. Her children are in the crèche now." Another programmatic staff member discussed this same situation and explained that, "Some of our kids, they don't live in housing they live in boats and they don't come because of rainy days."

In another example, the founder of Table Views discussed the living conditions in a home, saying that she "immediately understood the suffering in that house, the unemployment rate was very high, nobody was working there, and the only income is the mother's disability." This example illustrates the types of contextual factors that people of this community often face. Even though the government has begun to provide affordable housing to poor South Africans, not everyone has benefited (Juta & Matsiliz, 2014).

Another programmatic staff member replied that, "Most people do not have houses or a place to stay, this is very common. They stay in shacks; some don't even have a shack." The shack that the staff member is referring to is located on the informal settlement of Maraval. Informal settlements are often viewed negatively by both residents and outsiders. They are thought to be places where children, especially, face harsh conditions. Bartlett, Hart, Satterthwaite, de la

Barra, and Missair (1999) explored the dimensions of poor (often informal) housing and identified a number of material and social concerns for impoverished children, including overcrowding, sanitation, neighborly relations, and violence.

An administrative employee explained that Table Views assists people in these areas “by giving food or clothing...or, if the roof is leaking, then we will go out as staff and fix the roof...you know you can’t change the living conditions, but we can do something to improve it.” For example, the staff went to the house of a disabled woman who lived with her child and patched the roof. The founder shared another example of a situation where a family “lives off of the dumping site to generate an income; and, they get whatever...if I throw a cabbage on that dump that is going to be the meal for the home. And, that is a complete health risk.”

Water shortage is another challenge that residents of Maraval face. Many rely on Table Views to assist them with this issue. According to a programmatic staff member, “Water is a big problem because water always goes off.” Another administrative employee stated that, “When people have a water problem, they come to us...but somehow when we phone the water department for them, they get help quicker than when they phone themselves.” Another administrative staff member said:

Where water is concerned, [children] would say that they can’t come to class because their place is flooded and need clothing. We tell them that is important, and we go and assist them. This is what we have done to lessen that barrier.

Flooding occurs mostly during the winter season (from May to August). Overcrowding and poor sanitation have resulted in frequent breakdowns of municipal infrastructure such as the sewerage systems. These breakdowns have resulted in even more burdens on the wider economy (Govender, Barnes, & Pieper, 2011). Table Views attempts to lessen the barriers that families face through the provision of clothes and shelter. However, water shortages tend to affect participant engagement. According to one programmatic staff member, “If the water is out and a participant can’t bathe that might affect them coming...the children do not come because the parent can’t wash the child.” This employee’s statement implies that parents may be ashamed for their child(ren) to be dirty.

Theme 2: Child Abandonment and Neglect as a Result of Maternal Alcohol Abuse. Child abandonment and neglect as a result of maternal alcohol abuse is the second contextual factor identified that has an impact on Table Views’ effectiveness. The founder shared a time where a child said that, “Our parents left me with the kids, so the cycle continues.” Often, mothers leave their younger children in the care of their older siblings while they engage in illegal drug use. The founder, for instance, described a situation where she went into the home of one of the mothers and saw that a child was “sick and undernourished...the eyes were depleted, the sores were in the mouth...” The child, the founder later learned, was infected with tuberculosis, and the child’s mother had abandoned her. When the founder stepped in, she informed the child’s grandmother that the child needed to receive medical attention immediately. Tuberculosis is common in Maraval among children and adults. In a study conducted in the WCP, Govender et al. (2011) found that houses in the community have poor structural integrity and damp interiors. Coupled with overcrowding, these conditions are conducive to the spread of tuberculosis.

Maternal neglect has a negative impact on Table Views’ effectiveness. Indeed, while the above is only one example of negligence, maternal carelessness is rampant in Maraval due to pervasive alcohol abuse. The more resources that Table Views’ staff must utilize to conduct site visits in

response to reports of maternal neglect, the less effective they are able to be in managing the organization. One administrative staff member stated that:

...the backgrounds of the people here are very different...like how the children walk around the streets dirty...and children that get taken away from the parents because the parents don't look after them because of drugs and alcohol.

As highlighted earlier, according to the World Health Organization (2011), South Africa has one of the world's riskiest drinking patterns. The country is in the second-highest category (medium consumption level) of countries having harmful patterns of drinking; in addition, it has among the highest levels of past-year heavy episodic drinking rates for both men and women (World Health Organization, 2011). Not surprisingly perhaps, then, administrative staff members' description of the children in the community mirrored the founder's observations of child abandonment and neglect as a result of parental alcohol abuse.

One programmatic staff member explained that "...most of the parents will sell themselves for drugs and sleep around for drugs. They are selling themselves for their habit not for food for their children." Although Table Views implemented a parenting workshop in an attempt to address the issue of drug and alcohol abuse in the community, the rise of maternal drug use continues to have a negative impact on Table Views' effectiveness. Another programmatic staff member also described the community by saying:

If you go through the roads now, you will see [drug addicted] mothers walking with the children...and the child gets exposed to that and at the end of the day the child can tell you at two years old that my mommy is doing this or that.

The staff member explained that these types of situations were the main reason the ECDAC was created. Heavy alcohol consumption has resulted in social and health problems for a number of South Africans in the form of fetal alcohol syndrome (FAS) and fetal alcohol spectrum disorders (FASD) (Olivier et al., 2016). Research has shown that FASD is directly linked to a multitude of negative health outcomes, including deficiencies in the growth and development of mental and physical capabilities, which particularly damage the central nervous system (Eaton et al., 2014).

Other employees also identified child abandonment and neglect as reasons why the ECDAC is necessary. One programmatic staff member discussed that the ECDAC was created "because a lot of young mothers are more into drugs and alcohol and...some kids come here with black and blue eyes, marks saying that their mother stabbed them..." An administrative employee explained how important the ECDAC is in the community because "early childhood development starts at a young age, where there is drug abuse or any substance abuse for that matter and abuse in the homes..." Another programmatic staff member also gave an example of a time when a resident knew that a neighbor was neglecting children in the home and contacted Table Views to report the neglect. After a site visit, the programmatic staff member asked the parent to join the organization and the parent was enrolled in the parenting workshop, the computer and business course, and the Sewing and Beading Center.

Some parents in Maraval also neglect children by not helping them with homework, by not sending them to the ECDAC on a regular basis, and/or by completely removing them from the ECDAC. These decisions have a direct negative impact on Table Views' effectiveness. If parents are not willing to assist their children with homework, they avoid sending their children to the

learning programs on a consistent level, and/or they cut ties with the organization completely then the program's goals cannot be achieved.

Theme 3: Racial and Cultural Tensions. Table Views is a majority coloured organization in terms of both staff and participants. Noncoloured women (especially foreign nationals) used to avoid going to the organization for help. Many of these women believed that the organization was only for coloured participants. They also feared that the organization was government affiliated and that they risked deportation if they went to Table Views for help. According to one administrative staff member, "Some people still feel that [negative mentality] because we are coloured and our services are mainly for coloureds, but these are the people coming in for help more than others."

While South Africa has a long history of cross-border migration, its relatively strong economic growth has increased migration from surrounding countries, making it a major regional destination for international migration and the main migrant receiving country in southern Africa (Misago, Landau, & Monson, 2009). As such, in recent years, Table Views has seen an influx of foreign nationals who now realize that the organization is a safe place.

Table Views considers itself to be an organization of unity (similar to Archbishop Desmond Tutu's vision of South Africa described by Tembo [2017]). That is, anyone, regardless of race, skin color, language, or religion, has access to the organization's services. An administrative employee, however, stated that race still plays a big role among black participants and white volunteers who see themselves as different from the majority of those in the organization.

A programmatic staff member expanded on this notion, saying that she was not even clear of the difference between Africans (for example, Zimbabwean and Somalian), coloured South Africans (who are not viewed as African), and black South Africans (who are viewed as Xhosas or Zulus and therefore culturally African). According to her, "[In South Africa], you can be black depending on your skin color, on the way you speak, [or] your hair." She, thus, believed that, "There needs to be something that is going to change people's mentality of thinking and also tell them that you are coloured or Khoi-San."

Steenkamp (2009) has argued that South Africa's isolation during the apartheid administration triggered Afrophobia in the country. As a result, South Africans do not see themselves as Africans. Race is a label given to people in South Africa based on complexion, hair type, level of education, or the way they speak. The "black-on-black" narrative of South African xenophobia is historical and based on a colonial legacy of South Africa being perceived and treated as a European outpost located on the African continent (Mantsinhe, 2011). It is, therefore, also important to note that acts of racism were mentioned as well.

According to an administrative staff member, "Here in Maraval, we had a lot of xenophobic attacks not just on outsiders but on the Xhosas and the Zulus as well." She expressed that different ethnic groups were uncomfortable speaking to staff that were of different racial or cultural backgrounds. Another programmatic staff member said that people from other countries are judged, and, in addition to violent xenophobic attacks, racism in the organization occurs through name calling. Furthermore, an administrative employee bluntly stated that, "Some of the [participants] are racist toward the foreigners." As a result, foreign nationals and coloureds tend to speak in their own language, so that other groups will not understand them. She made it clear, however, that this issue had been handled by the organization and was no longer a problem.

Barriers and Challenges to Organizational Goal Achievement

Responses to the second research question provide evidence that religion and race ($n=8$) impact funding for Table Views, which may or may not apply to other nonprofit organizations in the province.

The Impact of Religion and Race on Funding. Staff discussed two types of funding constraints: one based on religion and the other based on race. The founder of Table Views, a Muslim woman, provided an example of how religion had an impact on the organization's funding. As she explained, there were two organizations that Table Views was considering funding: one was a local Christian organization and the other was a local Muslim corporation. The Christian organization declined to sponsor the Muslim corporation because the executive director was Muslim. The Muslim corporation requested that a percentage of the beneficiaries identify as Muslim. The executive director of the Christian organization responded with "go to hell!" A staff member explained that Table Views would rather "cut ties with [the Muslim corporation]" than lie about the percentage of Muslim beneficiaries, "For us, it is all about humanity because we are born as human beings first and if we can look at each other as human beings the rest will follow."

According to the founder, in addition to religion, race played an integral role in funding when she initially created Table Views in 2008; and, it still plays a significant role in funding today. According to one programmatic staff member, "Some funders want to see that the organization has a database [list of beneficiaries by race] and that they need to be a BEE organization." Potential funders also want to see a list of staff and participant names, as they can often surmise from surnames if an individual is black or coloured. This can affect funding.

Although the founder of Table Views is technically considered coloured, local funding from the province and the country is more readily available for black-led organizations. It is, therefore, in the best interest of the organization for her to identify as black and to show that Table Views employs black South Africans in positions of authority. She explained that she is "disadvantaged compared to white organizations in the community because she is black." This has presented a number of challenges when applying for funding. She said:

At some point we feel that the color of our skin has a lot to do with it...who is in charge of the foundation. Internationally, Table Views is at a disadvantage because it is disadvantaged people who started the organization. If I was a white South African it would have been much different, because we see it daily.

Conclusion

Table Views was created to educate, inform, and support the Maraval community through various training and development programs. The organization is comprised of 18 staff members, and in this study 11 of these staff members were interviewed.

This exploratory and descriptive case study contributes to the extant literature by providing in-depth insights into the challenges that one local NPO in the WCP faces in its quest to improve socioeconomic conditions in a vulnerable community. According to staff, two main barriers (or challenges) against funding face the organization: religion and race. Staff also identified three main regional contextual factors that have impacted participant engagement: poverty and poor

living conditions, child abandonment and neglect as a result of maternal alcohol abuse, and racial and cultural tensions.

The first contextual factor impacting participant engagement at Table Views was associated with poverty and poor living conditions. Oftentimes, poor families living in hostile conditions were unable (as a result of these conditions) to consistently utilize Table Views' services. Thus, to reduce poverty in Maraval, Table Views could work with community members to create microfinance programs. These are grassroots tools for alleviating poverty and enhancing access to financial services (e.g., savings and technical assistance) for the poorest populations in developing countries.

Greene and Gangemi (2006) place microcredit at the heart of microfinance, where it is widely understood as the practice of offering small, collateral-free loans to members of cooperatives who otherwise would not have access to the capital necessary to begin a small business (Hossain, 2002). Microcredit borrowers are usually women, in part because women are more likely to use their earnings to pay for family needs (Greene & Gangemi, 2006). Research by Hietalahti and Linden (2006) in South Africa has shown that some of the poorest women have escaped the deepest poverty through opportunities provided by microcredit village programs.

Although Table Views provides women with stipends, this money does not lift participants out of poverty; in addition, although the women learn skills in the sewing and beading program, they are not always able to start their own sewing and beading businesses because the beads and materials are too expensive. Therefore, the introduction of microfinance programs could benefit the women by providing them with the funds necessary to buy materials and assist with income generation.

Issues associated with child abandonment and neglect were also illustrated through examples of parental substance abuse, malnourished children, sick children, children who were roaming the streets, and child physical abuse. This case study provides an overview of an organization in the WCP that has implemented programs to lessen child abandonment and neglect in South Africa. While Table Views is not the first NPO to create programming around this contextual challenge, the findings from this study add to the literature on programming initiatives that may effectively address the issue.

Last, the third contextual factor identified brought forth feelings of racial inferiority and examples of xenophobic attacks. Unfortunately, even though Table Views considers itself to be a place where everyone is welcome, racial undertones and racist actions have at times contradicted this.

Notes

1. The name of the foundation has been changed for confidentiality purposes.
2. The name of the township has been changed for confidentiality purposes.

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The author declares that there are no conflicts of interest that relate to the research, authorship, or publication of this article.

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Author Biography

Simone Martin-Howard is an Assistant Professor of Healthcare Administration at Long Island University-Brooklyn. Her multidisciplinary research interests include nonprofit service delivery, healthcare administration and policy, global health, maternal and child health, transnational crime, prisoner re-entry, and addressing violence as a public health issue. Prior to her academic career, she held positions at the New York City Department of Health and Mental Hygiene, the Onondaga County Health Department, the New York State Department of Health, the Syracuse Veteran's Administration Medical Center, and the Vera Institute of Justice.

Appendix

Qualitative Interview – Providers (*English*)

1. Tell me how you got involved in the program:
 - a. What interested you?
 - b. How long have you worked on this program?
 - c. What is your role?
2. Tell me about the program:
 - a. Probes: Why was it created? What are its goals?
 - b. What does the program do? Tell me about its services?
 - i. Probes: Needed services? Missing services?
3. Tell me about your program participants? Who does the program serve?
 - a. Probes: Are these the intended program targets? Is the program missing people? Who should be receiving services?
 - i. IF YES: Why do you think this is occurring? (Probes: Transportation issues? Convenience? Primary caregiver? Decision-making power in the household? Permission from husband, if married? Neighborhood conditions? Socio-cultural values? Other reasons?)
 - ii. IF YES: What should be done to lessen these barriers?
4. Tell me what you think about the program:
 - a. What do you think about its goals?
 - b. What do you think have been barriers or challenges to achieving goals and objectives?
 - c. What have been facilitators?
 - d. How well does the program function?
 - i. Are program objectives being met?
 - ii. Service delivery?
 - iii. Sufficient staff? Funding?
 - iv. Equal access to resources? Services for all participants? (Why/Why not?)
 - v. Do participants engage in appropriate follow-up behavior after service?
5. What service(s) have been the most successful for clients?
6. What are the barriers for clients to effectively use the resources/services of this program/organization? (Probes: Living conditions, e.g., housing, sanitation, water, food and nutrition? Criminal activity? Other reasons?)
 - a. What can be done to lessen these barriers?
 - i. Do you think the resources and services are helpful?
7. Describe the program's support functions? (Probes: Fundraising? Public relations to enhance the program's image with potential sponsors? Decision makers? Or the general public? Staff training? Staff relationships? Recruiting and retention of key personnel? Adequate clerical and logistical support? Proper facilities and equipment? Obtaining materials required for services? General advocacy on behalf of the target population served?)
 - a. How might these support functions be improved?

8. Describe the program's management functions?
 - a. (Probes: Credentials and skills required for senior staff? Establish priorities? Allocate resources? Staff-management relationships? Monitor program?)
 - b. How might they be improved?
9. Tell me about the counselors/supervisors. Specifically, what do they do?
 - a. (Probes: Interview clients? Assess service needs? Refer to services? Make initial appointment? Assist with transportation? Follow up with client? Ongoing assessment?)
 - b. How well do they perform?
 - c. What do they need to improve their effectiveness?
10. Who are the key stakeholders in the program?
 - a. How do these stakeholders affect the program's objectives, services and practices?
 - i. Probe: Do the stakeholders agree on the program's objectives, services, and practices?
11. Is there anything I didn't ask that you think is important for me to know?
12. Do you have any questions for me?

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR TALKING WITH ME!

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Local Sustainability Innovation Through Cross-Sector Collaboration: Lessons from a Neighborhood Energy Competition

William L. Swann – University of Colorado Denver

Although public managers and nongovernmental actors play important roles in promoting sustainable communities, little is known about how these actors collaborate with each other across sectors when it comes to sustainability innovation. This case study illustrates how a policy entrepreneur partnered with local government, businesses, and community organizations to implement an innovative neighborhood energy competition that achieved community-wide energy savings and greenhouse gas (GHG) reductions. The outcome of this case suggests that local communities can promote bottom-up sustainability innovation through cross-sector collaboration that combines grassroots efforts led by policy entrepreneurs and nongovernmental actors with technical capacity provided by the government. The outcome also suggests that financial incentives are important, albeit with caveats, for motivating citizen participation in sustainability innovation. There are, however, a number of challenges associated with sustaining such innovation over time. This case offers useful insights into collaborative governance and practical recommendations for utilizing energy competitions as a sustainability policy tool.

Keywords: Cross-Sector Collaboration, Energy Competition, Local Government, Policy Entrepreneurship, Sustainable Communities

Introduction

Although prior research has shed light on the importance of public management in local sustainability efforts (Ji & Darnall, 2018; Wang, Van Wart, & Lebrede, 2014; Wang, Hawkins, Lebrede, & Berman, 2012; Zeemering, 2018), this research has also suggested that governmental actions alone are often insufficient for achieving sustainability gains. Indeed, nongovernmental actors such as nonprofits, businesses, and citizen groups can have an impact on sustainable communities in profound ways (Hawkins & Wang, 2012; Portney, 2005; Portney & Berry, 2016; Portney & Cuttler, 2010; Zeemering, 2014). Few studies, however, have focused on how cross-sector collaboration—or “the linking or sharing of information, resources, activities, and capabilities by organizations to achieve jointly an outcome that the organizations could not achieve separately” (Bryson, Crosby, & Stone, 2006, p. 44)—leads to local sustainability innovation.

Collaboration is important in planning and implementing local sustainability policies and programs (Hawkins, Krause, Feiock, & Curley, 2018; Hawkins & Wang, 2012; Swann, 2017; Zeemering, 2014). Activities targeting greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, energy savings, and sustainable development—and the consequences of these actions—cut across jurisdictions and functional areas of local government. This creates the need for integrating and coordinating activities across organizations and sectors (Feiock, Krause, & Hawkins, 2017; Feiock, Portney, Bae, & Berry, 2014).

Despite the need for such multisectoral and multiorganizational integration and coordination, existing scholarship has tended to overlook the process through which cross-sector collaboration promotes sustainability innovation. That is, we know little about how cross-sector collaboratives for sustainability form and develop or how they impact local communities. Thus, this case study is intended to provide an in-depth look at a bottom-up sustainability innovation initiated by a policy entrepreneur who partnered with local government, businesses, a nonprofit, and a host of other community organizations. The case, the Tallahassee Neighborhood Energy Challenge (TNEC), illustrates how cross-sector collaboration can lead to increased energy savings and reduced GHG emissions.

In the case, a policy entrepreneur pulled together city officials and community stakeholders to establish an innovative neighborhood energy-reduction competition in 2009. Households were asked to form teams within their neighborhoods and compete against other neighborhoods to determine who could achieve the largest reduction in electricity use over a six-month period. More than 1,000 households across 53 neighborhoods participated and collectively achieved about a 6% overall reduction in energy use compared with the same period the prior year. This was enough energy savings to power 18 homes in the city for one year (City of Tallahassee, 2009). Despite this success, the TNEC was never implemented again and failed to be the multiyear initiative community leaders had envisioned.

The questions this case study focuses on are: How can cross-sector collaborations involving policy entrepreneurship, local government, businesses, and community organizations produce sustainability innovation? And, how can communities design and implement a successful energy-reduction competition?

The outcome of this case shows that cross-sector collaborations can promote bottom-up sustainability innovation through combining grassroots efforts spearheaded by a policy entrepreneur and nongovernmental actors with technical capacity provided by government in the form of implementation. The case also shows that financial incentives can be important, albeit with caveats, for motivating citizen participation in sustainability innovation. There can, however, be a number of challenges associated with sustaining such innovation over time.

The following section provides an overview of energy-reduction competitions as a form of sustainability innovation. The section further provides an overview of how cross-sector collaborations can serve as a vehicle for introducing such innovation. Next, the case and the analytical framework are described, followed by a presentation of the methods and findings. A number of implications for collaborative governance and practical recommendations for implementing energy competitions are then discussed. A conclusion follows.

Background

Energy Competitions as Sustainability Innovation

Innovation can be broadly defined as “something different that has impact” (Anthony, 2012); and, it can be considered a “function of an interaction among the motivation to innovate, the strength of obstacles against innovation, and the availability of resources for overcoming such obstacles” (Mohr, 1969, p. 111). While sustainability innovations are probably too numerous to count, one innovation that has received little attention in the literature is the energy (reduction or efficiency) competition.

Energy competitions are voluntary mechanisms by which a competitive spirit drives actors to reduce their energy consumption within a rules and results tracking system. Usually participants compete for some reward or recognition (Vine & Jones, 2016). Although employed less frequently than more traditional sustainability programs (e.g., curbside recycling, green buildings, and renewable energy rebates), energy competitions have increasingly been used to engage, educate, motivate, and empower actors to reduce their energy use and carbon footprint (Petersen, Frantz, & Shammin, 2014; Vine & Jones, 2016).

Across the globe (at local, regional, and national scales), energy competitions have led to energy savings in city government operations, residential neighborhoods, university campuses, and businesses (Vine & Jones, 2016). One recent example is the Georgetown University Energy Prize (GUEP), a two-year competition where 50 local governments competed nationally to showcase their energy saving innovation and performance. The grand prize was \$5 million toward an energy dream project. The competition was held from 2014 through 2016. Participating governments collectively saved 11.5 trillion British thermal units (BTUs) of energy, reduced carbon emissions by 2.76 million metric tons, and saved about \$100 million from municipal and household budgets (GUEP, 2017).

While various policies and programs are available for enhancing sustainability based on economic, environmental, and equity considerations (Opp & Saunders, 2013), there are two general categories of sustainability tools relevant to energy competitions: those that provide education and those that provide financial incentives for residents (Roseland, 2012). Energy competitions, particularly at the local level, incentivize citizens to achieve cost savings on their energy bills while also encouraging them to learn about sustainable behavior through hands-on experiences and face-to-face exchanges with their neighbors and local energy experts.

Because climate protection is considered a public good (i.e., nonexcludable and nonrivalrous), co-benefits, or the indirect benefits, associated with climate protection (e.g., improved health and economic conditions) are important for incentivizing actors to adopt and implement climate policies and programs (Kousky & Schneider, 2003). Energy competitions produce co-benefits by allowing participants to reduce GHG emissions and energy consumption while also allowing them to achieve financial savings. As with most sustainability programs, however, such competitions demand capacity in the form of coordinated planning, commitment of time and resources, and support from political leaders, administrators, and the broader community. Therefore, cross-sector collaborations may be an effective strategy for building capacity to effectively implement these competitions.

Cross-Sector Collaboration and Policy Entrepreneurship

Achieving effective cross-sector collaboration is exciting but often difficult due to the complex, dynamic, and multilevel nature of collaboration (Bryson, Crosby, & Stone, 2015). Prior research has shown that antecedent conditions (or contingencies) are a critical determinant of cross-sector collaboration and its effectiveness; however, “[e]ven when environmental conditions favor the formation of cross-sector collaborations, these collaborations are unlikely to get under way without the presence of more specific drivers or initial conditions” (Bryson, Crosby, & Stone, 2015, p. 652). Bryson and colleagues (2015) found that one driver consistently shown to influence cross-sector collaboration is integrative leadership. Integrative leaders who champion or “sponsor” policies are catalysts for collaboration. These leaders are able to link actors across sectors and effectively frame issues for collective goal achievement (Bartlett & Dibben, 2002; Crosby & Bryson, 2010; Page, 2010).

Policy entrepreneurs have long been identified as key integrative leaders in cross-sector collaborations (Cornforth, Hayes, & Vangen, 2015; Lober, 1997; Takahashi & Smutny, 2002). These actors typically operate outside formal roles of government and attempt to introduce dynamic policy change by shaping policy agendas and building coalitions for their solutions (Kingdon, 1984; Mintrom, 1997; Schneider, Teske, & Mintrom, 1995). Because of their unique skills and characteristics, policy entrepreneurs are believed to be essential for initiating the collaboration necessary for achieving challenging sustainable development goals (Mintrom & Thomas, 2018). While the sheer presence of policy entrepreneurs appears to enhance local sustainability activity (Feiock & Bae, 2011; Krause, 2012), little research demonstrates *how* policy entrepreneurs work with governmental and nongovernmental actors to introduce sustainability innovation.

One exception is Zeemering’s (2014) study of sustainability efforts in the city of Baltimore, Maryland. In this study, Zeemering (2014, p. 24) argues that policy entrepreneurs “offer new explanations for the causes of existing urban problems and also foster new ideas about the process necessary to change and improve the city.” Zeemering finds that intermediary organizations such as nonprofits and civil society organizations play entrepreneurial and brokering roles that connect otherwise isolated governmental and nongovernmental actors across the community. This, he suggests, builds capacity for more effective policy implementation in sustainability.

The present case study of the TNEC contributes to this line of inquiry by illustrating how a nongovernmental policy entrepreneur partnered with a local government, businesses, and community organizations to introduce an innovative, bottom-up energy competition. This case also reveals the limitations of relying heavily on the organizational efforts of the policy entrepreneur and nongovernmental actors, as local government was not prepared to cultivate grassroots support for continuing the competition after the policy entrepreneur’s exit.

Case Description and Analytical Framework

The Tallahassee Neighborhood Energy Challenge (TNEC)

The TNEC was initiated in 2009 by the president of the Council of Neighborhood Associations (CONA). The president of CONA partnered with local government, businesses, a nonprofit, and other local organizations to start a competition aimed at increasing energy savings and reducing GHG emissions. The TNEC was effective at generating grassroots interest in climate protection, which resulted in significant energy savings and GHG reduction. The competition, however, was

unable to continue after the policy entrepreneur exited and government was unable to sustain community-wide support for the innovation. A timeline of the TNEC is displayed in Figure 1, which outlines key activities and milestones.

The TNEC pitted neighborhood teams against one another in a friendly competition to determine which team would be the most energy-efficient. Winning teams received prizes, including a grand prize of a new neighborhood entrance sign. Neighborhoods directed the competition while local government played a peripheral role. Voluntary competition was the driving force whereby residents not only competed in teams for neighborhood prizes but could also see savings on their energy bills. Local government offered technical assistance, leaving the day-to-day organization, promotion, and sponsorship efforts to CONA and its nongovernmental partners.

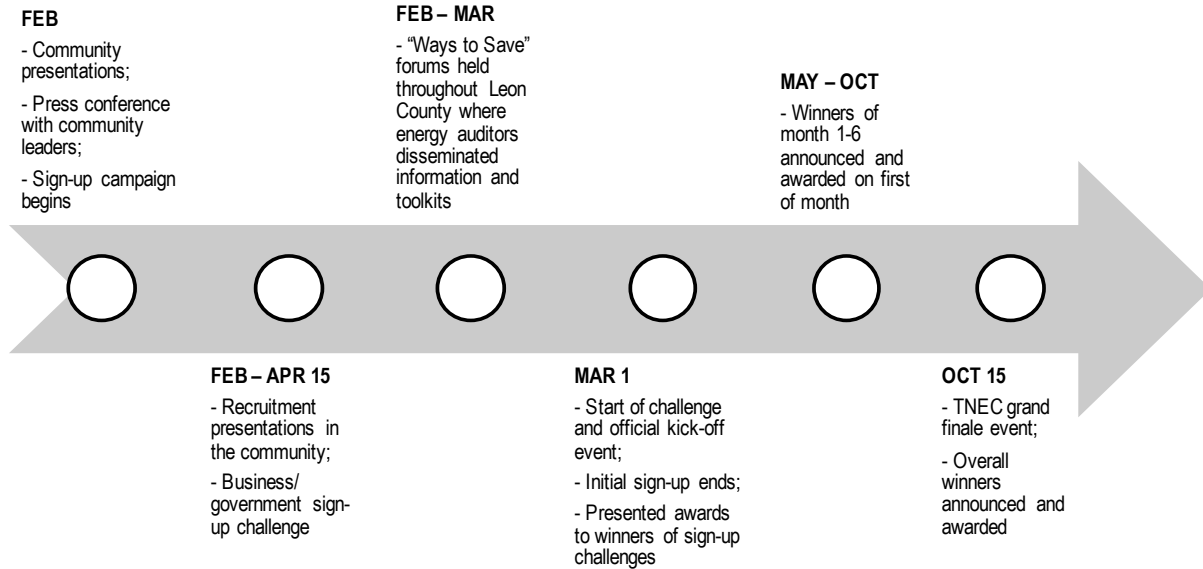
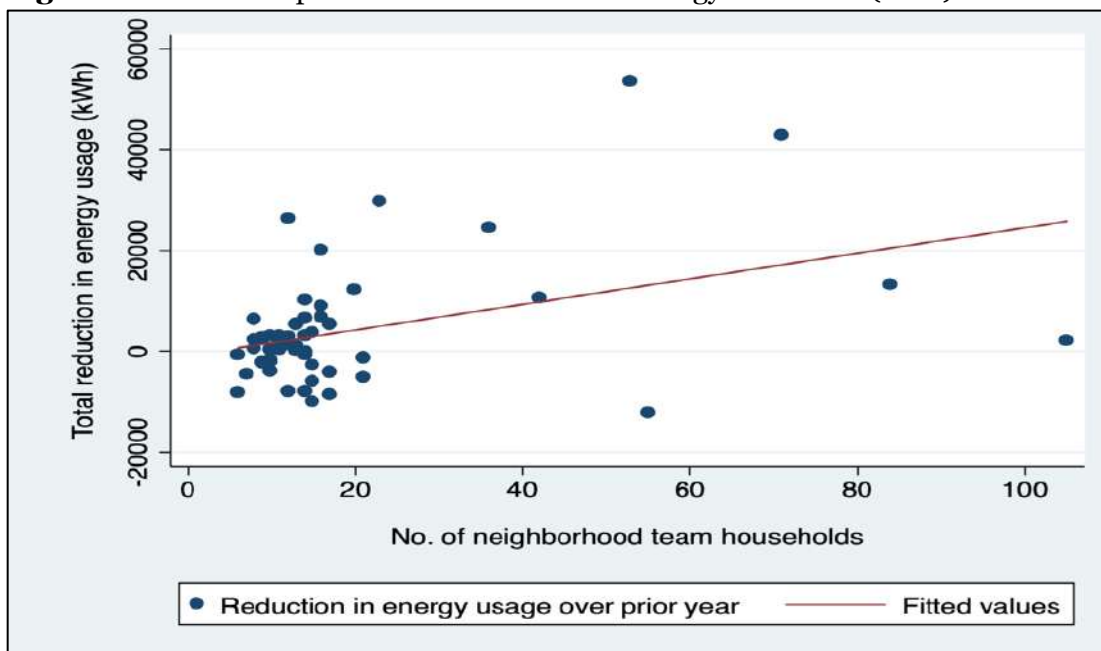
Households signed up either in-person, at local libraries, or electronically through a dedicated website. Sign-up competitions were also held to incentivize participation. After signing up, households formed teams—either through independent coordination or administrative assignment—within their neighborhood. Each team pledged to reduce their electricity consumption by selecting at least one energy saving action such as unplugging electrical devices when not in use, installing energy-efficient lighting, or turning down hot water heaters.

During the TNEC, neighborhood teams competed in two categories: one for the total top savings of energy; the other for the largest percentage of energy savings over the prior year. A total of 53 neighborhoods representing over 1,000 households in Tallahassee and Leon County competed. Collectively, they achieved an overall reduction in electricity use of 218,997 kilowatt hours (kWh) over the prior year. This produced a corresponding reduction in CO₂ emissions of 208,529 pounds. According to the city of Tallahassee, this was about a 6% overall reduction based on the prior year's use during the same six-month period, adjusting for weather-related effects.

The city of Tallahassee provided the data for each neighborhood team's energy savings in the TNEC. While the majority of neighborhood teams reduced their energy use compared to the prior year's, nearly half of the teams *increased* their energy use. One explanation for this variation could be that some teams had more active neighborhoods than others. Indeed, the number of households per team is positively correlated with performance. Figure 2 shows a scattergram of the number of participating households per team and the total reduction in energy use (kWh) over the prior year ($r=0.40$, $p<0.01$).

To determine changes in energy use by a team's neighborhood activity level (i.e., size), I estimated a simple (bivariate) regression, with total reduction in energy use regressed on the number of households per team. The model is statistically significant at the 0.01 alpha level ($F(1, 51)=9.90$, $p<0.01$) and has an R^2 of 0.16. A neighborhood team's predicted reduction in kWh of energy use is equal to $-831.87 + 253.70$ (households per team). A neighborhood team's energy use increases by 253.70 kWh for each additional household.

For their efforts in establishing the TNEC, CONA received the 2009 "Sustainable Florida Best Practice Award." This is an annual statewide award for the most innovative sustainability management practice. After the competition, the president of CONA stepped down to run for local elected office, and a new president took over. Having invested in the technological infrastructure that undergirded the TNEC, the city wanted to run the competition annually to earn a return on its investment. However, a second TNEC never came to fruition despite best efforts to reimplement the competition.

Figure 1. Tallahassee Neighborhood Energy Challenge Timeline (2009)**Figure 2.** Relationship between Team Size and Energy Reduction (kWh)

Collaboration Formation and Development Framework

This case examines the TNEC within the framework of collaboration formation and development (Cornforth, Hayes, & Vangen, 2015; Lober, 1997; Takahashi & Smutny, 2002). This theory is built on the “multiple streams” approach first developed by Kingdon (1984) and later by Lober (1997) who argued that policies are formulated as four streams: the *problem stream*, which means issues are identified as problems; the *policy/solution stream*, meaning policies or solutions are suggested to address problems; the *political, social, and economic (PSE) stream*, referring to

influences of the political, social, and economic context; and, the *organizational stream*, referring to changes in organizational behavior in response to agenda issues. These streams converge and create windows of opportunity for policy change. Policy entrepreneurs play a leading role in this process and are adept at coupling streams, attaching problems to solutions, and persuading actors in the political system to support their ideas (Zahariadis, 2007).

Previous research has shown that entrepreneurs recognize and initiate the formation of collaboratives. However, this research has shown that collaboratives that are entrepreneur-initiated tend to fail due to organizational inertia, their time-consuming nature, and a lack of skills to maintain and adjust to changing circumstances (Takahashi & Smutny, 2002). More recent work by Cornforth, Hayes, and Vangen (2015) shows that entrepreneur-initiated collaboratives *can* adapt to changing circumstances, suggesting that previous research may have been overly pessimistic about short-lived collaborations. Adapting to change, however, is not easy and collaboratives face internal tensions over time (e.g., differences in goals and expectations, and achieving efficiency and inclusiveness).

To frame this study, the four streams and the policy entrepreneur in the TNEC are identified as follows:

- The *problem stream* concerns climate change in general and the economic incentives around climate change specifically. Local governments have been negatively impacted by climate change but have been leading contributors to GHG emissions, with estimates as high as 75% of total global emissions (UN Habitat, 2011). Despite many local governments leading climate protection efforts, they have incentives to free ride on the efforts of neighboring jurisdictions and not contribute to the cost of obtaining benefits (Olson, 1965). Environmental protection is also intertwined with other complex issues such as fostering economic development and social equality (Opp & Saunders, 2013). Thus, integrated approaches to improving the “three E’s of sustainability” are important but hard to identify given the long recognized conflictual nature of local sustainable development (Campbell, 1996).
- The *policy/solution stream* concerns the broader set of policy tools for addressing climate change. These policy tools can be divided into two categories: command-and-control regulation that mandates behavior, and other tools such as market-based instruments, voluntary agreements, and information provision that attempt to realign economic incentives with individual behavior (Niles & Lubell, 2012). Prior to the TNEC, the city of Tallahassee used a combination of ordinances and market-based approaches to promote sustainable behavior. Consistent with the latter approach, the TNEC would voluntarily encourage households to reduce energy use by sharing information about energy savings with neighbors, achieving cost savings on energy bills, and competing against rival neighborhoods for bragging rights and coveted prizes.
- The *PSE stream* concerns the context in which policy innovation takes place. Sustainability policies are inextricably linked to local politics, social milieus, and economic conditions (Bulkeley & Betsill, 2005). Since it is a “college town,” Tallahassee’s education level consistently ranks high nationally as well as in the state of Florida. These rankings help to fuel the robust local economy. As a diverse, politically progressive, midsized capital city of approximately 190,000 residents, Tallahassee is also recognized as an international leader in urban environmentalism and has historically been on the leading edge of sustainability in the region and the state (City of Tallahassee, 2014). Tallahassee has implemented numerous sustainability policies and received a national best practice model award (US Conference of Mayors, 2009).

- The *organizational stream* consists of the organizations involved in the city's sustainability efforts. On the governmental side, there was the city environmental department where most of the sustainability practices were managed. The municipal utility was also instrumental in the free home-energy consultations where city energy auditors visited homes to conduct audits and inform residents about ways to save energy and obtain low-interest home-improvement loans for energy-efficiency. Other public agencies, including a local public research institute and Leon County, were involved in sustainability projects. A local nonprofit was involved in promoting and coordinating sustainability activities. Local businesses and media also supported previous sustainability efforts and extended their support for the TNEC.
- The president of CONA acted as the *policy entrepreneur*. An attorney by training, the president founded and operated a small public affairs consulting firm in Tallahassee and was embedded in the local political scene. He served on several nonprofit boards including the sustainability nonprofit. He had developed an avid interest in climate protection and believed a bottom-up voluntary model that could alter behavior through economic incentivization would be more effective than top-down command-and-control regulation.

Method

This case uses the method described by Yin (2009) to address the focal questions. According to Yin, case studies are most useful for understanding “how” and “why” questions for a set of real-life events. This study is descriptive and explanatory—that is, it describes *and* explains how cross-sector collaboration can introduce bottom-up sustainability innovation and how communities can design and implement a successful energy competition. The case was selected based on its applicability to the concepts of interest (George & Bennet, 2005). Similar to Takahashi and Smutny (2002) and Cornforth, Hayes, and Vangen (2015), the case focuses on a collaborative entrepreneur who was adept at forming and leading a cross-sector collaborative. After the TNEC was implemented, this collaborative experienced challenges adapting to the policy entrepreneur's departure and maintaining the community-wide support needed for a second iteration of the competition.

Data Collection and Analysis

A focus group and an in-depth key informant interview was used for data collection during 2015–2016. A semi-structured questionnaire was prepared prior to the focus group and interview. Nearly a dozen individuals were identified and asked to participate. In total, four employees working for the city of Tallahassee participated in a 60-minute focus group and the president of CONA participated in a 25-minute in-depth phone interview (he preferred not to be recorded). Of the four city employees who participated in the focus group, all were involved in the TNEC. They consisted of a senior administrator and two staff from the environmental department as well as a municipal utility manager. The confidentiality of the focus group and interview was assured; and, the study received prior internal review board approval.

The focus group audio recording was transcribed and coded by the author to identify main content themes. Notes taken during the phone interview with the president of CONA were also analyzed for key themes. To analyze the data, the author followed Yin's (2011) recommended coding process. In the “disassembling” stage, initial (Level 1) codes were assigned by hand, followed by the assignment of higher-level (Level 2) category codes. Patterns were then identified in the “reassembling” stage using concept mapping. The data were interpreted both descriptively and explanatorily. Finally, conclusions were drawn. City documents and news articles were also used

to compare against what participants said in the interviews and to obtain background information for developing a chronological description of the case.

There are some limitations that should be acknowledged. In particular, only a small proportion of those who were invited to participate actually participated. One reason could be that the TNEC occurred in 2009; in addition, some people may not have a reliable recollection of the event. They also may not have been as directly involved in the TNEC at that time. Thus, it is important to note that the time between the TNEC and data collection for this study is certainly a limitation. While this issue can be problematic, it should also be noted that those who did participate were likely the most knowledgeable about the TNEC.

Findings

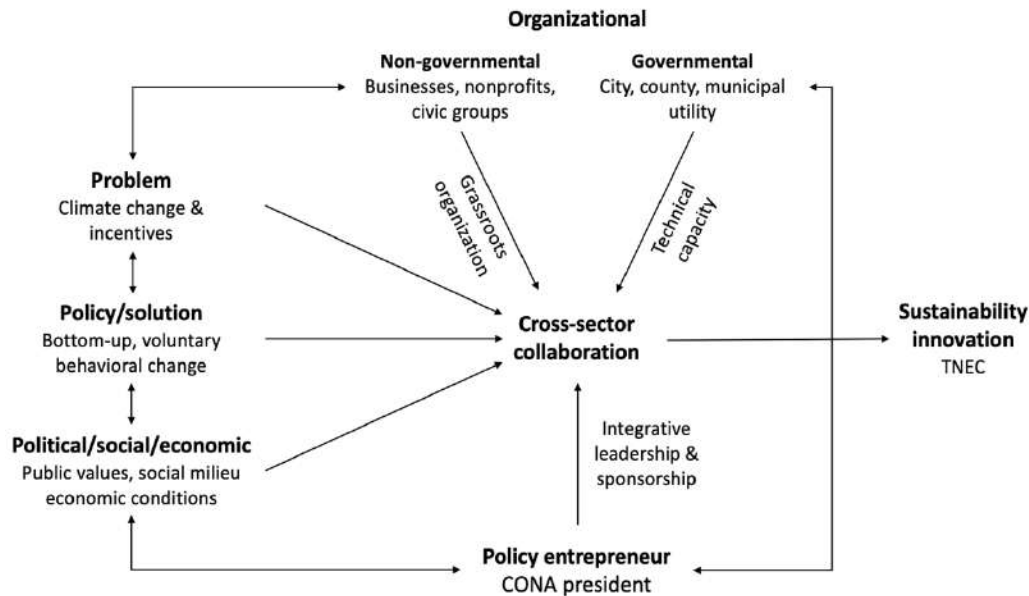
This case aims to illustrate the complex process through which cross-sector collaboration forms and introduces a bottom-up sustainability innovation that can provide insight into how communities can implement a successful energy competition. Figure 3 displays a concept map of this process for the TNEC. The policy entrepreneur acted as the catalyst pulling together the problem, policy/solution, PSE, and organizational streams in a cross-sector collaboration that led to a sustainability innovation. Governmental and nongovernmental actors, connected by the policy entrepreneur, played different roles and offered unique strengths for cross-sector collaboration. Nongovernmental actors led the grassroots efforts while government provided technical capacity for implementation. Doing without one of these factors, as the case will show, impaired the ability of the TNEC to continue in the long term.

Grassroots Organization: The Role of Nongovernmental Actors

The role of nongovernmental actors in conceiving the idea, generating community awareness, and building grassroots support for sustainability innovation was a critical factor in the TNEC. The initial idea for the innovation was conceived of and put into motion by the policy entrepreneur who opened a collaborative window. According to the president of CONA, there was already a great deal of community attention on the problem of climate change prior to the TNEC. Indeed, local residents had been asking what government and individuals could do about it. Therefore, acting on the assumption that the actions of private citizens could be more impactful if incentivized through competition, the president of CONA began researching energy competitions around the country and ultimately decided that a voluntary bottom-up approach to hosting a competition would be more effective than a government-run program.

The interviews revealed that community awareness and education were the key mechanisms through which the cross-sector collaboration led to sustainability innovation. One city employee described how community awareness could enable the TNEC to achieve its aim of reducing energy use and GHG emissions:

[CONA] was interested in creating an awareness and interest across their various neighborhoods in energy use. Their premise was that if we [the community] create a competition—a fun competition—where everybody becomes more aware of how much energy each of us is using the synergy from neighbors being aware of each other and the activities each other were involved in, that would then create more overall awareness of how energy is used and ideally bring down the use of energy.

Figure 3. Concept Map of Cross-Sector Collaboration for Bottom-Up Sustainability Innovation

The president of CONA and the city environmental staff realized that raising community awareness and educating citizens about climate change and sustainable behavior were not only mechanisms but major successes of the TNEC. As one staff member said, “For the city, the educational component was a very important part [of the TNEC].”

The grassroots approach to climate protection was another important mechanism for change prevalent in the data. The president of CONA believed the TNEC had to emanate from the bottom-up to be effective; and, the city understood the approach CONA wanted to take. According to the public utility manager:

CONA wanted to involve the neighborhoods from their perspective...They wanted the responsibility to lie within each of the neighborhoods, rather than having a top-down approach...They wanted the energy from the neighborhoods and the excitement and the competition to be generated—to be heralded—by CONA, and then to be put into place by each of the local neighborhoods.

As a result, the core organization and awareness-raising efforts resided at the grassroots level, led by CONA and the neighborhoods. Because CONA had no staff, the president of CONA did most of the initial recruitment, reaching out to homeowners association presidents and other points of contact in the neighborhoods. These neighborhood leaders then created greater awareness of the program, which led to opportunities to educate citizens about ways to save on their energy bills. Indeed, the utility manager said, “I do remember quite a few of the neighborhood homeowners association presidents stirring up interest in order to bring people to the educational meetings that were city wide and then hosting parties in their homes.”

This initial recruitment effort was driven at the neighborhood level with little involvement from the business, nonprofit, or government sectors. However, it soon became apparent that there was a need to formalize the TNEC and incorporate the business and nonprofit sectors in order to expand participation.

CONA established a citizen steering committee in partnership with a sustainability nonprofit and a public relations firm. While the nonprofit focused on the educational component of the TNEC, the public relations firm provided CONA with the capacity to reach neighborhoods all across the community. According to CONA's president, the private sector was "instrumental" to the TNEC. Local business sponsors were recruited through the social networks of citizens involved in the competition. A locally operated signage chain provided the advertising signs, banners were procured from a local print shop, local broadcasting stations provided media publicity, a website was designed by a local web media firm, and a large multinational bank with several local branches donated the prizes.

In all, the TNEC began to take shape at the grassroots level long before government became actively involved. Consistent with Lober (1997), CONA's president was the "critical catalyst" for the TNEC. The president "conceived of the project, selected participants, and lobbied them to participate" (p. 19). The president also worked with the neighborhoods, businesses, a nonprofit, and citizens in the planning, recruitment, and sponsorship efforts that generated community wide interest in the TNEC. It was not until implementation that the government's role became vital. At this time, the president of CONA acted as the intermediary between the neighborhoods and local government.

Technical Capacity: The Role of Governmental Actors

Realizing the need for technical capacity and policy expertise, CONA's president and the citizen steering committee encouraged local government to join them in implementing the TNEC. CONA's president said that having government involved in "raised the profile of the project." According to both city employees and the president, obtaining administrative and political buy-in was not difficult because there was a strong willingness on the part of local government to become involved and help improve the city's sustainability outlook. However, delineating governmental and nongovernmental tasks and boundaries was more complicated. As the utility manager stated:

...one of the complexities was that we [the city] announced that we're a part of this neighborhood energy challenge, our specialty is communications, so we'll send out press releases, we'll send a film crew. And we said, well, wait—in this case, CONA is taking the lead; they really want to take the grassroots approach. If [the city communication department] takes on the role of communications director, then it's going to be appear to be a city program. So, we really kind of had to step back from that.

According to the utility manager, the city had to "walk a fine line" when getting the administration involved. This was done so that it would not appear that it was running the TNEC like a government program, but that it was enabling the policy entrepreneur and nongovernmental actors to achieve their goal. The notion of balancing public and nongovernmental tasks and responsibilities in cross-sector collaboration was a common theme in the data. As the utility manager continued:

So, [getting involved in the TNEC] was always a balancing act. We felt like we had the resources, the ability, and the experience to do it, but we really had to step back and say, you know, this has got to be a grassroots effort for it to be successful from CONA's perspective.

One area where the city had to “balance” administrative control with the grassroots approach was in regard to its educational component, which focused on educating citizens about ways to reduce energy consumption. According to the utility manager, the city “had to balance having the resources to provide education but not duplicate that in a way that [the city] had previously supported the community.” The city engaged in this “balancing act” when collaborating with a local public research institute and the sustainability nonprofit to deliver informational public forums. Even though the city could have easily managed the forums alone, it was important for the city to be seen as a team player and achieve the broader aims and objectives of the TNEC.

Another theme in the data was interorganizational integration. For example, the city and the county had to coordinate in order to collect and record electricity use data for each neighborhood team. Because the municipal utility managed the monthly billing, the city had energy use data for households. To measure usage at the neighborhood level, however, the city partnered with the county to use its geographic information system (GIS) mapping technology to aggregate household data at the neighborhood level. This technology provides a way to manage and analyze geographic and spatial data. According to environmental staff, the city’s information systems department worked with the county and the municipal utility to write a computer program that extracted energy use data for all participating households. It then aggregated the data at the neighborhood level using GIS.

Ultimately, local government provided the technical capacity that was needed to implement the TNEC. As one environmental administrator noted “[T]he infrastructure, the technological infrastructure, that really undergirded and supported the program was really provided by the city and governmental partners, more so the city.” Continuing the administrator claimed that “[T]he real rudiments of the program, the core of the program in terms of tracking the [energy] use, was a function of the city.” Although local government played a peripheral role in organizing the TNEC, it played an indispensable role in implementation and effectiveness of the TNEC.

Motivating Citizen Participation: The Role of Financial Incentives

One of the most challenging and least understood aspects of cross-sector collaboration is how to motivate citizen participants to get involved (Bingham & O’Leary, 2006). The case of the TNEC suggests that financial incentives are an important mechanism explaining how citizen involvement in cross-sector collaboration can lead to sustainability innovation. In addition to intrinsic benefits (e.g., the thrill of competing, self-discovery, and learning), most competitions involve some extrinsic reward—for example, a monetary prize or a championship ring. The TNEC was no different. Individuals in some households were likely motivated by intrinsic “warm glow” feelings that have been associated with pro-environmental behavior (Taufik, Bolderdijk, & Steg, 2015). However, extrinsic motivators—such as winning a new neighborhood entrance sign and lowering household energy bills—were also likely at play. As the environmental administrator explained:

...sometimes you’ll try to get people to change behavior for the greater good of the community, the greater good of the environment, but here behavioral change led to economic savings for them. And all of us know that money is a great motivator for people.

Another environmental staff member also saw value in financial incentives. This employee, however, questioned the effectiveness of extrinsic incentives in promoting pro-environmental behavior over the long run:

[The TNEC] proved to me that people will make changes if necessary. Unfortunately, they did it because it was a competition. If [they] continue those modifications, then we could reduce energy, water consumption, whatever. But there was a driving force behind it: again, [participants] were trying to win a new entrance to the subdivision...So, when [the TNEC] was over and [the participants] didn't win the new bricks for the entrance, do they still continue to implement those things?

This quote brings to the fore an important caveat about extrinsic incentives—that is, although financial rewards may have played a role in inducing citizens to participate in the TNEC, these rewards may also undercut pro-environmental behavior in the long run if citizens are responding only to short-term incentives. This caveat is discussed more in the practical recommendations section below. Suffice it to say, though, that while extrinsic incentives appear to be important for motivating participation, little is known about how (if at all) these types of incentives affect long-term behavior.

Aftermath and Lessons Learned

Sometime after the TNEC ended and the president of CONA stepped down, the city began discussing the possibility of a second TNEC. A second TNEC, the city believed, would help to recoup the investment in infrastructure that was provided during the inaugural run.

Although the city had the resources and expertise to initiate a second TNEC, the city was not well equipped to reinvigorate community-wide support without CONA and the work of its nongovernmental partners who had been the ones organizing in the neighborhoods. Thus, a second TNEC never came to fruition despite best efforts to reignite the competition. The biggest limitation of the TNEC, then, was its failure to become a multiyear initiative. As the environmental administrator explained:

CONA did come back and talk with us about doing another energy challenge. But for one reason or the other trying to marshal the type of community support that was necessary to make it happen just didn't occur. We could have gone ahead and done another energy challenge, but then it would become city stuff. It wouldn't involve that grassroots effort, and it wouldn't involve the engagement of the neighborhoods in terms of participation.

The utility manager also echoed a similar sentiment, i.e., that failure to sustain a multiyear initiative was the main shortfall of the TNEC:

...the effort was intended to go on. It was intended to be a multiyear effort. And based on the volume of work for the one year, and the amount of effort that was put into it, CONA decided that there were other efforts that they wanted to undertake. That may be the only shortfall of the program, that it was a one-year effort. And a great experience, but I would have liked it to be a continued program.

Despite failing to continue, the TNEC offers an important lesson about the effectiveness of bottom-up approaches to sustainability innovation. The TNEC taught the city that motivating behavioral change can be achieved on a larger scale. Prior to the TNEC, the city had focused on

reducing in-home energy use through its one-on-one energy consultation and auditing program. The TNEC demonstrated, however, that achieving behavioral change is possible at the block level. According to the environmental administrator:

...many folks say [behavioral change] occurs on the block level, and the CONA energy challenge is a great example of a program that sought to address behavioral change on the block level—neighbor talking to neighbor, neighbor meeting in another neighbor's house to talk about [joining] this energy challenge, rather than, you know, the mayor—although [he] was involved—trying to get it done.

While the cross-sector collaborative did not take advantage of the momentum built during the first TNEC to successfully implement a second competition, the TNEC did provide important lessons for designing energy programs that scale up and have broader impact.

Discussion

One prevailing theory about collaboration is that collaborations are the result of collaborative windows opening due to the coupling of streams by collaborative entrepreneurs (Cornforth, Hayes, & Vangen, 2015; Lober, 1997; Takahashi & Smutny, 2002). The case of the TNEC supports this theory. Indeed, the president of CONA (acting as the policy entrepreneur) attached the problem of climate change to a solution that fit with the local political, social, and economic context and organizational activities around climate protection. The president was the catalyst, effectively bringing together a cross-sector collaboration for introducing sustainability innovation.

Collaboratives initiated by policy entrepreneurs can at times be unsustainable due to difficulties that collaboration members may have adapting to changing circumstances, collaborative inertia, a lack of collaborative skills, and internal tensions (Cornforth, Hayes, & Vangen, 2015; Takahashi & Smutny, 2002). The TNEC conforms to this scenario. Hopes to initiate a second competition were dashed after the president of CONA stepped down to run for elected office. At that time, local government was not prepared for stepping into the policy entrepreneur's role and mobilizing grassroots support. However, TNEC organizers appeared to have strong collaborative skills, and at least from the governmental side, there seemed to be some collaborative inertia or internal tension (considering how the city was interested in a second competition). The likely reason the TNEC did not continue is because government no longer had a nongovernmental partner that was motivated enough to mobilize in the neighborhoods once the entrepreneur left. Thus, cross-sector collaboratives relying heavily on the organizing efforts of policy entrepreneurs may be especially vulnerable to sustainability issues when these entrepreneurs move on to new endeavors.

Nonetheless, this case underscores the importance of entrepreneurial leadership and integration in initiating cross-sector collaboration for innovation (Bartlett & Dikken, 2002; Crosby & Bryson, 2010). Specifically, the case underscores how individual policy entrepreneurs from civil society can act as key intermediaries between community and governmental efforts for building capacity for sustainability (Zeemering, 2014). The case also demonstrates how governmental and nongovernmental actors bring different advantages—and limitations—to such collaborations and why commitment on both sides is crucial to sustaining collaboratives over time.

Practical Recommendations

Informed by the TNEC, this study offers practical insight for implementing energy competitions from the bottom-up as a tool for local sustainability. First, public managers should serve citizen leaders in an enabling role. Second, effective implementation requires leaders outside of government to champion initiatives and marshal community-wide support. Third, competitions should leverage financial incentives to promote pro-environmental behavior—but not at the expense of intrinsic motivators that may be more important for long-term gains in sustainability. Finally, governments should commit resources to tracking and evaluating performance to ensure success. These resources, though, should be committed with the intention of enhancing the longevity of competitions.

Lead by Enabling, Not by Controlling

Although the public managers in Tallahassee believed that they had the resources, capabilities, and experience needed to run the energy competition as a traditional program, they valued the grassroots approach that CONA wanted to take. In other words, the city opted to “serve and not steer” the TNEC. Denhardt and Denhardt (2000, p. 553) argue that the “role of the public servant is to help citizens articulate and meet their shared interests, rather than to attempt to control and steer society in new directions.” With the TNEC, government was asked to play a peripheral role, so its efforts would not undermine the grassroots integrity of the competition. Government involvement, however, was still essential for providing the resources, expertise, and technology for effectively implementing the TNEC.

The TNEC demonstrates the importance of “lateral thinking” in collaborative governance. Bingham, O’Leary, and Carlson (2008) argue that collaborative public management should embrace the input, ideas, and inspiration from multiple organizations, sectors, and classes of people to achieve innovation that no single individual or organization can achieve alone. It has been suggested that public sector leaders should accept the inherent paradoxes of collaboration and see the “big picture” but also pay attention to the “details” (Connelly, Zhang, & Faerman, 2008). In the TNEC, public managers visualized the big picture that CONA wanted to achieve, but they also understood the details about how this idea could be put into action. They engaged in a collaborative “balancing act,” providing a platform for citizen leaders to attain their goal but not venturing outside their role as enablers. These public managers were able to effectively balance their supporting role in coordination with their leading role in capacity provision.

Empower and Embolden Policy Champions

Research on cross-sector collaboration emphasizes the importance of policy champions acting as integrative leaders (Bartlett & Dibben, 2002; Borins, 2000; Bryson, Crosby, & Stone, 2015; Page, 2010). In the TNEC, cross-sector collaboration was achieved with someone external to government who could integrate across sectors and generate community-wide interest in hard-to-reach places for bureaucracy. The president of CONA and nongovernmental actors marshaled community support, led the steering committee, obtained sponsorship from local businesses, recruited participants, and partnered with government when it came to implementation. Government was ill-equipped to generate broad support across the neighborhoods (as described in the case) even though the city provided the infrastructure. Generating grassroots support was better left to CONA and its nongovernmental partners.

Governments likely have little control over the emergence of collaborative entrepreneurs and integrative leaders, but they can proactively identify and empower such actors who can champion

sustainability innovation. Identifying these entrepreneurs can begin by promoting a stronger civic environment where citizen leaders feel empowered and emboldened to make a difference. Governments do not need to start from scratch. As the TNEC demonstrates, citizen leaders often serve on nonprofit boards and public commissions. Governments can also seek out and partner with these individuals to foster and implement ideas for sustainability innovation.

Promote Intrinsic Incentives and Let Financial Incentives Speak for Themselves

Many residents may have participated in the TNEC because they were driven by altruistic “warm-glow” motivations associated with climate protection. Nonetheless, participants’ competitive drive to win prizes was a key factor in altering short-term behavior and creating synergy around sustainable behavior. When perceived as positive feedback, prizes and rewards can work in energy competitions (Vine & Jones, 2016). Offering tangible incentives to motivate participation and engender a competitive spirit may help drive behavioral change. A new neighborhood entrance sign, for example, can enhance the physical attractiveness of a neighborhood and its economic value. Moreover, establishing a smaller competition within the main competition, as the TNEC did with its initial sign-up campaigns, can be an effective strategy for encouraging further participation.

Energy competitions not only offer opportunities to win collective prizes, they also provide the ability to generate individual cost savings. One of the most valuable leverage points for communities implementing energy competitions is the ability to tap into extrinsic motivations for generating immediate financial co-benefits associated with energy reduction. Financial incentives are not the only extrinsic motivator for voluntary energy savings and sustainable behavior. Individual and organizational actors are also driven by solitary factors associated with group identity (Curley & Swann, 2018). Vine and Jones (2016) found that some energy competitions effectively use social norming in marketing campaigns to drive greater participation.

It is also important for financial incentives not to crowd out intrinsic motivators for energy reduction, such as environmental concern (Vine & Jones, 2016). Emphasizing financial incentives in advertising energy programs has been shown to reduce participants’ willingness to enroll and their level of environmental concern when enrolling (Schwartz, Bruine de Bruin, Fischhoff, & Lave, 2015). The practical message from Schwartz and colleagues (2015) is that “monetary incentives go without saying” (p. 162); and, designers of energy programs should let these incentives speak for themselves and they should emphasize the intrinsic motivators of climate protection. Given the short-lived effect of extrinsic motivators on behavioral change, energy competitions may be better off shifting focus to intrinsic incentives for promoting long-term behavioral change (van der Linden, 2015).

Finally, while awards are ubiquitous in energy competitions (Vine & Jones, 2016), they are often confirmatory in nature; that is, they are “more or less automatically given based on a clearly defined and observable achievement” (Frey & Gallus, 2017, p. 194). For example, in the TNEC neighborhood, teams with the largest overall and largest percentage reduction in energy use over the prior year were automatically awarded. While confirmatory awards can be effective, energy competitions may be able to achieve better outcomes by complementing them with discretionary awards in which “givers enjoy leeway in deciding whether and to whom to bequeath an award” (Frey & Gallus, 2017, p. 194). Research has shown that discretionary awards can be used to incentivize desired behavioral outcomes in the voluntary sector (Walk, Zhang, & Littlepage, 2018). The Georgetown University Energy Prize (earlier mentioned) is a recent example of an energy competition where a discretionary award was granted to one of 50 local communities for innovativeness and best practices in energy-efficiency (GUEP, 2019). Designers of energy

competitions should experiment with different types and combinations of awards to determine which are most effective (Vine & Jones, 2016).

Commit Resources to Tracking Performance and Consider Long-Term Prospects

Committing resources to measure and evaluate performance is critical to creating successful energy competitions and assessing their impact (Vine & Jones, 2016). With the TNEC, local government devoted substantial human and technical resources to ensure household energy use could be tracked and evaluated in an accurate, timely, and transparent manner. However, government organizations were unable to generate a higher return on this investment and assess long-term impact on behavioral change because CONA lost interest in continuing the TNEC.

Governments with scarce resources should thus consider the long-term viability and commitment of partners before investing in an energy competition. Failure to do so may be a costly decision when there is a low probability of sustaining the innovation over time. Recognizing the short-lived nature of energy competitions, Vine and Jones (2016, p. 171) recommend holding competitions over longer periods of time, conducting a series of shorter competitions, using follow-up activities, and emphasizing energy-efficiency habit development in competitions.

Conclusion

This case study of a neighborhood energy competition demonstrates how a local community promoted sustainability innovation through cross-sector collaboration that combined entrepreneurial and nongovernmental leadership composed of grassroots efforts with governmental provision of technical capacity in implementation. While the policy entrepreneur and the nongovernmental actors appeared more adept at building grassroots support, the governmental entity appeared to have greater technical capacity and policy expertise to put entrepreneurial ideas into action. This case offers practitioners with insight into the promises and perils of implementing energy competitions.

The limitations of this study offer opportunities for future research. First, there is no way to generalize these findings across cases. This study captures how an energy-efficiency innovation emerged in a single community with a strong track record for sustainability. Future research should, therefore, take a comparative approach to analyzing collaboration-motivated sustainability innovation in different locales with more and less favorable environments for sustainability policymaking. Second, there was no way to assess the long-term effect on energy use in this case. Comparing participants with nonparticipants over time should help to determine the long-term behavioral impacts associated with energy competitions.

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Author Biography

William L. Swann is an Assistant Professor in the School of Public Affairs at the University of Colorado Denver. His research focuses on urban sustainability, collaborative governance, and public management. He received his Ph.D. in public administration from Florida State University.

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Why Research Methods Matter: Essential Skills for Decision-Making by Susan Gooden and RaJade Berry-James

Samuel L. Myers, Jr. – University of Minnesota

Gooden, S., & Berry-James, R. (2018). *Why research methods matter: Essential skills for decision-making*. Irvine, CA: Melvin and Leigh Publishers. \$39.95 (Paperback) ISBN: 978-0-99923593-5

Keywords: Research Methods, Analytic Skills, Book Review

This book is a timely supplement to conventional graduate-level and advanced undergraduate texts on research methods. The authors promote the book as a main text for public administrators who will become consumers rather than producers of research. The text covers the “why” of qualitative and quantitative research methods and examines some of the strengths and weaknesses of standard techniques such as surveys, data collection, and experiments. A significant contribution of the text is its emphasis on cultural competency and research ethics. Susan Gooden, interim dean and professor of public administration and policy at the L. Douglas Wilder School of Government and Public Affairs at Virginia Commonwealth University, and RaJade Berry-James, associate professor of public administration in the School of Public and International Affairs at North Carolina State University, both have extensive experience teaching and researching social equity, program evaluation, and research methods.

The book begins with a novel discussion of the “art of research methods,” where the authors focus on explaining to non-technical audiences the reasons they should care about the methods researchers use to study practical issues. In the discussion, they highlight the need to pay attention to cultural competence and ethics along with other concerns of context, resources, time, and what they call “behind the scenes” elements of technical research. The authors then provide a surprisingly non-technical introduction to the processes of program evaluation, monitoring, process evaluation, and outcome evaluation. They also provide an intuitive description of “evidence-based decision-making.” Ultimately, the authors intend to provide a guide for understanding what questions to ask in order to guide decision-making.

Because the use of primary data is the main focus of the research methods examined in the text, the authors pay specific attention to questions about the protection of human subjects and the

ethics of collecting information from or surveying research subjects. They include an in-depth list of fundamental questions that program managers should ask before undertaking or approving any data collection. This section of the book is followed by practical issues associated with research design and covers key ideas behind causality, internal and external validity, and experimental and quasi-experimental research designs.

The book has three more advanced chapters on variable definition, questionnaire design, and questionnaire construction. These chapters are particularly appropriate for economists and quantitative policy analysts who may be familiar with applied regression techniques using secondary data but unfamiliar with the protocols of collecting original data. There is a brief chapter on data collection strategies covering mail, Internet, telephone and in-person interviews. A strong case is made for using mixed methods when one or more research tools provide an incomplete or inconsistent picture of a problem a manager seeks to solve.

The final chapters provide nontechnical introductions on statistical significance and the application of research findings to action. Eight of the nine chapters have discussion questions, implications for practice, and detailed references.

The authors have written this book for a nontechnical audience, stating at the outset that the intended audience is primarily non-technical managers who wish to be intelligent consumers of technical research. As such, the language used in the book is appropriately accessible to persons with limited or no statistical background. With this in mind, the book covers a number of nagging questions that applied econometricians and advanced students of quantitative policy analysis often face: How do I know whether I can trust the data collected? Why do some groups respond differently to particular questions or standard-format questionnaires, especially when cultural contexts differ? What is it about collecting primary data that could eventually lead to unresolvable estimation issues? The *other* audience for this book, then—advanced undergraduates in research methods courses and graduate students—needs this book as much as the intended audience of non-technical managers and administrators.

In recent months, I have used Gooden and Berry-James' book extensively with two groups: leaders of nonprofit and local community-based organizations, and mid-level public administrators and state and local officials. The first group was part of a novel training program funded by the Minneapolis Foundation called the Wilkins Community Fellows Program. This group undertook a one-week boot camp in policy analysis tools and techniques, where the main text for the past five years had been Bardarch and Patashnik's (2016), *A practical guide for policy analysis: The eightfold path to problem solving*.

The second group was from a longstanding Executive Leadership Program of the National Forum for Blacks in Public Administration. This group had a curriculum focused on problem structuring, evidence, and the theory and practice of recommendation. The program uses Dunn's (2018) book, *Public policy analysis: An integrated approach*. With both groups, discussions about evidence were improved after students had an opportunity to read Gooden and Berry-James' book. For the most part, the groups felt that the book was accessible, and they appreciated having an supplemental text, especially since both tend to assume that readers have an advanced statistics background.

I, therefore, see the value of incorporating this "nontechnical" text into advanced quantitative methods classes. A text like this should help familiarize students with applied econometrics and quantitative policy analysis. The book should also offer students useful insight into questionnaire construction, primary data collection, and survey design. Ultimately, Gooden and Berry-James'

book is appropriate for advanced graduate students who want to learn more about not only the ethics of doing research with vulnerable populations but also cultural competence.

Although I would have liked to see a chapter that more directly discussed the weaknesses and limitations of randomized controlled as well as the lack of external validity of many high-profile experiments (e.g., those measuring racial profiling or surveys designed to detect racism or racialized perceptions), this is a text that certainly helps students understand that the real users of research—decision-makers, public administrators, and managers—often do not know or understand the technical details of our work. These users, though, are smart enough to know that we often make unrealistic assumptions and draw erroneous conclusions from our data-driven analyses with remote connections to the practical concerns of day-to-day users of our work.

While this book is aimed at public administrators and decision-makers, it provides an exhaustive list of questions that any savvy consumer of research should be prepared to ask. Technical researchers, therefore, are urged to read this book so that they can be prepared to convincingly address fundamental questions about why research methods matter.

Disclosure Statement

The author declares that there are no conflicts of interest that relate to the research, authorship, or publication of this article.

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Author Biography

Samuel L. Myers, Jr. is Roy Wilkins Professor of Human Relations and Social Justice at the Humphrey School of Public Affairs. He is a member of the graduate faculty in the Ph.D. program in Applied Economics, University of Minnesota. He teaches applied policy analysis and advanced quantitative methods courses.

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World's Leading National, Public, Monastery and Royal Library Directors: Leadership, Management, Future of Libraries by Patrick Lo, Allen Cho, and Dickson Chiu

Vanjury "V" Dozier – University of San Diego

Lo, P., Cho, A., & Chiu, D. (2017). *World's leading national, public, monastery and royal library directors: Leadership, management, future of libraries*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter. \$114.99 (hardback), ISBN: 978-3-11-053083-4

Keywords: Book Review, Library Director, Leadership, Management

Although Patrick Lo, Allen Cho, and Dickson Chiu have written three books about library practitioners, their newest book titled *World's leading national, public, monastery and royal library directors: Leadership, management, future of libraries*, focuses on the unique leadership and management experiences of library leaders outside the academy. The authors spent nearly one year conducting in-person, Skype, and e-mail interviews of renowned library leaders worldwide (12 national and state leaders, 13 public and city leaders, and three leaders from monastery and royal libraries) on topics that provided insight into their backgrounds, career paths, library collections, special projects, leadership styles, and management challenges. Photos of the library spaces and the leaders (14 men and 14 women) proceed each interview. The result of the authors' effort is an engrossing question-and-answer-style book appropriate for library and information science (LIS) students, practitioners, and program faculty. Non-LIS administrators—particularly those pursuing nonprofit and/or philanthropic endeavors—may also see similarities between their organizations and leadership goals, processes, and challenges revealed by these library leaders.

The authors aim “to provide our readers with thoughtful essays outlining the diverse political, social, cultural, and economic developments of our current society that is driven by communications technology and networked information” (pp. 2-3). The authors are guided by the following questions:

1. What new services and cutting-edge projects are the world's foremost library directors and their teams of library staff working on?

Dozier, V. (2019). World's leading national, public, monastery and royal library directors: Leadership, management, future of libraries by Patrick Lo, Allen Cho, and Dickson Chiu. *Journal of Public and Nonprofit Affairs*, 5(3), 341-343. <https://doi.org/10.20899/jpna.5.3.341-343>

2. What are the most promising recent developments in the field of library science?

While these questions are undoubtedly important, this book presents two gems. First is the revealing insight into senior library administrators' paths into their current roles. Second is the insight provided about each administrator's efforts to shepherd their institutions through cultural, social, bureaucratic, economic, and technological shifts as their libraries struggle to remain relevant in today's world. The authors find some key similarities between the administrators during their interviews:

- Career paths vary; however, many administrators have extensive library experience often ascending from paraprofessional or entry-level positions to administrative ranks (department or unit heads to library directors);
- There is no such thing as a typical day for library directors—though there are a great deal of meetings. Thus, adaptability and proactive attitudes are useful attributes for success;
- There are some issues (e.g., physical and digital space, collection preservation, funding, and demonstrating library value to stakeholders) that are important regardless of library type or location.

In general, the authors found that the interviewees were as fascinating as the libraries that they directed. Many of the international directors discussed the need to be fluent in multiple languages (such as English, Spanish, French, German, and Italian) in order to manage a multilingual staff, patrons, collections, and library partnerships. The profile about Marie-Christine Doffey, the Swiss National Library director, provides insight into how to lead a national library in a country with four official languages. The profile about Dr. Claudia Lux, project director of Qatar National Library in Doha and former president of the International Federation of Library Associations, provides insight into how libraries can be managed worldwide.

For readers who want to know more about leading a library after a regime change, the profile of Andris Vilks, director of the National Library of Latvia, provides a great deal of insight. In this profile, we learn that Mr. Vilks became the library director after the Soviet Union's fall. Readers can also turn to the profile of Dr. Renaldas Gudauskas, director general of the Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania, who details Lithuania's cold war and communist-era history.

Many of the interviewees discussed their early start and how they obtained awareness of libraries and librarianship. These early library exposures often sparked librarianship career opportunities that may have otherwise remained hidden. For example, Felton Thomas, Jr., director of the Cleveland Public Library, discusses his Las Vegas background, growing up in the library, and becoming a library employee at the age of 13. Kate P. Horan, library director of McAllen Public Library (Texas), recalls regular public library visits with her mother during her childhood and her own daughter's career in school and public librarianship. Similar stories of early library exposure are woven throughout the book.

The authors conclude with reflections on the following themes identified in the interviews:

- Libraries as cultural and social spaces and information repositories;
- Navigating a post-communist era as library directors;
- Navigating library outreach and community engagement in the digital age;
- Library leaders' characteristics and management styles;
- The evolution of and successes in library leadership; and
- Servant leadership in librarianship.

Ultimately, this is a book that successfully reveals insight into how global library leaders manage their institutions, staff, and responsibilities of national, public, monastery, and royal libraries. This work should be considered essential reading for any LIS administration and leadership course where faculty members are preparing students to become future library leaders.

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Author Biography

Vanjury “V” Dozier is an Education Librarian and Assistant Professor for the Helen K. and James S. Copley Library at the University of San Diego.

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