

TOWARD A FRAMEWORK FOR DETECTING EMPATHY
IN PUBLIC SECTOR ORGANIZATIONS

Stephanie Dolamore

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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School of Public and International Affairs

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DETECTING EMPATHY IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR ORGANIZATIONS

DISSERTATION APPROVAL PAGE

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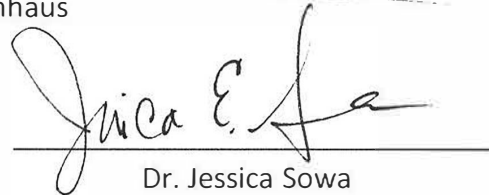
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Dr. T. Aaron Wachhaus

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A black ink signature with a large 'J' and a long horizontal stroke.

Dr. Jessica Sowa

School of Public and International Affairs

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to my partner, Matthew Dolamore.

My success is direct result of your unfailing and unending support

ABSTRACT

Public organizations fulfill critical needs in communities across the United States, such as housing, environmental protection, public education, and more. In this important role, healthy public organizations should be accountable to the values that guide their work. However, a lack of tools in the field of public administration prohibits the assessment of organizational culture in public organizations, particularly as it relates to equitably representing the individuals they serve.

To close this gap, this dissertation presents a framework to detect an organizational culture of empathy, including the results from an archival analysis of the organizational culture of the Housing Authority of Baltimore City (HABC). The framework is grounded in the work of social equity (Frederickson, 2005, 2010; Gawthrop, 1998; Johnson & Svara, 2011; Svara & Brunet, 2005; Wooldridge & Gooden, 2009) and reflects organization cultural assessments already used in the field (Gooden, 2014; Testa & Sipe, 2013). The importance of examining an organizational culture of empathy at HABC is reflected in the troubling history of service provision of housing services to individuals who are traditionally under-represented and structurally excluded from decision-making processes (Pietila, 2010; Rothstein, 2017). Findings from this work contribute to expanding the scholarship of empathy within public administration by establishing a relationship between empathy, a public service value, and organizational culture.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work was not accomplished in isolation, and it is only proper to account for all those who supported my ideas becoming a reality. I offer these acknowledgements as thanks.

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To my dissertation committee members, Drs. Mariglynn Edlins and Jessica Sowa, for your encouragement on this long road of scholarship. Your insights and re-direction always came at the right time. Thank you for being bad-ass women, awesome scholars, and all around cool people.

To my mother, the supreme example of creativity and love. You have taught me everything I know. Your love and encouragement since before we met in person has ensured my lifetime of happiness. I owe you the world.

To my father, I doubt you will find much agreement with this work, but I hope you contemplate these findings. Your words have stuck with me since college- “Illegitimi non carborundum, baby.”

To my brothers, I owe you thanks for the many tough years of verbal judo in our adolescence. Little did you know, you were training me to be a confident scholar who stands up and defends her ideas in the face of criticism.

To my sister and my nephew, I love you and my world is better because you are both in it. Together, you two have brought me the deepest joy and blessing. I look forward to building many more memories of laughter and fun with you two in my new free time.

To my mother-in-law and my sisters-in-law, your enduring love inspires me endlessly. Thank you for believing in me and my ideas. Thank you for supporting our family while I sought to realize this dissertation.

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To my God, for your endless encouragement through nature, scripture, and community. Magnificat ánima mea Dóminum. Quia fécit mihi mágna qui pótens est: et sánctum nómen eius.

And, to the future, may you hold what I wish for: a world where empathy comes first.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Public organizations form an important part of the foundation of civil society. They provide resources to fulfill critical needs in communities across the United States. From housing assistance to environmental protection, public organizations are at the frontlines of improving our country (Rainey, 2014, 2009). In this vital role in the community, a healthy public organization should reflect fair and equitable practices in the distribution of resources and services. This means that public organizations should be accountable to the values that guide their interactions in the community, responding to such questions as: Who are they serving and in what way? Does this organization contribute to abuses of power (i.e., oppression, bias) or promotion of fairness (i.e., equity, inclusion) (Frederickson, 2005; Gooden, 2014; Johnson & Svara, 2011; Svara & Brunet, 2005; Wooldridge & Gooden, 2009)?

Given the nation's history of structural inequality (for examples, see Franklin, 2015; Kaplan, 2006; Lynch Mona, 2008; Royce, 2015), it is critical for public organizations to intentionally consider these questions. However, a lack of tools in the field of public administration prohibits the assessment of organizational culture in public organization particularly as it relates to equitably representing the individuals they serve. To address this need, this project develops a framework to assess the ability of organizations to engage in empathic practices in their communities by examining artifacts of organizational culture. Empathy, known as the ability to recognize,

understand, and respond to the perspectives of another (Krznaric, 2015), is a prosocial behavior that improves interactions (Gerdes, Lietz, & Segal, 2011; Segal, 2011; Zanetti & King, 2011) and brings outcomes in line with important public service values (Box, 2015). As such, a framework that detects empathy in the organizational culture of public organizations identifies the presence, or not, of artifacts that reflect the attributes of empathy. For this study, artifacts refers to those objects that capture the process by which an organization conveys information regarding behaviors and norms (Chao & Moon, 2005) across seven different types of organizational culture artifacts (derived from Gooden, 2014; Testa & Sipe, 2013).

This project is two-fold: one, the development of a framework to detect an organizational culture of empathy, and two, the application of this tool to the archival materials related to the Housing Authority of Baltimore City (HABC). The framework is grounded in the work of social equity (Frederickson, 2005, 2010; Gawthrop, 1998; Johnson & Svara, 2011; Svara & Brunet, 2005; Wooldridge & Gooden, 2009) and reflects organization cultural assessments already used in the field (Gooden, 2014; Testa & Sipe, 2013). The application of this tool then provides an opportunity to test the framework on a robust collection of materials related to the organizational culture of a public organization. The importance of examining an organizational culture of empathy at HABC is reflected in the troubling history of service provision of housing services to individuals who are traditionally under-represented and structurally excluded from decision-making processes (Pietila, 2010; Rothstein, 2017). Utilizing archival analysis, the second phase of this project examines the observable artifacts of the organizational

culture at HABC. The examination of these artifacts includes a content analysis related to the organizational values, with the specific intention to find evidence of empathy.

Findings from this work contribute to expanding the scholarship of empathy within public administration by establishing the relationship between empathy, a public service value, and organizational culture. Theoretical implications include how the administrative state can act as an instrument of inclusion, an important tool to change structural inequality. In addition, this work contains practical examples of how to include empathy in the work of public organizations by translating the framework into a real-world instrument for utilization by public servants.

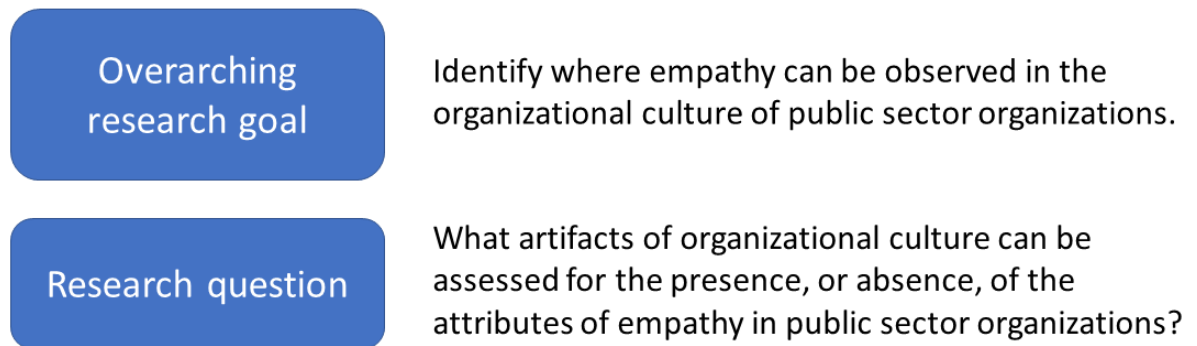
The remainder of this chapter offers an overview of this project, starting with clarifying the research question guiding this work. From there, the discussion explores key terms of this study and an overview of their operationalization. Finally, this chapter reviews the procedures, significance, and limitations of this study. This chapter concludes with an outline of this body of work and transitions to the next chapter.

Research Question

This project is driven by an overarching research goal and research question as listed below in Figure 1-1. The visual highlights that the purpose of this project is to identify where empathy can be observed in the organizational culture of public organizations. This research goal was developed from the literature, that is reviewed in the subsequent chapters (two and three), where the discussion explores how public service values, such as empathy, are observable through organizational culture artifacts

(Barnard, 1971; Box, 2015; Deal & Kennedy, 2000; Katz & Kahn, 1978; Marcoulides & Heck, 1993; Meyer & Rowan, 1991; Molina & McKeown, 2012; Powell & DiMaggio, 1991; Ritti & Funkhouser, 1982; Shafritz & Ott, 1992; Tagiuri, Litwin, & Barnes, 1968; Van Maanen, 1979). The review of the literature also establishes that there are no tools that describe how to detect empathy in organizational culture. Thus, from this research goal, a subsequent research question was developed to formulate a strategy for inquiry.

Figure 1-1: Research goal and research question



The research question presented in Figure 1-1 addresses plans to identify what elements of organizational culture can be observed for the presence, or absence, of the attributes of empathy. This question guides how this project looks for empathy in an organizational setting. The research question addresses the overarching research goal because it focuses on dimensions of an organization that can be observed to detect an organizational culture of empathy. The importance of answering the research question is discussed in detail later, but it is worth noting that doing so contributes to an overall understanding for the field of public administration about observing public service values in the organizational culture of public organizations. The operationalization of key terms related to this work (i.e., empathy, organizational culture, and artifacts of

organizational culture) as well as the methods for executing the research question are described below, as well as in the third chapter of this dissertation.

Operational Definitions

This section provides an overview of four key elements of this project. Although this work addresses the key terms in more detail in subsequent chapters, an overview of these terms is provided first to establish understanding of the core constructs of this dissertation. Specifically, this section briefly outlines the definition of empathy, organizational culture, artifacts of organizational culture, and a framework for detecting an organizational culture of empathy.

Defining Empathy

The first definition discussed is empathy. As a term, empathy is complex and scholars have offered different conceptualizations across disciplines (Coplan, 2011; Gerdes et al., 2011; Krznaric, 2015; Wiseman, 1996). The history of empathy and various commonalities across these definitions is explored in the next chapter of this dissertation. For now, it is important to understand that empathy plays an important role in improving interactions between individuals (Coplan, 2011; Krznaric, 2015; Oxburgh & Ost, 2011; Zanetti & King, 2011, 2011) with specific implications for public administration, such as public servants aiming to equitably include the individuals they serve (Zanetti & King, 2013).

For this project, Wiseman's concept analysis forms the operationalization of empathy that describes the four distinct attributes of empathy (1996). These are listed below in Table 1-1. The operationalization of empathy here contains four attributes, which operate as "defining attributes" or "something which has to be present for the concept to occur" (Wiseman, 1996, p. 1164). The "seeing the world as others' see it" attribute is a perspective taking measure, where the individual who wishes to engage in empathy makes active efforts to see the world from another's perspective. In the "understand another's current feelings" attribute of empathy, the individual employs cognitive and affective rationality to make sense of this perspective. In the "remain non-judgmental" attribute of empathy, the individual must then make active efforts to suppress their own judgment and remain "objective" (Wiseman, 1996, p. 1165). Lastly, the "communicate understanding of another's feelings" attribute of empathy emphasizes that communication must occur from the individual back to the person with whom they are empathizing.

Table 1-1: Attributes of empathy (Wiseman, 1996)

Attributes	Definition
(1) Seeing the world as others' see it	When an individual who wishes to engage in empathy engages in viewing a situation from the perspective of someone else.
(2) Understand another's current feelings	When an individual who is engaging in a perspective taking measure utilizes cognitive and affective capacities to comprehend the origins of the feelings held by another.
(3) Remain non-judgmental	When an individual makes active efforts to suppress judgement during the perspective taking and understanding process of empathy.
(4) Communicate understanding of another's feelings	When an individual conveys back the feelings and understanding created during the process of empathy.

The appropriateness for utilizing this concept analysis stems from the multiple literature surveyed to construct the concept analysis (Wiseman, 1996), as opposed to a definition, and its continued utilization over time. This concept analysis included a

review of work across several disciplines to summarize the defining, interdisciplinary attributes of empathy. This analysis led to the four attributes of empathy discussed above. Utilizing an interdisciplinary concept analysis for the definition of empathy allows for the term to be grounded in work that has already been conducted while removing inappropriate, discipline specific dimensions of empathy outside the scope of this work and the field of public administration.

Defining Organizational Culture

The second item outlined here is the definition of organizational culture, with a specific operationalization on where it can be found in organizations. Organizational culture, along with empathy, forms the backbone of this project. While the subsequent chapters in this dissertation explore this concept in more detail, a working orientation is valuable to introduce here to provide foundational understanding.

In organizational culture literature, scholars note that organizations produce a shared set of elements (usually termed assumptions, norms, or values) that form the organizational culture (Deal & Kennedy, 2000; Gooden, 2014; Ritti & Funkhouser, 1982; Tagiuri et al., 1968; Van Maanen, 1979). These elements can be explored at different levels but are assessed most clearly in the cultural artifacts created by an organization (Gooden, 2014; Schein, 2010; Testa & Sipe, 2013). From these conceptualizations of organizational culture, this dissertation has distilled a tripartite summary of commonalities. This project stipulates that:

- 1) Organizational culture rests on observable artifacts of the organization;

- 2) These artifacts together point to a shared set of values in public organizations; and
- 3) Taken together, the artifacts and values bind an organization together through assumptions.

This summary is foundational to the logic of this project and guides the methods for inquiry. Specifically, if the goal of this project is to detect empathy in the organizational culture of public organization, this conceptualization suggests exploring the artifacts of an organization as the starting point for investigation.

Artifacts of Organizational Culture

The third conceptualization discussed here defines the type of artifacts of organizational culture. While this definition is further developed in the next chapter, this section highlights the seven types of physical artifacts that reflect an organization's culture. These seven areas are reproduced below in Table 1-2. The definition is adapted from an organizational cultural audit aimed at assessing an organizational culture of equity (Gooden, 2014), a similar type of public service value that promotes inclusion, and originally adapted from an organizational cultural audit utilized in the service industry (Testa & Sipe, 2013).

Table 1-2: Artifacts of organizational culture (Gooden, 2014)

Artifact Type	Definition
(1) Physical characteristics and general environment	Physical or operational components including office space, symbols/logos, agency reports, brochures, etc.
(2) Policies, procedures, and structures	Written, institutional elements of a workplace including mission statements, organizational charts, etc.
(3) Socialization	Regular behaviors and expectations are in place that demonstrate norms, priorities, and values
(4) Leadership behavior	Attitudes demonstrated by the leadership within a workplace, notably priorities and values
(5) Rewards and recognition	Systems in place that document progress, including formal or informal reviews and recognition
(6) Discourse	Messages and conversations that occur, both in the present and historically
(7) Learning and performance	Elements of a workplace that demonstration innovation, reflection, or growth

This conceptualization is appropriate for this work because it operationalizes organizational culture, translating the process by which an organization conveys information regarding behaviors and norms (Chao & Moon, 2005) for the public sector. As a result, Gooden's adaption of Testa and Sipe's private sector framework has been reliable and valid for assessing the organizational culture of public sector organizations (Cárdenas & Ramírez de la Cruz, 2017; Mitra, Brankin, & Brankin, 2017; Slack & Singh, 2017). As a result, further application of the framework, so long as the main components of analysis are not removed, is equally appropriate for this project.

A Framework to Detect an Organizational Culture of Empathy

The fourth item outlined here is the framework to detect an organizational culture of empathy. This framework has been developed for this research and is covered in more detail in Chapter 4. This chapter introduces the framework as a practical overview for future discussion. Recall Figure 1-1 outlined how the research question seeks to determine what artifacts of organizational culture can be assessed for the presence of empathy. Combining the two previous definitions of this section, the attributes of empathy, and the artifacts of organizational culture, the framework becomes a tool that can look across an organization's culture to find empathy. This framework is listed below in Table 1-3, which shows an overlay of the attributes of empathy, on the right side, within the seven artifact types of the cultural audit on the left side. This framework becomes the tool utilized in this project to examine the

organizational culture of HABC. The specifics relating to its utilization is discussed briefly in the next section of this chapter and in more detail in Chapter 3.

Table 1-3: Framework to detect an organizational culture of empathy

Cultural Artifact Type	Evidence of Empathy Attributes
(1) Physical characteristics and general environment	<p>What do the physical components of the department say about:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • seeing the world as others' see it, • understanding another's current feelings, • remaining non-judgmental, and • communicating understanding of another's feelings?
(2) Policies, procedures, and structures	<p>What do the agency's policies, procedures, and structures say about the importance of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • seeing the world as others' see it, • understanding another's current feelings, • remaining non-judgmental, and • communicating understanding of another's feelings?
(3) Socialization	<p>What regular behaviors and expectations are in place that affect:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • seeing the world as others' see it, • understanding another's current feelings, • remaining non-judgmental, and • communicating understanding of another's feelings?

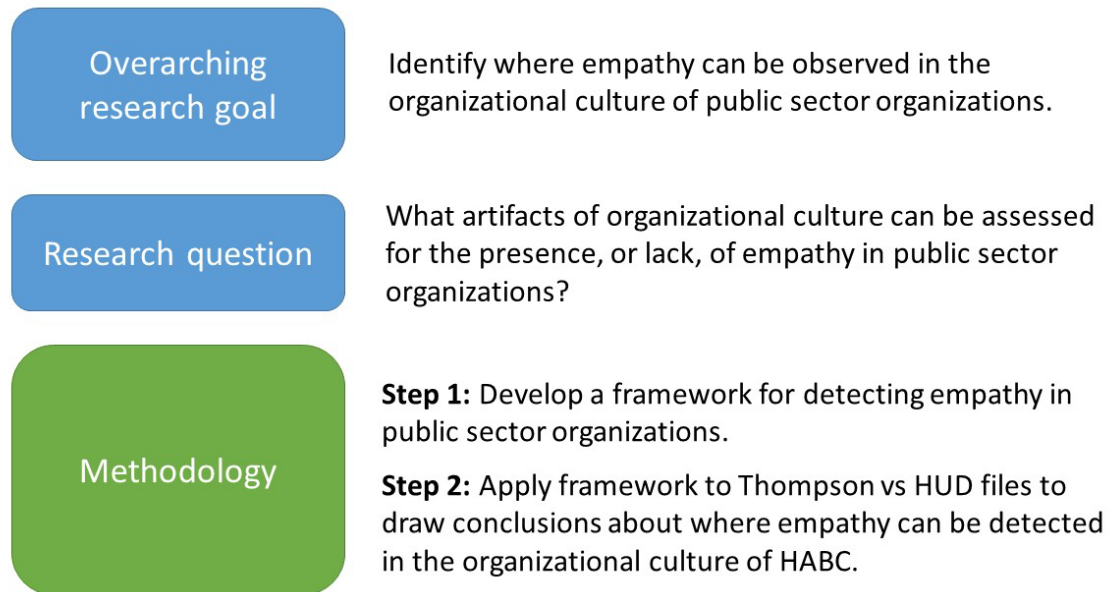
DETECTING EMPATHY IN PUBLIC SECTOR ORGANIZATIONS

(4) Leadership behavior	<p>What level of priority do agency leaders give to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• seeing the world as others' see it,• understanding another's current feelings,• remaining non-judgmental, and• communicating understanding of another's feelings?
(5) Rewards and recognition	<p>What are the rewards and/or acknowledgements for improvements in the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• seeing the world as others' see it,• understanding another's current feelings,• remaining non-judgmental, and• communicating understanding of another's feelings?
(6) Discourse	<p>How are messages formally and informally created regarding:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• seeing the world as others' see it,• understanding another's current feelings,• remaining non-judgmental, and• communicating understanding of another's feelings?
(7) Learning and performance	<p>Does the organization demonstrate innovation in the making observations about:</p>

-
- seeing the world as others' see it,
 - understanding another's current feelings,
 - remaining non-judgmental, and
 - communicating understanding of another's feelings?
-

Procedures

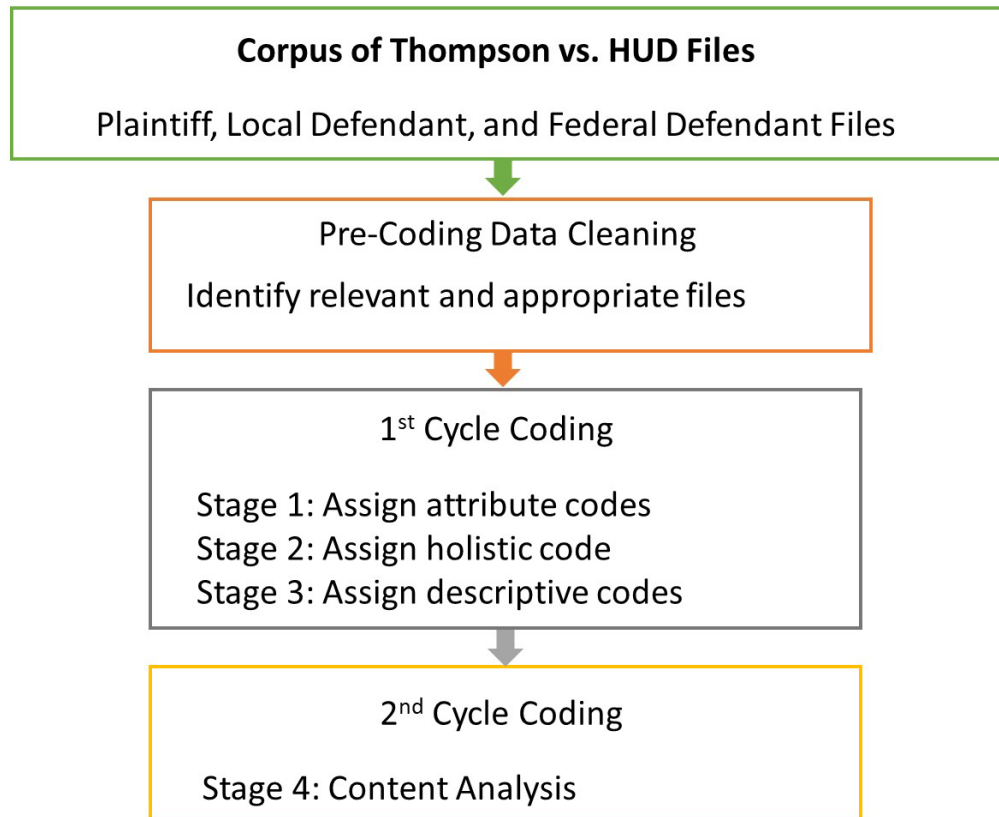
Working within the research question previously outlined, this study contains two methodological stages. A more complete discussion is included in Chapter 4 of this work. Referring to Figure 1-2 below, the two stages are introduced in an expanded visualization of the research plan, presented earlier in Figure 1-1. The new information extends the research question and overarching research goal to the methodology for this project. The following section of this chapter outlines the research plans through a discussion of the two-part methodology for addressing the research question.

Figure 1-2: Research goal, question, and methodology

Looking at step 1 in Figure 1-2, the first stage of the methodology is to develop a framework for detecting empathy in public sector organizations. The framework to detect an organizational culture of empathy that was introduced above in Table 1-3, is the tool utilized for identifying empathy in public organizations. The literature supporting the development of this framework is explored in more detail in Chapter 2. The second stage of the methodology is to execute a case application using the framework to detect an organizational culture of empathy. The following section provides more details on the analysis plans for the case application that guides the qualitative inquiry into the *Thompson vs. HUD* files.

This project makes use of two cycles of coding and one round of data cleaning to the *Thompson vs. HUD* files. Figure 1-3 presents a visual representation of the analysis plan. As the visual depicts, prior to conducting any coding, the data files were cleaned to produce a dataset of relevant and appropriate files. Then in the first cycle of coding,

three rounds of coding assignments occurred for attribute, holistic, and descriptive codes. The first cycle of coding is the process of organizing the qualitative data into segments to be further analyzed in later stages during the second cycle of coding (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2013; Saldaña, 2015). To complement the first cycle of coding process, the second cycle of coding is completed to further refine analysis of the digital material via content analysis. The second cycle builds on the work of the first cycle by looking for noticeable patterns across the coded content to begin to draw conclusions that align with the research questions (Saldaña, 2015). Each of these stages are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

Figure 1-3: Overview of coding cycles

Data for Analysis

In addition to the conceptual work of creating a framework to detect an organizational culture of empathy, the bulk of the analysis lies in the second methodological stage outlined above in Figure 1-3. The data cleaning and two cycles of coding require a robust collection of data that reflects the organizational culture of a public organization. Therefore, this analysis utilizes a large dataset available through the University of Baltimore, Langsdale Library Special Collections. The archival collection used in this project are one part of the records donated by the Maryland American Civil

Liberties Union (Maryland ACLU) and contains files related to fields of law, public administration, and social services. Within the Maryland ACLU records are the records from the *Thompson vs. HUD* lawsuit, a compilation of 1,968 documents on the history of public housing service in Baltimore City provided after the Fair Housing Act of 1968. These files were utilized for the landmark lawsuit to correct the injustices created by the implementation of this policy by local organizations (NAACP, n.d.).

These files contain exhibits from the Maryland ACLU and NAACP Legal Defense Fund arguing that there was racially segregated housing in Baltimore City, as well as exhibits that detail the local (i.e., Housing Authority of Baltimore City) and federal (i.e., U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development) authorities' claims against racially segregated housing in Baltimore City. While the exhibits reflect the various stakeholders of the records, this project focuses on observations of the organizational culture of the Housing Authority of Baltimore City (HABC). The *Thompson vs. HUD* files offer a comprehensive picture of HABC and their respective activities that were involved in housing services since 1934. There were many types of documents included: testimonies from individuals within the organizations; administrative files that outline organizational policies regarding decision-making on housing services; and reports from scholars on the role of leadership in the creation and implementation of housing policies. Thus, the *Thompson vs. HUD* files provide a rich opportunity for the application of the framework to detect an organizational culture of empathy because it contains documents that correspond to the dimensions of the framework.

Organization of the Study

This chapter contains an outline of the most important elements of this project. This introduction provided an orientation to the context of this research including the problem statement, research framework, and research objectives. Following this, the chapter explored the research questions, key terms, and research methodology. The chapter concluded with an overview of the limitations and contributions of this project. The subsequent chapters of this dissertation expand these initial discussions and provide a more exhaustive picture of the scholarly context, methodology, and findings of this work.

Specifically, the Chapter 2 of this work contains a literature review that provides the theoretical and intellectual foundation of this project. Chapter 2 begins with a discussion of empathy and its connection to public administration. The background on empathy includes a look at the history of the term, a discussion of the definition, a review of empathy research in public administration, as well as a unified definition of the term for this work. Following this, the chapter discusses the relationship between empathy, organizational culture, and public service values; a conversation that is rooted in organizational theory. This discussion includes a closer look at the elements that can be assessed for organizational culture and how these artifacts reflect those public service values within an organization.

In Chapter 3, this work delves into the methods of this study. In this chapter, the discussion includes an explanation of the research paradigm and its connection to the framing of this work's research question. Chapter 3 then covers the methodology of this

study, including a deeper look at the coding structure and analysis plans. Chapter 3 concludes with a discussion how this work strengthened the reliability and validity of findings.

Chapter 4 covers the results of this work, including a review of the analysis and findings. This chapter points to three main findings from the coding of documents:

- (1) In terms of describing the dataset, artifacts coded as “HABC administrative documents” make up the bulk of artifacts relevant and appropriate for analysis in this project;
- (2) In terms of identifying where attributes of empathy are most likely to occur, artifacts containing ‘discourse’ and ‘learning and performance’ content also contain the most references to the attributes of empathy; and
- (3) In terms of the extent or types of attribute(s) of empathy occurring in the data, the attribute of empathy most represented in this dataset is the “see the world” attribute of empathy.

In addition, Chapter 4 covers the results of the content analysis including the identification of representative documents for each of the four attributes of empathy, including a review of the themes and vocabulary most often utilized in content coded for empathy.

Finally, Chapter 5 discusses the findings of this work to expand on the results presented in the previous chapter. The final chapter includes a review of the major findings including connections to the literature covered in Chapter 2 and implications for practice. This final chapter also explores the limitation of this work involving the

generalizability of findings. Lastly, Chapter 5 offers a discussion of future research needed to continue to expand this work and concluding thoughts.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW OF EMPATHY

You know, there's a lot of talk in this country about the federal deficit. But I think we should talk more about our empathy deficit—the ability to put ourselves in someone else's shoes; to see the world through the eyes of those who are different from us—the child who's hungry, the steelworker who's been laid-off, the family who lost the entire life they built together when the storm came to town. When you think like this—when you choose to broaden your ambit of concern and empathize with the plight of others, whether they are close friends or distant strangers—it becomes harder not to act; harder not to help.

(Obama, 2006)

Introduction

This study is interested in empathy and how to detect this public service value in public organizations. Specifically, this dissertation seeks to determine what artifacts of organizational culture can be assessed for the presence, or lack, of empathy in public sector organizations. Having provided a brief overview of this study in the previous chapter, this work now pivots to a more comprehensive examination of relevant literature for this project. The literature reviewed for this dissertation spans two domains: empathy and organizational culture. This chapter discusses empathy, and the subsequent chapter explores organizational culture.

As the first body of literature to be explored, this chapter presents the scholarly context of empathy as it relates to this research and situates the term in the field of public administration. The chapter explores how empathy operates as a public service value in public organizations. This discussion details the history of the word, a review of definitions of empathy across disciplines, dismantling myths about empathy, and a proposed conceptualization of empathy for this project which unifies existing literature and operationalizes the term for study in the field of public administration.

Empathy: An Overview

Broadly stated, empathy is the ability to recognize, understand, and respond to the feelings of another (Krzmaric, 2015). It involves being moved by another's experiences and then experientially grasping another's state (Halpern, 2003). As a word, empathy is a relatively new addition to the English language and was created to describe a new dimension of compassion observed by social scientists. Making an appearance in English language dictionaries in 1909, empathy derives from the German word *emfühlung*, which translated as "feeling into" or "in-feeling" (Wiseman, 1996, p. 1162). We see initial usage of the term by German and American psychologists, Theodor Lipps (Lipps, 1903) and Edward Titchener (1909). The term *emfühlung* was Latinized to empathy in the early 20th century. The initial term used by Lipps and Titchener was derived from observations of people who imitate someone they observe, but with two

dimensions: one, a “passive reflection of the other” and two, with “an active effort to get inside the other” (Gerdes et al., 2011, p. 84).

Often considered to be synonymous with compassion, or as an additional dimension of the concept of compassion, this prosocial behavior is commonly defined as “stepping imaginatively into the shoes of another person” (Krznaric, 2015, p. x). However, the concept is more complex than this and involves multiple layers. As common understanding suggests, empathy does include “stepping into another’s shoes” primarily because it is “an experiential way of knowing another’s emotional state” (Halpern, 2001, p. 74). Yet, its second layer takes that experiential understanding further toward a reaction (Davis, 1983; Konrath, O’Brien, & Hsing, 2011). For empathy to occur, the information obtained from the imaginative process must be utilized to communicate understanding back to the other individual and to generate a reaction in line with the information obtained (Wiseman, 1996). In this way, empathy begins as an internal process and culminates with an active response. It begins with *stepping into the shoes of another*, but also includes *communicating understanding* back to the other person.

Together, with both an imaginative and active element, empathy offers to help mediate interactions between oneself and others. This is achieved through the ability to use knowledge to “make compensatory adjustments for known distinctions between self and other” (Steinberg, 2014). In so doing, empathy increases the opportunity for “people to relate to others in a way that promotes cooperation and unity rather than conflict and isolation”(Konrath et al., 2011). Further, although we are biologically hard-

wired to be able to engage in empathy, it is also a skill that must be practiced and developed (Konrath et al., 2011; Spiro, 1992; Steinberg, 2014; Wiseman, 1996). This suggests that there is a role for individuals *and* organizations to play in the development of this skillset.

There are two important elements of empathy that have not yet been discussed. The first being that empathy is a top-down process. Coplan argues “it must be initiated by the agent and generated from within” (2011, p. 59). This means that an active decision must be made to engage in empathy. One cannot have empathy solely through experience, such as increasing the proximity to another, but through an active mental process to creatively and imaginatively entering into the shoes of another to experience being another person (Steinberg, 2014). Second, empathy is easier to achieve with those we know and, consequently, is harder for those we don’t know. As a result, empathy is influenced by biases (Coplan, 2011; Halpern, 2001; Krznaric, 2015; Spiro, 1992). We have to “work harder” to empathize with those whom we fail to identify and, “even then, we will often be unable to simulate their situated psychological states” (Coplan, 2011, p. 58). This is not to suggest that there are instances when empathy is not possible.

Many scholars have written about collective empathy, or the ability for empathy to be experienced across large groups or organizations (Muller, Pfarrer, & Little, 2014; Patel, 2015; Segal, 2011; Szanto & Moran, 2015; Wald, Segal, Johnston, & Vinze, 2017). This body of work on collective empathy is not the most prevalent, as empathy is most

often studied as an individual-to-individual interaction, but it is growing (Muller et al., 2014). Indeed, scholars have argued for and observed collective empathy as a combination of “collective intentionality, shared emotions, and group agency” (Szanto & Moran, 2015, p. 445). This argument asserts that collective empathy exists like other shared emotions; not as an independent entity that is somehow different than individuals, but within the individuals who make up the collective, (e.g., organizations) (Muller et al., 2014; Szanto & Moran, 2015; Wald et al., 2017). It is important to note that some scholars do suggest that collection emotions, while being constructed of the emotions of the individual who make up the collective, are inherently different than an aggregation of the individual attributes (Ashkanasy & Humphrey, 2011; Huy, 2011; Sigal G. Barsade, 2002). In other words, the collective emotion is a group characteristic, meaning it defines the group but is derived from individual characteristics (Muller et al., 2014).

As an example, Muller, Pfarrer and Little (2014) examined the collective empathy of individual employees regarding the corporate philanthropic actions of larger organization (Muller et al., 2014). This work documents an important connection between the “emotions of organizations,” “organizational decision making,” and the “role of organizations in society” (Muller et al., 2014, p. 20). These scholars assert that organizational decision making and organizational information processing is influenced by the emotions of the organizations, defined as the collective actions and thoughts of individual employees. This idea has direct implications for this work and supports the

idea that artifacts of individual employee actions within a public organization can contain evidence of an organizational culture of empathy.

Dismantling Myths about Empathy

While scholars have noted that there is important work being done to define empathy, the term remains varied (Coplan, 2011; Konrath et al., 2011; Wiseman, 1996). The discipline specific nature of empathy research presented can be explained, in part, by the lack of a clear and comprehensive definition of empathy (Gerdes et al., 2011). This lack of clarity results in several negative conclusions about empathy that present false truths about empathy. It is important to briefly review these here to explain the lack of merit.

For instance, one might say that empathy rarely, if ever, exists in interactions between people (Gold, 2011). Yet, there is substantial evidence that it is an observable phenomenon. Twenty-first century technology has allowed neuroscientists to demonstrate that empathy can be empirically observed and quantified (Jackson, Brunet, Meltzoff, & Decety, 2006; Lamm, Batson, & Decety, 2007; Schulte-Rüther, Markowitsch, Shah, Fink, & Piefke, 2008). Furthermore, scholars have proved that neuroscientists have observed the unconscious and automatic elements of mirror neurons, which is an important first step of empathy (Gerdes et al., 2011).

Additionally, some might say that empathy is bad (Bloom, 2016; Singal, 2016). However, empathy has been linked to several societal benefits including improvements

in policy adoption and social interactions between public servants and constituents (Edlins & Dolamore, forthcoming; Halpern, 2001; Krznaric, 2015; Segal, 2011). The capacity to notice the distress of others, and to be moved by it, is a critical component of prosocial behavior (i.e., actions that benefit others) (Baker, 2010).

Indeed, empathy is the opposite of ‘bad’ and does exist. Studies have found that empathy is inherently critical for societal functioning. Scholars note that the importance and centrality of empathy is nothing short of the fundamental component that sustains the social contract (Laub & Auerhahn, 1989). Others assert that empathy seems to enable people to relate to others in a way that promotes cooperation and unity rather than conflict and isolation (Konrath et al., 2011). In this way, a lack of empathy underlies the worst things human beings can do to one another, whereas high levels of empathy underlies the best (Gerdes et al., 2011, p. 109).

Empathy is also not sympathy or those one-dimensional activities which are comprised in “pseudo empathy” (Coplan, 2011, p. 40). This is a process whereby we have either (a) failed to understand others’ subjective experiences, or (b) we have assumed that we understand, when in fact, we do not. Sympathy is a “self-oriented perspective taking” that results in judgement or distance that prohibits the two-directional exchange of activity fundamental to empathy. At its core, empathy is a mixing of other and self. One does not become the other person, except imaginatively. This is why Coplan states that empathy is “a complex, imaginative process through

which an observer simulates another person's situated psychological states while maintaining clear self–other differentiation" (Coplan, 2011, p. 40).

Empathy in Public Administration

Although many disciplines (e.g., public safety, education, medicine, and social work) have examined the concept of empathy in detail, public administration has lagged in offering a clear definition of, or embracing the concept of, empathy as a value within public service (Edlins & Dolamore, forthcoming). Instead, the field of public administration has made efforts to include empathy in research, but it remains elusive and only occasionally mentioned in top rated publications despite scholars noting its foundational relationship to public service (Zanetti, 2011; Zanetti & King, 2011, 2013). This is explored in subsequent sections after looking at the scholarship of empathy in public administration.

While public administration research on empathy itself is minimal, that is not the same as saying that empathy is not present in the field's literature. Guy, Newman, and Mastracci (2008) suggest that empathy is part of the continuum of emotion work. As an explanation, these authors suggest that there are some jobs that require "manufactured emotions," while other jobs require a "genuine display of emotions" (p.65). This genuine display of emotions is labeled empathy, though this definition appears incomplete. Indeed, Zanetti and King acknowledge "while we have seen excellent research on being mindful of emotional labor in the field... this is not quite the same as being mindful of

empathy” (2013, p. 135). Instead, they conclude that empathy “both precedes and enable emotional labor” (Zanetti & King, 2013, p. 135).

Other mentions of empathy in public administration include Gormley and Balla (2012), who state that empathy is a component of public service motivation and influences decisions of public sector employees to continue to work in the field. However, these references to empathy in public service motivation are brief, do not offer a clear definition, and rely on readers to understand the concept. Likewise, Box (2015) acknowledges that there is a role for empathy as a tool to improve imagination and its utilization in decision-making to increase public interest. Even here, too, there is a failure to offer an explicit definition for empathy.

Perhaps the most notable exception of mentioning empathy without including a clear, accompanying definition is the work of Zanetti and King (2011, 2013), King and Stivers (1998), and King (2011). Beginning with the conference paper for Zanetti and King’s panel discussion at PATNet in 2011, the authors’ state that empathy is “the foundational value of public administration,” (Zanetti & King, 2011, p. 4) then explore the history of empathy in social sciences. From here, these authors have contributed additional discussions on empathy with an underlying argument that “we seldom see outright calls for empathy as a working value” in public administration (Zanetti & King, 2011, p. 5). These two researchers argue that there is a clear, foundational connection between empathy and public service (Zanetti & King, 2013, p. 134).

In many ways, the Zanetti and King's 2011 PATNet paper builds on an earlier reference to empathy in *Government is Us* (C. S. King & Stivers, 1998). In a discussion of actions taken by public servants to counter anti-government sentiments, the authors found that respondents undertake "simple things that allow you to get to know people as people" like "showing genuine concern and empathy" (C. King et al., 1998, p. 66). Following up on this exploration, in *Government is Us 2.0* (C. S. King, 2011), Zanetti makes the argument that there is an "inevitable connection to social organization" between empathy and public administration (2011, p. 78). Zanetti specifically hones in on mirroring, a neurological action extensively studied in social work and psychology (Gerdes et al., 2011), and compassion as the elements of empathy that the public seek to find in public servants.

This relates to why Zanetti and King (2013) argue that empathy, when practiced by public servants, can transform institutions and democracy. That is, when public servants and public organizations embody empathy as a public value, it perpetuates 'collective effervescence,' the Durkheimian term for a powerful social power that can lead to transformation change of institutions (Zanetti & King, 2013, p. 128). Similarly, Burnier (2003) offers an eloquent argument for the connection between empathy and caring, notable in Stiver's (2000) work on settlement women when she writes:

Had the 'settlement women's' vision not been buried, empathy, compassion, connection, commitment, and context might have become just as prominent in public administration as efficiency,

expertise, neutrality, and technical reasoning. Indeed, the discipline might have spent the 1990s asking how government could have become more care centered, especially given the crises in health care, child care, and elder care, rather than asking how government could become more business-like. (Burnier, 2003, p. 536)

We can derive that Zanetti and King (2013) share a sense of the role of empathy for public organizations to be inclusive, accessible, and responsive with the capacity to show concern. This means public organization must support the building of “meaningful relationships between citizens and their governments,” the starting place for transformational public service (Zanetti & King, 2013, p. 132). This is echoed in recent work by Ponomariov and McCabe (2017) who explore declines in empathy with increases in professionalism, such as students who participate in MPA programs. In their piece, the authors suggest that the negative relationship between prosocial behaviors and professionalism may be a result of a “misdiagnosed” relationship between discipline and charisma traditionally understood in the field, a la Weber (Ponomariov & McCabe, 2017, p. 93). Rather than being incompatible, the authors suggest the relationship be revisited and empathy be incorporated in public service. This includes significant implications for public service, notably, “a shift in emphasis from the technical bases of professions to much more careful and extensive attention to the values and the communities professionalism is supposed to serve” (Ponomariov & McCabe, 2017, p. 97).

The above discussion of empathy in public administration explores how the field has covered empathy in research, often being mentioned in work but with the presumption that the term is well understood, as seen in the work of Guy, Newman and Mastracci (2008) or Gormley and Balla (2012). There are examples of scholars who feel that empathy warrants more attention and integration in the field, especially in the work of Zanetti (2011), Zanetti and King (2011, 2013), and Ponomariov and McCabe (2017). In this body of work, scholars argue that empathy promotes inclusiveness, accessibility, and responsiveness, which together contribute to better relationships between citizens and government. (Zanetti & King, 2013, p. 132). While the field of public administration offers a mixed inclusion of empathy in research, it is not the only public service oriented discipline to do so. The following section explores empathy across other public service fields such as public safety, education, and medicine.

Lessons from Other Disciplines

Although work is being done to find an interdisciplinary definition (Gerdes et al., 2011), there remains disparities across fields. In an effort to find the most appropriate definition of empathy for this project, the definitions of empathy in other applied public administration fields (including public safety, education, medicine, social work, and human resources) were also examined. While the goal is to examine the concept and usage of empathy in other disciplines, the following section demonstrates that empathy is not regularly discussed or included in established journals. As a result of not finding a

clear consensus of empathy in these disciplines, the conceptualization of empathy must be pulled from a wider range of literature and, ideally, from several different conceptualizations. This is explored in more detail below.

For each of these disciplines, a search of the top five journals was conducted. Journals were identified using their h5-index and h5-median ranking in Google Scholar. To obtain an inclusive list of articles, the references were collected using Harzing's Publish or Perish software (Harzing, 2017) with the key phrases "empathy" in the title or abstract of the work. Publish or Perish is a search engine that offers a widespread, interdisciplinary look at all scholastic materials contributed in the social sciences. It is comprehensive because it accesses peer-reviewed journals not reported in other similar databases (Fernandez et. al., 2015). Since the release of version 6, the software combines the power of Google Scholar to support the obtainment of citations and scholarship metrics. A list of the key terms and journal's International Standard Serial Number (ISSN) numbers were inputted into the Public or Perish software to determine the body of work to be surveyed. In cases when a small set of articles were returned, the entire set of articles were reviewed. In cases when a significant number of articles were return, the results were critically sampled to identify representative samples of major attributes of empathy in the respective discipline. As a result, the following is a not a comprehensive view of literature across five disciplines. It is a concept driven examination of common elements to inform how empathy can be constructed and measured for this work.

Public Safety.

Public safety is an arm of public service that is of critical importance in communities across these United States through representing police officers, fire fighters, and emergency management professionals. There is a growing body of research on the importance of empathy for these professionals as an element for success within the discipline (see Inzunza, 2015 and Oxburgh & Ost, 2011 for examples). However, like public administration, the body of work related to empathy is still small.

Table 2-1 presents a list of the citations captured from the top public safety journals. Note that the number of publications containing empathy in the title or in the abstract is small. An important caveat is that Google Scholar does not maintain a subcategory for fire safety or emergency management professionals. As a result, these figures reflect searches conducted on the list of “Criminology, Criminal Law, and Policing” journals.

Table 2-1: Number of citations in top “Criminology, Criminal Law, and Policing” journals

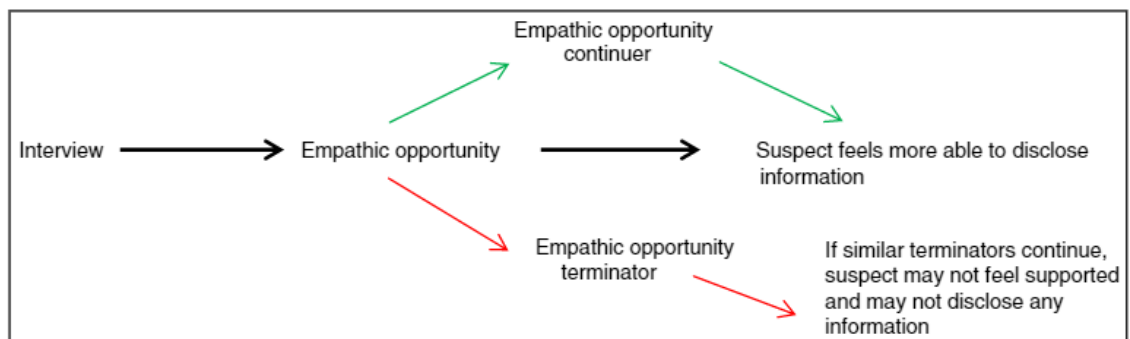
Journal Title	Number of Publications	
	“Empathy” in the Title	“Empathy” in the Abstract
Criminology	1	1
Justice Quarterly	0	0
Journal of Criminal Justice	1	1
Criminal Justice and Behavior	2	3
Law and Human Behavior	2	2

Despite the small representation of scholarship related to empathy in the established journals, important lessons can be gleaned from this work. In particular, there is research depicting how police officers are often in settings where rapport needs to be built with an individual with which they would otherwise not identify (i.e., a suspected criminal). This presents a unique challenge for the professional to overcome apparent differences to establish a connection. Writing about the various opportunities presented to police officers, Oxburgh and Ost (2011) explain that the empathic cycle begins with active listening by the officer who recognizes and responds to an empathic opportunity. The authors explain that an empathic opportunity occurs when one individual provides “some kind of information, consciously or otherwise, in the hope that [someone else] will respond” (Oxburgh & Ost, 2011, p. 184). This sharing of

information provides the opportunity for someone else to provide a reaction that may or may not include empathy.

Following this, the information received must resonate within the officer who in turn shows awareness toward the individual. Seeing this, the individual receives a response and engages in further, new expressions of emotion generating a cycle of sharing. Using this as the domain in which empathy exists, Oxburgh and Ost (2011) posit that empathy is a process with multiple stages that creates a sequence of actions that repeat. Therefore, it is not a question of having or not having empathy; an officer must continue to choose empathy repeatedly in their interactions with individuals. Knowing this, the authors have created a visual (reproduced below in Figure 2-1) depicting the empathetic opportunities that are presented during police interviews, the actions a police officer can take, and the corresponding effect on the suspect. As the figure shows, when the officer chooses to continue an empathic opening, it continues the communication.

Figure 2-1: Empathy responses in police interviews (Oxburgh & Ost, 2011, p. 184)



In a recent and thorough examination of empathy within the police force, Inzuzna (2015) provides a look at empathy that includes interpersonal components and contextual components similar to the empathetic opportunities discussed by Oxburgh and Ost (2011). Inzuzna however, notes that empathy involves an internal ability to have an affective response, monitor self-other awareness, engage in perspective taking, and maintain emotional regulation. In addition, the contextual influence of the situation, including social norms and mores, also play a role. However, this piece does not explain this in sufficient detail. Nonetheless, Inzuzna suggests that these two domains work together to inform the ability of a police officer to engage in empathy as part of working with the community or individuals.

Education.

The second disciplines presented is education, which also views empathy as a professional skill that enhances effectiveness of the instructor and the outcomes of students.

In Table 2-2 is a list of the citations captured from the top teacher and teacher education journals. Note that the number of publications with empathy in the title or in the abstract is again small, infrequently occurring in the search results. Indeed, for the last two journals on this list, no results were returned.

Table 2-2: Number of citations in top "Teaching & Teacher Education" journals

Journal Title	Number of Publications
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DETECTING EMPATHY IN PUBLIC SECTOR ORGANIZATIONS

	“Empathy” in the Title	“Empathy” in the Abstract
Teaching and Teacher Education	1	1
Journal of Teacher Education	2	2
The Reading Teacher	1	1
TESOL Quarterly	0	0
Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy	0	0

While there are only a few articles included here, there is important work emerging around empathy. Writing about the role of empathy in education, and the perceptions of history teachers specifically, Cunningham (2009) states that it is both “a process and an achievement” (p. 681) and is largely the opposite of unconscious feelings or reactions into which one unknowingly enters. This reiterates definitions mentioned in the public safety literature, and both disciplines highlight the active decisions that professionals must make to enter into empathy with another individual. Beyond this, Cunningham also notes that empathy involves professional goal setting and habits, furthering the point that empathy requires an active engagement by the individual. Lastly, empathy is explicitly cited as being a tool or an approach to facilitating learning. This echoes the work of Hess and McAvoy (2014), who suggest that empathy plays an important role when teaching more polarizing topics, such as politics, as it provides instructors an important tool to understand and present multiple sides of an issue.

Building on the idea that empathy is a professional skill for use in the classroom, others in the field of education have asserted that empathy also plays an important role at the organizational level. The Making Caring Common project with the Harvard Graduate School of Education, for example, discussed how teachers should model empathy in interactions with students and other staff as a mechanism to change school climate (Jones, Weissbourd, Bouffard, Khan, & Ross, 2014). This idea of empathy as having a role in school climate, not just one-on-one interactions with students, is likewise captured in current trends in teaching during tumultuous political climates (Bowie, 2017).

Medicine.

In addition to public safety and education, the medical profession has a large body of work for doctors, nurses, and other medical authorities on the importance of demonstrating empathy toward patients. Table 2-3 shows a list of the citations captured from the top health and medicine sciences journals. Note that the number of publications with empathy in the title or in the abstract occurs more frequently compared to previous disciplines. Indeed, for the last journals on this list, 23 articles were returned in the search. Interestingly, the results for the New England Journal of Medicine only include three book reviews of texts with the term “empathy” in the title of the text.

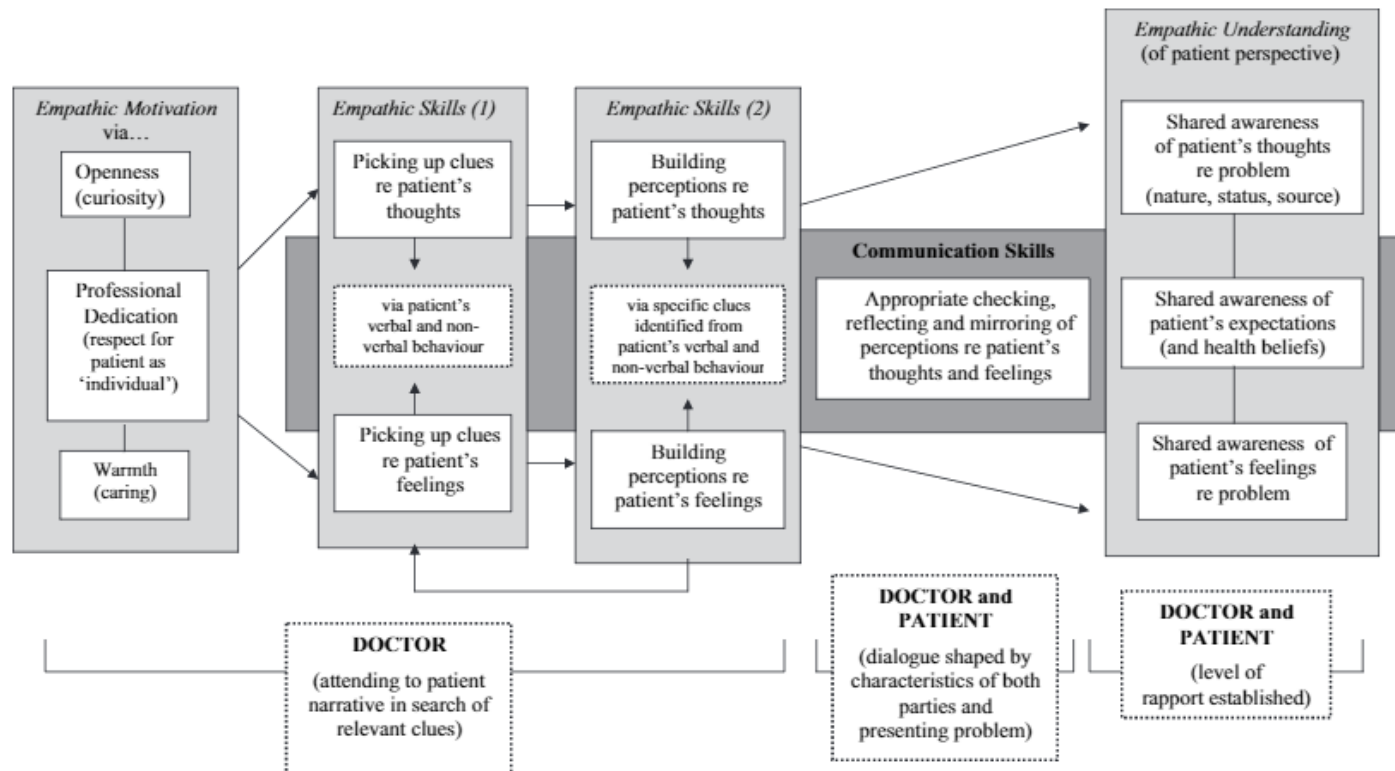
Table 2-3: Number of citations in top “Health & Medicine Sciences” journals

Journal Title	Number of Publications	
	“Empathy” in the Title	“Empathy” in the Abstract
The New England Journal of Medicine	3	3
The Lancet	6	6
Cell	0	0
Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences	0	0
Journal of the American Medical Association (JAMA)	20	23

In a review of this body of work, scholars suggest that the drive for the incorporation of empathy in medical practice derives itself from the patient-centered movement (Irving & Dickson, 2004), but there is a lack of clarity around how medical professionals should demonstrate their empathic understanding toward patients. Citing the main components of empathy for medical practitioners, Irving and Dickson (2004) suggest that empathy involves cognitive, affective, and behavioral activities where practitioners are able to demonstrate a mental understanding of the client’s world, feel with the client, and communicate understanding (p. 215).

In the medical world, the interaction between client and professional occurs during the consultation, or the first interaction between the two individuals where the medical authority assesses the patient. In this moment, the empathic accuracy of the medical professional affects the ability for a rapport to develop between the individuals (Norfolk, Birdi, & Walsh, 2007). Empathy in this situation contains both the desire *and* ability to comprehend the patient. In their work, Norfolk, Birdi, and Walsh (2007) provide a visual (reproduced below in Figure 2-2) to depict how doctors engage a patient's underlying ideas, concerns, and expectations in order to demonstrate empathy. Noting key stages in this model, doctors must first utilize empathic motivation in a deliberate way to fully listen to the patient. Next, the medical professional must move beyond wanting to engage and demonstrate their capacity to engage by observing verbal and nonverbal cues of the patient and building on these observations to determine the appropriate course of action. Subsequently, a doctor must then be able to communicate the results of the desire and ability to provide empathy back to the patient in a successful way. The result of empathic desire, ability, and communication is empathic understanding of the patient perspective.

Figure 2-2: Rapport building in consultation (Norfolk et al., 2007)



Within the medical field, there exists a debate about whether compassion and empathy is an innate trait or if it can be learned. In their work, Richardson, Percy, and Hughes (2015) consider this question as it relates to the role of a therapeutic relationship in nurse/patient interactions. Conducting a thorough literature review, these scholars found empathy can indeed be taught to nursing students namely through instruction about supportive and reflective communication cues that display understanding back to the patient. In this way, these authors echo the importance of the communication element of empathy.

Social Work.

Of all the professions considered thus far, the role of empathy is most heavily considered within the literature of social work. Table 2-4 shows a list of the citations captured from the top social work journals. Note that the number of publications with empathy in the title or in the abstract occur the most frequently in the search results compared to previous disciplines. Indeed, for the journals on this list, there are 50 publications with references to empathy.

Table 2-4: Number of citations in top “Social Work” journals

Journal Title	Number of Publications	
	“Empathy” in the Title	“Empathy” in the Abstract
Child Abuse & Neglect	11	11
Children and Youth Services Review	2	2
Aggression and Violent Behavior	11	12
Journal of Interpersonal Violence	19	20
Journal of Child and Family Studies	5	5

Although this list captures some of the top publications, the result suggest that many more journals should be consulted in future work. However, a summary of a few influential pieces is presented here. Unlike the other disciplines, that have a slightly more centralized consensus around the topic as a result of minimal scholarship, social work does not have a single definition to describe empathy, though it is generally defined in terms of the emotional and cognitive elements of the therapist. On one hand,

Clark (2010) notes that empathy involves three components: a subjective awareness of your own reactions to a client (p. 349), an interpersonal perception of the clients frame of reference (p. 350), and an objective judgement about the client using reputable therapeutic resources to generate a diagnosis (p. 351). However, other scholars suggest that there are similar, but different elements of, empathy including that there must also be a decision to take an action because of the feelings and thoughts generated from the empathic encounter. For example, Gerdes et al. (2011) suggest that empathy involves an affective reaction to another's emotions, a cognitive processing of this reaction, and a conscious decision to take empathic action (p. 85). Still, other scholars suggest that there are many elements of empathy, including King (2011) who suggests that the constructs of empathy include "(1) caring, (2) congruence, (3) interpersonal sensitivity, (4) perspective taking, (5) altruism, and (6) the therapeutic relationship" (p. 679).

Beyond the debates about how to define empathy, however, the social work discipline has made a substantial contribution about other elements that come into play during the empathic process. This includes the importance of culture and empathy (Sinclair & Monk, 2005) as well as the imagination (Coplan, 2011). Writing about both of these, Coplan notes that empathy is in many ways harder to achieve with "someone very different from ourselves" because "the more unlike a target we are, the more difficult it is to reconstruct her subjective experiences" (2011, p. 58). This suggests that actions must be taken by the social worker to overcome perceptions of differences to support the empathy process.

Human Resources.

Public administration scholars have often found insights for organizational management from the field of human resources. Table 2-5 shows a list of the citations captured from the top journal from the Google Scholar classification of journal for human resources and organizations. Note that again, the number of publications with empathy in the title or in the abstract is not large. Indeed, for the last journal on this list, the Journal of Organizational Behavior, there are no publications with references to empathy.

Table 2-5: Number of citations in top “Human Resources & Organizations” journals

Journal Title	Number of Publications	
	“Empathy” in the Title	“Empathy” in the Abstract
Journal of Management	2	2
Academy of Management Journal	1	1
Organization Science	1	1
Academy of Management Review	1	1
Journal of Organizational Behavior	0	0

Of the scholarship that is included here, most of the articles are ones that reflect leadership and decision-making. One of the articles reflects collective empathy of

groups who are working to respond to the decision making by executives in larger organizations (Muller et al., 2014). This work suggests an important connection between the “emotions of organizations” and the “role of organizations in society” (Muller et al., 2014, p. 20). This idea has direct implications for this work and supports the idea that artifacts of an organization’s culture can contain evidence of empathy.

Outside of articles, and important to note here, is a contribution to this field from other written works including books. In his work on organizations and leadership, Fluker (2009) explores the vital role of empathy in leadership. Viewed as a dimension of the personal character of a leader, along with integrity and hope (p. 62), Fluker suggests empathy is an element that requires imagination (p.71) and vulnerability (p.72) as well as courage, justice, compassion, and an underlying respect for others (p.73). Noting that empathy also plays a critical role in a leader’s personal life, it is key for sensing and conveying active interest in followers (p.72). Given the overarching perspective of Fluker that leaders must have a deeply spiritual sense of self, he also explores how empathy presents itself within a leader. He describes the feeling of being empathy to the leader as “similar to déjà vu, but occurring consciously” (p.72). Through a spiritual connection to the other person and through empathy, a leader can recognize himself or herself in another individual, consequently acknowledge this connection, and act upon it to generate trust and community. Fluker also notes that empathy begins with listening and stressing that leaders have a moral obligation to hear another’s story.

In his discussion, Fluker offers examples of what a leader looks like when s/he is *unable* to act with empathy, describing the two extremes sides of empathy and acting with indifference or incorporation. Indifference is relatively straightforward in its meaning, where an individual is emotionally illiterate and unable to feel, sense, or act on the needs or desires of others (p. 74). On the other end, incorporation focuses on the inability to embrace the dynamic and organic nature of life, reducing complexities (including people) into black and white, mechanical, and inorganic objects (p. 74). This leader is unable to connect with individuals because of a deeply entrenched rules-based approach to interactions, decisions, and contingencies.

A Second Look at Public Administration

The purpose of the previous review of discipline specific literature was to explore the lesson around definitions of empathy that can be applied for this work. However, an apples-to-apples comparison for the field of public administration is important to include as a conclusion for this section.

Table 2-6 presents a list of the citations captured from the top public administration journals. Note that the number of publications with empathy in the title or in the abstract is small. In fact, these results are the smallest among the disciplines considered here with a total of three publications across the five journals. An important caveat is that Google Scholar does not maintain a subcategory for public administration

alone. As a result, the following figures reflect searches conducted on the list of “Public Policy & Administration” journals.

Table 2-6: Number of citations in top “Public Policy & Administration” journals

Journal Title	Number of Publications	
	“Empathy” in the Title	“Empathy” in the Abstract
Public Administration Review	2	2
Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory	1	1
Public Management Review	0	0
Governance	0	0
Public Administration	0	0

While the previous discussion of empathy in public administration reviewed several important pieces on the topic of empathy in public administration (Box, 2015; Burnier, 2003; Gormley & Balla, 2012; Guy et al., 2008; King, 2011; King & Stivers, 1998; Zanetti, 2011; Zanetti & King, 2011, 2013), the above table highlights that this scholarship is not mainstream in the field. Thus, despite the imperfect assessment of the field’s literature, it is a meaningful comparison.

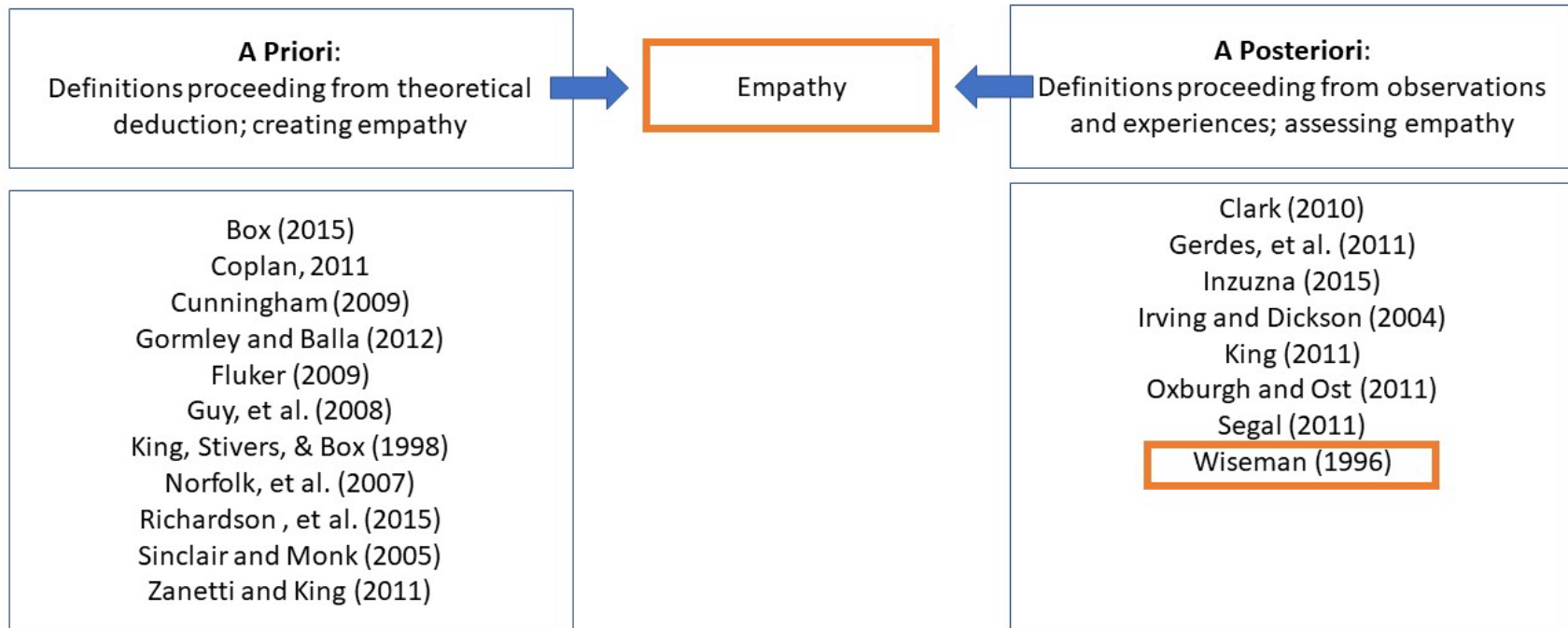
Detecting an Organizational Culture of Empathy in Public Organizations

Building on the above discussion of empathy (which establishes that there is a variety of conceptualizations of empathy across disciplines, but that scholars have stipulated that empathy has an important role to play in public administration) we return to the purpose of this work. This piece aims to identify how to detect empathy as an observable element of public sector organizational culture. To do this, three observations have been made from the literature:

(1) Definitions offer a priori or a posteriori views of empathy.

Considering the research on empathy discussed in this chapter, the definitions and discipline specific work explored in the previous section demonstrate that there are a variety of scholarly perspectives on empathy. In considering how various scholars treat empathy (Davis, 1983; Gerdes et al., 2011; Halpern, 2001; Konrath et al., 2011; Krznaric, 2015; Lipps, 1903; Oxburgh & Ost, 2011; Steinberg, 2014; Wiseman, 1996), including empathy in public administration (Box, 2015; Burnier, 2003; Edlins & Dolamore, forthcoming; Gormley & Balla, 2012; Guy et al., 2008; King, 2011; King & Stivers, 1998; Zanetti, 2011; Zanetti & King, 2011, 2013), this work asserts that empathy can be conceptualized from two directions. For this, we turn to the visualization in Figure 2-3 below, which classifies the definitions covered in this chapter.

Figure 2-3: Classifying definitions of empathy



As seen in Figure 2-3, definitions of empathy can be divided into two categories: on the left are priori definitions, or those definitions that classify empathy using a theoretical deduction; and on the right, are posteriori definitions, or those definitions that assess where empathy exists using observations or experience. On each side of the figure, a list of the authors discussed in the previous section is listed in the appropriate category.

On one hand, research can describe empathy a priori by defining empathy using theoretic deduction. These definitions focus on mechanisms that create empathy. As a result, when an empathic opportunity is presented, these definitions of empathy offer a roadmap to describe a path forward. Consider, for example, the work of Zanetti and King (2011) that asserts how current levels of trust in government has led to a state of governance which requires a transformation of public service. They offer empathy as a tool to create better relationships between citizens and government, by promoting inclusion and responsiveness. This work suggests that moving forward, the mechanism to create change is empathy. As a result, this work is listed under a priori definitions.

On the other hand, there are a posteriori definitions of empathy. Scholarship with this perspective of empathy defines empathy from observations and experiences, assessing empathy as it occurs after an empathic opportunity has past. Given the directions from which empathy can be observed, it presents multiple options for a “correct” definition, depending on the context and questions to be answered. Consider, for example, the work of Oxburgh and Ost (2011), who provide a framework for

assessing empathic continuers in the interactions between police investigators during interviews with suspects. This framework suggests that, looking back upon these interactions, there is a mechanism to detect if empathy was present or not. As a result, this work is listed under a posteriori definitions.

In addition to classifying the previous literature covered, Figure 2-3 also contains a graphical representation of where this study's conceptualization rests. In the orange box, we see that the a posteriori definition by Wiseman (1996) is highlighted. Recall that this research sought to determine what artifacts of organizational culture, in an existing dataset of the Housing Authority of Baltimore City, reflect attributes of empathy. Thus, a definition of empathy that proceeds from observations and experiences is appropriate and well suited for the goals of this project. As a result, this project utilized a posteriori conceptualization of empathy. It is, therefore, important to explore the conceptualization of empathy offered by Wiseman (1996) in more detail.

(2) Conceptualization of empathy should pull from as many definitions as possible.

The above discussion has explored the many different definitions of empathy, including a discussion of how the term is handled in various disciplines. The array of scholarship on the definition of empathy, combined with similarities seen in the definitions, suggests that a conceptualization of the term for research should pull from

as many definitions as possible. Thus, rather than relying on a single definition of empathy, this project makes use of a concept analysis of empathy (Wiseman, 1996).

Wiseman's construct of empathy, compiled using scholarly work across a variety of disciplines, depicts four attributes of empathy (1996). These have been summarized in Table 2-7. Wiseman states that her concept analysis was intended to provide clarification about empathy as a means to develop an "operational definition for the use [of empathy] in theory and research" (Wiseman, 1996, p. 1162). Wiseman surveyed 53 peer-reviewed, cross-discipline publications to identify similarities of the attributes of empathy. This work resulted in four "defining attributes" that together make up the construct of empathy (Wiseman, 1996, p. 1164). It is clear that Wiseman intended for all four of these attributes to part of the definition of empathy because she described the defining attributes as "something which has to be present for the concept to occur" (Wiseman, 1996, p. 1164). Therefore, the four attributes together form Wiseman's complete conceptualization of empathy.

Table 2-7: Defining attributes of empathy (Wiseman, 1996)

Attributes	Definition
(1) Seeing the world as others' see it	When an individual who wishes to engage in empathy engages in viewing a situation from the perspective of someone else.
(2) Understand another's current feelings	When an individual who is engaging in a perspective taking measure utilizes cognitive and affective capacities to comprehend the origins of the feelings held by another.
(3) Remain non-judgmental	When an individual makes active efforts to suppress judgement during the perspective taking and understanding process of empathy.
(4) Communicate understanding of another's feelings	When an individual conveys back the feelings and understanding created during the process of empathy.

The “see the world” attribute is a perspective taking measure where the individual who wishes to engage in empathy (the empathizer) must view what is occurring from the view of someone else. Across the definition presented previously, this attribute of empathy comes in many phrases that best capture this concept: “see the world through the eyes of those who are different from us” (Coplan, 2011, p. 40); “imagine another's situation ‘from the inside’” (Gerdes et al., 2011, p. 86); or “the capacity to sample the feelings of another” (Vozikis, Weaver, Dickson, & Gibson, 2012, p. 13). As these ideas suggest, the “see the world” attribute of empathy in Wiseman’s concept analysis relates to an internal, imaginative engagement on the part of the empathizer who is seeking to understand someone else.

In the “understand another’s current feelings” attribute, the empathizer utilizes rational capacity to comprehend the origins of the feelings held by another. In this attribute, the empathizer utilizes cognitive and affective functions to make sense of what was viewed in the previous step. The “understand another’s current feelings” attribute suggests that it is not sufficient for the empathizer to determine what someone else is experiencing, and they must also create intellectual and emotional comprehension of that “see the world” attribute of empathy. This means that part of empathy requires that one obtains an understanding of why the viewpoint from makes sense to the other person.

To accomplish this understanding, the “remain non-judgmental” attribute becomes critically important. In the “remain non-judgmental” attribute, the empathizer

must make active efforts to suppress judgement during the process and remain “objective” (Wiseman, 1996, p. 1165). This necessitates limiting internal, often automatic, responses of the empathizer to create justifications surrounding the situation. This might include thoughts like, “If I was this person, I would do X” or “Why don’t they just do Z?” Instead, the empathizer should remain outside of oneself and inside the other individual, imaginatively embodying the other person and understanding why the observations would make sense to them. In practice, Wiseman (1996, p. 1165) offers the following example:

“Mrs. Jones felt desperate and told the nurse she could not go on with life.

'Oh, don't be silly,' the nurse replied. 'You've got a lot to live for.' “

Though a brief interaction, this example shows that the nurse makes no effort to try to understand Mrs. Jones’ perspective on why she could not go on with life. Instead the nurse suggests that this idea is silly, which likely makes sense to the nurse but not to Mrs. Jones. Remaining non-judgmental is a critical point of empathy. The “remain non-judgmental” attribute is an active and imaginative process to remain outside of oneself and inside the other individual.

Lastly, for the “communicate understanding of another’s feelings” attribute of empathy, communication must occur from the empathizer back to the person with whom they are empathizing. Although often not discussed in the very early research on empathy, this last dimension is now considered “vital if empathy is to be felt” by the individuals involved in the process (Wiseman, 1996, p. 1165). This final attribute is the

point in the process which allows empathy to be a mutually experienced process with mediating properties (Steinberg, 2014).

Importantly, Wiseman notes that there are significant implications for clarifying empathy through concept analysis. In addition to creating clearer steps for the practice of empathy, a unified understanding of the defining attributes of empathy is important for coalescing research across disciplines, such as professional and practical fields that involve empathy (e.g., education and management) (Wiseman, 1996). This project seeks to further this goal by applying the four attributes of empathy in the field of public administration. This operationalization of empathy fills a gap by providing the defining attributes of the term while considering the work of previous scholars in the field.

(3) To detect empathy in public organizations, a framework is needed to determine where to look for empathy in organizational culture.

The previous discussion points, a priori or a posteriori views of empathy and the need for a conceptualization of empathy to pull from many definitions of empathy, support clarifying how to best establish what empathy should mean for this study. That is, in this work, empathy should be conceptualized in a unified, a posteriori manner to operationalize the detection of empathy in a set of archival materials. Therefore, using the above discussion on empathy, this work asserts that empathy can be detected in public organizations. However, while the previous points help to clarify *what* empathy is for this work, additional discussion is needed to help determine *where* empathy can be detected in a public organization.

After all, the heart of this project seeks to answer what artifacts of organizational culture can be assessed for the presence, or lack, of empathy in public sector organizations. This requires a mechanism to guide the detection of empathy within organizational culture. To accomplish this, a framework has been created that is grounded in a definition of organizational culture (Gooden, 2014); is based in the work of inclusion and social equity (Frederickson, 2005, 2010; Gawthrop, 1998; Johnson & Svara, 2011; Svara & Brunet, 2005; Wooldridge & Gooden, 2009); reflects organizational culture assessments already used in the field (Testa & Sipe, 2013), and builds on established scholarship in the field of organizational culture (Barnard, 1971; Deal & Kennedy, 2000; Katz & Kahn, 1978; Marcoulides & Heck, 1993; Meyer & Rowan, 1991; Powell & DiMaggio, 1991; Ritti & Funkhouser, 1982; Shafritz & Ott, 1992; Tagiuri et al., 1968; Van Maanen, 1979).

To accurately present the framework utilized in this dissertation, a subsequent discussion of a second body of literature from which it was developed is needed. This is accomplished in the subsequent chapter. Specifically, the following literature reviewed includes an overview of organizational theory literature as it relates to organizational culture. The chapter also presents seven types of artifacts of organizational culture and operationalizes the framework to detect an organizational culture of empathy.

Concluding Thoughts on the Literature of Empathy

The purpose of this chapter was to present the first body of literature reviewed related to empathy, a foundational concept of this study. This chapter presented a detailed review of the scholarship on defining empathy; a history of the term; how various disciplines have covered the topic; and a brief discussion of what empathy is not. This was accomplished to situate this work in the scholarly context of public administration.

In addition to discussing the background of empathy, this chapter also explored a conceptualization of empathy used in this project. Building on the discussion of various definitions of empathy, the term empathy in this work means a pro-social activity that involves four key attributes: (1) stepping into the shoes of another, (2) understanding another's current feelings, (3) remaining non-judgmental, and (4) communicating understanding of another's feelings (Wiseman, 1996).

To further operationalize how to detect an organizational culture of empathy, the next chapter and literature review explores public sector organizational culture and its connection to public service values. The following chapter presents an overview of public organizations and the elements of organizational culture that exists to bind the organization together. From this, a discussion of where you can observe organizational culture is presented, including a discussion of how artifacts point to the public values shared by an organization. The discussion of artifacts, including seven types of artifacts

where organizational culture can be observed for analysis, lays the foundation for the methodology of this study.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW OF ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE

Empathy is valued as an individual trait--an ability to emotionally connect with another person and value their life experience in an authentic way. But what about... institutions? At a time when “diversity” and “inclusion” are more critical than ever to the future of our field, how can institutions themselves better reflect and represent the values of their communities? (Jennings et al., 2016)

Introduction

The previous chapter reviewed the definition of empathy, a prosocial value that contains four attributes (Wiseman, 1996). The previous discussion also asserted that existing scholars established that empathy operates as a public service value in public administration (King & Stivers, 1998; Ponomariov & McCabe, 2017; Zanetti, 2011; Zanetti & King, 2011), including in public organizations (Zanetti & King, 2013). To assess empathy in public organizations, then, a conceptualization of the term needs to be integrated into a framework aimed at detecting public service values in organizational culture. Organizational theory literature has long established that public organization maintain elements of social architecture that can be observed and assessed (Moynihan & Landuyt, 2009; Moynihan, Pandey, & Wright, 2012; Rainey, 2014; Slack & Singh, 2017). As a public service value, empathy can be assessed like other elements of the social architecture of public organizations, such as organizational culture. The following

discussion reviews the literature to explore the connection between empathy, public service values, and organizational culture in the organizational theory literature.

As discussed in the opening chapter, public organizations are entities involved in the delivery of public goods, programs, or services. Their unique missions mean that public organizations maintain a culture that promotes public service values in their employees. This chapter explores the definition of organizational culture and explicitly link that can be observed between the definitions to artifacts for analysis. Following this foundational discussion, the chapter explores how organizational culture leads to collective sense-making within public organizations (Scott, 2013; Weick, 1995). This chapter then explores how public service values permeate organizational culture and draw conclusions about how to connect the two bodies of literature, empathy and organizational culture, to the methods of this study.

Public Organizations: A Brief Overview

Early work on public organizations includes early 20th century scholarship on bureaucracy (Weber, 1921, 1958) that paved the way for related scholarship such as bureaucratic theory (Selznick, 1943), administrative decision-making (Simon, 1946), and later, institutionalism (Meyer & Rowan, 1991; Powell & DiMaggio, 1991; Scott, 1987). In reflecting on the development of public organization scholarship, scholars have noted how the “pioneers” did not concentrate on creating definitions of public organizations with limits on the “specific kind of organization” to which their work applied (Vogel,

2014, p. 384), such as a government agency or an executive office. Early work instead focused on structural and behavioral elements such as the policies, leadership structures, or informal groups that influence the organizational cultural elements of public entities. By defining the attributes of public organizations, these early scholars were defining public organizations in these broad terms.

As an example of how the focus on defining attributes of public organizations have been maintained over time, Meyer and Rowan define public organizations as those entities that involve “systems of coordinated and controlled activities” (Meyer & Rowan in Powell & DiMaggio, 1991, location 863). This definition involves two parts: (1) the systems of an organization and (2) the controlled activities of the organization. In this sense, the definition described the two parts public organizations to include those elements internal to the organization (systems) and the outward facing elements (activities).

The first part of the Meyer and Rowan definition focuses on the internal systems of an organization, or the attributes of an organization that coordinate the activities of the entity. Not wholly different from private organizations, the systems that operate within public organizations are reliant on the individuals within the organization who accomplish the work (Scott, 2013). These individuals coordinate work and accomplish tasks through two mechanisms: cooperative systems and relational interactions

(Barnard, 1971).¹ Cooperative systems are those formal groupings directed by rules, policies, and structures that are created for two or more individuals to achieve a shared task. Relational interactions are also created when individuals come together to create a task, but reflect the unstructured relationships among the employees within an organization. Together, the cooperative systems and relational interactions form the internal mechanisms by which a public organization operates.

The second part of the Meyer and Rowan definition focuses on the controlled activities of the organization. As the outward facing element of an organization, what public organizations produce also reflects its attributes and differentiates them from other types of establishments. One way to define public organizations is to focus explicitly on programmatic activities such as public service provision (Meyer & Rowan, 1991). With the rise of privatization and contracting with nonprofit or for-profit entities, however, other scholars suggest that the activities produced by a public organization are much broader than previously conceptualized. For example, Moulton suggests that such entities contributing to “public outcomes” should be considered public organizations (Moulton, 2009, p. 899), an idea based upon theories of organization publicness (Katz & Kahn, 1978). The idea here is that the “publicness puzzle” must not only include programmatic activities, but also the social, political, and economic outcomes

¹ Barnard also famously called these two groups formal and informational organizations, however, their operationalized terms are utilized in this discussion to avoid confusion.

contributed by an organization (Moulton, 2009, p. 899). Moulton suggests that looking at the contribution to public outcomes considers these elements in determining if an agency is a public organization.

This interplay among systems and activities, and their contribution to public outcomes, reflect the definition of public organizations. While these two elements define public organizations, they also point to the organizational culture because of how the internal systems operate and external activities are accomplished reflects the values of the agency. Organizational culture is important, as it produces collective rationality that guides day to day activities (Drennan, 1992a) as well as the accomplishments of the organization (Scott, 2013). This point was reiterated by Marcoulides and Heck who state "an organization's collective culture influences both the attitudes and subsequent behaviors of its employees, as well as the level of performance the organization achieves" (1993, p. 211). Together, the previous discussion of empathic interactions between individuals and the collective synergy that is created in organizations demonstrates how individuals engage in empathy within an organization and collectively build empathy at the organizational level. This provides an opportunity to assess empathy at the organizational level. The following section explores the definition of organizational culture and discusses the various components where it can be observed within an organization. This conversation then turns to explore how these components of an organization can be observed to detect empathy.

Elements of Organizational Culture

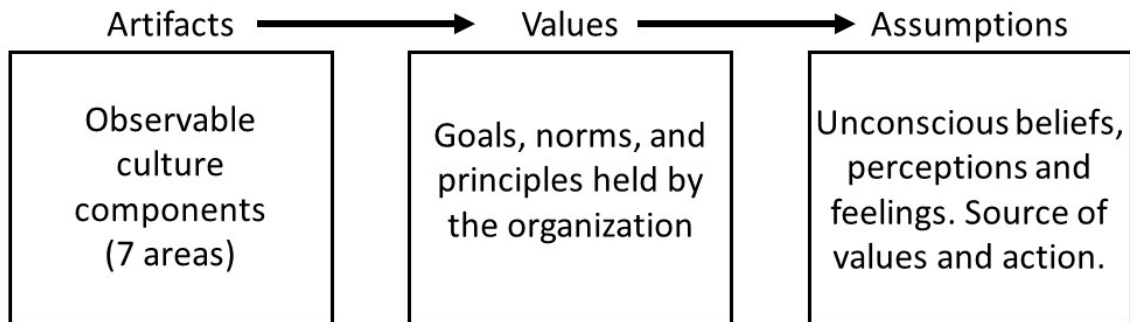
Regardless of size or mission orientation, public organizations share similarities in their relative structures. Each organization maintains a collective set of administrative and normative mechanisms that offer cues to inform behaviors, rules, and structures (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). The collective set of regulatory elements that exist within a public organization bind the organization together (Scott, 2013). These elements influence public organizations because they “define, shape, steer, and direct the work they perform” (Gooden, 2014, p. 60).

However, while scholars can agree that organizational culture exists, defining the concept remains elusive. The result is that there are several definitions of organizational culture (Gooden, 2014, p. 60). On one hand, some may consider organizational culture as the rituals and language used by an organization (Goffman, 1959, 2005; Van Maanen, 1979). Others suggest that the values of an organization define the culture (Deal & Kennedy, 2000). Still, more researchers consider the climate of an organization (Tagiuri et al., 1968) or the “rules of the game for getting along” (Ritti & Funkhouser, 1982, cited in Gooden, 2014, 61). Gooden suggests that “culture is a body of solutions to problems that have worked consistently and are transmitted to new members as the correct way to perceive, think about, and feel in relation to those problems” (citing Schein, 2010 in Gooden, 2014, p. 61). Whether through language, rituals, climate, or messages, organizational culture plays a role in how members receive and process information within the organization.

Among the organizational culture literature, several scholars highlight that organizational culture produces a shared set of elements that are usually termed assumptions, norms, or values (Deal & Kennedy, 2000; Gooden, 2014; Ritti & Funkhouser, 1982; Tagiuri et al., 1968; Van Maanen, 1979). While scholars may differ in the words utilized to describe what constitutes organizational culture, the definitions do include a sense that organizational culture spans the many different domains of an organization. Despite the diversity of definitions suggested for organizational culture, there are three commonalities across the definitions:

- 1) Organizational culture rests on observable artifacts of the organization
- 2) These artifacts together point to a shared set of values in public organizations
- 3) Taken together, the artifacts and values bind an organization together through assumptions.

These three concepts are best captured in the work of Schein (1985), who suggests that there are levels of organizational culture including artifacts, values, and assumptions levels. Schein's work was adapted by Testa and Sipe (2013) who produced a visual to capture how these three levels interact with one another. This figure has been further adapted and reproduced here in Figure 3-1, below.

Figure 3-1: Levels of organizational culture

This figure demonstrates that the three levels represent the spectrum of organizational culture, from the most observable to the most cognitive level. Notice that across the top of the figure, artifacts are connected to values that are in turn connected to assumptions. This figure supports the idea that an assessment of values can be made from an analysis of the artifacts. However, while organizational culture can be observed at any one of these levels, the full picture of an organizational culture exists in the combined picture of all three levels. Yet, to observe the values at use within an organization- the goal of this study- one must first identify where evidence of organizational culture exists. The following sections explore the three domains presented above in more detail.

(1) Organizational culture rests on observable artifacts of the organization.

Those elements of culture at the artifact level are the most visible and include written and spoken language, usually on observable objects within the organization. Imagine acronyms, logos, and mission specific jargon utilized with the organization in reports,

meetings, or policies. Below is a brief discussion of the seven observable levels of organizational culture derived from Gooden's (2014) organizational culture audit.

Physical characteristics and general environment. The first areas of organizational culture that can be observed are those hard objects that make up the actual workspace of the entity. Artifacts that reflect this domain span the physical domain of the organization, including symbols or logos, as well as the actual office space itself. Drawing on the work of Hatch (1993), Hatch and Schultz (1997), and Schein (2010), Testa and Snipe (2013) note that the elements of physical characteristics include "signage, furniture and accessories, tradition vs. Modern, colors, symbols & logos, lighting; sound, level and type; uniforms; cleanliness and organization" (p. 41). For service organizations, there is a note that "front of the house" versus "back of the house" comparisons are also important (p.41). This calls to mind Yanow (1997) who analyzes the effects of policy on spaces and buildings as well as the imperative for the inclusion of these elements in analysis in the public sector (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012).

Policies, procedures, and structures. The second domain of organizational culture, noted by Gooden (2014), is the elements that make up the policies, procedures, and structures of the entity. This includes such artifacts as organizational charts, manuals, and operating procedures. These items are generally focused on the formal

rules of the organization and are assessed based upon the depth of content, number of standard operating procedures, amount of trainings, and staff perceptions of the importance of the elements (Testa & Sipe, 2013).

Socialization. The third area of organizational culture is socialization. Scholars have discussed this element of organizational culture to explore the impact of formal or informal rules that govern the actions or relationships of individuals within the agency. Socialization is the process by which employees come to understand what is appropriate and why (Moynihan & Landuyt, 2009). For instance, socialization can teach employees about the difference between *de facto* and *de jure* policies at an organization, such as taking breaks or meeting deadlines. While written *de jure* policies may stipulate certain rules (e.g., timesheets are due on Mondays at 5pm), the unspoken *de facto* policies may in fact suggest a different rule (e.g., timesheets are due before Tuesdays at 9am). Gooden notes that socialization includes “formal or informal documentation of agency rules, presentations, discussions, or relationships” (Gooden, 2014, p. 63). Barnard (1971) explores socialization under his construct of informal organizations. He notes:

“the aggregate of the personal contacts and interactions and the associated groupings of people....though common or joint purposes are excluded by definition, common or joint results of important character nevertheless come from such organization. Now it is evident from this description that informal organization is indefinite and

rather structureless, and has no definite subdivision” (Barnard, 1971, p. 115).

He also notes that there are consequences of the informal organization including two classes of effects: (a) establishes certain attitudes, understanding, customs, habits, and institutions and (b) it creates the condition under which formal organization may arise (Barnard, 1971, p. 116).

Leadership behavior. Scholars also note that observations of leadership behavior are critical to understanding organizational culture.² Although an area of inquiry in its own right, observations about leadership behavior tell us a lot about the agency. Research should rightly consider the allocation of resources or specific initiatives as examples of leadership behavior (Gooden, 2014). This area calls to mind the work of Follett (1926) who notes the special role that leaders play in the actions of an organization. She notes that leadership is critical to the re-personalization of employees who work for organizations. While many elements of an organization represent rules, or

² Leadership behavior is an element of organizational culture that, while mentioned as a stand along concept here, cuts across the elements of organizational culture. For instance, leadership behaviors can influence socialization, or perceptions of rewards and recognition. While this is certainly true, scholars of organizational theory assert that leadership behavior should be a standalone item in organizational culture assessments (Gooden, 2014; Testa & Sipe, 2013) and it is included in this way here.

taken-for-grantedness, leadership behavior is an area that offers critical understanding to outside researchers and employees within the organization.

Rewards and recognition. Similar to the leadership behaviors, all organizations exhibit very real areas where they establish goals and rewards for those goals. These rewards and recognition efforts can, therefore, also be examined to understand the organizational culture. Examples of these areas are performance reviews, either of programs or people. Along the same lines, formal evaluations or less formal staff recognition programs also reflect the goals, rewards, and recognition efforts of an organization. Testa and Sipe (2013) note that in addition to the awards and recognition efforts themselves, artifacts around employee perceptions of the rewards are also helpful.

Discourse. Beyond the actions of an organization or the leadership within an organization, the overall words/phrases utilized across the organization reflect the organizational culture. Gooden (2014) suggests that one can consider the content of conversations, organization histories, or trainings as elements of discourse. Testa and Sipe (2013) note communication within organizations contains artifacts to be observed around the content of email vs memos vs signage vs face-to-face for organizational culture. For instance, the wording or metaphors used across the organization within leadership circles or among employees is very telling.

Learning and performance. Lastly, organizational culture can be observed through the efforts of learning and performance management within an organization.³ For instance, how employees within the organization and external stakeholders feel about the organization's performance including systems, goals, and outcomes. Important in this category, the actual mechanisms themselves that are being used to measure performance indicate priorities and learning values. Also, how an organization learns is important for understanding how it operates. These areas can include documentation of reputation, best practices, or feedback (Gooden, 2014).

Summary of Elements of an Organizational Cultural Audit. Having reviewed the elements that make up the artifact level of culture of public organizations, the following table offers a consolidated version of these elements. Note that Table 3-1 includes a list of the category in the far-left column and an abbreviated definition on the right. We

³ The learning and performance management element of organizational culture is deeply connected to the body of work on performance measurement and performance management. The extent to which this field has covered the relationship between organizational culture, organizational learning, and performance management is not included here due to its breadth and tangential relationship. For examples, however, see: Julnes (2008); Behn (2003); Moynihan and Landuyt (2009); and Van Dooren, Boukaert, and Halligan (2010).

return to a discussion of these items in the next chapter, but for now, it is sufficient to note that these seven elements where organizational culture manifest for observation.

Table 3-1: Adapted from elements of an organizational cultural audit (Gooden, 2014)

Category	Definition
(1) Physical characteristics and general environment	Physical or operational components including office space, symbols/logos, agency reports, brochures, etc.
(2) Policies, procedures, and structures	Written, institutional elements of a workplace including mission statements, organizational charts, etc.
(3) Socialization	Regular behaviors and expectations are in place that demonstrate norms, priorities, and values
(4) Leadership behavior	Attitudes demonstrated by the leadership within a workplace, notably priorities and values
(5) Rewards and recognition	Systems in place that document progress, including formal or informal reviews and recognition
(6) Discourse	Messages and conversations that occur, both in the present and historically

(7) Learning and performance

Elements of a workplace that demonstration
innovation, reflection, or growth

The discussion on this first point highlights how organizational culture can be detected through observable artifacts of an organization. As the first of three levels of organizational culture, there are seven types of artifacts that make up the organizational culture. Having established the observable artifacts that occur at the first level of organizational culture, this next section turns to explore how artifacts lead to values and assumptions within an organization.

(2) Artifacts point to a shared set of values in public organizations.

Recall the earlier definition of public organizations as entities that involve “systems of coordinated and controlled activities” (Meyer & Rowan, 1991, p. 42). These systems and activities are the artifacts discussed above, those elements of organizations that are more easily observed because one can point to an actual artifact for measurement. However, the part of organizational culture that causes the systems to be coordinated and the activities to be controlled are the values and assumptions. These are belief systems that result from collective action within groups (Testa & Sipe, 2013). This section first explores values in public organizations and then turns to a discussion of assumptions.

Values in Public Organizations. In her analysis of the definition of organizational culture, Gooden notes that values are synonymous to culture stating “nearly all conceptualizations of culture embody a value component” (Gooden, 2014, p. 62). Values are, therefore, central to culture. Along with the activities of public organizations that are unique to the public sector, the values central to public organizations are also unique to the public sector. Gooden concludes that “while organizational values can differ, certain values are central to public administration, such as efficiency and effectiveness. Similarly, all public-sector organizations share a value commitment to justice” (2014, p. 63).

As an important contribution, Appleby famously described three qualities that should be embodied by public administrators: first, public administrators need to embody a logic that emphasizes “people's spirits and emotions” or “the logic of events and sentiments”; second, “the ingrained disposition to put the public interest first,” termed “government sense,”; and third, a sense of public accountability that Appleby terms “public relations” (Appleby, 1945, p. 43). In this way, Appleby (1945) asserts that there are important public service values that put people first which should guide the work of public administrators. In other words, the combination of embodying and being oriented toward public service values is fundamental to the work of public service.

Building on this and similar scholarship, in his seminal work on the administrative state, Waldo (1984) discussed at lengths the values at work within public administration. In particular, Waldo (1984) explores the values that are interrelated with efficiency. He

stated that efficiency must be measured in terms of other values, asserting that “efficiency cannot itself be a ‘value.’ Rather, it operates in the interstices of a value system” (Waldo, 1948, p. 202). In considering this work, some scholars have extrapolated that these values become institutional values (i.e., organizational values) (Adams & Balfour, 2009; Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000; Durant, 2007; E. Ostrom, 1990; V. Ostrom, 2008). As a result, these intersecting values are what allow organizations to adapt and evolve over time. On the positive end of the this extrapolation, Durant (2007) notes that these values allow organizations to re-conceptualize their purpose, re-connect with stakeholders, and re-define administrative rationality to better address wicked problems. On the negative end of this extrapolation, Adams and Balfour (2009) argue how misguided emphasis on efficiency without regard to important, others-oriented public service values, such as benevolence, can lead to extreme examples of administrative evil (like that which is often observed in genocide or crippling social policies).

Other scholars have explored in detail those values with an influence in public administration as well. Gawthrop (1998) offers that the origins of public administration are rooted in the Puritan values of faithfulness, community interdependence, and respect for the common good. His work suggests that public service values originally included “such concepts as trust, loyalty, benevolence, unselfishness; such virtues as prudence, temperance, fortitude, and justice; and such fundamental values as faith, hope and love” (Gawthrop, 1998, p. 2). Although these values have faded over time,

Gawthrop explains that in their place came trust in “the science of efficiency” (1998, p. 3) that coincided with the rise of scientific management in the early 1900s; followed by pluralist-bargaining-incremental process during the 1930s to 1960s; and finally a more sophisticated, scientific management-like movement of rationality known as planning-programming-budgeting systems (p. 11). Although the intent was to create a “value-free administrative system” the result was a focus on the “value loaded concepts of frugality, loyalty, obedience, subservice, impersonality, and certitude” (Gawthrop, 1998, p. 5). Although the specifics of these movements were short-lived, the emphasis of rationality stuck.

Gawthrop’s (1998) exploration of origins of public service values is reflected in other works on public service values. Consider the examination of public service values conducted by Jørgensen and Bozeman (2007) that details both the “universe of public service values,” including their boundaries and origins (p. 354). In their review of literature, the authors found an inventory of 72 public service values that manifest in seven different constellations: (1) the public sector’s contribution to society; (2) the transformation of interest to decisions; (3) the relationship between public administrators and politicians; (4) the relationship between public administrators and their environment; (5) intra-organizational aspects of public administration; (6) the behavior of public-sector employees; and (7) the relationship between public administration and the citizens.

In a different look at public value by typologies, Box (2015) offers a blended version of Van Wart's (1998) five part framework, Goodsell's "five M's" (1989), and the code of ethics from organizations such as the American Society for Public Administrators ("Code of Ethics," n.d.) and the Network of Schools of Public Policy, Affairs, and Administration (NASPAA, n.d.). The result are five value "themes" (Box, 2015, p. 21) that consists of:

- 1) Neutrality, or "serving without interjecting values or preferences" (p. 51) via "obedience, expertise, and impartiality" (p. 54);
- 2) Efficiency, including values that help "achieve the desired results using as few resources as possible" (p. 73) such as "profitability, innovativeness, responsiveness, and serviceability" (p. 90);
- 3) Accountability, involving "report[ing] to another, answer[ing] for performance, and be[ing] judged in relation to a concept or goal" (p. 95);
- 4) Public Service, or "those values about the commitment of individual public professionals" (p. 21); and
- 5) Public Interest, or "values that professionals apply to action on public programs and policies" (p. 21).

The public service values scholarship explored here suggest that there are many values that can be observed in an organization. Relating this discussion to Figure 3-1, these values often are manifested in the artifacts produced in an organization. In this way, measurement of organizational culture must first include a review of the artifacts

and then a further examination to identify the values present in the artifacts. However, the interaction that occurs between artifacts and values are important to the organization as a whole, as it leads to the collective rationality that forms the connections within an organization. This is explored in more detail in the next section.

(3) Taken together, artifacts and values bind an organization together through assumptions.

Returning to definitions of organizational culture, this work turns to explore the third element present in the varying definitions offered by scholars. Recall that the first and second part of the definition includes observable artifacts that lead to a shared set of values. Looking at the work of Testa and Sipe (2013) and Gooden (2014) this chapter explored those observable elements from which understanding of organization values can be derived. We now turn to the final part of the definition that is the result of organization artifacts and values, or assumptions that hold the organization together.

Recall Figure 3-1, which outlines the connection between artifacts, values, and assumptions. In the box on the far right of this figure, under assumptions, Testa and Sipe (2013) suggest that the assumptions of an organization are the source of value and action. This is a very simple explanation for how organizational culture influences behavior. Though the field of public administration previously held that formal organizational structures (e.g., rules, policies, or standard operating procedures) had the greatest impact on behavior (Shafritz & Hyde, 2011), scholars now contend that the

collective impact of organizational culture has the most influence on behavior (Chao & Moon, 2005; Shafritz & Ott, 1992). Some even suggest, perhaps, more than formal organizational systems. Gooden writes:

From the organizational culture perspective, the personal preferences of organizational members are not restrained by systems of formal rules, authority, and by norms of rational behavior. Instead they are controlled by cultural norms, values, beliefs, and assumptions. In order to understand or predict how an organization will behave under varying circumstances, one must know and understand the organization's patterns of basic assumptions-its organizational culture (Shafritz & Ott, 1992, p. 482)

In this quote, Gooden is connecting organizational culture to the individual level. Citing Chao and Moon (2005), Gooden reinforces this idea saying “an organization's culture is a force that strongly influences organizational behavior, but it also provides an important cultural framework for individuals” (2014, p. 61). In other words, organizational culture influences both the organizational behavior and individual behavior.

So, how does this process happen where organizational assumptions influence behavior? Scholars explain that the process includes a series of messages that are sent to individuals about what is appropriate or inappropriate. This sense of “how things are done around here” (Drennan, 1992b) and “the way things get done around here” (Deal

& Kennedy, 2000) guide such action and process as, including but not limited to, what types of discussions occur, how policies are written, and how workspaces are designed. Gooden (2014) suggests that these influences are both direct and indirect. Direct influences include very observable and intentional actions, such as the allocation of resources or development of a specific policy. Indirect influences would include the vocabulary utilized by individuals or physical layout of office space.

Other scholars refer to this interaction between artifacts, values, and assumptions as collective sense-making. Sense-making within organizations is a well-researched phenomenon that focuses on the way in which organizations create collective understanding for the individuals who make up the collective (K. Weick, 1993; K. E. Weick, 1995; K. E. Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005). Sense-making is important because it is the mechanisms by which organizations are fused together, by creating understanding out of the chaotic interactions of many individuals and communicating that understanding across the group (K. E. Weick et al., 2005). Looking to the work of institutional theorists, who stipulate that sense-making is an essential reflection of the organization culture, Scott suggests that organizational culture provides “stabilizing and meaning-making properties because of the process set in motion by regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements” (2008, p. 48). These elements were explored in the previous section, but Scott suggests that the sense-making offered through institutionalization reflects the underlying organizational culture.

Concluding Remarks: A Return to the Discussion of Public Service Values

This second literature review chapter started with a discussion of public organizations. This overview noted that public organizations include an internal system that makes the organization operate and external activities that produce outcomes for public consumption. This discussion pointed to ways that the internal and external elements of public organizations are influenced by the organizational culture. The definition of organizational culture provided included three levels: artifacts, values, and assumptions. The discussion of artifacts, including seven domains where organizational culture can be observed for analysis and the foundation for the methodology of this study, is discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Following this discussion of the three levels of organizational culture, the chapter narrowed in on the role of values within organizations noting that public service values mediate the cultural connection between artifacts and assumptions. Specifically, identifying the public service values that are observable from the artifacts in an organization can generate understanding of the sense-making, or assumptions, of an organization. This discussion points to another core component of the methodology of this study and is discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

The exploration of public service values in this chapter included a list of values from the concept analysis conducted by Box (2015) that includes neutrality, efficiency, accountability, public service, and public interest. These broad categories are meant to classify the many different values that operate in public administration. While it is often

the case that there are multiple values influencing an public organization (Denhardt, 1981; Jung et al., 2009; Molina & McKeown, 2012), the purpose of this study is not to explore all of these values, but to hone in on one value in particular: empathy. The previous chapter provided a conceptualization of empathy with four attributes: (1) stepping into the shoes of another, (2) understanding another's current feelings, (3) remaining non-judgmental, and (4) communicating understanding of another's feelings (Wiseman, 1996). In addition, the previous chapter discussed how empathy is covered in public administration literature by noting that scholars have indicated its role in promoting inclusion (Burnier, 2003), responsiveness (Zanetti, 2011), and the capacity to show concern (Guy et al., 2008).

Taken all together, the preceding chapter on empathy and this chapter on organizational culture, this dissertation has explored the key terms of this work. In addition, the literature reviewed and conceptualizations have laid the foundation for the subsequent chapter that focuses on the methodology of this project. The next chapter explores in practical terms how to execute detecting empathy in the seven domains of organizational culture. Chapter four, therefore, provides a concrete path forward to answer the research question of this study: What artifacts of organizational culture can be assessed for the presence, or lack, of the attributes of empathy in public sector organizations?

4. METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In the previous two literature review chapters, an overview of two core concepts to this dissertation were presented. In the second chapter, empathy was conceptualized as a public service value with four attributes that plays an important role in public administration. In the third chapter, explored how organizational culture can be detected through seven types of artifacts. The third chapter also asserted the connection between the artifacts of organization culture and public service values, like empathy. This work then explored how when these two concepts are applied together; they generate a framework to detect empathy in the cultural artifacts of public organizations.

This framework is at the heart of this study and the following chapter explores how this dissertation was executed. Specifically, this chapter outlines an exploratory, qualitative research paradigm to reflect the aims of this project. Following this, the chapter returns to the research question of this work and corresponding methodological steps by explaining the methodology in more detail. Key concepts are conceptualized and translated into a coding structure for this project. Finally, this chapter includes a discussion of verification noting efforts to strengthen reliability and validity of findings.

Qualitative Research Paradigm

Qualitative research serves an important role in the creation of knowledge. Scholars have suggested that this type of research “transforms the world” (Creswell & Poth, 2017, p. 7) by making sense of the meanings generated or associated from observations (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 3). The role of qualitative research is to take the invisible and make it visible through representations that can be analyzed from “field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self” (Creswell & Poth, 2017, p. 7). Using any number of frameworks or datasets, qualitative researchers interpret and create understanding of complex phenomena.

At its core, this project offers a framework for detecting empathy in the organizational culture of public organizations. However, as previously explored, the concept of empathy has not been solidified in public administration. As a result, research into this term and its application to public service is evolving, though its value is evident in work of scholars (Guy et al., 2008; King & Stivers, 1998; Stivers, 2000; Zanetti, 2011; Zanetti & King, 2011). Therefore, to study empathy, the methodology of this project must reflect the evolving context of the term. This project uses qualitative research methods designed to meet the exploratory needs of this project.

The selection of a theoretical research framework informs all aspects of a project including the research question, the methods for obtaining information, and analysis to generate understanding of the meanings derived from the observations. An exploratory lens is appropriate because the concept here is “associated with the early less formed stages of a problematic situation” (Shields & Whetsell, 2016, p. 23). As a result, the

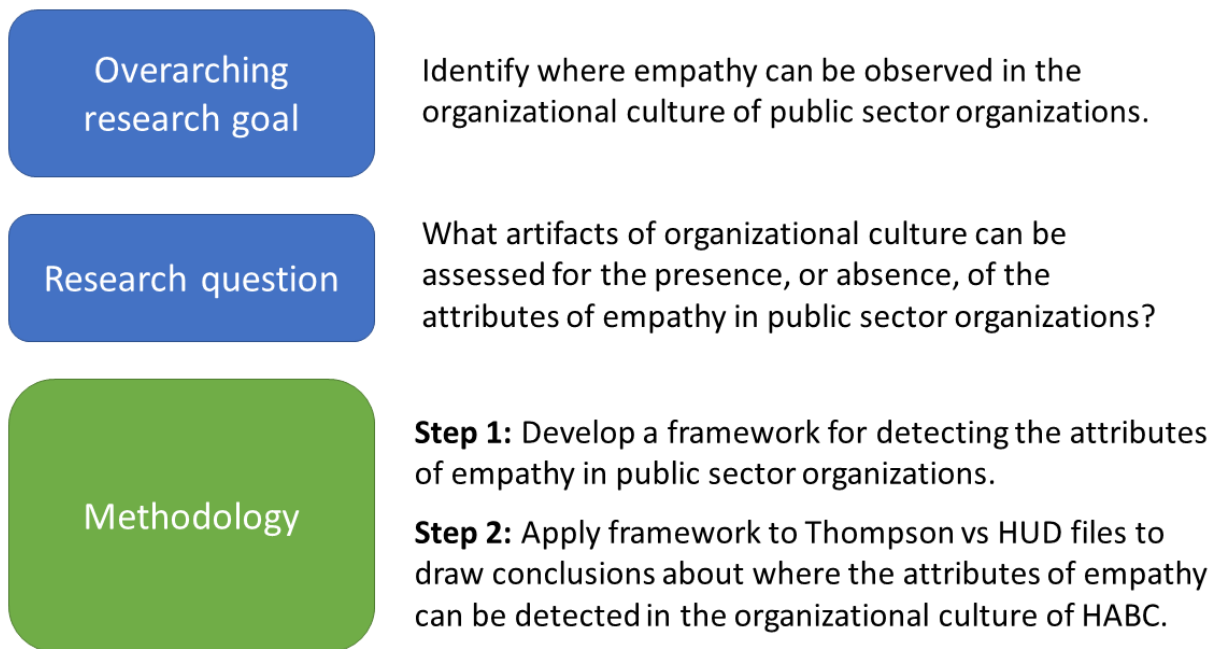
research question and methods outlined here are formulated to reflect a “documentary and provisional” nature (Miles et al., 2013, p. 122) aimed at clarifying the meaning and role of empathy in the field of public administration. In other words, this research project is conducting inquiry into an area that is new and unfolding, lending itself to an exploratory frame (Miles et al., 2013). It is appropriate to engage in exploratory research design given the evolving nature of research on empathy in public administration. The results of using an exploratory design lead to clarification about core conceptualizations and pave the way for future research, which could be of less exploratory nature.

Research Overview: Connecting the Research Question to Methods

The research framework for this project is outlined in Figure 4-1, below. This visual depicts the overarching research goal that guides the structure of this project and related research question. As noted in the figure, the purpose of this research is to identify where empathy can be observed in the organizational culture of public sector organizations. This research goal guided the literature reviewed in the previous chapter, which asserts that: (1) definitions offer a priori or a posteriori views of empathy, and the most appropriate direction is driven by the data and questions being asked; (2) given the breadth of literature on empathy outside of public administration and the minimal coverage on empathy in the field, a definition of empathy should pull from as many different disciplines as possible; and (3) to detect empathy in public organizations, a framework is needed to determine where to look for empathy in organizational culture.

As a result, and from the research goal, a subsequent research question was developed to formulate the strategy for inquiry. The research question presented in Figure 4-1 shows that this work seeks to determine what artifacts of organizational culture can be assessed for the presence, or absence, of the attributes empathy in public sector organizations. This question is addressed by a two-part methodology.

Figure 4-1: Research goal, question, and methodology



Below the research goal and question in Figure 4-1 are the two steps that make up this project's methodology. Part one of the methods intends to develop a framework that can be used detect the attributes of empathy in the organizational culture of public sector organizations. Recall that much of the work of this step is also addressed by the literature reviewed in the previous chapter, which suggests there is a connection between organizational culture artifacts and public service values, like empathy. Specifically, the literature review maintains that there are seven artifact types related to

organization culture and four attributes of empathy that, when combined, create a framework to detect an organizational culture of empathy.

This framework addresses the research question by first determining how to define empathy in public organizations and where to look for it within an organizational context. To accomplish this, the project first operationalizes Wiseman's (1996) construct of empathy to fit an organizational setting. In addition, this project also determines the appropriate organizational components that can be observed for empathy using Gooden's (2014) organizational culture audit. When combined, these two elements form the framework that is applied in the second part of the methodology.

Operationalization of Key Terms

Having reviewed the overarching research question and methodology, the following section explores in more detail the key terms of this work. Specifically, this section operationalizes three key components. This section specifies the definitions for empathy, organizational culture, and the organizational culture framework. For all three terms, the definitions are grounded in the literature previously reviewed. Their conceptualization here explores how the terms were translated from the literature review into the framework that was applied to the dataset

Empathy

Recall from the previous chapter that there are numerous definitions of empathy, but there are common attributes of the term. As a result, this work has

selected a definition that is derived from a cross-discipline, concept analysis for the term (Wiseman, 1996). The appropriateness for utilizing this concept analysis in public administration stems from the literature surveyed resulting in applicability across a variety of disciplines. The concept analysis surveyed 53 peer-reviewed articles and summarized the defining elements of empathy across research from a variety of disciplines. The components of this concept analysis are outlined below in Table 4-1. Wiseman acknowledges that by clarifying the defining attributes of empathy in her concept analysis, there are implications for numerous professional and practical fields that requires empathy, including education and management (Wiseman, 1996). Implications include unifying research that investigates the concept of empathy and developing applications for the real world.

Table 4-1: Artifacts of empathy (Wiseman, 1996)

Attributes	Definition
(1) Seeing the world as others' see it	When an individual who wishes to engage in empathy engages in viewing a situation from the perspective of someone else.
(2) Understand another's current feelings	When an individual who is engaging in a perspective taking measure utilizes cognitive and affective capacities to comprehend the origins of the feelings held by another.
(3) Remain non-judgmental	When an individual makes active efforts to suppress judgement during the perspective taking and understanding process of empathy.
(4) Communicate understanding of another's feelings	When an individual conveys back the feelings and understanding created during the process of empathy.

The attributes that define empathy in Table 4-1 are conceived of as four defining attributes that must be present for empathy to occur, that is, to achieve an empathic outcome. The "see the world" attribute is a perspective taking measure, where the

individual who wishes to engage in empathy (the empathizer) must view what is occurring from the view of someone else. In the “understand another’s current feelings” attribute, the empathizer utilizes cognitive and affective capacities to make sense of the perspective achieved in the previous step. This attribute suggests that it is not enough for the empathizer to identify what someone else is feeling, they must also establish comprehension about the origins of the feelings held by another. Next, in the “remain non-judgmental” attribute, the empathizer must make active efforts to suppress judgement during the process and remain “objective” (Wiseman, 1996, p. 1165). Remaining non-judgmental means limiting the automatic, internal response of the empathizer to create justifications surrounding the situation. Instead, the empathizer must use an imaginative process to remain outside of oneself and inside the other individual. This is the critical point of empathy and how the concept diverges from related concepts like sympathy. Lastly, the “communicate understanding of another’s feelings” attribute relates to communication that must occur from the empathizer back to the person with whom they are empathizing with. Although often not discussed in the very early research on empathy, this attribute is now considered “vital if empathy is to be felt” by the individuals involved in the process (Wiseman, 1996, p. 1165). This attribute is the point in the process that allows for empathy to be a mutually experienced process with mediating properties (Steinberg, 2014).

Organizational Culture

The operationalization of organizational culture for this work established the artifacts that were observed for evidence of empathy, the goal of this study. To accomplish this, Gooden's (2014) organizational cultural audit was adapted. The framework focuses on seven areas of an organization that can be observed for evidence of race and social equity (Gooden, 2014) and was adapted from an organizational cultural audit utilized in the service industry (Testa & Sipe, 2013). These seven areas are reproduced below in Table 4-2: Adapted from elements of an organizational cultural audit (Gooden, 2014), with the left column noting the organizational culture category and the right column providing a corresponding definition (Gooden, 2014, pp. 63–65).

Table 4-2: Artifacts of organizational culture (Gooden, 2014)

Artifact Type	Definition
(1) Physical characteristics and general environment	Physical or operational components including office space, symbols/logos, agency reports, brochures, etc.
(2) Policies, procedures, and structures	Written, institutional elements of a workplace including mission statements, organizational charts, etc.
(3) Socialization	Regular behaviors and expectations are in place that demonstrate norms, priorities, and values
(4) Leadership behavior	Attitudes demonstrated by the leadership within a workplace, notably priorities and values
(5) Rewards and recognition	Systems in place that document progress, including formal or informal reviews and recognition
(6) Discourse	Messages and conversations that occur, both in the present and historically
(7) Learning and performance	Elements of a workplace that demonstration innovation, reflection, or growth

This framework was applicable for this study because it captures the domains in which organizations convey information regarding appropriate or inappropriate behaviors and norms. In fact, Gooden's (2014) adaption of Testa and Sipe's (2013) private sector framework has been reliable and valid for assessing the culture of public sector organizations because of the universality of these artifact domains in organizations (Cárdenas & Ramírez de la Cruz, 2017; Mitra et al., 2017; Slack & Singh, 2017). As a result, further application of the framework, so long as the main components of analysis are not removed is equally appropriate for this project.

Organizational Culture Framework

Again recalling Figure 4-1, the research methodology involved the creation of a framework to guide the analysis of this work. To accomplish this, the definition of empathy (Wiseman, 1996) was combined with the artifact types of organizational culture (Gooden, 2014) to develop the framework. The framework to detect an organizational culture of empathy, provided below in Table 4-3, shows a clear overlay of the attributes of empathy within the seven domains of organizational culture. Table 4-3 is organized with the cultural categories listed on the left and the corresponding evidence areas listed on the right. This framework was the tool utilized in the second part of this project to measure if empathy exists in these organizational culture artifact types, or not. The specifics relating to the case application, including details on the data utilized and the analysis conducted, are outlined in the next section of this chapter.

Table 4-3: Framework to detect an organizational culture of empathy

Cultural Category	Evidence Area
(1) Physical characteristics and general environment	<p>What do the physical components of the department say about:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seeing the world as others' see it, • Understanding another's current feelings, • Remaining non-judgmental, and • Communicating understanding of another's feelings?
(2) Policies, procedures, and structures	<p>What do the agency's policies, procedures, and structures say about the importance of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seeing the world as others' see it, • Understanding another's current feelings, • Remaining non-judgmental, and • Communicating understanding of another's feelings?
(3) Socialization	<p>What regular behaviors and expectations are in place that affect:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seeing the world as others' see it, • Understanding another's current feelings, • Remaining non-judgmental, and

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Communicating understanding of another's feelings?
(4) Leadership behavior	<p>What level of priority do agency leaders give to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Seeing the world as others' see it,• Understanding another's current feelings,• Remaining non-judgmental, and• Communicating understanding of another's feelings?
(5) Rewards and recognition	<p>What are the rewards and/or acknowledgements for improvements in the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Seeing the world as others' see it,• Understanding another's current feelings,• Remaining non-judgmental, and• Communicating understanding of another's feelings?
(6) Discourse	<p>How are messages formally and informally created regarding:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Seeing the world as others' see it,• Understanding another's current feelings,• Remaining non-judgmental, and

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Communicating understanding of another's feelings?
(7) Learning and performance	<p>Does the organization demonstrate innovation in making observations about:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Seeing the world as others' see it, Understanding another's current feelings, Remaining non-judgmental, and Communicating understanding of another's feelings?

Data Sources and Collection

The bulk of this project lies in the case application completed by applying the framework to detect an organizational culture of empathy to an organization for analysis. The case selected for this work was an archival set of materials related to the Housing Authority of Baltimore City (HABC). While HABC is a public organization and complies with open records access, an extensive collection of administrative documents was available and were related to the landmark lawsuit files against HABC in *Thompson vs. HUD*. This case was filed by Baltimore city public housing residents who argued that HABC has intentionally discriminated against them over several decades by not appropriately or adequately implementing the fair housing regulations in Baltimore City (NAACP, n.d.). While this case relates the integration of public service values within an organization, it is largely a case on convenience due to the size and extensive nature of

the data corpus. The size, types of documentation, and structure of the data set are discussed below.

This analysis makes use of data available through the University of Baltimore Langsdale Library Special Collections. The printed and digital archival resources in Special Collections offers scholars access to diverse and comprehensive research materials related to the history of Baltimore and the region. One of donors to the Special Collections, the Maryland American Civil Liberties Union (Maryland ACLU), shares case records on lawsuits related to the public interest and research in the fields of law, public administration, and social services. Within the Maryland ACLU records are 100 linear feet of artifacts on the *Thompson vs. HUD* lawsuit. This holding contains over 1,968 artifacts on the history of public housing service in Baltimore City provided after the Fair Housing Act of 1968. These artifacts were utilized for the landmark lawsuit to correct the injustices created by the implementation of this policy by local organizations (NAACP, n.d.).

These artifacts are sorted into three sections: (1) Plaintiff's Exhibit used by the Maryland ACLU and NAACP Legal Defense Fund to establish racially segregated housing in Baltimore City; (2) Local Defendant's Exhibits that detail the local authorities' (i.e., Housing Authority of Baltimore City) claims against racially segregated housing in Baltimore City; and (3) Federal Defendant's Exhibits include those artifacts utilized by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development to argue the case against the existence of racially segregated housing in Baltimore City. While these three sections reflect various stakeholders of the records, this *Thompson vs. HUD* case focused on

observations of the organizational culture of the Housing Authority of Baltimore City (HABC). That is, HABC is the unit of analysis for this project. The benefit of having documents collected across the various viewpoints is that it supports observations about HABC from both within and outside the organization.

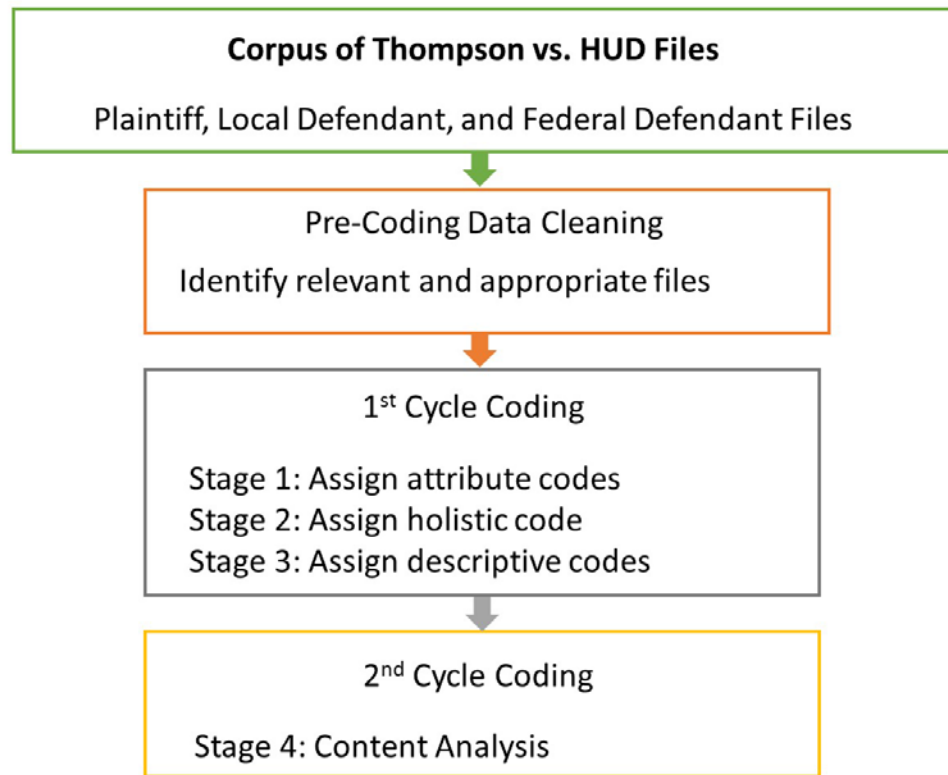
Within these three sections, the *Thompson vs. HUD* files offer a comprehensive picture of HABC and their respective activities that were involved in housing services from 1934 through 2005. Among the many types of artifacts in the dataset were testimonies from individuals within the organizations, administrative files that outline organizational policies regarding decision-making on housing services, and reports from scholars on the role of leadership in the creation/implementation of housing policies. As a result, the *Thompson vs. HUD* files provided a rich opportunity for the application of the empathy cultural framework because it contains documents that correspond to the dimensions of the framework.

Data Analysis

Recall in Figure 4-1 and the associated discussion, that the second stage of the methodology of this project is to execute a case application using the framework to detect an organizational culture of empathy outlined in Table 4-3. The most recent section of this chapter detailed the *Thompson vs. HUD* artifacts utilized for the case application. The following section provides more details on the analysis plans for the case application that guide the qualitative inquiry into the *Thompson vs. HUD* artifacts. Prior to actual analysis, this project collected and processed the artifacts for analysis

into an appropriate qualitative analysis software program. This project utilized NVivo 11, an analysis software that is capable of handling rich and complex data sets (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013) while also supporting concept-driven, qualitative data analysis (Gibbs, 2002).

Using NVivo 11, this project made use of one cycle of data cleaning and two cycles of coding on the *Thompson vs. HUD* artifacts. Below, in Figure 4-2, is a visual representation of the analysis plan detailing these actions. The first cycle of data cleaning involved narrowing down the dataset to ensure relevant and appropriate artifacts are included for analysis. Following the data cleaning, the first cycle of coding takes place. This involves three stages of coding for attribute, holistic, and descriptive assignments. The first cycle of coding is the process of organizing the qualitative data into segments that are further analyzed in later stages during second cycle coding (Miles et al., 2013; Saldaña, 2012, 2015). To complement this process, the final cycle of coding is completed to further refine analysis of the digital material. The fourth stage of analysis involves content analysis. The second cycle of analysis builds on the work on the first cycle by looking for noticeable patterns across the coded content to begin to draw conclusions that align with the research questions (Saldaña, 2015). Each of these three cycles are discussed in more detail below.

Figure 4-2: Overview of coding cycle**Data Cleaning**

The first action taken on the dataset was to clean the body of artifacts. The process of data cleaning represented the preliminary efforts to “manage and organize” the data for analysis (Creswell & Poth, 2017, p. 185) prior to the assignment of codes. The process of data cleaning involved an assessment for each document across two dimensions: (1) was the document appropriate for analysis? and (2) was the document relevant for analysis? Table 4-4 below provides a visual of the rubric that was used for this stage. A document was considered appropriate if it fit the scope of work of this project. For a document to “fit,” it must have been one of the artifacts of organizational culture, operationalized in Table 3-1: Adapted from elements of an organizational

cultural audit (Gooden, 2014). A document that does not fit one of these seven categories was not considered appropriate for analysis and was removed. Examples of such documents include federal registry entries, book chapters or analysis about federal actions in other cities (but not Baltimore), and documents with subject matter about housing (but not HABC/Baltimore related).

Table 4-4: Guide for determining relevant and appropriate artifacts for analysis

Appropriateness	Relevance	
	Empathic opportunity present.	No empathic opportunity present.
Attributes fits the scope of work.	Appropriate and relevant.	Appropriate and not relevant
Attributes outside the scope of work.	Relevant and not appropriate	Not relevant and not appropriate

In addition to appropriateness, a document was also reviewed for relevancy. For a document to be considered relevant for analysis, it must have included evidence of an empathic opportunity. Recall from the previous chapter that an empathic opportunity occurs when one individual provides “some kind of information, consciously or otherwise, in the hope that [someone else] will respond” (Oxburgh & Ost, 2011, p. 184). This sharing of information provides the opportunity for someone else to provide a reaction, which may or may not align with the attributes of empathy. For the purposes of this inquiry, an empathic opportunity must have been present to be considered relevant. Additional coding stages classified the reaction during the assignment of

descriptive codes. Examples of empathic opportunities that were considered for this project include administrative records of tenant council meetings during project planning at HABC, case files containing tenant letters to HABC staff, and policies governing actions to interacting with the public.⁴

Stage 1: Attribute Coding for Documenting the Files

The first stage of the analysis included processing the collection with an attribute code assigned to each file. Attribute coding is a method of assigning a descriptive value to files within a large dataset to support “future management, references, and contexts for analysis and interpretation” (Saldaña, 2015, p. 291). The attribute codes are an identifier derived from the characteristics and content of the artifact and applied to each file as a source classification in NVivo 11. These attributes help to sort the data into like categories, allowing for example, groups to be made of oral testimonies, agency documents, or research papers, etc. Below, in Table 4-5, is a list of the classifications and the respective attribute codes and definitions that were assigned.

⁴ The subsequent chapter on analysis findings details how many documents were include and excluded from analysis. This discussion also includes examples from the archival collection of documents that was included for analysis and those that were excluded.

Table 4-5: Attribute codes

Attribute Classification Code	Definition
HABC Administrative Documents	Written artifacts that reflect working documents of the Housing Authority of Baltimore City, including memos, policies, reports, etc.
HUD Administrative Document	Written artifacts that reflect working documents of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, including memos, policies, reports, etc.
DHCD Administrative Document	Written artifacts that reflect working documents of the Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development, including memos, policies, reports, etc.
Depositions	Oral testimonies from individuals called as part of the investigations conducted by the Plaintiff or the Defendant(s).
Testimonies	Written or oral affidavits provided by individuals who were solicited for participation by the by the Plaintiff or the Defendant(s), but not subpoenaed for a deposition.

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Personal Statement or Speech	Written or oral artifacts of individuals included in the investigation but with origins other than the <i>Thompson vs. HUD</i> case.
Research or Policy Analysis	Artifacts created by expert witnesses specifically to examine issues related to the <i>Thompson vs. HUD</i> case.
Advocacy Document	Written artifacts produced by local or regional advocacy organizations that are included in the investigation but with origins other than the <i>Thompson vs. HUD</i> case.
Newspaper Article	Written artifacts produced by media outlets included in the investigation but with origins other than the <i>Thompson vs. HUD</i> case.
Maps	Artifacts generated by the Plaintiff or the Defendant(s) with visual depictions of land use plans associated with the case.

Note that the source classifications titles in the left-hand column of Table 4-5 are descriptive in nature and detail discrete attributes of a given file. These attributes were assigned based upon a combination of internal metadata contained in each file provided by the Special Collections department (i.e., each file is labeled with a descriptive title related to the content of the document), as well as verification conducted by the

researcher. Prior to conducting this analysis, it was not anticipated that an artifact would reflect more than one attribute code. This proved to be true and is discussed in the next chapter on findings.

This first stage utilized attribute coding to provide a descriptive value to generate an inventory of the artifacts contained in the dataset and to narrow the artifacts into like groups to support the additional analysis across similar artifacts. In addition to attribute codes, the artifacts were also coded for the time (i.e., date) that it was created at this stage of analysis. Like the attribute codes, the time code supported the management of the data files while also supporting future stages of analysis.

Stage 2: Holistic Coding for Organizational Categories

Following this first stage of coding, all documents in the dataset were assigned a holistic code to reflect the content of the document and provide a structure to the dataset. Holistic coding was a method of assigning a value to a large section of data in order to “capture a sense of the overall contents” and as a preparatory stage in anticipation of “a more detailed coding or categorization process” (Miles et al., 2013, p. 77). Similar to the attribute codes, the holistic codes were derived from attributes of the digital artifacts, but they reflect the content of the artifact rather than the purpose of the artifact. These holistic codes also help sort the data into like categories, thereby providing a structure to the dataset and supporting additional stages of analysis by providing descriptive context (Saldaña, 2015, p. 297). Below, in Table 4-6, is a list of the holistic codes and respective definitions that were applied in this project. Note that the

code names reflect the organizational cultural audit categories presented previously in Table 4-3.

Table 4-6: Holistic codes

Holistic Code	Definition
Physical characteristics and general environment	Artifacts that reflect the physical components of the organization including: symbols and logos, websites, brochures, and agency reports.
Policies, procedures, and structures	Artifacts that reflect or contain policies, procedures, and structures of the organization including: organizational charts, manuals, and operating procedures.
Socialization	Artifacts that reflect the regular behaviors and expectations of personnel within the organization including: formal or informal documentation of agency rules, presentations, discussions, or relationships.
Leadership behavior	Artifacts that reflect the priorities of organization leaders including: formal or informal documentation of budget priorities, allocation of resources, or special initiatives within the organization.

Rewards and recognition	Artifacts that reflect the rewards and/or acknowledgements for improvements with the organization including: personnel or performance reviews, recognition efforts, or evaluations.
Discourse	Artifacts that reflect how messages are formally and informally created and communicated within the organization, including: documentation of conversations, organization histories, or trainings.
Learning and performance	Artifacts that reflect the organizational commitment to innovation including: documentation of reputation, best practices, or feedback from other organizations.

The assignment of holistic coding is completed by the researcher through a content review of each artifact, where the general nature of each file was assessed for the appropriate code (Saldaña, 2015). Documents were reviewed in the groups created from the attribute codes, supporting coding assignments across like-groups. While the intention of holistic structural coding was to have distinct groups of artifacts, there were documents that contained several types of content, and therefore, fitted into one or more groups. As a result, sections of content within each document were coded to reflect the appropriate holistic code, though not in a line-by-line fashion (Miles et al., 2013). The purpose of assigning a holistic code after the attribute coding was to further

establish and describe the context of the dataset and to support the subsequent stages of detailed coding outlined in the next section.

Stage 3: Descriptive Coding for Attributes of Empathy

The third stage of coding assigned a code to content within the artifacts that reflects one of the attributes of empathy. Descriptive codes were identifiers assigned to specific words or phrases contained within a dataset and reflecting the topic of the content (Miles et al., 2013). While the first two rounds of coding focused on large sections of the document or file, this stage of coding was more detailed and focuses on pulling out specific parts of the artifacts. Below, in Table 4-7, is a list of the descriptive codes and their corresponding definitions utilized in this project. The code name provided in the left-hand column aligns with the definition of empathy provided previously in Table 4-1.

Table 4-7: Descriptive codes

Descriptive Code	Definition
See the world	Artifact content that reflects the attribute of empathy for seeing the world as others' see it. This includes content on perspective taking measures, where the individual who wishes to engage in empathy (the empathizer) imaginatively constructs what is occurring from the viewpoint of someone else.
Understand feelings	Artifact content that reflects the attribute of empathy for understanding another's current feelings. This includes content of how an empathizer utilizes cognitive and affective capacities to make sense of the perspective achieved in the previous step.
Non-judgmental	Artifact content that reflects the attribute of empathy for remaining non-judgmental. This includes content that shows how the empathizer makes active efforts to suppress judgement during the empathy process and remain "objective."

Communicate understanding	Artifact content that reflects the attribute of empathy for communicating understanding of another's feelings. This includes content that shows communication from the empathizer back to the person with whom they are empathizing with.
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The process of assigning descriptive codes was completed by the researcher through a line-by-line review of each section of the artifacts contained in the corpus. This review was completed across the grouping of organizational categories assigned by the holistic codes in the previous step. Recalling the discussion of empathy and its operationalization within this project, the descriptive codes of Table 4-7 represent the four defining attributes assigned to sections or phrases within the digital artifacts. That is, there are no instances where a single part of an artifact was identified as expressing empathy and could fit into more than one descriptive category. There was the possibility for an entire artifact to contain multiple descriptive codes, however. These details are discussed in the following chapter with the other findings. By assigning descriptive codes, in addition to holistic and attribute codes, a more detailed summary of the dataset was established. This allowed for groups of artifacts to be examined for patterns and salient features of the various descriptions. This is reflected in the fourth and final stage of coding that is discussed in the next section.

Stage 4: Content Analysis through Second Cycle Coding

The first three stages of coding that have been presented thus far reflect the efforts of this project to organize the data into digestible segments through a fundamental review of the artifacts. The three stages, therefore, reflect first cycle coding and are considered the fundamental step of analysis (Miles et al., 2013). The second cycle of coding worked to complement the first cycle, while refining the analysis to more closely generate findings to answer the research question. In this way, the second cycle “manages, filters, highlights, and focused the salient features of the qualitative data record for generating categories, themes and concepts, grasping meaning and building theory” (Saldaña, 2015, p. 9).

To align with this goal, the second cycle of coding for this project utilized content analysis to examine the patterns occurring across the content contained in the descriptive and holistic codes. That is, the fourth stage of coding identifies the common elements that exist in the digital content coded as elements of empathy within the various organizational culture artifact types. Specifically, this project examined the content in three different ways during content analysis: (1) commonly occurring themes, (2) commonly occurring words, and (3) representative examples of exhibits for the four attributes of empathy. Creswell and Poth (2017, p. 185) suggest that the final phases of analysis in qualitative research should focus on organizing themes, assessing interpretations, and visualizing the data. The content analysis made use of the attribute, holistic, and descriptive codes to accomplish these actions. Content was reviewed across and within the coding groups to identifying commonly occurring topics, or themes.

Within these themes, the most frequently occurring words were identified to provide further interpretation to findings from the dataset. Finally, representative examples for the four attributes of empathy were highlighted to provide concrete, visual examples of organizational culture artifacts that point to empathy.

Reliability and Validity

Recall that this project utilized a collection of archival material, and therefore, represents a non-probable sample, since the entire collection is examined. Though a non-probable sample is normally not desirable for content analysis, this condition is waived for archival analysis since content analysis is still systematically describing the variables of interest as they occur in the dataset (Neuendorf, 2016). In other words, a non-probable sample is not needed in this case analysis because the data corpus is explored in its entirety, and there is no need to sample the documents to conduct the analysis. However, the sample type (i.e., a sample of convenience) does cause limitations to the generalizability of findings. The following section discusses this limitation and related methodological concerns in more detail.

Important to note, while this project makes use of an exploratory orientation due to the nature of the concept being studied, the research principles of reliability and validity are not compromised. In this project's analysis, reliability is strengthened through the utilization of methods that maintains consistency and replicability of the research work (Riccucci, 2010). Likewise, internal and external validity of this work is strengthened through procedures that balance the authenticity (truth value) and

generalizability (applicability) of analysis (Miles et al., 2013; Riccucci, 2010). The methods utilized in this project, as noted above, make use of concept-driven coding that provides guidelines for identifying evidence within the qualitative dataset. Further, the memo-ing and coding procedures in NVivo 11 allowed for substantial documentation before, during, and after analysis to record researcher decision-making and substantiate the replicability of findings.

While efforts were made to conduct a reliable and valid research study, there are inherent limitations in the existing structure of this project. First, the *Thompson vs. HUD* files are legal files and are subject to attorney/client protections even after they are donated to a public records system. As a result, some files within the collection have redacted content which cannot be accessed. Further, there are additional files that are illegible or partially-illegible due to the age of the document and/or generation loss from repeated copying. In both cases, less than twenty of the 1,968 files are affected and, though it is a loss of information, it does not appear to be a significant loss that would meaningfully detract from analysis. While an additional concern might be raised about the appropriateness of conducting analysis with a purpose that differs from the legal reasons for the collection of documents, this is not truly the case for this collection. The *Thompson vs. HUD* files were compiled as part of a lawsuit aimed at documenting the administrative and organizational processes surrounding the decision-making related to affordable housing. These files, therefore, meet both their original intended needs and the needs of this study. Despite these limitations, the dataset and analysis were suitable for this project.

Summary of Methodology

Having laid the foundation for the scholarly context of this project in Chapter 2, this third chapter provided more details on how this study was executed. Starting with a discussion of the research design, this chapter explained that this project makes use of an exploratory design with qualitative methods. Using this approach, this chapter then detailed the primary research question and specific methods for accomplishing this work. This chapter specifically explained that this project conducted one round of data cleaning and two cycles of coding (including attribute, holistic, and descriptive coding followed by content analysis). The discussion in this chapter also included clarifying key concepts as well as specific details of the coding structure for this project. The analysis was applied to an archival data set of the *Thompson vs. HUD* case, and this chapter explained more about these data, including limitations. Lastly, this chapter included a discussion of verification noting efforts to strengthen reliability, validity, and accuracy of findings.

The following chapter builds upon the research plans detailed in this chapter and discusses the results of the analysis. The following chapter, therefore, offers a look at what was examined in the dataset following the methodology just discussed. Then, the next chapter presents the findings derived from the analysis and paves the way for the discussion contained within the final chapter.

5. ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

“... but as I started earlier, I was instructed to it and as a career public servant, I do as instructed unless there’s some law being violated that I’m aware of or the Office of General Counsel has recommended not taking some action for whatever reason.”

*Excerpt from Artifact #PLEX-20
Exhibit 20 Deposition of Milan M. Ozdinec at 80-81, 125-126*

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to identify where empathy can be observed in the organizational culture of public sector organizations. To accomplish this task, this work has identified the elements of an organization’s culture than can be assessed for the presence, or absence, of empathy. Having established a framework to detect an organizational culture of empathy grounded in the literature, this chapter provides the results of the application of this framework on the administrative artifacts of the Housing Authority of Baltimore City (HABC). The results of this inquiry reveal, quite intuitively, that HABC administrative artifacts make up the bulk of documents relevant and appropriate for analysis in this project. The results also uncover that artifacts containing ‘discourse’ and ‘learning and performance’ content also contain empathic attributes. Lastly, the attribute of empathy that is most represented in this dataset is “see the world.” Each of these results are discussed in more detail below.

Following this, the chapter provides the results from the content analysis of artifacts within the coding of organizational culture of empathy. This section explores in more detail the context of HABC as it relates to what the four attributes of empathy look like in the administrative dataset, as well as the words most often utilized in the attributes of empathy. The chapter then considers the topics that are most likely to demonstrate an empathic response that were also identified in the content analysis stage. This chapter concludes with a summary of the findings as this work transitions to the discussion in Chapter 5.

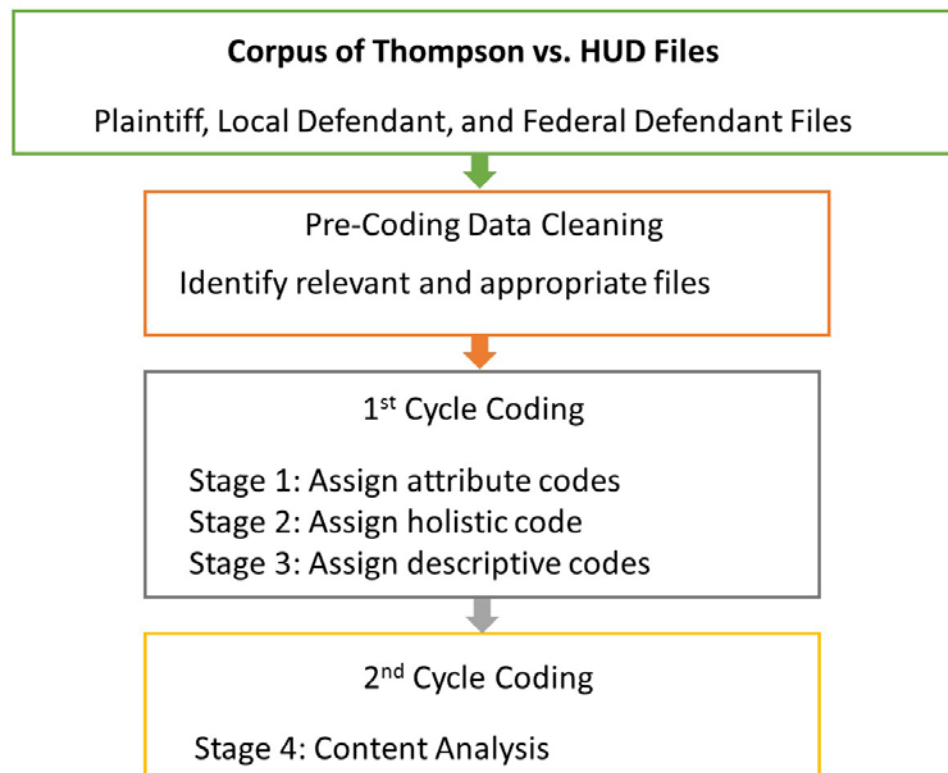
Presentation of Coding Results

Those data utilized for this study are a collection of administrative artifacts available through the University of Baltimore, Langsdale Library Special Collections. This dataset was donated by the Maryland American Civil Liberties Union (Maryland ACLU) and contains roughly 100 linear feet of artifacts on the *Thompson vs. HUD* lawsuit. Translating this, the corpus contains over 1,900 documents on the history of public housing service in Baltimore City provided leading up to, and after, the Fair Housing Act of 1968. These files were utilized for the landmark lawsuit to correct the injustices created by the implementation of this policy by local organizations (NAACP, n.d.).

As previously discussed, this study conducted data cleaning and two cycles of coding, made up of four unique stages of coding, to the *Thompson vs. HUD* files. The visual representation of the stages of analysis, below, is a reminder of the analysis plan (see Figure 5-1). The following sections of this chapter explore the results from each

stage of cleaning and coding by describing the resulting outcomes of each round of inquiry on the dataset. In addition, the final section of this chapter includes a detailed discussion of results from the content analysis.

Figure 5-1: Overview of coding cycles



Results from Preliminary Cleaning for Appropriateness and Relevancy

Recall in the previous chapter that the preliminary actions taken on the archival materials were to weed out artifacts based upon relevance and appropriateness for coding and analysis. This initial stage of classification allowed for those artifacts which contain empathic opportunity references and fit the scope of work to be included in the entire coding and analysis of this project. Noteworthy, this process was the most time-

intensive methodological stage because it required extensive content review of 1,968 artifacts containing the equivalent of 45,055 pages of work. This researcher estimates that this preparation stage involved roughly 750 hours of work as each artifact had to be reviewed page by page for empathic opportunities, as well as to determine if the artifact content fit the scope of work.

An illustration of how this effort was executed is relevant to disclose here. In the Figure 5-2 through Figure 5-7 below, there are two examples from the *Thompson vs. HUD* corpus that were reviewed as part of this project. These items support the comparison of a “relevant and appropriate” artifact to a “not relevant and not appropriate” artifact. The first example (Figure 5-2, Figure 5-3, Figure 5-5, and Figure 5-5), contains an excerpt of three pages from a file that details the history of two public housing residents, Ms. Celestine Gross and Ms. Linda Beasley, who are requesting a housing transfer. These files contain a written letter from Celestine, a support letter from City Council President Mary Pat Clarke, and a response letter from HABC Executive Director Daniel Henson.

Figure 5-2: Example of a "relevant and appropriate" artifact for analysis

Excerpt #1.a from Artifact #PLEX-538: Letter from Daniel Henson to Celestine Gross with attachments (March 9, 1995)

Dear Ms. Mary Pat Clarke

My name is Linda Beasley I'm a tenant of Perkins Project (account no 87) I'm writing this letter in reference to a transfer. I'm aware of the situation as far as the importance of a transfer I know I just can't get a transfer because I just want to move, because there's people who have life threatening reasons. But Ms. Clarke I've lived here for 3 yrs. my oldest daughter which is 5 yrs. old hates to come outside and I have a son 3 yrs old I would like to raise my kids in a better environment. There's drugs, crime, and violence everywhere. But I know there's a better place. I would truly prefer a mix neighborhood like Brooklyn preferably just for the record the Assis House on Broadway are trying to support me, and that's one of the conclusions they have come to, and that's to find somewhere else ^{to} move. I live right next door to a common nuisance house where there's drug transactions, shooting gai as they would call it where addicts go to do their drugs. And by me recovering it's just been a hard up hill struggle. I just want out I'm trying with everything I've got to keep

(continued on next page)

Figure 5-3: Example of a "relevant and appropriate" artifact for analysis

Excerpt #1.b from Artifact #PLEX-538: Letter from Daniel Henson to Celestine Gross with attachments (March 9,1995)

from backsliding. Please please Ms. Clarke can you help me and my kids get out of this neighborhood. I've had guys run right pass me while sitting on my steps straight into my house while trying to get away from the police. I've had to grab my kids and wherever kids that's outside playing at the time of the shootings that have occurred in and around my court. I've even found drug needles, bags, and knives in my yard.

Thank you for your
Cooperation.

Ms. Linda Blaskey &

REC-240

Celestine Gross
2945 Mason St

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Figure 5-4: Example of a "relevant and appropriate" artifact for analysis

Excerpt #2 from Artifact #PLEX-538: Letter from Daniel Henson to Celestine Gross with
attachments (March 9,1995)

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MARY PAT CLARKE
396-4804
FAX # 539-0647

JAN 27 1995
MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Gary Markowski, Director
Rental and Assisted Housing

FROM: MARY PAT CLARKE *MPC*

DATE: January 19, 1995

RE: Ms. Linda Beasley
294-South Mason Court
Baltimore, Maryland 21230
Account #087

*220 S. HEADING COURT
21231*

*and Ms. Celestine
Gross -
294 S. Mason Ct.*

Ms. Linda Beasley has contacted my office requesting the status of her housing application for transfer. Please review her application and contact Ms. Beasley directly to report on status and to expedite placement. Contact on my staff is Mr. George Brent, at 396-4804. Thanks.

MPC:GEB:mcg

cc: Ms. Linda Beasley

Figure 5-5: Example of a "relevant and appropriate" artifact for analysis

Excerpt #1 from Artifact #PLEX-538: Letter from Daniel Henson to Celestine Gross with attachments (March 9,1995)



HOUSING AUTHORITY OF BALTIMORE CITY

417 E. FAYETTE STREET • P.O. BOX 1917 • BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21202

Daniel P. Henson, III, Executive Director

March 9, 1995

Ms. Celestine Gross
294 South Mason Court
Baltimore, Maryland 21231

Dear Ms. Gross:

I am writing in response to your recent letter regarding your desire to transfer. According to our records, no transfer application exists in your name. Please contact your Housing Manager, Ms. Robin Gorsuch, at 276-1850, to schedule an appointment regarding your request for a transfer. At that time, she will explain the Authority's new transfer process to you.

Please be assured that every effort will be made to process your transfer request. However, there are numerous other families on the Public Housing transfer waiting list. Each will be addressed based upon their rank and the severity of need.

Thank you for bringing this matter to my attention.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Henson", with a horizontal line extending to the right.

Daniel P. Henson, III
Executive Director

In reviewing these artifacts, we see how there is both an empathic opportunity (that is, the opportunity to identify, respond to, or connect to the feelings presented in the letter from Celestine and Linda) as well as relevance to the scope of work contained in this project (that is, this artifact can be classified based upon its attributes to codes established for this project).


In the second visual (Figure 5-6 and Figure 5-7), we see a two-page excerpt from the 1977 federal registry regarding updates to the funding levels for subsidies in low income housing programs. From these excerpts, one can determine that this artifact does not offer an empathic opportunity nor can this document be classified in the coding structure of this project. These documents may be relevant for a different type of analysis, but do not fit the scope of work for the research question guiding this work.

Figure 5-6: Example of “not relevant and not appropriate” artifact

Excerpt #1 from Artifact #FD-396: DHUD, Federal Register (January 31, 1977)

DEFENDANT'S EXHIBIT NO. FD-396
CASE NO. MJG 95cv309
IDENTIFICATION: _____
ADMITTED: _____

MONDAY, JANUARY 31, 1977
PART V



federal register

DEPARTMENT OF
HOUSING
AND URBAN
DEVELOPMENT

PUBLIC HOUSING
PROGRAM,
DEVELOPMENT PHASE

Traditional Public Housing Program

1185

Figure 5-7: Example of "not relevant and not appropriate" artifact

Excerpt #1 from artifact #FD-396: DHUD, Federal Register (January 31, 1977)

3878

RULES AND REGULATIONS

Title 24—Housing and Urban Development
CHAPTER VIII—LOW INCOME HOUSING,
DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN
DEVELOPMENT

[Docket No. H-77-425]

PART 841—PUBLIC HOUSING PROGRAM;
DEVELOPMENT PHASE

Promulgation

On November 18, 1976, the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) published for comment in the Federal Register at 41 FR 50946, a proposed amendment to Chapter VIII of Title 24 of the Code of Federal Regulations adding a new Part 841, "Traditional Public Housing Program."

HUD received over 100 responses to the November 18, 1976 publication. All of these comments have been carefully considered and certain changes have been made in the regulations as a result of these comments and other pertinent considerations. The following is a discussion of the principal comments and changes. The section numbers refer to the numbers as contained in this final rule, except for several references to the numbers in the proposed rule where necessary to understand a particular explanation.

1. Subsection (c), entitled "Reference," has been added to § 841.101 to include the two regulations previously cited and to add a reference to 24 CFR Part 391, since comments indicated that there was a lack of understanding of the statutory constraints on the allocation process required pursuant to section 213 of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974.

2. Comments indicated a general belief that only the program covered by this regulation is subject to the requirement of meeting sunset needs in an area. Section 841.103(a) has been changed by the addition of the phrase "coordinated with assistance provided under other programs subject to section 213 of the HUD Act of 1974" to make it clear that all such programs must be administered to respond to sunset needs.

3. Many comments indicated that the title of § 841.103(c) "Restrictions on use of high-rise elevator structures", created the impression that the regulations unduly restricted the use of such structures for elderly housing. The title has been changed to "Use of high-rise elevator structures" and the second sentence has been changed from the negative "shall not be used unless" to the positive "may be used if." The requirement for a Field Office determination that high-rise elevator construction is appropriate has not been changed; since section 805 of the Senate Report on the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 stated that HUD would be required "to determine, on the basis of land costs, safety and security and availability of community service factors, the appropriateness of a high-rise housing project designed primarily for the elderly or handicapped."

4. Sections 841.105, 841.106 and 841.109 of the proposed regulations have been combined into § 841.107, Site and Con-

struction Standards, in response to comments which indicated that it would be desirable to combine the statutory requirement of economical and efficient design and construction with the rules applicable to site selection and to construction standards. The language has been revised to make it clear that economy in construction is not to be achieved by sacrificing durability of construction and efficiency of project operation. In line with the foregoing principles concerning the addition of extra durability and other special features, Appendix A has been revised to emphasize that determination of prototype costs is to be based not only on HUD Minimum Property Standards but also on these special features. The Handbook will further emphasize the importance of including in the information provided to developers the extra features on which the prototype cost determination is based and a statement that proposals will be evaluated accordingly.

5. The Department is publishing separately a regulation on site and neighborhood standards and when the final rule on this subject is published, it will replace the Project Selection Criteria referred to in § 841.107(b).

6. Paragraph (a) of § 841.108 of the proposed rule has been moved to § 841.11 in the final rule. Section 841.108(a) now includes a list of the various PHA contracts which require prior HUD approval.

7. In addition to editorial changes, the reference to 24 CFR Part 811 has been deleted from § 841.110(a), since only regular PHAs using regular public housing financing are expected to participate in this program. Section 841.110(b) has been changed to require that the application include "an executed Cooperation Agreement." The purpose of this change is to require, at the application stage, the commitment of the local governing body which would eventually be required and to save the time involved in going to the local governing body twice, first for the resolution and second for the actual execution of the Cooperation Agreement.

8. In response to comments questioning the completeness of the list of examples of what would constitute "capacity to provide adequate administration," it was determined to delete the specific examples in § 841.111(a) and to provide appropriate guidance in the Handbook.

9. Section 841.111(b) has been changed in the interest of clarity and, in response to a number of comments, § 841.111(f) has been changed to emphasize local needs in selecting applications.

10. Numerous comments pointed out that HUD as well as the PHA and other parties should be required to adhere to the Time Schedule. Section 841.112 has been amended accordingly.

11. Section 841.113(a) entitled "Preliminary Loan," has been changed to state that the maximum loan is \$30 per unit (\$400 per unit in Alaska) which is expected to be sufficient for turnkey projects, but that the PHA Office is authorized to increase the maximum to \$500 per unit (\$1,000 per unit in Alaska) where justified by se-

cial circumstances, which could include use of the conventional method. Section 841.113(b) of the proposed rule has been deleted, since the first sentence is included in § 841.108(a) and the second is more appropriately stated in the Handbook.

Numerous comments suggested that repayment of a preliminary loan should not be required if the project fails to reach ACC. A preliminary loan must be repaid since it is a loan and HUD has no legal authority to provide such funds as a grant. Normally, the loan is repaid by inclusion in the development cost of the resulting project. Where an approvable project does not result, the loan is repaid by inclusion in the development cost of a subsequently approved project of the PHA. The suggestion that funds from the Operating Reserve could be used for this purpose was rejected because such use would be illegal under the ACC and the U.S. Housing Act of 1937.

12. Section 841.114(c) was changed to modify the requirement that the developer must own the site prior to execution of the turnkey Contract of Sale. The substituted requirement, which has been in effect for a number of years, provides that the developer must acquire ownership of the site prior to commencement of construction.

13. For the sake of clarity and completeness, § 841.115 has been changed by deleting the reference to the Cooperation Agreement as a part of the Development Program, adding a sentence on inclusion in development cost of funds necessary to cover the preliminary loan (moved from subsection 841.117(d)(2) of the proposed rule), and specifying the amount of the contingency allowance to be included in development cost for turnkey (1%) and for conventional (5%) projects.

14. The second sentence of § 841.115(b)(2) has been substituted for the equivalent sentence in the proposed rule to clarify that prototype cost limits cannot be revised on the basis of cost for a single project, but only on the basis of areawide construction costs.

15. To clarify that off-site facilities may be included in the development costs of turnkey projects, the first sentence of § 841.115(b)(4) has been modified by substituting "project" for "PHA" and "development" for "developer."

16. Section 841.117(c) of the proposed rule contained a "financial feasibility test" which a proposed project had to meet as a condition for approval. This test required that the project's estimated expenses not exceed the estimated income for the first five years without the use of operating subsidy. The comments objected almost unanimously to the imposition of this test stating, essentially, that public housing cannot function without operating subsidy and that it is unrealistic to expect low-income families to pay the full cost of the housing.

In response to these comments, substantial changes have been made in the final rule. In resolving this difficult issue, the Department took into account the provisions of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 on this sub-

Having provided examples from the data cleaning stage, let us now return to the outcome of the cleaning efforts on this dataset. Outlined below are the results from these efforts in Table 5-1. As previously mentioned, the corpus contains 1,968 artifacts (45,055 pages). The initial stage of cleaning resulted in 390 artifacts (9,192 pages) relevant for coding and analysis. This translates to 20% of artifacts from the entire corpus containing empathic opportunities for analysis. In looking at the columns of the table, the distribution of these artifacts across the archive series is provided with counts of sources and pages, as well as a percentage distributed for page counts. These distributions represent an initial proxy for a valid and reliable distribution regarding type and origin of document (e.g., Plaintiff files represent documents created by another organization about HABC and Local Defendant files are documents that are created by HABC about HABC). In assessing organizational culture, we would expect that an equal distribution of files would support a well-rounded analysis. These initial results support such observations.

Table 5-1: Counts of relevant and appropriate artifacts by archive series

Archive Series Code	Count of Sources	Count of Pages	Percent of Total Pages
Plaintiff Files	153	2,715	30%
Local Defendant Files	121	3,175	33%
Federal Defendant File	116	3,302	37%
Total	390	9,192	100%

Results from First Cycle Coding

Having cleaned the dataset to ensure appropriate and relevant artifacts remained in the dataset for analysis, this project then conducted two cycles of coding (containing a total of four stages) for the assignment of codes. The results from the first cycle of coding is presented below, including results from stage 1: Attribute coding, stage 2: Holistic coding, and stage 3: Descriptive coding. Following this, the chapter then discusses the result of the second cycle of coding, or content analysis.

Results from Stage 1: Attribute Coding

Following the cleaning of the dataset detailed above, the first stage of cycle 1 coding was performed to assign attribute codes to the dataset. As was presented in the previous chapter, the purpose of attribute coding in this project is to document the artifacts contained within the dataset. By assigning a descriptive value to artifacts, future stages of analysis can be conducted with comparisons of ‘like documents’ (Saldaña, 2015, p. 291). Though one, single stage of coding, the process included two rounds of coding assignments and validation. The first round was conducted via auto-coding, completed using the meta-data related to the artifacts provided by Special Collections. Using the meta-data, an excel file was created with logic to assign each file name to an attribute code. This effort yielded partially relevant coding assignments. As a result, this excel file was checked. After a review of each assignment for the 390 artifacts, there were 190 appropriate attribute assignments. The remaining artifacts were reviewed a second time manually to assign the correct attribute codes. The

completed excel file was uploaded to NVivo to assign each artifact in with an attribute code. Given the challenges encountered by auto-assignment, all 390 documents were reviewed a final time in each attribute code to ensure accurate assignment. No errors were found in this second review of the documents.

The following tables (Table 5-2 and Table 5-3) provide descriptive counts of the attribute coding assignments. In Table 5-2, below, are counts of sources and references across the attribute codes with an asterisk indicating the largest figure in each column. Note that a 'source' represents the artifact in its entirety while a 'page' represents a single page within the file was deemed relevant for this analysis. As this table reveals, coding by attribute did not yield an even distribution of files across the attribute codes. As a result, we see that a majority of the references in this dataset were classified as HABC Administrative Documents (67%, n=6,131), followed by Research or Policy Analysis (14%, n=1,328) and HUD Administrative Documents (12%, n=1,071).

*Table 5-2: Counts by attribute code by sources and pages**(* indicates that the value is the largest in the column)*

Attribute Code	Count of Sources	Count of Pages	Percent of Total Pages
HABC Administrative Document	216*	6,131*	67%
HUD Administrative Document	94	1,071	12%
DHCD Administrative Document	18	297	3%
Depositions	7	149	2%
Testimonies	3	29	0%
Personal Statement or Speech	12	77	1%
Research or Policy Analysis	24	1,328	14%
Advocacy Document	12	66	1%
Newspaper Article	1	3	0%
Maps	3	41	0%
Total	390	9,192	100%

This distribution does not indicate a bias in the results, but rather that these artifacts contained both an empathic opportunity (relevant) and fit the scope of work (appropriate). To some extent, then, one would expect that HABC administrative documents would contain the most relevant information for analysis of HABC culture. Similarly, HUD administrative documents would likewise be relevant for shedding light on the culture of HABC. Research or Policy Analysis codes represent the second largest count of references, though the third largest number of sources, because these types of

files are larger in page count (i.e., references) compared to an administrative memo (like those found in HABC administrative documents).

To provide additional context about the dataset, the following counts of attribute codes by the archive series is provided in Table 5-3. In looking at this pivot table, notice that the asterisks indicate which archive series contains the largest number of pages in each row. For example, in the attribute code for HABC Administrative document, we see that the Local Defendant archive series contains the most files (n=2,817) compared to the Federal Defendant (n=1,760) or Plaintiff Files (n=1,554). When we consider the entire table, we see that seven of the ten attribute categories have an over representation of Federal Defendant exhibits in the results. This is likely explained by overrepresentation of Federal Defendant files in the entire dataset (recall Table 5-1), as well as the types of categories that are included. For instance, one would speculate that Research or Policy Analyses are likely regularly conducted as part of Federal work compared to the local organization (HABC) or citizen-driven organizations that were included in the Plaintiff files.

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Table 5-3: Count of attribute codes by archival series

(* indicates that the value is the largest in the row)

		Archive Series Count of Pages			Total Count of Pages
		Plaintiff Files	Local Defendant Files	Federal Defendant File	
Attribute Code	HABC Administrative Document	1,554	2,817*	1,760	6,131
	HUD Administrative Document	622*	220	229	1,071
	DHCD Administrative Document	100	40	157*	297
	Depositions	0	0	149*	149
	Testimonies	0	0	29*	29
	Personal Statement or Speech	32*	16	29	77
	Research or Policy Analysis	399	57	872*	1,328
	Advocacy Document	8	25	33*	66
	Newspaper Article	0	0	3*	3
	Maps	0	0	41*	41
	Total Count of References	2,715	3,175	3,302*	9,192

Results from Stage 2: Holistic Coding

Following the attribute coding, the second stage of coding in this project included the assignment of holistic codes. Recall that the holistic codes were assigned in a manner to reflect the content of the artifacts, rather than the purpose of the artifact.

The rationale for coding by holistic categories helped to further sort the data into like categories, thereby providing a structure and descriptive context to the dataset (Saldaña, 2015, p. 297). This stage of coding was completed via a content review of each artifact where the general nature of each file is assessed for an appropriate coding assignment. However, unlike the attribute coding system, holistic codes were assigned only to the specific section of the artifact that contained the empathic content. Thus, while the previous stages considered the artifact in its entirety as relevant for coding, this stage whittled down the document into sections of content that are relevant for analysis. As a result, the count of sources and count of references for holistic coding was smaller than attribute coding. The counts also contained instances when more than one holistic code was assigned to a single document. As a result, this section contains duplicated and unduplicated counts for sources.

Results from this round of coding are presented below. In Table 5-4, we see that there is a total of 162 references that were assigned a holistic code. Note, the term ‘reference’ is used here to count each portion of the source that has been assigned a holistic code. The 162 total references represent 88 unique, unduplicated sources (files), but when counted for each holistic code in the dataset, they represent 146 sources. This table further shows that the type of content that has been the most present in the dataset are files that include references to learning and performance (31%, n=51) and discourse (31%, n=50). The areas with the fewest references are socialization (4%, n=7) while rewards and recognition included no references.

*Table 5-4: Count of holistic codes by references and sources**(* indicates that the value is the largest in the column)*

Holistic Codes	Count of Sources	Count of References	Percent of Total References
Physical characteristics and general environment	11	13	8%
Policies, procedures, and structures	21	24	15%
Socialization	7	7	4%
Leadership behavior	16	17	10%
Rewards and recognition	0	0	0%
Discourse	46*	50	31%
Learning and performance	45	51*	31%
Total (duplicated)	146	162	100%
Total (unduplicated)	88	162	

In addition to describing the distribution by holistic code, this work explored the distribution of holistic code assignment by archive series. This is captured in Table 5-5. Starting with the total count of references at the bottom of the table, the federal defendant archive series does appear to be slightly overrepresented in the holistic coding. However, when we look across the asterisks, indicating the largest value in each row, we do not observe a pattern of distribution across both the holistic code and archive series. As a result, no one source (archive series) of documents is dominating the holistic observations of empathy. Indeed, it depends on the individual holistic code to determine which archive series is most prevalent.

*Table 5-5: Count of holistic code references by archival series**(* indicates that the value is the largest in the row)*

		Archive Series			Total Count of References
		Plaintiff Files	Local Defendant Files	Federal Defendant File	
Holistic Code	Physical characteristics and general environment	2	1	10*	13
	Policies, procedures, and structures	12*	5	7	24
	Socialization	0	3	4	7
	Leadership behavior	2	9*	6	17
	Rewards and recognition	0	0	0	0
	Discourse	20*	17	13	50
	Learning and performance	13	15	23*	51
	Total Count of References	49	48	60*	162

Results from Stage 3: Descriptive Coding

Having conducted the first two rounds of coding, this work then examined the dataset to assign descriptive codes to the narrowed collection of documents. Recall that the third stage assigned a code to content within the artifact that reflects one of the elements of empathy. Descriptive codes are those identifiers assigned to specific words or phrases contained within a dataset and reflecting the topic of the content (Miles et al., 2013). While the first two rounds of coding focused on large sections of the

document or file, this stage of coding was more detailed and focused on pulling out specific parts of the artifacts.

The process of assigning descriptive codes was completed by the researcher through a line-by-line review of each section of the artifacts contained in the dataset after the previous rounds of coding have been conducted. This assignment was completed in two rounds: first, descriptive codes are assigned by reviewing content grouped by the holistic codes from the previous step (i.e., a review of all the content in 'leadership behavior,' 'rewards and recognition,' etc.); and second, the assignment of codes is double checked and reviewed across each descriptive coding category (i.e., a review of all the codes for 'see the world,' 'understand feelings,' etc.). This process allowed for the assignment of descriptive codes to be uniform across like documents. This process was complemented by the second review to ensure all the assigned codes in the descriptive categories are uniform in assignment.

The results of this round of coding are presented below. In Table 5-6 the counts of sources and references are provided across the descriptive assignments. As with holistic coding, this table contains a duplicated and unduplicated total line for the count of sources and references. This is because more than one descriptive code can be assigned to a single document, resulting in duplicated counting of sources, but not of references. Note that the unduplicated total count of references (n=162) is the same as the unduplicated total count of references provided for the holistic codes (recall Table 5-4).

*Table 5-6: Count of descriptive codes by sources and references**(* indicates that the value is the largest in the column)*

Descriptive Codes	Count of Sources	Count of References	Percentage of Total References
See the world	86*	120*	74%
Understand feelings	10	13	8%
Non-judgmental	2	3	2%
Communicate		26	16%
Understanding	22		
Total (duplicated)	120	162	100%
Total (unduplicated)	88	162	100%

In addition to total counts, Table 5-6 contains the initial results of the empathic content within the dataset. In previous chapters, this work discussed that the definition of empathy that is utilized in this project contains four attributes and these align with the four descriptive codes of this project. Note that in Table 5-6, the “see the world” attribute of empathy contains the greatest percentage of references (74%, n=120). This indicates that within the dataset, artifacts that contained content identifying what is occurring from the viewpoint of someone else are the most prevalent in this analysis.

It was feasible, given the volume and complexity of documents in the dataset, for more than one descriptive code to be assigned to a document at a given time. To examine this, Table 5-7 contains the results of a pivot table that crosses the descriptive codes by descriptive codes. In this table, the red number represents the total (actual)

count of references for each descriptive code that was just presented above in Table 5-6. This table reveals some interesting findings. In the first column, for example, there are not very many instances where a reference is coded as both “see the world” and “understand feelings” or “communicate understanding.” Indeed, there are no instances where a document is coded as “see the world” and “non-judgmental.” This makes intuitive sense, given that “see the world” is an attribute of empathy that lends itself to somewhat more clear observation in static archival material, compared to “understand feelings” or “non-judgmental.” In looking across the table, we do not see any instances where a document is coded at all four attributes of the definition of empathy. This is a result of the code for “non-judgmental,” which does not occur in any document that also contains one of the other descriptive codes, or attributes of empathy.

Table 5-7: Count of references with more than one descriptive code

(indicates that the value is the largest in the row)*

		Descriptive Code			
		See the world	Understand feelings	Non-judgmental	Communicate understanding
Descriptive Code	See the world	120	11	0	14
	Understand feelings	11	13	0	5
	Non-judgmental	0	0	3	0
	Communicate understanding	14	5	0	26

To offer additional context of the descriptive coding on the dataset, Table 5-8 contains counts of reference for the descriptive codes by archive series. This table represents how the descriptive coding distribution occurs across the three Archive Series. In looking at the asterisks in each row, this table reflects the archive series containing the greatest number of references for each descriptive code. Within each row for a descriptive code, the distribution by archive series are relatively even and consistent with previous observations of archive series assignment. For example, while we also see that the Federal Defendant Files contain the most number of files (n=45) for the “see the world” descriptive code, the other Archive Series are close in number as well (n= 41 and n= 34, respectively). However, the overall distributions show that the Plaintiff files are the most represented in the dataset (n=60).

Table 5-8: Count of references for the descriptive codes by archival series

(* indicates that the value is the largest in the row)

		Archive Series			Total Count of References
		Count of References			
		Plaintiff Files	Local Defendant Files	Federal Defendant File	
Descriptive					
Code	See the world	41	34	45*	120
	Understand feelings	7*	3	3	13
	Non-judgmental	2*	1	0	3
	Communicate				
	understanding	10*	9	7	26
	Total Count of References	60*	47	55	162

To further contextualize the results related to the assignment of descriptive codes, coding assignments were pivoted against holistic codes. This information is represented below in Table 5-9. Recall that this arrangement of descriptive codes by holistic codes represents the framework to detect an organizational culture of empathy, which is at the heart of this inquiry. Note that the total count of references here is larger than in previous sections as several documents contain more than one descriptive code, thus generating a duplicated count per holistic code reference. The assignment of asterisks in this table is based upon the largest value in each row and we see congregating asterisks in the column for “see the world.” This pattern reinforces that

files which contain “see the world” are the most prevalent in this dataset and add the understanding that there is variable distribution regarding the content (i.e., holistic code) of the document. In other words, when assessed for empathy, the administrative artifacts of HABC reveal that the evidence for empathy most likely occur in the “see the world” attribute of empathy.

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Table 5-9: Count of references by holistic code by descriptive code

(* indicates that the value is the largest in the row)

		Descriptive Code				Total Count of References
		See the world	Understand feelings	Non- judgmental	Communicate understanding	
Holistic Code	Physical characteristics and general environment	13*	0	0	0	13
	Policies, procedures, and structures	23*	4	2	5	34
	Socialization	2*	0	0	0	2
	Leadership behavior	17*	5	0	3	25
	Rewards and recognition	0	0	0	0	0
	Discourse	43*	3	1	16	63
	Learning and performance	55*	9	0	9	73
	Total Count of References	153*	21	3	33	210

In an even closer look at those references for the descriptive code “see the world,” the following table refigures this finding in more detail. In Table 5-10, the distribution of the counts of references for the “see the world” by holistic codes is displayed again. However, this table is a refiguring of the first column from Table 5-9 because the distribution is displayed in descending order. In presenting the results in this manner, we see that that most prevalent document content that contains reference for “see the world” are files containing “learning and performance” content (36%, n=55), followed at a short distance by “discourse” (28%, n=43). There are no instances of document content focused on rewards and recognition that also contain evidence of the “see the world” attribute of empathy.

Table 5-10: Count of references for “see the world” by holistic code (in descending order)

Holistic Code	Descriptive Code “See the World”	
	Count of References	Percentage of Total
Learning and performance	55	36%
Discourse	43	28%
Policies, procedures, and structures	23	15%
Leadership behavior	17	11%
Physical characteristics and general environment	13	8%
Socialization	2	1%
Rewards and recognition	0	0%
Total Count of References	153	100%

Results from Second Cycle Coding: Content Analysis

In the previous section, the first three stages of coding reflect the efforts of this project to organize the data into digestible segments through a fundamental review of the artifacts. The three stages make up the first cycle coding and are considered the fundamental phase of analysis (Miles et al., 2013). In the subsequent section, the results from the second cycle of coding is offered. The second cycle aims to complement the first cycle and to more closely generate results that answer the research question of this project. That is, what artifacts of organizational culture can be observed for evidence of the attributes of empathy?

The results of the second cycle, or content analysis, first highlight examples of each of the attributes of empathy. These representative samples are used to visualize what artifacts of organizational culture look like in this dataset. Following this, findings from content analysis of the commonly occurring themes and frequently occurring words for the “see the world” codes content are provided. The content analysis for themes and word frequencies is being limited to this attribute of empathy because it is the most prevalent in the dataset (representing 74%, n=120 of the empathic references in the dataset).

Representative Example of “See the World”

Coding references to “see the world” most often contained references to what others were experiencing or feeling. Artifacts included, but were not limited to, meeting notes, case notes from tenant files, letters to administrators from residents, and letters from administrators to residents. One such example is below in Figure 5-8 that contains

a list of concerns presented by public housing residents held by a Baltimore City Commissioner in 1996. These minutes represent a portion of the notes collected by a representative from HABC who attended the meeting, indicating that a formal record of the perspectives and feelings of tenants was compiled by HABC.

Figure 5-8: Example “see the world”

Selection Artifacts FD-498: Meeting-Hollander Ridge Tenants (April 26, 1996)

Tenant concerns:

Security was the main issue; listed below were the specific concerns related to security:

There was general confusion over the roles of the Baltimore City police, the HABC police and Wells Fargo; residents want clarification of duties.

There was abuse of duties from fraternizing with tenants to sexual relationships with tenants.

The hours of security do not seem adequate

There was lack of supervision of the security forces

Prostitution at the elderly highrise was rampant; young girls are allowed in the building and management provides no enforcement

This section of the artifact was coded for “see the world” as the tabulation of concerns demonstrates both a documentation of the concerns, but also a summary reflection statement that “security was the main issue.” The observer has both observed and recorded the concerns. In addition, the observer has summarized the general theme of the concerns as being connected to feelings of security. The clear identification of feelings suggests that this content relates to “see the world” and is contained in an artifact, also coded as an “HABC administrative file” (attribute code) and

“learning and performance” (holistic code). Artifacts coded in these three categories were the most prevalent in the dataset.

Representative Example of “Understand Feelings”

Recall that the “understand feelings” attribute of empathy occurs where an individual has identified feelings (“see the world” attribute of empathy) and committed to creating a comprehension about the origins of the feelings held by another. For example, for empathy to occur, it is not sufficient to identify the feelings that someone else is experiencing, and move on to the next cognitive task. Instead, the empathizer must make an active effort to identify the context for why the feelings are appropriate for the other individual. Coding references to “understand feelings” were few in the dataset (8%, n=13, see Table 5-6). Those that do exist most often contain self-proclaimed understanding about how the feelings of others. Artifacts included meeting notes, emails, and case notes in tenant files.

As an example of “understand feelings,” consider the information presented below in Figure 5-9, containing an email from Donna Keck, an employee at HABC in the 1990s. Ms. Keck is writing to several other colleagues regarding her recent attendance at a resident meeting at Hollander Ridge. The context of the public housing unit at Hollander Ridge in the 1990s is not particularly important, except to say that HABC was embroiled in efforts to revitalize the public housing community at Hollander Ridge. During the process, HABC encountered extensive administrative and political roadblocks

to success. The delays and uncertainty for public housing residents was likely unbearable.

In this vein, Ms. Keck is attending a tenant council meeting at Hollander Ridge. She notes that the purpose of the meeting was to be a “Section 8 workshop,” but a fellow colleague, Bill Buie, refused to discuss relocation certificates as well as relocation vouchers despite the requests of both tenant attendees and his colleague, Ms. Keck. She notes that after the workshop “things went downhill.” She explains that there was yelling and angry speeches, pointing to her ability to identify the feelings of attendees. She then notes, in the content coded for “understand feelings,” the reasons why the attendees feel this way. In fact, she starts the sentence with “they are upset about...” before listing six different concerns leading to their feelings. Donna also notes that “I understand their feelings,” which only reiterates her ability to comprehend about why the disgruntled tenants are yelling during the meeting. For these reasons, selections of this document were coded “understand feelings,” as well as “learning and performance” (holistic code) and as “HABC administrative file” (attribute code).

Figure 5-9: Example of "understand feelings"

Selection from Document #PLEX-366 E-mail from Donna Keck to various HABC staff (July 31, 1997)

E-Mail Administrator

From: Keck, Donna P.
Sent: Thursday, July 31, 1997 10:06 AM
To: Hensley, Brian; Alexander, Estella
Cc: Chavis, Anita; Broache, Steve; Howard, Floryne E.
Subject: Hollander Ridge - Resident Meeting 8/4/97

We are scheduled to meet on 8/4/97 AT 6:00 pm with the Hollander Ridge residents, along with the Hollander Associates Development Team.

I wanted to bring you up-to-date on the Tenant Council meeting held last Wed., 7/23/97, since it has some bearing on next week's meeting. Last week's session was scheduled to be a Section 8 workshop for the residents conducted by Bill Buie from the Section 8 office. We have been having a series of informative workshops all summer on Tenant Readiness, Sect. 8, and Home Ownership.

When I arrived about 5 min late, the 100+ residents in attendance were already very upset because Bill Buie had told them he was going to talk about Sect. 8 Vouchers, not Certificates, since the residents will be receiving vouchers, not certificates, if they so choose, during relocation. The residents wanted to hear about certificates as well as vouchers, but Bill insisted that he would only discuss vouchers. I asked him to please explain both programs, but he refused. I believe this was a mistake on his part because this was intended as a general Section 8 workshop, unrelated to relocation. But he was unmoveable.

The meeting went downhill from there. There was lots of yelling and several angry speeches. Mary and Linda tried to maintain control, but the residents were not listening. They are upset about the fence being built, about the community mediation process involving the county residents, about still not knowing what will happen at Hollander Ridge. I understand their frustration. This has been a very long process and they still don't know what's happening. Many are very upset about relocation, believing that they will have to move to the inner city where life is very dangerous.

On Monday, it would be helpful if we can give them a date for relocation to officially start. How about January, 1998? By then we should have some clarity regarding the Revitalization Plan even if it is not finished. Relocation staff may need to conduct some informative sessions before then.

On Monday, I will have a schedule for the selection of the mediator.

I just want everyone to be aware that the level of frustration among the residents is VERY HIGH!!!!

cc: Linda Walker
Mary E. Battle
Sola Seriki



Representative Example of “Non-Judgmental”

The “remain non-judgmental” attribute of empathy deals with remaining “non-judgmental” during the process of identifying and comprehending the feelings of another. Coding references to “non-judgmental” were the least present in the dataset (2%, n=3, see Table 5-6). The three references that do exist all relate to written policies at HABC.

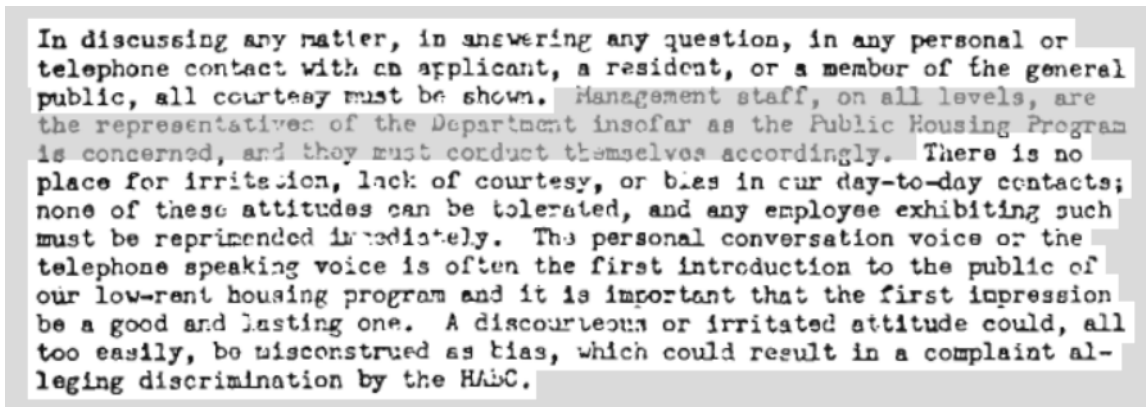
In many ways, this is surprising because being non-judgmental in public service is a well-established public service value (Molina & McKeown, 2012). Over the course of history in public housing, it has become increasingly important to suppress judgement and to operate in a non-judgmental manner to avoid legal repercussions related to perceptions of bias in housing practices. The documents that contain content coded for “non-judgmental” relate back to these regulations. As a result, there were no documents in the dataset with a self-proclaimed display of remaining non-judgmental about how the feelings of others. Rather these are external policies that are meant to guide the internal actions of public servants.

The following visual is one of three references in the dataset that highlights how “non-judgmental” content manifested in the dataset. The excerpt is from a manual that contains the updated instructions for HABC staff in the late 1970s regarding how to interact with residents and the general public. The instructions here are related to interactions with the public and specifically instruct staff to avoid irritation or lack of courtesy in the tone of voice, but also “bias in our day-to-day contacts.” This suggests that treating one individual differently than another, or acting in judgement, is

unacceptable at HABC. As a result, this content was coded as “non-judgmental” as well as “policies, procedures, and structures” (holistic code) and “HABC administrative file” (attribute code).

Figure 5-10: Example of “non-judgmental”

Selection from Document #FD-398 Operating Order, Subject: Civil Rights Act of 1964 (May 10, 1977)



In discussing any matter, in answering any question, in any personal or telephone contact with an applicant, a resident, or a member of the general public, all courtesy must be shown. Management staff, on all levels, are the representatives of the Department insofar as the Public Housing Program is concerned, and they must conduct themselves accordingly. There is no place for irritation, lack of courtesy, or bias in our day-to-day contacts; none of these attitudes can be tolerated, and any employee exhibiting such must be reprimanded immediately. The personal conversation voice or the telephone speaking voice is often the first introduction to the public of our low-rent housing program and it is important that the first impression be a good and lasting one. A discourteous or irritated attitude could, all too easily, be misconstrued as bias, which could result in a complaint alleging discrimination by the HABC.

Representative Example of “Communicate Understanding”

The fourth and final attribute of empathy is “communicate understanding.” As this work has detailed in previous chapters, this attribute occurs when an action is taken based upon the cognitive and affective information that has been obtained from identifying the feelings (attribute 1), creating understanding (attribute 2), and remaining non-judgmental (attribute 3). Communicating understanding is an effort to send information back and to demonstrate that empathy has occurred. Coding references to “communicate understanding” occurred somewhat frequently in the dataset (16%, n=26, see Table 5-6). Among the references that include “communicate understanding”

content are letters to residents from HABC staff, case notes in resident files, and administrative records on tenant involvement in planning efforts of HABC.

Consider the example below of a document that was coded with excerpts for “communicate understanding” in Figure 5-11. This document represents selected pages from a file regarding Rozina Prince, a public housing resident requesting a housing transfer. The documents reveal that she is seeking assistance in completing a transfer (specifically, an expedited processing) to a new unit due to extensive criminal drug activity in the immediate area surrounding her home. Not captured in the images, but included in the file, is a police report from May 1991 about gun shots due to drug activity that passed through the first story of her home. Rozina reports that these shots nearly inflicted harm on her family as they were in the first story of her home when the incident occurred. As a result, Rozina filed an application for a transfer request in June 1991. The form includes a small box for the “Tenant Reason for Request” in which an HABC representative has noted is “Having trouble with a drug dealer.”

Following the completion of this application, Rozina writes a letter to her Congressional Representatives on October 13, 1991 requesting assistance in obtaining a transfer. These elected officials then send a note to Robert Hearn, Executive Director of HABC, on October 23, 1991 with a copy of Rozina’s letter to request “anything you can do to assist her in transferring to a safer environment.” As a result of these efforts, HABC sends a letter to Rozina on November 11, 1991 that indicates that her application for transfer has been received and that it is being processed by their office. However, for the purposes of “communicate understanding,” a portion of the file is being coding

that states that HABC is “sympathetic and understanding of your desire to relocate.” In stating this, HABC is indicating that they have not just received the letters and transfer form, but have a comprehension of her desire (i.e., her feelings) for wanting to move. In fact, this letter differs from other HABC response letters contained in the dataset from this time period (i.e., these letters contain no such the statement acknowledging feelings of tenants). For this reason, portions of this document have been coded as “communicate understanding.”

Figure 5-11: Example of "communicate understanding"

Selection 1: Document #PLEX-543 Robert Hearn to Rozina Prince with Attachments

(November 11, 1991)

Dear Congressman Swann Carl 10-13-91
 my name is Rozina Prince
 and I live at 701 McCale Account
 No. 2821 I rent from 1501 St Paul Street
 Baltimore, City housing. I have spoken
 with you over the telephone several
 times concerning my transfer though
 City housing here are some of the
 complaints along with my transfer
 papers that you ask me to send you.
 As you read these police reports
 about the complaints that I'm having
 with the drug dealers please understand
 why I must move. Not only out of
 this neighborhood but especially out
 of this corner house. Because I have
 ran out of words to say and calling 911
 because now my family has been
 picked on every time one of my family
 members and myself go to the door or
 even look out of a window. We have been
 called all kinds of bad names until we go
 back into the house. I even had a
 neighbor come up to me and tell me
 that the drug dealer are asking her to
 be calling the police on them. My
 family and I have been threaten more
 then once so I keep my children in
 the house all the time. And out of this
 neighborhood as much as I can. It has
 gotten so that by my house being on
 the corner the drug dealers has really
 taken it over. I call 911 all the time

DETECTING EMPATHY IN PUBLIC SECTOR ORGANIZATIONS

Figure 5-12: Example of "communicate understanding"

Selection 2: Document #PLEX-543 Robert Hearn to Rozina Prince with Attachments

(November 11, 1991)

HOUSING AUTHORITY OF BALTIMORE CITY
APPLICATION FOR TRANSFER OF RESIDENCE

☒ NEW APPLICATION OR TRANSFER
☐ REVISION OF EXISTING APPLICATION
☐ CANCELLATION OF EXISTING APPLICATION

FOR HOUSING APPLICATION OFFICE USE ONLY:

FAMILY NUMBER: [] RECEIPT DATE: [] EMPLOYEE INITIALS: [] TRANSACTION DATE: []

PUBLIC HOUSING PROGRAM ELIGIBILITY:
Regular ☐ Elderly ☐ ADDITION ☐
Congregate ☐ Sheltered ☐ CHANGE ☐
DELETION ☐

NAME: LAST [ROZINA] FIRST [PRINCE] MI []

ADDRESS: HOUSE NUMBER [1701] STREET NAME [McCLADE AVE]
APARTMENT, ETC. [] DATE OF INITIAL OCCUPANCY [05/15/89]

CITY [BALTIMORE] STATE [MD] ZIP CODE [21212]

TELEPHONE [410-578-34] SOCIAL SECURITY NO. [214-860-420]

URGENCY ☐ ELDERLY CLASS ☐ AGE ☐ DIS ☐ HOP ☐ DISPLACED ☐ RACE: 1-WHITE 2-BLACK 3-ASIAN 4-OTHER 5-OTHER 6-OTHER 7-OTHER 8-OTHER 9-OTHER

FAMILY SIZE [04] NO. OF MINORS [02] BEDROOMS REQ'D [3] FAMILY TYPE [1 - Female Head Male Head]

SOURCE OF INCOME: 001-SS 002-EMP 003-SS 004-MISC. [001] TRANSFER FROM [0165] TENANT ACCOUNT NUMBER [0001] PRESENT SEC. ROOMS [3]

PENDING RENT CHANGE: RENT AMOUNT [] EFFECTIVE DATE []

GROSS INCOME [5382] NET INCOME [4428] RENT TYPE [011] 74 - HOUSING ACT 1974 CURRENT RENT AMOUNT [1109] DATE OF LAST RE-EXAMINATION [05/19/91]

**HOUSING SELECTIONS:
001 ☐ ALLEN
002 ☐ ANDERSON
003 ☐ BEL-PARK
004 ☐ BRENTWOOD
005 ☐ BROADWAY
006 ☐ BROOKLYN
007 ☐ CHASE HOUSE
008 ☐ CHERRY HILL
009 ☐ CLAREMONT
010 ☐ CLAREMONT EXT.
011 ☐ DOUGLASS
012 ☐ ELLERSLIE
013 ☐ FAIRFIELD
014 ☐ FLAG HOUSE
015 ☐ GILMOR
016 ☐ GOVANS
017 ☐ HOLLANDER
018 ☐ HOLLINS
019 ☐ LAFAYETTE
020 ☐ LAKEVIEW
021 ☐ LATROBE
022 ☐ LEXINGTON
023 ☐ MASON
024 ☐ MCCULLOH
025 ☐ MCCULLOH EXT.
026 ☐ MONUMENT
027 ☐ MURPHY
028 ☐ O'DONNELL
029 ☐ OSWEGO
030 ☐ PERKINS
031 ☐ POE
032 ☐ PRIMROSE
033 ☐ ROSEMONT TWR.
034 ☐ ROSE / DUKE
035 ☐ SOMERSET
036 ☐ WEST TWENTY
037 ☐ WESTPORT/MTW
038 ☐ WYMAN HOUSE

ANY FAMILY ☐
ANY REHAB. ☐
ANY ELDERLY ☐
ANY CONGREGATE ☐
ANY SHELTERED ☐

*IF CHECKED, MUST ATTACH DOCUMENTATION SUPPORTING AN URGENT CONDITION
**SUBJECT TO APPROVAL AND REVISION BY THE HOUSING APPLICATION OFFICE

TENANT REASON FOR REQUEST (See opp)
[Having a problem with the Daughter and Rozina Prince]
RESIDENT'S SIGNATURE [Rozina Prince] DATE [11-11-91]

MANAGEMENT REASON FOR REQUEST
[]
RESIDENT'S SIGNATURE [] DATE []

PROJECT ACTION / REASON
[APPROVED]
[] DENIED
[] DENIED
[] DENIED
HOUSING MANAGER'S SIGNATURE [] DATE [11/11/91]

HOUSING APPLICATION OFFICE SIGNATURE [] DATE []

LD 012986

HAD COPY: WHITE * DEVELOPMENT COPY: CANARY DEVELOPMENT COPY: PINK TENANT COPY: GOLDENROD

DETECTING EMPATHY IN PUBLIC SECTOR ORGANIZATIONS

Figure 5-13: Example of "communicate understanding"

Selection 1: Document #PLEX-543 Robert Hearn to Rozina Prince with Attachments

(November 11, 1991)

COMMITTEES:
Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs
Small Business
Joint Economic Committee
Select Committee on Narcotics

SUB-COMMITTEES:
Housing & Community Development
Financial Institutions Supervision
SBA and the General Economy

MEMBER:
Congressional Black Caucus
Caucus on Women's Issues
Congressional Arts Caucus
Federal Government
Service Task Force
Task Force on Homelessness



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

KWEISI MFUME
7TH DISTRICT, MARYLAND

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
217 Cannon Building
Washington, D.C. 20515
202/225-4741

DISTRICT OFFICE:
3000 Druid Park Drive
Baltimore, MD 21215
301/367-1900

1825 Woodlawn
Suite 106
Baltimore, MD 21207
301/238-5987

2203 N. Charles Street
Baltimore, MD 21218
(By Appointment)
301/235-2700

23 October 91

Mr. Robert W. Hearn, Executive Director
Housing Authority of Baltimore City
417 East Fayette Street
P.O. Box 1917
Baltimore, MD 21202

RE: Ms. Roszina Prince, #2821
701 McCabe Ave., 21212

Dear Mr. Hearn:

This communication comes on behalf of the above referenced constituent who has contacted my office regarding her housing transfer.

Ms. Prince has indicated that she is very concerned about the drug trafficking in her neighborhood which has caused her and family members to be the subject of threats on more than one occasion from drug dealers. Due to the nature of these threats, Ms. Prince has found it necessary to keep her children inside from outdoor play activity and out of the neighborhood as much as possible. She states that her house which is on the corner has given the dealers the incentive to practically take it over and her consistent calling of 911 no longer helps as it did in the past.

As Ms. Prince is greatly concerned about the safety and well being of herself and her family, I would greatly appreciate anything you can do to assist her in transferring to a safer environment. I have enclosed a copy of her correspondence for your review.

Thanking you in advance for your assistance.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Kweisi Mfume".

Kweisi Mfume
Member of Congress

KM/sf

Figure 5-14: Example of "communicate understanding"

Selection 1: Document #PLEX-543 Robert Hearn to Rozina Prince with Attachments

(November 11, 1991)



HOUSING AUTHORITY OF BALTIMORE CITY

417 E. FAYETTE STREET • P.O. BOX 1917 • BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21202

Robert W. Hearn, Executive Director

November 11, 1991

Ms. Rozzina Prince
701 McCabe Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland 21212

Dear Ms. Prince:

I am writing in response to your recent letter written regarding your transfer.

I was informed that you submitted a transfer request, and that it has been processed by your management office and forwarded to the Housing Application Office.

We are certainly sympathetic and understanding of your desire to relocate.

Please be assured that every effort is being made to assist you as soon as possible.

Should you have further questions or concerns, please contact your Housing Manager, Mrs. LaVerne McWhite at 396-1222. She will be happy to assist you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads 'Robert W. Hearn'.

Robert W. Hearn
Executive Director

RWH/WRG/jmp

cc: LaVerne McWhite

bcc: [redacted]/JCHarris/JEMartin/WRGillyard/Hsg. Mgmt./Chron-jmp
YN #11286 BN #14544

Additional Findings from the Content Analysis of “See the World” Attribute of Empathy

In the previous section, archival findings from the four attributes of empathy were presented to highlight representative examples for each descriptive code within the dataset. The purpose was to provide context about types of artifacts and their content in the dataset. However, recall from Table 5-6 that the most prevalent attribute of empathy (descriptive code) is “see the world,” representing 74% (n=120) of the empathic references in the dataset. As the largest descriptive code category and far exceeding the other codes, this chapter now explores additional findings from the content analysis related to “see the world” attribute of empathy. First, this section offers a review of recurring topics that contain references to “see the world” attribute of empathy. Second, this section explores words that are commonly used in content coded in “see the world” attribute of empathy.

Topics that Appear in Occurrences of “See the World” References

To identify the most occurring topics in the content coded as “see the world,” a series of cases were created within NVivo to categorize content themes. The first stage recorded observational memos during the coding process to capture researcher notes about initial impressions of content. Using these notes, a set of cases were generated to group of artifacts; a second review was conducted of the documents to determine if additional cases needed to be developed to classify all the documents. As a result, seven distinct categories were developed that appeared in the occurrences of “see the world” references.

So, what does “see the world” content refer to? In Table 5-11, below, are the results of the review of the 120 references to the descriptive code for “see the world.” The table reveals that involving residents in planning (n=52, 43%) is the most prevalent topic. This makes intuitive sense, as all housing authorities are required to collect citizen perceptive as part of the planning process for public housing. This finding also makes sense given literature surrounding the role of citizen participation in public administration (Herzog & Claunch, 1997; Thomas, 2012). While resident involvement in planning is a clear first, the second largest collection of references converge around applications for housing or transfer (n=17, 14%). There were several documents that could not be classified in a joint topic area (i.e., could not be assigned a case) and these were classified under “other.”

Table 5-11: Count of references for case assignments

Case Assignments (Topics)	Percentage of	
	Count of	Total
	References	References
Involving residents in planning	52	43%
Applications for housing or transfer	17	14%
Incidents after integration	14	12%
Resident correspondence letters (not about applications)	11	9%
Integration training documents	9	8%
Notice about demolishing homes or projects	6	5%
Other	6	5%
Fence at Hollander Ridge	5	4%
Total Count of References	120	100%

Words Most Commonly Appearing in “See the World” References

In addition to examining the topics that appear in “see the world” coded references, the content analysis also examined the types of words utilized the most in these references. To do this, several rounds of word frequencies were conducted across the “see the world” references. Saldaña and Omasta (2016) note the appropriateness of using a word cloud for visualizing results exists when a variety of sources are used, and can be used to avoid manipulating the outcomes so they are not reflective of the entire

dataset. The following visual was created from the results of word frequencies occurring across all 120 references to “see the world content” (see Figure 5-15). The resulting word cloud offers a visualization of the most frequently occurring words, whereby the size of the word correlates to the number of references in the text. In looking at the visual, it appears that the most frequently occurring words reflect people are residents, public, community, family, and tenant. Similarly, there are terms related to concerns often expressed by individuals, such as safety, maintenance, medical, and smaller (referring to a check box that indicates that a unit that is “smaller” than desirable on transfer forms).

Figure 5-15: Word cloud for “see the world” coded content

Supporting the visualization of the terms, Table 5-12 offers the list of the top twenty frequently occurring terms in the “see the world” content. In NVivo text frequencies queries, the results contain a weighted percentage to indicate the frequency of the word relative to the total words counted. This weighted percentage is provided in the right-hand column of this table. This table reiterates observations from the word cloud: frequently occurring words in “see the world content” relate to people and concerns. Terms that associate with people include: residents (n=280, 46%), public (n=208, 34%), community (n=123, 20%), and family (n=91, 15%). Terms that connect with concerns include: safety (n=129, 21%), smaller (n=127, 21%), medical (n=113, 18%), and maintenance (n=62, 10%).

Table 5-12: Word frequency table for “See the world” coded content

Word	Count of References in Coded Content	Weighted Percentage (%)
residents	280	0.46
public	208	0.34
safety	129	0.21
smaller	127	0.21
community	123	0.20
medical	113	0.18
meeting	112	0.18
street	108	0.18
resident	105	0.17
plan	104	0.17
income	93	0.15
family	91	0.15
tenant	85	0.14
use	77	0.13
need	71	0.12
relocation	67	0.11
reasonable	63	0.10
maintenance	62	0.10
needs	62	0.10
program	62	0.10

Concluding Remarks: Summary of Findings

In the previous section, the first three stages of coding reflect the efforts of this project to organize the data into digestible segments through a review of the artifacts. The three stages make up the first cycle coding and is considered the fundamental step of analysis (Miles et al., 2013). Following this, the results from the second cycle of coding were offered. The second cycle aims to complement the first cycle and to more closely generate results that answer the research question of this project.

This project set out to answer the following question: What artifacts of organizational culture can be assessed for the presence, or lack, of empathy in public sector organizations? To accomplish this work, first the literature was reviewed to generate a framework to detect an organizational culture of empathy. This framework was utilized to identify evidence of empathy in a collection of administrative documents related to the Housing Authority of Baltimore City (HABC). This project made use of an analysis plan with three cycles: data cleaning; assignment of attribute, holistic, and descriptive codes; and content analysis. Having just presented the results and findings in the preceding pages, let us now consider a consolidated list of the high-level findings:

- (1) In terms of describing the dataset, artifacts coded as “HABC administrative documents” (attribute code) make up the bulk of artifacts relevant and appropriate for analysis in this project;
- (2) In terms of identifying where attributes of empathy are most likely to occur in organizational culture, artifacts containing “discourse” and “learning and performance” content (holistic codes) also contain the most references to empathy (descriptive code); and
- (3) In terms of the extent or types of attribute(s) of empathy occurring in the data, the attribute of empathy that is most represented in this dataset is “see the world.” Within this content, we see that terms related to people (e.g., residents, public, community, family, and tenant) and concerns often expressed by individuals (e.g., safety, maintenance, medical, and smaller) are the most common. We also see that, thematically, “see the world” content

most often relates to involving residents in planning, followed by applications for housing or transfer.

Tying these findings back to the research question, the artifacts of HABC that can be observed for evidence of the attributes of empathy include those administrative documents that relate to organizational learning and discourse around topics such as people's concerns or resident participation. These findings suggest that evidence of an organizational culture of empathy can be found in these areas within HABC, but does not preclude that evidence of empathy exists elsewhere. Simply that, within this dataset, these findings emerged. The implications of these findings are discussed in the following chapter.

The following chapter offers a discussion of these findings by building on the discussion of the preceding chapter. The next chapter includes a review of the findings, but with the added context of a connection back to the literature covered in Chapter 2 and exploring the implications for practice and theory. The final chapter also explores the limitation of this work, especially the generalizability of these findings for other realms. Finally, the next chapter offers a discussion of future research needed to expand this work.

6. DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

This work set out to identify where empathy can be observed in the organizational culture of public sector organizations. In the review of relevant literature, a framework was crafted to detect an organizational culture of empathy. The framework was composed of four attributes of empathy and seven types of organizational culture artifacts. The purpose of the framework was to measure the existence, or nonexistence, of artifacts reflecting attributes of empathy. In other words, the framework determines if attributes of empathy exist in an organizational culture. Once establishing the framework, this work applied the framework to a collection of archival *Thompson vs. HUD* artifacts.

In the previous chapter, this work explored the results of the framework to detect an organizational culture of empathy on the Housing Authority of Baltimore City (HABC). The results were explored in depth, and the findings were summarized at the end of the previous chapter to allow for a fuller discussion in this chapter. Therefore, having provided the results of this analysis, the following chapter offers a discussion of these findings. This chapter includes a review of the findings, but with the added context of connections to the literature covered in Chapter 2 and implications for practice. This final chapter also explores the limitations of this work, especially the generalizability of these findings. Finally, this chapter offers a discussion of future

research needed to continue to expand the study of empathy in organizational culture in the public sector.

Discussion of Findings

This project set out to answer the following question: What artifacts of organizational culture can be assessed for the presence, or lack, of empathy in public sector organizations? To accomplish this, the literature was reviewed to generate a framework for organizational empathy. This framework was utilized to identify evidence of empathy in a collection of administrative documents related to HABC. This project made use of an analysis plan with three cycles: data cleaning; assignment of attribute, holistic, and descriptive codes; and content analysis. In the previous chapter, three findings were provided at the summation of the chapter. Each of these are explored in depth below with an explanation for how this fits in with the literature previously presented in Chapters 2 and 3.

(1) Organization created artifacts, coded as “HABC Administrative Documents,” are the most prevalent, relevant, and appropriate for analysis in this project.

The first finding of this project highlights what type of artifacts are the most predominant in this analysis. This finding is important because it begins to answer the research question, that is, what artifacts of organizational culture can be assessed for the presence, or lack, of empathy in public sector organizations?

Recall that the dataset utilized for analysis is a collection of files from the University of Baltimore, Langsdale Library Special Collections. The archival collection are

Maryland ACLU records related to the *Thompson vs. HUD* lawsuit, a compilation of 1,968 artifacts on the history of public housing services in Baltimore City provided since 1934. These artifacts were utilized for the landmark lawsuit to correct the injustices created by the implementation of this policy by local organizations (NAACP, n.d.). These artifacts contain exhibits from the Maryland ACLU and NAACP Legal Defense Fund, arguing that there was racially segregated housing in Baltimore City, as well as exhibits that detail the local (i.e., Housing Authority of Baltimore City) and federal (i.e., U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development) authorities' claims against racially segregated housing in Baltimore City.

In cleaning the dataset, the results found an even distribution across the three archive series categories (i.e., the Plaintiff, Local Defendant, and Federal Defendant archive series). Recall that the data cleaning process focused the ~1,900 artifacts by reviewing each document to ensure the document was appropriate and relevant for analysis. A document was considered appropriate if it fit the scope of work of this project and determined relevant if it included evidence of an empathic opportunity. In conducting this process, no one archive series was substantially over-represented in the cleaned data set. In fact, the difference in the distributions across the archive series was 7%, with the minimum being 30% and the maximum being 40% (see Table 5-1).

In assigning the dataset attributes during the first cycle of coding, however, more artifacts were "HABC Administrative Documents" by content compared to the other codes. In fact, of the 309 sources deemed appropriate and relevant during the data cleaning, 67% (n=216) were coded as "HABC Administrative Documents" during the

assignment of attribute codes (see Table 4-2). In establishing the definitions for the attribute codes, this work defined the “HABC Administrative Documents” attribute code as pertaining to “written artifacts that reflect working documents of the Housing Authority of Baltimore City, including memos, policies, reports, etc.” (see Table 4-5). Thus, of the files that were appropriate and relevant, a large majority were documents produced by HABC as part of its work and operations.

Since this work seeks to answer what artifacts of organizational culture can be assessed for the presence of empathy in public sector organizations, this first finding is meaningful. This finding shows that, in this dataset, artifacts created by HABC are a rich set of artifacts that can be assessed for the presence of empathy. Though empathy is a trait that is endeavored in response to an empathic opportunity presented by another individual (Oxburgh & Ost, 2011), this finding suggests that HABC does not necessarily need to collect information from outside the organization to find evidence of empathy. This is because the documents that are produced by HABC are the most likely to contain evidence of empathy in this dataset. As it relates to the research question, those documents that are produced by the organizations (i.e., written artifacts that reflect working documents of the organization, including memos, policies, reports, etc., see Table 4-5) are likely to contain evidence of the attributes of empathy. This more broadly supports the usefulness and appropriateness of agency artifacts analysis as a research strategy for assessing organizational culture, as discussed by Gooden (2014) and Testa and Sipe (2013), among others.

It makes intuitive sense that the documents, which are most likely to contain evidence of empathy, are those documents that originate from the organization being studied. This aligns with what we know about the definition of empathy: it is a top-down process that must be initiated within an individual (Coplan, 2011) and practiced (Konrath et al., 2011; Spiro, 1992; Steinberg, 2014; Wiseman, 1996). This means that empathy is the result of active decision-making; there must be conscious decision for the process to be started for empathy to occur. As a result, empathy involves an intentional, cognitive engagement on the part of individuals for it to occur. Scholars have called this the “active effort to get inside the other” (Gerdes et al., 2011, p. 84). Likewise, we would expect that internal organization documents would contain information related to the engagement of empathic practices. This is reinforced by the findings above, that internal organizational data is sufficient to be analyze across the framework to detect an organizational culture of empathy.

While this finding holds true for this dataset, it is possible that the inclusion of other, more, and/or different data related to HABC, this finding may not be true. Remember that the *Thompson vs. HUD* files were compiled as part of a lawsuit aimed at documenting the administrative and organizational processes of HABC as it relates to providing public housing services in Baltimore City. While the entire archive collection is robust, it was not collected with the intention to demonstrate attributes of empathy. As a result, data collected with the explicit purpose of identifying empathy at HABC could reveal that information from outside the organizations (i.e., interviews with and/or or

administrative records from residents, former staff, contractors, other city offices, etc.) is reflective of evidence of empathy as well.

(2) “Discourse” and “Learning and Performance” Artifacts Contain the Most Empathic Content in the Dataset.

The second finding reveals that “discourse” and “learning and performance” artifacts are most likely to contain evidence of empathy. This finding directly answers the research question of this piece because it shows that this type of artifact can be assessed for the presence of empathy in public sector organizations.

This finding was determined through two parts of the analysis detailed in the previous chapter. First, this project also made use of coding the dataset to reflect the content of the sources. This process involved assigning one of seven holistic codes to the document based upon “a sense of the overall contents” (Miles et al., 2013, p. 77). These seven holistic codes were reviewed previously in Table 4-6 and were derived from other organizational cultural audit utilized in the field (Gooden, 2014). During this coding process, the results found 161 references across the dataset that were assigned a holistic code. Of these references, a third were assigned the “discourse” code (31%, n=51) and a third were assigned the “learning and performance” code (31%, n=50). Recall that “discourse” refers to “messages and conversations that occur, both in the present and historically,” while “learning and performance” refers to “elements of a workplace that demonstration innovation, reflection, or growth” (see Table 3-1:

Adapted from elements of an organizational cultural audit (Gooden, 2014)). Together, these codes make up the clear majority of the holistic coding references.

The holistic coding process was complimented by the descriptive coding process that, as detailed in the previous chapter, revealed that the attribute of empathy that is most prevalent in the dataset is “see the world” (76%, n= 120 references). Recall that this project assigned descriptive codes to reflect one of the attributes of empathy based upon document content. As the definition of empathy contains four attributes, the descriptive coding process involved the assignment of four possible codes.

Separately, then, the coding process revealed that “discourse” and “learning and performance” are the most prevalent content in the dataset and “see the world” is the most prevalent reference to empathy. However, additional analysis was needed to see what the coding patterns reveal when holistic and descriptive codes were compiled in a pivot table. This process reveals which type of document content contains the most references to empathy, as well as reflects the result of this dataset in the framework of organizational empathy. This analysis found that the most prevalent document content that contains reference for “see the world” are files containing “learning and performance” content (36%, n=55 references) followed at a short distance by “discourse” (28%, n=43 reference). This is, perhaps, not surprising given the high percentages of these holistic codes present in the dataset. As a result, one of the findings for this work is that “discourse” and “learning and performance” content contains the most evidence of empathy.

This finding answers the research question by indicating that artifacts reflecting “messages and conversations” or “innovation, reflection, and growth” can be observed for evidence of empathy within this dataset, especially empathic content reflecting the “see the world” attribute of empathy. This finding is supported by the content analysis which found that terms related to people (e.g., residents, public, community, family, and tenant) and concerns often expressed by individuals (e.g., safety, maintenance, medical, and smaller) are the most common in these types of artifacts. The previous chapter provided examples of “messages” sent to and from residents by HABC, that were coded for “discourse.” Similarly, the previous chapter shared examples of “reflection” and “growth” opportunities as residents provided feedback during planning session or in their applications for housing or transfer, the most commonly occurring themes within these artifacts.

Knowing that “discourse” and “learning and performance” artifacts contain the most evidence of empathy in this dataset is significant for the operationalization framework to detect an organizational culture of empathy. First, these elements appear on the proposed framework for organizational empathy and are concrete examples of the types of documents that can be utilized in empathic analysis of public organizations. This is useful both of practitioners, as well as future research, explored in more detail below. Second, this finding is meaningful because it resonates with the definition of empathy that suggests that empathy involves both passive and active layers of cognitive engagement (Krznaric, 2015). The first layer involves “stepping into another’s shoes” (Halpern, 2001, p. 74), described as “see the world” in this project. The second layer

involves creating understanding and the creation of an reaction (Davis, 1983; Konrath et al., 2011). That is, for empathy to occur, the information obtained from the “see the world” process must be utilized to communicate understanding back to the other individual and to generate a reaction in line with the information obtained (Wiseman, 1996). Empathy then begins as an internal process and culminates with an active response. Both “discourse” and “learning and performance” are artifact domains that can capture the attributes of empathy inherent in its conceptualization.

It is unclear, however, if other types of organizations would reveal the same findings. One can imagine that similar types of dataset for public organizations with a different mission orientation and/or removed from a direct human service orientation could yield different results. For example, imagine a dataset from a municipal solid waste authority regarding empathy. Where would empathy most likely be present, if at all? Would the absence of empathy necessarily be bad given this line of work? The context of the organization, therefore, does play a significant role in framing where and what type of data should be examined for empathy.

Further, as mentioned in the previous section, different types of data collection (especially data collected with the explicit purpose of identifying empathy) could find that other domains of artifacts (i.e., leadership behavior or socialization) contain more prevalence of evidence of empathy. As an example, one-on-one interviews that explicitly asked employees about the value of empathy within their organization, especially in domains of socialization or leadership behaviors, could reveal a different outcome than content analysis of administrative documents. In effect, different types of

data would be able to tell a more comprehensive picture of an organization- a need that is especially important for multi-faceted, and often intangible, concepts such as empathy.

As a result, the contextualization of an organization (especially factors of time, funding, political influences, etc.) provide an important caveat for identifying empathy. This more broadly suggests that more research is needed to further tease out how best to detect an organizational culture of empathy across additional domains.

(3) HABC's organizational culture reflects some, but not all, of the attributes of empathy.

The first two findings directly relate to answering the research question in that they identify what type of artifacts of organizational culture can be assessed for the presence, or lack, of the attribute of empathy in public sector organizations. From findings one and two, we know that artifacts that are coded as "HABC administrative documents" (attribute code) and artifacts coded as "discourse" and "learning and performance" (holistic code) can be assessed for the presence of empathy in this dataset. However, the analysis also identified the extent to which empathy was measured by the framework. These are discussed below as the third finding.

The third finding is that, in this dataset, HABC's organizational culture reflects some (but not all) of the attributes of empathy. Specifically, HABC is successful in identifying the feelings of residents, but does not have as many examples of how HABC responds to this type of emotional information. This is reflected in the findings of the

descriptive coding process, which found that the “see the world” attribute of empathy contains the greatest percentage of references (74%, n=120) (see Table 5-6). In this work, the “see the world” descriptive code was assigned to artifacts with content that “reflects the attribute of empathy for seeing the world as others’ see it. This includes content on perspective taking measures, where the individual who wishes to engage in empathy (the empathizer) imaginatively constructs what is occurring from the viewpoint of someone else” (see Table 4-7). This indicates that within the dataset, artifacts that contained content that identified what was occurring from the viewpoint of someone else are the most prevalent in this analysis.

Within this overarching finding, the content analysis provided in the previous section shows that within the “see the world” artifacts, terms related to people (e.g., residents, public, community, family, and tenant) and concerns often expressed by individuals (safety, maintenance, medical, and smaller) are the most common. We also see that, thematically, “see the world” content most often relates to involving residents in planning, followed by applications for housing or transfer. In other words, evidence of empathy attributes most often occurred in archival material related to interactions with residents. In this dataset, that included letters and email, public forums on new policies or plans, and regular feedback sessions held by HABC. This is rather intuitive, as empathy occurs in interactions between people after all (Barrett-Lennard, 1981; Coplan, 2011; Wiseman, 1996; Zanetti, 2011). However, it also further addresses what type of artifacts of organizational culture can be assessed for the presence of empathy. That is, artifacts that reflect interactions between individuals.

There is an important dimension to this finding related to the meaning from demonstrating some, but not all, of the attributes of empathy. Recall from the operationalization of empathy (see Table 4-1) and the discussion of empathy in chapter 2, empathy is a multifaceted trait that involves both passive and active actions (Coplan, 2011; Krznaric, 2015; Wiseman, 1996; Zanetti, 2011). The passive actions involve internal thought processes related to three of the attributes of empathy (i.e., identifying feelings, creating understanding, and remaining non-judgmental) (Wiseman, 1996). The active actions involves the “communicate understanding of another’s feelings” attribute of empathy of communicating back to the other individual (Wiseman, 1996) and is a fundamental element of empathy that supports it being a prosocial value (Coplan, 2011; Konrath et al., 2011; Wiseman, 1996).

The third finding in this work shows that this dataset provides numerous examples of the “see the world” attribute of empathy, but very few examples of the remaining attributes. This suggests, in short, HABC displays the ground work for empathy, but very few examples of a complete empathic exchange. The conceptualization of empathy in this work contains four defining attributes that together represent empathy in its entirety. Having demonstrated some, but not all, of the defining attributes within this data corpus, this finding suggests that HABC does not present with evidence of the attributes of empathy.

In many ways, this finding answers a bigger “so what” question for this work. This finding shows that this dataset did not contain any evidence of all four attributes of empathy at HABC. While there are inherent limitations previously discussed related to

the generalizability of this work, as well as the representativeness (or accuracy) of this dataset, this finding remains remarkable. Among the dataset of 1,968 artifacts on the history of public housing services in Baltimore City provided since 1934, not a single artifact reflected all four attributes of empathy. To further emphasize this point, stacking the 45,055 pages contained in this dataset would be the equivalent of 181 linear feet (roughly half the size of a football field), and not a single portion of one artifact reflected all four attributes of empathy.

Though a definitive answer stating that the organizational culture at HABC does not demonstrate that empathy is not possible given the limitations of this work, a general observation to this end is supported by this work. The limitations that make this conclusion inappropriate have been well discussed in previous sections, but include utilization of a convenience sample for the data corpus (limitations to the type of data included in the data corpus, among others). While these limitations exist, the breadth of documentation reviewed does lend some credibility to the notion that there are minimal observations of an organizational culture of empathy at HABC.

The previous sections of this chapter focused on a discussion of the findings from this work. While this discussion has answered the primary research question of this study, there remains several larger needs for theory and practice that warrant discussion. The following sections explore implications of this work for future research and the practice of public administration.

Future Research: A Theoretical Perspective on Empathy

While this work has offered several results and three clear findings, there is more work to be done to address measuring empathy in public administration. Recall that this work was conducted using an exploratory research lens and, through a survey of literature, settled on a conceptualization for the attributes of empathy (Wiseman, 1996) and artifacts of organizational culture (Gooden, 2014) to create the framework to detect an organizational culture of empathy. While the literature reviewed certainly supported these conceptualizations, the findings suggest that more work is needed to further explore these conceptualizations. In particular, the following section revisits the notion of collective empathy and the theoretical implications of empathy within public administration. This is followed by a look at the elements of organizational culture that could be refined for future research.

A persistent idea underlying this work is how to resolve the issue of measuring an organizational culture of empathy when traditional approaches to measuring empathy offer conceptualizations at the individual level. There is an apparent mismatch around the unit of study; the conceptualization of empathy included here relates to individual level interactions while the research question aims to detect empathy at the organizational level. However, the organization theory literature has well documented the relationship between individual level interactions that collectively formulate the shared assumptions and values at work within an organization (Jung et al., 2009; Scott, 2013; Weick, 1995). Individual behaviors and actions form a collective set of behaviors and actions for an organization (Muller et al., 2014; Szanto & Moran, 2015; Wald et al.,

2017). Importantly, the group characteristics are inherently distinct from the individual characteristics (Ashkanasy & Humphrey, 2011; Huy, 2011; Barsade, 2002) though the individual and collective remain related and connected. This justifies using individual level observations within the archival dataset to draw conclusions across several domains of organizational culture to detect empathy. In other words, the framework to detect an organizational culture of empathy is supported by literature to measure individual interactions of empathy across the dimensions of organizational culture to look for empathy.

Despite this, it appears that an additional level of data collection and analysis may be needed for future research. In its current form, this project aggregates the findings of individual level interactions across four attributes of empathy. It does not, however, address attributes of collective empathy (such as “collective intentionality, shared emotions, and group agency”) (Szanto & Moran, 2015, p. 445) or the ability for empathy to be experienced across large groups or organizations (Muller et al., 2014; Patel, 2015; Segal, 2011; Szanto & Moran, 2015; Wald et al., 2017). Future research should consider ways to conceptualize an organizational culture of empathy that includes data collection and analysis at this level, in addition to the individual level.

There is a fundamental assertion within this work that suggests that empathy is a prosocial value that is needed in public administration is worth revisiting. This aligns with the work of other public administration scholars, who note that empathy is a fundamental value for public service and the promotion of democracy (Zanetti, 2011; Zanetti & King, 2011, 2013). However, the normative question remains: Is empathy in

public administration always a good thing? Consider that there is documented research surrounding the barrier to our ability to engage in empathy, such as with individuals who we perceive as very different than ourselves, when we are in positions of authority, or when we are geographically separated from an individual (Krznaric, 2015). Perhaps a more important question for future research would be, if empathy in public administration is always be a good thing if we cannot always control how effective we are at using it?

This question should certainly be explored in more detail in future research, but existing work on public service values provides some answers. Jørgensen and Bozeman (2007) assert that while public service values do exist within a hierarchy and are causally related, the primacy of any one single value is not accurate. This is supported by the work of other scholars on public service values (Box, 2015; Molina & McKeown, 2012). Since this work has established that empathy is a public service value, it also exists within the universe of other public service values. It does not, and should not operate, on its own. It must operate within the complex network of public service values that include values that may be unrelated, very alike in nature, or may be nearly identical. Nonetheless, future research should rightly explore the extent to which empathy is always a good value, just as scholars have done in examinations of efficiency, neutrality, or accountability.

Future Research: A Practitioner’s Perspective on Organizational Culture of Empathy

In addition to addressing ways to better conceptualize empathy in future research, there is a need to further unpack conceptualizations of the artifacts of organizational culture. Since this project was initiated, a new model for organizational empathy was produced by a group of museum practitioners. Termed “Empathetic Museum Maturity Model,” this framework derives from the assumption that “cultural institutions can relate to their communities” in the same way that individuals relate to the experiences of others in empathy by aligning “the work they do with the experiences, values, and needs of the communities they serve” (Jennings et al., 2016, p. 1).

Figure 6-1: Adapted from the empathy maturity model (Jennings et al., 2016)

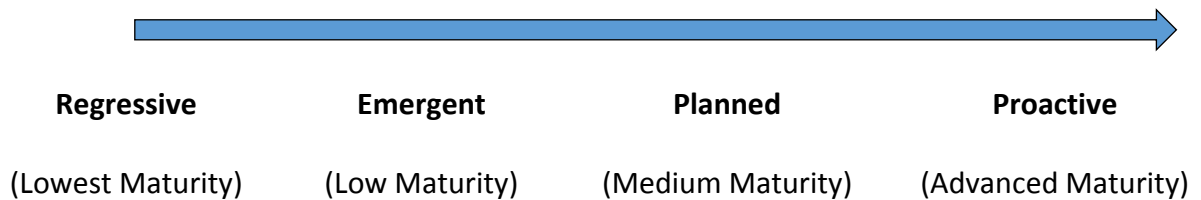


Assessment Dimensions	Assessment Characteristic
Institutional identity & relationships (internal and external)	Civic vision Institutional body language Community resonance
Operational functions & assessment	Timeliness and sustainability Performance metrics

This model has been visually adapted and copied in Figure 6-1, above. Note that there are two assessment dimensions in the left-hand column and five assessment

characteristics in the right-hand column. Not pictured, but included in the maturity model, is a rubric that captures the maturity level of the organization over a spectrum of the organization's empathetic practice. This spectrum has been adapted and reproduced below in Figure 6-2, which denotes the lowest level of maturity as "regressive" and the most advanced as "proactive."

Figure 6-2: Spectrum of maturity of organizational empathetic practice



The model and accompanying rubric was created as a self-assessment tool for practitioners and leaders for reflecting on their organization's capacity to practice empathy. While there are many similarities between this model and the framework for organizational empathy created for this work, there are important differences that merit exploration. First, the model consolidates the seven dimensions of organizational culture to five areas. While it is not fair to attempt an 'apples-to-apples' comparison of these elements, more research is needed to explore which of these domains is the most relevant to the work of assessing empathy in public organizations.

Improving Practice

In reviewing the results from the previous chapter and the findings summarized above, this work provides clear implications for practitioners. On one hand, if a practitioner is interested in exploring where empathy is occurring (or not) in their organizations, this work suggests that internal artifacts are likely a rich source of information. This is especially true if those documents relate to “discourse” and “learning and performance.” However, given the caveats mentioned above, one should not limit their exploration to these areas. Rather, these are likely worthy places to begin the search for evidence of organizational empathy.

In addition, this work provides some clear examples of how small differences in organizational actions can create a sense of empathy for others. Take, for example, the following letters written to residents provided in Figure 6-3 and Figure 6-4. The first figure relates to artifacts of public housing resident Celestine Ross. A mother of two living in public housing, Celestine wrote to HABC to request a housing transfer. Her letter (not shown) expressed that she is concerned about excessive drug trafficking on her block, especially after an individual escaped from the police by running through her home while she and her children were present. The second figure relates to artifacts of public housing resident Rozina Prince. A mother of three living in public housing, Rozina wrote to HABC for many of the same reasons. However, Rozina reports in her letter (not shown) that she was threatened at gun point on several occasions while she was entering and leaving her home.

Both women wrote letters and both women received responses from HABC, as captured in these figures. It is important for practitioners to compare the responses.

Celestine receives a letter with a standard opening and a factual response. It states:

“...Please be assured that every effort will be made to process your transfer request. However, there are numerous other families on the Public Housing transfer waiting list. Each will be addressed based upon their rank and the severity of need.” (see highlighted text in Figure 6-3).

Rozina receives a letter with a similar opening, but a different response. It states:

“....We are certainly sympathetic and understanding of your desire to relocate. Please be assured that every effort is being made to assist you as soon as possible.” (see highlighted text in Figure 6-4)

Figure 6-3: Examples of empathic discourse for practitioners

Selection from Artifact PLEX-538: Letter from Daniel Henson to Celestine Gross with
attachments (March 9, 1995)



HOUSING AUTHORITY OF BALTIMORE CITY
417 E. FAYETTE STREET • P.O. BOX 1917 • BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21202

Daniel P. Henson, III, Executive Director

March 9, 1995

Ms. Celestine Gross
294 South Mason Court
Baltimore, Maryland 21231

Dear Ms. Gross:

I am writing in response to your recent letter regarding your desire to transfer. According to our records, no transfer application exists in your name. Please contact your Housing Manager, Ms. Robin Gorsuch, at 276-1850, to schedule an appointment regarding your request for a transfer. At that time, she will explain the Authority's new transfer process to you.

Please be assured that every effort will be made to process your transfer request. However, there are numerous other families on the Public Housing transfer waiting list. Each will be addressed based upon their rank and the severity of need.

Thank you for bringing this matter to my attention.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Daniel P. Henson, III', is written over a horizontal line.

Daniel P. Henson, III
Executive Director

DPH/SLW/sj

cc: Ms. Robin Gorsuch
bcc: chrono/KBaccene/DSSneed/POgle/SWilliams
Hsg. Mgmt. File/Reader File

Figure 6-4: Examples of empathic discourse for practitioners

Selection from Artifact PLEX-543: Exhibit 543 Letter from Robert Hearn to Rozina Prince
with Attachments (November 11, 1991)



HOUSING AUTHORITY OF BALTIMORE CITY

417 E. FAYETTE STREET • P.O. BOX 1917 • BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21202

Robert W. Hearn, Executive Director

November 11, 1991

Ms. Roszina Prince
701 McCabe Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland 21212

Dear Ms. Prince:

I am writing in response to your recent letter written regarding your transfer.

I was informed that you submitted a transfer request, and that it has been processed by your management office and forwarded to the Housing Application Office.

We are certainly sympathetic and understanding of your desire to relocate.

Please be assured that every effort is being made to assist you as soon as possible.

Should you have further questions or concerns, please contact your Housing Manager, Mrs. LaVerne McWhite at 396-1222. She will be happy to assist you.

Sincerely,

Robert W. Hearn
Executive Director

RWH/WRG/jmp

cc: LaVerne McWhite

bcc: [redacted]/JCHarris/JEMartin/WRGilyard/Hsg. Mgmt./Chron-jmp
YN #11286 BN #14544

In general, these letters appear the same as both were written to provide public housing residents with a response to their transfer applications. Yet, a small textual difference between these two letters is striking. Not because the outcome changed (i.e., both women will be placed on a waiting list for an indefinite period of time) but because the interaction between the organization and the individual changed. The letter for Rozina responded to her feelings by stating “we are certainly sympathetic and understanding of your desire to relocate.” HABC acknowledged that they understood how she felt and why she wished to relocate. This letter demonstrates a certain level of identifying of feelings of another and responding to these feelings. In reality, this is a simple statement, but powerful in comparison. The letter for Celestine, while factually accurate, fails to acknowledge her feelings. In doing so, it dehumanizes her experience. Celestine’s letter contains no such reaction to her situation. If anything, her letter could exasperate a certain feeling of hopelessness as HABC states “there are numerous other families on the Public Housing transfer waiting list.” While this statement is true, there is little benefit in providing this information to Celestine.

This example is simple, but demonstrates a great opportunity for professionals to understand how small actions can communicate empathy. These small actions, in many cases, do not actually change the outcome of the situation. The reality, for both Rozina and Celestine, is that transfer applications for public housing take months to years to come to realization. However, the process of engaging with the public housing authority does not have to mean being the recipient of dehumanizing messages. In this sense, these small actions, like the one highlighted in Figure 6-2, are what contributes to

smoothing out interactions described in the literature on empathy (Gerdes, Lietz, & Segal, 2011; Segal, 2011; Zanetti & King, 2011) and what brings outcomes in line with other important public service values (Box, 2015).

Concluding Thoughts

In the beginning of this work, it was noted that public organizations form the foundation of civil society. They provide resources to fulfill critical needs in communities, and in this vital role, a healthy public sector should reflect fair and equitable practices in the distribution of resources and services. Specifically, this means that public organizations should be accountable to their interactions in the community including who they are serving and in what way. Given the nation's history of structural inequality, it becomes imperative for public organizations to be cognizant of if/when those interactions result in abuses of power (i.e., oppression or bias) or promotion of fairness (i.e., equity or anti-oppression).

One of the public values that guides public organizations to respond to their communities with equity and inclusion is empathy. This work provides a pathway for public organizations to observe evidence of empathy within their organizational culture. Empathy, known as the ability to recognize, understand, and respond to the perspectives of another (Krzmaric, 2015), is a prosocial behavior that improves interactions (Gerdes et al., 2011; Segal, 2011; Zanetti & King, 2011) and brings outcomes in line with important public service values (Box, 2015). The framework for

organizational empathy in this work measures the extent to which elements of organizational culture are working toward the promotion of empathy.

This project was two-fold: one, the development of an empathy framework to assess organizational culture; and two, the application of this tool to the archival materials related to the Housing Authority of Baltimore City (HABC). The results of applying the framework revealed two key findings explore and discussed above. First, that artifacts created by HABC were the most prevalent, relevant, and appropriate for analysis in this project. Second, that content related to “discourse” and “learning and performance” contains the most empathic content in the dataset. These findings are important to the advancement of practice, and this final chapter provided explanations of how to improve practices based upon these findings. Lastly, these findings point to the need for future research to further explore these findings and other emerging work on organizational empathy.

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