

Co-production in public services: does involving citizens attenuate the effect of environmental turbulence on public service performance?

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CO-PRODUCTION IN PUBLIC SERVICES: DOES INVOLVING CITIZENS ATTENUATE

THE EFFECT OF ENVIRONMENTAL TURBULENCE ON PUBLIC SERVICE

PERFORMANCE?

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Abstract:

Public management research on organizational performance indicates that environmental turbulence

negatively affects performance, and that this relationship may be attenuated by external management

behavior. In this study, we focus on the moderating role of a specific type of external management,

namely: co-production. Co-production broadly refers to the involvement of or cooperation with citizens

in the organizational processes of public service providers. We distinguish between the participation of

citizens in (a) the design of public services and (b) executing public services. We examine the moderating

role of co-production in an analysis 150 secondary schools in The Netherlands. Our analysis relies on

qualitative coding of school plans, and relates this measure of co-production to objective measures of

environmental turbulence and school performance.

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Disclaimer: Working paper that presents an early-stage theoretical framework and analysis.

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INTRODUCTION

The quality of public services is highly dependent on changes in the external environment of the organization that provides the services. For instance, the massive influx of refugees from war-torn countries has put a strain on public services such as education, basic housing and welfare. Changes in funding and demand for public organization may interfere with processes of service delivery and decision-making. Because changes can come from different angles (political, economic, social, and technical) and organizations face myriad changes simultaneously, managing these changes represents a major challenge. The intensity of these changes is often referred to as environmental turbulence (Boyne & Meier, 1509; Emery & Trist, 1965).

According to existing models of public management (e.g., O'Toole and Meier 1999; Lynn, Heinrich and Hill 1500), environmental turbulence challenges the organization's necessary stability, and subsequently negatively affects organizational performance. However, this negative effect can be attenuated by external management activities that are aimed at (a) exploiting the environment for resources and (b) buffering against environmental turbulence (O'Toole & Meier, 1999; 2011). Empirical research indeed shows that certain management activities can mitigate the negative effect of environmental dynamism (for example, Andrews et al., 2013; Meier & O'Toole, 1509; Van den Bekerom et al., 2016; 2017).

In this study, we focus on the moderating role of a specific type of external support, namely: co-production. Co-production broadly refers to the involvement of or cooperation with citizens in the organizational processes of public service providers. We distinguish between the participation of citizens in (a) the *design of public services* and (b) *executing public services* (Brandsen and Honingh, 2016).

We assess this issue in Dutch secondary schools (*Dutch: Voortgezet Onderwijs*) because here great variation exists in the degree in which both types of co-production are present, as well as different types of co-producers (i.e. parents and students). Moreover, the educational sector is constantly dealing with environmental challenges such as the massive influx of refugees, student declines in rural areas as well as student influx in urban areas, teacher shortages, recent teacher protests and the introduction of the Inclusive Education Act (*Dutch: Passend Onderwijs*). Zambrano-Gutiérrez et al. (2017) indeed find that co-production by involving parents can attenuate or even eliminate the negative relationship between environmental turbulence and student performance in schools in the United States of America. In this study, we distinguish empirically between co-production by both *parents* and *students*.

Our central research question is: To what extent does co-production moderate the effect of environmental turbulence on school performance?

To establish which co-production (design and/or delivery by parents and/or students) activities schools employ, we conduct a quantitative content analysis of the school plans of \pm 150 secondary schools in the Netherlands. Data obtained from these educational plans will be combined with objective,

independently measured school performance data (such as grade retention rates) as well as data on environmental turbulence (changes in the number of students over time).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The impact of environmental turbulence on performance

A predictable and controllable flow of resources and constraints is crucial for maintaining the quality of or improving services and goods (Scott, 1503). Maintaining this steady flow is an important challenge for organizations. The environment in which a public organization operates is constantly changing (Aldrich, 1508; Emery & Trist, 1965). These changes are often minor fluctuations that can be anticipated and built into service delivery. However, all elements of the external environment might change in unpredictable ways (Boyne & Meier, 1509), and "changes can come from anywhere without notice and produce consequences unanticipated by those initiating the changes and those experiencing the consequences" (Pfeffer & salancik, 1503, p. 69). Examples of such changes are sudden budget cuts, abrupt changes in client characteristics, or drastic changes in existing rules and regulations. In the public management literature, unpredictable changes in an organization's environment are referred to as "dynamism" (Beard & Dess, 1984), "environmental shocks" (O'Toole & Meier, 2011), or "environmental turbulence" (Boyne & Meier, 1509; Emery & Trist, 1965).

One widely used model for explaining the relationship between the environment and organizational performance is the O'Toole and Meier model of public management (1999; 2011). This model of public management has its roots in the open system perspective (O'Toole & Meier, 2011), implying that in addition to organizational elements, the model includes the environment as a separate determinant of organizational success. According to the O'Toole and Meier model (1999; 2011), organizational performance is a product of environmental forces, past performance, organizational stability, internal management, and external management. negative environmental forces—that is, environmental turbulence—challenge the organization's necessary stability, such as "structural stability" (the organization's formal hierarchy), "mission stability" (organizational goals), "procedural stability" (organizational rules and operating procedures), "personnel stability", or "production or technology stability" (in terms of resources sought by organizations) (O'Toole & Meier, 2011, p. 24), and consequently negatively affect organizational performance.

Extant public management studies examining the management of environmental turbulence, such as sudden budget cuts, abrupt changes in service demand, or immigration in local governments, indeed show that turbulence negatively affects the performance of public organizations (for example, Andrews, Boyne, O'Toole, Meier, & Walker, 2013; Boyne & Meier, 1509; Meier & O'Toole, 1509; Meier, O'Toole, & Hicklin, 2010; Van den Bekerom, Torenvlied, & Akkerman, 2016; Zinn, Mor, Feng, & Intrator, 1509). Hence, we arrive at our first hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1: Environmental turbulence is negatively related to school performance.

Mitigating negative impacts of turbulence

According to the O'Toole and Meier model, two sets of variables are assumed to help public organizations protect against, insulate against, and mitigate negative impacts of turbulence on organizational performance. The first set of variables taps the organization's stabilizing features that help the organization bolster its administrative system to protect against externally produced uncertainty and instability (Fennell & Alexander, 1987; O'Toole & Meier, 2011). The second set of variables taps internal and external management activities. Internal management activities constitute a manager's efforts to manage inside the organization. External management encompasses a manager's efforts to interact with the external environment. These external management activities are aimed at (a) exploiting the environment and (b) buffering against environmental turbulence (O'Toole & Meier, 1999; 2011; Geletkanycz, Brian, Boyd, & Finkelstein, 1501; Pfeffer & salancik, 1503). In this study, we focus on a specific type of external management: co-production.

Co-production

Co-production and co-creation generally refer to the involvement or participation of citizens in the delivery of public services. A distinction between the two terms is relevant, because citizens can contribute to the delivery of public services in different ways. In the context of schools, for instance, parents and students themselves can contribute to the activities of the school by assisting (others) with homework, organizing additional classes or events, but also by advising the school how to organize or develop its teaching programs (Honingh, Bondarouk, & Brandsen, 2018). Co-production is defined by Voorberg, Bekkers, & Tummers (2015, 15) "as the involvement of citizens in the co-implementation of public services". Alternatively, the term co-creation is reserved to refer to the design of public services. Similarly, Brandsen, Verschuere and Steen (2018) state that co-production concerns services that citizens receive during the implementation phase of the production cycle, whereas co-creation concerns contributing to services at a strategic level.

While the above-mentioned distinction between co-production and co-creation cannot be consistently found throughout the public management literature on co-production, the separation between citizen involvement in the design and execution of public services is relevant for the purposes of this study. It is for instance present in the typology provided by Brandsen and Honingh, who define co-production as "a relationship between a paid employee of an organization and (groups of) individual citizens that requires a direct and active contribution from these citizens to the work of the organization (Brandsen and Honingh, 2016, p. 431)." Their typology distinguishes types of co-production based on the extent to which citizens are involved in designing services, and the extent to which citizens are involved in participating in the core services or complementary processes of the organization. In an empirical examination of co-production and school performance, Zambrano-Gutiérrez, Rutherford and

Nicholson-Crotty (2017) build on the Brandsen and Honingh typology to separate design-core coproduction and implement-complement co-production. Design-core co-production refers to the degree in which users have access to the design of instructional practices, and implement-complement coproduction occurs when service users partake in complementary educational tasks to facilitate learning.

In this study, we compare co-production in designing services and co-production in executing services. We also distinguish empirically between co-production by students and co-production by parents. For both types of co-production, we expect that co-production is positively related to school performance. Co-production in designing services can bring in additional resources and a diversity of ideas. Participation in decision-making and strategy formulation can also increase the degree of acceptance or buy-in of new decisions or policies of the school. We expect that co-production in the delivery or production of services supply the school with additional resources and organizational capacity, but may also increase trust between professionals and citizens as a result of socialization processes (Honingh et al., 2018).

However, our analysis focuses especially on the moderating role of co-production in the turbulence-performance relationship (cf. Van den Bekerom, Torenvlied, & Akkerman, 2016; Zambrano-Gutiérrez et al., 2017). As outlined above, turbulence can disrupt organizational stability and thereby reduce performance. We hypothesize that co-production attenuates the negative relationship between environmental turbulence and school performance. In our theoretical reasoning, we see co-production as externally oriented management behavior (O'Toole & Meier, 1999). Involving students and parents in the design or delivery of services allows organizations to exploit additional resources in the environment, as well as buffer against external shocks. Co-production can be a means to exploit the environment, for instance enabling a school to obtain a greater amount of ideas or support on how to deal with environmental turbulence. Van den Bekerom et al. (2016: 645) state that "co-production with parents helps the school to buffer turbulence when environmental shocks occur, in terms of flexibility in parents' and students' demands, additional resources, and innovative solutions that help the school deal with the shock". Co-production may thereby enable school management to behave proactively rather than reactively amidst turbulent conditions (cf. Zambrano-Gutiérrez et al., 2017). Van den Bekerom et al. (2016) find evidence that co-production, measured by school principals' networking activities with actors such as the parent committee and the participatory council, attenuates the negative relationship of changes in student population and school performance in a sample of Dutch primary schools. Likewise, Zambrano-Gutiérrez et al. (2017) find that co-production can attenuate or even eliminate the negative relationship between environmental turbulence and student performance in schools in the United States of America. We formulate the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2: The negative relationship between environmental turbulence and school performance is attenuated by co-production.

RESEARCH CONTEXT

In the 2018-2019 academic term, 1.422 mainstream secondary schools were responsible for the education of approximately 1 million students in The Netherlands (scholenopdekaart.nl). There are four types/levels of mainstream secondary education in the Netherlands: a) practical training (PRO), b) prevocational secondary education (VMBO), c) senior general secondary education (HAVO), and Preuniversity education (VWO). These types prepare students for either work and further vocational training or further higher education (e.g. universities). Secondary schools may choose to offer only one type of education, but most schools offer multiple types (e.g. providing VMBO, HAVO, and VWO education). Next to the mainstream secondary schools, there are (secondary) special schools that provide education for students with special needs, such as students with visual disabilities, hearing impediments, with intellectual disabilities and chronically ill students, and lastly students with behavioral and psychiatric disorders. Secondary education usually begins at the age of 12 and is compulsory. It ends for students aged eighteen and up or when they get a diploma on the HAVO, VWO, or vocational level.

Dutch secondary schools vary with respect to their educational philosophy or denomination. There are seven different denominations in secondary education: 1) general/special denomination: contains schools that are not restricted to religion or organize their education concerning a anthroposophical philosophy, 2) public denominated school that do not engage in any religion or philosophy, 3) school that engage in a Protestant Christian philosophy, 4) schools that act out of a Catholic philosophy, 5) schools that act upon a collaborative philosophy, 6) confessional: schools that organize their education based upon other religions and 7) remaining: schools that do not fit in one of the 6 other categories or that have not shared their information about their denomination.

The executive oversight and regulatory powers, such as educational policies, the internal organization, personnel and employment policies, the financial management of the school, and ultimately, the school's performance, are assigned to the school board. Despite the school board's final accountability, the school's management team is responsible for the day-to-day running of the school, which includes administrative duties associated with the general running of the school, assisting in the planning and implementation of policies, and maintaining internal and external contacts in the school's environment.

As of 1998, Dutch secondary school are legally obliged to formulate a strategic plan, at least once every four years. A strategic plan covers the school's educational policy, it's personnel policy, and rules and regulations concerning the quality of education. The strategic plan provides parents and students the opportunity to receive insight in the school's policies and procedures. The Inspection of Education is responsible for inspection and reviews each school and institution.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Data collection

In order to test the hypothesizes, a data set is used that contains information about approximately 150 Dutch secondary schools. The data set was constructed by integrating two data sets. The first set contains information about co-production behavior that is created by coding the multi-year strategic plans of the 150 Dutch secondary schools. The schools included in this data set were randomly selected via a list of all 1608 locations of secondary schools which were obtained through DUO, (Education Executive Agency, an organization by the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science). We randomly assigned number to the schools on the list, after which a sample of 150 schools was selected. Schools were included in the sample if they had published a multi-year strategic plan that covered the year 2018. The first 150 schools that met the criteria were added to the sample. The strategic plans that were used in this study were obtained through www.scholenopdekaart.nl (a website which has been developed by the Dutch sector organization for secondary schools on which citizens can compare schools) or through each school's website. Once the 150 schools were selected and the multi-year strategic plans were collected, the coding process started. [more schools (and their strategic plans) will be added a later stage] More information about the coding strategy can be found in the measures section.

The first data set was combined with a second data set that provides information about school performance and environmental turbulence. The two data sets were linked to each other by each school location's unique identification number, assigned by the Dutch ministry of Education, Culture and science. This is a six-digit code on the basis of which all locations of secondary schools in the Netherlands can be identified.

Measures

Coproduction. As stated earlier, we compare co-production in designing services and co-production in executing services. We also distinguish empirically between co-production by students and co-production by parents. In order to measure co-production, the 150 strategic plans were systematically coded. We operationalized the two concepts of co-production, by students and by parents, according to the operationalization in Table 1. We only coded co-production activities if the activities were clearly formulated and already implemented. We reframed from coding ambitions or future policies, neither did we code the mere mention of contact between schools and students/parents (e.g. only mention that contact with parents/students is important, or that there is contact with parents/students). In addition, we did not code any interactions between students and the school regarding students' day-to-day educational progress (e.g. contact between teachers and students, mentors and students, etc.). Codes 'ST4' and 'PA4' tap the *design of public services* and codes 'ST5' and 'PA5' tap the *execution of public services*. Next to coproduction, we have also coded more general types of contact between students/parents and the school, ranging from one-sided communication ('ST1', 'ST2', 'PA1', and 'PA2') to dialog between students/parents and the school ('ST3', 'ST4').

Table 1.

Operationalization of co-production.

Concept	Sub concept	Code	Definition	Indicator
Co-	One-sided	ST1	School → Students:	Posting information on
production	communication		providing students	the website or social
by students			information about	media, publishing
			school policies and	newsletters, providing
			procedures. There is	information on exams,
			no dialogue, just	etc.
			one-sided	
			communication.	
	One-sided	ST2	Students → School:	Asking students about
	communication		retrieving	their experiences,
			information (or other	organizing customer
			resources) from	satisfaction surveys.
			students. There is no	
			dialogue, just one-	
			sided	
			communication.	
	Dialogue	ST3	Students←→	Meeting and
			School: dialogue	consultation with both
			between the school	teachers and parents
			and students, but not	present, open houses,
			meant for the design	etc.
			or evaluation of	
			school policies and	
			procedures.	
	Designing	ST4	Students←→	Student committees,
	services		School: structural	student panels, focus
			participation or one-	groups, participatory
			participation or one- off dialog about	groups, participatory council, etc.
			•	
			off dialog about	
			off dialog about designing or	
	Executing	ST5	off dialog about designing or evaluation school	

			one-off participation	preventing bullying,
			by students in	students provide new
			implementing,	students with
			supporting or	information, senior
			executing school	students act in a buddy-
			policies.	program with junior
				students, etc.
Co-	One-sided	PA1	School → Parents:	Posting information on
production	communication		providing parents	the website or social
by parents			information about	media, publishing
<i>.</i> 1			the school's policies	newsletters, provide
			and procedures.	parents insight into
			There is no dialogue,	student's performance.
			just one-sided	student s performance.
			communication.	
	One-sided	PA2		Organizing quataman
		PAZ	Parents → School:	Organizing customer
	communication		retrieving	satisfaction surveys,
			information (or other	asking parents about
			resources) from	their opinion on school
			parents. There is no	policies (through
			dialogue, just one-	surveys).
			sided	
			communication.	
	Dialogue	PA3	Parents←→ School:	Parent-teacher meetings
			dialogue between the	about students'
			school and parents,	educational progress,
			but not meant for the	consultations with
			design or evaluation	parents about creating
			of school policies	student supervision
			and procedures.	plans, being in touch
				with students' mentor,
				having e-mail
				conversations with the
				school, etc.
	Designing	PA4	Parents←→ School:	Parent committees,
	services			parent panels, focus
				r paniero, 10000

		structural	groups, participation
		participation or one-	council, etc.
		off dialog about	
		designing or	
		evaluation school	
		policies.	
Executing	PA5	Parents←→ School:	Parents help organizing
services		structural or one-off	parent nights, parents
		participation by	give guest lectures,
		parents in	parents assist with field
		implementing,	trips, etc.
		supporting or	
		executing school	
		policies.	

Environmental turbulence. To measure environmental turbulence, we use the data from DUO¹ and calculate the standard deviation for the number of students between 2015 and 2018 for each school. The standard deviation quantifies the amount of variation or dispersion in the number of students per school across the years 2015, 2016, 2017, and 2018. The larger the variation in the number of students, the larger the amount of environmental turbulence.

School performance. To measure school performance, we use data from Dienst Uitvoering Onderwijs (DUO)² and calculated the percentage grade retention, the percentage upflow (Dutch: "opstroom") and downflow (Dutch: "afstroom"). Retention refers to the practice of requiring a student who has been in a given grade level for a full school year to remain at that level for a subsequent school year (e.g., "flunking"). Upflow refers to the intermediate transfer to a higher level of education, whereas downflow refers to the intermediate transfer to a lower level of education.

Controls. After the data collection is done, we will control for the following variables:

- Size of the strategic document (i.e., the number of pages)
- Denomination (Roman catholic, Protestant, Public, etc..)
- Types/level of secondary education (VMBO, HAVO, VWO, etc..)

¹ https://duo.nl/open_onderwijsdata/databestanden/vo/leerlingen/leerlingen-vo-3.jsp

² https://duo.nl/open_onderwijsdata/databestanden/vo/leerlingen/leerlingen-vo-zit.jsp

RESULTS

DV: Retention grades (unstandardized coefficients; standard error between parentheses)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
Turbulence	0.074*			0.185**	0.156**
	(0.041)			(0.074)	(0.067)
ST4		0.096		0.522	
		(0.256)		(0.343)	
ST5		-0.002		-0.126	
		(0.246)		(0.309)	
PA4			0.055		0.379
			(0.204)		(0.283)
PA5			-0.091		-1.115
			(0.665)		(1.306)
ST4*Turbulence				-0.056*	, ,
				(0.034)	
ST5*Turbulence				0.026	
				(0.021)	
PA4*Turbulence				` ,	-0.030*
					(0.018)
PA5*Turbulence					0.092
					(0.092)
constant	5.525***	5.941***	6.036***	4.321***	4.626***
	(0.620)	(0.656)	(0.659)	(0.950)	(0.922)
r2	0.027	0.002	0.001	0.056	0.051
N	121	127	127	121	121

^{*} p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

- Turbulence has a positive effect on grade retention (if turbulence increases, so do retention rates), which confirms H1.
- Coproduction has no direct effect on retention rates.
- If students and parents both engage in the design of public services, the positive effect of turbulence on grade retention decreases, which confirms H2.
- There is no moderating effect of the execution of public services by both students and parents.

DV: Upstream (unstandardized coefficients; standard error between parentheses)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
Turbulence	0.000			0.088	0.097*
	(0.036)			(0.065)	(0.058)
ST4		0.222		0.576*	
		(0.223)		(0.302)	
ST5		-0.283		-0.390	
		(0.214)		(0.272)	
PA4			0.259		0.706***
			(0.177)		(0.245)
PA5			-0.127		-1.953*
			(0.578)		(1.130)
ST4*Turbulence				-0.043	
				(0.030)	
ST5*Turbulence				0.021	
				(0.019)	
PA4*Turbulence					-0.038**
					(0.016)
PA5*Turbulence					0.141*
					(0.079)
constant	4.871***	4.595***	4.214***	3.824***	3.363***
	(0.549)	(0.571)	(0.573)	(0.838)	(0.797)
r2	0.000	0.015	0.018	0.040	0.072
N	121	127	127	121	121

^{*} *p*<0.10, ** *p*<0.05, *** *p*<0.01

- Turbulence has no effect on the percentage upflow, which rejects H1.
- Coproduction has no direct effect on retention rates.
- If the levels of both parents' engagement in the design of public services and turbulence increases, the percentage upflow drops.
- If the levels of both parents' engagement in the execution of public services and turbulence increases, the percentage upflow increases.

DV: Downstream (unstandardized coefficients; standard error between parentheses)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
Turbulence	0.074***			0.089*	0.099**
	(0.025)			(0.046)	(0.041)
ST4		0.018		0.089	
		(0.162)		(0.213)	
ST5		-0.030		0.007	
		(0.155)		(0.191)	
PA4			-0.052		0.039
			(0.129)		(0.176)
PA5			0.204		0.184
			(0.419)		(0.811)
ST4*Turbulence				0.001	
				(0.021)	
ST5*Turbulence				-0.006	
				(0.013)	
PA4*Turbulence					-0.007
					(0.011)
PA5*Turbulence					0.001
					(0.057)
constant	2.559***	3.173***	3.254***	2.267***	2.336***
	(0.381)	(0.415)	(0.416)	(0.589)	(0.572)
r2	0.067	0.000	0.002	0.081	0.074
N	121	127	127	121	121

^{*} *p*<0.10, ** *p*<0.05, *** *p*<0.01

- Turbulence has a positive effect on the percentage downflow (if turbulence increases, so does the percentage downflow), which confirms H1.
- Coproduction has no direct effect on retention rates.
- There is no moderating effect of the design and the execution of public services by both students and parents.

PRELIMINARY CONCLUSION

- Environmental turbulence seems to decrease school performance (measured as grade retention and student downflow).
- Coproduction by parents (both the design and execution of school policies) seems to moderate the negative effect of turbulence on school performance (measured as grade retention).
- Coproduction by students seems to have no moderating effect on the negative effect of turbulence on school performance (measured as grade retention, student upflow, and student downflow).

DISCUSSION

- We have not yet controlled for the length of the strategic plans, denomination and type of secondary education due to small-n (low statistical power).
- We have not yet included the general types of contact between students/parents and the school (one-sided communication and dialogue).
- We will formulate hypotheses on the differences between the moderating effects of the design of public services and the execution of public services.
- We will formulate hypotheses on the differences between the moderating effects of coproduction and mere contact (one-sided and dialogue).

REFERENCES

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