Research Article

Simon's Behavior and Waldo's Public: The ABCS Model of Public Behavior and Social Interactions

Zach Mohr[*], Jourdan A. Davis[†]

Abstract: Most research in behavioral public administration (BPA) focuses on the micro or individual level outcomes. This article argues that BPA should recognize the importance of social interactions as both an outcome of interest and an outcome that can be explored within a BPA framework. We present the Affect, Behavior, Cognition and Social Interaction (ABCS) model and call on researchers to study not just social interactions from the lens of BPA, but also study the linking mechanisms of affect, behavior, and cognition. We also examine the importance of public for public administration theory, and we discuss advances in research methods that allow BPA to further examine the public through social interactions. In the conclusion, we call on further research of the ABCS model, its limitations, and the need for an expanded research agenda in BPA with a focus on the public and social interactions.

Keywords: Behavioral, Experiment, Public, Theory

When discussed together, Herbert Simon and Dwight Waldo are best known for an acrimonious debate that they had in the American Political Science Review in 1952 about the nature of public administration (Harmon 1989). Herbert Simon (1947) is the grandfather of modern behavioralism in public administration and doubtless belongs in most discussions of modern behavioral public administration. Dwight Waldo is best known for his work in the philosophical tradition of public administration, and his ideas about constitutional democratic theory and other contributions to public administration (Stillman 2020) are not often associated with behavioral public administration. Waldo had a much broader concept of the state and the administrator's role in it that was strongly informed by his ideas about the public in public administration. Waldo argued that the nature of public in public administration is defined by its unique cultural and ceremonial authority (Waldo 1948; 1955), which gives Waldo both a more expansive definition of public but also of administration as well (Harmon 1989).

The idea for this article started with a concern for how behavioral public administration (BPA) focuses on individual level phenomena and how best to think of the "public" in behavioral public administration. Particularly as former administrators in public organizations, we felt strongly that considerations of the public nature of public administration outcomes are not always best captured at the individual level. We also knew that broader social dynamics and social interactions strongly influence the behavior of groups and public processes. While not being as expansive in our definition of public as Waldo, we do seek to broaden and sharpen its use in behavioral public administration as he did in an earlier era.

These concerns for increasing the relevance of culture and social interaction led to this article. First, the article is a statement that BPA should be more inclusive of group behavior, social behavior, and public processes,

---

*University of Kansas

†University of North Carolina at Charlotte

Address correspondence to Zach Mohr at zmohr@ku.edu.

which we call social interactions. Second, it describes a model and the tools that we think can be used to further the analysis of public behavior and social interactions.

This article is a statement that the public and social interactions should be more central to the work of BPA. It starts by analyzing definitions of BPA to show that BPA often focuses on the micro-level individual and deviations from individual rationality. It then proposes a model that expands the outcomes of interest to BPA and provides new ways to analyze social interaction in BPA. We then discuss definitions of the public and methods for how to improve the analysis of social interactions in BPA. At its heart, this may be a new way to define BPA without the limitations of other definitions that borrow strongly from other fields. In the conclusion, we discuss the potential and the limitations to a BPA approach to studying social interactions and call for an expanded behavioral agenda in public administration with a focus on public and social interactions.

Definitions of BPA

Most definitions of BPA focus on the individual and individual level theories that come from fields that are primarily concerned with individuals like psychology and economics (for a different definition in the context of behavioral public financial management, see Mohr and Kearny 2020). In this section, we examine two common definitions of BPA to define and critique the meaning of BPA, which motivate the sections that follow.

In one of the most cited articles in BPA, Grimmelikhuijsen and colleagues (2017) note that BPA is "the interdisciplinary analysis of public administration from the micro-level perspective of individual behavior and attitudes by drawing on recent advances in our understanding of the underlying psychology and behavior of individuals and groups" (p. 46). While this definition broadens out in the end toward our main point in this article that what we often care about in public administration is groups and processes that involve many individuals, the main thrust of the definition is on "individual" "micro level" and "psychology", which is often thought to be at the micro-level (for BPA research that examine a macro-level see Barfort, Harmon, Hjorth, & Olsen 2019). Other researchers have followed suit and defined BPA as the analysis of individual behavior (Bertelli & M. Riccucci, 2022; Espnosa, Kriz, & Yusuf, 2021).

There are two principal problems with this definition. The first is that the scholars that follow this definition tend to use it in analyzing micro-level or individual outcomes. While the literature has discussed in depth how micro-level studies can inform the meso (organizational) and even macro (national) levels (Jilke, Olsen, Resh, & Saddiki 2019; Jilke, Van Dooren & Rys 2018), most still focus on individual level outcomes and then provide implications for meso and macro levels. In other words, the focus is still on the individual. The problem is that most decisions in public administration, such as budget, policy, or personnel processes, are group or organizational decisions that are formalized to ensure that the preferences and choices of a single individual are not exclusively relied upon to develop the consensus of the group or organization. For example, passing a municipal budget is not about individual psychology and judgement but is a complex interplay between the budgeteers that formulate the budget, the departments that provide information, and the governing body that must pass the budget (Thurmaier & Willoughby, 2014). A focus on the micro-level may tell us about the perceptions of individual public officials, but it may not explain the final decision reached in the process.

A second problem with the definition is that the literature has moved extensively beyond a reliance on psychological theory exclusively. Examples include behavioral studies that draw from political science, such as representative bureaucracy (Riccucci & Van Ryzin, 2017; Riccucci, Van Ryzin, & Lavena, 2014; Riccucci, Van Ryzin, & Li, 2016), economics such as price theory (Arrington & Jordan, 1982; Robbins, Simonsen, & Feldman, 2004) and even native public administration theories such as anti-public sector bias (Johnson, Geva, & Meier, 2019; Marvel & Girth, 2016; Piatak, Mohr, & Leland, 2017). While these studies dispel the idea that BPA research comes exclusively from psychology, these studies also speak directly to how public sector workers may influence the outcome of the public, how the display of public service prices may influence public demand for services, or how the difference between sectors may be perceived by the public. The micro level analysis can speak to important meso and macro level public issues, as Jilke and colleagues (2019) suggest is important, but the outcomes of the analysis are rarely broader group or organizational processes, which we believe it can and should consider. The meso-level of analysis allows researchers to examine groups within a population that represent different perspectives and behaviors. BPA scholars who examine behavior purely from a micro-level may ignore behavior from ingroup enculturation or outgroup acculturation (Weinreich, 2009), create a threat to external validity, or dismiss certain behaviors as normatively irrational rather than social.

A second way to define BPA is simply to incorporate the definition of behavioral economics and contrast the assumption of rationality in rational choice theory expecting people will not be perfectly rational when they use decision making heuristics that may lead to cognitive biases (Thaler and Sunstein 2009). This approach focuses on choice architecture and shows how policy outcomes may be influenced strongly by how the choices are presented. For example, Herd and Moynihan (2019) note that "Research from behavioral economics, in contrast, does not assume that individuals are necessarily rational….. Behavioral economics also helps identify particular cognitive biases…" (pp. 16-17). They then note that this research is then translated into policy nudges and understandings about how choice architecture influences policy outcomes (although they also note that this may also be a weakness of this approach, p. 17). While we only use this as one example from the literature of behavioral as defined as irrationality and nudging, the influence that behavioral economics has had on policy and administration is noteworthy and is used increasingly (Belle & Cantarelli 2021; Dudley & Xie 2020).

One problem with a definition of behavioral public administration that only focuses on biases does not specifically address the public context or the biases that may arise in public groups or public organizations such as when people go along with a group behavior (i.e. herding) because others are also doing it (i.e. Compen et al. 2021; we wish to thank an anonymous reviewer for this excellent point). Another problem with this definition is that it focuses on irrational behavior, a problem for economic theory much more so than public administration theory, where the theory has always portrayed as a mix of rational and irrational (Moynihan 2018). Beyond rational individual behavior, the rules and regulations of public sector decision making often have a heavy focus on procedural justice (Dehart-Davis 2009; De Cremer and Tyler 2005) and deliberation (Nabatchi 2010) that make individual level decision making much less important than the outcome of the group or the public process.

The purpose of the discussion of definitions is to draw attention to the lack of focus on "public" in BPA research (only the first definition mentions public administration and it explicitly notes that it is an interdisciplinary field). We propose focusing much more on the public and the groups that engage in and interact with public service provision to move BPA beyond the focus on the micro. Many processes in public administration are not micro level, and so we may need to expand the definition of BPA to focus more on the objects of BPA research. Specifically, we want to draw attention to social interaction, which helps expand the definition of BPA beyond the micro level.

The ABCS Model

Public administration often cares about how people feel about government and society and how they think about public topics as much as the field is concerned with how people behave (Fenimore and McCue 2021). In psychology, these are known as Affect (also emotion or sentiment), Behavior, and Cognition. Beyond the individual, we argue social process and social interactions are critically important in the public context (Figure 1).

Figure 1: The ABCS of BPA
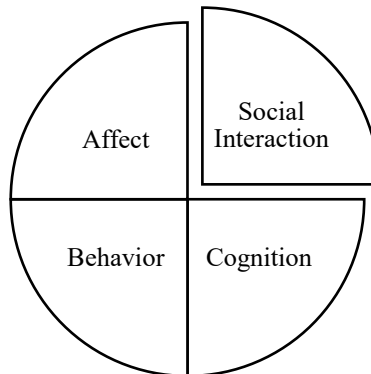
We call these four dimensions the ABCS of BPA. BPA studies often focus on intended behavior and, perhaps to a lesser extent, cognition surrounding intended behaviors. These are the studies that examine how

individuals at the micro level behave and might be nudged into choosing different behaviors. Studies of affect and social interaction are much less prominent in BPA and we argue that these should be the focus of research if we want to understand the behavior of groups and public processes.

Behavior such as the intention to recycle (i.e. Riccucci and Van Ryzin 2017) or intention to join the public service (Linos 2018) are commonly studied behaviors in BPA. Cognition, or how people think, is also studied from a BPA framework, such as studies of anti-public sector bias (Davis, 2021; Kenneth J. Meier, Song, Davis, & Amirkhanyan, 2022). It might even be said that many of the survey experiments, such as the rule following experiments mentioned earlier (i.e. Borry et al. 2018) are about how people think because the experiments often ask what people (think) that they would do. Our field routinely studies intended behavior and cognition.

For research on affect, there is not a comprehensive body of research that we can point to in public administration where feelings are either the key outcome of interest or the primary independent variable as there are in fields like behavioral finance where feelings affect investment behavior (i.e. Haritha and Uchil. 2020). Cognition and sentiment may appear to be similar in that when people form an opinion about public services, it might have either a positive or negative affective dimension to it, however, people may also have feelings that are separate from their cognition which may influence how they think and ultimately behave.

While individual level feelings and cognition may be counter-intuitive as topics of study for an article about focusing more on public and group behavior, we think they are critical intermediate outcomes for understanding social interactions. For example, theories of emotional contagion (Hatfield and Cacioppo 1993; Herrando and Constantinides 2021) show that people tend to align their emotional state with that of those around them. This has led to the observation that the perceived service of an organization can be influenced by smiling employees (Barger and Grandey, 2006) and people may be less likely to buy products online when they read negative customer reviews that make them feel anxious (Wakefield and Wakefield 2018). There is even evidence to suggest that there is a neurological basis (Herrando and Constantinides 2021) to these interactions, but the more important point is that we may need to understand emotions more deeply to further understand the group behavior and group outcomes we care about. For example, why people engage in protests, engage in public hearings, or repost negative stories about public organizations may all come from the emotions aroused in social interactions.

Finally, social interaction is a critical outcome of interest, and it is the part of the model that we feel needs the most emphasis and development in BPA. Social interactions can and should be studied from a BPA lens because public interaction is a key aspect of public life, as we will argue in the next section. However, a brief example should illustrate well how important social aspects are in influencing people. A behavioral literature exists on nudging individuals to make healthier choices in their eating habits in the grocery store or in the school cafeteria line (Thaler and Sunstein 2009). While these nudges might be important, social interactions, such as the advice of friends or observing a crowd of people choosing a healthy or unhealthy option, also strongly influence individual and group behavior. In contrast, a single individual showing pronounced emotional reaction, such as disgust, may influence an entire group.

In public administration, we need to get beyond analyzing individual behavior and study the affects and behavior of groups and social interactions much more specifically. Whether we are able to do that may be a function of how we think about the public and the methods that are developed to study groups—inclusive of their affective, behavioral, and cognitive dimensions.

Emphasizing Public in BPA

While the word "public" has a prominent role in the field, the meaning of the word is a bit murky in this context. As argued by Ringeling (2015), the broader field of public administration has lost its hold over the concept of public. The author demonstrates that there are four different meanings of "public." These meanings range from physical space and a distinction from private, to social category and an aggregation of individual views. The ambiguity behind this concept may explain the expansive collection of works all falling within the confines of the field of public administration. However, as at least two of these meaning would indicate, a collective of individuals are the "public." Because of the emphasis on aggregate or collective which are seen in both definitions, it is important that BPA at least be inclusive of the study of group behavior.

In order to understand the behavior of the public, the field needs to study group behavior. The public in behavioral public administration concerns the people as a whole. Individuals do not operate in a vacuum, and

various topics within public administration make that obvious. Several topics, such as representative bureaucracy and principal agent theory, demonstrate that the attitudes, behavior, or affect of others can influence that individual behavior (Fennimore & McCue 2021). The very field that behavioral public administration most notably borrows from, psychology, even explores group dynamics through theories and concepts such as group-think, group norms, group identity and group leadership (e.g. Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 2002; Marmarosh, 2009; Rainey, 2009; Turner & Pratkanis, 1998). To emphasize the individuals as the primary unit of analysis of BPA neglects these psychological routes, and the observation that public administration and policy implementation are not based on a series of individuals making decisions and operating on their own. Groups, communities, and culture affect individual behaviors (Zimbardo & Leippe 1991).

Several fields in the behavioral and social sciences demonstrate the importance of interactions with others. Psychological studies have explored the importance of social influence and how a group or other individuals can influence an individual's behavior, but they have not completely ignored the idea that these groups can operate as an entity in a way that differs from the individual alone (Brislin, 1993; Knoblich, Butterfill, & Sebanz, 2011). And other fields, such as anthropology and sociology, can provide insights into behavior as others, culture, and society influence them (Erchak, 1992; Ong et al., 2014; Woodworth, 1939). Sociology's focus on human social behavior and patterns of social relationships provide a wealth of concepts that provide a beneficial lens to better understand behavior (e.g. Ong et al., 2014). Anthropology's emphasis on culture, societies and linguistics can provide the same (e.g. Bourgois, 2002) and, as we discuss in the methods section, anthropological and sociological studies can be done in with a behavioral focus and methods commonly associated with behavioral public administration.

Borrowing from anthropology can be particularly useful in understanding the importance of culture on a person's behavior, and their behavior within a group. This is most apparent in the field in the exploration of organizational culture. Those in a particular organization may act in accordance with the culture set by the organization. While the field of public administration has explored organizational culture, there is still room for the field to focus on societal cultures and community culture and their influence on "the public." The public, as an aggregation of individual views, can and often are influenced by culture. Whether it is the exploration of acculturation (the assimilation to one's own culture) or enculturation (the assimilation of another culture), these processes directly and indirectly influence behavior. Studies show that cultural differences often account for difference in affect, attitudes and behavior (e.g. Chen, Greene, & Crick, 1998; Matsumoto & Yoo, 2006; Minami & McCabe, 1995; Tsai, 2007; Wu & Keysar, 2007). For example, those who are raised in a state where individualism is emphasized versus collectivism may be less likely to comply with mask usage (Lu, Wang, & Xu, 2021). In another research, Olsen and colleagues (2019) analyze macro and micro level dynamics of individual and country level corruption using dice game experiments. This individual-collective dichotomy is one of several instances where culture can influence compliance with policy and regulation. These examples demonstrate the importance of understanding communities and the culture of these communities to understand the dynamic between the individual and the collective.

Expanding the Methodological Toolbox

To better understand how communities and groups behave, we encourage the development of a broader set of methods and encourage good research practice to enhance the methods that are already commonly used. Encouraging the use of field, lab, and quasi-experiments may allow for the study of group processes and group behaviors. Hybrid approaches, such as lab-in-field experiments, are particularly promising as they allow researchers to capture the effect of endogenous but important factors, such as culture, on public outcomes. Additionally, we believe that paying attention to important aspects of all experiments, including survey experiments, may make them more social and relevant to the public context of the work of public administration.

One way to escape the trap of making assumptions about groups based on individual behavior is to use field experiments. Field experiments, which involve experimentation in a natural setting, show the researcher how people interact in their natural environment, which increases external validity (James, John & Mosely 2017; Hansen and Tummers 2020). Because field experiments provide a glimpse of respondents in their natural environment and the purported greater external validity, the less obvious benefit is that experiments can be

designed that examine group processes as the outcome. Instead of looking at one individual budgeter and their decisions, bounding the experiment by the department could allow organizations to see how different initial conditions may change the group process.

Because these types of field experiments are naturally limited (Bertelli & M. Riccucci, 2022), game and lab experiments can still provide researchers with an understanding of group behavior. The game and laboratory experiments (Camerer, 2011; Levitt & List, 2007), in which respondents play "games" to get a sense of how they interact with others, show how people interacting with each other change others' behavior. For example, Olsen, Hjorth, Harmon, and Barfort (2018) show that macro-level factors like levels of corruption may influence people's individual behavior and interaction in the dice game. However, sometimes even laboratory experiments also have ethical limitations (Bertelli & M. Riccucci, 2022), but an alternative would be to use a quasi-experiment (Campbell & Cook, 1979). The quasi-experiment takes a "naturally occurring" phenomenon to make a causal inference (i.e. Hyde, 2007). For example, Brady and McNulty (2011) looked at the nearly random effect of voting place changes in the 2003 gubernatorial election in Los Angeles to show that those that increasing the cost of participating in an election can influence voter turnout in the election, but these costs had different influences on Democrats and Republicans.

Lab-in-field experiments offer a useful hybrid approach to survey and field experiments that may be especially useful for public administration. Eckel and Londono (2021) note four different types of lab-in-field experiments. The first is when researchers go out and seek a particular population because that population may behave differently. For example, Borry and colleagues (2018) specifically used public management practitioners and Master of Public Administration (MPA) students when testing the effects of green tape theory on rule following because this population was thought to be different relative to a convenience sample of college students. The second way that these lab-in-field experiments may be particularly useful to public administration is to recruit participants "that have already been treated" (p. 82). This has been used to look at how different groups, such as those that have been exposed to violence, may be less trusting and less likely to take risks (Moya 2018). This approach has also been used to examine the effect of culture on altruism in dictator games (Heinrich et al. 2001). Lab-in-field experiments can also be used for measurement and for teaching (Eckel and Londono 2021).

While we are not the first to assert that public administration needs more field, lab, and quasi-experiments to deal with groups and the social nature of administration, the use of survey experiments is invaluable for public administration research. It also follows the trajectory of experimental research in fields like economics, where the first experiments were largely survey or vignette experiments and then developed into more field experiments (Thaler, 2015). Our concern in this article with the public nature of experiments in public administration leads us to make some observations about how we might design survey experiments with an eye toward making them more public or more social in nature. For example, vignettes that draw upon actual news stories for their wording exhibit strong mundane and greater external validity (Aronson & Carlsmith, 1968). By making the vignette describing a government service failure similar to a news story, the respondent evaluates it much like they would any news story with the social and public considerations that they normally bring to reading news articles (Iyengar, 2002; Piatak et al., 2017). Finally, BPA needs to be informed by theory (Bertelli & M. Riccucci, 2022). We strongly encourage experimentalists to work with subject matter and theory experts to develop experiments that are both strong methodologically and theoretically.

Conclusion

This article discusses common definitions of BPA and argues that the public and social interactions need to be a greater focus of BPA studies. We have proposed the ABCS model of BPA that provides both a focus on social interactions as an outcome of interest, but it also encourages scholars to study linking mechanisms like emotions that may be related to social interactions. Emotional contagion may influence people to engage in a protest or public hearing. Likewise, observing others interacting positively with government may lead to more positive assessments of government.

This article discusses the meaning of public in public administration and looks at advancements in BPA methods that may allow for the analysis of social interactions. Lab, field, and hybrid approaches, such as lab-in-field experiments, are methodological developments that allow researchers greater analytic leverage for disentangling social interactions. By studying a broader model of behavior than is often described, BPA can

further make unique and important contributions beyond the micro level of public administration. However, these tools become complex and expensive to conduct. For example, Steinmo and D'Attoma's lab-in-field study (2021) was made possible by a 2 million Euro grant. More funding may be needed to fund BPA research and funders such as the National Science Foundation are encouraged to fund more ambitious research.

Ultimately, we want to encourage BPA researchers to study the public and social interactions more, and we think that the ABCS model may be helpful in examining linking mechanisms. The model is not comprehensive in that there may be other topics that may also be of interest, such as studies that look at how public opinion is formed. While the model is recognized as being limited, we think that the guiding principle of making BPA research more relevant to the public and social interactions will help strengthen BPA research further. To quote Atkinson (2021), "We might do well to channel Waldo at his most aware: paying due regard to the importance of norms, institutions, and ideals, but radical enough to suggest experimentation." We agree. It is time to start experimenting with the meaning of public in behavioral public administration.

References

Andersen, S. C., & Guul, T. S. (2019). Reducing minority discrimination at the front line—Combined survey and field experimental evidence. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 29 (3), 429-444.

Aronson, E., & Carlsmith, J. M. (1968). Experimentation in social psychology. *The handbook of social psychology, 2* (2), 1-79.

Arrington, T. S., & Jordan, D. D. (1982). Willingness to pay per capita costs as a measure of support for urban services. *Public Administration Review*, 168-170.

Atkinson, C. L. (2021). A Review of Stillman's Anthology, Dwight Waldo: Administrative Theorist for Our Times: Dwight Waldo: Administrative Theorist for our Times, *International Journal of Public Administration*, 44(15), 1378-1381.

Barger, P. B., & Grandey, A. A. (2006). Service with a smile and encounter satisfaction: Emotional contagion and appraisal mechanisms. *Academy of Management Journal,* 49(6), 1229-1238.

Barfort, S., Harmon, N. A., Hjorth, F., & Olsen, A. L. (2019). Sustaining honesty in public service: The role of selection. American Economic Journal: Economic Policy, 11(4), 96-123

Belle, N., & Cantarelli, P. (2021). Nudging public employees through descriptive social norms in healthcare organizations. *Public Administration Review*, 81(4), 589-598.

Ben-Akiva, M. E., McFadden, D., & Train, K. (2019). *Foundations of stated preference elicitation: Consumer behavior and choice-based conjoint analysis*: Now.

Bertelli, A. M., & M. Riccucci, N. (2022). What Is Behavioral Public Administration Good for? *Public Administration Review, 82*(1), 179-183.

Borry, E. L., DeHart-Davis, L., Kaufmann, W., Merritt, C. C., Mohr, Z., & Tummers, L. (2018). Formalization and consistency heighten organizational rule following: Experimental and survey evidence. *Public Administration, 96*(2), 368-385.

Bourgois, P. (2002). Anthropology and epidemiology on drugs: the challenges of cross-methodological and theoretical dialogue. *International Journal of Drug Policy, 13*(4), 259-269.

Brady, H. E., & McNulty, J. E. (2011). Turning out to vote: The costs of finding and getting to the polling place. *American Political Science Review,* 105(1), 115-134.

Brislin, R. (1993). *Understanding culture's influence on behavior*: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Camerer, C. F. (2011). *Behavioral game theory: Experiments in strategic interaction*: Princeton university press.

Campbell, D. T., & Cook, T. D. (1979). Quasi-experimentation. *Chicago, IL: Rand Mc-Nally.*

Chen, C. C., Greene, P. G., & Crick, A. (1998). Does entrepreneurial self-efficacy distinguish entrepreneurs from managers? *Journal of Business Venturing, 13*(4), 295-316.

Compen, B., Pitthan, F., Schelfhout, W., & De Witte, K. (2022). How to elicit and cease herding behaviour? On the effectiveness of a warning message as a debiasing decision support system. *Decision support systems*, 152, 113652.

DeHart-Davis, L. (2009). Green tape and public employee rule abidance: Why organizational rule attributes matter. *Public Administration Review,* 69(5), 901-910.

De Cremer, D., & Tyler, T. R. (2005). Managing group behavior: The interplay between procedural justice, sense of self, and cooperation. *Advances in experimental social psychology*, 37, 151-218.

Davis, J. A. (2021). *Fairness, Performance and the Public Sector: The Role of Fairness in Anti-Public Sector Bias.* American University,

Dudley, S. E., & Xie, Z. (2020). Designing a choice architecture for regulators. *Public Administration Review*, 80(1), 151-156.

Eckel, C., & Londono, N. C. (2021). How to tame lab-in-the-field experiments. *Cambridge University Press Cambridge*, UK.

Ellemers, N., Spears, R., & Doosje, B. (2002). Self and social identity. *Annual Review of Psychology, 53*(1), 161-186.

Erchak, G. M. (1992). *The Anthropology of Self and Behavior*: Rutgers University Press.

Espnosa, S., Kriz, K. A., & Yusuf, J.-E. W. (2021). Behavioral Public Finance and Budgeting: New Approaches to Old Questions? *Public Finance & Management, 20*(1).

Fennimore, A., & McCue, C. (2021). Are Public Financial Managers Wired for Risk Aversion? *Public Finance & Management, 20*(1).

Frederickson, H. G., & Smith, K. B. (2003). *The Public Administration Theory Primer*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Grimmelikhuijsen, S., Jilke, S., Olsen, A. L., & Tummers, L. (2017). Behavioral Public Administration: Combining Insights from Public Administration and Psychology. *Public Administration Review, 77*(1), 45-56.

Harmon, M. M. (1989). The Simon/Waldo debate: A review and update. *Public Administration Quarterly,* 12(4), 437-451.

Hatfield, E., Cacioppo, J. T., & Rapson, R. L. (1993). Emotional contagion. *Current directions in psychological science,* 2(3), 96-100.

Herrando, C., & Constantinides, E. (2021). Emotional contagion: a brief overview and future directions. *Frontiers in psychology*, 12, 712606.

Herd, P., & Moynihan, D. P. (2019). *Administrative burden: Policymaking by other means*: Russell Sage Foundation.

Hyde, S. D. (2007). The observer effect in international politics: Evidence from a natural experiment. *World politics, 60*(1), 37-63.

Iyengar, S. (2002). *Experimental designs for political communication research: from shopping malls to the internet*. Paper presented at the Workshop in Mass Media Economics, Department of Political Science, London School of Economics.

James, O., Jilke, S., & Van Ryzin, G. G. (2017). Causal Inference and the Design and Analysis of Experiments. In G. G. Van Ryzin, O. James, & S. R. Jilke (Eds.), *Experiments in Public Management Research: Challenges and Contributions* (pp. 59-88). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jilke, S., & Van Ryzin, G. G. (2017). Survey Experiments for Public Management Research. In G. G. Van Ryzin, O. James, & S. R. Jilke (Eds.), *Experiments in Public Management Research: Challenges and Contributions* (pp. 117-138). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jilke, S., Van Dooren, W., & Rys, S. (2018). Discrimination and administrative burden in public service markets: Does a public–private difference exist?.

Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory, 28(3), 423-439.

Johnson, A. P., Geva, N., & Meier, K. J. (2019). Can hierarchy dodge bullets? Examining blame attribution in military contracting. *Journal of Conflict Resolution, 63*(8), 1965-1985.

Kahneman, D., & Egan, P. (2011). *Thinking, Fast and Slow* (Vol. 1): Farrar, Straus and Giroux New York.

Kahneman, D., & Tversky, A. (1979). Prospect theory: An analysis of decision under risk. *Econometrica: Journal of the Econometric Society, 27*(2), 263-291.

Keiser, L. R., Wilkins, V. M., Meier, K. J., & Holland, C. A. (2002). Lipstick and logarithms: Gender, institutional context, and representative bureaucracy. *American Political Science Review, 96*(3), 553-564.

Knoblich, G., Butterfill, S., & Sebanz, N. (2011). Psychological research on joint action: theory and data. *Psychology of learning and motivation, 54*, 59-101.

Kropf, M., Vercellotti, T., & Kimball, D. C. (2013). Representative bureaucracy and partisanship: The implementation of election law. *Public Administration Review, 73*(2), 242-252.

Levitt, S. D., & List, J. A. (2007). What do laboratory experiments measuring social preferences reveal about the real world? *Journal of Economic Perspectives, 21*(2), 153-174.

Li, H., & Van Ryzin, G. G. (2017). A systematic review of experimental studies in public management journals. In O. James, S. R. Jilke, & G. G. Van Ryzin (Eds.), *Experiments in Public Management Research*: Cambridge.

Linos, E. (2018). Simple Changes to Job Ads Can Help Recruit More Police Officers of Color. *Harvard Business Review.*

Lu, X., Wang, W., & Xu, H. (2021). Who can serve as the proxy for public employees in public administration experiments? a cross-sample comparison. *Public Management Review*, 1-21.

Marmarosh, C. (2009). Group leadership and the influence of attachment styles. *International Journal of Group Psychotherapy, 59*(2), 281-286.

Marvel, J. D., & Girth, A. M. (2016). Citizen attributions of blame in third-party governance. *Public Administration Review, 76*(1), 96-108.

Matsumoto, D., & Yoo, S. H. (2006). Toward a new generation of cross-cultural research. *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 1*(3), 234-250.

Meier, K. J. (1975). Representative bureaucracy: An empirical analysis. *American Political Science Review, 69*(2), 526-542.

Meier, K. J., Song, M., Davis, J. A., & Amirkhanyan, A. A. (2022). Sector Bias and the Credibility of Performance Information: An Experimental Study of Elder Care Provision. *Public Administration Review, 82*(1), 69-82.

Minami, M., & McCabe, A. (1995). Rice balls and bear hunts: Japanese and North American family narrative patterns. *Journal of Child Language, 22*(2), 423-445.

Mohr, Z., & Kearney, L. (2021). Behavioral-Experimental Public Budgeting and Financial Management: A Review of Experimental Studies in the Field. *Public Finance & Management, 20*(1).

Nabatchi, T. (2010). Addressing the citizenship and democratic deficits: The potential of deliberative democracy for public administration. *The American Review of Public Administration*, 40(4), 376-399.

Olsen, A. L., Hjorth, F., Harmon, N., & Barfort, S. (2018). Behavioral Dishonesty in the Public Sector. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*.

Olsen, A. L., Hjorth, F., Harmon, N., & Barfort, S. (2019). Behavioral dishonesty in the public sector. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory, 29*(4), 572-590.

Ong, J. C., Manber, R., Segal, Z., Xia, Y., Shapiro, S., & Wyatt, J. K. (2014). A randomized controlled trial of mindfulness meditation for chronic insomnia. *Sleep, 37*(9), 1553-1563.

Piatak, J., Mohr, Z., & Leland, S. (2017). Bureaucratic accountability in third-party governance: Experimental evidence of blame attribution during times of budgetary crisis. *Public Administration, 95*(4), 976-989.

Rainey, H. G. (2009). *Understanding and Managing Public Organizations* (Vol. null).

Riccucci, N. M., & Van Ryzin, G. G. (2017). Representative bureaucracy: A lever to enhance social equity, coproduction, and democracy. *Public Administration Review, 77*(1), 21-30.

Riccucci, N. M., Van Ryzin, G. G., & Lavena, C. F. (2014). Representative bureaucracy in policing: Does it increase perceived legitimacy? *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory, 24*(3), 537-551.

Riccucci, N. M., Van Ryzin, G. G., & Li, H. (2016). Representative bureaucracy and the willingness to coproduce: An experimental study. *Public Administration Review, 76*(1), 121-130.

Robbins, M. D., Simonsen, B., & Feldman, B. (2004). The impact of tax price on spending preferences. *Public Budgeting & Finance, 24*(3), 82-97.

D'Attoma, J., Steinmo, S. (2021). *Willing to Pay? A Reasonable Choice Approach*. United Kingdom: OUP Oxford.

Simon, H. A. (1947). *Administrative Behavior: A study of decision-making processes in adminstrative organization*. The Free Press New York.

Stillman, R. (2020). *Dwight Waldo: Administrative Theorist for Our Times*. Routledge New York.

Thaler, R. H. (2015). *Misbehaving: The making of behavioral economics*: WW Norton New York.

Thaler, R. H., & Sunstein, C. R. (2009). *Nudge: Improving decisions about health, wealth, and happiness*. New York: Penguin.

Thurmaier, K. M., & Willoughby, K. G. (2014). *Policy and politics in state budgeting*: Routledge.

Tsai, J. L. (2007). Ideal affect: Cultural causes and behavioral consequences. *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 2*(3), 242-259.

Turner, M. E., & Pratkanis, A. R. (1998). Twenty-five years of groupthink theory and research: Lessons from the evaluation of a theory. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 73*(2-3), 105-115.

Van Ryzin, G. G. (2021). Nudging and Muddling through. *Perspectives on Public Management and Governance*, 4(4), 339-345.

Van Ryzin, G. G., & Riccucci, N. M. (2017). Representative Bureaucracy: An Experimental Approach. In G. G. Van Ryzin, O. James, & S. R. Jilke (Eds.), *Experiments in Public Management Research: Challenges and Contributions* (pp. 313-328). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wakefield, L. T., & Wakefield, R. L. (2018). Anxiety and ephemeral social media use in negative eWOM creation. *Journal of Interactive Marketing*, 41, 44-59.

Waldo, D. (1948). *The administrative state: A study of the political theory of American public administration*, Routledge.

Waldo, D. (1955). *The study of public administration* Random House New York.
Woodworth, R. S. (1939). *Psychological issues*: Columbia University Press.

Wu, S., & Keysar, B. (2007). The effect of culture on perspective taking. *Psychological Science, 18*(7), 600-606.

Zimbardo, P. G., & Leippe, M. R. (1991). *The psychology of attitude change and social influence*: Mcgraw-Hill Book Company.