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THE THEORY OF PRAGMATIC GOVERNANCE: A CLASSIC GROUNDED THEORY STUDY OF PENNSYLVANIA'S BUREAU OF FORESTRY GOVERNANCE PRACTICES

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ABSTRACT

The changing relationship between government and society over the past thirty years – including the rise of the hollow state – has changed the nature of public administration (Frederickson, Smith, Larimer, & Licari, 2015, p. 245). In response, public administration research that focuses on theories and concepts related to governance and collaboration has flourished. However, governance scholars argue that further refinement of the current understanding of governance in public administration is needed, including the need for understanding the role of the traditional government agency in governance (Agranoff, 2017, Cigler, 2001); further theoretical specification of organizational dimensions and conditions for governance (Egeberg, Gornitzka, & Trondal, 2016); the need for the perspective of the individual involved in governance (Ford & Ihrke, 2018; O'Leary & Vij, 2012); the need for "process-oriented qualitative studies" (Ansell & Torfing, 2016); and the need to understand how the normative ideal of collaboration in governance compares to the reality of day-to-day public service delivery (Miller-Stevens & Morris, 2016; Sancino & Jacklin-Jarvis, 2016).

I sought to address these knowledge deficits in this dissertation by using classic grounded theory methodology to explore the prominent conditions and dimensions of the ordinary day-to-day governance practices of a traditional government agency. Classic grounded theory methodology is based largely on the writings of Barney Glaser, one of the co-founders of the grounded theory method (see Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The grounded theory method has been misrepresented in top-tier public administration journals, with no published study utilizing the entire classic grounded theory package (e.g., theoretical sampling, constant comparative analysis, memoing, theoretical sorting) since at least 1991.

I used the entire classic grounded theory package to discover and theorize the latent patterns of behavior related to the prominent conditions and dimensions of governance practices of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Forestry. My primary data collection method was qualitative interviewing that I conducted with Bureau district and assistant district managers from state forest districts across Pennsylvania. I supplemented the interview data with secondary data in the form of bureau documents, reports, and public-facing websites. Through theoretical sampling and constant comparative analysis, multiple patterns of behavior that represented what administrators were actually doing (i.e., governance practices) to resolve the main concern – the ability of the Bureau employees to manage Pennsylvania forest lands for long-term sustainability – emerged from the data. I conceptualized these patterns as the single core category of Mission-driven Management and the four sub-core categories of Balancing, Advocating Value, Adapting to Uncertainty, and Prudent Collaboration, which I theoretically integrated using the system-parts theoretical code (i.e., the core category is the system and sub-core categories are the parts). Two related categories in the form of organizational dynamics – Organizational Capacity and Organizational Discretion – also emerged from the data, which I theoretically integrated as contextual conditions that impact the system. During theory development I noticed the relevance of pragmatist philosophy to the emerging theory (e.g., anti-dualism, problem-focused action), so I used pragmatism as a way to conceptualize the overarching theoretical integration. Thus, I termed the substantive grounded theory I developed the Theory of Pragmatic Governance. The theory explains governance from the perspective of individuals in a traditional government

agency by conceptualizing the primary ordinary practices that comprise governing. It also predicts the nature of the relationships between those practices.

The Theory of Pragmatic Governance is an original contribution to the public administration governance literature because it was developed using classic grounded theory methodology and is based in the empirical reality of the ordinary day-to-day practices of a traditional government agency (Frederickson et al., 2015); it highlights organizational conditions that impact governance (Egeberg et al., 2016); and explains governance via an individual-level perspective of those in a traditional government agency (Ford & Ihrke, 2018; O'Leary & Vij, 2012).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES viii
LIST OF TABLES ix
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS x
Chapter 1. Introduction 1
1.1 Statement of the Problem 2
1.2 Significance of the Study 4
1.3 Research Questions 5
1.4 Outline of the Dissertation 5
Chapter 2. Governance and Collaboration Literature in Public Administration 6
2.1 Governance in Public Administration 6
2.2 Collaboration in Public Administration 8
Collaborative Governance. 10
Coproduction and Public Participation. 13
Network Theory. 14
2.3 Summary 14
Chapter 3. Elaborating Grounded Theory 16
3.1 The Term "Grounded Theory" 16
3.2 Grounded Theory in Public Administration Literature 18
3.3 Classic Grounded Theory Package 20
3.3.1 Types of grounded theory. 20
3.3.2 Trusting in emergence. 21
3.3.3 Selecting a substantive area of study. 21
3.3.4 Existing literature. 22
3.3.5 Data collection and data analysis. 22
3.3.6 Constructing and shaping the grounded theory. 24
3.3.7 Writing the theory. 25
3.3.8 Pacing the research process. 26
3.4 Summary 26
Chapter 4. Methodology 27
4.1 Philosophical Perspective 27
4.2 Research Design 28
4.3 Research Setting (Substantive Area) Selection and Description 28

4.4 Data Collection 30
4.4.1 Qualitative interviewing. 30
4.4.2 Additional data collection. 33
4.5 Data Analysis 34
4.6 Theory Shaping 39
4.7 Intercoder Reliability 41
4.8 Limitations 44
4.9 Ethical Concerns 45
4.9.1 Confidentiality. 45
4.9.2 Anonymity. 46
Chapter 5. Findings – The Substantive Grounded Theory of Pragmatic Governance 47
5.1 The Main Concern 47
5.2 Overview of the Theory 47
5.3 Mission-driven Management 50
5.4 Balancing 51
5.5 Advocating Value 53
5.6 Adapting to Uncertainty 57
5.7 Prudent Collaboration 59
5.8 Linkages between Sub-core Categories 62
5.8.1 Prudent Collaboration and Advocating Value. 63
5.8.2 Advocating Value and Adapting to Uncertainty. 63
5.8.3 Adapting to Uncertainty and Prudent Collaboration. 63
5.8.4 Balancing and Advocating Value. 64
5.8.5 Balancing and Prudent Collaboration. 64
5.8.6 Balancing and Adapting to Uncertainty. 64
5.9 Contextual Conditions 64
5.9.1 Organizational Capacity. 65
5.9.2 Organizational Discretion. 66
5.10 Summary 68
Chapter 6. Discussion 69
6.1 Pragmatist Philosophy and the Theory of Pragmatic Governance 69
6.2 Transferability of the Theory of Pragmatic Governance 71

6.3 Governance: Government continues to Govern 74
6.4 Prudent Collaboration: Collaborative Governance in Practice 76
6.5 Balancing: Maintaining Cognitive Consistency 77
6.6 Advocating Value: Informing Public Service Motivation Theory 78
Chapter 7. Summary and Conclusion 80
7.1 Summary of the Theory of Pragmatic Governance 80
7.2 Evaluating the Credibility of the Theory 81
7.3 Theoretical Contributions 83
7.4 Methodological Contributions and Implications 83
7.5 Practical Contributions 84
7.6 Directions for Future Research 86
References 88
Appendix A: Chronological Listing of Barney Glaser's Classic Grounded Theory Monographs 103
Appendix B: Journal Articles Found in the Grounded Theory Method Literature Review 105
Appendix C: Example of Typical District Office Structure 109
Appendix D: Map of Pennsylvania State Forest Districts 110
Appendix E: Interview Recruitment Email 111
Appendix F: Informed Consent for Exempt Research 112
Appendix G: Example Interview Questions 113
Appendix H: Example of Hand-drawn, Preliminary Theory Modeling 114
Appendix I: Conceptual Model of the Theory of Pragmatic Governance 115
Appendix J: Detailed Code Structure and Quotation Counts for the Theory of Pragmatic Governance 116

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2-1: *Google Scholar Citations of Three Contemporary Collaborative Governance Frameworks*. 11

Figure 5-1: *Buchanan State Forest District Office, McConnellsburg*. 55

LIST OF TABLES

Table 4-1: *Coded Quotation Examples.* 35

Table 4-2: *Results of Intercoder Reliability.* 44

Table 5-1: *Outline of the Theory of Pragmatic Governance.* 48

Table 5-2: *Quotation Counts and Percentages for the Theory of Pragmatic Governance.* 49

Table 5-3: *Common Managerial Skills to Adapt to Uncertainty.* 58

Table 5-4: *Co-Occurrence Quotation Counts for Sub-core Categories.* 62

Table 5-5: *Quotation Adjacency Counts for Sub-core Categories.* 63

Table 5-6: *Co-Occurrence Quotation Counts and Quotation Adjacency Counts between Organizational Capacity and the Four Sub-Core Categories.* 65

Table 5-7: *Co-Occurrence Quotation Counts and Quotation Adjacency Counts between Organizational Discretion and the Four Sub-Core Categories.* 68

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Changes in American and global society that began (approximately) in the last quarter of the twentieth century have demanded a "transformed" or "re-positioned" or "re-invented" American public administration (Frederickson, 1999; Kettel, 2000; Lynn, 2006). It was during this time that the American public began to adopt the belief that government – viewed as a large and bureaucratic administrative state – is ineffective and inefficient. American society was faced with "…increasing deficits, economic stagnation, disenchantment with the intermittently met promises of the welfare state, and a general sense that the government was encroaching on individual liberty" (Frederickson, Smith, Larimer, & Licari, 2015, p. 222). In addition, adopting the belief was further motivated by unhappiness with and mistrust of government due to the unpopular American participation in the Vietnam War and the Nixon Watergate scandal (Van Riper, 1983). The American people were no longer in favor of a strong, centralized government to solve their problems, such as the government that developed in response to the deep economic depression of the 1930s (Frederickson et al., 2015). This change of American sentiment towards government led to what is commonly thought of as a turning point for public service delivery (Lynn, 2006).

Given the distaste of the American people for the current public service delivery system, it was proposed that system reform that would lead to improved efficiency and effectiveness would be best achieved through the adoption of market-based and private-sector management approaches in the public sector (Lynn, 2006). It was also believed that the traditional government agency was unable to address contemporary, complex public problems. Thus, contemporary public administration required actors outside of traditional government agencies (e.g., private and nonprofit organizations) who work with (or in place of) those agencies to address complex public problems. The term "governance" gained prominence as the term to describe this shift away from the "government" of traditional public service delivery. Harlan Cleveland, an internationally-recognized American pracademic of public administration, is attributed with bringing the term to the fore, summarized with him saying "What the people want is less government and more governance" (Cleveland, 1972, as quoted in Frederickson, 2005, p. 283). Public administration scholars have heeded the call as there has been a noticeable increase in scholarship related to the idea of governance (Frederickson et al., 2015). Much of this work draws the focus away from the traditional government agency to understand how third-parties (e.g., nonprofits, individual citizens) are collaborating and governing in multi-organizational networks (Bryson, Crosby, & Bloomberg, 2014; Provan & Kenis, 2008). However, the traditional government agency is still one of the central actors in a range of policy domains (Agranoff, 2017), and its role in these multi-organizational networks in this era of governance and collaboration is not completely understood (Cigler, 2001; Morçöl, 2014).

In this dissertation I used classic grounded theory methodology to explore the ordinary day-to-day governance practices of a traditional government agency in the era of governance and collaboration. Classic grounded theory methodology is an inductive and deductive approach to conducting social science research that has received ongoing refinement by its founder, Barney Glaser, since the 1960s (Holton & Walsh, 2017). Glaser (1978) defines classic grounded theory methodology as "the systematic generation of theory from data that has itself been systematically obtained" (p. 2). The approach is not intended to test existing theories or a priori hypotheses or

variables. Instead it is used to discover latent concerns and concepts so that the researcher can generate a new theory. It is research that focuses on the problem of those in the area under study (i.e., the substantive area), not the professional researcher (Glaser, 1998). The substantive area in my study is the day-to-day administrative operations of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Forestry. The Bureau is a traditional state government agency responsible for the management of Pennsylvania's state forest system as well as serving as the official steward of all Pennsylvania's forests. By using classic grounded theory methodology, I discovered and theorized the latent patterns of behavior of the Bureau, and developed a substantive grounded theory I call the Theory of Pragmatic Governance. The theory describes governance from the perspective of individuals in a traditional government agency, explains the ordinary day-to-day practices that comprise governance, and predicts the nature of relationships between those practices.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Governance is the common term to describe the contemporary model of public service delivery. At a basic level of understanding, governance emphasizes the importance of adopting an open systems perspective by recognizing that the traditional government agency does not operate in a vacuum (Alter & Hage, 1993; Scott & Davis, 2007).Within the idea of governance, the role of the traditional government agency has evolved from siloed decision-making related to public policy design and implementation to blending this siloed decision-making with the expertise and input of stakeholders outside the agency (Bryson, Crosby, & Bloomberg, 2014). Rarely is a single, traditional government agency solely responsible for addressing the complex public policy problems in the era of governance. This requires collaboration across multiple agencies within the same layer of government, with agencies at different layers of government (Mullin & Daley, 2009), with private and nonprofit organizations (Bryson, Crosby, Stone, 2015), and with citizens directly (Nabatchi, Sancino, & Sicillia, 2017). In fact, the lines between "public" and "non-public" are becoming more and more blurred (Morçöl, 2016).

In response to what has been happening in practice, research that focuses on concepts related to governance and collaboration has flourished within academic public administration literature within the past thirty years. This surge in research is described by Bryson, Crosby, and Bloomberg (2014) as an unnamed but "emerging approach" in public administration (p. 445). They contend that this emerging approach focuses on topics such as public values, citizen participation, and democratic governance, and contrasts sharply with the two previous approaches in public administration: traditional public administration and New Public Management (NPM). In the 1980s and 90s NPM grew out of discontent with the lack of results and efficiency of traditional public administration (i.e., the traditional government agency as the primary implementer of public policy). It became normative to believe that public administration ought to be run more like a business, and NPM delivered ideas and concepts to do so. However, many criticized NPM for it's over emphasis on managerialism and claimed it held little relevance for contemporary public administration in a networked, service-oriented world (Osborne, Radnor, Nasi, 2013). While NPM brought some lasting developments into public administration (e.g., performance measurement and management), many now consider NPM to be "dead" (e.g., Dunleavy, Margetts, Bastow, & Tinkler, 2006). The emerging approach appears to be a retort to the focus on achieving results and efficiency through "public administration as business" by its focus on bringing others – nonprofits, private industry, and citizens – into the governance process.

The surge in governance- and collaboration-related research has created a substantial body of knowledge for understanding the era of governance. For example, it has produced multiple collaborative governance frameworks (e.g., Ansell & Gash, 2008; Bryson et al., 2015; Cheng & Sturtevant, 2012; Emerson, Nabatchi, & Balogh, 2012; Koontz, 2006) and collaboration typologies (e.g., Cigler, 2001; Keast, Mandell, Brown, & Woolcock, 2004; McNamara, 2016; Margerum, 2008). It has also expounded upon numerous concepts that are essential to collaborative endeavors, such as leadership (Agranoff & McGuire, 2001; Silvia, 2011), trust (Calanni, Siddiki, Weible, & Leach, 2014; Moynihan, 2009), and antecedent conditions to collaboration (Cigler, 1999; Chen, 2010). However, there are also drawbacks to this surge in research. For example, much of the research is siloed and lacks cohesion. This is evidenced by how the research on collaborative governance is largely separate from research on coproduction (Nabatchi et al., 2017; Sancino & Jacklin-Jarvis, 2016); yet these concepts are inseparable when discussing governance and collaboration that crosses traditional government agency boundaries. Additionally, some of the prominent collaborative governance frameworks may be called into question due to vague framework construction (e.g., Bryson, Crosby, & Stone, 2006; Emerson et al., 2012) and a reliance on descriptive case study research to support claims (e.g., Ansell & Gash, 2008). Case study research is prevalent in public administration, but many times lacks methodological rigor (Luton, 2010).

In spite of the mounding body of knowledge, governance scholars argue that there are important directions for research that will refine our understanding of the era governance and the role of the traditional government agency within it: the need for further theoretical specification of organizational dimensions and conditions for governance (Egeberg, Gornitzka, & Trondal, 2016); the need for the perspective of the individual involved in governance (Ford & Ihrke, 2018; O'Leary & Vij, 2012); the need for "process-oriented qualitative studies" (Ansell & Torfing, 2016); and the need to understand how the normative ideal of collaboration in governance compares to the reality of day-to-day public service delivery (Miller-Stevens & Morris, 2016; Sancino & Jacklin-Jarvis, 2016).

In this study I used classic grounded theory methodology to refine our understanding of governance by discovering and theorizing the latent patterns of governance practices of a traditional government agency (i.e., the Pennsylvania Bureau of Forestry). This type of approach to studying governance is supported by Frederickson and colleagues (2015), who argue that understanding governance requires "… trying to identify systemic patterns in observations of what administrators are actually doing" (p. 247). Classic grounded theory methodology is a rigorously structured approach to research that uncovers patterns in social behavior (Glaser, 1998; Holton & Walsh, 2017). However, the methodology has been misrepresented in research in social science (see Glaser, 2016) and specifically within governance research in public administration (e.g., Agranoff, 2006; Thomson, Perry, & Miller, 2009). I followed the structured classic grounded theory procedures, otherwise known as "the parameters of the grounded theory package" (Glaser, 1998, p. 19), to produce rigorous research that resulted in a theory grounded in reality that is of value to both practice and academia.

There are several benefits to utilizing classic grounded theory as a research approach for my study. First, the ability of grounded theory research to link to practice makes it a highly suitable methodology for research in management and organizational studies (Locke, 2001). Second, classic grounded theory research is well-suited for use in established theoretical areas, such as the areas of governance and collaboration, as its bottom-up, inductive approach offers the

opportunity to enliven existing theory or to "make sure that our theories stay current with organizational realities they purport to explain" (Locke, 2001, p. 97). Third, by utilizing classic grounded theory, I was able to explore governance without limiting my research perspective to a single conceptual lens (e.g., collaborative governance). Lastly, grounded theories have modifiability, such that a grounded theory developed in one public administration policy domain is applicable to other policy domains with additional modifications (i.e., it is transferable).

1.2 Significance of the Study

One of the primary contributions of my study is the development of a substantive grounded theory of governance. While governance theories currently exist, the one I developed contributes to the literature on governance and collaboration by being based in the empirical reality of the ordinary day-to-day practices of a traditional government agency (Frederickson et al., 2015); by specifying organizational dynamics of governance (Egeberg, Gornitzka, & Trondal, 2016); and by explaining governance via an individual-level perspective of those involved in governing (Ford & Ihrke, 2018; O'Leary & Vij, 2012). By utilizing classic grounded theory methodology, I limited the influence of existing theories of governance and collaboration during the development of the main categories of my theory. This contributes to the literature by having a theory based on the reality of day-to-day governance practices and not based on a single normative ideal of collaboration and governance in public administration (e.g., collaborative governance; Miller-Stevens & Morris, 2016; Sancino & Jacklin-Jarvis, 2016). The theory also demonstrates that collaborative endeavors that occur across traditional government agency boundaries are part of the broader governance picture, but are not the focus of all action. While the substantive grounded theory I developed is based only in the policy context of state forest management, I began the process of moving from substantive grounded theory to formal grounded theory (i.e., increasing generalizability) by theorizing how the substantive theory I developed has implications outside of the substantive area (i.e., outside of state forest management).

Additionally, my study contributes to the governance literature by meeting the need for more "process-oriented qualitative studies" of governance (Ansell & Torfing, 2016). I selected qualitative, open-ended interviewing as the primary data collection method for my study because interviewing is typically used in the initial stages of theory development – and particularly within classic grounded theory studies – due to the high yield of rich, descriptive data that affords itself to abstract conceptualization beyond the substantive area.

My study also adds variation to the body of qualitative research in public administration in general. A recent review of qualitative research across major public administration journals demonstrated that case study research dominates the qualitative research reported in public administration (Ospina, Esteve, & Lee, 2018). Increasing the diversity of qualitative methods in public administration is needed to better demonstrate the usefulness of qualitative research (Ospina et al., 2018).

Lastly, there is a continuing need for social science research that contributes to our understanding of how to successfully govern social-ecological systems (SESs) to maximize value and maintain sustainability (Ostrom, 2009). Forests are a SES that receive less attention within the context of the U.S. than the rest of the world (Dartmouth College, 2017). Work that has been done with U.S. forests generally focuses on the federal-level forest system (i.e., National Forests and the U.S. Forest Service) and the related policies and administration

(Koontz, 2007). Much less has been done to understand forest governance at the state level (Koontz, 2007); yet over 53 million acres of forest land in the United States are under state jurisdiction (National Research Council, 1998). Approximately 2.2 million of those 53 million acres are Pennsylvania state forest lands (DCNR, 2017a). To my knowledge a classic grounded theory study has not been conducted in the substantive area of the Pennsylvania forestland SES. As such, my study is a novel exploration of a SES system that contributes to ongoing SES research (Dartmouth College, 2017).

1.3 Research Questions

A classic grounded theory study is to be guided by the main concern and conceptual categories that emerge from the empirical setting of the study, and not by preconceived notions of the researcher (Glaser, 1998). However, it is impractical to have absolutely no research questions before starting research that is exploratory in nature, such as a classic grounded theory study (Rubin & Rubin, 2005; Suddaby, 2006). The main research question in my study was what are the prominent conditions and dimensions of the ordinary day-to-day governance practices of a traditional government agency? This included exploring the various forms of collaborative relationships the Bureau maintains – without focusing on specific variations (e.g., collaborative governance or coproduction) – and how these collaboration dynamics impact governance.

1.4 Outline of the Dissertation

This dissertation has seven chapters, which includes this introductory chapter. In chapter two I present the broad preliminary literature review of the governance and collaboration literature in public administration that was conducted to frame the research and substantive area for the classic grounded theory study. In chapter three I detail the origin of grounded theory and explore its use in public administration literature through a systemic assessment of top tier public administration journals. I also provide a detailed account of the classic grounded theory methodology (also known as the "package"). In chapter four I present the methodology of the classic grounded theory study that I conducted, in which I used qualitative interviewing as the primary data collection method. In chapter five I present the findings of the study, which is a substantive grounded theory I call the Theory of Pragmatic Governance. I provide a detailed account of the conceptual categories of the theory and their relations, including associated data indicators from the qualitative interviews and secondary data sources. In chapter six I discuss and extend the Theory of Pragmatic Governance by describing how the term "pragmatic" earned its way into the theory; by describing how the theory may be applicable to the substantive area of homelessness services delivery; by discussing how the theory is positioned in the governance and collaboration literature in public administration; by describing how one of the sub-core categories of the theory called Balancing may be enhanced with insight from psychology; and by describing how one of the sub-core categories of the theory called of Advocating Value relates to the concept of public service motivation. In chapter seven I provide a summary of the Theory of Pragmatic Governance and my final conclusions.

Chapter 2. Governance and Collaboration Literature in Public Administration

Incorporation of existing literature into a classic grounded theory study is generally held in abeyance until a core category emerges from the empirical data being collected (Holton & Walsh, 2017) – the goal of a classic grounded theory study is to develop theory, not test existing theory. Glaser (1998) is a strong proponent of reviewing no literature related to the substantive area under study prior to beginning the study. The common concern about conducting a literature review prior to conducting the research is that the existing literature may force theory. In other words, it may give the researcher preconceptions of what to expect and thus limit the emergence of the actual empirical concepts (Holton & Walsh, 2017). However, some grounded theory scholars are skeptical of the ability to enter a study with a complete blank slate (Suddaby, 2006). It is also impractical to enter into a research project without knowing anything about that area of research (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). In addition, meeting traditional academic institutional requirements of conducting a literature review prior to conducting research is a practical concern that, more often than not, cannot be ignored (Giles, King, de Lacey, 2013; Glaser, 1998).

Some grounded theory scholars have noted several benefits to conducting a broad preliminary literature review before conducting grounded theory research (Elliott & Higgins, 2012; Giles et al., 2013). For example, a broad preliminary literature review helps the researcher frame the substantive area and direct initial theoretical sampling (Elliott & Higgins, 2012; Giles et al., 2013). After deciding to conduct a preliminary literature review, it is important that the researcher addresses the inevitable preconceptions that may have formed from the review. Following the rigorous classic grounded theory methodology – particularly the process of expressing self-awareness through analytical memo writing – affords the researcher the opportunity to make salient these preconceptions and to question how they are impacting the research process (Giles et al., 2013).

I believe that the advantages to conducting a broad preliminary literature review for a classic grounded theory study outweigh the disadvantages; thus, I chose to conduct such a review for my study that focuses on the governance and collaboration literature. The literature on both topics is vast and spans multiple disciplines. The literature review I present here maintains a high-level perspective of pillars of this research in public administration that help frame my study; but this literature did not define the direction of the study. How I position the grounded theory that I developed in this study within this literature, per guidelines of classic grounded theory methodology (Holton & Walsh, 2017), is presented in chapter six of the dissertation.

2.1 Governance in Public Administration

The contemporary model of public service delivery system – which is commonly termed "governance" – centers around the processes and results of actors outside of traditional government agencies (e.g., private and nonprofit organizations) who are working with those agencies to address complex public problems. Unfortunately, there is not a consensus in public administration literature as to what "governance" actually means (Frederickson et al., 2015; Hughes, 2010; Osborne, 2010). Frederickson (2005) suggests that the popular usage of the term "governance" has clouded its meaning: "Because governance is a power word, a dominant descriptor, and the current preference of academic tastemakers, there has been a rush to affix it to all of the other fashions of the day" (p. 285). He further notes how governance has been equated to at least eleven separate phenomena in public administration (e.g., NPM, public-sector

performance), as well as being used as a term to completely replace "public administration." Hughes (2010) deconstructed seven separate meanings of governance found within the public administration literature and found that these separate applications of the term contribute little to furthering the field's understanding about the meaning of governance.

Given the confusion surrounding the term, Hughes (2010) suggests that to best understand governance in public administration is to first understand the derivation of the word "governance" and its common usage. According to Hughes, the word "governance" is rooted in the verb "govern", which is derived from Latin and Greek words meaning "steer." These roots carry over into the ordinary usage and dictionary definition of governance. From these, Hughes draws a definition of governance in terms of contemporary public administration:

> Governance is about running organizations; public and private; it is about steering; it is about solving societal problems. Governance cannot be confined to the public sector…governance needs to be able to include the rules for a tennis club or how the board of a company or a school is to operate. (p. 102)

It is worth noting that the Hughes (2010) definition of governance includes "steering", which is a term used widely in the NPM literature (Frederickson et al., 2015). This does not, however, indicate that the two terms are the same, as they do not share the same ideological groundings (Frederickson, 2005; Frederickson et al., 2015; Hughes, 2010). For example, NPM is based largely in market-based management reforms within government agencies, a focus that is similar to traditional public administration in that it is primarily a closed-systems perspective of public administration; such a perspective lacks consideration of the impact of the outside environment (e.g., interorganizational relationships) on the agency (Scott & Davis, 2007). In contrast, governance is more closely related to adopting an open-systems perspective of public administration where considerations of the environment outside of the government agency are of importance (Scott & Davis, 2007).

Hughes's (2010) definition of governance demonstrates the rather all-encompassing scope of governance. Similarly, Frederickson and colleagues (2015) suggest that "governance is centered on the need to account for the changing relationship between government and society" (p. 226), which is also broad in scope. Frederickson (2005) believes that "to construct a practical and usable concept of governance in public administration, the field would profit by narrowing the subject to its most common usage and returning to [Harlan] Cleveland's original conception" (p. 293). Cleveland's somewhat prophetic vision of how public service delivery will transform into his conception of governance relates to the contemporary landscape of public administration:

> The organizations that get things done will no longer be hierarchical pyramids with most of the real control at the top. They will be systems – interlaced webs of tension in which control is loose, power diffused, and centers of decision plural. "Decision-making" will become an increasingly intricate process of multilateral brokerage both inside and outside the organization which thinks it has the responsibility for making, or at least announcing, the decision. Because organizations will be horizontal, the way they are governed is likely to be more collegial, consensual, and consultative. (Cleveland, 1972, p.13; as quoted in Frederickson, 2005 p. 283)

Cleveland's conceptualization of governance emphasizes the importance of adopting an open systems perspective of service delivery, and recognizes that the traditional government agency does not operate in a vacuum (Scott & Davis, 2007). Cleveland accurately predicted, and many have agreed, that the traditional government agency is unable to address complex social problems without enlisting assistance outside the traditional bounds of public administration (Bryson, Crosby, & Stone, 2015; Frederickson, 1999; Kapucu, 2014; Kooiman, 2010). In order to adequately address such problems networked arrangements have emerged that create interdependencies between public, private, and nonprofit entities, as well as citizens, which spurs the need to collaborate (Bryson et al., 2015; Frederickson, 1999; Kooiman, 2010). Collaborative endeavors entail multi-centered decision-making processes that result in a blurring of the line that separates the public and private sectors (Kooiman, 2010; Morçöl, 2016). The concept of collaboration in relation to public administration and its multiple silos of research are discussed in further detail in the following section.

2.2 Collaboration in Public Administration

The concept of collaboration is integral to Cleveland's pluralistic-decision-making aspect of governance. He suggested that governance is "multilayered brokerage inside and outside the organization" that results in "collegial" governing (Cleveland, 1972, p. 12). While governance through collaboration is not a new concept, many public administration scholars have recently turned their attention to how traditional government agencies collaborate outside organizational boundaries with other organizations and directly with citizens to address public problems. This is evidenced by what Bryson and colleagues (2014) suggest is an "emerging approach" in public administration that focuses on understanding the role of public values and shared governance in public administration. This approach to public administration suggests that such collaboration-related practices provide both personal and social benefits (Nabatchi et al., 2017), such as instilling a sense of self-efficacy in citizens (Alford, 2014) and facilitating government innovation (Osborne, Radnor, & Nasi, 2013). Many times, such practices are needed to assist with addressing today's complex public policy problems (O'Leary & Vij, 2012). Multiple conceptual terms have been created to capture this phenomenon, frequently within independent research silos. However, all terms are fundamentally related to the basic idea of collaboration – "… a situation in which individual actors work together across organizational boundaries in a sustained way to achieve something which they could not achieve alone" (Sancino & Jacklin-Jarvis, 2016, p. 16).

While scholarly attention towards collaboration-related concepts has grown substantially since the early 2000s, the foundations of collaboration within public administration date back much earlier, particularly within public administration federalism research. American federalism has traditionally been used to describe the sharing of power between the national, state, and local governments. This sharing of power has resulted in collaborative problem solving across governmental boundaries (McGuire, 2006), an assertion that has existed since the 1960s. For example, Elazar (1962, 1965) demonstrated that a substantial number of governmental activities during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were shared national-state endeavors. Grodzins (1960) extended this idea of "cooperative federalism" with his metaphor of American federalism being like a marble cake instead of a layer cake – national, state, and local levels of government are intertwined (rather than being layered) when planning and implementing public policy. One of the most prominent examples of this is the substantial rise in the federal grant-in-aid that is

fundamental to the contemporary American system of governance (Kettl, 2015; Kincaid & Cole, 2016; McGuire, 2006).

Kettl (1981) suggests that the use of intergovernmental grant programs throughout the 1970s created the "fourth face of federalism", which he describes as "a collection of private and semi-public groups and agencies that moved into a full partnership with the national, state, and local governments in administering federal policy" (p. 366). Many state and local governments were inexperienced in administering the programs demanded by federal grants, and thus turned to private and non-profit agencies to deliver services (Kettl, 1981). This type of collaborative federalism brought forth by federal grants-in-aid continued through the 1990s and is a central characteristic of contemporary intergovernmental relations (Cho & Wright, 2001). Partnering and contracting with nonprofit and private agencies has also been described as the hollowing of the state, which has created numerous interorganizational arrangements associated with planning and delivering public programs (Agranoff & McGuire, 1998; Milward & Provan, 2000). Often these interorganizational network arrangements are conceptualized as modern-day collaborative governance in action (O'Toole, 2015).

The shared power of the hollow state is closely related to the idea of polycentricism, a concept that is like federalism but distinct (Koontz et al., 2015). Ostrom, Tiebout, and Warren (1961) noted that government within metropolitan areas have traditionally adopted what they term a "polycentric political system" (p. 831). This is when there exist "many centers of decision-making which are formally independent of each other", but that have the potential "to take each other into account… in a coherent manner with consistent predictable patterns of interacting behavior" that "may be said to function as a system" (Ostrom et al., 1961, p. 831). Koontz and colleagues (2015) suggest polycentricism and the modern-day concept of collaborative governance are fundamentally similar: government and non-governmental actors create network arrangements that have adaptable boundaries, share power across traditional governmental jurisdictions, and focus on a policy issue or functional area (e.g., watershed planning).

At a high-level perspective, federalism and polycentricism demonstrate that collaboration and shared decision making have typically been an integral part of American public administration. They highlight that cross-sector and cross-government collaboration results in an interdependence among organizations where shared understanding and adaptable organizational boundaries help collaborative endeavors, and the organizations involved, thrive. Such ideas are common in the general administrative sciences literature on interorganizational relationships within organizational environments. Within this literature the organization is viewed as part of a larger environment, which has considerable influence on the organization's survival and operation (Cunliffe, 2008). There is often uncertainty surrounding the organizational environment, which can differ in levels of complexity and stability. To counter uncertainty, organizational managers must constantly take stock of their environment (i.e., boundary spanning) and conduct buffering tactics to protect their organizational core (e.g., stockpile resources; Cunliffe, 2008; Scott & Davis, 2007).

Controlling organizational uncertainty in the organizational environment also involves interorganizational collaboration. There are several prominent theories from administrative sciences that provide a wealth of insight as to why organizations enter into collaborative interorganizational relationships. For example, transaction cost theory suggests that

organizations collaborate with other organizations to maximize their efficiency. This is generally framed in the "make-or-buy" question: an organization may collaborate with another organization if the task to be accomplished through collaboration will result in reduced transaction costs for the organization, as opposed to the transaction costs of keeping the task in-house (Scott & Davis, 2007). In contrast, resource dependency theory suggests that "…organizational actions are often taken 'regardless of considerations of profit or efficiency'" (Scott & Davis, 2007, p. 234; Pfeffer, 1987, p. 27). At times organizations may collaborate with other organizations based on the goal of maintaining the best pattern of interdependent resource-based relationships that benefit their autonomy and reduce organizational uncertainty (Scott & Davis, 2007). Institutional theory offers an additional perspective that differs from both transaction cost theory and resource dependency theory. Institutional theorists suggest that an organization may enter into interorganizational collaborations in order to improve its chances for survival. These chances are improved if it conforms to norms of the organizational field (i.e., a group of organizations with common meaning systems that engage in frequent, required interaction), thus gaining legitimacy within its institutional environment (Guo & Acar, 2005; Scott & Davis, 2007).

Transaction cost theory, resource dependency theory, and institutional theory have been applied across a range of collaborative interorganizational relationships in public administration. For example, Chen (2010) and Chen and Graddy (2010) found support for aspects of resource dependence and institutional theory in collaborative family social service partnerships. Guo and Acar (2005) found that differences in organizational resource capacity influence the level of collaboration formality among urban charitable nonprofits. Calanni and colleagues (2014) found that stakeholders within marine aquaculture partnerships placed more importance on collaborating with others based on issues of resource acquisition and trust; but did not find support for the importance of collaborating with others that share similar beliefs (discounting the influence of institutional theory). On the other hand, Fleishman (2009) and Mullin and Daley (2010) found support for institutional theory, such that goal-sharing (representing conformity) were important to organizations collaborating in nonprofit estuary partnerships and state-local intergovernmental collaboration in environmental-based public health programs, respectively. Goal-sharing is also an important factor in contemporary collaborative governance frameworks (e.g., Bryson, Crosby, & Stone, 2006; Emerson et al., 2012).

Despite these deep roots in federalism and administrative sciences research, a clear and widely accepted definition of collaboration within the public administration domain does not exist (Miller-Stevens & Morris, 2016). The core idea of collaboration in public administration (i.e., working together to solve complex public policy problems) spans many siloed streams of literature, including that of collaborative governance, coproduction and public participation, and network theory.

Collaborative Governance. The term "collaborative governance" is used frequently to capture the idea of collaboration in public administration. Collaborative governance insinuates that people (and organizations) are working together ("collaborative") to meet the demands and solve problems of living together in a complex society ("governance"). The use of the term has risen in popularity within the past ten years. A glance at Google Scholar citations over time for three popular collaborative governance frameworks demonstrates the growth of the concept (see Figure 2-1). The term even received its own Wikipedia page beginning in 2007 (WikiHistory, 2017).

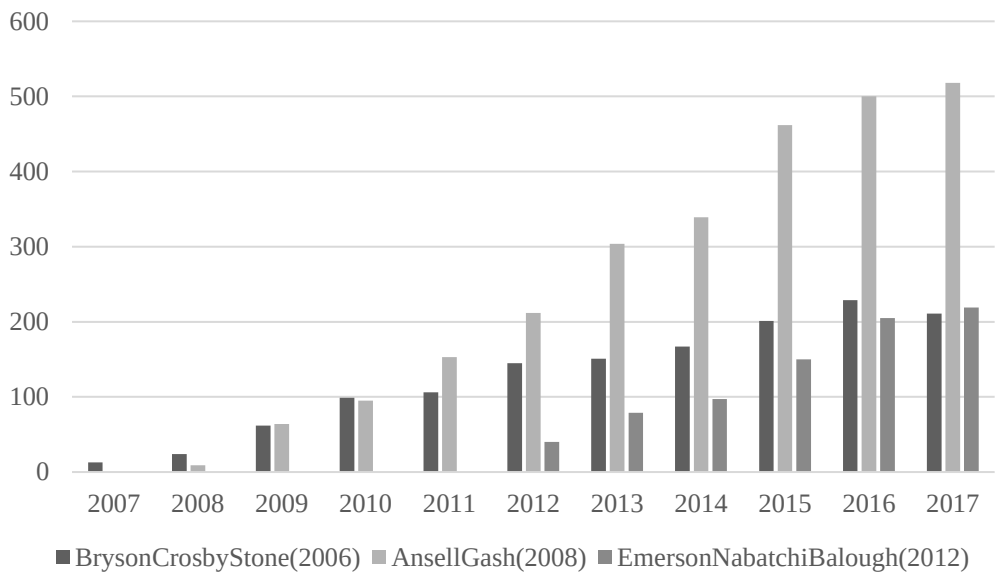

Figure 2-1. *Google Scholar Citations of Three Contemporary Collaborative Governance Frameworks*

The definition of collaborative governance that comes from the framework designed by Ansell and Gash (2008) is used frequently to define the term:

> A governing arrangement where one or more public agencies [traditional government agency] directly engage non-state stakeholders [individuals or organized groups] in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets." (p. 545)

The authors of contemporary collaborative governance frameworks draw directly from frameworks of collaboration in the administrative sciences literature. Thomson and Perry (2006) note that this literature is crucial for understanding collaboration within public administration. For example, they draw from both Wood and Gray (1991) – who frame collaboration as antecedents, process, and outcomes – and Ring and Van de Ven (1994) – who frame collaboration as an iterative and cyclical process of negotiation, commitment, and implementation – to emphasize the importance of the process aspect of collaboration. Based on these foundational conceptualizations of collaboration, Thomson and Perry argue for viewing the process aspect of collaboration as consisting of five key dimensions: governance, administration, organizational autonomy, mutuality, and norms of trust and reciprocity. They stress that finding an acceptable balance among these dimensions – as a perfect balance is an impractical ideal case – is key to successful collaboration.

The antecedent-process-outcome framework of Wood and Gray (1991) is also evident in other collaborative governance frameworks. The three frameworks displayed in figure 1 have received substantial attention (i.e., Ansell & Gash, 2008; Emerson et al., 2012; and Bryson et al., 2006). The authors of each of these frameworks claim to have based their conceptualizations on prior research across a range of disciplines. Ansell and Gash base their framework on an analysis of 137 collaborative governance case studies (with a substantial number coming from the

environmental policy context). Bryson and colleagues base their framework more broadly on the "literature on collaborations" (p. 45) but are unclear on what this specifically includes. Emerson and colleagues state that they attempted to integrate a broad literature related to collaborative governance that spans many applied fields (e.g., public administration, planning). They also note that they placed a specific focus on preexisting frameworks (which includes the frameworks of Ansell and Gash, and Bryson and colleagues). Yet, similarly to Bryson and colleagues, they do not provide substantial documentation of how the literature they reviewed informed and guided their conceptualizing and framework construction process.

All three frameworks follow a basic systems structure (inputs, process, and outputs) like Wood and Gray (1991). Each also emphasizes the importance of feedback into the system and the influence of the environment surrounding the collaboration, but each has its own spin on how these aspects impact the system. There are many similarities in the variables of importance that each framework highlights (although at times they tend to use different terminology for similar variables). For example, all three highlight the importance of strong leaders (or sponsors or champions or facilitators) in the input, or antecedent, part of the framework. All suggest these individuals are pivotal in initiating the collaboration as well as for its ongoing survival. Regarding process, all three frameworks stress that building mutual trust among collaboration participants is a necessary requirement of the process. They also emphasize that this trust-building is not easy and requires time. Regarding outputs, each framework illustrates that the collaborative governance process should result in some sort of impact – enhanced public value generated by multiple partner engagement, short-term programmatic implications, and feedback effects to the collaborative governance process itself are some of the more important impacts noted.

An additional similarity in the frameworks is the lack of direct reference to how the federalism and intergovernmental literature influenced conceptualization. Perhaps it did not, yet concepts that are central to federalism and polycentricism (e.g., sharing power, sharing decision-making, reaching mutual agreement) are central to the idea of collaborative governance. The only exception is Emerson and colleagues who note that some scholars have connected the intergovernmental cooperation and federalism literature to collaborative governance; yet they (and the authors of the other frameworks) do not – a word search reveals that none of the three articles on the frameworks cite *Publius*, the primary academic journal that covers federalism and intergovernmental relations. Failing to consider recent research in these areas is a prominent shortcoming. It also perpetuates the fracturing of collaborative governance literature, and does not represent a rigorous attempt to integrate the literature that is important to understanding collaborative governance.

The redundancy found in these frameworks raises the question of the necessity of such multiple iterations of collaborative governance frameworks. While this is just three frameworks, Emerson and colleagues (2012) suggest that when constructing their framework, they consulted at least 16 other frameworks that are in some way related to collaborative governance. A recent review by Williams (2016) also highlights the existence of numerous frameworks of collaboration. Such frameworks are also problematic when the authors constructing these frameworks provide vague guidelines regarding their construction process (e.g., Bryson et al., 2006; Emerson et al., 2012), which places their empirical soundness in question.

Coproduction and Public Participation. While collaborative governance involves working with "non-state stakeholders" (Ansell & Gash, 2008, p. 545) the research is largely separate from that of the concepts of coproduction and public participation. These are like-minded concepts that focus on collaboration that occurs outside of traditional government agency boundaries. Like collaborative governance, the concepts of coproduction and public participation are associated with multiple definitions (Loeffler & Bovaird, 2016; Roberts, 2004). The original use of coproduction in public sector research is generally attributed to the work of Vincent and Elinor Ostrom (1977; Alford, 2014). The foundational idea was that citizens can not only consume but can also help produce public goods and services (Alford, 2014). This is closely related to the basic idea of public participation – lay individuals of a polity (i.e., citizens) make substantive contributions to various stages of the policy process (e.g., planning, implementation; Roberts, 2004; Nabatchi & Amsler, 2014). Research on both concepts includes a focus on the need to improve efforts to construct opportunities that afford "authentic" participation and incorporation of citizens into governance practices (Cooper, Bryer, & Meek, 2006; King, Feltey, & Susel, 1998).

Both coproduction and public participation are best understood when considering the who, when, and what of the concepts. The "who" of coproduction casts a wide net that includes various actors:

> "…definitions variously identify the "regular producers" as public agencies, public agents, professionals, or service providers and the "coproducers" as citizens, clients, consumers, service users, community members, families, or neighbors… [and] other actors such as community organizations, volunteers, or people outside of an organization." (Nabatchi et al., 2017, p. 768)

Likewise, the "who" of public participation is generally conceptualized as "members of the lay public" (Nabatchi & Amsler, 2014, p. 65S) who are "those not holding office or administrative positions in government" (Roberts, 2004, p. 320). In other words, both coproduction and public participation unquestionably involve the same "non-state stakeholders" involved in collaborative governance (Ansell & Gash, 2008).

The "when" is also similar across coproduction and public participation. Both refer to the producers and coproducers working together within any part of the policy process (Nabatchi et al., 2017; Roberts, 2004). The "what" follows from the "when" as different types of activities occur at different parts of the policy process (e.g., setting goals, delivering services, evaluation). Researchers in both literature streams refer to the "what" and "when" as producing something of value with the coproducer being involved in decision making and taking action (Nabatchi et al., 2017; Roberts, 2004).

Citizens engaged in public participation and coproduction are found in various policy domains. A prominent example includes the research done on citizen involvement in the performance measurement and management process (e.g., Callahan, 2004; Woolum, 2011). For example, Mason, Hillenbrand and Money (2014) found that citizen involvement breaks down barriers between citizens and public officials and changes citizen perceptions of trust in government. Research has also demonstrated that citizens provide a perspective of performance measures that differs from the perspective of public officials, which emphasizes the importance of citizen involvement in governance processes (Woolum, 2011).

The research on coproduction and public participation has produced a substantial base of knowledge; yet there is room growth. Jo and Nabatchi (2016) suggest that there are many questions left answered surrounding the dynamics of coproduction that are embedded at macro, meso, and micro levels of analysis. For example, at a micro level what individual behaviors and attitudes impact coproduction and what strategies exist to enhance levels of coproduction. In addition, there is a need for theoretical development in coproduction to provide an interpretive structure for existing coproduction research (Jo & Nabatchi, 2016). Public administration's reliance on coproduction and public participation will likely not subside given current fiscal constraints in public administration and citizen expectations for improved public services (Nabatchi et al., 2017).

Network Theory. Network theory has received extensive attention within the public administration literature within the past twenty years (for reviews see Popp et al., 2014; Provan, Fish, & Sydow, 2007; Provan & Lemaire, 2012). A fundamental aspect of network theory is the recognition that relationship building is central to a network form of organizing, which stands in contrast to traditional public administration structures (Keast, Mandell, Brown, & Woolcock, 2004). Networked organizing was paramount to Cleveland's (1972) conceptualization of governance – he suggested that "hierarchical pyramids" (i.e., traditional government agencies) would no longer be the norm for service delivery and "systems" consisting of "interlaced webs" with multi-centered decision-making (i.e., networks) would be the model of the future (p. 13).

There are several concepts related to network theory that have key implications for public service delivery systems based in a governance model. Some of these include network types and functions (e.g., loose ties versus strong ties; Cigler, 2001), network governance (e.g., shared versus member-led; Provan & Kenis, 2008), and the evaluation of network effectiveness (e.g., whole network versus organizational; Provan & Milward, 2001). Of additional note is the work of Keast and colleagues (2004), who emphasized the importance of interdependence within network arrangements – in order to build relationships, network members must come to accept that they part of the larger whole, not just one of a number of other interconnected pieces (i.e., other network members).

Research on network theory is conducted throughout policy domains. One example is the work of Cigler (2001) that focuses on multi-community economic development partnerships. Her research demonstrated that there is a tiered continuum of partnerships – networking, cooperative, coordinating, and collaborative – through which governance systems develop. Each level differs in the complexity of purpose for convening, intensity of the linkages among members, and the formality of the guiding rules of the network, which demonstrates the complexity of governance arrangements (Cigler, 2001).

2.3 Summary

The broad preliminary literature review I presented here demonstrates that the concepts of governance and collaboration have a rich history in public administration. These concepts have also received substantial scholarly attention as of late, particularly when being branded as collaborative governance. However, there remains a need to continue to refine our understanding of governance and collaboration in public administration (Ansell & Torfing, 2016; Miller-Stevens & Morris, 2016), particularly by focusing on empirical realties and not normative ideals (Frederickson et al., 2015; O'Leary & Vij, 2012). The classic grounded theory study I conducted and present in the following chapters responds to this need. Before presenting the actual study, in

the following chapter I clarify what is meant by “grounded theory”, explore the term’s usage in public administration literature, and provide a detailed account of the classic grounded theory methodology, which I used in this study.

Chapter 3. Elaborating Grounded Theory

In this chapter I discuss what is meant by the ubiquitous (yet misunderstood) term "grounded theory", detail public administration scholars' use (and misuse) of the term, and describe the "classic grounded theory package" in detail.

3.1 The Term "Grounded Theory"

The term "grounded theory" is confusing even at the most basic level of understanding because it is used to describe a way to conduct research and also the product of that research – a researcher may use a grounded theory method to explore a social phenomenon, and the result of that research should be a theory about that phenomenon that is grounded in empirical data collected during the research (i.e., a grounded theory; Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss are commonly referred to as the founders of the grounded theory method as they developed it during research on exploring dying in American hospitals (Glaser & Strauss, 1965). The methodology they used and developed for that study was explained in further detail in their seminal 1967 book entitled *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. The widespread use of this book across applied and academic disciplines (e.g., nursing, psychology) has led to it commonly being referred to as simply *Discovery*. The subtitle of the book itself set the stage for confusion as it insinuates that the grounded theory method is intended for only qualitative research, yet that is not the case (as is discussed later in this section).

Confusion on how to use the grounded theory method has grew since 1967, and has resulted in a common categorizing of three different approaches to conducting grounded theory: classic grounded theory, Straussian grounded theory, and constructivist grounded theory (McCallin, 2009). All three approaches are rooted in *Discovery*, but their approaches to implementing the method, the researcher's position in the study, and the understanding of the data used (among other aspects) are substantially different.

Classic grounded theory is based largely on the writings of Barney Glaser, one of the co-founders of the grounded theory method. Glaser has written prolifically on the grounded theory method, in addition to producing a number of grounded theories (Glaser & Strauss, 1965, 1971, 1974; Glaser, 1964, 1976). Glaser's approach to documenting the evolution of the method and detailing how it is conducted is through the production of a large volume of monographs spanning 50 years. This includes (at least) 15 monographs focusing on methodology, 8 monographs focusing on classic grounded theory examples ("readers"), and three in the "perspective" series that focus on elaborating particular aspects of classic grounded (e.g., theoretical coding; see Appendix A for the full listing). While each monograph adds something unique to the classic grounded theory body of knowledge, Glaser is a verbose writer and (even to his own admittance) recycles and explains ideas, and even text, across different monographs. The commonly considered essential methodology texts are *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), *Doing Grounded Theory* (Glaser, 1998), *Theoretical Sensitivity* (Glaser, 1978), and *Theoretical Coding* (Glaser, 2005).

Straussian grounded theory is based on the works of Anselm Strauss, the other co-founder of the grounded theory method. How the ideas of Strauss and Glaser splintered into two

factions of the method is an unfortunate story (see Simmons, 2011). Glaser's side of the story is made clear in his 1992 *Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis: Emergence vs. Forcing*. This book was written as a direct rebuke to the core Straussian text *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques* (Strauss & Corbin, 1990), which is a well-known and highly cited grounded theory text. In *Emergence vs. Forcing*, Glaser explains how he made pleas to Strauss to not call the method which Strauss and Corbin were detailing as grounded theory, yet the pleas fell on deaf ears. The primary departure of Straussian grounded theory from classic grounded theory – and one of its main criticisms from Glaser – is their axial coding model, which is a highly detailed coding and data analysis process. Glaser (1992, p. 5) and other classic grounded theory researchers (e.g., Holton & Walsh, 2017) insist that it is an overly restrictive process that encourages "forced conceptual description" (p. 5) and is closer to qualitative data analysis than actual grounded theory method. In other words, the researcher is not allowing the data to guide the researcher.

In addition to Classic (Barney Glaser) and Straussian (Anselm Strauss), the third common approach to grounded theory is generally referred to as constructivist grounded theory. This approach to grounded theory is commonly attributed to Kathy Charmaz, who was a doctoral student of both Glaser and Strauss at the University of California, San Francisco in the 1960s (Keller, 2016). Charmaz published *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis* in 2006, which has become the seminal text for constructivist grounded theory. In this approach the personal experience of the individual is the primary focus – "what is important is the participant's narrative" (McCallin, 2009). The constructivist approach gained popularity when certain proponents of grounded theory began to feel that Glaser's classic version had underpinnings that were too positivistic, despite Glaser's claim of it being a-philosophical (Birks & Mills, 2015).

Having three types of the same purported method has expectedly resulted in confusion of the term grounded theory. However, the misuse of the term often goes beyond failing to recognize which category of grounded theory one is using. For example, through his years of reviewing experience with multiple management journals, Suddaby (2006) suggests having many encounters with research projects that claim to be using some form of grounded theory methodology but do not clearly define their approach and are riddled with additional shortcomings. In sum, he states

> 'grounded theory' is often used as rhetorical sleight of hand by authors who are unfamiliar with qualitative research and who wish to avoid close description or illumination of their methods. More disturbing, perhaps, is that it becomes apparent, when one pushes them to describe their methods, that many authors hold some serious misconceptions about grounded theory. (p. 633)

He identifies six common misconceptions framed as what grounded theory is not: 1) not an excuse to ignore the literature; 2) not a presentation of raw data; 3) not theory testing, content analysis, or word counts; 4) not simply routine application of formulaic technique to data; 5) not perfect; and 6) not easy.

These misconceptions continue today across disciplines, and the à la carte approach to conducting grounded theory – choosing parts of the method (typically data analysis) instead of

using the method as a holistic approach to develop theory – is prevalent (O'Reilly, Paper, & Marx, 2012; Walsh, 2014). The next section details how the public administration literature is also guilty of misusing the grounded theory method.

3.2 Grounded Theory in Public Administration Literature

To my knowledge, there are no systemic reviews of the use of grounded theory methodology in public administration literature. The closest is that of Ospina and colleagues (2018) who conducted a systemic review of qualitative research in general in public administration, and included "grounded theory" as one of the 15 keywords used in their review. The keywords were searched for in article abstracts in six top academic journals in the field (based on impact factors) from 2010 through 2014. Of the 129 articles they identified as qualitative studies, only two – one in *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* (JPART) and one in *Public Administration Review* (PAR) – were classified as a study that used grounded theory methodology. This work demonstrates the seemingly low usage of the grounded theory methodology in public administration literature. However, it does not asses the degree to which scholars are claiming to use grounded theory but are instead using the à la carte approach, such as claiming the use of grounded theory for data analysis only.

I built upon the work of Ospina and colleagues by conducting a comprehensive review of the use of the term "grounded theory" in PAR and JPART, the top two journals in the field of public policy and administration according to Google Scholar metrics (Google Scholar, 2018). I searched for the term "grounded theory" located anywhere in the journal – which included book reviews and commentary pieces – and anywhere in the article (i.e., title, keywords, abstract, and full article text) by using the search feature on the journal homepage. Using the journal homepage allowed access to "online first" articles to capture upcoming, to-be-published articles. The JPART homepage on Oxford Academic has access to all JPART articles dating back to the first published issue in 1991. The PAR homepage on Wiley Online Library only has access to PAR issues dating back to 2000. To align with JPART, I searched PAR articles dating back to 1991 using ProQuest. The searches were conducted in July 2018, which provides nearly 30 years of articles for each journal (when including up-coming articles). The articles that were found in the searches were categorized on several dimensions: how the authors used the term "grounded theory"; what grounded theory citations were used (if any); was a grounded theory developed; what additional methods were used (if not grounded theory); and what was the result of the method used. The references for the results of the searches are provided in appendix B.

The search of JPART resulted in 26 articles, ranging in years published from 2006 to 2015. A majority of the articles (19) did not claim to use grounded theory method, yet mentioned the term in some capacity. Of these 19, thirteen mentioned the term in a commentary fashion (e.g., book review, referencing other study); 5 were qualitative data analysis studies that cited Strauss and Corbin (1990) in the coding and analysis section; and 1 cited Glaser and Strauss (1967) but claimed to use a "hermeneutic spiral" method with a case study.

The remaining 7 JPART articles that claimed to use grounded theory varied in their use of grounded theory concepts. Five of the articles equated the grounded theory method to some form of qualitative data analysis only, with none developing an actual grounded theory. Three of

these 5 articles cited Glaser and Strauss (1967), one cited Strauss (1987), and one cited no grounded theory method texts. The remaining two of the seven articles may be said to have conducted a grounded theory study. The author of one of the studies used a constructivist approach (citing Charmaz, 2006) and described his method classic grounded theory language (e.g., analytical memoing, theoretical coding; see Lens, 2009). However, this study failed to produce a cohesive and abstract theory, and rather focused on descriptive categories. The author of the final study did not describe in substantial detail how she implemented the grounded theory method (e.g., did not mention theoretical sampling, memoing, etc.) and appeared to focus on a preconceived research topic rather than on an emergent main concern. However, she did produce an abstract theory grounded in the substantive area (see DeHart-Davis, 2009)

The search of PAR resulted in 27 articles, ranging in years published from 1991 to 2018. Unlike JPART, only slightly more than half the articles (19) did not claim to use grounded theory, but mentioned the term in some capacity. Of the 19 articles, 16 articles mentioned the term as part of a review of prior research (10) or in a book review (6), and 3 were articles that reviewed methods.

Similar to JPART, the remaining 18 articles that claimed to use grounded theory varied in their use of grounded theory concepts. Fifteen of the 18 articles did not produce an actual grounded theory but instead produced case study or qualitative data analysis findings, typically in the form of themes. Grounded theory was largely used by the authors of these articles as a synonym for theme-based data analysis that lacked a detailed description of method. The misuse of the term grounded theory can be seen in the following examples:

- "This study also relies on preliminary field data to guide the project through grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967)." (Liebert, 2010, p. 394)
- "This research uses grounded theory methodology to draw general propositions from an empirical examination of the role and influence of nonprofits as perceived within a particular policy context." (Fyall, 2016, p. 940)

One of the fifteen articles mentioned that they also included memoing as part of their grounded theory method, but the study still failed to produce a theory (Bartels, Cozzi, Mantovan, 2013). The use of grounded theory texts was mixed: 8 cited Glaser and Strauss (1967), 5 cited Strauss and Corbin (1990) or a later revision, and two cited Charmaz (2006). The latter two articles, while not producing a grounded theory, did note that they were focusing on a narrative-type inquiry, which aligns with the constructivist grounded theory approach (Bartels et al., 2013; Henderson, 2013).

The remaining three articles claimed to use grounded theory method and produced a grounded theory, but each failed to adequately include grounded theory concepts in their description of their method. The first study (see Bryer, 2009) cited Glaser and Strauss (1967) as their approach, but failed to incorporate any of the classic grounded theory package, including the aspects of the coding process (i.e., they adopted a different approach). The second study (see Romzek, LeRoux, Blackmar, 2012) cited the use of coding consistent with Strauss (1987), but did not describe the theory building method in detail. The misuse of the term can be seen in how they define grounded theory: "Grounded theory analysis is a qualitative method of gathering,

analyzing, and interpreting data that is designed especially for generating and testing theory" (p. 452). The third study (see Waring, Currie, & Bishop, 2013) used Strauss and Corbin (1990) as their guiding text and provided more detail than other articles around their coding and theory development process. Aligned with grounded theory method, they summarize their study as "…involve[ing] an iterative process of close reading of data, coding, constant comparison, elaboration of emerging themes, and reengagement with the wider literature" (p. 317). While this study was the best article found that describes their theory development process in alignment with grounded theory, they still failed to utilize (or at least describe) the entire grounded theory package.

Based on the results of the review of the top two journals in the field of public administration, it is appropriate to assume that public administration scholars either do not have a clear understanding of the grounded theory method, or need improvement with describing their use of grounded theory methods. Most articles equated grounded theory with analyzing qualitative data (typically from interviews) by coding data and discovering emergent themes. While such research may be rigorously completed and produces insightful results, it is not a grounded theory study. For example, nearly all studies failed to mention if theoretical sampling guided data collection; if memos were recorded during data collection and analysis and how the memos further guided the collection and analysis; and if theoretical coding and sorting of memos was used to bring together concepts and raise the level of abstraction. I elaborate on these practices in the following section as I describe the full classic grounded theory package.

3.3 Classic Grounded Theory Package

In this section I detail the classic grounded theory methodology, which Glaser (1998) refers to as the classic grounded theory "package". There are multiple systematic processes within the package that a researcher conducts in an iterative fashion to produce a new theory grounded in empirical data. These processes and key methodological terms are defined.

3.3.1 Types of grounded theory. The goal of classic grounded theory is to generate a new, "grounded" theory from the "ground up". *Grounded theory* is in contrast to logico-deductive, or conjecture-based, theory, which Glaser and Strauss (1967) deride as theory that is

> … dubiously related to the area of behavior it purports to explain, since it was merely though op on the basis of *a priori* assumption and a touch of common sense, peppered with a few old theoretical speculations made by the erudite. (p. 29)

A grounded theory is typically generated and presented as a running theoretical discussion that explains or predicts something, which is usually something related to social behavior (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Similarly, Gregor (2006) describes theory as "abstract entities that aim to describe, explain, and enhance understanding of the world and, in some cases, to provide predictions of what will happen in the future and to give a basis for intervention and action" (p. 616). This is also similar to Whetten's (1989) building blocks of theory development: what and how (the descriptive elements of the world); why (the underlying explanation of what and how); and who, where, when (the temporal and contextual factors that constitute the range of the theory). Generating and presenting theory as a running theoretical discussion also gives a theory the feel that it is "ever-developing", as opposed to theory that appears to be frozen is time when generated and presented as propositional statements (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

The new grounded theory produced in a classic grounded theory study can be either a substantive grounded or a formal grounded theory. A *substantive grounded theory* goes beyond description and moves into explanation (and possibly prediction) but remains limited to the substantive area of inquiry (Holton & Walsh, 2017). A *formal grounded theory* begins with a substantive theory but "extends the applicability of a substantive grounded theory across contexts, settings, or both" (Holton & Walsh, 2017, p. 21); in other words, it increases the generalizability of the theory. This is accomplished through theoretical sampling from different substantive areas. Before doing so, a researcher can begin the process of moving from substantive to formal grounded theory by theorizing and documenting how the substantive theory has potential general implications beyond the substantive area of study.

3.3.2 Trusting in emergence. Fundamental to the systematic and iterative processes within the package is the idea of *emergence*. This is the idea that the researcher does not force his or her preconceptions (or academic interests) onto the data and instead allows those in the empirical setting to demonstrate what social phenomena is important:

> The researcher enters the field and explores a substantive area by allowing the chief concerns of those actively engaged therein to guide the emergence of a core issue or problem. The conceptualization of that issue (or problem) becomes the basis for the articulation of a grounded theory that explains how the issue is processed, managed or resolved. (Holton & Walsh, 2017, p. 30)

Two key classic grounded theory terms related to emergence are the main concern and the core category. The *main concern* is the issue or problem that is at the center of the action in the substantive area. This is typically viewed as whatever is important, time-consuming, etc. for the people in the substantive area of study, and not the preconceived concern of the researcher. Discovering the main concern through emergence is crucial to the method as it organizes the research around a topic to be developed into a theory that has relevance for the people in the substantive area (Glaser, 1998).

Discovery of the main concern leads to the discovery of the *core category* (also referred to as core variable or concept), which explains "how the main concern in the area under study is processed, managed, or resolved by its accounting for much of the variation in the way the main concern is addressed" (Holton & Walsh, 2017, p. 211). In other words, how the people in the substantive area address their most pressing or important problem. For example, a main concern of individuals employed in the construction industry is the ability to seek accurate information quickly; the core category is wayfinding, which involves implementing multiple strategies to get the information needed (Jones, 2016). The main concern of addicts during addiction and recovery is pain; the core category is pain resolving through multiple strategies (e.g., instantaneous; Kim-Lok, Megat Ahmad, Bahari, & Voo, 2016)

3.3.3 Selecting a substantive area of study. Before a relying on emergence to discover the main concern and core category, a classic grounded theory research must choose the *substantive area* of study – "The grounded theory researcher starts with an area of interest, not a professionally preconceived problem" (Glaser, 1998, p. 118). Choosing a substantive area will likely be influenced by the researcher's interests and prior experiences (Holton & Walsh, 2017). In fact, Glaser (1998) recommends that to gain and maintain the motivation to complete a grounded theory study, a researcher should consider "a substantive area that bears on a deep,

abiding life cycle interest, such as fertility, uncoupling in divorces, getting a college degree for older women, etc. etc. (p. 48). The key is to select an area of personal interest, and not expect to know the main problem within that area. For example, Glaser and Strauss were studying dying in hospitals as the substantive area of inquiry, and found that awareness of dying was the main concern that emerged (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). If one is interested in studying divorce, this will lead them to study the area of divorce, but they should make a priori selections about the specifics of the divorce process, such as cheating or uncoupling (Glaser, 1998).

Studies using classic grounded theory methodology have been used in a variety of substantive areas. For example, dying in American hospitals (Glaser & Strauss, 1967); using open source e-learning platforms with students and professors (Walsh, 2014); subordinates' understanding of leadership in reformed bureaucracies (Jones & Kriflik, 2006); and understanding effective organizational rules of city government employees (DeHart-Davis, 2009). The main concern and core category that emerge from the substantive area of inquiry will be constrained (to an extent) based on the researcher's selection of the substantive area itself. For example, coming to terms with delfiniphobia (i.e., a fear of dolphins) is highly unlikely to be the main concern in a grounded theory study on the use of an e-learning software platform. Thus, it is important for the researcher to be cognizant of why they selected a certain substantive area to reflect on how this may impact the research (Holton & Walsh, 2017).

3.3.4 Existing literature. Similar to selecting a substantive area, it is important to understand how the researcher's knowledge of existing literature related to the substantive area may influence the study. The ability of a researcher to enter a chosen field of study with a complete blank slate is a myth of grounded theory methodology (Suddaby, 2006). While a thorough review of existing literature related to the substantive area is to be held in abeyance until core concepts have emerged, many classic grounded theorists have used the existing literature in order to frame the substantive area and direct initial theoretical sampling (Elliott & Higgins, 2012; Giles et al., 2013). The concern is to not allow existing literature to limit potential conceptual topics or to guide the bounds of data collection, such as through the creation of specific interview questions (Elliott & Higgins, 2012; Holton & Walsh, 2017). Following classic grounded theory methodology – particularly the process of expressing self-awareness through analytical memo writing – affords the researcher the opportunity to make salient any preconceptions and to question how they are impacting the research process (Giles et al., 2013). Once the main concern and core categories have emerged, existing literature related to the substantive area, main concern, or core categories can be treated like data and integrated into the developing theory

3.3.5 Data collection and data analysis. How data is perceived and how data collection and analysis are carried out in classic grounded theory methodology contrasts sharply with positivist traditions of the research process (Suddaby, 2006). When utilizing classic grounded theory methodology, the researcher has to accept the foundational idea that "all is data" (Glaser, 1998, p. 8). This means that the grounded theorist is not limited as to what types of data are appropriate for analysis, as long as it is relevant to the main concern and core category (once discovered).

When using classic grounded theory methodology, a researcher must also adopt the concept that data collection and analysis is a linear collection-then-analysis process. A classic grounded theory study is an iterative, nonlinear process where the researcher continually analyzes and asks questions of the data being collected. Not all data is collected before analysis begins (Birks & Mills, 2015). Choosing data to sample is guided by the process of *theoretical sampling* – this process intentionally "…violates the ideal of hypothesis testing in that the direction of new data collection is determined, not by a priori hypotheses, but by ongoing interpretation of data and emerging conceptual categories" (Suddaby, 2006, p. 634). Data is collected to conceptually elaborate the emerging theory. Glaser and Strauss (1967) suggest that through theoretical sampling the researcher "jointly collects, codes and analyzes data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them in order to develop his theory as it emerges" (p. 45). The theoretical sampling process is deductive – the researcher must deduce the continued path of data to be sampled based on initial data collection. The new data to be collected must have theoretical purpose and relevance (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). For example, when using open-ended qualitative interviews as the initial data collection method the theoretical sampling process will guide the researcher to modify additional, future interviews. The direction of the additional interviews will be to cover topics that serve the purpose of "… furthering the development of emerging categories" that were discovered in the initial interviews (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 49). Concepts discovered in initial interviews may also guide the research to sample other forms of data, such as existing secondary data (e.g., organizational policies or reports).

Determining the end of data sampling does not rely on a priori criteria – such as conducting a specific number of interviews – and instead falls to the researcher to assess *theoretical saturation*. As described by Glaser and Strauss (1967), "The criteria for determining saturation… are a combination of the empirical limits of the data, the integration and density of the theory and the analyst's theoretical sensitivity" (p. 62). While saturation is signaled by "repetition of information and confirmation of existing conceptual categories", the researcher's assessment of the quality of the theory and the bounds of the data ultimately guide saturation decisions (Suddaby, 2006, p. 639).

The data analysis process in the classic grounded theory package is called *constant comparative analysis* (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This type of analysis involves the ongoing comparing of data at multiple levels of conceptual abstraction. The lowest level is comparing empirical incidents (collected through theoretical sampling) between each other in order to generate higher level concepts. Next, new empirical incidents are compared with emerging concepts as well as the existing and new empirical incidents that are being collected. New empirical incidents "build and substantiate these [emergent concepts] with property and dimensional definition" (Holton & Walsh, 2017, p. 35). Lastly, concepts are compared with concepts in order to generate theoretical relationships, hypotheses, and ultimately a theoretical integrated substantive grounded theory (Holton & Walsh, 2017).

Data analysis in the constant comparative process can be conceptually separated into substantive and theoretical coding processes. *Substantive coding* consists of both open coding and selective coding. *Open coding* of the data is used to discover and code *incidents*, or "indictors of phenomena or experiences as observed or articulated in the data" (Holton & Walsh, 2017, p. 77). During the open coding process, the researcher remains primarily at a descriptive level of analysis and uses *descriptive codes* to describe any type of information about an incident. The researcher will also use *analytic codes* further along in the open coding process.

These codes involve interpretation and reflection of the data to conceptualize the meaning behind the incident (Holton & Walsh, 2017; Richards, 2015). A valuable coding technique that can be implemented during substantive coding is *in vivo coding*, which captures what is going on in the incident by using the direct language from the text being analyzed (Richards, 2015). During open coding, the research is to undergo constant comparative analysis, which will result in the emergence of higher-level concepts. Incidents are compared to these concepts in order to elaborate and saturate the concept's properties – latent, qualitative characteristics – and dimensions – measurable components (Holton & Walsh, 2017). Comparison is conducted between concepts in order to establish further abstracted latent patterns called categories (Holton & Walsh, 2017).

During open coding, the main concern, core category, and related sub-core categories will begin to emerge. Once this begins to occur, the researcher switches to *selective coding*, which is where the researcher codes data to further saturate the core and sub-core categories by identifying properties and dimensions of categories (Holton & Walsh, 2017). This focuses the research process on the emergent main concern and places limits on the scope of the emerging theory. The focus of the research is also aided by the researcher continually reflecting on key data analysis questions during the coding and constant comparative analysis processes: "what is this a study of", "what category does this incident indicate", "what property of what category does this incident indicate" (Glaser, 1998, p. 123), "what is the issue facing the participants", and "what is their main concern and how do they manage or resolve it" (Holton & Walsh, 2017, p. 82). This reflection process has additional benefits, such as accounting for personal biases, encouraging a reliance on emergence instead of researcher preconceptions of what is expected of the data (Elliott & Higgins, 2012; Giles, King, de Lacey, 2013; Hoflund, 2013).

A key classic grounded theory process that occurs during constant comparative analysis is analytical *memo writing* (or *memoing*), defined by Glaser (1978, p. 83) as "… the theorizing write-up of ideas about codes [and categories] and their relationships as they strike the analyst." The importance of memoing to the classic grounded theory package cannot be understated; Glaser even focused one of his monographs strictly on memoing (see Glaser, 2014). Memos represent the process of taking the descriptive data and moving it to a conceptual level. This requires a dual role of remaining focused on the data and also considering a free play of ideas that raise the conceptual level of the data. This is described by Locke (2007, p. 570) as "… staying firmly and single-mindedly in touch with what it is we are trying to understand at the same time as we open and loosen up our thinking to roam freely." There are no formal guidelines on the form of memos – they may be anything from incomplete sentences to grammatic paragraphs. The intent of actual memo writing is to focus on content, and not grammar or syntax, to capture the essence of an idea related to the study (Glaser, 2014). Multiple memos must be written to create a *memo fund* – a collection of memos about different codes, categories, and conceptual ideas – that serves as a link between coded data and theoretical abstraction that occurs during theoretical coding (Glaser, 2014).

3.3.6 Constructing and shaping the grounded theory. Memoing continues throughout the duration of the study as additional memos may strike the researcher during theoretical coding. *Theoretical coding* is key to classic grounded theory methodology as it is the stage where the analysis moves beyond conceptual description to abstract theory elaboration that is beyond the substantive area. The process of theoretical coding "… captures our innate ability for perceiving latent patterns that organize relevant related concepts to provide a full explanation of

the emergent theory's resolving or managing of a main concern" (Holton & Walsh, 2017, p. 105). Theoretical codes conceptualize how parts of the data – codes, categories, memos – relate to other parts and integrate into a theory. The process of using theoretical codes to integrate the data is called *theoretical sorting*. The goal of this process is "… to find the emergent fit of all ideas so that everything fits somewhere with parsimony and scope and with no relevant concepts omitted" (Holton & Walsh, 2017, p. 109). During this process the researcher will continue to understand which concepts are theoretically saturated, which require further elaboration through additional data collection, and which may be dropped from theory integration due to their low relevance to the rest of the data and the main concern (Holton & Walsh, 2017). The word "sorting" comes from the idea that a researcher is to physically hand-sort memos written on pieces of paper guided by theoretical codes to visually model and integrate a theory. While theoretical sorting is a must, the use of physical hand-sorting is debatable due to the availability of advanced computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). Classic grounded theory purists swear by hand-sorting, while others suggest CAQDAS is just as effective, if not more.

The most common theoretical code is the *basic social process*. This is a code where the resolution of the main concern and the relationships between core categories are explained through stages or processes that have a time dimension; there are beginnings and ends of the stages (Glaser, 1978). Other theoretical codes include casual-consequence (i.e., independent-dependent variable model), dimensions (i.e., a whole is best explained by its parts), and interactive effects (i.e., the interaction between two or more variables without knowing which came first; Glaser, 1978). A researcher's *theoretical sensitivity* – the ability to conceptualize and formulate theory – is improved by reading about and becoming knowledgeable of multiple theoretical codes (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Improving one's theoretical sensitivity helps to ensure that theoretical codes "earn their way into the theory" and are not forced onto the data due to the researchers lack of awareness of appropriate theoretical codes (Glaser, 1998, p. 164). Lack of theoretical sensitivity may lead to the overuse of a researcher's "pet" theoretical code with which that are overly comfortable and familiar (Glaser, 2005). Glaser has written extensively on types of theoretical codes, particularly within *Theoretical Sensitivity, Doing Grounded Theory*, and *The Grounded Theory Perspective III: Theoretical Coding* (see Glaser, 1978; 1998; 2005).

3.3.7 Writing the theory. Once the researcher has amassed a large memo fund and conducted theoretical sorting, the researcher will understand the level of theoretical completeness of the theory. It is at this time that the researcher will feel a "readiness to write" moment and should write the first draft of the theory (Glaser, 2012, p. 4). Classic grounded theory methodology also diverges from the typical research process in the emphasis on the importance of writing the theory (see Glaser, 2012). In a grounded theory study "writing demands more than mere reporting" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 289) as it is the culmination of the researcher's conceptualization of the theory in written, formal text. During the writing process, the researcher must explain that the theory was developed based on a "slice of reality" in time based on the substantive area; but the theory is to be conveyed as "independent of time and place" as much as possible (Glaser, 1978, p. 129). In other words, "The dictum is to write conceptually, by making theoretical statements about the relationship between concepts, rather than writing descriptive statements about people" (Glaser, 1978, p. 133). Descriptive statements about the indicators are used to support the theory and are not the primary focus; the theory is the central story to convey.

The theory should also be positioned in the relevant existing literature during the writing process – how does it align and how does it contrast with what's already been written. This may include literature related to the theory, the substantive area, or specific categories of the theory (Glaser, 1998).

After drafts have been worked and reworked, the researcher may feel compelled to continue to collect more data and continue to expand the theory. This may be a strong feeling since a good grounded theory has the ability to be modified and thus does not have a definitive "end". However, the researcher must "… just accept this fact and finish as sorted and planned", accounting for the ideas and directions he was unable to include as suggestions for future research (Glaser, 1978, p. 140). As described by Glaser (1998, p. 205), "The grounded theory package ends with a public product" so ending with a final written product is a necessity.

3.3.8 Pacing the research process. An additional concept that is an atypical consideration of the traditional research process but is discussed frequently by Glaser is the need for the classic grounded theorist to pace the research process. This involves developing a personal pacing recipe that integrates the development of the grounded theory study with the researcher's life outside the study (Glaser, 1978). This recipe helps to establish deadlines and goals, and ensures that the researcher does not become overworked and demotivated such that they never finish writing the theory. Developing a grounded theory takes time. It requires the researcher to trust the processes in the classic grounded theory package and to have patience. Many significant theoretical realizations come with extensive familiarity with the data as it grows and matures – Glaser (1978, p. 24) suggests that "It may be required that the analyst put the ideas away for a few months before he can return to them refreshed and ready to rework them in more memos and writing." By following the package, the researcher will be able to leave the research and return to it with little need to backtrack (Glaser, 1998).

3.4 Summary

The term "grounded theory" is used to describe a way to conduct research (i.e., a methodology) and also the product of that research (i.e., a grounded theory). It was developed by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss during the 1960s and has since fractured into three distinct methodological approaches: Classic (Glaser's approach), Straussian, and Constructivist approaches. Confusion with the term is a multi-disciplinary concern and is evidenced in public administration literature. When referenced it is generally described as a form of data analysis and not a holistic research approach. Only a few public administration articles in the top two journals in the field over the past 30 years have incorporated aspects of grounded theory beyond data analysis. However, none used (or at least documented) the complete grounded theory "package", which has been elaborated extensively by Barney Glaser over the past 50 years. The package details the research process from inception to completion; key concepts include trusting in emergence, theoretical sampling, constant comparative analysis, memoing, theoretical sorting, and writing up the theory. Glaser encourages potential classic grounded theorists to trust the process, create a personal pacing recipe, and continually hone their theoretical sensitivity.

Chapter 4. Methodology

In this chapter I describe how I implemented the classic grounded theory methodology in my study. The procedures I describe in this chapter follow the structure suggested by Creswell (2014) for qualitative research (with slight modifications). This structure is appropriate for a classic grounded theory study, particularly because I used qualitative interviewing as my primary data collection method.

4.1 Philosophical Perspective

It is important for a researcher to understand their own philosophical worldview as they approach designing a research study (Cresswell, 2014). Classic grounded theory methodology is an "a-philosophical" method as it does not presuppose a certain understanding of the world and can accommodate any philosophical stance (e.g., positivism, constructivism) using quantitative or qualitative data (Glaser, 2005). However, this does not infer that a researcher's philosophical stance or worldview will have no impact on the research to some extent, particularly in selecting the substantive area of focus for the study (Holton & Walsh, 2017). Additionally, the data coding process is based on a researcher's idiosyncratic interpretation of the data and what it represents. I followed procedures of classic grounded theory methodology that account for idiosyncratic interpretations – such as constant comparative analysis – to ensure that my interpretations are grounded in the empirical data. In addition, I included an intercoder reliability process to ensure the reliability of my coding, and, in turn, to ensure that theory I developed is grounded in data.

The pluralistic philosophical perspective of pragmatism has been suggested as well-suited to both classic grounded theory research (Nathaniel, 2011) and research in general in public administration (Whetsell & Shields, 2011). The late nineteenth and early twentieth American philosophers John Dewey, William James, and Charles Peirce are typically attributed as being the fathers of pragmatism as a philosophy (Ansell, 2016; Nathaniel, 2011). They framed a pragmatist ontology as a world view that focuses on anti-dualism and process (Farjoun, Ansell, & Boin, 2015). Anti-dualism refers to the rejection of imposed dichotomies of knowledge and conceptual dualistic categories (e.g., action and cognition). Pragmatists dispute constructed dualisms "…through an appreciation of the continuity and interdependence of phenomena and by seeing categories as recursively related to one another" (Farjoun et al., 2015, p. 1790). Regarding process, the pragmatist views the world as under perpetual change (i.e., it is a work in progress), and thus recognizes the "necessity of a continuous reconstruction of beliefs" to fit with the changing world (Murray, 1912, p. 8). This idea of reconstruction is intricately related to the pragmatist's epistemological perspective related to the concept of experience and the continual evolution of knowledge – humans continually observe and experience natural world signs, understand them through their own interpretation, and organize them into concepts to make sense of the world (Hothersall, 2018; Nathaniel, 2011). In other words, pragmatists' view knowledge as existing "… in the form of statements or theories which are best seen as instruments or tools; coping mechanisms, not once-and-for-all-time truths" (Bryant, 2009, p. 19).

Adopting a pragmatist perspective during research requires acceptance that all knowledge is temporary and will be surpassed by other knowledge sometime in the future. Knowledge is judged by its usefulness in time and context. A pragmatic approach to inquiry and research is not a commitment to any single methodological approach (Hothersall, 2018). This pragmatist position on research and knowledge relates to Glaser's (1998) position on what constitutes, in

part, a quality classic grounded theory: it has practical utility to those in the substantive area (relevance) and is flexible enough to encompass new data (modifiability). As a researcher, I tend not to subscribe to a single philosophical perspective and believe that adopting a single perspective restrains a researcher's ability to fully explore and explain complex social phenomena. I feel that my perspective as a researcher aligns well with pragmatism's pluralistic and evolutionary position on what constitutes knowledge.

4.2 Research Design

In this study I used a classic grounded theory research design that utilized the full classic grounded theory package, which includes the processes of theoretical sampling, constant comparative analysis, substantive and theoretical coding, memoing, and theoretical sorting. In the study I focused on producing a substantive grounded theory. I also began the process of moving from substantive grounded theory to formal grounded theory (i.e., increasing generalizability) by theorizing and documenting how the substantive theory I developed has implications outside of the substantive area. I selected qualitative, open-ended interviewing as the primary data collection method. Such interviews are typically used in the initial stages of theory development – and particularly within classic grounded theory studies – due to their high yield of rich, descriptive data that affords itself to abstract conceptualization beyond the immediate area under study (Glaser, 1998; Rubin & Rubin, 2005).

I chose classic grounded theory methodology for this study for multiple reasons. First, even though complete objectivity is an ideal I believe that adhering to the classic grounded theory package ensures a substantial level of objectivity when conducting research. I believe this is particularly important when conducting inductive research as the researcher himself acts as a tool of interpretation and has influence on the outcome of the research. Second, Straussian and constructivist approaches to grounded theory are more stringent than classic grounded theory in terms of their approach towards and interpretation of data, which I believe is counterintuitive to exploratory, inductive theory development. Third, to the best of my knowledge a study that adheres to the entire classic grounded theory package has not been conducted in the substantive area I have selected nor represented in governance or collaboration-related literature in public administration. Fourth, classic grounded theory is well suited to studying management and organizations (Locke, 2001). For example, the initially open research style of classic grounded theory allows the researcher to adapt to the complicated interactions inherent in organizations; and the theory that is produced links well to practice as it is grounded in a substantive area (Locke, 2001). Lastly, a classic grounded theory approach affords the opportunity to provide an original contribution of a limited preconception theory (Glaser, 2016), which I believe is needed in collaboration-related literature in public administration.

4.3 Research Setting (Substantive Area) Selection and Description

The substantive area of my study is the Pennsylvania Bureau of Forestry (the Bureau). I selected the Bureau because it is a traditional government agency with substantial administrative authority and discretion; and the nature of the work of the Bureau (e.g., managing public land that is open to various forms of public use) requires collaborating with individuals and organizations outside of traditional agency boundaries. Additionally, state forestry is an under-studied public service. Forest systems within the United States in general receive less scholarly attention than forest systems in the other areas of the globe (Dartmouth College, 2017). Further, research that has been done with U.S. forests generally focuses on the federal level forest system

(i.e., National Forests and the U.S. Forest Service), with much less focus on forest governance at the state level (Koontz, 2007). Yet, over 53 million acres of forest land in the United States are under state jurisdiction (National Research Council, 1998); and approximately 2.2 million of those 53 million acres are Pennsylvania state forest lands (DCNR, 2017a). Those 2.2 million acres account for approximately 13 percent of all of Pennsylvania's forestland, a state that has forest land as over half (approximately 55 percent) of the entire land base (DCNR, 2017a; USDA Forest Service, 2018). Over two-thirds of Pennsylvania's counties (48 out of 67) have state forest land within their boundaries (DCNR, 2017a). These facts emphasize the importance of effective governance of state forestland to Pennsylvanians.

The Bureau is the state government agency under the Pennsylvania Department of Conservation and Natural Resources (DCNR) that is responsible for the approximately 2.2 million acres of state forest land, in addition to providing multiple support services related to conservation to the general public and private forest land owners throughout the state (DCNR, 2017a). The legal authority of the Bureau can be traced back to Article I, Section 27 of Pennsylvania's constitution:

> The people have a right to clean air, pure water, and to the preservation of the natural, scenic, historic and esthetic values of the environment. Pennsylvania's public natural resources are the common property of all the people, including generations yet to come. As trustee of these resources, the Commonwealth shall conserve and maintain them for the benefit of all the people. (DCNR, 2017a, p. 21)

The operating budget of the Bureau in 2016 was approximately $65 million. It is a unique state agency in terms of its funding as 89 percent ($57.9 million) of the 2016 budget came directly from resource management activities on state forest land (i.e., timber sales and oil and gas lease royalties). The remaining 11 percent ($7.1 million) of funding came from the state's General Operating Fund (DCNR, 2017a).

The Bureau is organized into a single central office located in the state capital (Harrisburg) and 20 forest district offices. The central office includes the State Forester's Office – the head office of the Bureau which is responsible for coordinating overall operations of the Bureau including budgeting, program direction, and resource management – and multiple Bureau divisions which provide support for various district forest operations (e.g., forest health, service foresting). The entire state is portioned into 20 forest districts with a district office located in each district. The district offices are responsible for administering Bureau policy and programs on the ground within the bounds of their district. One District Forester (District Manager) provides oversight of each district, and typically has two Assistant District Foresters (Assistant District Managers) that split the various duties of the district. Appendix C provides an example of the typical district office structure, but districts have the discretion to create structures as they see fit and most do. For example, the duties split between Assistant District Foresters are often not as clearly defined as in the example and typically overlap.

The districts vary in size of coverage of the state and in the acreage of state forest land within their district (see Appendix D for a district map of the state). For example, William Penn has the smallest acreage in terms of state forest land (1,414 acres) but is one of the largest districts in terms of its coverage of the state (DCNR, 2017a). On the other hand, Sproul has the largest state forest acreage (307,138 acres) but is a one of the smallest districts.

The term social-ecological system (SES) can be used to describe the web of relationships between the Bureau and its stakeholders (social) and the forest resource that is managed and used (ecological). The SES framework was designed to create a common understanding among multiple scientific disciplines of human's interactions with natural resource systems (e.g., forests, fisheries; Ostrom, 2009; Ostrom, Cox, & Schlager, 2014; Thiel, Adamseged, & Baake, 2015). Within this SES, the District and Assistant District managers of the Bureau are charged with implementing state forest policies and have an influential role in shaping what those policies look like in action (Koontz 2002). Additionally, Koontz (2007) demonstrated that government agencies responsible for state forest management generally have substantial discretion in policy implementation and forest management practices. Thus, the actions that occur at the district-level within the Bureau have a large impact on the governance of the state forest SES. A key factor in successful governance of SESs is the ability to proactively foster government oversight that is adaptive to the demands of local context (Koontz, Gupta, Mudliar, & Ranjan, 2015). So, while the Bureau is a traditional government agency that allows substantial administrative authority and discretion within its structure, all districts are actively engaged in collaborating with stakeholders outside of traditional agency boundaries (particularly stakeholders within local contexts) to successfully maintain and conserve Pennsylvania's forests on behalf of its citizens.

As a researcher conducting a classic grounded theory study, it is necessary to identify any personal influence related to my substantive area selection and how this may have introduced preconceptions to the study. My personal interest in selecting the Pennsylvania state forest system as my substantive area is because I am interested in sub-national government agencies, and particularly how they implement policy that involves interactions with citizens and nongovernmental organizations. I am also personally interested in environmental and conservation policy in general, but I had little experience with environmental policy or forest management prior to conducting this study. Glaser (1978; 1998) views this lack of prior experience with the substantive area as being beneficial to the researcher's theoretical sensitivity and the study itself – my lack of knowledge in these areas limits my preconceptions of what to expect as the important action that is occurring in the substantive area, which in turn improves the concept emergence process.

4.4 Data Collection

A classic grounded theory study is an iterative, nonlinear process where the researcher continually analyzes and asks questions of the data being collected. Not all data is collected before analysis begins (Birks & Mills, 2015). I separated the data collection and analysis sections in this methodology for descriptive clarity of the procedures.

According to Glaser (1998, p.8), "all is data". This means that the grounded theorist is not limited as to what types of data are appropriate for analysis, as long as the data are relevant to the substantive area and the core concern (once discovered). The initial and primary data collection method in my study was conducting qualitative interviews with Pennsylvania Bureau of Forestry District and Assistant District Managers.

4.4.1 Qualitative interviewing. Qualitative interviewing is an appropriate data collection method when the research problem requires a new perspective (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Qualitative interviewing also affords the researcher the opportunity to gather a wealth of data (Richards, 2015). Both gaining a new perspective of a problem and obtaining a wealth of data are

useful for starting a classic grounded theory study (Holton & Walsh, 2017). Qualitative interviewing achieves depth of understanding "…by going after context; dealing with the complexity of multiple overlapping and sometimes conflicting themes; and paying attention to the specifics of meanings, situations, and history" (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 35). This is accomplished by remaining flexible to new information that is received during the interview and using follow-up questions (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Remaining open to the emergence of key concepts and topics is crucial in the early stages of classic grounded theory methodology. Qualitative interviewing is used extensively in public administration settings (Luton, 2010), and has also been used to explore interorganizational collaboration practices (e.g., Okamoto, 2001). Frequently, however, these studies end with a qualitative data analysis of transcribed interviews, which typically involves reporting results of line-by-line coding. They do not reach a level of conceptual abstraction and theory development that is produced when following the entire classic grounded theory package.

As the first step in the qualitative interviewing process, I conducted a cursory review of the Bureau website and the DCNR 2016 State Forest Resource Management Plan (DCNR, 2017a) to gain a basic understanding of the organizational structure of the Bureau and forest management operations. Orienting oneself (cursorily) to the field of the interviewee is a recommended practice in qualitative interviewing. Not doing so may present the interviewee with a negative impression that the study is not important and that the interviewer is not interested in what the interviewee has to say; which may greatly impact the course of the interview (Rubin & Rubin, 2005).

The second step in the process involved gaining access to Bureau employees to conduct interview. Gaining entry requires finding the organizational "gatekeeper" (Holton & Walsh, 2017; Rubin & Rubin, 2005). My finding the gatekeeper for the Bureau of Forestry was aided by the Center for Rural Pennsylvania, who partially funded the research for my study through a competitively awarded research grant (i.e., this study was part of the larger research project funded by the Center). To obtain the research grant, the Center required that my study receive approval from Penn State's Institutional Review Board (IRB). The IRB approved the study as exempt research (i.e., it does not require formal IRB review). Upon award of the grant, the Center helped to establish a meeting between myself and the Forest Resource Planning Section of the Bureau to allow the opportunity to introduce the research project and to gain permission to contact the Bureau's district and assistant district managers for interviewing (DCNR, 2017b). I selected these individuals as the initial interviewees in accordance with theoretical sampling as they are knowledgeable and experienced in the substantive area and are expected to provide rich information for initial data collection (Birks & Mills, 2015). I was invited to conduct a presentation of the research project at a quarterly district and assistant district managers' meeting. This served as a forum to introduce myself, the study, and my request for interview participation to nearly all district and assistant district managers. This introduction to participants proved to be a valuable means to gain participation as most managers were open and eager to speak with me. I was also able to interview several managers on site at the meeting. Following the meeting, representatives from the Forest Resource Planning Section provided Bureau email addresses for all of the district and assistant district managers. I developed a recruitment email that I used to contact additional district and assistant district managers that I did not interview at the meeting (see Appendix E) when I conducted additional theoretical sampling (described in

section 4.5). By having the opportunity to introduce myself and the study at the meeting, I was not "cold-emailing" potential interview participants, and they were not surprised or confused about my request for interview participation, which proved invaluable.

Interviews were voluntary and all district and assistant district managers that were contacted were open to participating in the interviews. I obtained verbal consent to participate in the interview from each participant. Written consent to participate was not required per the IRB's determination of the research as exempt. Prior to each interview I reviewed the "Consent for Exempt Research" form found in Appendix F with each participant and provided them with a copy of the form. The form reiterated that participation was voluntary and that they could stop the interview at any time. I provided a brief overview of the purpose of the study and verbally confirmed their voluntary participation before conducting the actual interview.

Each of the 20 forest districts have a district manager. Eighteen of the forest districts have two assistant district managers, and the remaining two districts have one (due to the small size of the district). I conducted a total of 57 interviews over seven months' time. Twenty interviews were with district managers, 35 with assistant district managers, and two with executive directors of statewide nonprofits that frequently engage with the districts. The large majority of the interviews (52) were conducted in-person. Ten of those conducted in-person were conducted at the statewide Bureau manager's meeting at a hotel conference center in State College, Pennsylvania. The remaining 42 were conducted at the various district offices and nonprofit organization offices. Five interviews were conducted via telephone due to scheduling conflicts. In-person interviews are generally preferred over telephonic as they usually produce richer qualitative information; yet telephonic interviews have merit and are more practical at times than scheduling in-person interviews (Irvine, Drew & Sainsbury, 2013). The length of the interviews ranged from 20 minutes to slightly over one hour. Most interviews lasted between 30 and 40 minutes.

The two interviews that I conducted with executive directors of statewide nonprofits that frequently engage with the districts were based on theoretical sampling – the nonprofits were mentioned across multiple interviews as long-time collaborators. This type of snowball sampling has been used in previous classic grounded theory studies utilizing qualitative interviews (Holton & Walsh, 2017). These two nonprofits are the Pennsylvania Parks and Forests Foundation (PPFF) and the Keystone Trails Association (KTA). Data collected from these interviews served as additional context to the description of collaborative relationships that the Bureau has with organizations outside the traditional agency boundaries.

In a classic grounded theory study, the initial interview questions are intended to be constrained by relying on the process of emergence and by entering the substantive field with few preconceptions. Thus, creating a preplanned set of questions or interview guide undermines the grounded theory process. If the researcher has detailed, preplanned questions then the use of qualitative interviewing as a data collection method is questionable (i.e., a survey approach may be more appropriate; Richards, 2015; Rubin & Rubin, 2005). However, I did not go into the interviews completely unprepared. Simmons (2011) suggests the use of "grand tour" questions in initial interviews in a classic grounded theory study. These questions are "designed to convey to the respondent that they are being invited to discuss *what is relevant to them* (not the researcher) about the general topic area, in their terms" (Simmons, 2011, p. 23). These questions are phrased in an open-ended manner and are intended to get the respondent talking, or "instill a spill"

(Glaser, 1998, p. 123). My grand tour questions are found in Appendix G. The questions facilitated open discussion, with interviews going in different topical directions. I conducted the interviews using an informal, conversational style, which also facilitated open discussion.

Initial interviews provided emergent, provisional topics and concepts to explore in later interviews. In accordance with theoretical sampling, I modified my interview questions to explore the emerging topics and concepts that were based in initial data collection, both during interviews and in subsequent interviews. These modifications were used to gather data that was focused on the emerging main concern and core category of the study (Holton & Walsh, 2017). Examples of modified questions that I implemented based on theoretical sampling are also provided in Appendix G.

Glaser (1998) strongly recommends not recording interviews. He insists that obtaining verbatim descriptions of the conversation that transpired during an interview is not the goal of interviews in a classic grounded theory study. In addition, he believes that audio recording the interview has the potential to impact the course of the interview. However, other classic grounded theorists have suggested that audio recording interviews early in the study when indicators of the main concern and core category are still being collected improves theory development and study credibility (Sandgren, Thulesius, Petersson, & Fridlund, 2007). In addition, audio recording interviews does not always have a negative impact on interviews (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). If the interviewer is engaging and the recording device is unobtrusive the interviewee will frequently forget that the interview is being recorded, allowing for natural conversation (Ives, 1995). In some instances, the interviewee may actually be reassured that there is record of the conversation and that the interviewer will be less inclined to misconstrue what they say (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Lastly, I believe that audio recording interviews enhances the credibility of the study, as it affords the ability to conduct detailed open coding of transcripts that may be produced if the study is challenged.

I did not require an individual to agree to audio recording to participate in the interviews, but most participants that were asked allowed audio recording. I audio recorded 36 of the interviews. Of the remaining 21 interviews that were not recorded, 5 were telephonic interviews, 2 individuals requested not be recorded, and the remaining 14 interviews I did not record to obtain interview data where a recording device was not presented as a means to ensure consistency in interview responses with those that were recorded. I also took hand-written field notes for all interviews both during and after the interviews.

4.4.2 Additional data collection. I used existing secondary data sources in the form of Bureau documents for additional data collection that followed theoretical sampling (i.e., it was driven by the core categories that emerged from the initial qualitative interviews; Locke, 2001). The Bureau documents reviewed included the 2016 State Forest Resource Management Plan; individual districts' annual forest management plans; the 1995 Penn's Woods, Sustaining our Forests strategic planning report; annual Forest Products Statistical reports; and the 2015 Pennsylvania Timber Product Output Survey report. Bureau webpages and forest district public-facing Facebook pages (when available) also served as additional secondary data sources. The data gleaned from these sources was used to inform the context of the substantive area and to provide a check on the information provided by managers that was obtained from the interviews.

Existing literature related to the substantive area is also considered secondary data in grounded theory research, as long as it is utilized after the core concepts have emerged (Holton & Walsh, 2017). The existing literature is used to enhance the theory development process (Locke, 2001). I focused on existing public administration literature on governance, collaboration, and the philosophic perspective of pragmatism as related to public administration. Richards (2015) emphasizes how the usefulness of prior literature as data in inductive research has been substantially enhanced by computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). I utilized CAQDAS for my data management and analysis as discussed in section 4.5.

4.5 Data Analysis

The purpose of data analysis in a classic grounded theory study is not to provide thick, rich description of data like that found in typical qualitative studies. Instead, the purpose is to raise the conceptual level of the descriptive data that is collected to create a substantive grounded theory that explains what is happening in the substantive area (Glaser, 1998). To discover and develop that theory, I followed classic grounded theory methodology that involves a nonlinear, iterative process of moving back and forth between data collection (theoretical sampling) and data analysis (coding and constant comparative analysis). Thus, I began analyzing data as soon as I began collecting data.

All interviews that I audio recorded were transcribed to afford the opportunity to conduct line-by-line open coding of the interview data. I also conducted open-coding of field notes for interviews that were not recorded. I completed the coding of transcripts and field notes by using ATLAS.ti (Scientific Software Development GmbH, 2016), which is a well-known computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). It is well-suited for a classic grounded theory study as it allows open coding (i.e., write whatever code you want) as well as being able to code portions, or "quotations", of data (e.g., transcript text) by selecting codes from one's existing list of codes. I also wrote memos within ATLAS.ti during coding and constant comparative analysis. I used ATLAS.ti to code all transcribed interviews and field notes, and familiarized myself with the software early in my study to understand its multiple abilities that extend beyond coding transcribed interviews (Richards, 2015). The use of CAQDAS in classic grounded theory studies has been approached with skepticism, due largely to the concerns of mindless coding (Holton & Walsh, 2017). But CAQDAS has evolved into much more than coding software and the benefits are substantial (e.g., warehousing and linking all data, creating memos on any type of data, querying codes and memos, linking online content; Bringer, Johnston, & Brackenridge, 2004; Richards, 2015).

I completed open coding of the transcripts and fields notes to discover incidents that I coded with descriptive codes – description of what is going on in the incident – and analytic codes – conceptualizing what is happening in the incident. In table 4-1 I provide examples of quotations (i.e., portions of transcribed interview text) of various sizes with single and multiple codes associated with that quotation. Once the main concern, core category, and related sub-core categories emerged I switched to selective coding, whereby I restricted my coding to identify properties and dimensions of the core and sub-core categories, since not all data (incidents) that were part of the interview were relevant to the categories of interest (Holton & Walsh, 2017).

Table 4-1

Coded Quotation Examples

Quotation Example	Code(s) and Type
"We work with the US forest service northern research station out of urban. And we help them put on this silviculture course which is once a year this year it's in June, week of June 20th." (Interview 17, personal communication, 2017)	• Collaboration-Form-USDA (descriptive) • Collaboration-Purpose-joint education (analytic)
"It goes up and down. It's all economic ties, funding ties. It goes up and down. Right now, we're in a down but pretty soon it will be up here." (Interview 51, personal communication, 2017)	• Organizational Capacity-State Budget (descriptive)
"We kind of mentioned the ranger program and as a side bar I don't know if that figures into anything. Those gentlemen are doing a tremendous amount of public contact and so they I think their presence is way more than writing citations for doing the wrong things on state forest land. They are in our face and I suspect most of their purpose and most of their contacts with people are positive contacts." (Interview 61, personal communication, 2017)	• Advocating Value-direct (analytic) • Ranger (descriptive)
"I work with big issues here. Just to bring it up, there's, you know, one of the things in our mission statement is, you know, wild character and, you know, just for someone to have the ability to go out in state forest land and enjoy it without hearing an ATV or seeing a bicycle or, you know, we add more and more groups we kind of lose that. It's one of our core values in our mission." (Interview 42, personal communication, 2017)	• Mission Statement (descriptive) • Recreation-ATV (descriptive) • Balancing-stakeholder demands (analytic) • Forest experience (analytic)

The first round of interviews that were conducted at the statewide Bureau manager's meeting served as my initial source of data for coding and analysis. This included interviews with five district and five assistant district managers from five different forest districts. The grand tour questions that I used during these interviews (see Appendix G) provided varied discussions on multiple different forest management and Bureau management topics (e.g., recreation, user groups, logging, personnel). Analyzing the data from these interviews revealed some emerging themes. For example, I wrote a post-interview reflection memo following the first day of interviews in this initial round that hinted at themes of a concern with personnel management, the drive to connect with the public about forestry, and the process of balancing multiple varied demands:

> All were open and receptive to interviews. Concerns vary from district to district. Personnel management is a concern in large districts - was even noted by smaller district that it's a concern for larger district. Dealing with the people's requests is a common concern. Other emerging themes: 1) The joy and need to connect with someone as

> interest in forestry as they are. Examples: [district name] postmaster guy that walks trails all the time; [district name] eagle watching researcher and grouse hunter. Explore digital spaces in connection to forest interest. 2) Balancing multiple users' requests, multiple recreation needs. [District name] solution to create multiple volunteer/user association.

The initial round of ten interviews demonstrated to me that the district and assistant district managers were indeed knowledgeable and experienced in the substantive area, and thus were appropriate sources of data collection. These interviews also provided me with some grounded data for preliminary theorizing (as demonstrated in the post-interview reflection memo), but I believed that there was not enough data to adequately develop a substantive grounded theory. For example, I had a few emerging concepts (such as balancing diverse duties and collaborating with various individuals and organizations), but the properties of these concepts were not adequately discovered and saturated, and I did not yet have enough data to theorize the conceptual connections between the emerging concepts. Thus, I decided to continue to theoretically sample other district and assistant district managers for additional interviews to verify or invalidate emerging themes based on these alternative perspectives. I recruited additional interviewees via email (as described in section 4.4; also see Appendix E) and scheduled 21 additional interviews across nine other districts that I conducted on-site at the various district offices over the course of a five-day interview trip.

The data collected from the second round of 21 interviews yielded substantial insight. During this time, I also began to theoretically sample secondary data sources – particularly the 2016 State Forest Resource Management Plan (as described previously) – to confirm or disconfirm data and emerging concepts from the interview data. The data gleaned from these sources was also used to inform the context of the substantive area (e.g., by reviewing the Bureau's mission and vision). When collecting and analyzing the new data, the main concern began to become clear: Bureau employees were concerned with their ability to manage Pennsylvania forest lands – both state- and private-owned – for long-term sustainability. The majority of action in the substantive area that I was discovering could be tied back to addressing this main concern.

The additional data I collected also confirmed the emerging concepts of balancing and collaboration. I compared the new incidents with existing incidents to help saturate the properties of these concepts (e.g., noting additional forms and purposes of collaborative relationships). I also began to see additional prominent concepts that were to become additional sub-core categories of the emerging theory. For example, my memo entitled "Educating Public" provides evidence of the initial discovery and theorizing of the sub-core category of my theory called Advocating Value and how it relates to another sub-core category of my theory called Prudent Collaboration:

> People don't understand importance of state forests or what BOF [Bureau of Forestry] does → due to complexity of biological forest management → people don't respect the land. Need to educate the public on a level that makes conservation digestible → public turns into forest stewards → forest stewards help support BOF operations

I returned to the data from the initial round of interviews with the main concern and newly emerging concepts in mind. I recoded parts of the data based on what I discovered in the second round of interviews and found additional incidents of the newly emerging concepts that I overlooked in my initial coding. With the main concern in mind, I also discovered a continued

presence of the Bureau mission (both explicit and implicit), which was something that I had not noticed as prominent until the second round of interviews, but was evident in the first round of interviews as well. This led to the discovery and theorizing of the core category – Mission-Driven Management – as a system that had multiple related parts (i.e., the emerging sub-core categories).

Based on the data that I collected and analyzed from the first and second round of interviews (and the secondary data sources), I determined that I required additional data to fully saturate this theorization and to saturate the properties of the sub-core categories (e.g., the managerial skills required to adapt to uncertainty). Given the rich data I was receiving through interviews, I continued to theoretically sample district and assistant district managers for additional interviews. I chose district and assistant district managers from new districts to possibly obtain new perspectives, and I also chose assistant district managers from districts that I had already interviewed to verify existing information I obtained from those districts. The data collected from this round of 11 in-person and telephonic interviews provided me with a satisfactory degree of confirmation that my theoretical model with a single core category and four sub-core categories integrated through the system-parts theoretical code was substantially grounded in the data. I also discovered that there were several prominent codes (from all three rounds of interviews) that were not incorporated into my theoretical model. Most of these codes were focused around organizational constructs, such as personnel (e.g., hiring, lack of staff), budgets (e.g., Bureau and districts), and authority structures (e.g., central office, different district managerial styles). By sensitizing myself to additional theoretical codes, I determined that the majority of these codes were able to be conceptualized as two contextual conditions – Organizational Capacity and Organizational Discretion – that influence the system (core category) and its parts (sub-core categories).

Based on the data I collected and analyzed through the three rounds of interviews, I determined that I had developed an adequately saturated theoretical model with a core category, four sub-core categories (each with at least two prominent properties), and two related categories in the form of contextual conditions. There remained four districts where I had not interviewed any managers. While I felt that my model was adequate, I decided to conduct a final round of in-person interviews with managers in these remaining districts to further saturate the model and to obtain a holistic perspective of the Bureau by having interviewed at least two individuals from each of the 20 districts. I also completed these interviews without audio recording as a means to validate the information I was receiving from individuals during audio recorded interviews, as some scholars are skeptical of information received during audio recorded interviews (Glaser, 1998). These interviews were similar to my previous interviews as interviewees discussed similar topics and no additional concepts or novel elaborations of existing concepts emerged.

The final round of in-person interviews also included two interviews that I conducted with executive directors of statewide nonprofits that frequently engage with the districts. I theoretically sampled these two organizations – the Pennsylvania Parks and Forests Foundation (PPFF) and the Keystone Trails Association (KTA) – because they were mentioned across multiple interviews as two organizations that have long-standing collaborative ties with the Bureau. By obtaining data from these organizations through interviews I was able to verify the nature of the collaborative relationships that were described by Bureau managers and I was also able to obtain an alternative perspective on the relationships.

The data analysis and coding process involved implementing constant comparative analysis throughout the substantive coding – which includes both open and selective coding – and theoretical coding processes. By conducting constant comparative analysis, I continually compared incidents to incidents, codes to codes, and eventually concepts to concepts. My process of constant comparative analysis is evidenced through how my coding evolved over the course of analysis to arrive at one of the sub-core categories I called Prudent Collaboration. For example, the code "user group" was an initial, descriptive code that I used to code quotations that referenced any mention of different groups of persons who use state forest lands (which was usually related to recreation). The following is an example of a quotation that I coded with the code "user group":

> We work a lot with the snow mobile clubs. The [name] snow mobile club is very active. Does a lot of help, they realize that we can't do it all and they have done a lot. We have made some bridges together. Like we would get the bridge and they'd help us install. You know, put it together, install it. They have really stepped up their pace, realizing that they can't run in certain areas that they used to run snow mobiles. Helped us put up signs. They've been very very helpful with that. We work with other groups that just started recreation. (Interview 31, personal communication, 2017)

When comparing this incident to future collected incidents that I coded as "user group", I discovered that many times the incident indicated collaboration between the user group and the Bureau, so I co-coded these quotations with "collaboration". These incidents were compared to other quotations where I used collaboration as a code, for example:

> We help each other with that [invasive pests]. They [state parks] have a couple people in their central office that are very focused on that and I think they've actually sort of changed the position description to focus more on that. We also have a common link at Penn State. [name] who's a weed scientist. We give him a lot of grant money and then he helps us with training and education and he speaks at a lot of workshops and trainings that we do across the state for both parks and forestry and usually if we have training in forestry we invite parks to come and vice versa. (Interview 30, personal communication, 2017)

While this aligns with the previous incident on collaboration, it is a different form of collaboration – the former quote was with citizen-based user-groups and the latter was with large, established organizations (i.e., the Bureau of State Parks and Penn State University). When discovering additional comparisons of this nature, I coded quotations with "Collaboration-form-citizens" and "Collaboration-form-organization". Further comparisons evidenced that there were multiple different organizations, which provided a further level of coding (e.g., collaboration-form-organization-state parks). These quotations also evidenced different purposes for the collaboration, such as those that focus joint land management and those that focus on joint research. I further coded the differences in collaboration purpose when discovering additional purposes through incident comparisons. The codes of form and purpose were able to conceptually capture the majority of the quotations that were coded with collaboration, thus I determined them to be prominent properties of Prudent Collaboration.

I continually reflected on classic grounded theory data analysis questions during the coding and constant comparative analysis processes: "what is this a study of", "what category does this incident indicate", "what property of what category does this incident indicate" (Glaser,

1998, p. 123), "what is the issue facing the participants", and "what is their main concern and how do they manage or resolve it" (Holton & Walsh, 2017, p. 82). This reflection process had multiple benefits: it helped account for personal biases, it encouraged remaining open to emergent and unexpected codes or concepts, and it prevented remaining stuck in situational description (Holfund, 2013). This reflection process also assisted with limiting the influence of prior literature as it required me to focus on the data at hand and not preconceptions (Elliott & Higgins, 2012; Giles, King, de Lacey, 2013). Writing memos during the data collection and analysis process also assisted with fighting against my a priori assumptions and idiosyncratic biases (i.e., it restricted my subjectivity). Comparing memos to the emerging theory led me to set aside some memos when I determined that they were not sufficiently grounded in the data and did not relate to the emerging theory. For example, I wrote the following memo early in the data collection and analysis process, which I entitled "Isolation mitigated by self-schema":

> Parts (districts) of the whole (state forest system) breeds isolation. Forests located in rural, isolated areas. Similar to prisons? Rural, isolated, city within the walls. Leads to apathy? No one (i.e., the public) cares - maybe mitigated by foresters drive/love for the work itself - SHARED SOCIAL VALUES or SELF-SCHEMA for FORESTRY (or at work in general).

This memo is an example of where I strayed from grounded theorizing to logico-deductive theorizing – the memo was based on limited data and my idiosyncratic biases. Upon further reflection, I determined that the idea of district-isolation was not substantially grounded in the data I collected and it was not a concern that was expressed in additional data collection. Also, my prior experience with self-schema theory made its way into the memo and was not grounded (i.e., it was an idiosyncratic bias). I set this memo aside as it was not sufficiently grounded in the data and did not have a clear link to the emerging theory.

In addition to the data reflection and memoing, I also implemented an intercoder reliability testing process to provide a check on my idiosyncratic biases. While such techniques are not prevalent in existing classic grounded theory research, I believe incorporating intercoder reliability testing into the study increased the reliability of the findings. Undergoing this process demonstrated that my coding, and thus the emergent theory, was not substantially biased. The intercoder reliability process and results are discussed in section 4.7.

4.6 Theory Shaping

Theoretical coding is the final stage of coding and is key to classic grounded theory methodology as it is the stage where the analysis moves beyond description to abstract theory elaboration. In other words, it is the process of shaping the final substantive grounded theory. This involves modeling the relationships between the core category and the other related concepts and categories that have been developed during substantive coding and memoing, otherwise referred to as the theoretical sorting process – integrating the conceptual memos in the memo fund "… to find the emergent fit of all ideas so that everything fits somewhere with parsimony and scope and with no relevant concepts omitted" (Holton & Walsh, 2017, p. 109). My initial intent was to conduct the theoretical sorting and theory modeling process completely in ATLAS.ti as it is equipped with modeling capabilities. However, I felt restricted in my ability to compare and sort memos while also modeling when using only ATLAS.ti, which has been a concern noted by other grounded theory scholars (Breckenridge, 2014; Holton & Walsh, 2017). Consequently, I used ATLAS.ti as my memo fund to easily switch back and forth between

memos and coded quotations to make comparisons, but I modeled potential relationships by hand drawings (see Appendix H).

To enhance theory shaping, I read classic grounded theory books that focus on theoretical codes (e.g., Glaser 1978; 2005) and classic grounded theory articles (particularly from *The Grounded Theory Review*) to improve my theoretical sensitivity (i.e., to make myself knowledgeable of multiple theoretical codes that may fit my data; Glaser, 1998). Numerous theoretical codes exist and it is the responsibility of the researcher to be knowledge of existent codes. Not being beholden to a single code and learning multiple theoretical codes ensured that I developed a theory based on theoretical codes that "earn[ed] their way into the theory" (Glaser, 1998, p. 164).

I also enhanced theory shaping by conducting memoing – "… the theorizing write-up of ideas about codes and their relationships as they strike the analyst" (Glaser, 1978, p. 83) – throughout the iterative data collection and analysis process. I documented memos whenever I was struck with an idea about codes and categories of the study. This happened frequently when coding, and I typed the memos directly into the memo application in ATLAS.ti. However, this also happened at other times of the day when I was thinking about the study. When this occurred, I frequently stopped what I was doing to write down the idea in the form of a hand-written memo in a notebook. I typed these impromptu, handwritten memos directly into ATLAS.ti at a later time to have a central repository of memos, which is commonly referred to as a memo fund. The memo fund serves as the link between coded data and theoretical abstraction that occurs during theoretical coding (Glaser, 2014).

The memos themselves ranged in length from a single broken sentence to several sentences that attempted to explain complex theoretical ideas related to the data I was collecting and the concepts that were emerging from the analysis. They also evolved during the course of the study. For example, early signs of my theory's sub-core categories of Advocating Value and Prudent Collaboration were evidenced in the memo titled "Educating Public" (presented earlier in this chapter). The ideas in this memo were further theorized after additional data collection and analysis as evidenced in the memo titled "Demonstrating public value" (which was written as a series of six bulleted lines):

> -Main concern → how do they demonstrate value of the forest to the public?
>
> -Core category → conveying value - multiple behaviors to do so (young/old differences; geographic differences)
>
> -DFs want to demonstrate the value of the forest (and the BOF) to the public
>
> -Older DFs maintain the silent steward type (timber-focused; collaboration with limits)
>
> -Younger DFs want to bring people in (recreation focus; collaborative governance focused)
>
> -Foresters have special attachment to the public good (forests) at all levels of the BOF → foresters work directly with the land and when they reach management level it turns to public facing

This memo also demonstrates that – based on my sensitizing to multiple theoretical codes – I was able to see how multiple codes may fit the data; yet I was able choose the appropriate

codes with the best fit. This memo suggests that the theoretical code of basic social process, which is the most common theoretical code, fit the data; I theorized the process of demonstrating the value of the forest to the public as the main concern, and conveying that value as the core category. However, after additional data collection, analysis, and theory shaping, I found that other theoretical codes used in conjunction were better able to integrate the core concepts into a parsimonious theory. Thus, the theory that I developed during theory shaping and theoretical sorting contained more than one theoretical code and not only the basic social process theoretical code.

I further enhanced theory shaping by exploring linkages between categories with the use of coded quotations in ATLAS.ti. Analysis of the form and the organization of texts has the opportunity to provide additional insight into the meaning of qualitative data (Fairclough, 1995). Thus, analyzing quotations beyond their single-coded properties offers the opportunity to signal linkages between categories. I calculated co-occurrence quotation counts and quotation adjacency counts to assist with theorizing linkages (relationships) between the four sub-core and two contextual condition categories of the theory. Co-occurrence refers to quotations that have multiple categories coded within them. For example, if a quotation is coded with both category A and category B, then this is counted as a co-occurrence and is a strong signal of a linkage between A and B. Adjacency refers to quotations that come both before and after a quotation that were within a threshold of proximity. I selected five sentences as the threshold of proximity. For example, if quotation one is coded with category A, quotation two is coded with category B, and the start of quotation two is within five sentences of the end of quotation one, then this is counted as an adjacency and is a signal of a linkage between category A and B. The adjacency counts were calculated within-interviews only.

The co-occurrence and adjacency quotation counts were based on the frequency of the categories across all quotations in the data. I calculated unduplicated quotation counts, meaning that if multiple codes under the same category were used within the same quotation, that quotation was only counted once. I used ATLAS.ti to export all quotations with their associated codes and character start and end points to Microsoft Excel, where I calculated both co-occurrence and adjacency quotation counts.

4.7 Intercoder Reliability

I implemented an intercoder reliability (ICR) testing process to ensure the reliability of the coding process. Also referred to as consistency testing or interrater reliability, such processes use multiple coders to ensure passages of written text (e.g., interview transcriptions) are coded in a similar manner across coders (Creswell, 2014; Richards, 2015). In other words, "… whether two or more coders agree on codes used for the same passages in the text [interview transcript]" with the goal of determining "… not that they code the same passage of text but whether another coder would code it with the same or a similar code" (Creswell, 2014, p. 203). While such techniques are not prevalent in existing classic grounded theory research, I believe incorporating ICR testing into the study increased the reliability of the findings.

Reporting ICR testing in public administration research in general is mixed. Research that does report ICR typically involves coding written documents – such as meeting minutes, journal articles, or administrative rules – for specific, pre-determined codes (Berardo, Heikkila, & Gerlak, 2014; Lee, Benoit-Bryan, & Johnson, 2012; Moynihan & Ingraham, 2003; Ritz,

Brewer, & Neumann, 2016; Siddiki, Carboni, Koski, & Sadiq, 2015). Studies that use transcribed interview data are not consistent in mentioning or conducting ICR. For those that do, they do not provide substantial detail on the process or a formal ICR outcome. For example, Allard and colleagues (2018) used a "code count review and group discussion" until they were "satisfied with adherence to the [coding] protocol (p.242). Zeemering (2008) provides limited detail in a footnote of the ICR process for in-depth interviews transcripts: "Two students read each transcript and coded the data based on questions asked in the interview schedule. Intercoder reliability was checked, and the author/principal investigator reconciled any conflicting codes" (p. 739). More detail regarding the process is found in Suárez (2010), but a lack of outcome still exists:

> Every effort was made to increase both interview quality and intercoder reliability throughout the process: full-protocol tests and spot checks were conducted, interview notes were circulated among the research group, weekly meetings were held to discuss interview and coding issues, and the protocols were annotated to guide interviewing and coding" (p. 314).

Given the mixed use of ICR in public administration literature, it follows that there are not established standards for ICR sample size selection. Some existing selection standards include 30 percent of meeting minutes (Berardo et al., 2014), 10 percent (Lee et al., 2012) and 3 percent (Ritz et al., 2016) of journal articles, 10 percent of the total codes used for coding written food policy council mandates (Siddiki et al., 2015), 4 percent of survey response data (Binderkrantz, Christiansen, & Pedersen, 2014). Campbell and colleagues (2013) suggest using roughly 10 percent of transcripts for a study using in-depth semi-structured interviews). Thus, I selected a 10 percent sample of interviews, which was six interview transcriptions. The sample was chosen at random by using the random number formula in Microsoft Excel: each interview name was placed in a list; the random number formula was entered in cell next to each name; the formula generated a random number; the list was sorted highest to lowest based on the random number; and the top six interviews were selected for the ICR process.

Calculating ICR for qualitative interview data comes with additional challenges over coding other types of written documentation; but there is value in calculating ICR as it provides evidence of a sound research process (Campbell et al., 2013; Hruschka et al., 2004). Two of the largest challenges associated with calculating ICR with qualitative interview data are discriminant capability and unitization. Discriminant capability refers to "how well coders [can] readily and unambiguously categorize text content" (Campbell et al., 2013, p. 301). This is exacerbated by long coding schemes – coders are cognitively limited with keeping track of all the codes, which increases greater chance for error (Campbell et al., 2013; Hruschka et al., 2004). Conducting a negotiated agreement process – a post-coding discussion between coders to compare codings and resolve as many discrepancies as possible – demonstrates that coding discrepancies are commonly due to coders overlooking certain codes as opposed to disagreeing over appropriate codes (Campbell et al., 2013). Unitization refers to problems with defining the unit of text to code (e.g., words, sentences, paragraphs; Krippendorff, 1995). If the unit of text is not provided, coders have substantial subjective interpretations of where codes start and end. Some coders may include more context for the code than others (i.e., they may code an entire paragraph with the same code a second coder used for one sentence within the paragraph). Even small differences in unitization between coders disrupts ICR calculations. Qualitive interview data is susceptible to problems with unitization because the data is usually conversational with

transgressions and overlaps in topics (Campbell et al., 2013). Resolving problems with unitization requires creating "units of meaning" – sections of text with associated codes (Campbell et al., 2013). There are no established guidelines on the appropriate length of units of meaning, as they can be words, sentences, or paragraphs. Campbell and colleagues (2013) address the unitization problem by conducting a process wherein the initial coder codes the data and the second coder is provided the coded text segments without the associated codes (i.e., units of meaning) rather than the entire transcript.

I followed the ICR process of Campbell and colleagues (2013) in this study to account for the problems noted above. Since the interview transcriptions were loaded into ATLAS.ti., I was able to export all of the quotations (i.e., portions of transcription text and field notes that are coded with incidents) for each of the six randomly selected interviews to a Microsoft Excel document. The quotations served as my "units of meaning" for analysis. The codes that I associated with each quotation were also exported. A copy of each interview document with the codes stripped away from the quotations was provided to a second coder. The coder was also provided with a codebook for the codes that were used within the specific interview. This helped to reduce the problems encountered with long coding schemes as discussed earlier, which was the case with my study. The coder was instructed to code the quotations of the first interview with the codes in the associated codebook. The first coder then measured the ICR for this "solo coding". The level of agreement, or proportion agreement (Campbell et al., 2013) metric was used: the total number agreements (matched codes) divided by the total number of agreements and disagreements (codes used by one coder but not the other). The second coder was then provided the interview quotations with the agreed upon codes, the non-agreed upon codes used by the first coder, and the non-agreed upon codes used by the second coder. The second coder reviewed all of the codes and indicated which codes they believed provided the best fit to the quotation. The first coder than reviewed the second coders revised coding and conducted their own coding revisions. Discussions on code disagreements were held when requested by either coder, but were found to be minimally needed. Both coders found that the other coder's codes were usually acceptable, and noted that they should have used the code in the first place. This speaks to the issues of coding long units of meaning, which is how the coding was completed in the study (Campbell et al., 2013). Level of agreement was then completed on the revised coding. Each interview was completed through negotiated agreement before moving onto the next interview to gauge possible improvements in agreement levels from the first interview to the last interview.

Table 4-2 provides the level of agreement results of solo coding and negotiated agreement across all six interviews. The level of agreement for solo coding was extremely poor at about 37 percent; however, it increased substantially to about 84 percent after negotiated agreement. The number of disagreements by coder were extremely similar for both solo coding (about 31 percent) and negotiated agreement (about 8 percent). This provides support for the proposition that the coders believed the other coder's codes were predominantly appropriate, but that the coder missed using it on the first pass of the data. There were no noticeable improvements from the first to sixth interview in the level of agreement for either solo coding or negotiated agreement, which ranged from 29.5 percent to 45.6 percent and from 80.2 percent to 91.5 percent, respectively.

Table 4-2

Results of Intercoder Reliability

Rate Type	Matched Code (Agreement)	Coder 1 (Disagreement)	Coder 2 (Disagreement)	Total Codes
Solo coding: Number of codes	178	154	151	483
Solo coding: Level of agreement	36.9%	31.9%	31.3%	-
Negotiated agreement: Number of codes	405	39	39	483
Negotiated agreement: Level of agreement	83.9%	8.1%	8.1%	-

There is no established scale of acceptable for level of agreement between coders when calculating ICR; but some qualitative methods researchers have suggested that an 80 percent level of agreement between coders is acceptable (Campbell et al., 2013; Creswell, 2014). Some public administration literature also provides insight. For example, Moynihan and Ingraham (2003) report an 82.89 percent level of agreement between coders who coded government documents; Berardo and colleagues (2014) report a 87 percent level of agreement between coders who coded meeting minutes; and Siddiki and colleagues (2015) report a 75 percent level of agreement between coders who coded written government mandates. Regarding interview transcripts, Lens (2009) reports "Intercoder reliability of between 80% and 90% was obtained in those transcripts coded both by a research assistant and myself" (p. 823). Given these figures, the level of agreement of 83.9 percent for the negotiated agreement process in the current study appears to be acceptable.

4.8 Limitations

Both classic grounded theory methodology and qualitative research have limitations (Ospina et al., 2018). A common concern is how the subjectivity of the researcher impacts the validity of the study, as the researcher is the primary operational tool in the data collection and analysis process (Holfund, 2013). As noted earlier, I accounted for personal biases by continually reflecting on classic grounded theory data analysis questions (e.g., "what is this a study of") throughout the study. In addition, gathering multiple perspectives of the same incident helps to corroborate the data (Holfund, 2013), which is also referred to as triangulation (Creswell, 2014). I accomplished data triangulation by collecting data from multiple managers within the same substantive area who have different personal perspectives and experiences. I also used quotation examples to convey the research findings, which is a qualitative research strategy that helps to remove the suspected lack of validity in qualitative research (Creswell, 2014).

A second limitation is the reliability of the research (i.e., if the findings are able to be reproduced). Replication of findings in qualitative research is difficult given that processes and perspectives that were qualitatively researched have great potential to be dynamic rather than static (Holfund, 2013; Richards, 2015). However, the researcher is able to increase reliability of the findings from qualitative interviews through the use of multiple coders, thus introducing intercoder reliability, also referred to as consistency testing (Locke, 2001; Richards, 2015). In

other words, "… whether two or more coders agree on codes used for the same passages in the text [interview transcript]" with the goal of determining "… not that they code the same passage of text but whether another coder would code it with the same or a similar code" (Creswell, 2014, p. 203). While such intercoder reliability techniques are not prevalent in existing classic grounded theory research, I incorporated a rigorous intercoder reliability process into my study (as described earlier) to enhance the reliability of my findings (Campbell et al., 2013).

A third limitation is the lack of generalizability of the substantive grounded theory I developed, which is limited to the empirical setting in which it was created (i.e., Pennsylvania state forest management). However, this does not limit the potential of the theory (Locke, 2001). The substantive theory I developed has modifiability, such that it will be applicable to other policy areas in public administration – and other organizations in general – with potential theoretical modifications grounded in additional data. I began the process of increasing generalizability (i.e., moving from substantive to formal theory) by theorizing and documenting how the substantive theory has implications beyond the substantive area (see chapter six; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Additional research is required to develop the substantive theory into a multi-area formal theory that will increase generalizability even further (Glasser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1998).

A final limitation of my study is related to the poor reputation of qualitative research within public administration, due largely to the seemingly lack of research rigor (Brower, Abolafia, & Carr, 2000; Ospina et al., 2018). In addition, the term "grounded theory" has been misrepresented within social science literature in general (Birks & Mills, 2015; Glaser, 2016) and within public administration literature (see chapter three). Often times public administration researchers claim to use a "grounded theory methodology"; yet the researchers state this claim in a single sentence, cite the classic Glaser and Strauss (1967) text on grounded theory, and mention nothing else of the grounded theory methodology (e.g., Agranoff, 2006; Okamoto, 2001; Thomson et al., 2009). At times there will be note of using grounded theory coding methods (with an associated popular citation, usually one from Straussian grounded theory), but the description of the rigorousness of the process used in these accounts is lacking as well (e.g., Mulroy & Shay, 1998). To combat this limitation, I followed the entire classic grounded theory package (e.g., theoretical sampling, open coding, constant comparative analysis, memoing, theoretical sorting) to produce a rigorously developed substantive grounded theory. While this may not persuade all skeptics of the value and rigor of classic grounded theory methodology, it will hopefully sway a few.

4.9 Ethical Concerns

Interview participants did not express any ethical concerns and I did not sense any concerns when I conducted the interviews. All participants were English-speaking adults (18 years of age or older) who were able to cognitively comprehend the purpose of the study. I provided informed consent forms to all interviewees that detailed the purpose of the study, emphasized that participation was voluntary, and summarized the risks and benefits participation (see Appendix F). I also described the process I was following to maintain and ensure confidentiality and anonymity of the interview data. I received verbal consent before beginning any interview per IRB guidelines, and to ensure informed, voluntary participation.

4.9.1 Confidentiality. I collected interview data via a digital voice recorder and stored the audio files on my personal computer. Audio recordings were transcribed and loaded into

ATLAS.ti. A single copy of each audio file was moved to a single folder on my personal computer to be maintained for five years post-collection in case there is a need to reference the original recordings. For interviews where consent to audio record was refused, I collected interview data via hardcopy notes. No participant refused to allow me to take notes during the interview. The notes were typed into ATLAS.ti and the hardcopy notes will be maintained for five years post-collection in case there is a need to reference the original notes.

4.9.2 Anonymity. No personally identifiable information was used in the final written version of this dissertation. Direct quotes that are used in the dissertation do not reference Bureau employee names or any specific forest district. The direct quotes used are cited with a unique document code that associates with an interview transcript in ATLAS.ti.

Chapter 5. Findings – The Substantive Grounded Theory of Pragmatic Governance

In this chapter I explain the main contribution of my dissertation and the primary product of my research – a substantive grounded theory that I developed through the theoretical integration of categories and related properties that emerged from the research. This theoretical integration accounts for the majority of behavior within the substantive area under study that addresses the main concern (i.e., the theory has "fit"). I use multiple theoretical codes within the theory to best conceptualize the relationships between the categories and their properties. I begin by presenting the main concern and an overview of the theory. The sections that follow describe the categories and related properties that comprise the theory. All categories and properties of the theory are empirically grounded in the data that was collected during this study. They are illustrated through the use of some interchangeable, empirically grounded indicators (i.e., quotations from interviews and evidence from secondary data sources). All of the interchangeable indicators that represent each concept and property are not presented, as this would reduce the conceptual level of the theory (Glaser, 1998). The number of indicators presented for each category and property is not a representation of the overall number of indicators in the study for that category or property. Instead, the indicators that are presented are those that I selected for having conceptual "grab" and for having clarity of representation (Glaser, 1998).

5.1 The Main Concern

As described earlier, the main concern is what is at the center of action for those in the substantive area; that which draws the most attention from those involved. The main concern that emerged within my study was the ability of the Bureau employees to manage Pennsylvania forest lands – both state- and private-owned – for long-term sustainability. In other words, to effectively govern a common-pool resource so that future generations may also benefit from and experience the resource. Most of the day-to-day activities of Bureau managers (and their employees) can be tied back to this concern.

5.2 Overview of the Theory

Once the main concern emerged from the data, it became evident that resolving the main concern was accomplished through various activities of those in the substantive area. This is similar to Frederickson and colleagues (2015) approach to understanding governance, which requires "… trying to identify systemic patterns in observations of what administrators are actually doing" (p. 247). Multiple patterns of behavior that represented what administrators were actually doing to resolve the main concern – the ordinary day-to-day governance practices of public managers (and their employees) in delivering public services – emerged from the data. I conceptualized these patterns as the core and sub-core categories of the substantive grounded theory. Two related categories in the form of contextual conditions also emerged from the data. I theoretically integrated the core, sub-core, and related categories and developed the substantive grounded theory I called the Theory of Pragmatic Governance. It explains governance from the perspective of individuals in a traditional government agency by conceptualizing the primary ordinary practices that comprise governing. It also predicts the nature of the interdependencies between those practices. While this chapter explains the theory, the discussion and rationale related to how the term "pragmatic" earned its way into the theory is presented in the following chapter.

The Theory of Pragmatic Governance is outlined in table 5-1 and a conceptual model is provided in Appendix I. It consists of the core category of Mission-driven Management and the four sub-core categories of Balancing, Advocating Value, Adapting to Uncertainty, and Prudent Collaboration. There are also two related categories in the form of contextual conditions called Organizational Capacity and Organizational Discretion. The categories are theoretically integrated into a holistic theory through the use of multiple theoretical codes. I developed and applied alternative theoretical models to the data, however the final model that I present here has the best "fit" (i.e., it accounted for the majority of action in the substantive area with a clear theoretical integration; Glaser, 2005). I conceptualized and integrated the core and sub-core categories by using the System-Parts theoretical code. Glaser (2005) describes this theoretical code as:

> Theoretically coding the relation between parts or subparts of parts to the behavior of the whole is a TC that emerges quite often. Parts are necessary, but not sufficient, and it is important to organize a substantive theory that shows how a whole is dependent on its part(s) that define its behavior but neither can exist without the other when this emerges as the TC. The parts-whole relationships TC can become quite complex when it emerges. Parts effect parts which can affect the whole for example. (p. 27)

The "system" is the core category – Mission-driven Management – and the "parts" are the four sub-core categories – Balancing, Advocating Value, Adapting to Uncertainty, and Prudent Collaboration. The system would not be whole without each part, as each part accounts for a substantial amount of action in the substantive area. The parts are not sequential; rather they are interactive and it is not possible (nor necessary) to capture which part comes first. In other words, "… once the ball is rolling they feed on each other" (Glaser, 1978, p. 76). The parts are governance practices that shape the representation of Mission-driven Management. In addition to the system and its parts are two contextual conditions in the form of organizational dynamics that impact the system: Organizational Capacity and Organizational Discretion. These two related categories and the system with its four parts comprise the substantive grounded theory I called the Theory of Pragmatic Governance.

Table 5-1

Outline of the Theory of Pragmatic Governance

Name	Level of Conceptualization
Mission-driven Management	Core category
Balancing	Sub-core category
Multiple role sets	Property of Balancing
Stakeholder demands	Property of Balancing
Advocating Value	Sub-core category
Direct advocacy (formal and informal) and Indirect advocacy	Property of Advocating Value
Personal belief in organizational value	Property of Advocating Value
Complexity of value delivery	Property of Advocating Value

Adapting to Uncertainty	Sub-core category
Social and ecological challenges	Property of Adapting to Uncertainty
Managerial skills	Property of Adapting to Uncertainty
Seasonality	Property of Adapting to Uncertainty
Prudent Collaboration	Sub-core category
Form	Property of Prudent Collaboration
Purpose	Property of Prudent Collaboration
Organizational Capacity	Related category (contextual condition)
Organizational Discretion	Related category (contextual condition)

Table 5-2 displays the number of quotations (i.e., portions of transcription text and field notes that are coded with incidents) within which the categories and their properties were coded. It is an unduplicated count of quotations. A single quotation can only contain the same code once, but it can have multiple different codes. Thus, quotation counts for categories that have multiple codes are only counting the unique number of quotations across all codes under the category. For example, the sub-core category of Balancing contains the two properties of Multiple Role Sets and Stakeholder Demands, which emerged and were coded within some of the same quotations. This quotation coded with both properties was counted for each property but was only counted once for the parent sub-core category of Balancing. A further detailed code structure and counts for the theory is found in Appendix J.

Table 5-2

Quotation Counts and Percentages for the Theory of Pragmatic Governance

Category/Property Name	Number of Quotations	Percent of Total Quotes (N=998)
Mission-driven Management	**737**	**73.85%**
Balancing	**155**	**15.53%**
Multiple Role Sets	51	5.11%
Stakeholder Demands	85	8.52%
Advocating Value	**295**	**29.56%**
Direct/Indirect Advocacy	258	25.85%
Personal Belief in Organizational Value	41	4.11%
Complexity of Value Delivery	16	1.60%
Prudent Collaboration	**287**	**28.76%**
Form	273	27.35%
Purpose	140	14.03%
Adapting to Uncertainty	**220**	**22.04%**
Social/Ecological Challenges	173	17.33%

Managerial Skills	64	6.41%
Seasonality	39	3.91%
Organizational Capacity	**129**	**12.93%**
Organizational Discretion	**59**	**5.91%**

5.3 Mission-driven Management

As described earlier, in classic grounded theory the core category explains "how the main concern in the area under study is processed, managed, or resolved by its accounting for much of the variation in the way the main concern is addressed" (Holton & Walsh, 2017, p. 211). The main concern – to manage Pennsylvania forests for long-term sustainability – is resolved through the core category of Mission-driven Management. Mission-driven management conceptualizes how the majority of the action of an organization is driven to accomplish the organizational mission through four primary governance practices performed by managers.

Resolution of the Bureau's main concern through Mission-driven Management was evidenced by the geographically-dispersed forest districts demonstrating a consistent comprehension and application of the Bureau mission. For example, one forest manager noted:

> Whether it's a big project, whether it's a small project, the improvements we make to better the system, to improve environmental impacts, in the long run are gonna show the constituents that yes, we are doing what our mission statements says in managing the resource. (Interview 33, personal communication, 2017)

Reviewing the Bureau's mission statement evidences that it aligns with resolving the main concern: "…to ensure the long-term health, viability, and productivity of the commonwealth's forests and to conserve native wild plants" (DCNR, 2018a). A primary aspect of the Bureau's mission is to ensure future generations are able to use commonwealth's forest, thus taking a "long-term", or sustainable, stance on resource management. Long-term sustainability is impacted by all the various forest management operations, such as timber management, oil and gas management, recreation management, and so on.

Many of the district and assistant district managers (i.e., forest managers) I interviewed explicitly and implicitly noted how they are managing for sustainability. For example, one forest manager stated:

> I'm managing the state forest for its long-term viability and sound ecosystem and it is what it is. I gotta do what I gotta do to ensure the long-term ecological viability of the system 50, 75, or 100 years from now. (Interview 36, personal communication, 2017)

The focus of the Bureau's mission statement on "the commonwealth's forests" as a whole (i.e., not limiting to state-owned land) relates to the Bureau's role of educating private forest land owners and the general public about fire prevention and proper forest stewardship. The Bureau conducted about 900 forest fire prevention events per year from 2012 to 2016 across Pennsylvania, which equates to about 14 events per county per year. In terms of promoting proper forest stewardship, in 2016 the Bureau recorded over 11,000 service foresting outreach activities across Pennsylvania (e.g., assisting with forest management and stewardship plans, planting and layout assistance, street tree recommendations). In addition, the Bureau outreach

program called Project Learning Tree conducts educational sessions that teach Early Childhood and Pre-K to grade 12 educators about how to use trees and forests to increase their students' understanding of the environment and conservation. Approximately 400 educators a year undergo a session of the Project Learning Tree program. These figures demonstrate that the Bureau directs substantial resources to ensuring long-term sustainability of all Pennsylvania forestland.

The Bureau's mission also mentions managing for forest "productivity". The idea of productivity could apply to any of the many values of the forest, including ecological services (e.g., air purification), forest goods (e.g., timber), and socio-cultural benefits (e.g., recreation). This goes hand-in-hand with sustainability – without keeping a resource sustainable, it is unable to be productive. Maintaining forest productivity was evidenced throughout the interviews with forest managers, particularly when discussing timber management. For example, one forest manager noted "We're cutting to make a healthy forest, basically, a sustainable forest" (Interview 18, personal communication, 2017). In addition, since 1998 the state forest system has achieved the Forest Stewardship Council's Forest Management certification, which means that products produced with state forest timber "…come from responsibly managed forests that provide environmental, social, and economic benefits" (Forest Stewardship Council, 2017).

Mission-driven management is accomplished primarily through four governance practices, conceptualized as sub-core categories of the Theory of Pragmatic Governance. They are Balancing, Advocating Value, Adapting to Uncertainty, and Prudent Collaboration. These categories are separate but inter-related practices that managers perform. I describe each of these practices in the following sections.

5.4 Balancing

Balancing is one of the four sub-core categories of the Theory of Pragmatic Governance. It conceptualizes the struggle (and its resolution) that managers encounter when attempting to accomplish a wide variety of tasks that fall under their purview. A level of complete balance is never reached as ongoing demands and pressures require constant balancing between tasks. During the interviews, Bureau managers revealed that keeping state forest districts running smoothly requires wearing numerous "hats", which includes numerous diverse tasks such as human resource management, timber management, planning for large scale recreation events, safety and enforcement, regulating campsites, maintaining trails, nurturing relationships with private landowners and surrounding communities, cleaning up after storms and fires, land acquisition, educating the public about conservation, long-term planning for sustainability, plant and wildlife inventory, addressing forest-user and stakeholder concerns, and controlling pests, invasive species, and diseases that jeopardize the forest.

Balancing can be conceptualized as an internal struggle when managers are required to balance between opposing role sets. Glaser (1998, p. 172) defines role sets as "structural properties of position" within an organization that include the "normative activities seen as roles associated with one position". For example, teachers have multiple role sets within their position as "teacher" that can be conceptualized as teachers, administrators, mentors, disciplinarians, and so on. There were two prominent opposing role sets of Bureau forest managers that emerged within the current study: a traditional role set that focuses on forest and land management (e.g., marking and selling timber, maintaining roads) and a modern role set that focuses on recreation management and public outreach (e.g., interacting with forest user groups, managing organized

events). The traditional role set is increasingly being challenged by the modern role set. Organizational priorities are shifting and managers are attempting to balance between these two role sets. This struggle is evidenced in the following quotation from one forest manager:

> So, people are coming there to recreate, we're trying to give them as good of an experience as we can with the staff we have. That's one of the things we struggle with, to get our core work done which is, I consider, the roads and the timber. Those are really our core stuff, that's the stuff that we got to get done first then as we have time, we try to do the recreation stuff. There's a lot of recreation stuff we could be doing that we just don't have time to do. Then we do a lot of public outreach too. We gotta tell our story, we gotta get people interested in the outdoors. We also build support publicly by letting people know what we do and being out there. (Interview 23, personal communication, 2017).

The need to balance between traditional and modern forest manager role sets is seen as a recent, emerging concern in state forest management. It is also seen by many forest managers as something that will continue into the future. The two quotations that follow evidence this:

> There has been more of a push toward recreation and the amount of time that we have to devote to it seems to keep building every year. It's actually getting to a point where as far as our general duties, as far as maintenance and stuff, we have to actually pull our guys off those projects to cater to the recreational projects. (Interview 34, personal communication, 2017).

When asked about the future of the state forest system, one forest manager responded:

> I definitely think we're going to have challenges with providing recreation. That's the biggest change that I've seen. Yeah, we're still going to cut timber. We're still going to make money through the sale of timber. Obviously, we'll have to continue to handle our mandated functions like wild fire and search and rescue. What have you. But I think there's going to have to be increased emphasis on recreation. We're getting a lot of pressure from the ATV groups to provide that. Even here in the state forests in the short time I've been here, we've seen such a massive increase in the people that are out there in the forest and we have to deal with that so I think that's probably one of the biggest areas that we're moving towards and one of our biggest challenges. (Interview 38, personal communication, 2017).

This changing of normative roles for forest managers from traditional to modern is able to be conceptualized through the outer limits theoretical code: "Breaking and moving boundaries to a new normal is also inclusion of outer limits, to make them inside and OK" (Glaser, 2005, p. 24). The normative boundaries that encompass the primary normative activities of forest management are becoming blurry. While there is common consensus among forest managers that Balancing role sets is something that is here to stay, forest managers differ substantially in terms of their acceptance of how the normative boundaries of forest management are expanding. This changing perspective is also evident at the national level:

> Since I've been with the bureau over 20 years now, they have increased, recreation focus has increased on our public land as you can see, that's national. The [U.S.] forest service who does hire recreation managers with that expertise, they have gone from the more

> timber management goals to in my mind, more recreation management. (Interview 43, personal communication, 2017).

Balancing can also be conceptualized as an external struggle of managers through the need to balance stakeholder demands. State forest lands have numerous stakeholders, including companies that contract to use state forest land for various reasons (e.g., timber companies, oil and gas companies, electric companies) and state forest land users (e.g., individuals, recreational groups, leased campsite holders). Forest managers receive multiple requests from stakeholders that can be overwhelming – "…this guy is asking if he can trim this power line over here, this storage guy wants to drill another injection well, the pipeline over here needs a pig launcher, oh this guy over here needs..." (Interview 21, personal communication, 2017). Many of the requests also conflict with others. For example, a concern frequently mentioned is when a timber company may want to build a road across a certain stretch of forest to remove timber; but this may conflict with any number of recreational groups by interfering with trails (e.g., hiking, equestrian, mountain biking) or disrupting hunting patterns. Forest managers frequently described both general conflicts and specific stories of conflicts throughout the interviews. Many specific stories centered around how responding to one stakeholder demand disrupted the way another stakeholder experiences or utilizes the forest.

Balancing stakeholder demands also relates directly to Mission-driven Management as many times demands may not be mission-centric, yet need to be addressed. For example, forest managers deal with political pressure from elected officials who want to use the Bureau to assist with accomplishing specific political goals. Such goals are generally based on a short-sited time frame to align with election cycles. Forest managers must balance these demands with the Bureau mission of managing the forest for long-term sustainability, where many of the political goals are not able to be realized within a short election cycle. One forest manager directly addressed this by stating:

> I've had state representatives flat out tell me, my long-term plan is a year and a half. And basically, that's when the next elections are. So, you got senators looking on a four-year time frame and governors looking on a four-year time frame. Legislators looking on a two-year time frame. And we're sitting here looking at 50-, 75-, 100-year time frames. They don't mesh. (Interview 36, personal communication, 2017)

In summary, Balancing is one of the four sub-core categories of the Theory of Pragmatic Governance that shapes Mission-driven Management. It conceptualizes the struggle (and its resolution) that managers encounter when attempting to accomplish a wide variety of tasks that fall under their purview. This struggle can be conceptualized as both internal (e.g., Balancing opposing role sets) and external (e.g., Balancing stakeholder demands). A level of complete balance is never reached as ongoing demands and pressures require constant Balancing.

5.5 Advocating Value

Advocating Value is one of the four sub-core categories of the Theory of Pragmatic Governance. It conceptualizes how managers (and other organizational members) demonstrate the value that their organization – and the public service provided – delivers to other organizations and the general public. This is important to Mission-driven Management because if individuals outside the organization are not aware of the value of the organization, they are not likely to support the work and mission of the organization. This is particularly important for

public-sector organizations, as they are accountable to the citizens they serve. With broader public support, public-sector organizations are likely (but not definitively) to thrive – citizens have the ability to advocate on behalf of the organization, donate (time and money) to causes that support the organization, and reach out to political officials that influence the viability of the organization.

Managers demonstrate value to individuals outside the organization through two types of advocacy: direct and indirect. Direct advocacy signifies managers directly engaging with individuals outside the organization to advocate the value of the organization. This can be done through both formal and informal channels. For example, formal direct advocacy may occur through pre-planned activities (e.g., scheduled public meetings or hearings); while informal direct advocacy may occur on happenstance encounters (e.g., speaking with individuals one-on-one at a grocery store).

The Bureau engages in frequent formal and informal direct advocacy. Formal direct advocacy is prominent in regular Bureau operations. For example, the Bureau has established District State Forest Resource Management Plan Public Meetings where forest managers have a formal platform to educate the public about topics that are district-forest specific. (DCNR, 2018b). Another example of formal direct advocacy is the Service Forestry program. This program involves foresters going into the local communities and educating private-forest landowners and the general public about conservation, sustainable forest management, and the value of forest land. Many service foresters participate in community events, as is described by one forest manager:

> We're active in events that happen in like fairs, town festivals, you know, we have a trailer, public contact trailer that we manage, that we man. With information about state forest land and things you can do there. We tried that. It's important. Stakeholder relations. I guess from a county, it's important, but sometimes it can be overwhelming. I'd say we do more of it now than we ever have. (Interview 26, personal communication, 2017).

Informal direct advocacy occurs primarily through any irregular contact with individuals outside the organization. Many forest managers encourage Bureau employees to engage with the public with the goal of educating them on an aspect of the forest in which the person is interested, or on an aspect with which the person is unfamiliar. For example, when loggers are working on a timber sale on state forest land the foresters will explain to the loggers why the Bureau does what it does to promote sustainable forestry. The idea is to pass sustainable forestry knowledge to the loggers who have the potential to influence sustainable management of private forest lands.

In contrast to direct advocacy, indirect advocacy signifies the actions of managers that support producing organizational output that displays the value of the organization; but this output may or may not be perceived by the general public. For example, forest managers advocate the value of forests by engaging in sustainable timber harvesting – the sale of timber offsets tax consumption that benefits citizens in the present; doing so sustainably ensures that citizens in the future will also be able to realize tax offsets through timber sales. This occurs whether citizens in the present or the future are aware of it or not. Sustainable timber harvesting also promotes forest health, which contributes to effective carbon sequestration and water filtration; these are benefits that citizens receive, but may not perceive. Another example is

evidenced by the Bureau's law enforcement practices. Forest rangers regularly patrol state forest lands to prevent individuals from damaging the resource, such as individuals riding ATVs illegally throughout the forest. Preventing such activities also promotes forest health.

Decisions that surround the physical representation of the organization in the community are examples of indirect advocacy. These decisions demonstrate the value of the organization without directly engaging individuals on a person-to-person level. For example, the Bureau has designed and built district forest offices that are welcoming to the public (e.g., include walking paths) and provide engaging and educational information about forestry practices (see figure 2). Certain offices have also been built that offer conference and meeting capabilities for non-profit and government organizations (e.g., local hospitals); this offers the potential to engage individuals outside the organization indirectly (Fitch, 2017; Hook, 2017).

Figure 5-1. *Buchanan State Forest District Office, McConnellsburg* (Source: Hook, 2017)

The drive to advocate value in general is influenced by a manager's level of personal belief that the day-to-day administrative work of the organization is of value. This is prominently evidenced in the work of forest managers, as many demonstrate a passion for forestry and conservation. For example, one forest manager noted:

> More and more, if you talk to our staff, I think I can speak for them. Working in the Bureau of Forestry is not just a job. It's that people are passionate about it. They enjoy it. There's that diversity. Something different every day. You talk to some state employees and people are not that happy. (Interview 45, personal communication, 2017)

The same manager provided an example of a recent hiring that further illustrates how the commitment to the type of work makes an impact:

> When we did interview for the administrative assistant and just hired her 8 months ago, we had a bunch of people that bid on the job from the department of human services. That was hard. It was eye-opening but it was also hard to only be able to pick one person because there was a sense of desperation coming from a lot of the candidates about how

> they're just really looking for a way to get out of…all they talked about is how interesting and relieving and uplifting it would be to work in forest district. To work with forestry. (Interview 45, personal communication, 2017)

Managers use a mix of direct or indirect advocacy practices and do not rely solely on one or the other. The use of either practice is influenced by manager's stance on what work of the organization they believe is of most value to the public. In the case of the Bureau, this is evidenced through forest managers' Balancing between traditional and modern role sets. Traditional forest managers tend to utilize indirect advocacy practices, serving as a silent steward of the forest. On the other hand, modern forest managers tend to utilize direct advocacy practices, serving as a public-engaging forest steward who places high value in educating the public about forestry – "We gotta tell our story, we gotta get people interested in the outdoors; we also build support publicly by letting people know what we do and being out there (Interview 23, personal communication, 2017)." Many forest managers that utilize direct advocacy used timber harvesting as an example of where education is useful to advocate value – ensuring that the public knows that the harvesting is done sustainably and when done alongside conservation produces value to the public.

Often the value an organization provides is not simple; particularly when the organization produces complex goods or provides multiple services. This complicates the advocacy process as certain individuals find value in some aspects of the organization while other individuals find value in different aspects. Managers in these situations may struggle with determining when to advocate which value to which individual. Managers must also be knowledgeable of the range of values to adequately advocate. This complex value advocating scenario is evidenced in the Bureau. The value that the Bureau provides is the effective management of commonwealth forests, and forests have numerous values, such as providing physical goods (e.g., timber) to providing personal well-being services (e.g., peace and solitude).

The complexity of the system of public service delivery also hinders the value advocation process. For example, many forest managers indicated that the general public has historically confused the Bureau with the Bureau of State Parks and the Game Commission, and that the confusion continues to this day. While the Bureau of Forestry and Bureau of State Parks are under the same Department, they have different missions and goals for serving the public. The Game Commission is an entirely separate state entity, and also has a different mission and organizational goals. All three entities have land that is in close proximity and many times users do not know which type of land they are on and which government agency is responsible. Without users knowing the appropriate organization for the land they are using, it is difficult for the user to associate the value they perceive with the appropriate organization. Users also remain ignorant of how that agency's mission guides the management of that land.

In summary, Advocating Value is one of the four sub-core categories of the theory of Pragmatic Governance that shape Mission-driven Management. It conceptualizes how managers (and other organizational members) demonstrate the value that their organization – and the public service provided – delivers to other organizations and the general public. Advocating value occurs both directly and indirectly. Managers rely on both types and use different mixes based on what work of the organization they believe is of most value to the public. If an organization provides a complex good or service, advocating value becomes complicated as

certain individuals find value in some aspects of the organization while other individuals find value in different aspects.

5.6 Adapting to Uncertainty

Adapting to Uncertainty is one of the four sub-core categories of the theory of Pragmatic Governance. It conceptualizes how managers respond to unexpected social and ecological challenges that confront the organization. This often involves shifting resources from one area of focus to another based on the demands of the challenge. This can be detrimental to Mission-driven Management as it diverts resources from mission-driven tasks; but it can also be beneficial as it may force managers to reallocate resources back to mission-driven tasks.

Unexpected social challenges come in various forms. A prominent example is top-down political pressure, which generally involves a range of demands. Political pressure is particularly prominent in public organizations where political appointees and elected officials (both executive and legislative) are able to influence organizational operations. A forest manager from the Bureau describes how political influence impacts district forest operations:

> Things are always changing and going to be different. We are influenced by political changes in Harrisburg. So new folks…you get a new governor, new secretary, they have new ideas and new initiatives. So, every four to 8 years, we're kind of changing our focus so which means the staff has got to accept to meet the new initiatives and work that into their schedules. (Interview 46, personal communication, 2017)

An additional example of an unexpected social challenge encountered by Bureau forest managers is the increasing usage of state forest land for recreation. Many managers expressed this concern because with increased recreation comes increases in requests and demands from the individuals recreating. These requests pull district staff away from regular duties, and the frequency and volume of requests is not well understood. For example, some districts are dealing with substantial increases from the public to hold organized events on state forest land:

> Yeah like a boy scout troop might spend a couple or three nights. Weddings at our picnic areas… just a countless number of things. If you've got a larger organized group that's something out of the ordinary and you're not just meeting a bunch of friends to go hike or something like that, you need a letter of authorization. And each one of those has time dedicated to it…It's getting all the information and conversing with the people that want to do it. Some things they want to do require insurance, you know. It's a lot. (Interview 46, personal communication, 2017)

In addition to social challenges, unexpected challenges also come in the form of ecological events. For example, severe weather events are typically unpredictable (from a long-term perspective) and the impact they may have on an organization is unpredictable. Some events may be anticipated as being impactful, but will result in little to no impact; and vice versa. Some events may result in substantial property damage or may restrict the ability of personnel to get to their work site, which requires adapting the daily operation of the organization to respond to the event. Since the Bureau manages large land areas Bureau operations are impacted substantially by weather events. One forest manager noted how a recent storm shifted operations:

> We just talked about those big storms that came through here. We're out looking at areas now to salvage because everything that was in some of these stands is now flat. And if

> you walk away from that, you're not really doing your due diligence. (Interview 46, personal communication, 2017)

The Bureau also spends a considerable amount of time adapting to ecological challenges in the form of numerous invasive pests, which include both invasive plants (DCNR, 2018c) and insects (DCNR, 2018d). For example, one forest manager noted:

> Down in [district name] which is our neighbor there, they got hit by gypsy moth real hard a few years ago and that totally changed what they were doing. They had to recover all that timber. It's just dying anyway. That really bumped what they're doing for a couple of years. (Interview 32, personal communication, 2017)

Both social and ecological challenges require managers to have certain skills to be able to effectively adapt organizational operations to uncertainty. Three common skills emerged through the interviews with forest management: knowledgeable, flexible, and decisive. Table 5-3 provides a description and quotation example of each skill.

Table 5-3

Common Managerial Skills to Adapt to Uncertainty

Skill Name and Description	Quotation Example
Knowledgeable: the ability to remain well-informed of multiple domains relevant to the organization through continuous self-education	"We need to be able to talk timber, fire, CFM, road maintenance, boom boom boom boom boom, one after another." (Interview 36, personal communication, 2017)
Flexible: the ability to easily modify one's plans without notice	"We get pulled 100 different directions every day. It's one of the things I enjoy most about the job though that you're not doing the same thing day in and day out. You never know what the day is going to bring to a certain extent. On a day to day basis." (Interview 36, personal communication, 2017) "There's constant flux…so you have to shift gears and change everything they have planned, or at least portions of what they have planned and address those problems. Same thing with insects and disease. That hits and you gotta work on that." (Interview 46, personal communication, 2017)
Decisive: the ability to prioritize and quickly make decisions	"…being able to make a decision on when sometimes you have to deal with one upset person because you can't get to something verses 1,000 upset people. You just have to look at the big picture." (Interview 27, personal communication, 2017).

Seasonality is a property of Adapting to Uncertainty that has the potential to offer stability amidst the uncertainty. Organizations vary in the level of stability that seasonality

provides, but most organizations will have some operations or events that occur at specific times of the year (e.g., reporting, fundraising). Many organizations – including the Bureau – are also impacted by the seasonality of the budget cycle. Several forest managers noted the need to expend certain funds by the end of the fiscal year or the funds will no longer be available. Similarly, the Bureau has a seasonal staffing cycle such that some Bureau employees do not work over the winter months. Being able to plan for this regular decrease in staffing is a benefit.

For organizations that deal primarily with land management (or other purposes based in the natural environment), seasonality will likely provide a strong sense of underlying stability to organization operations. This is the case with the Bureau, as they deal substantially with uncertainty, but also have an underlying stability of operations based on seasonal change. For example:

> Seasonally, you know in winter you're doing planning, grooming snow mobile trails, you're maintaining equipment. Spring you're planting trees, fighting fires, spraying gypsy moths, gearing up for the field season. Summer you're grading roads, marking timber, doing that. Fall you're kind of cleaning up whatever needs to be cleaned up and winter it starts over again. Same cycle. (Interview 36, personal communication, 2017).

In summary, Adapting to Uncertainty is one of the four sub-core categories of the theory of Pragmatic Governance that shape Mission-driven Management. It conceptualizes how managers respond to unexpected social and ecological challenges that confront the organization. Managers utilize certain skills – being knowledgeable, flexible, and decisive – to deal with unexpected challenges and rely on seasonality to provide an underlying stability to organizational operations.

5.7 Prudent Collaboration

Prudent Collaboration is one of the four sub-core categories of the theory of Pragmatic Governance. It conceptualizes how managers tactfully incorporate collaborative relationships that cross traditional organizational boundaries into the organization's operations. Collaborative relationships are ubiquitous in the daily administrative life of an organization, but they demonstrate substantial variation. Relationships can be conceptualized by their form (e.g., person-to-person, organization-to-organization, contractual, informal) and purpose (e.g., share resources, gain knowledge). Since collaborative relationships are based in social relations, they tend to be dynamic rather than static – the actors involved and conditions of the relationship will change over time. In Mission-driven Management, a manager's decision to collaborate is influenced by how the manager perceives the collaborative relationship will help or hinder mission accomplishment. This is where the qualifier of "prudent" comes in to play – while some collaborative relationships may be mandated through top-down channels, manager's make conscious decisions to encourage the relationship or to demote its importance. Manager's that believe in the mission-importance of certain collaborative relationships will cultivate those relationships and seek out similar mission-supportive relationships in a prudent manner.

Collaborative relationships are evidenced throughout each forest district of the Bureau. Many relationships are ingrained as part of the daily administrative life in districts and are crucial for meeting the Bureau mission – "I just can't speak enough about our partnerships and how critical they are to the overall operations of the district" (Interview 20, personal

communication, 2017). The relationships vary substantially in terms of form and purpose within and across districts.

Regarding form, districts collaborate frequently with a range of other organizations in an informal manner, such as other Pennsylvania state agencies (e.g., Bureau of State Parks, Game Commission, Fish and Boat Commission), federal agencies (e.g., U.S. Forest Service), local nonprofits (e.g., County Conservation Districts, Keystone Trail Association, PA Parks and Forests Foundation), local governments (e.g., county, municipal), and universities (e.g., Penn State University). The purpose of these collaborative relationships is frequently based in conducting different types of joint activities (depending on the relationship), such as recreation management, land management, public education, fire management, law enforcement, research, and wildlife management.

The collaborative relationship with State Parks is one of the Bureau's most prominent. This is understandable given the Bureau and State Parks are both part of the same state government Department (although both have different mission statements), and they both manage land that is frequently in close proximity. Land management activities for both organizations include basic maintenance duties, so they frequently share manpower and equipment:

> We've given parks some of…we got rid of some junk equipment they wanted because Parks doesn't get good equipment. But we work close with them. In the winter, we plow [state park] and they plow a parking lot over in [state forest section]. It doesn't make sense for us to drive 45 minutes past each other. So yeah, we share stuff. If they need something, they call us. If we have something over that way, a tree down, we've called them and they've gone out and taken care of it. We work hand in hand. I think it's great. (Interview 28, personal communication, 2017)

They also share manpower in the form of expertise for public education:

> We do some programming out [state park] too where we take on the walking forest trail. We take groups sometimes when they have those public programs in the afternoon like 4 or 5 o' clock on a Saturday before it gets dark. We go out and take 20 or 30 people down. (Interview 23, personal communication, 2017).

The districts also collaborate with other organizations in a formal manner, such as contractual relationships. These relationships are no less collaborative than non-contractual collaborative relationships as both parties involved benefit from the relationship. For example, the districts have contractual relationships with logging companies to cut and extract timber from state forest lands. Districts do not have the capacity to cut, extract, and sell their own timber to market, thus they utilize contractors. The district benefits by receiving monetary compensation for the timber to augment the Bureau budget. They also use timber sales as a means to promote sustainable forest growth. Districts do not mark timber to be sold at random – the Bureau has achieved the Forest Stewardship Council's Forest Management certification since 1998, which means that forest products "…come from responsibly managed forests that provide environmental, social, and economic benefits" (Forest Stewardship Council, 2017). Logging

companies benefit from the relationship because they are able to brand their timber from state forest land as FSC certified, making it desirable to buyers. Logging companies also benefit from the relationship because the minimum asking bid price placed on timber sales by districts are well below the price a logging company is able to pay to turn a profit. Final timber sale prices are consistently well above the minimum asking bid price, with one-third of the sales at least double the minimum bid price. This demonstrates that logging companies are still able to turn a profit on the timber when purchasing it at prices well above the minimum asking bid prices.

Districts also have many collaborative relationships with individual volunteers and volunteer groups. Volunteers come from the general public, are typically individuals who use the state forest (for various reasons), and find value in donating their time to contribute to district operations. They are typically frequent visitors of state forest lands and many may be classified as part of certain user groups (e.g., hunters, hikers, mountain bikers). Similar to contractual collaborative relationships, these relationships are symbiotic as both the user and the district benefit: the user is able to improve an aspect of the forest they personally use, and the time donated frees up manpower hours for the district. The relationships are generally small-scale, but the time individuals' volunteer accumulates, and has become crucial to some districts. For example, one forest manager stated:

> We actually, from the recreational side of things, keeping trails well maintained, we really rely heavily upon volunteers because we wouldn't, you know, these trails, we don't have the time for manpower to walk them all, clear them all. So, we do rely heavily upon volunteers. (Interview 26, personal communication, 2017)

Volunteers also organize into groups, with or without assistance from the district. Some user groups that use the same tract, trail, or part of a state forest band together to create a larger impact by volunteering at the same time to tackle larger projects. There are at least five districts that have formalized volunteer groups called Friends Groups that are part of the Pennsylvania Parks and Forests Foundation (Pennsylvania Parks and Forests Foundation, 2018). The foundation helps to organize the groups and allows the general public to donate money targeted for specific state forest improvement projects. Forest managers are also involved in organizing volunteers into groups. For example, one forest manager brought together multiple user groups to create a unified volunteer system for the district:

> All of these groups were doing their own thing never talking to each other. So, I get them all in the same room at one point and said let's form a volunteer group. So, we went through the objectives and goal of what the group would be. We actually have three organized work days every year and we just had a planning meeting two weeks ago, but what's happened now is so, those groups work together. We have a liaison so that not everyone in say the snowmobile club is calling me directly. They go up through their group and I talk to them and it's just the means. Their groups want that, they don't want all of their members calling in and the district manager getting all different kinds of request. It has really worked out well. (Interview 22, personal communication, 2017).

In summary, Prudent Collaboration is one of the four sub-core categories of the theory of Pragmatic Governance that shape Mission-driven Management. It conceptualizes how managers tactfully incorporate collaborative relationships that cross traditional organizational boundaries into the organization's operations. Collaborative relationships take various forms – such as informal or formal – and serve a multitude of purposes that typically benefit both sides of the relationship. Managers are prudent in how they collaborate based on how they perceive the collaborative relationship will help or hinder mission accomplishment.

5.8 Linkages between Sub-core Categories

Analysis of the form and the organization of texts has the opportunity to provide additional insight into the meaning of qualitative data (Fairclough, 1995). The counts in tables 5-4 and 5-5 evidence signals of linkages between the four sub-core categories that were found by analyzing quotations beyond their single-coded properties. Table 5-4 displays co-occurrence counts, which are the number of quotations where categories co-occur within the same quotation (i.e., they were coded in the same quotation). For example, there are 39 quotations where Adapting to Uncertainty and Advocating Value were both coded within the same quotation. The counts are unduplicated counts, meaning that if multiple codes under the same category were used within the same quotation, that quotation was only counted once. According to co-occurrence counts, the strongest linkages are those between Prudent Collaboration and Advocating Value, and Balancing and Adapting to Uncertainty. The weakest linkage is between Balancing and Prudent Collaboration.

Table 5-4

Co-Occurrence Quotation Counts for Sub-core Categories

	AV	**AU**	**B**	**PC**
AV	-	39	34	61
AU	39	-	54	37
B	34	54	-	18
PC	61	37	18	-

Note. AV = Advocating Value; AU = Adapting to Uncertainty; B = Balancing; PC = Prudent Collaboration

Table 5-5 displays quotation adjacency counts, which counts relationships within the same interview that occurred between two adjacent quotations that are within five sentences of each other and are coded with different sub-core categories. For example, one of the 106 relationships found between Adapting to Uncertainty and Advocating Value was found in interview eighteen between quotation numbers nineteen and twenty: quotation number nineteen was coded with Advocating Value, quotation number twenty was coded with Adapting to Uncertainty, and the beginning of quotation twenty was within five sentences of the end of quotation nineteen. According to the quotation adjacency counts, the strongest linkage is between Prudent Collaboration and Advocating Value, which is also the strongest linkage found in the co-occurrence counts. The weakest linkage is between Balancing and Adapting to Uncertainty, which contrasts with the co-occurrence counts.

Table 5-5

Quotation Adjacency Counts for Sub-core Categories

	AV	**AU**	**B**	**PC**
AV	-	106	80	136
AU	106	-	67	91
B	80	67	-	54
PC	136	91	54	-

Note. AV = Advocating Value; AU = Adapting to Uncertainty; B = Balancing; PC = Prudent Collaboration

The co-occurrence and adjacency counts provide evidence that the four sub-core categories are interrelated, and provide signals of the strength of those relationships. In the following sub-sections I provide grounded theorizing of the nature of those six relationships.

5.8.1 Prudent Collaboration and Advocating Value. There is a strong relationship between these two categories, such that they change in the same manner – as one increases or decreases so does the other. If managers are effective with persuading individuals or organizations about the value of the public service and the organization providing it through Advocating Value, it increases the chances that the persuaded will want to collaborate with the organization as they now believe in the value of the service. The persuaded themselves may also begin to advocate for the public service being provided and the organization providing it. This relationship is likely to be strong when managers are passionate about the public service (or good) they are providing, which was evidenced forest managers at the Bureau.

The relationship is evidenced in certain collaborative relationships between the Bureau and state-wide nonprofit organizations – such as the Pennsylvania Parks and Forests Foundation and Keystone Trail Association. These organizations assist the Bureau in accomplishing its mission by conducting conservation advocacy activities directed at the general public and state legislative leaders. This advocacy has the potential to increase Bureau funding levels and create public policy that benefits the state forest and the Bureau.

5.8.2 Advocating Value and Adapting to Uncertainty. There is a strong relationship between these two categories, such that Advocating Value protects from the need to conduct Adapting to Uncertainty. In the case of the Bureau, direct advocacy activities, such as advocating the value of forest products to citizens (voters), have the potential to protect against uncertain social challenges, such as decreases in public funding. In other words, managers may protect the Bureau from legislative budget cuts by educating voters about the value of the forest; if the public values the forest, they may not endorse budget cuts, and will not vote for legislators that do endorse such cuts.

5.8.3 Adapting to Uncertainty and Prudent Collaboration. There is a moderate relationship between these two categories – Adapting to Uncertainty leads to the creation and maintenance of collaborative relationships, and Prudent Collaboration helps to reduce the

negative impacts of uncertainty. For example, all forest districts collaborate with multiple local fire departments located in their district for wildfire prevention and suppression. Wildfires are unpredictable in terms of when and where they occur. By having these collaborative relationships in place, the Bureau is able to quickly adapt and respond to wildfires, thus reducing their potential negative impact. Similar relationships exist to mitigate the negative impacts of invasive insects. When asked how districts attempt to mitigate the uncertainty that invasive insects produce, one forest manager stated:

> Networks we have with other states. We have a division of forest health. They have their contacts with surrounding states and with the US forest service. We keep tabs on what the highest threat things are going on in adjacent states and you can usually see them coming on the horizon and find out what they're doing. (Interview 30, personal communication, 2017)

5.8.4 Balancing and Advocating Value. There is a moderate relationship between these two categories, such the Balancing demand will influence the type of Advocating Value effort (i.e., direct or indirect advocacy). In the case of the Bureau, this is evidenced in Balancing stakeholder demands. For example, if a manager is experiencing an imbalanced demand for time and attention from logging companies, the manager is being forced to spend more time on indirect advocacy activities (e.g., timber sales) than direct advocacy activities (e.g., citizen outreach).

5.8.5 Balancing and Prudent Collaboration. There is a weak relationship between these two categories, such that Balancing influences the types of collaborative relationships sought after and maintained in Prudent Collaboration. In the case of the Bureau, this was evidenced through balancing the opposing traditional and modern role sets. For example, if within the Balancing a manager leaned towards the modern role set, they emphasized the importance of user-group and citizen-based relationships; while a manager that leaned towards the traditional role set emphasized the importance of contractor-based relationships.

5.8.6 Balancing and Adapting to Uncertainty. There is a weak relationship between these two categories – increases in activities related to Adapting to Uncertainty will increase the need for Balancing activities. For example, as forest managers deal with increasing uncertain demands related to recreation, they must increase Balancing between these demands and the traditional forest management work. One forest manager noted: "Even though I have the forestry background, I adapted to recreation management which is a lot of people management it's not just land based, it's also managing the people" (Interview 43, personal communication, 2017).

5.9 Contextual Conditions

The Theory of Pragmatic Governance also includes two contextual conditions in the form of organizational dynamics. These conditions impact the system and influence Mission-driven management. It is possible that additional organizational dynamics may impact Mission-driven Management (e.g., organizational culture), however these two dynamics were prominently

grounded in the data in the current study. I describe them in the following subsections and discuss the linkages between them and Mission-driven Management.

5.9.1 Organizational Capacity. The first contextual condition related to Mission-driven Management that emerged from the data was Organizational Capacity. This condition is conceptualized as how resource limitations within an organization shape the representation of Mission-driven Management. Resources are anything that increase the opportunity to meet the organizational mission (e.g., materials, knowledge, personnel). For the Bureau, the most prominent organizational capacity limitation is the lack of personnel. Forest managers commonly suggested that they would be better able to conduct proper forest management with additional personnel resources. This limitation is evidenced in the lack of positions that are allocated to the districts for hiring. For example, one forest manager stated: "With the reduction of staff over the years, it gets harder to keep up with the commitment that we basically honored for years" (Interview 25, personal communication, 2017). This commitment refers to effectively managing Pennsylvania's forest land on behalf of the public; however, the lack of maintenance staff negatively impacts the ability to maintain roads and trails; lack of rangers negatively impacts the ability to adequately monitor state forest land for illegal activity; and lack of foresters limits the ability to adequately conduct regular forest management activities, such as timber sales or recreation management.

The co-occurrence quotation counts and the quotation adjacency counts in table 5-6 provide evidence that Organizational Capacity impacts the system (i.e., Mission-driven Management) and its parts (i.e., the four sub-core categories). The signals of linkages between Organizational Capacity and the four sub-core categories in table 5-6 were found by analyzing quotations beyond their single-coded properties. According to both the co-occurrence counts and the quotation adjacency counts, the strongest linkage is between Organizational Capacity and Advocating Value, while the weakest linkage is between Organizational Capacity and Prudent Collaboration.

Table 5-6

Co-Occurrence Quotation Counts and Quotation Adjacency Counts between Organizational Capacity and the Four Sub-Core Categories

	AV	**AU**	**B**	**PC**
Co-Occurrence Quotation Count	35	18	24	15
Quotation Adjacency Count	60	47	35	32

Note. AV = Advocating Value; AU = Adapting to Uncertainty; B = Balancing; PC = Prudent Collaboration

In the case of the Bureau, the lack of personnel was noted frequently by forest managers as a prominent Organizational Capacity limitation. For example, one forest manager noted that both limited personnel and a limited budget negatively impacts the district's ability to conduct outreach activities, which are core to Advocating Value:

> We are a Monday through Friday organization for the most part with the exception of an emergency and those user groups are coming to recreate on the weekend, no matter the user group. Sometimes we have to have increased staffing or we have to have an increase presence whether it's law enforcement or fire patrol, or state forest officer. General outreach, it's tough on a limited budget and limited staffing. (Interview 27, personal communication, 2017).

Limited personnel also impact Balancing: it increases the need for forest managers to conduct Balancing and to make decisions that impact mission accomplishment. For example:

> So, for me, the hardest thing is trying to keep up with the same level of work we used to do. The public has come to expect that. And as things start to slide, making the decision what don't you maintain? Do you not maintain boundary? Do you not maintain trails? The roads have to be maintained as a safety aspect. But if the trails aren't maintained as a safety aspect, if the signage isn't maintained… for me, definitely lack of manpower. (Interview 32, personal communication, 2017).

Additionally, limitations on Organizational Capacity – such as lack of personnel – lead to increases in Prudent Collaboration to meet the mission of the organization. In the case of the Bureau, this is evidenced of numerous instances of coproduction – relying on citizens to assist with delivering public service. For example:

> There is a gentleman who lives here that I think is the postmaster in [town name] who is on these trail systems all the time. I think he goes on them every day. If there's a limb down, he lets us know… He's kind of claimed this as his home. He's taken ownership of it. He loves that area. If there's something wrong, he's gonna let us know. (Interview 20, personal communication, 2017)

Limitations on Organizational Capacity – beyond and including personnel – also impact Adapting to Uncertainty. For example, unexpected social and ecological challenges divert time and money away from general organizational operations. In the case of the Bureau, this is seen frequently with fire suppression. Wildfires are unpredictable ecological challenges that the Bureau is legally mandated to suppress across all wild lands within Pennsylvania (DCNR, 2017a). There has been an average of 640 fires per year between 2008 and 2015, with a range of 202 to 871 annual fires (DCNR, 2017a). This demonstrates that wildfires are prevalent but also occur with an uncertain frequency.

5.9.2 Organizational Discretion. The second contextual condition related to Mission-driven Management that emerged from the data was Organizational Discretion. This condition is conceptualized as how the bounds of decision-making authority throughout an organization shape the representation of Mission-driven Management. The foundations of authority and discretion within an organization are typically formalized in a hierarchical organizational chart that details an organization's structure, which is documented in an organization's policy. These charts display the supposed structure of authority, but the actual discretion at each level to make decisions will not be evidenced. Discretion is more dynamic than a static organization chart and will vary based on the type of decisions and the actors at the different levels. In public sector

organizations the dynamics of Organizational Discretion are impacted by the agenda of political appointees, and whether they will try to constrain or open decision-making authority across the organization.

While Organizational Discretion exists throughout all levels of an organization, it tends to feature prominently in some parts of the organization's structure. For example, Organizational Discretion within the Bureau features most prominently when considering the relationships between the central office and the state forest districts. The Bureau has an organizational structure with a central office located in Harrisburg (i.e., the State Forester's Office) that has multiple sections and divisions within that office. The central office provides oversight of the operations of the 20 forest districts (DCNR, 2017a). Within each district there are district and assistant managers that oversee different sections and divisions (e.g., timber management, service foresting) within the district. While the central office has formal authority over the districts, the districts are afforded substantial decision-making authority in day-to-day operations. One forest manager described this as "there are 20 kingdoms [districts] and 20 different ways of doing every different thing we do" (Interview 22, personal communication, 2017). Districts operate largely independent of the central office on a day-to-day basis and have the discretion to plan and carry-out forest management operations. For example, one forest manager noted:

> We're expected to run our districts, manage our districts. When I look at my role as a district forester, not only am I a supervisor of that immediate staff, I am the Bureau's and the Department's representative in the district in the five-county region. I represent the department at a government municipal, local level, that's my role as a district forester. (Interview 51, personal communication, 2017).

Nonetheless, certain central office directives, particularly those that are politically-driven, may get priority attention from the districts – "It depends on where the orders are coming from. If they're coming down from Harrisburg, then we drop what we're doing and we go take care of the issue. It just depends on the situation" (Interview 34, personal communication, 2017). Yet the influence from the central office is also bounded, as districts receive pressure from the local environment (social and ecological) that demand attention:

> [The State Forester] always says that central office is supposed to set the direction and the forest district carry it out, but that's not really how it works because we have so much pressure from the area that you work and from the people you deal with, and people who want to use state forest and every policy (Interview 22, personal communication, 2017).

The co-occurrence quotation counts and the quotation adjacency counts in table 5-7 provide supporting evidence that Organizational Discretion impacts the system (i.e., Mission-driven Management) and its parts (i.e., the four sub-core categories). The signals of linkages between Organizational Discretion and the four sub-core categories in table 5-7 were found by analyzing quotations beyond their single-coded properties. According to the counts in table 5-7, there are not substantial differences in the strength of the linkages between Organizational Discretion and the four sub-core categories. However, according to the co-occurrence counts the strongest linkage is with Balancing, and according to the quotation adjacency counts the

strongest linkage is with Adapting to Uncertainty. A heavy hand from the Bureau's central office that would constrain the districts' decision-making authority would also constrain the ability of the managers within the districts to conduct both Balancing – the demands of the central office would supersede local demands – and Adapting to Uncertainty – the demands of the central office may limit the resources dedicated to excepted ecological challenges that are locally based. The linkage signals for Organizational Discretion are not as strong as those found for Organizational Capacity, thus the influence of Organizational Discretion on the system may be considered less prominent. This was due largely to lack of personnel (which falls under Organizational Capacity) being a prominent area of discussion for forest managers.

Table 5-7

Co-Occurrence Quotation Counts and Quotation Adjacency Counts between Organizational Discretion and the Four Sub-Core Categories

	AV	**AU**	**B**	**PC**
Co-Occurrence Quotation Count	9	9	16	13
Quotation Adjacency Count	15	17	11	13

Note. AV = Advocating Value; AU = Adapting to Uncertainty; B = Balancing; PC = Prudent Collaboration

5.10 Summary

In summary, through the utilization of the entire classic grounded theory package I developed a substantive theory called the Theory of Pragmatic Governance. The theory is based on the emergent main concern of those in the substantive area (i.e., the Pennsylvania Bureau of Forestry): the ability of the Bureau employees to manage Pennsylvania forest lands – both state- and private-owned – for long-term sustainability so that future generations may also benefit from and experience the resource. The core and sub-core categories of the theory explain how the main concern is resolved and conceptualize most of the ordinary day-to-day governance practices carried out by foresters and public managers. I used the System-Parts theoretical code to conceptualize the core category of Mission-driven Management (i.e., the "system") and its four sub-core categories (i.e., the "parts"): Balancing, Advocating Value, Adapting to Uncertainty, and Prudent Collaboration. The system is impacted by two related categories conceptualized as contextual conditions: Organizational Capacity and Organizational Discretion. Analysis of the data evidenced that each of the sub-core categories have a role in shaping Mission-driven Management and are interrelated. The analysis also demonstrated that the two contextual conditions influence the representation of Mission-driven Management, with Organizational Capacity having more of an influence than Organizational Discretion. In the following chapter I describe how the term "pragmatic" earned its way into the theory and demonstrate how pragmatist philosophy further develops the theory.

Chapter 6. Discussion

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss and conceptually extend the Theory of Pragmatic Governance. I accomplish this through several discussions, including describing how the term "pragmatic" earned its way into the theory; describing how the theory may be applicable to the substantive area of homelessness services delivery; discussing how the theory is positioned in the governance and collaboration literature in public administration; describing how the concept of Balancing may be enhanced with insight from theory in the field of psychology; and by describing how the concept of Advocating Value relates to the concept of public service motivation.

6.1 Pragmatist Philosophy and the Theory of Pragmatic Governance

The purpose of this section of the discussion is to describe how pragmatist philosophy aligns with the Theory of Pragmatic Governance. According to classic grounded theory methodology, "all is data" (Glaser, 1998, p. 8), which includes existing theoretical concepts and ideas. The use of existing concepts and ideas must be "earned" – incorporating existing concepts and ideas into the developing theory must not conflict with the grounded data and it must raise the conceptual level of the theory or assist with situating the theory in existing bodies of literature (Glaser, 1998). Such data may be incorporated into the developing theory once prominent categories emerge from the data collected from the substantive area. I allowed the theoretical categories to emerge during substantive coding, constant comparative analysis, and theoretical coding by focusing on novel theory development instead of attempting to confirm or disprove existing theoretical concepts. After the theoretical categories emerged and I developed preliminary conceptualizations of their relations, I noticed how the theoretical integration of these categories and the overall conceptual level of the theory may be enhanced by incorporating literature related to the concept of pragmatism (Glaser, 1998). Thus, I read existing literature related to American public administration's perspective on pragmatist philosophy. The literature review exercise demonstrated that several of the conceptual categories that emerged in my developing theory were relatable to pragmatism and align with certain aspects of the philosophy.

Pragmatist philosophy has a conflicted history within American public administration literature in terms of its debated level of influence on the founding of American public administration (Brennan & Keller, 2017) as well as its debated utility to serve as a guiding philosophy (see the Disputatio Sine Fine in *Administration & Society* involving Evans, 2010; Salem & Shields, 2011 Snider, 2011; and Whetsell & Shields, 2011). Scholars in these debates typically meander into the realm of democratic citizenship and the pondering of the role of public administrators in enabling democratic citizenship. Some go so far as to discuss how an overhaul of contemporary American worldviews is needed to effectuate pragmatist-based reform that translates into effective democracy (e.g., Evans, 2010). I find these debates enjoyable and attention-grabbing, but, ironically, I also find them largely un-pragmatic (i.e., impractical). Thus, I do not follow this path and instead focus here on how core principles of pragmatism relate to the substantive theory I developed in this study.

Pragmatist philosophy originated from late nineteenth and early twentieth American philosophers, notably John Dewey, William James, and Charles Pierce (Ansell, 2016; Nathaniel, 2011). These philosophers embraced the position of anti-dualism by rejecting a winner-take-all position on the debate between rationalism and empiricism theories of knowledge, as well as rejecting contemporary dichotomies (Ansell, 2011). This position is summarized well by Strauss (1993, p. 45):

> In the writings of the Pragmatists we can see a constant battle against the separating, dichotomizing, or opposition of what Pragmatists argued should be joined together: knowledge and practice, environment and actors, biology and cultures, means and ends, body and mind, matter and mind, object and subject, logic and inquiry, lay thought and scientific thought, necessity and chance, cognitive and non cognitive, art and science, values and action.

When theoretically developing and integrating the categories of my emerging theory, it became apparent to me that the overarching theoretical connections of the theory are best conceptualized as happening through a pragmatist worldview that rejects dualisms. In other words, the organization in which I was observing illustrated a rejection of the dichotomy of governance through the traditional, bureaucratic government agency and governance through an ideal multi-actor, collaborative governance scenario. What was occurring in reality was something of a mix between the two. Thus, pragmatism earned its way into the theory by serving as a way to conceptualize the overarching theoretical integration.

Several aspects of pragmatist thought also aligned well with the developing theory. For example, a pragmatist perspective of organizations provides insight into the core category of Mission-driven Management. Pulling from Philip Selznick and Mary Parker Follett, Ansell (2011) describes a pragmatist perspective of organizations as one that encourages the fusion the formal and informal aspects of organization to stimulate effective organizational operation. This includes "… the cultivation of organizational purpose through the development of a meaningful mission" (Ansell, 2011, p. 16). From this pragmatist insight, it follows that enabling Mission-driven Management may stimulate organizational effectiveness. Mission-driven Management may be enhanced by ensuring that members of the organization are attracted to and are cognizant of the organization's purpose and social contribution (i.e., mission valence; Wright, Moynihan, & Pandey, 2012); and by ensuring that the organization as a whole is following to its mission (i.e., mission coherence; Cheng, 2015). For example, when managers are afforded autonomy to make personnel hiring decisions (i.e., they are not limited in their Organizational Discretion), the organization tends to have employees that report greater mission coherence (Cheng, 2015). In addition, organizational leaders who are able to clarify organizational goals and raise employee awareness of the importance and value of the organization increase mission valence (Wright et al., 2012). This may be viewed as Advocating Value *within* the organization. It would be valuable for future research to explore how an employee's existing attitudes related to the profession in which they are employed (e.g., forestry) also supports mission valence when the employee works for an organization with a mission that aligns well with their profession (e.g., the Bureau of Forestry). Understanding the connecting influence of public service motivation

(PSM) within research on mission valence is also important (Desmidt & Prinzie, 2018; Wright et al., 2012).

The pragmatist view of human behavior as problem-focused and evolutionary provides insight into the interrelatedness of the sub-core categories. For example, in defending the use of pragmatist thought for public administration, Shields (1996, p. 394) brings us back to the basic behavior of public administrators:

> …the public administrator must make the program work. The mail is delivered, the forest fires put out, the trash collected, the welfare client's eligibility determined, the taxes collected, and so forth. Many public administrators attend to the practical details of program implementation. They do it, however, in a fluid, often volatile environment.

Within this context, a pragmatist philosophy advocates focusing on a practical, experiential approach to knowledge that is problem-focused and continually evolving (Ansell, 2016). Human action that is problem-focused is viewed as both habitual and creative and argues against the idea that people always think before doing (Ansell & Boin, 2017). This is illustrated through the rejection of a means-ends dichotomy in terms of human thought and action: "A circular, tightly coupled relationship brings action, perception, and understanding together in a process that unfolds in small iterative steps" (Ansell & Boin, 2017, p. 7; Dewey, 1896). Peirce argued that when making decisions, individuals use a type of inference called abduction: the idea of forming hypotheses of what is happening by habitually drawing (potentially creative) inferences from the current situation of action (Ansell, 2011; Ansell & Boin, 2017). This process aligns with the idea that public managers are constantly relying on inferences pulled from various experiences (through activities related to Balancing, Advocating Value, and Prudent Collaboration), but also acting creatively when they have to adapt to unexpected social and ecological challenges (Adapting to Uncertainty).

Lastly, pragmatism's stance on communication provides additional insight into Advocating Value and Prudent Collaboration. A pragmatist perspective encourages social inquiry and communication as a means to gain insight into solving problems – human interaction can provide clues (referred to by Peirce as symbols) that can be used to understand the natural world (Nathaniel, 2011). While it is often difficult to understand the perspective of others, the idea of pragmatist inquiry suggests that "walking in someone else's shoes" and critical listening are elements that "…help to illuminate and deepen our understanding of our own and others' beliefs, values, and interests." (Ansell, 2011, p. 396). A pragmatist perspective of Prudent Collaboration would view the multiple forms of collaborative relationships as potentials for pragmatist inquiry and shared value exploration. Similarly, pragmatists would view Advocating Value through direct advocacy as a means to incite dialogue with others about problem and value definition.

6.2 Transferability of the Theory of Pragmatic Governance

In this section I discuss the transferability of the theory and also begin the process of transitioning the Theory of Pragmatic Governance from being a substantive grounded theory to a formal grounded theory (i.e., increasing the generalizability of the theory). Some scholars warn

against attempts to generalize qualitative research findings, as particularity and thick description are typical goals of qualitative research (Creswell, 2014). However, other scholars believe it is important for researchers to discuss the transferability (i.e., the range of application of the study's findings) of qualitative research findings and to discuss generalizing the findings (Malterud, 2001; Silverman, 2011). The intent of classic grounded theory methodology aligns with this group of latter scholars, as the intent of this methodology is not to produce thick, descriptive research findings, but rather to raise the conceptual level of the data to build theory (Glaser, 1998). Thus, the product I developed – a grounded theory – is intended to be transferable and to be generalized to other substantive areas. Since the theory I developed is grounded primarily in qualitative data, it is important to reflect on the transferability of the theory.

The theory I developed in my study is a substantive grounded theory, which means the theory was developed on a single substantive area of inquiry (i.e., the Pennsylvania Bureau of Forestry). However, the theory I developed has substantial transferability in its current form as the theory explains governance from a conceptual level that is transferable to other organizational settings. In other words, it is likely that the governance practices and organizational dynamics described within the Theory of Pragmatic Governance would be found in other organizations. For example, it is likely that the theory would be very transferable to other organizations operating within the same policy context (i.e., forestry and public land management). Some of these organizations include the U.S. Forest Service and other state-level forestry agencies. Each state government has a government agency that is responsible for state forest management (National Association of State Foresters, 2018). Pennsylvania is fifth in the country in terms of state-owned forest land as percent of total state area. It would be worthwhile to theoretically sample states that are ranked both higher (e.g., New York) and lower (e.g., Oregon) than Pennsylvania to obtain various perspectives (Natural Resources Council of Maine, 2000). Additional qualitative interviewing could be used as the method of data collection to explore similarities and differences in day-to-day governing practices; or survey methods could be used as a more targeted approach than qualitative interviewing to explore the core and sub-core categories of the theory directly.

The conceptual level of the Theory of Pragmatic Governance also makes it highly transferable to other government agencies in policy contexts that differ from that of forestry and general public land management. Exploring the use of the theory in such cases increases the generalizability of theory (Silverman, 2011) and begins the process of moving the theory from a substantive theory to a formal theory (Glaser, 1998). The human services and corrections policy contexts are two contexts where day-to-day governing practices are substantially different than those of forestry and public land management at the descriptive level, but may be similar at a conceptual level (i.e., the theory is transferable). For example, within the human services policy context, the Theory of Pragmatic Governance is transferable to the delivery of homeless services. The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) – which is the federal agency largely responsible for addressing homelessness – implements an administrative approach to structuring funding and local homeless service delivery that has prompted the creation of local community collaboratives across the U.S. that were created to obtain crucial federal funding to

combat homelessness locally. These collaboratives are referred to Continuums of Care (CoCs) and many have existed since the early 1990s. There are approximately 400 CoCs throughout the U.S., which have different governance structures and actors, but typically involve traditional government agencies (at either state or local government level) and multiple nonprofit and private-sector actors (Hafer, 2018). Based on my professional experience as a county government leader in the CoC of Delaware County, Pennsylvania (see Homeless Service Coalition of Delaware County, 2014), I can demonstrate how the Theory of Pragmatic Governance transfers to the traditional government agency in this policy context. For example, indicators of Balancing stakeholder demands would likely be discovered as the county government serves as the convener of the coalition and continually tries to Balance the needs of the various coalition members (e.g., homeless shelters, case management providers, formerly homeless individuals). Indicators of Prudent Collaboration would also likely be discovered as the county engages in multiple collaborative endeavors with various organizations that have different functions and goals (e.g., faith-based organizations, property management companies). The county must be prudent with which who they engage as part of the CoC as funds are limited. This concern of limited funding would likely surface as a prominent indicator of Organizational Capacity. Funding for the CoC is tied largely to federal funds and the level of funding constrains the scope of CoC services. The funding must be renewed on an annual basis through a nationwide CoC competitive application process. This application process would likely be a prominent topic as well and would provide indicators of both Advocating Value and Adapting to Uncertainty. Regarding Advocating Value, the county (in collaboration with other CoC members) must demonstrate within the competitive application the value that their collaboratively-formed CoC provides to the homeless community in their locality. In other words, they must effectively Advocate Value of the public service they provide through a written funding application. The competitive application may also be an indicator of a social challenge of Adapting to Uncertainty – the county government must adapt to unexpected changes in the application process made by the federal government from year to year. They must also adapt to uncertain funding amounts. For example, the total federal funding for the Delaware County CoC decreased from about $5.14 million in 2016 to $5.04 million in 2017 (HUD Exchange, 2018).

The Theory of Pragmatic Governance is also transferable to the corrections policy context, particularly for correctional institutions. For example, empirical indicators of Mission-driven Management would likely be prominent as correctional institutions are organizations that are substantially focused on accomplishing the organizational mission (Wakai, Shelton, Trestman, & Kesten, 2009), which is to primarily ensure safety within institutional walls and contribute to public safety in general (e.g., Pennsylvania Department of Corrections, 2018). Empirical indicators would also likely be prominent for at least two of the sub-core categories: Adapting to Uncertainty and Balancing. While correctional institutions are organizations that strive to maintain consistency in operations to ensure continuous safety, indicators of Adapting to Uncertainty would likely be discovered in the form of both social and ecological challenges. Prominent indicators of social challenges would come in the form of deviant inmate behavior, which is unpredictable and requires the institution to adapt administrative practices (both short- and long-term) to effectively address such behaviors. Indicators of ecological challenges would also be prevalent as correctional institution operations are impacted by extreme weather

conditions, such as heat waves (Shepard, 2017) and hurricanes (Kozlowska, 2017). Such ecological challenges frequently result in requiring to relocate inmates to different facilities or requiring to restrict them to their housing buildings, both of which substantially disrupt regular operations. Regarding Balancing, empirical indicators would be discovered for how correctional institution staff confront the internal struggle of Balancing multiple role sets, particularly for how they balance "jailer" versus "rehabilitator" role sets (Smith & Schweitzer, 2012). Balancing in the form of the external struggle of Balancing stakeholder demands would also be discovered. For example, correctional institutions must conduct an ongoing Balancing between demands for visitors and inmates for contact visits (i.e., visits conducted not through glass walls) and ensuring that contraband is not introduced into the institution (Boudin, Stutz, & Littman, 2013). Lastly, empirical indicators of the contextual condition of Organizational Capacity would also be prominent. These indicators would be discovered in the form of organizational managers striving to maintain an adequate level of correctional officers, as officer-to-inmate ratios are a substantial concern to maintaining safety (National Institute of Corrections, 2012). Correctional institutions are constantly focused on recruiting and hiring correctional officers due to high turnover (Matz, Woo, & Kim, 2014), since the position comes with high stress and emotional burnout (Lambert, Hogan, Dial, Jiang, & Khondaker, 2012).

Demonstrating the transferability of the Theory of Pragmatic Governance by discussing how it may apply to the homeless services and corrections policy contexts is only the beginning of how the theory may be applied to and informed by additional policy contexts. Additional theoretical sampling from these policy contexts that are vastly different than that of forestry and public land management would provide valuable insight into the transferability of the theory (Silverman, 2011). The large number of unique governance scenarios that the CoC model provides would be a valuable source of additional theoretical sampling. As discussed earlier, include both qualitative interviewing and survey methods would prove to be valuable data collections methods. An additional avenue for future research to extend the generalizability of the theory is to theoretically sample other governance actors involved in collaborative relationships with the traditional government agency to gain an alternative perspective. This perspective was partially obtained in the current study – I conducted interviews with the executive directors of two statewide nonprofits related to forestry and conservation – but a deeper investigation of the ordinary day-to-day governing practices of these other governance actors would enrich the theory. Such investigation may reveal core categories of governance practices that align or diverge from than those discovered in the current study. Public administration governance scholars suggest that such governance practices in civil society (nonprofits and foundations) and markets (business sector organizations) are likely to be driven by their own distinctive interests (Lynn & Malinowska 2018).

6.3 Governance: Government continues to Govern

The purpose of this section is to discuss how the Theory of Pragmatic Governance is positioned in the governance literature in public administration. My study answers the call of public administration governance scholars who suggest that refining the understanding of governance requires analyzing patterns of behavior in the daily administrative life of the traditional government agency (Frederickson et al., 2015). In addition, the qualitative and

process-oriented research approach I adopted has been promoted as an appropriate approach to studying governance (Ansell & Torfing, 2016). I developed the Theory of Pragmatic Governance based on the patterns of public managers' behavior that emerged through empirical data collection and analysis following classic grounded theory methodology. This approach resulted in the emergence of four sub-core categories of the theory that explain the interrelated and ordinary governance practices from the perspective of the public manager – managers are continually shifting resources and attention from traditional program implementation concerns (Balancing) to unexpected problem remediation (Adapting to Uncertainty) to public education and marketing (Advocating Value) to creating and maintaining various forms of stakeholder linkages (Prudent Collaboration).

The Theory of Pragmatic Governance both aligns and contrasts with the work of contemporary public administration governance scholars (the contrasts are discussed in section 6.4 on Prudent Collaboration). As discussed in chapter two, while there is no single definition of governance in public administration literature, there is a common focus in the research on governance: a shift from understanding how traditional government agencies deliver public goods and services to how "…more and more actors enter the public stage to carry out government functions and programs" (Agranoff, 2017, p. 2). However, the Theory of Pragmatic Governance aligns with the work of governance scholars who contend that these additional actors have not fully displaced traditional government agencies as the central player (or as one of the central players) in the conceptualization of public sector governance (Agranoff, 2017; Ansell & Torfing, 2016; Frederickson et al., 2015). As a central player, government agencies continue to be critical in delivering public services. As such, while it is necessary to understand the relationships between government and other governance actors, it continues to be important to understand the administrative practices of government actors and the organizational structures within which they operate (Meier, 2010).

The Theory of Pragmatic Governance suggests that multiple organizational variables – such as Organizational Capacity and Organizational Discretion – are likely to impact the appearance of governance. This aligns with the work of Egeberg and colleagues (2016) who suggest that organizational structure – defined as "a collection of *role expectations* with regard to *who* is supposed to do *what, how,* and *when*" (p. 32) – has the potential to impact governance processes. Understanding the relation between organizational structure and governance is additionally important from a practical perspective as structure is one organizational factor that is most likely open to deliberate change (Egeberg et al., 2016; Meier, 2010). As demonstrated in the current study, Organizational Capacity impacts governance primarily in the form of personnel resources. When managing a complex public use resource such as forest land, the lack of personnel places constraints on what is possible to accomplish. For example, within a limited personnel environment, Bureau managers are forced to allocate personnel to activities that are core to the mission of the Bureau (e.g., marking timber to sell, maintaining state forest roads) even if this pulls almost all personnel away from activities that are mission-focused but are not as "core" (e.g., maintaining trails, attending school programs).

Organizational Discretion is an additional organizational variable that emerged from the current study that has the potential to impact the appearance of governance. In the current study, the 20 forest districts of the Bureau of Forestry have substantial discretion in day-to-day operations of the district, as they are free from heavy-handed political influences of the Bureau's central office. When implementing discretion, the Bureau's District Managers demonstrated that

their professional expertise guides most decisions. Political and stakeholder-based pressure has an influence and is considered, but professional expertise is prioritized, which aligns with existing governance research (Egeberg et al., 2016).

This highlights an important dilemma within contemporary governance, and particularly collaborative governance, thought: with the addition of multiple actors into the governing process, should layman considerations be held in the same regard as that of professional experts? Radnor, Osborne, and Glennon (2016, p.55) warn against the ideal-type form of collaborative governance where layman considerations are held in the same regard: "one would not want to replace the surgeon with the patient in the 'co-production' of oncology services – professional expertise is vital and irreplaceable in delivering the desired impact." In a similar vein, many traditional government agencies employ experts who were hired to govern a public trust based on the expert's policy-specific knowledge and professional expertise. This is evidenced in the current study: forestry is a professional career that requires years of training and practical experience. It is more than likely that citizens would not want a layman ATV rider or trail hiker to have the same decision-making authority when it comes to governing and conserving common-use public forest lands as that of a professional forester. However, the citizen perspective regarding this matter was not explored in the current study. Thus, a valuable research question worth exploring is how influential are a citizen's political ideology or personal values to their perspective of the value of professional expertise across different policy domains. This will provide insight on the public's perspective of the expected role of the traditional government agency in the era of governance.

6.4 Prudent Collaboration: Collaborative Governance in Practice

While the Theory of Pragmatic Governance aligns with the work of some public administration governance scholars, it also contrasts with the work of others. It does not align with governance scholars who focus on an ideal-type of governance through multi-actor collaboration, with the goal of reaching authentic, balanced, and consensus-based decision-making across governance actors (i.e., the concept of collaborative governance; Ansell & Gash, 2006; Emerson et al., 2012). The Theory of Pragmatic Governance highlights that this perspective may be more a normative ideal rather than an empirical reality. Contemporary collaborative governance frameworks focus largely on the collaborative endeavor itself, and not the organizations and individuals involved in the collaborating. While it is important to understand the process and structure of collaboration, the frameworks fail to highlight that collaborative endeavors may only be one aspect of a larger picture of governance.

The emergence of Prudent Collaboration as one of four sub-core categories of the Theory of Pragmatic Governance – and not as the single area of focus of those within the substantive area – demonstrates that while public managers may be considering stakeholder demands and involving stakeholders in governing, it is not their lone primary focus. From the perspective of the public manager within a traditional government agency, they are also dealing with Balancing conflicting role sets in program implementation; Adapting to Uncertain social and ecological challenges; and Advocating the Value of their agency and the public service being provided in a direct or indirect manner to multiple stakeholders and the general public. Public managers will seek out and maintain collaborative endeavors, but only to the extent that these other practices are not dominating their time, and primarily only when the endeavors support organizational mission accomplishment.

In addition, Williams (2016) notes that the Emerson et al., (2012) and Ansel and Gash (2007) collaborative governance frameworks do not clarify how organizational structure and authority distribution within organizations impacts collaboration. The Theory of Pragmatic Governance demonstrates that how an organization structures administrative discretion impacts a manager's ability to pursue collaborative endeavors. Organizations such as the Bureau of Forestry are structured to afford District Managers substantial administrative discretion in pursuing collaborative endeavors they so choose. For example, when discussing collaborative relationships with state parks, one manager noted "We've done that through the district. We don't need a heavy hand from Harrisburg" (Interview 18, personal communication, 2017). However, these decisions are also bounded by Organizational Capacity: a manager has limited time and resources; thus, they seek out new collaborations or continue existing collaborations in a prudent manner. Collaborations that help to accomplish the organizational mission will have a higher priority.

The sub-core category of Prudent Collaboration also highlights that a siloed approach to understanding collaboration in public administration – focusing on one particular form of collaboration (e.g., interorganizational collaboration versus coproduction) without considering others – does not reflect the empirical reality. Similarly, Williams (2016) suggests that the name given to various forms of collaboration within public administration is largely arbitrary. This idea is supported by the current study such that public managers within the Bureau of Forestry are dealing with multiple forms of collaboration – from coproduction to network collaboration to interorganizational collaboration – and were uninterested in categorizing it based on the level of "collaboration" involved. Future research on collaboration in public administration may prove more beneficial to practice if it focuses on the entire picture of collaboration within public administration rather than on siloed types; and determining if different "mixes" of different types produce different outcomes in different contexts (Sancino & Jacklin-Jarvis, 2016).

6.5 Balancing: Maintaining Cognitive Consistency

An individual-level approach to studying governance has not received the attention it deserves (Ford & Ihrke, 2018; O'Leary & Vij, 2012); however, the psychologies (e.g., attitudes, perceptions, cognitions) of both those involved in governing and the governed have substantial potential to influence governance processes. Within the Theory of Pragmatic Governance, the internal struggle that managers encounter when Balancing role sets relates to an individual-level perspective of governance. To better understand internal, individual-level processes such as Balancing opposing role sets, it is helpful to seek insight from the field of psychology. Some public administration scholars have recently advocated a behavioral perspective of public administration that focuses on applying psychological insights and theory into public administration research (Grimmelikhuijsen, Jilke, Olsen, & Tummers, 2017), which is what I accomplish within this section.

The internal Balancing struggle that managers encounter during governance can be further explained using insights from the psychological theory called cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957). The original theory is based on the belief that "…an individual strives toward consistency within himself" (Festinger, 1957, p. 1). To attain that consistency, an individual must maintain psychological consistency among his or her cognitions, which are "… any knowledge, opinion, or belief about the environment, about oneself, or about one's behavior"

(Festinger, 1957, p. 3). Examples of cognitions include personal beliefs (e.g., "I am a sensitive person"), generally known facts (e.g., "It is cold in Pennsylvania in the winter"), attitudes (e.g., "I do not like broccoli"), and behavioral cognitions (e.g., "I smoke cigarettes"). Consistency among cognitions depends on the relations between them. A dissonant relation exists between two cognitions if one of the cognitions contradicts or is inconsistent with the other cognition (e.g., the two behavioral cognitions "I speed often" and "I am a safe driver"). This arouses a felt psychological tension or uneasiness termed cognitive dissonance, which is a negative drive state that motivates someone experiencing dissonance to reduce it. A common method of dissonance reduction is by changing cognitions that are the least resistant to change (e.g., cognitions that are of least importance to an individual). Maintaining cognitive consistency is largely a nonconscious process such that individuals are engaged in maintaining consistency and reducing dissonance without being consciously aware of it happening (Festinger, 1957).

Conceptual elaborations of cognitive dissonance theory suggest that dissonance has the potential to be aroused when individuals think about and evaluate their own behavior (Aronson, 1968; Cooper & Fazio, 1984; Steele, 1988; Stone & Cooper, 2001). In the context of the Theory of Pragmatic Governance, balancing opposing role sets may be further conceptualized as balancing inconsistent cognitions (e.g., "I believe forestry involves working with nature" and "Being a modern forester involves working with user groups"). In the case of the Bureau of Forestry, these inconsistent cognitions are likely to arouse cognitive dissonance since foresters are passionate about their profession (Koontz, 2007), and cognitions about their job and their behavior at their job will be important to them. Consequently, they will be motivated to reduce that dissonance, which will manifest as changes in behavior or thought processes that will vary from person to person. Managers who find the traditional role set highly important are unlikely to change any cognitions (e.g., thoughts, feelings, or behavior) related to this traditional role as they perceive it as a personal standard for behavior (Stone & Cooper, 2001). This may result in reducing dissonance by cognitively labeling the modern role set as a passing fad, which may be problematic from an organizational perspective if the modern role set is not a passing fad but an enduring shift in organizational roles. An organization may counter this by keeping expected organizational roles regularly salient throughout the organization. This will lead managers to evaluate their behavior against normative organizational standards for behavior rather than their own personal standard for behavior (Stone & Cooper, 2001). Such preventative actions may produce a consistent Balancing outcome across managers and throughout the organization.

6.6 Advocating Value: Informing Public Service Motivation Theory

The purpose of this section of the discussion is to describe how the concept of Advocating Value relates to the concept of public service motivation. The Theory of Pragmatic Governance conceptualizes an employee's Personal Belief in Organizational Value as a property of Advocating Value – if an employee believes that the day-to-day administrative work of the organization is of value, they will be driven to advocate (whether directly or indirectly) that value. This was evidenced throughout the Bureau of Forestry as employees demonstrated a strong passion for the work they do as foresters (which aligns with prior research; Koontz, 2007); but they did not demonstrate the same passion for the work they do as general public service employees.

This insight of the importance of policy context over public sector in general context has the potential to contribute to the prominent public administration theory of public service motivation (PSM). The widely-accepted seminal definition of PSM is that of Perry and Wise (1990), who define PSM as "an individual's predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations" (p. 368). The three primary propositions of PSM are 1) the belief that greater PSM will lead to greater seeking of "membership in a public organization"; 2) "In public organizations, PSM is positively related to individual performance"; and 3) organizations which employ individuals who have high levels of PSM will not have to resort to utilitarian incentives in order to sustain effective individual performance (Perry, Hondegham, & Wise, 2010, p. 683).

While there are many variations, the commonly-used measure of PSM is the one developed by Perry (1996), which has four subscales: attraction to public policy making; commitment to civic duty and the public interest; compassion; and self-sacrifice. This measure fails to capture the impact of policy context (e.g., forestry, human services, transportation); and the sub-core category of Advocating Value through the property of Personal Belief in Organizational Value suggests that policy context may influence managers' motivation to engage in public service. Policy context may be a powerful intermediating variable between PSM and any three of the outcomes suggested in the primary propositions of the theory (and particularly the second related to individual performance). For example, Bureau of Forestry employees' passion for the profession of forestry and the organizational value that the Bureau provides appears to be more motivational to engage in public service than by a motivation grounded in a general desire to serve the public. This level of motivation may not carry over to work in other policy contexts. In other words, a forester's level of PSM may remain stable if they go to work in a different policy context (e.g., human services), but their work performance is likely to decrease due to the shift in context. The intermediating effect of employees' personal beliefs in organizational value (based on policy context) on the relationship between PSM and work performance may be a worthwhile direction for future research.

Chapter 7. Summary and Conclusion

The intent of this dissertation was to explore the prominent conditions and dimensions of the ordinary day-to-day governance practices of a traditional government agency. I used classic grounded theory methodology to discover and theorize the latent patterns of behavior related to these prominent conditions and dimensions and developed a substantive grounded theory. Due to the common misconception of the term "grounded theory", I also provided an elaboration of the term's derivation and common usage, demonstrated how grounded theory has been misused in top tier public administration literature, and detailed the classic grounded theory methodology.

The substantive area within which I developed the substantive theory was the daily administrative operations of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Forestry. The Bureau is a traditional state government agency that is responsible for the management of Pennsylvania's state forest system as well as serving as the official steward of all Pennsylvania's forests. The primary data collection method was qualitative interviews conducted with 55 Bureau managers who are located in 20 forest districts geographically dispersed throughout Pennsylvania. The interviews were conducted in an informal, conversational style to facilitate open discussion about topics that were relevant to the interviewee. Following the classic grounded theory procedure of theoretical sampling, data collected from the initial interviews afforded emergence of the main concern and related concepts that were explored in further detail in subsequent interviews and secondary data sources, which included Bureau documents and webpages, and forest district public-facing Facebook pages (when available). I also conducted two interviews with executive directors of statewide nonprofits that frequently engage with the districts to provide additional context to the primary and secondary data collected. The data was analyzed using ATLAS.ti computer assisted qualitative data analysis software. My conceptual theorizing of the data – through memo writing, theorical coding, and theoretical sorting – resulted in the development of the Theory of Pragmatic Governance. It describes what governance looks like from the perspective of individuals in a traditional government agency, explains the primary ordinary practices that comprise governance, and predicts the nature of relationships between those practices. The theory is summarized in section 7.1.

7.1 Summary of the Theory of Pragmatic Governance

The Theory of Pragmatic Governance is a substantive grounded theory that is grounded in empirical data related to the Pennsylvania Bureau of Forestry. It describes what governance looks like from the perspective of individuals in a traditional government agency, explains the primary day-to-day practices that comprise governance, and predicts the nature of relationships between those practices.

Constant comparative analysis of the data I collected resulted in the emergence of the main concern of individuals in the substantive area: the ability of the Bureau employees to manage Pennsylvania forest lands – both state- and private-owned – for long-term sustainability so that future generations may also benefit from and experience the resource. The core and sub-core categories (also referred to as concepts) of the theory that emerged during analysis explain how the main concern is resolved. These categories conceptualize most of the day-to-day actions carried out by Bureau employees. I used the System-Parts theoretical code to conceptualize the

core category of Mission-driven Management (i.e., the "system") and its four sub-core categories (i.e., the "parts): Balancing, Advocating Value, Adapting to Uncertainty, and Prudent Collaboration.

Mission-driven management conceptualizes how the majority of the action of the organization is driven to accomplishing the organizational mission through four primary activities enacted by managers:

- Balancing, which conceptualizes the struggle that managers encounter (and its resolution) when attempting to accomplish a wide variety of tasks that fall under their purview.
- Advocating Value, which conceptualizes how managers (and other organizational members) demonstrate the value that their organization – and the public service they provide – provides to other organizations and the general public.
- Adapting to Uncertainty, which conceptualizes how managers respond to unexpected social and ecological challenges that confront the organization.
- Prudent Collaboration, which conceptualizes how managers tactfully incorporate collaborative relationships that cross traditional organizational boundaries into the organization's operations.

The four sub-core categories each have prominent properties that further detail the category, such as the multiple role sets of Balancing or the managerial skills of Adapting to Uncertainty. The sub-core categories are interrelated through multi-directional relationships, and as a system resolve the main concern. The system is impacted by two related categories conceptualized as contextual conditions: Organizational Capacity, which is conceptualized as how resource limitations within an organization shape the representation of Mission-driven Management; and Organizational Discretion, which is conceptualized as how the bounds of decision-making authority throughout an organization shape the representation of Mission-driven Management.

Following the emergence of the main concern and the core categories, I determined that incorporation of pragmatist philosophy assisted with conceptualizing the overarching theoretical integration. In addition, the theory aligns with a pragmatist perspective of organizations that supports the idea that the development of a meaningful mission leads to effective organizations; that human action is problem-focused; and that social inquiry and communication leads to insight to solve problems.

7.2 Evaluating the Credibility of the Theory

Both qualitative and quantitative research paradigms have established measures of research credibility – quantitative research is associated with credibility concepts of validity and reliability; and qualitative research, while not universal, is typically associated with credibility concepts such as transparency and trustworthiness (Creswell, 2014). General qualitative research in public administration commonly fails to adequately report on the standards of quality of the research and findings (Ospina et al., 2018). While the typical tests of validity and reliability do not adequately capture the quality of a classic grounded theory study, there are four criteria to evaluate a grounded theory itself that do overlap with the concepts of validity and reliability (Holton & Walsh, 2017). If a grounded theory meets the criteria, it has been developed with rigor and is considered to be a valid grounded theory of quality (Glaser, 1998).

The first criterion is that the theory "fits" the pattern of data (i.e., the behavior of the individuals in the substantive area; Glaser, 1998). In my study I utilized the constant comparative analysis method (i.e., establishing categories by noting how different incidents indicate the same category) to ensure the theory I developed had good fit with the data I collected. In addition, by utilizing an intercoder reliability process I was able to demonstrate that my coding process resulted in reliable coding, and thus fit the data. Lastly, I was also able to try-out multiple theoretical codes to fit the data because I improved my theoretical sensitivity through the reading of grounded theory studies. This afforded me the ability to choose the conceptualization that had the best fit rather than relying on my preconceptions.

The second criterion is "workability": the concepts in the theoretical model must account for the resolution of the substantive area's emergent main concern (Glaser, 1998). This is similar to external validity (Holton & Walsh, 2017). I ensured workability by continually referencing Glaser's (1998) data questions (e.g., what category does this incident indicate) during the coding and constant comparative analysis process, which forced me to focus on the concerns in the substantive area. Thus, the categories in the theory I developed all relate back to the emergent main concern of the substantive area.

The third criterion is that the grounded theory has "relevance": it has practical utility, is important to those in the substantive area, and is based on their concerns (Glaser, 1998). A potential threat to relevance is if the researcher allows his preconceptions to interfere with the emergent conceptualization process. I lessened the potential of this threat by being cognizant of my biases and limiting the influence of existing literature during this process. I accomplished this through expressing self-awareness of potential biases in my analytical memo writing (Giles et al., 2013). The resulting theory I developed has practical utility as it conceptualizes most of the action in the substantive area as primary governance practices that managers conduct to resolve their main-concern and drive organizational mission accomplishment. The "relevance" of the theory is discussed in further detail in section 7.5.

Lastly, a grounded theory must have "modifiability": the theory must be flexible enough to be able to encompass new data and to be modified when needed (Glaser, 1998). This criterion is primarily of concern when generating formal grounded theory from a substantive theory. Developing a formal theory is beyond the scope of my study. However, I developed the Theory of Pragmatic Governance I developed to have modifiability, such that additional governance practices conceptualized as sub-core categories of Mission-driven Management or related categories (such as additional contextual conditions) may be integrated into the existing theory. I also demonstrated modifiability by beginning the process of theorizing how the theory may be generalizable to the homeless services policy context.

In addition to the four criteria, trustworthiness of a classic grounded theory study is also of importance (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The trustworthiness of my study is ensured through the use of ATLAS.ti, which served as a log of my theory development (Richards, 2015). This involved managing the coding, constant comparative analysis, and memoing in ATLAS.ti. The log of this activity produced an audit trail that improves the trustworthiness of the study as it is transparent how the theory developed from the empirical data (Bringer et al., 2004; Holton & Walsh, 2017; Richards, 2015). In addition, the high levels of agreement found in the negotiated

agreement process as part of the intercoder reliability testing demonstrates trustworthiness of my study.

7.3 Theoretical Contributions

The primary theoretical contribution of my study is the development of an original, substantive grounded theory of governance called the Theory of Pragmatic Governance. The theory is an original contribution for several reasons. First, the theory was developed using the classic grounded theory methodology, which is unlike existing theories of governance in public administration literature. While governance theories currently exist, the one I developed contributes to the literature on governance and collaboration by being based in the empirical reality of the ordinary day-to-day practices of a traditional government agency (Frederickson et al., 2015). Using classic grounded theory methodology together with qualitative interviewing as the primary data collection method resulted in a needed process-oriented study of governance (Ansell & Torfing, 2016). Second, the theory highlights organizational conditions that impact governance, namely the contextual conditions of Organizational Capacity and Organizational Discretion, which has been under developed in governance research (Egeberg et al., 2016). Third, the theory explains governance via an individual-level perspective of those involved in governing, and provides insight into how individual-level processes of those involved (such as the sub-core category of Balancing) shape governance (Ford & Ihrke, 2018; O'Leary & Vij, 2012).

Additionally, the theory is an original contribution to the collaboration literature in public administration by conceptualizing the empirical reality of the role of collaboration in the daily administrative life of the traditional government agency (i.e., the sub-core category of Prudent Collaboration). This contrasts with the normative ideal of collaboration in public administration that has centered around the concept of collaborative governance (Miller-Stevens & Morris, 2016). In addition, the theory's conceptualization of collaboration spans various types of collaboration within public administration (e.g., collaborative governance, coproduction), which are generally researched and discussed in silos (Sancino & Jacklin-Jarvis, 2016).

Lastly, my study was an exploration of the governance of a social-ecological system (SES) – state-governed forests within the U.S. – that has received minimal attention by SES researchers (Dartmouth College, 2017; Koontz, 2007). My study revealed that the traditional government agency continues to play a prominent role in the governing of a state forests SES; but that the level of stakeholder influence is increasing (e.g., through increasing recreational demands).

7.4 Methodological Contributions and Implications

My dissertation has three main methodological contributions. First, I demonstrated that public administration research (as evidenced by my review of the top two journals in the field) lacks a sufficient understanding of (classic) grounded theory methodology. My study demonstrated the value of utilizing the entire classic grounded theory package as a methodology to develop conceptually rich theory in public administration and may serve as an example of rigorous grounded theory research.

Second, by using qualitative interviewing as the primary data collection method my study adds variation to the body of qualitative research in public administration in general. A recent review of qualitative research across major public administration journals demonstrated that case

study research dominates the qualitative research reported in public administration (Ospina, Esteve, & Lee, 2018). Increasing the diversity of qualitative methods in public administration is needed to better demonstrate the usefulness of qualitative research (Ospina et al., 2018).

Lastly, I demonstrated the value in using intercoder reliability (ICR) testing for qualitative interviews in public administration and detailed a process for future researchers to follow. Existing public administration research is limited in its utilization of ICR, and lacks rigor when used (or at least lacks rigorous description of its use). Increasing the use of a rigorously defined ICR process helps to improve the reliability of qualitative research in public administration and demonstrates researcher transparency (Luton, 2010).

7.5 Practical Contributions

In this section I further discuss the "relevance" of the Theory of Pragmatic Governance in terms of its practical utility to those in the substantive area (Glaser, 1998). As mentioned in section 7.2, the theory I developed has practical utility as it is important to those in the substantive area and based in their concerns – the theory conceptualizes most of the action of managers in the Bureau of Forestry as primary governance practices that managers conduct to manage Pennsylvania forest lands – both state- and private-owned – for long-term sustainability. While I presented the theory as a running theoretical discussion in chapter 5, in this section I draw out seven insights provided by the theory in that discussion that relate to the theory's practical utility to the Bureau. I discuss these insights as useful *propositional statements* for Bureau managers, as well as managers in other substantive areas upon future applications of the theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

The contextual conditions of the theory highlight the importance of organizational dynamics in impacting day-to-day governing through at least three insights. First, *affording managers substantial Organizational Discretion enables organizations to respond to local demands*. This is particularly true for organizations that are geographically dispersed, such as the Bureau of Forestry. The Bureau district offices follow a common mission but are afforded enough Organizational Discretion to respond to the day-to-day operational demands of their respective districts, such as fielding requests from multiple locally-based stakeholders (e.g., state legislators, recreation groups). Redirecting discretion from the district offices to the central office would constrain the ability of the managers in the district offices' to promptly respond to local issues, which may aggregate into negative consequences for the entire organization (e.g., lack of responsiveness to stakeholders).

Second, *the Organizational Capacity limitation of lack of sufficient personnel forces managers to increase Balancing*. Increased Balancing complicates mission accomplishment as mission-driven tasks must compete against non-mission-driven tasks for limited personnel time. This increase in Balancing was evidenced in the Bureau by how many districts are seeing a substantial increase in recreational demands, and particularly requests to hold large organized events on state forest land (e.g., large-scale trail runs, mountain biking events). These events are an additional recreation-based activity that draw substantial time and energy away from existing personal who also carry out core mission-driven tasks (e.g., timber management, road maintenance). Permits, inspections, and infrastructure preparation and subsequent repair are often required for events. Concentrated heavy usage of trails – particularly in unfavorable

weather conditions (e.g., rain) – can have a substantial negative impact on the trail system. If events occur week after week, this impact snowballs. With new demands – like the large organized events – comes the need to create new procedures that streamline the process and reduce administrative burden. For example, the Bureau may find that centralizing the event registration process across districts may be a more streamlined approach than the current district-by-district process. The Bureau may also consider increasing the fees for event organizers to hold such events on state forest land, as these events take up costly Bureau resources (i.e., time of limited personnel).

Third, *the Organizational Capacity limitation of lack of sufficient personnel limits managers' ability advocate the value of the organization the public.* Being unable to adequately advocate value limits the ability of the organization to gain public support, which is particularly important for public sector organizations that are accountable to the public. Additionally, for organizations that provide multiple, complex values – such as the Bureau providing ecological services (e.g., air purification), forest goods (e.g., timber), and socio-cultural benefits (e.g., recreation) – it is particularly important for managers to understand which values are most important to which part of the public to assist managers with conveying the value of their organization. However, identifying and measuring public values is complex (Bozeman, 2007); particularly when attempting to understand the value that the public places in an environmental public good or service that is not always salient, but impacts their well-being (i.e., the passive-use value; Freeman, Herriges, & Kling, 2014). Since non-priced public goods that have passive-use value are not found in the marketplace, economists attempt to measure this value using stated preference methods: "any survey-based study in which respondents are asked questions that are designed to reveal information about their preferences or values" (Freeman et al., 2014, p. 383-384). Contingent valuation (CV) is an example of a stated-preference method that requires survey respondents (or interviewees) to place a monetary value on a public good or service in a hypothetical situation. Such methods have received minimal use in mainstream public administration literature (Chen & Thurmaier, 2008; Donahue & Miller, 2006; Rosentraub & Brennan, 2011), but have the potential to provide insight to public managers on how citizen characteristics influence the value they place in a specific public good or service.

The sub-core category of Prudent Collaboration highlights how collaborative relationships assist with day-to-day governing through at least three insights. First, *different types of collaborative relationships support different organizational operations and goals*. The Bureau's district offices collaborate with a wide range of organizations (e.g., state agencies, universities, logging companies) to undertake several mission-driven activities that the district would not be able to accomplish on their own (e.g., timber cutting and removal, ecological research). While some collaborative relationships are common across districts (e.g., relationships with State Parks), not all districts collaborate with the same organizations. Many collaborative relationships are based on local context of the district; however, other districts may have similar organizations in their area (e.g., chambers of commerce). Also, some districts have relationships with statewide organizations, while other districts do not have that same relationship. Determining how to better utilization beneficial collaborative relationships across all districts would be of value to the Bureau. For example, it may be beneficial for the Bureau to create a

centralized database of collaborative relationships that details the type of relationships engaged in across the state and for what purpose. This database could be utilized by managers in all districts when they are seeking assistance with certain mission-driven activities.

The sub-core category of Prudent Collaboration also highlights that *collaborative relationships reduce the negative impacts of uncertainty on organizational operations.* This was evidenced prominently by the districts' collaborative relationships with multiple local fire departments within their district to assist with wildfire prevention and suppression. Wildfires are prevalent, but occur with an uncertain frequency (DCNR, 2017a). Fostering collaborative relationships with local fire departments helps ease the impact of wildfires on limited district resources. Without such relationships in place the Bureau would have to shift substantially more resources than they currently do to wildfire prevention and suppression with no predictable schedule.

Lastly, *proximity fosters collaborative relationships.* Some district offices are co-located with other state agency offices (e.g., State Parks), or are in close proximity to organizations with which they collaborate. Many state parks are surrounded by or are in close proximity to state forest land and have connected trail and road systems. Many forest managers reported that they are easily able to share equipment, materials, manpower, and expertise with State Parks due to being co-located or being in close proximity. Similarly, some district offices also have conference room space that is open for public use. This offers the opportunity to spark new collaborative relationships with both individuals and organizations that may support mission-driven activities of the district.

The final practical insight highlights the importance of the organizational mission statement to day-to-day governing. This insight is derived from the conceptualization of the core category of the theory as Mission-driven Management. Existing public administration research on organizational mission statements suggests that clarity of the mission and acceptance of the mission by the organization's members is linked to organizational effectiveness (Cheng, 2015; Wright et al., 2012). The theory suggests that *the four governance practices that comprise Mission-driven management contribute to organizational effectiveness,* however additional research is required to fully support this proposition.

7.6 Directions for Future Research

Several directions for future research were discussed throughout this chapter and the proceeding chapter. They are summarized as the following:

- Extend the generalizability of the Theory of Pragmatic Governance.
    - Conduct additional theoretical sampling of public managers within same policy context of the theory (i.e., forestry or public land management), but from different states and levels of government. This may include the U.S. Forest Service and other states that have both large (e.g., New York) and small (e.g., Oregon) state forest acreages.
    - Conduct additional theoretical sampling of public managers from policy contexts other than forestry and public land management (e.g., human services, transportation). One policy context with potential is the homeless services policy

context – there are approximately 400 locally-based homeless services delivery structures throughout the U.S. that have different governance structures and actors, but typically involve traditional government agencies (at either the state or local government level) and multiple nonprofit and private-sector actors.
    - Conduct additional theoretical sampling of other governance actors (e.g., nonprofits, businesses) within the forestry, conservation, or public land management policy context. This will provide insight on the generalizability of the theory to organizations other than the traditional government agency and may reveal core categories of governance practices that align or diverge from than those discovered in the current study.
- Explore how managers conduct Advocating Value *within* their organization, and how this may increase employees' mission valence. Also, how this may be mediated by an employee's existing attitudes related to the profession in which they are employed (whether positive or negative) and how well their profession actually aligns with the organization mission.
- Explore the relationships between the mix of different types of collaboration (e.g., coproduction, interorganizational collaboration), policy context, and outcomes. Research related to collaboration in public administration may prove more beneficial to practice if it focuses on the entire picture of collaboration within public administration rather than the typical siloed focus on individual types.
- Incorporate additional insights from theories in the field psychology into the Theory of Pragmatic Governance to assist with explaining the individual-level governance practices of actors in the traditional government agency. Relating cognitive dissonance theory to the sub-core category of Balancing demonstrated the value of this future direction.
- Explore how citizens' political ideology or personal values influence their perception of the importance of professional expertise of government actors in certain policy contexts. This will provide insight on the public's perspective of the expected role of the traditional government agency in the era of governance.
- Explore the intermediating effect of government employees' personal beliefs in organizational value (based on policy context) on the relationship between public service motivation and work performance. Such research may provide insight on the relationship between the sub-core category of Advocating Value and public service motivation theory.
- Explore the usefulness of economics-based stated preference methods (such as contingent valuation) to provide public managers with insight on how citizen characteristics influence the value they place in a specific public good or service. Such insight will better equip managers to convey the importance of a public service.

There is also the need to test the Theory of Pragmatic Governance. In addition to testing the theory through additional theoretical sampling as mentioned above, it would also be worthwhile to quantitatively test the theory by operationalizing the four sub-core categories into close-ended survey questions. The survey questions could be given to Bureau of Forestry managers (or additionally theoretically sampled public managers), and methods such as confirmatory factor analysis or structural equation modeling could then be used to test the theory's constructs and the overall theoretical model.

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Appendix A: Chronological Listing of Barney Glaser's Classic Grounded Theory Monographs

Year Published	Title	Co-Author	Category
1967	The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research	Anselm L Strauss	Classic Grounded Theory Methodology
1968	Organizational Careers: A Sourcebook for Theory		Classic Grounded Theory Readers
1978	Theoretical Sensitivity: Advances in the Methodology of Grounded Theory		Classic Grounded Theory Methodology
1992	Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis: Emergence vs. Forcing		Classic Grounded Theory Methodology
1993	Examples of Grounded Theory: A Reader		Classic Grounded Theory Readers
1994	More Grounded Theory Methodologies: A Reader		Classic Grounded Theory Readers
1995	Grounded Theory: 1984-1994		Classic Grounded Theory Readers
1996	Gerund Grounded Theory: The Basic Social Process Dissertation	W. Douglas Kaplan	Classic Grounded Theory Readers
1998	Doing Grounded Theory: Issues and Discussions		Classic Grounded Theory Methodology
2001	The Grounded Theory Perspective: Conceptualization Contrasted with Description		The Classic Grounded Theory Perspectives Series
2003	The Grounded Theory Perspective II: Description's Remodeling of Grounded Theory		The Classic Grounded Theory Perspectives Series
2005	The Grounded Theory Perspective III: Theoretical Coding		The Classic Grounded Theory Perspectives Series
2006	Doing Formal Grounded Theory: A proposal		Classic Grounded Theory Methodology
2007	The Grounded Theory Seminar Reader	Judith A. Holton	Classic Grounded Theory Readers
2008	Doing Quantitative Grounded Theory		Classic Grounded Theory Methodology
2009	Jargonizing: Using the Grounded Theory Vocabulary		Classic Grounded Theory Methodology
2011	Getting Out of the Data: Grounded Theory Conceptualization		Classic Grounded Theory Methodology
2012	STOP, WRITE!: Writing Grounded Theory		Classic Grounded Theory Methodology

2012	The Grounded Theory Review Methodology Reader: Selected Papers 2004-2011	Judith A. Holton	Classic Grounded Theory Readers
2014	No Preconceptions: The Grounded Theory Dictum		Classic Grounded Theory Methodology
2014	Memoing: A Vital Grounded Theory Procedure		Classic Grounded Theory Methodology
2014	Applying Grounded Theory: A Neglected Option		Classic Grounded Theory Methodology
2015	Choosing Grounded Theory: A GT Reader of Expert Advice		Classic Grounded Theory Methodology
2016	The Cry for Help: Preserving Autonomy Doing GT Research		Classic Grounded Theory Methodology
2016	Grounded Theory Perspective: Its Origin and Growth		Classic Grounded Theory Methodology
2017	The Glaser Grounded Theory Reader		Classic Grounded Theory Readers

Source: Sociology Press (2018)

Appendix B: Journal Articles Found in the Grounded Theory Method Literature Review

Public Administration Review (1991-2018)
Adams, G. B., & White, J. D. (1994). Dissertation research in public administration and cognate fields: An assessment of methods and quality. *Public Administration Review*, 54(6), 565.
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Bigelow, B., & Stone, M. M. (1995). Why don't they do what we want? An exploration of organizational responses to institutional pressures in community health centers. Public Administration Review, 55(2), 183.
Bingham, L. B., & O'Leary, R. (2006). Conclusion: Parallel play, not collaboration: Missing questions, missing connections. Public administration review, 66, 161-167.
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Bryer, T. A. (2009). Explaining responsiveness in collaboration: Administrator and citizen role perceptions. Public Administration Review, 69(2), 271-283.
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Gershman, J. (2013). Navigating the Networks Governing the Internet. Public Administration Review, 73(3), 535-540.
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Heimstädt, M., & Dobusch, L. Politics of Disclosure: Organizational Transparency as Multiactor Negotiation. Public Administration Review.
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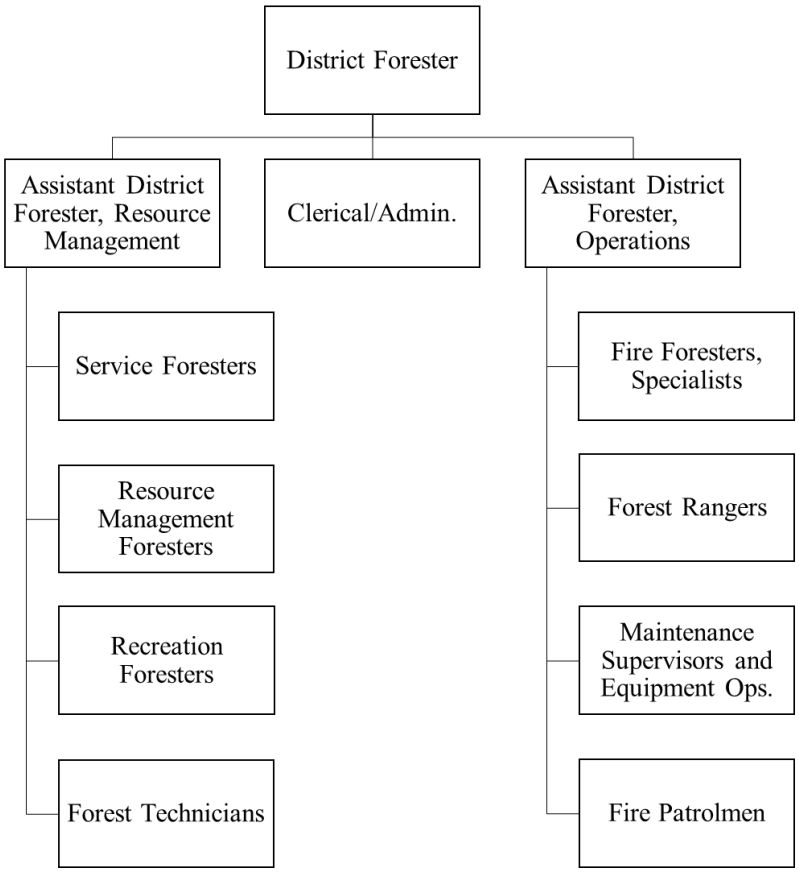
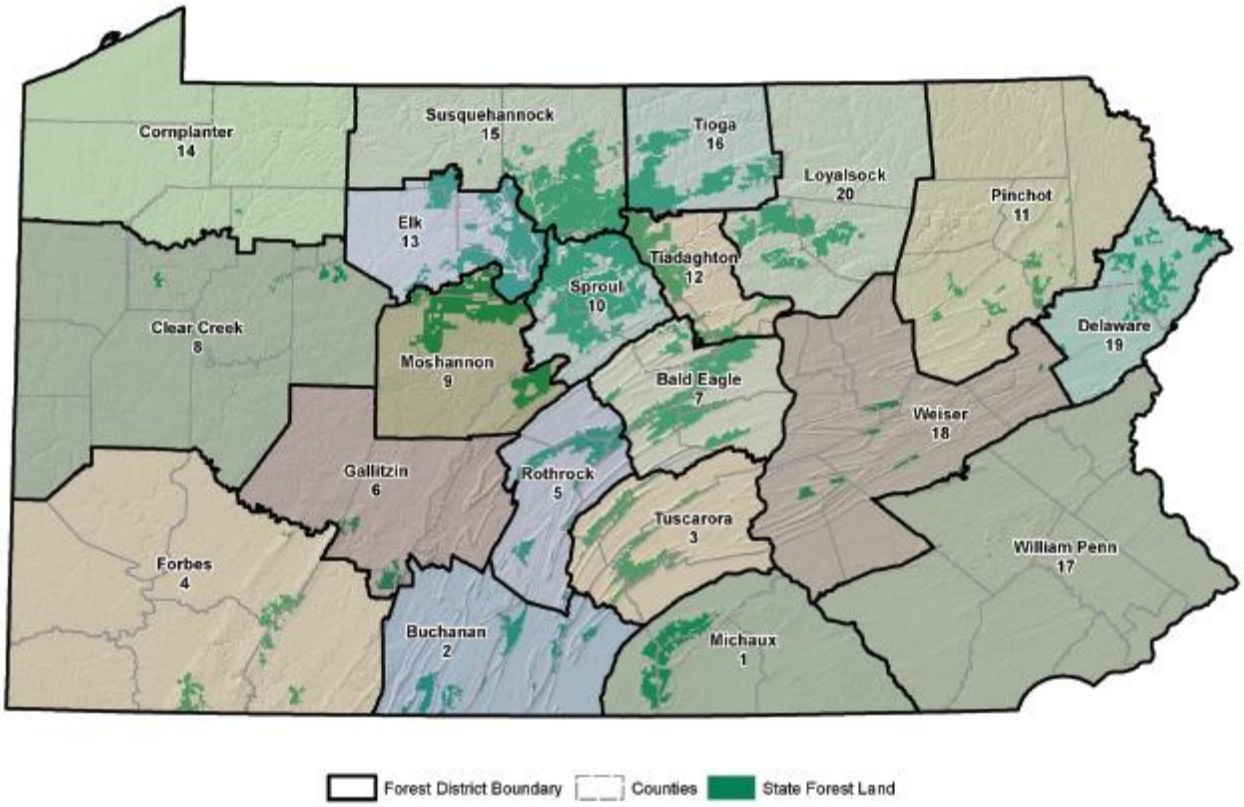
Zhu, L. (2016) Transformational governance: How boards achieve extraordinary change. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, *26*(4), 814–816.

Appendix C: Example of Typical District Office Structure



Source: DCNR (2017a)

Appendix D: Map of Pennsylvania State Forest Districts



Source: DCNR (2017a)

Appendix E: Interview Recruitment Email

Hello [name],

This is Joe Hafer, the researcher from Penn State Harrisburg who spoke at the recent District Forester's meeting at State College (I attached a copy of the PowerPoint I presented at the meeting). As part of the study I'm conducting I'm interested in understanding the big issues in forest management that individuals are dealing with across all forest districts, primarily from the perspectives of the District and Assistant District Foresters. I already spoke with several district foresters and ADFs from other districts during the recent meeting. I'm attempting to schedule some time to come out to districts that I didn't have the chance to speak with at the meeting. I'm following up with you to see if you and/or the ADFs would be open and available to speaking with me and when might be a good time. The interviews are informal and open-ended and most have lasted around 30-45 minutes per person. I was hoping to come to [district] on [dates] depending you the district's availability. Please let me know if you're open to speaking with me and available on those dates. I very much appreciate your help with this study and look forward to meeting with [district].

Many Thanks,

Joseph Hafer
Doctoral Candidate, Public Administration
School of Public Affairs
Penn State Harrisburg

Appendix F: Informed Consent for Exempt Research

Title of Project: An Economic Evaluation of the Pennsylvania State Forest System

Principal Investigator: Bing Ran, PhD, School of Public Affairs, Penn State Harrisburg

Address: 777 West Harrisburg Pike, Middletown, PA 17057

Telephone Number: (717) 948-6057

You are being invited to volunteer to participate in a research study. This summary explains information about this research.

- The purpose of this research is to gain a perspective of Pennsylvania state forest management from individuals on the front line of forest management. Interested in the issues you face and how you resolve them.
- You will participate in an informal, conversational interview where the researcher doesn't have preplanned questions.
- The recordings and transcript of interview will be kept confidential. Your name or forest district will not be used in the final report. Pseudonyms will be used.

If you have questions or concerns, you should contact Bing Ran at (717) 948-6057. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject or concerns regarding your privacy, you may contact the Office for Research Protections at 814-865-1775.

Your participation is voluntary and you may decide to stop at any time. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to answer.

Your participation implies your voluntary consent to participate in the research.

Appendix G: Example Interview Questions

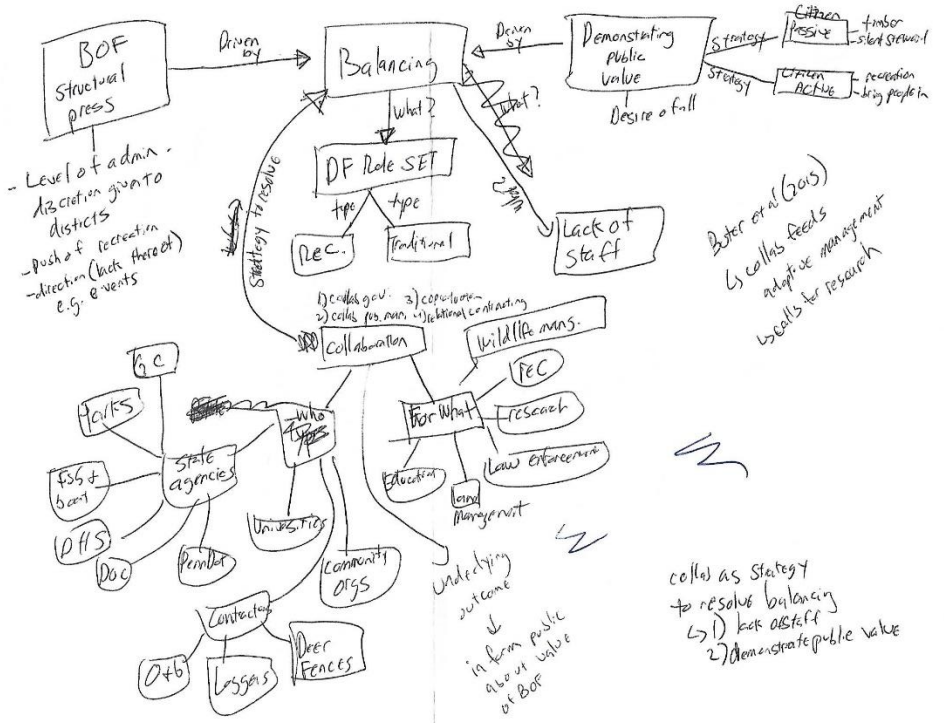
Example Grand Tour Questions

- Tell me about your job at the Bureau of Forestry and what it's like to work here.
- How do you handle difficult forest management situations that arise at work? Describe examples.
- What are the biggest challenges facing your district?
- What are the biggest challenges facing the entire state forest system?
- How have demands placed on the Bureau and the state forest system changed over time?
- What do you think the state forest system will look like in 10-20 years?

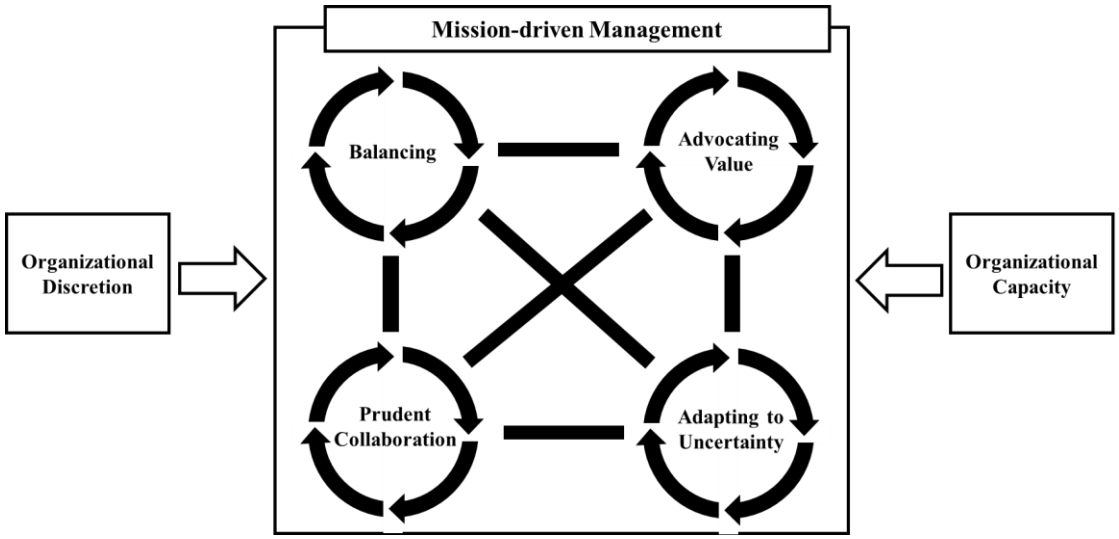
Example Questions based on Theoretical Sampling

- What kind of skills does it take to manage the varied duties of forest management?
- How does interacting with individuals outside of the Bureau and the larger Department impact your job? Describe examples of these relationships.
- What aspect(s) of the state forest do you believe the general public values most? Why?
- How do you deal with the uncertainty that is inherent in forest management?
- How does the personnel hiring process impact forest management?

Appendix H: Example of Hand-drawn, Preliminary Theory Modeling



Appendix I: Conceptual Model of the Theory of Pragmatic Governance



Appendix J: Detailed Code Structure and Quotation Counts for the Theory of Pragmatic Governance

Concept/Code Name	Number of Quotations	Percent of Total Quotes (N=998)
Mission-driven Management	**737**	**73.85%**
Balancing	**155**	**15.53%**
Multiple Role Sets	51	5.11%
Stakeholder Demands	85	8.52%
Advocating Value	**295**	**29.56%**
Type	258	25.85%
Type-Direct Advocacy	103	10.32%
Type-Indirect Advocacy	166	16.63%
Personal Belief in Organizational Value	41	4.11%
Complexity of Value Delivery	16	1.60%
Prudent Collaboration	**287**	**28.76%**
Form	273	27.35%
Form-Citizens	60	6.01%
Form-Organization-PA State Parks	45	4.51%
Form-Organization-State Agencies (other than Parks)	38	3.81%
Form-Organization-Between Bureau Forest Districts	9	0.90%
Form-Organization-Community Groups	59	5.91%
Form-Organization-Contractors (other than loggers)	27	2.71%
Form-Organization-Federal Government	21	2.10%
Form-Organization-Local Government	24	2.40%
Form-Organization-Loggers	18	1.80%
Form-Organization-University	18	1.80%
Purpose	140	14.03%
Purpose-Grants	4	0.40%
Purpose-Joint Education	22	2.20%
Purpose-Joint Land Management	51	5.11%
Purpose-Joint Law Enforcement	16	1.60%
Purpose-Joint Recreation	11	1.10%
Purpose-Joint Research	21	2.10%
Purpose-Joint Wildlife Management	16	1.60%
Purpose-Share Equipment	16	1.60%
Purpose-Share Forestry Expertise	18	1.80%

Adapting to Uncertainty	**220**	**22.04%**
Type	173	17.33%
Type-Social Challenges	114	11.42%
Type-Ecological Challenges	72	7.21%
Managerial Skills	64	6.41%
Managerial Skills-Flexibility	34	3.41%
Managerial Skills-Knowledgeable	21	2.10%
Managerial Skills-Decisive	18	1.80%
Seasonality	39	3.91%
Organizational Capacity	**129**	**12.93%**
Organizational Discretion	**59**	**5.91%**

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EDUCATION

2019 Ph.D., Public Administration, Pennsylvania State University
Dissertation title: *The Theory of Pragmatic Governance: A Classic Grounded Theory Study of Pennsylvania's State Forest Management Practices*

2009 M.S., Psychology, Villanova University; Villanova, Pennsylvania
Thesis title: *The Role of Self-Schema Status in Moderating Cognitive Dissonance*

2004 B.A., Psychology, Millersville University of Pennsylvania; Millersville, Pennsylvania

PEER REVIEW ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS

Hafer, J. A. (2018). Understanding the emergence and persistence of mandated collaboration: A policy feedback perspective of the United States' model to address homelessness. *American Review of Public Administration. 48*(7),777-788. doi: 10.1177/0275074017729877

Hafer, J. A. & Ran, B. (2016). Developing a citizen perspective of public participation: Identity construction as citizen motivation to participate. *Administrative Theory & Praxis, 38*(3), 206-222. doi: 10.1080/10841806.2016.1202080

Hafer, J. A. (2016). Public administration's identity crisis and the emerging approach that may alleviate it. *Hatfield Graduate Journal of Public Affairs, 1*(1), Article 6. doi: 10.15760/hgjpa.2016-1.6

GRANTS AND SCHOLARSHIPS

2018 Scholarship Award ($1,465): Irving and Mildred Hand State, Urban, and Regional Affairs Award
2017 Research Grant ($50,000): The Center for Rural Pennsylvania, "*An Economic Evaluation of the Pennsylvania State Forest System*"; Co-Investigator (led research team of three graduate-level researchers using both quantitative and qualitative research methods)

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

2017-2019 Secretary/Treasurer, Northeast Conference on Public Administration
2017-2019 Board of Directors Member, Central Pennsylvania Chapter of ASPA

PROFESSIONAL PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION EXPERIENCE

2017-2019 Senior Consultant Government and Public Services, Deloitte Consulting LLP, Mechanicsburg, PA

2015-2017 Research and Evaluation Analyst, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Corrections Bureau of Planning, Research, and Statistics, Mechanicsburg, PA

2014-2015 Quality Assurance and Risk Management Coordinator, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Human Services Office of Mental Health and Substance Abuse Services, Harrisburg, PA

2013-2014 Referral Specialist, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Corrections Bureau of Community Corrections, Mechanicsburg, PA

2012-2013 Clinical Administrative Coordinator, Public Health Management Corporation, Joseph J. Peters Institute, Philadelphia, PA

2007-2012 Quality Assurance and Improvement Specialist, County of Delaware Office of Behavioral Health, Upper Darby, PA