

Article

Supervisory Leadership at the Frontlines: Street-Level Discretion, Supervisor Influence, and Street-Level Bureaucrats' Attitude Towards Clients

Shelena Keulemans*, Sandra Groeneveld†

*Radboud University Nijmegen; †Leiden University

Abstract

Steering street-level bureaucrats is utterly complex due to their discretion and professional status which grant them relative autonomy from supervisory directives. Drawing from transformational leadership theory, this article explores the opportunities these work conditions provide for supervisory leadership at the frontlines. Looking at street-level bureaucrats' attitude towards clients, we analyze how the frontline supervisor affects this core perception that protrudes the human judgments street-level bureaucrats are required to pass in their use of their discretion. Using a survey dataset of 971 street-level bureaucrats and their 203 frontline supervisors, this study shows that frontline supervisors function as an attitudinal role model to street-level bureaucrats. Moreover, their supportive leadership behaviors are crucial to them upholding a positive attitude towards clients. Supportive leadership does not unequivocally strengthen the supervisor's position as an attitudinal referent, though. These findings challenge pessimistic assessments of the potential for supervisory leadership at the frontlines. Theoretical and practical implications are discussed.

Introduction

While studies of leadership are ubiquitous in bureaucracy scholarship (e.g., [Fernandez 2005](#); [Wright and Pandey 2010](#)), steering street-level bureaucrats is often perceived as an inherently complex matter due to the discretion that is inherent to their work (see [Gassner and Gofen 2018](#)). Discretion is often believed to provide street-level bureaucrats with autonomy from management and supervisor directives ([Lipsky 2010](#); [Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2003](#); [Riccucci 2005](#)). Their autonomous position is strengthened by street-level bureaucrats' professional status that is derived from the occupational ideology that guides them and

grants them control over their work ([Hupe and Hill 2007](#); [Protas 1978](#)).

The premise of this article is that street-level discretion and professionalism not merely grant street-level bureaucrats autonomy from superior directives (e.g., [Brehm and Gates 1999](#)), but also open up opportunities for frontline leadership. By displaying leadership properties, frontline supervisors are able to shape street-level bureaucrats' tacit convictions and perceptions that inevitably guide the human judgments they pass in their use of their discretion (see [Hupe and Hill 2007](#)). Consequently, frontline supervisors constitute a critical management layer in government administrations (see [Brewer 2005](#)).

Street-level discretion is commonly perceived as an individual-level practice mainly under the control of street-level bureaucrats (e.g., [Brehm and Gates 1999](#); [Protas 1978](#)). [Lipsky \(2010\)](#) argues that street-level

The authors are grateful to editor Mary K. Feeney, the three anonymous reviewers, and Steven Van de Walle for their constructive and insightful feedback on previous versions of this article. Address correspondence to the author at S.Keulemans@fm.ru.nl.

bureaucrats employ their discretion to pursue their own interests, which may run counter to those of their superiors. In his account, [Lipsky \(2010\)](#) further draws a sharp distinction between street-level bureaucrats and superiors, in which the superior layers in street-level bureaucracies are viewed as a homogenous group, devoted to achieving organizational goals ([Evans 2011, 2016](#)).

Conceptualizations like these ignore that discretion is a relational construct that is negotiated between street-level bureaucrats and their supervisors ([Evans 2013, 750](#)). They also do not do justice to the complexity and uncertainty that pervade street-level work practice (see [Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2003; Raaphorst 2017; Vinzant and Crothers 1998; Zacka 2017](#)); circumstances which can cause street-level bureaucrats to seek feedback from superiors on their use of discretion (e.g., see [Northouse 2018; Vinzant and Crothers 1998](#)), instead of merely applying it as a tool to advance their autonomy ([Lipsky 2010](#)). Lastly, it neglects the actual fragmentation of superior layers in street-level bureaucracies ([Gassner and Gofen 2018](#)): in these organizations, most frontline supervisors are former street-level bureaucrats who got promoted into supervisory positions ([Evans 2016](#)), causing bureaucrats and their frontline superiors to find common ground in their professional background ([Evans 2011, 2016](#)).

These circumstances have multiple implications for frontline supervisors' opportunities to lead street-level bureaucrats. [Lipsky \(2010\)](#) once argued that superiors in street-level bureaucracies are "best placed to make decisions about legitimate and illegitimate discretion" ([Evans 2011, 371](#)). The relational basis of discretion enables supervisors to regulate street-level bureaucrats' use of discretion and potentially set the marks for which values and perceptions can legitimately protrude street-level bureaucrats' work (e.g., see [Brewer 2005; Keiser 2010; Oberfield 2014; Sandfort, Ong, and McKay 2019; Vinzant and Crothers 1998; Zacka 2017](#)). In addition, their common professionalism causes street-level bureaucrats and their supervisors to adhere to similar values on how the former should use their discretion ([Evans 2011](#)). This agreement could narrow the hypothesized gap between the interests street-level bureaucrats and frontline supervisors pursue (see [Brehm and Gates 1999; Lipsky 2010](#)); hence, increasing the supervisor's opportunities to steer street-level bureaucrats' use of discretion and impact the perceptions that permeate it (see [Evans 2013](#)).

The current article aims to explore the potential for supervisory frontline leadership in street-level bureaucracies by examining how the frontline supervisor affects a personal disposition that guides how street-level bureaucrats use their discretion: their attitude towards clients. This specific attitude is a core perception that

has been argued to inform and bias street-level bureaucrats' discretionary judgments and therewith the outcomes of the bureaucratic encounter (see [Baviskar and Winter 2017; Keulemans and Van de Walle 2018; Keulemans and Van de Walle forthcoming; Kroeger 1975; Lipsky 2010; Stone 1981; Winter 2002](#)). Drawing from transformational leadership theory, we focus on the attitudinal responses brought about by the supervisors' role model function and the supportive leader behaviors they display.

Building on a survey dataset of 971 street-level bureaucrats and their 203 frontline supervisors from the Dutch and Belgian tax administration, this study adds to the field of public administration in three ways: first, how leaders can shape and steer subordinates is one of the core questions in organizational theory ([Fernandez 2005](#)). This study contributes to the understanding thereof by examining this issue in a context where the potential for leadership is often contested: the frontlines of bureaucracies. Second, it provides new insights into the practice of public service delivery by exploring how street-level bureaucrat-supervisor relations work to shape street-level bureaucrats' core perceptions that permeate their use of discretion. Third, to achieve these aims, insights from psychology and organizational theory are applied to advance the standing of these core public administration issues—as is called for by several scholars (e.g., [Foldy and Buckley 2010; Grimmelikhuijsen et al. 2017; Simon 1997](#)).

After constructing a conceptual framework that links discretion, attitudes, and frontline leadership, we introduce the notion of transformational leadership and explore its potential for supervisor impact on street-level bureaucrats' attitude towards clients. This will result in several hypotheses which are tested through a series of multilevel regressions that control for dependencies between bureaucrats led by the same supervisor. We then describe the sample of this study, the measures and methods used, and the study results. We end this article with a discussion of those results, study limitations, and its implications for street-level theory and practice, as well as avenues for future research.

Discretion, Attitudes, and Frontline Leadership

Discretion is a necessity for effective public service delivery that simultaneously permits street-level bureaucrats' personal preferences and favoritism to permeate their decisions (see [Dubois 2010; Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2003; Vinzant and Crothers 1998](#)). A street-level paradox is that frontline work conditions pressure street-level bureaucrats to fall back on these personal dispositions to fulfill their tasks, as the strains of public service work necessitate client-processing based on routines and stereotypes ([Lipsky 2010](#); also

see [Zacka 2017](#)). These mental simplifications of the client world correspond with street-level bureaucrats' "attitudinal developments that redefine [...] the nature of the clientele to be served" ([Lipsky 2010](#), 141). Redefinitions like these impose bias on street-level bureaucracy as street-level bureaucrats "are conspicuously prone to scan their environment for empirical validation of their views" ([Lipsky 2010](#), 115; also see [Keiser 2010](#)).

As a result, street-level bureaucrats' attitude towards clients can introduce bias to public service delivery ([Keiser 2010](#)). For instance, [Winter \(2002\)](#) and [Baviskar and Winter \(2017\)](#) found that street-level bureaucrats with an aversion towards clients more strongly resorted to coping behaviors than those without such negative perceptions. In addition, [Kroeger \(1975\)](#) illustrates that client-oriented bureaucrats are more likely to use their discretion to benefit clients, while [Stone \(1981, 45\)](#) posits that street-level bureaucrats with "a condemnatory moralistic view of clients" are enticed to take a punitive stance to clients. Lastly, [Keulemans and Van de Walle \(2018\)](#) postulate that street-level bureaucrats' general attitude towards clients underlies their subsequent categorization of clients in terms of, for instance, their perceived "need" or "deservingness" (e.g., [Jilke and Tummers 2018](#); [Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2003](#)). From this perspective, street-level bureaucrats with a positive attitude towards clients are deemed more likely to categorize clients as, for instance, deserving of their help.

A dominant driver of attitude development and change are the social relations individuals form with others ([Briñol and Petty 2005](#); [Ledgerwood and Wang 2018](#); [Prislin and Wood 2005](#)). In the street-level bureaucracy literature, ample evidence for the importance of relationships to street-level bureaucrats exists (e.g., [Keiser 2010](#); [Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2003](#); [Raaphorst 2017](#)). For example, in their groundbreaking work, [Maynard-Moody and Musheno \(2003, 20\)](#) found that street-level bureaucrats "define their work and to a large extent themselves in terms of relationships more than rules. Their judgments are rendered more in the context of social relations, and less [...] in the context of formal duties and responsibilities." The relational basis of discretion converts the social relation between street-level bureaucrats and their supervisor into one of crucial importance for bureaucrats' attitudinal developments and change.

It is also in this social relation that frontline supervisors can position themselves as leaders (see [Van Knippenberg and Van Kleef 2016](#)). Leadership refers to "the process of providing direction and influencing" ([Banai and Reisel 2007](#), 466). Frontline supervisors are assigned leadership through their formal authority to assess street-level bureaucrats' performance and

control resource allocations and task assignments ([Vincent and Crothers 1998](#)). Street-level scholarship, however, tends to subscribe to the view that frontline work conditions complicate the exercise of this formal leadership mandate (e.g., [Brodin 2011](#); [Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2003](#); [Riccucci 2005](#)).

As frontline conditions require street-level bureaucrats to function rather autonomously ([Vincent and Crothers 1998](#)), the social relations supervisors build with subordinates enable them to establish legitimate authority over bureaucrats and hence capitalize on their formal leadership mandate ([Blau and Scott 1963](#); also see [Magee and Smith 2013](#)). Hence, the interplay between their social relation with subordinate bureaucrats and their legitimate authority over them enables frontline supervisors to display leadership properties that allow them to impact the attitudes that permeate street-level bureaucrats' use of discretion, such as their attitude towards clients. In the next section, we explain how supervisor leadership properties can work to impact this specific attitude.

Transformational Leadership and Its Potential for Attitudinal Impact at the Frontlines

Public management scholars predominantly build on the distinction between transactional and transformational leadership (see [Jensen et al. 2019](#); [Oberfield 2014](#)). In this leadership conceptualization by [Burns \(1978\)](#), transactional leaders motivate subordinates to attain organizational objectives by appealing to subordinate self-interest ([Jensen et al. 2019](#)). Under transactional leaders, the supervisor-subordinate relation is mainly instrumental, characterized by a value exchange of resources for rewards ([Northouse 2018](#); [Yukl 2010](#)).

Contrastingly, transformational leaders "motivate behavior by changing their followers' attitudes and assumptions" ([Wright and Pandey 2010](#), 76). Through their leader behaviors, transformational leaders appeal to subordinates' higher order needs to increase their work motivation ([Jensen et al. 2019](#)), by altering subordinates' attitudes, values, and beliefs in that process ([Rafferty and Griffin 2004](#); [Shamir, House, and Arthur 1993](#)). Their preoccupation with subordinate needs causes transformational leaders to heavily invest in their relation with subordinates ([Northouse 2018](#)). By means of this investment, transformational leaders establish legitimate leadership over them ([Vincent and Crothers 1998](#)). As transformational leaders become legitimate leaders for attitude change by capitalizing on the supervisor-subordinate social relation, we draw from transformational leadership theory.

[Bass \(1985, 1990\)](#) identified four transformational leadership dimensions: idealized influence; inspirational motivation; intellectual stimulation; and

individualized consideration. Transformational leaders with idealized influence are strong role models to subordinates (Northouse 2018; Wright and Pandey 2010). Subordinates trust them and believe that the leaders can be counted on to do what is right (Northouse 2018, 169). Inspirational motivation is aimed at leader efforts to motivate subordinates by communicating an appealing organizational vision and high performance expectations (Van Knippenberg and Sitkin 2013). Intellectual stimulation entails motivating subordinates to take an innovative stance to organizational issues in their efforts to solve them (Yukl 2010). Individualized consideration refers to leader efforts to create a supportive work environment in which subordinates' personal individual needs are prioritized, enabling them to reach their full potential (Northouse 2018).

Even though transformational leadership is one of the most popular leadership theories in the public management literature (Oberfeld 2014), it represents an umbrella term for a variety of leader-induced motivational effects, rather than a well-developed configurational theory (Van Knippenberg and Sitkin 2013). It is consequential to its theoretical standing that its different dimensions should not be treated as additive to a unitary model of transformational leadership (Van Knippenberg and Sitkin 2013). Rather, as empirical findings suggest that each leadership dimension relates to different outcomes through different causal mechanisms, an analytical focus on the dimensional level is key (see Van Knippenberg and Sitkin 2013). The current study aims to assess what happens in the transformational process that enables frontline supervisors to impact street-level bureaucrats' attitude towards clients, rather than to test the impact of transformational leadership on this specific attitude. In addition to taking a dimensional approach to transformational leadership, we, therefore, explore only those dimensions to which causal mechanisms have been attributed that are likely to bring about supervisory impact of this sort.

Because the causal processes through which leader behaviors generate transformational effects remain quite of a black box still (Shamir, House, and Arthur 1993; Van Knippenberg and Sitkin 2013), we turn to general attitude theory to identify these dimensions. General attitude theory distinguishes four general human motives for individual-level attitude development and change: knowledge, consistency, self-worth, and social inclusion and approval (Briñol and Petty 2005, 575). Affiliation with others is core to the social approval motive (Briñol and Petty 2005). Since we explore frontline leadership opportunities that arise from street-level bureaucrats' social affiliation with their supervisor, included transformational leadership dimensions should activate this motive.

A dominant motivational process through which transformational leaders are enabled to affect subordinates is that of role modeling (Shamir, House, and Arthur 1993). Role modeling mechanisms are predominantly attributed to the idealized influence dimension of transformational leadership (e.g., Northouse 2018). Leaders with idealized influence are often claimed to set a behavioral example supportive of an espoused organizational vision (Wright and Pandey 2010). However, they may also occupy a role model position by means of their strong moral principles and values (see Northouse 2018). The latter suggests that their role model position has spill-over effects to attitudinal matters beyond that vision. Moreover, subordinates identify with these leaders (Yukl 2010), which implies that idealized influence appeals to street-level bureaucrats' sense of affiliation with their supervisor.

In addition, the support and encouragement that are intrinsic to the individualized consideration factor (Yukl 2010) are likely to appeal to street-level bureaucrats' basic human need for caring and approval—a key driver of individual-level attitude change (see Briñol and Petty 2005). Consequently, we focus on idealized influence and individualized consideration—and more specifically, on the role model and support mechanisms inherent to them—in our exploration of supervisor impact on street-level bureaucrats' attitude towards clients.

The Frontline Supervisor as an Attitudinal Role Model

Idealized influence causes subordinates to identify with the transformational leader (Northouse 2018). In the work context, personal identification with the leader is present “when an individual's belief about a person (a leader) becomes self-referential or self-defining” (Kark, Shamir, and Chen 2003, 247). In these instances, transformational leaders are able to influence subordinates by activating motivations that are intertwined with subordinates' self-concept: their self-expression, self-esteem, self-worth, and self-consistency (Shamir, House, and Arthur 1993). Personal identification appeals to subordinates' self-concept either through their conviction that they adhere to the same values as their leader or a will to alter their self-concept to increase the congruence between their own beliefs and values and those of the leader (Kark, Shamir, and Chen 2003).

According to Shamir, House, and Arthur (1993, 584–585), role model mechanisms are crucial in activating these motivational effects because role modeling enables the leader to communicate which beliefs, traits, and behaviors are preferable and legitimate. If leaders fulfill a role model position, subordinates are likely to emulate the leader's dispositions and attributes (Kark, Shamir, and Chen 2003), including their attitudes (see

Yukl 2010). In these cases, the leader becomes a source of reference (Kark, Shamir, and Chen 2003); a form of social power that triggers attitudinal change (Eagly and Chaiken 1993).

Frontline supervisors have discretion of their own which they can use to navigate between the street-level and higher management tiers (Brewer 2005). Equal to that of the street-level bureaucrat (see Lipsky 2010), the supervisor's discretion "is not random, but rather, an integration of personal beliefs, shared organizational values, and a strategic assessment of the context" (Sandfort, Ong, and McKay 2019, 155). Superiors aim to create attitude and value consistency among bureaucrats because these personal dispositions determine how street-level bureaucrats process information (Keiser 2010). If the supervisors' discretion use is shaped by their own personal beliefs and they aim to create attitudinal consistency among subordinates, they are likely to pass their own attitude towards clients on to the street-level bureaucrats they supervise (e.g., see Brewer 2005).

Whether this supervisory attitudinal influence has a role model functionality depends on how street-level bureaucrats position themselves to such influences. Theories from the field of social psychology have taught us that individuals have affiliative and epistemic needs that cause them to strive for a shared reality with others (Ledgerwood and Wang 2018; Sinclair et al. 2005). This shared reality "serves the critical epistemic function of verifying one's evaluation of events and objects in the world" (Rossignac-Milon and Higgins 2018, 67). Shared reality development thus constitutes a process of sense-making that is grounded in the social bonds individuals form with others (Rossignac-Milon and Higgins 2018; Sinclair et al. 2005).

Ledgerwood and Wang (2018, 62) argue that attitude alignment is a core contributor to the construction of a shared reality. In these cases, the strive for a shared reality is a social force that causes one's attitudes to change (ibid.). Davis and Rusbult (2001) explain that a misbalance in the attitudes held by two individuals can evoke negative sentiments and physical tension in them, as well as alter their relation. How strongly these effects emerge depends on how close two individuals are and how important the attitude object is to either of them. Resultantly, the interdependence of individuals is likely to foster the negative effects attitudinal imbalance may arouse.

Attitude alignment can be a process of mutual influence (Davis and Rusbult 2001). However, the social distance theory of power predicts that lower-power individuals are more likely to assimilate their attitudes to those of higher-power individuals as "low-power individuals' dependence increases their motivation to affiliate with their high-power counterparts" (Magee and Smith 2013, 160). Conversely, having power decreases

individuals' sensitivity to the social influences others exert that may evoke attitude change (Magee and Smith 2013).

As frontline supervisors affect street-level bureaucrats' access to resources (Vinzant and Crothers 1998), they are most likely to fulfill the high-power position in the social relation between them. Their higher-power position implies that street-level bureaucrats will experience a stronger need to affiliate with their supervisor than vice versa, causing street-level bureaucrats to align their attitude towards clients to that of the supervisor. Consequently, the here described psychological processes are likely to convert the supervisor into a role model to the street-level bureaucrat for attitudinal matters. These expectations are summarized in the first hypothesis of this article:

H1: Individual street-level bureaucrats whose supervisor has a more positive attitude towards clients are more likely to have a positive attitude towards clients themselves.

Supportive Leader Behaviors and Upholding a Positive Attitude Towards Clients

The individualized consideration dimension is commonly broken up into supportive and developmental leader behaviors (Yukl 1999). In this distinction, supportive leadership refers to "expressing concern for followers and taking account of their individual needs" (Rafferty and Griffin 2004, 333). Developmental leadership aims to stimulate subordinates' abilities and self-efficacy (Yukl 1999). While developmental leadership is predominantly concerned with coaching and mentoring subordinates (Rafferty and Griffin 2006), supportive leadership "includes being friendly, helpful, considerate, and appreciative of individual subordinates" (Yukl 1999, 288). It consequently constitutes a source of subordinate well-being, self-confidence, self-efficacy, and social satisfaction (Banai and Reisel 2007; House 1996; Rafferty and Griffin 2006). As a result, supportive leadership appears more likely to appeal to street-level bureaucrats' social approval motive for attitude change. This leads us to focus on the supportive leadership dimension of individualized consideration.

Supportive leadership has consistently been linked to positive attitudinal outcomes among subordinates (e.g., Banai and Reisel 2007; Rafferty and Griffin 2006). These positive effects have predominantly been attributed to its potential to relieve job stress (House 1996; Rafferty and Griffin 2006). Leader support may operate as a buffer that protects individuals against the negative outcomes induced by such stressors (Rafferty and Griffin 2006).

Since Lipsky's (2010) path-breaking work, the frontlines have consistently been identified as a strenuous and challenging work environment (e.g.,

Dubois 2010; Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2003; Zacka 2017). These work conditions can lead street-level bureaucrats to seek support from their supervisors (Anshel 2000; also see Evans 2011). Zacka (2017) appoints these managers as the key actor to prevent street-level bureaucrats from falling into “reductionist dispositions” that serve as a coping mechanism for the psychological strains that originate from frontline work conditions, such as insufficient resources and demanding interactions with clients.

Attitudes are held to satisfy multiple psychological needs, one of which is ego-protection (Katz 1960). Ego-protective attitudes serve to decrease the influence of threatening external forces and internal emotional conflicts (Katz 1960, 172). At the frontlines, many such threats are primarily intertwined with street-level bureaucrats’ encounters with clients (e.g., Dubois 2010; Lipsky 2010). Consequently, the strains of street-level work can pressure street-level bureaucrats into altering their attitude towards clients into a “bitter and callous” one (Blau 1960, 348; Lipsky 2010). Such ego-protective attitudes allow street-level bureaucrats to maintain a positive self-image under these pressures (see Katz 1960).

As supportive leaders are concerned with subordinates’ well-being and needs, frontline supervisors who display supportive leadership behaviors are likely to relieve street-level bureaucrats from the psychological strains of frontline work. By reducing their stress and frustrations, supportive supervisors enable street-level bureaucrats to uphold a positive attitude towards clients. This brings us to the second hypothesis of this study:

H2: Individual street-level bureaucrats whose supervisor displays more supportive leadership behaviors towards them are more likely to have a positive attitude towards clients.

Lastly, we posit that supportive leader behaviors also work to strengthen the supervisor’s position as an attitudinal referent. Supportive leadership triggers subordinates’ affiliation with their supervisor (Rafferty and Griffin 2006, 42), thereby appealing to their motivation to achieve a shared reality with them (see Sinclair et al. 2005). Increased affiliation with the leader works to convert supervisors into a referent to the street-level bureaucrat, strengthening their position as an attitudinal influencing agent (see Eagly and Chaiken 1993). We therefore propose that street-level bureaucrats who work under supervisors who display supportive leadership behaviors are more likely to adjust their attitude towards clients to that held by their supervisor:

H3: The relation between the individual street-level bureaucrats’ attitude towards clients and that of their supervisor is stronger for bureaucrats whose supervisor displays more supportive leadership behaviors.

Methods

Research Setting

Lipsky (2010) treats street-level bureaucrats as an analytically distinct category whose similar work conditions give rise to similar coping and client-processing mechanisms, irrespective of the specificities of the type of street-level bureaucracy they work for (Baviskar and Winter 2017; Prottas 1978). The face-to-face interactions with clients they engage in is a critical precondition for their common ground (see Lipsky 2010). Surveys were therefore conducted in two regulatory street-level bureaucracies whose street-level bureaucrats still have regular face-to-face contact with citizens: the Dutch and Belgian tax administration. The survey population consisted of street-level tax bureaucrats charged with auditing entrepreneurs in the small and medium-sized enterprises (SME) segment (1–50 employees) and their frontline supervisors.

The Dutch and Belgian tax systems are relatively similar, as are the tasks the street-level tax auditors within them perform. They meet up with small entrepreneurs to check their administration, discuss tax declarations, ask for clarifications, decide on the truthfulness of the accounts and explanations clients provide, and decide on tax deductions or fines. Their daily work practice is imbued with uncertainty (Raaphorst 2017). To make these calls, they have ample discretion (Boll 2015).

Most supervisors come from a professional background, meaning that they were street-level tax auditors who got promoted into supervisory positions. Although cases can be assigned to street-level bureaucrats by audit managers, frontline supervisors need to ensure that organizational objectives are attained and standards on the quality and quantity of inspections are met (Raaphorst 2017). All cases need to be handled in the number of hours assigned to them beforehand, although tax bureaucrats can ask their supervisors for extensions. Their direct supervisor is street-level bureaucrats’ first resort for problems they encounter with either a specific case or the clients involved.

Data

Two electronic mail surveys were conducted in the summer of 2016.¹ No sampling procedure was administered since the entire population of tax auditors and supervisors in the SME-segment was included in the study.² Respondents were identified using the tax administrations’ internal databases. This resulted in a sample of 4639 street-level tax bureaucrats and 415

1 Survey texts (in Dutch, French, and English) and further information on the survey procedure are provided in the [Supplementary Appendix](#).

2 In the Netherlands, the surveys were administered in four out of five tax regions as a pilot survey was conducted in the fifth region (see [Keulemans and Van de Walle 2018](#)).

supervisors. To assure that respondents belonged to the sample population, two screening questions were included in the survey. Among street-level bureaucrats the response rate was 42.2% ($n = 1,959$). Among their supervisors it was 58.6% ($n = 243$).

We employed multiple selection criteria for respondents' inclusion in the final sample. First, we only included those street-level bureaucrats who confirmed to be tax auditors with client-contact and had valid replies on key variables. Second, we excluded all street-level tax bureaucrats whose supervisor did not participate in the supervisor survey.³ Vice versa, supervisors of whom no subordinates participated were discarded. Lastly, supervisors who did not carry full responsibility for a specific team were excluded, thus excluding all teams with multiple supervisors. These circumstances would prevent the attribution of observed effects to specific frontline supervisors. Supervisors who solely supervised multiple (i.e., two) teams were duplicated in the dataset.⁴ Because they were the single supervisor-influence on the street-level bureaucrats in those teams, found effects could be directly regressed to them.

This resulted in a final sample of 971 street-level bureaucrats supervised by 203 supervisors. On average, 3.6 street-level bureaucrats participated per supervisor. The number of bureaucrats supervised varied between 1 and 12. The mean age in our sample was 52.1 years for the street-level bureaucrats and 53.3 years for their supervisors.

Measures

Dependent Variable: Street-Level Bureaucrats' Attitude Towards Clients

Attitudes are a main topic of inquiry in social psychology (Eagly and Chaiken 1993). A widely recognized conceptualization from this field views attitudes as an object's general evaluation, derived from an individual's cognitive, affective, and behavioral pieces of information thereon (Breckler 1984; Huskinson and Haddock 2006; Maio and Haddock 2015). We therefore define street-level bureaucrats' attitude towards clients as their summary evaluation of clients along a dimension ranging from positive to negative that is based on the street-level bureaucrats' cognitive, affective, and behavioral information on clients (Keulemans and Van de Walle 2018, 5).

3 To rule out the presence of a positive selection bias caused by supportive leaders being more inclined to fill out the survey, we examined whether street-level bureaucrats of whom the supervisor participated in the survey ($n = 922$) differed in their supportive leadership perceptions from the street-level bureaucrats whose supervisor did not partake therein ($n = 507$). The results of an independent samples t-test showed no such bias ($t = -1.445$, *ns*).

4 All data cleaning steps are accounted for in the [Supplementary Appendix](#).

To assess this construct, we used the cognitive component and affective components of Keulemans and Van de Walle's (2018) measure for street-level bureaucrats' attitude towards clients.⁵ This resulted in three separate attitude scores for each bureaucrat.⁶ In this distinction, the cognitive attitude component represents the traits street-level bureaucrats assign to clients (see Huskinson and Haddock 2006). Affect refers to the emotional responses clients elicit in bureaucrats upon their confrontations with them (see Breckler 1984). The behavioral component was omitted since supervisors did not have current behavioral experiences with clients that could inform their general evaluation of them. These circumstances did not allow the assessment of role model mechanisms for this specific attitude component.

Because only three out of four attitude components were used for the attitude assessment, an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was performed to assess the dimensionality of the remaining three components. This analysis showed that one positive affect item ("clients make me feel inspired") and one negative affect item ("clients make me feel uncomfortable") required omission.⁷ The alphas of the remaining twelve items ranged from 0.73 for the cognitive attitude component, 0.73 for positive affect, and 0.78 for the negative affective component, supporting the internal consistency of these measures (Devellis 2003). All items were measured using seven-point Likert scales that ranged from 1 = "never" to 7 = "always" (see Appendix 1).⁸

The Supervisors' Attitude Towards Clients

The supervisor's client attitude was also measured using the cognitive and affective attitude components of Keulemans and Van de Walle's (2018) multicomponent model. As supervisors do not have face-to-face interactions with clients, the question formulation for their attitude assessment differed from that of the street-level bureaucrats: in the survey, street-level bureaucrats' cognition and affect were tapped in reference to the clients they interact with; supervisors were questioned about client-cognitions and affect evoked in them when they talked or thought about clients.

5 To have our attitude measures befit the class of bureaucrats being surveyed, i.e., tax bureaucrats, Keulemans and Van de Walle's (2018) measure was adapted in such a way that their references to "clients" were substituted by the term "taxpayers."

6 Previous research indicated that the affective component of street-level bureaucrats' attitude towards clients represents two orthogonal (i.e., distinctive) dimensions of affect, which implies that affective items are unipolar in nature (Keulemans and Van de Walle 2018).

7 For all study variables, further information on measure construction is provided in the [Supplementary Appendix](#).

8 Full response categories are listed in the [Supplementary Appendix](#), for all study variables.

The attitude measures were kept constant between the bureaucrats and their supervisors. This means that, if an item required omission for either actor, it was deleted from both the supervisor and street-level bureaucrat attitude measure—providing that any item omission resulted in measures that displayed factorial validity and reliability for both actors. Resultantly, following an EFA, the same 12 attitude items were kept for both supervisors and street-level bureaucrats. This resulted in alphas of 0.74 for the cognitive attitude component, 0.70 for positive affect, and 0.80 for the negative affective component; indicative of measure reliability.

Supportive Leadership

This construct was assessed using [Rafferty and Griffin's \(2004\)](#) three-item measure of supportive leadership. We inquired the supervisor's supportive leadership behaviors as perceived by the street-level bureaucrats. This individual-level construct was measured using seven-point Likert scales that ranged from 1 = "totally disagree" to 7 = "totally agree" ($\alpha = 0.93$). The items are included in Appendix 1.

Control Variables

Multiple control variables were included in this study. We first controlled for three forms of tenure: bureaucrat and supervisor organizational tenure, and the bureaucrats' tenure under their current supervisor.⁹ Time in the form of tenure enables bureaucrats and supervisors to learn and internalize organizational norms and values (see [Rollag 2004](#)). In addition, as the duration of the bureaucrat-supervisor relation increases, so does the likelihood of supervisors affecting street-level bureaucrats' value system (see [Krishnan 2005](#)). Bureaucrats and supervisors' organizational tenure was assessed by asking them when they started working for the tax administration. To assess bureaucrats' tenure under their current supervisor, bureaucrats were asked to list since when they were supervised by her/him.

[Cooper-Thomas and Anderson \(2006\)](#) imply that a high frequency of supervisor-subordinate interactions is associated with a stronger transmission of values and norms onto new employees. We therefore controlled for the frequency of team meetings initiated by the supervisor, using a five-point response scale (1 = "never"; 2 = "yearly"; 3 = "monthly"; 4 = "weekly"; 5 = "daily").

General attitude theory suggests that women may be more sensitive to attitudinal influences than men ([Briñol and Petty 2005](#)). And a study by [Keulemans and Van de Walle \(forthcoming\)](#) alludes that highly educated

street-level bureaucrats harbor less positive client attitudes than their lower educated colleagues. Resultantly, we controlled for both demographics. Educational attainment was obtained by inquiring respondents' highest completed form of education, which was later binary coded into low to mid-high education and high education.¹⁰ Gender categories were male and female.

Lastly, because the Dutch and Belgian tax administrations have a different team make-up—whereas Belgian teams consist of tax auditors only, Dutch teams also include desk auditors with no face-to-face client contact—country of residence was included as a control measure.

Analysis

First, the descriptive statistics were calculated, the association strength of the study scales assessed in the form of their bivariate correlations, and the issue of common method variance (CMV) addressed through Harman's one-factor test. Second, the hypothesized relationships were tested in a series of multilevel models using the maximum likelihood estimation method—as implemented in SPSS Statistics version 25. Multilevel analysis techniques allowed for the modeling of potential dependencies between street-level bureaucrats managed by the same supervisor as they estimated the extent to which street-level bureaucrats' attitude towards clients varied within teams versus between teams (see [Field 2013](#)).

We treated each attitude component as a separate dependent variable. For each component, we subsequently estimated three models. In the first model, we explored the proportion of within-team and between-team variance to provide a benchmark against which the fit of the consecutive explanatory models could be compared. To the second model, the predictors were added to test the first and second hypotheses of this study. It did so by exploring the interrelations between street-level bureaucrats' and their supervisor's attitude towards clients, and supportive leadership. In the third model, the moderation from supportive leadership was added to test hypothesis 3. As our analyses included interaction effects, all nonbinary variables were centered using grand mean centering (see [Field 2013](#)).

Results

Descriptive Statistics, Correlations, and Common Method Variance

The descriptives listed in [table 1](#) show that both street-level bureaucrats and their supervisors generally held

⁹ The correlations between these variables showed no indication of multicollinearity.

¹⁰ Education was included as a binary variable due to the low number of low educated street-level bureaucrats (9%) and frontline supervisors (3%) in the sample.

a fairly positive attitude towards clients: they often attributed positive cognitions to clients and clients regularly evoked positive affect in them. Client-induced negative affect was held on a rare basis. Also, bureaucrats and supervisors held very similar client attitudes.

On average, street-level bureaucrats displayed a moderate tendency to attribute supportive leadership behaviors to their supervisor. Team meetings were primarily initiated on a monthly basis, and, on average, both bureaucrats and supervisors had been working for their administration for a long time. The 3 to 1 gender ratio shows that the frontlines of the tax administrations were male-dominated.

For the most part, the correlations between the study scales (see [table 2](#)) were consistent with our hypotheses, in statistical significance and direction. For the cognitive attitude component, though, the association between the street-level bureaucrat and supervisor was limited.

Lastly, measuring predictors and outcomes using the same data source, that is, a cross-sectional survey, harbors a risk of CMV that can result in inflated correlations between study variables ([George and Pandey 2017](#)). We adverted this risk by having street-level bureaucrats and supervisors list their own client attitude, in separate surveys. For the measures that were self-reported by street-level bureaucrats, that is, their client attitude and supportive leadership perceptions, we assessed this risk by performing a Harman one-factor test on the unreversed final item set of both constructs ([Podsakoff and Organ 1986](#)). The one factor extracted only accounted for 17.76% of the total variance, suggesting that CMV was not significant ([George and Pandey 2017](#)).

Regressions

[Table 3](#) reports the findings of the regression analyses. Models 1, 4, and 7 show that the intraclass correlation

coefficients were low for the cognitive component and positive affective component (2.2% and 5.6%, respectively). This means that most of the variability in these attitude components existed across individual bureaucrats, rather than across bureaucrats supervised by the same superior. This conclusion did not apply to the negative affective component. For this attitude component, 50.5% of its variability could be attributed to the team level.

Models 2, 5, and 8 in [table 3](#) show that some of the control variables displayed associations with street-level bureaucrats' attitude towards clients. Most notably, street-level bureaucrats whose supervisor initiated team meetings with a higher frequency were more likely to hold positive client cognitions ($b = 0.096, p < .01$). Also, gender related to all three attitude components, but in a differentiated manner: women were more likely to hold positive client cognitions ($b = 0.096, p < .10$), while simultaneously being more likely to experience client-induced negative affect ($b = 0.104, p < .05$). Lastly, Belgian street-level tax bureaucrats were less likely to hold positive client cognitions and more likely to hold negative affect than Dutch tax bureaucrats ($b = -0.273, 0.575, p < .01$, respectively).

Grounded in role-model mechanisms, hypothesis 1 predicted that street-level bureaucrats whose supervisor has a more positive attitude towards clients are more likely to have a positive attitude towards clients themselves. After controlling for the effects of tenure, team meeting frequency, gender, education, and country of residence, models 2, 5, and 8 in [table 3](#) indicate no such association for the cognitive attitude component ($b = -0.016, ns$). This shows that street-level bureaucrats were not inclined to adjust the characteristics they attributed to clients to those their supervisor assigned to them. The two affective attitude components were positively related to their corresponding component of the supervisor's client attitude ($b = 0.135$,

Table 1. Descriptives

Variables	Street-Level Bureaucrats					Frontline Supervisors				
	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Obs	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Obs
Cognitive attitude component ^a	5.11	0.64	2.20	6.80	971	5.13	0.57	2.40	6.40	195
Positive affective attitude component	4.26	0.99	1.00	7.00	971	4.20	0.92	1.33	6.67	195
Negative affective attitude component	2.04	0.73	1.00	5.25	971	1.93	0.76	1.00	4.75	195
Supportive leadership	4.91	1.31	1.00	7.00	922					
Tenure under current supervisor (years)	1.23	2.31	0	21	971					
Organizational tenure (years)	26.09	13.04	0	47	971	29.14	10.15	0	47	203
Frequency of team meetings	2.91	0.61	1	4	950					
Gender (1 = female)	0.27	0.44	0	1	900	0.27	0.45	0	1	187
Education (1 = high)	0.58	0.49	0	1	896	0.79	0.41	0	1	185
Country (1 = Belgium)	0.36	0.48	0	1	971	0.46	0.50	0	1	203

Min, minimum; Max, maximum; Obs, observations.^a Because the cognitive attitude items were negatively framed (see Appendix 1), the direction of these items was reversed to facilitate the interpretation of the results.

Table 2. Pearson Correlations Between Study Scales ($n = 888$)

Variables	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. SLB: Cognitive attitude component	1						
2. SLB: Positive affective attitude component	-0.130 (.000)	1					
3. SLB: Negative affective attitude component	-0.278 (.000)	-0.156 (.000)	1				
4. Supervisor: Cognitive attitude component	0.025 (.454)	0.024 (.483)	-0.074 (.028)	1			
5. Supervisor: Positive affective attitude component	-0.035 (.299)	0.119 (.000)	-0.129 (.000)	-0.027 (.422)	1		
6. Supervisor: Negative affective attitude component	-0.035 (.298)	-0.131 (.000)	0.413 (.000)	-0.184 (.000)	-0.076 (.024)	1	
7. Supportive leadership	0.151 (.000)	0.139 (.000)	-0.117 (.000)	-0.015 (.650)	-0.018 (.582)	-0.077 (.022)	1

Note: p -values are in the parentheses.
SLB, street-level bureaucrat.

Table 3. Multi-level Regressions

	Dependent Variable:								
	Cognitive Attitude Component								
	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	b	SE	P	b	SE	P	b	SE	p
Control variables									
Tenure under current supervisor				-.017	.009	.075	-.015	.009	.103
SLBs' organizational tenure				-.001	.002	.551	-.001	.002	.560
Supervisor's organizational tenure				-.001	.002	.566	-.001	.002	.566
Frequency of team meetings				.096	.036	.009	.100	.036	.007
Gender (1=female)				.096	.049	.052	.096	.049	.051
Education (1=high)				-.080	.051	.119	-.078	.051	.130
Country (1=Belgium)				-.273	.052	.000	-.276	.052	.000
Predictors									
Supervisor's cognitive component				-.019	.040	.631	-.016	.040	.689
Supervisor's positive affective component									
Supervisor's negative affective component									
Supportive leadership				.067	.016	.000	.066	.016	.000
Moderators									
Supervisor_COG \times SL							-.047	.032	.142
Supervisor_PA \times SL									
Supervisor_NA \times SL									
Constant	5.116	.022	.000	5.246	.037	.000	5.245	.037	.000
ICC	2.15%			.12%			.15%		
-2LL ^a	1879.36			1584.06		< .01	1581.90		<i>ns</i>
Observations	971			864			864		

SE, standard error; p , p -value; SL, supportive leadership; *ns*, not significant.

Note: Unstandardized estimates are reported.

^aThe significance of the -2LL indicates whether that model has a significantly better fit to the data than its predecessor (Field 2013).

0.227, $p < .01$, respectively), though. This reveals that clients were more likely to evoke positive affect and negative affect in street-level bureaucrats when their frontline supervisor held these affective sentiments with a higher frequency. This effect was stronger for negative affect. These findings provide partial support for hypothesis 1.

Hypothesis 2 stated that street-level bureaucrats whose supervisor displays more supportive leadership

behaviors towards them are more likely to have a positive attitude towards clients. Interpreting models 2, 5, and 8, all three attitude components displayed associations with supportive leadership in the anticipated direction, thus supporting hypothesis 2. It shows that street-level bureaucrats whose supervisor displayed more supportive leadership behaviors towards them were more likely to hold positive cognitions and positive affect towards clients ($b = 0.066, 0.097,$

Table 3. Multi-level Regressions (Continued)

	<i>Dependent Variable:</i>								
	Positive Affective Attitude Component								
	Model 4			Model 5			Model 6		
	<i>b</i>	SE	P	<i>b</i>	SE	P	<i>b</i>	SE	P
Control variables									
Tenure under current supervisor				.016	.015	.269	.016	.015	.271
SLBs' organizational tenure				-.002	.003	.471	-.002	.003	.470
Supervisor's organizational tenure				.001	.003	.733	.001	.003	.743
Frequency of team meetings				.038	.061	.529	.038	.061	.527
Gender (1=female)				-.133	.077	.086	-.133	.077	.087
Education (1=high)				-.060	.081	.458	-.061	.081	.455
Country (1=Belgium)				-.109	.084	.194	-.108	.084	.196
Predictors									
Supervisor's cognitive component									
Supervisor's positive affective component				.135	.039	.001	.135	.039	.001
Supervisor's negative affective component									
Supportive leadership				.097	.025	.000	.098	.026	.000
Moderators									
Supervisor_COG × SL									
Supervisor_PA × SL							-.004	.028	.876
Supervisor_NA × SL									
Constant	4.249	.036	.000	4.387	.060	.000	4.387	.060	.000
ICC	5.58%			3.82%			3.15%		
-2LL	2720.84			2366.94		< .01	2366.91		ns
Observations	971			864			864		

Table 3. Multi-level Regressions (Continued)

	<i>Dependent Variable:</i>								
	Negative Affective Attitude Component								
	Model 7			Model 8			Model 9		
	<i>b</i>	SE	P	<i>b</i>	SE	P	<i>b</i>	SE	P
Control variables									
Tenure under current supervisor				-.007	.009	.421	-.008	.009	.408
SLBs' organizational tenure				.000	.002	.898	.000	.002	.968
Supervisor's organizational tenure				-.001	.003	.740	.000	.003	.877
Frequency of team meetings				-.035	.047	.447	-.033	.047	.491
Gender (1=female)				.104	.045	.022	.110	.045	.015
Education (1=high)				.061	.048	.200	.066	.048	.167
Country (1=Belgium)				.575	.070	.000	.567	.071	.000
Predictors									
Supervisor's cognitive component									
Supervisor's positive affective component									
Supervisor's negative affective component				.227	.044	.000	.248	.045	.000
Supportive leadership				-.034	.015	.028	-.033	.015	.031
Moderators									
Supervisor_COG × SL									
Supervisor_PA × SL									
Supervisor_NA × SL							.059	.020	.004
Constant	2.109	.042	.000	1.750	.044	.000	1.752	.045	.000
ICC	50.50%			20.22%			22.21%		
-2LL	1866.65			1483.63		< .01	1475.42		< .01
Observations	971			864			864		

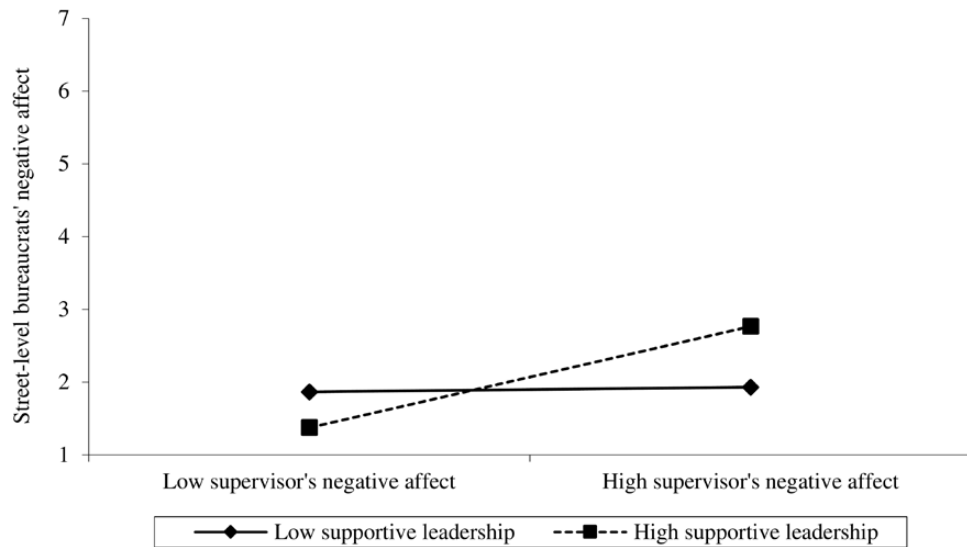


Figure 1. Interaction Effect between the Street-level Bureaucrats' Negative Affect, the Supervisor's Negative Affect, and Supportive Leadership.

$p < .01$, respectively), and less likely to experience client-induced negative affect ($b = -0.034$, $p < .05$).¹¹ Although supportive leadership relates to all three attitude components, these effects were stronger for cognition and positive affect than for negative affect.

Regarding supportive leadership as a moderator, hypothesis 3 postulated a stronger relation between the street-level bureaucrats' and their supervisor's attitude towards clients for bureaucrats who more strongly view their supervisors as supportive leaders. From models 3, 6, and 9 it can be derived that no such relations were found for the cognitive component and positive affective component ($b = -0.051$, -0.004 , ns , respectively). However, supportive leadership did alter the association between the negative component of their client attitudes ($b = 0.059$, $p < .01$). To facilitate its interpretation, this effect is plotted in figure 1. In this figure, the low values of the supervisor's negative affect and supportive leadership represent their minimum values. The high values represent their maximum values. It shows that this effect is supportive of hypothesis 3: street-level bureaucrats whose supervisor often held negative affect towards clients and displayed strong supportive leadership properties were more likely to hold negative affect against clients

themselves and vice versa. Consequently, hypothesis 3 is partially supported.

This analysis alludes that the direct effect and indirect effect of supportive leadership on negative affect have a different nature: in a direct manner, supportive leadership altered street-level bureaucrats' negative affect in such a way that bureaucrats with supportive supervisors held negative affect towards clients with a lower frequency. Indirectly, however, it fostered street-level bureaucrats' negative affect as supportive leadership strengthened the congruence between street-level bureaucrat and supervisor negative affect. These findings imply that, for this attitude component, role model effects were stronger than those of supportive leadership. They also suggest that supportive leadership properties worked to strengthen this negative role model effect.

Discussion

This article built on a relational perspective on discretion to challenge the assumption that the frontlines provide limited opportunities for steering street-level bureaucrats (e.g., see Hupe and Hill 2007; Lipsky 2010; Riccucci 2005). Its primary contribution is that it shows that the social process that occurs between street-level bureaucrats and their frontline supervisor enables supervisors to display leadership properties that shape street-level bureaucrats' in their attitude towards clients.

Drawing from transformational leadership theory, our analysis focused on attitudinal influences that originate from the role model function supervisors have and the supportive leadership behaviors they display. An assessment of the cognitive, positive affective, and negative affective components of street-level bureaucrats' attitude towards clients among a sample of

¹¹ To obviate concerns of reverse causality, we examined whether street-level bureaucrats who held a similar attitude to clients as their supervisor (i.e., $\Delta < 1$ SD) were more likely to assign supportive leader behaviors to their supervisor than bureaucrats with a client-attitude dissimilar to that of their supervisor (i.e., $\Delta > 1$ SD). The results of an independent samples t-test showed that, for all three attitude components, street-level bureaucrats with attitudes similar and dissimilar to that of their supervisor did not differ in their supportive leadership perceptions ($t = 1.605$, $-.562$, $.338$, ns , respectively).

Dutch and Belgian street-level tax bureaucrats and their direct supervisors revealed that frontline supervisors function as an attitudinal referent to street-level bureaucrats, for the affective components of this attitude. This differentiation by attitude components could be due to transformational leaders' role model position originating from the idealized influence they exercise. Idealized influence is viewed as closely intertwined with subordinates' emotions, rather than their cognitions (Northouse 2018; Yukl 2010). Moreover, leader affect has been argued to be contagious in nature, meaning that it induces similar affect in subordinates (Van Knippenberg and Van Kleef 2016, 806).

The empirical study furthermore showed that the supervisor's supportive leadership behaviors foster a positive client attitude among the street-level bureaucrats they supervise. This finding is in line with the broader literature on the link between supportive leadership and attitudes (e.g., Banai and Reisel 2007; Rafferty and Griffin 2006). This congruence notwithstanding, supportive leadership did show stronger associations with cognition and positive affect than negative affect. Its stronger relation to cognition may be attributable to supportive leadership's positive impact on the standing of attitude objects relevant to the street-level bureaucrats' work context (e.g., Rafferty and Griffin 2006). Its connectedness to positive affect could stem from the socio-emotional support that is inherent to supportive leadership (Rafferty and Griffin 2006, 141).

The third noteworthy finding is that supportive leadership strengthens the supervisors' position as an attitudinal referent for negative affect on clients. Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2003) have illustrated how "clients overpower the physical and emotional spaces in which street-level workers perform their jobs" (Keiser 2010, 250), leaving them unable to disregard their client-related affect (Keiser 2010). In general, positive affect makes individuals feel energized, focused, and pleasurable engaged, but negative affect represents "a general dimension of subjective distress and unpleasurable engagement" (Watson, Clark, and Tellegen 1988, 1063).

Stress increases individuals' affiliative needs (Taylor 2006). As the street-level bureaucracy literature subscribes to the disagreeable nature of client-induced negative affect (e.g., Blau 1960; Dubois 2010; Raaphorst 2017; Zacka 2017), negative affect is likely to trigger street-level bureaucrats' affiliative and epistemic needs, more so than positive affect which lacks such strain. A heightened need to affiliate subsequently encourages street-level bureaucrats to align their negative affect to that of the supervisor. The shared reality with their supervisor this attitudinal alignment brings about strengthens the social bond between them and verifies the bureaucrats' interpretation of events (see Ledgerwood and Wang 2018; Sinclair et al. 2005). These mechanisms work to alleviate the disagreeable

experience of negative affect. Because supportive leadership functions as a conduit for bureaucrats' sense of affiliation with their supervisor (see Rafferty and Griffin 2006), alignment of negative affect is stronger when conditions of supportive leadership are present.

Conversely, the supervisors' experience of negative affect may also encourage street-level bureaucrats' alignment thereto. Magee and Smith (2013) propose that affective alignment is greater when the high-power individual with whom a low-power individual seeks affiliation is in distress. This suggests that alignment is more likely to occur for supervisor negative affect than positive affect.

Before turning to the theoretical implications of these findings, it is important to convey their context. These conclusions were derived from cross-sectional data. As a result, claims on the direction of causality rely on the theoretical arguments made. Empirical validation of the causality of presupposed relations requires a longitudinal research design (see Rafferty and Griffin 2004, 2006). This consideration notwithstanding, empirical evidence suggests that—*ceteris paribus*—transformational leadership properties and employee outcomes remain fairly stable over time (Oberfeld 2014). This implies that a cross-sectional research design does not necessarily provide biased results. Building on survey data, however, did not allow us to assess the psychological processes in which our propositions were grounded; the most prominent of which is street-level bureaucrats' affiliative needs. To develop a more in-depth understanding of supervisory frontline leadership, we invite a qualitative research design that explores how such psychological processes interact with supervisory influence.

Second, we built on three of four attitude components of Keulemans and Van de Walle's (2018) measure for street-level bureaucrats' attitude towards clients. Although attitudinal inquiries that focus on cognition and affect only are by no means uncommon (e.g., see Crites, Fabrigar, and Petty 1994; Fabrigar and Petty 1999; Van den Berg et al. 2005), future research is welcomed that includes the here omitted behavioral attitude component. Possibilities for this purpose include a participant observation in which the ways in which supervisors express themselves on desired and expected behaviors towards clients and the actual field behaviors of street-level bureaucrats are compared. These participant observations could be supplemented with in-depth interviews to establish underlying causal mechanisms.

Although these empirical conditions call for some caution, our study makes multiple theoretical contributions to the broader literature on street-level bureaucracy. First, it counters pessimistic assessments of leadership potential at the frontlines by broadening a formal authority perspective on frontline leadership to incorporate the social processes that unfold in the bureaucrat-supervisor relation. As these social processes enable frontline supervisors to capitalize on their

formal leadership mandate, this nuance to street-level scholarship repositions leadership as a key element for understanding frontline dynamics.

The importance of leadership to frontline dynamics draws attention to a supposition in the street-level bureaucracy literature that street-level bureaucrats themselves exercise leadership in their autonomy (Vinzant and Crothers 1998). Their autonomy leaves these informal leadership displays by street-level bureaucrats largely unscrutinized by hierarchical control (e.g., Zacka 2017). As the current study showed that street-level bureaucrats' autonomy does not obviate supervisory frontline leadership, it forwards the question of how the supervisor's leadership relates to street-level bureaucrats' informal leadership, exercised without this leadership mandate.

Second, this study further complicates the assumption that street-level bureaucrats and supervisors will hold opposing preferences (e.g., Lipsky 2010; also see Evans 2011). We argued that the shared professional background of street-level bureaucrats and their frontline supervisors opens up leadership opportunities that allow for supervisory attitudinal influence. Hupe and Hill (2007, 290–291) cast doubt on our point of view, explaining that shared professionalism also raises questions “about the extent to which such people see themselves as ‘peers’ as opposed to ‘superiors’.” The supposition is that they will somehow be able to be both at once.” From this perspective, shared professionalism at the frontlines could also just redirect traditional leadership issues from the frontlines to higher management levels; thus, not resolving the issue of steering street-level bureaucrats.

Empirical evidence counters this supposition: Butterfield, Edwards, and Woodall (2005, 331) and Kitchener, Kirkpatrick and Whipp (2000) direct attention to the management challenges supervisors without this professional background face in steering street-level bureaucrats. And Sandfort (2000, 751) explains that street-level bureaucrats experience professional knowledge as a source of legitimacy, while a managerial emphasis on “administrative rules and performance indicators [...] helped to convince front-line staff of their separateness” (also see Evans 2011; Zacka 2017). Studies like these suggest that, rather than rendering them a peer status, professionalism is a unifying force that consolidates the frontline supervisor's position as a legitimate leader in a work context that leaves little opportunities for formal bureaucratic control (see Evans 2011).

To explore supervisory leadership at the frontlines, we built on transformational leadership theory but diverged from traditional ways to assess transformational leadership or its dimensions (see Van Knippenberg and Sitkin 2013 for an overview). This approach was legitimate as we did not aim to measure either construct. Rather, we built on the transformational leadership dimensions to identify causal mechanisms inherent to them that may account for supervisory impact on street-level

bureaucrats' attitude towards clients. From this analytical lens, it follows that the measures used should represent those specific causal mechanisms—i.e., role modeling and supportive leadership—not their umbrella dimensions.

Connecting our study to the larger body of literature on transformational leadership, this theory is as popular as it is contested. One of its main critiques concerns its conceptual weakness (Northouse 2018; Van Knippenberg and Sitkin 2013); inter alia stemming from unclear criteria for the inclusion and exclusion of transformational leadership dimensions; high correlations between them; and its conceptual confounding of leadership and its effects (Van Knippenberg and Sitkin 2013). Another critique sheds doubts on transformational leadership's status as a unitary construct, suggesting that its four dimensions have different effects on different outcomes; thus, operating through different causal mechanisms (Van Knippenberg and Sitkin 2013).

Such criticisms have caused multiple authors to reconceptualize transformational leadership (e.g., see Jensen et al. 2019; Podsakoff et al. 1990; Rafferty and Griffin 2004). In the public management literature, several calls have been made for a conceptualization that is confined to the organizational vision leaders develop, share, and sustain (e.g., Bro, Andersen, and Bøllingtoft 2017; Jensen et al. 2019). Although vision is crucial to transformational leadership (Van Knippenberg and Sitkin 2013), such a narrow conceptualization can be problematic too. First, by its definitional nature, transformational leadership is a process in which leader influence is dependent on the interactions between leaders and subordinates (Northouse 2018). And “even though ‘creating a vision’ involves follower input, there is a tendency to see transformational leaders as visionaries” (Northouse 2018, 181). Consequently, transformational leadership confined to leader vision may take a leader-centered perspective that undermines the interactional element that is a prerequisite for leader influence to occur.

Second, one of transformational leadership theory's strengths resides in its concern with the personal needs of subordinates (Northouse 2018). Transformational leadership theory confined to vision, at least in part, loses its focus on subordinates' needs and growth through its instrumental perspective on the leader–subordinate relation. Therein, this relation is seemingly reduced to a means leaders can employ to engage subordinates with organizational goals (e.g., see Jensen et al. 2019). Lastly, it surpasses that transformational leaders can impact subordinate attitudes and behavior through mechanisms other than those intertwined with the vision the leader sustains (e.g., Rafferty and Griffin 2004, 2006).

Because it would result in the beforehand exclusion of potentially influential transformational leadership properties, a leadership conceptualization confined to vision

was unsuitable for our purposes. Especially since the context provided was street-level bureaucrats' attitude towards clients. This attitude is strongly shaped through implicit cues (e.g., [Jilke and Tummers 2018](#)), while a focus on vision alludes to explicit, conscious attitude formation processes. As a result, despite its critiques, drawing from the full transformational leadership theory and exploring the causal mechanisms inherent to those dimensions with the greatest probable influence from a theoretical point of view is a strength of the current study.

This is not to claim that leader vision and street-level bureaucrats' attitude to clients are unrelated. For instance, government bureaucracies' increased reliance on horizontal steering arrangements to achieve public aims ([Van de Walle and Groeneveld 2011](#)) requires an organizational vision that prescribes a trusting attitude towards clients to street-level bureaucrats (e.g., see [Goslinga et al. 2018](#)). Assuming that frontline supervisors adopt this organizational vision, their vision could impact street-level bureaucrats' client attitude.

Conclusion

By shifting the focus from formal authority to leadership properties displayed in the social relation between street-level bureaucrats and their frontline supervisor, this article has demonstrated the potential for supervisory leadership at the frontlines. As such, supervisors can contribute to attitudinal consistency among street-level bureaucrats, and through this ability, may constitute a key actor for safeguarding the legitimacy of bureaucratic processes and outcomes.

Multiple practical implications can be derived from this conclusion. On a general level, it suggests that supervisors who seek to steer street-level bureaucrats should invest in their social relation with them. More specifically, as supervisors function as role models for affective attitudinal information, this study highlights the importance of supervisor awareness of their own attitude to clients. The importance of the supervisor attitude to street-level bureaucrats implies that supervisory and organizational efforts to stimulate a particular stance to clients among bureaucrats should take the supervisor's own attitude thereon into account. Furthermore, as this study highlights that supportive leadership may buffer street-level bureaucrats against developing a negative attitude towards clients, it implies that frontline supervisors should aim to invest in their supportive leadership qualities.

Finally, the practical and theoretical implications of this study give way to three directions for future research. First, having established that causal mechanisms inherent to dimensions of transformational leadership bring about supervisory influence, future research is welcomed that takes a broader approach to leadership to further explore the interrelations between transformational leadership and supervisory

attitudinal impact at the frontlines, as well as the potential interactions between supervisory leadership and informal leadership behaviors of bureaucrats. Second, given the importance of the social relation between street-level bureaucrats and their supervisor and the potential effects social distance may have on the power relation between them, future research should explore how supervisors' and bureaucrats' social status factors, such as gender, may interact to shape the supervisory frontline leadership. Third, future work should consider the ways in which leadership approaches can build on this social relation to increase our knowledge of how frontline supervisors may effectuate their formal leadership mandate.

Supplementary Material

Supplementary data are available at *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* online.

Funding

This work was supported by the Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (Vidi grant No. 452-11-011). At the time of writing, the corresponding author was affiliated with the Erasmus University Rotterdam as a PhD candidate.

Appendix 1: Measures

Cognitive attitude component

- Taxpayers are manipulative.
- Taxpayers are hostile.
- Taxpayers are unpredictable.
- Taxpayers are stubborn.
- Taxpayers are dishonest.

Positive affective attitude component

- Taxpayers make me feel alert.
- Taxpayers make me feel determined.
- Taxpayers make me feel active.

Negative affective attitude component

- Taxpayers make me feel upset.
- Taxpayers make me feel afraid.
- Taxpayers make me feel nervous.
- Taxpayers make me feel insecure.

Supportive leadership

- My supervisor considers my personal feelings before acting.
- My supervisor behaves in a manner which is thoughtful of my personal needs.
- My supervisor sees that the interests of employees are given due consideration.

References

- Anshel, Mark H. 2000. A conceptual model and implications for coping with stressful events in police work. *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 27:375–400.

- Banai, Moshe, and William D. Reisel. 2007. The influence of supportive leadership and job characteristics on work alienation: A six-country investigation. *Journal of World Business* 42:463–76.
- Bass, Bernard M. 1985. *Leadership and performance beyond expectations*. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Bass, Bernard M. 1990. From transactional to transformational leadership: Learning to share the vision. *Organizational Dynamics* 18:19–31.
- Baviskar, Siddhartha, and Søren C. Winter. 2017. Street-level bureaucrats as individual policymakers: The relationship between attitudes and coping behavior toward vulnerable children and youth. *International Public Management Journal* 20:1–38.
- Blau, Peter M. 1960. Orientation towards clients in a public welfare agency. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 5:341–61.
- Blau, Peter M., and W. Richard Scott. 1963. *Formal organizations: A comparative approach*. San Francisco, CA: Chandler.
- Boll, Karen. 2015. Deciding on tax evasion – front line discretion and constraints. *Journal of Organizational Ethnography* 4:193–207.
- Breckler, Steven J. 1984. Empirical validation of affect, behavior, and cognition as distinct components of attitude. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 47:1191–1205.
- Brehm, Johan, and Scott Gates. 1999. *Working, shirking, and sabotage: Bureaucratic response to a democratic public*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Brewer, Gene A. 2005. In the eye of the storm: Frontline supervisors and federal agency performance. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 15:505–27.
- Briñol, Pablo, and Richard E. Petty. 2005. Individual differences in attitude change. In *The handbook of attitudes*, eds. Dolores Albarracín, Blair T. Johnson, and Mark P. Zanna, 575–616. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.
- Bro, Louise L., Lotte B. Andersen, and Anne Bøllingtoft. 2017. Low-hanging fruit: Leadership, perceived prosocial impact, and employee motivation. *International Journal of Public Administration* 40:717–729.
- Brodikin, Evelyn Z. 2011. Policy work: Street-level organizations under new managerialism. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 21:i253–i277.
- Burns, James M. 1978. *Leadership*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.
- Butterfield, Reginald, Christine Edwards, and Jean Woodall. 2005. The new public management and managerial roles: The case of the police sergeant. *British Journal of Management* 16:329–41.
- Cooper-Thomas, Helena D., and Neil Anderson. 2006. Organizational socialization: A new theoretical model and recommendations for future research and HRM practices in organizations. *Journal of Managerial Psychology* 21:492–516.
- Crites, Stephen L., Leandre R., Fabrigar, and Richard E. Petty. 1994. Measuring the affective and cognitive properties of attitudes: Conceptual and methodological issues. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 20:619–34.
- Davis, Jody L., and Caryl E. Rusbult. 2001. Attitude alignment in close relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 81:65–84.
- DeVellis, Robert F. 2003. *Scale development: Theory and applications*, Vol. 26, 2nd ed. London: Sage.
- Dubois, Vincent. 2010. *The bureaucrat and the poor: Encounters in French welfare offices*. London and New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group.
- Eagly, Alice H., and Shelly Chaiken. 1993. *The psychology of attitudes*. Forth Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace and Company.
- Evans, Tony. 2011. Professionals, managers and discretion: Critiquing street-level bureaucracy. *British Journal of Social Work* 41:368–86.
- Evans, Tony. 2013. Organisational rules and discretion in adult social work. *British Journal of Social Work* 43:739–58.
- Evans, Tony. 2016. Professionals and discretion in street-level bureaucracy. In *Understanding street-level bureaucracy*, eds. Peter Hupe, Michael Hill, and Aurélien Buffat, 279–94. Bristol, UK: Policy Press.
- Fabrigar, Leandre R., and Richard E. Petty. 1999. The role of affective and cognitive bases of attitudes in susceptibility to affectively and cognitively based persuasion. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 25:363–81.
- Fernandez, Sergio. 2005. Developing and testing an integrative framework of public sector leadership: Evidence from the public education arena. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 15:197–217.
- Field, Andy P. 2013. *Discovering statistics using SPSS: And sex and drugs and rock 'n roll*, 4th ed. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
- Foldy, Erica G., and Tamara R. Buckley. 2010. Recreating street-level practice: The role of routines, work groups, and team learning. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 20:23–52.
- Gassner, Drorit, and Anat Gofen. 2018. Street-level management: A clientele-agent perspective on implementation. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 28:23–52.
- George, Bert, and Sanjay K. Pandey. 2017. We know the Yin—But where is the Yang? Towards a balanced approach on common source bias in Public Administration scholarship. *Review of Public Personnel Administration* 37:245–70.
- Goslinga, Sjoerd, Lisette van der Hel-van Dijk, Peter Mascini, and Albert van Steenberghe, eds. 2018. *Tax and trust: Institutions, interactions, and instruments*. The Hague, the Netherlands: Eleven International Publishing.
- Grimmelikhuijsen, Stephan, Sebastian Jilke, Asmus L. Olsen, and Lars Tummers. 2017. Behavioral public administration: Combining insights from public administration and psychology. *Public Administration Review* 77:45–56.
- House, Robert J. 1996. Path-goal theory of leadership: Lessons, legacy, and a reformulated theory. *The Leadership Quarterly* 7:323–52.
- Hupe, Peter, and Michael Hill. 2007. Street-level bureaucracy and public accountability. *Public Administration* 85:279–99.
- Huskinson, Thomas L. H., and Geoffrey Haddock. 2006. Individual differences in attitude structure and the accessibility of the affective and cognitive components of attitude. *Social Cognition* 24:453–68.
- Jensen, Ulrich T., Lotte B. Andersen, Louise L. Bro, Anne Bøllingtoft, Tine L. M. Eriksen, Ann-louise Holten, Christian B. Jacobsen, et al. 2019. Conceptualizing and measuring transformational and transactional leadership. *Administration & Society* 51:3–33.
- Jilke, Sebastian, and Lars G. Tummers. 2018. Which clients are deserving of help? A theoretical model and experimental test. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 28:226–38.
- Kark, Ronit, Boas Shamir, and Gilad Chen. 2003. The two faces of transformational leadership: Empowerment and dependency. *Journal of Applied Psychology* 88:246–55.
- Katz, Elihu. 1960. The functional approach to the study of attitudes. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 24:163–204.
- Keiser, Lael R. 2010. Understanding street-level bureaucrats' decision making: Determining eligibility in the social security disability program. *Public Administration Review* 70:247–57.
- Keulemans, Shelena, and Steven Van de Walle. Forthcoming. Street-level bureaucrats' attitude toward clients: A study of work group influence in the Dutch and Belgian tax administration. *Public Performance and Management Review*.
- Keulemans, Shelena, and Steven Van de Walle. 2018. Understanding street-level bureaucrats' attitude towards clients: Towards a measurement instrument. *Public Policy and Administration*. doi:10.1177/0952076718789749
- Kitchener, Martin, Ian Kirkpatrick, and Richard Whipp. 2000. Supervising professional work under new public management:

- Evidence from an 'invisible trade'. *British Journal of Management* 11:213–26.
- Krishnan, Venkat R. 2005. Transformational leadership and outcomes: Role of relationship duration. *Leadership & Organizational Development Journal* 26:442–57.
- Kroeger, Naomi. 1975. Bureaucracy, social exchange, and benefits received in a public assistance agency. *Social Problems* 23:182–96.
- Ledgerwood, Alison, and Y. Andre Wang. 2018. Achieving local and global shared realities: Distance guides alignment to specific or general social influences. *Current Opinion in Psychology* 23:62–65.
- Lipsky, Michael. 2010. *Street-level bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the individual in public service, 30th anniversary expanded edition*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Magee, Joe C., and Pamela K. Smith. 2013. The social distance theory of power. *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 17:158–86.
- Maio, Gregory R., and Geoffrey Haddock. 2015. *The psychology of attitudes and attitude change*, 2nd ed. London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Maynard-Moody, Steven W., and Michael C. Musheno. 2003. *Cops, teachers, counselors: Stories from the front lines of public service*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Northouse, Peter G. 2018. *Leadership: Theory and practice*, 8th ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Oberfield, Zachary W. 2014. Public management in time: A longitudinal examination of the full range of leadership theory. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 24:407–29.
- Podsakoff, Philip M., Scott B. MacKenzie, Robert H. Moorman, and Richard Fetter. 1990. Transformational leader behaviors and their effects on followers' trust in leader, satisfaction, and organizational citizenship behaviors. *The Leadership Quarterly* 1:107–42.
- Podsakoff, Philip M., and Dennis W. Organ. 1986. Self-reports in organizational research: Problems and prospects. *Journal of Management* 12:531–44.
- Prislin, Radmila, and Wendy Wood. 2005. Attitudes: Introduction and scope. In *The handbook of attitudes*, eds. Dolores Albarracín, Blair T. Johnson, and Mark P. Zanna, 671–706. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.
- Prottas, Jeffrey M. 1978. The power of the street-level bureaucrat in public service bureaucracies. *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 13:285–312.
- Raaphorst, Nadine J. 2017. *Uncertainty in bureaucracy: Toward a sociological understanding of frontline decision making*. PhD thesis., Rotterdam: Erasmus University Rotterdam.
- Rafferty, Alannah E., and Mark A. Griffin. 2004. Dimensions of transformational leadership: Conceptual and empirical extensions. *The Leadership Quarterly* 15:329–54.
- Rafferty, Alannah E., and Mark A. Griffin. 2006. Refining individualized consideration: Distinguishing developmental leadership and supportive leadership. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology* 79:37–61.
- Ricucci, Norma M. 2005. *How management matters: Street-level bureaucrats and welfare reform*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Rollag, Keith. 2004. The impact of relative tenure on newcomer socialization dynamics. *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 25:853–72.
- Rossignac-Milon, Maya, and E. Tory Higgins. 2018. Epistemic companions: Shared reality development in close relationships. *Current Opinion in Psychology* 23:66–71.
- Sandfort, Jodi R. 2000. Moving beyond discretion and outcomes: Examining public management from the front lines of the welfare system. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 10:729–56.
- Sandfort, Jodi R., Sook Jin Ong, and Catherine McKay. 2019. Performance management regimes in practice: Examining the local agencies implementing temporary assistance for needy families. *American Review of Public Administration* 49:145–58.
- Shamir, Boas, Robert J. House, and Michael B. Arthur. 1993. The motivational effects of charismatic leadership: A self-concept based theory. *Organization Science* 4:577–94.
- Simon, Herbert A. 1997. *Administrative behavior: A study of decision-making processes in administrative organizations*, 4th ed. New York, NY: The Free Press.
- Sinclair, Stacey, Jeffrey Huntsinger, Jeanine Skorinko, and Curtis D. Hardin. 2005. Social tuning of the self: Consequences for the self-evaluations of stereotype targets. *Interpersonal Relations and Group Processes* 89:160–75.
- Stone, Clarence N. 1981. Attitudinal tendencies among officials. In *The public encounter: Where state and citizen meet*, ed. Charles T. Goodsell, 43–68. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Taylor, Shelley E. 2006. Tend and befriend: Biobehavioral bases of affiliation under stress. *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 15:273–77.
- Van de Walle, Steven, and Sandra Groeneveld. 2011. New steering instruments: Trends in public sector practice and scholarship. In *Research in public policy analysis and management*, Vol. 21, eds. Sandra Groeneveld, and Steven Van de Walle, 205–14. Bingley, UK: Emerald.
- Van den Berg, H., Antony S. R. Manstead, Joop van der Pligt, and Daniël H. J. Wigboldus. 2005. The impact of affective and cognitive focus on attitude formation. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 42:373–79.
- Van Knippenberg, Daan, and Gerben A. van Kleef. 2016. Leadership and affect: Moving the hearts and minds of followers. *The Academy of Management Annals* 10:799–840.
- Van Knippenberg, Daan, and Sim B. Sitkin. 2013. A critical assessment of charismatic—transformational leadership research: Back to the drawing board? *The Academy of Management Annals* 7:1–60.
- Vinzant, Janet C., and Lane Crothers. 1998. *Street-level leadership: Discretion and legitimacy in front-line public service*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Watson, David, Lee A. Clark, and Auke Tellegen. 1988. Development and validation of brief measures of positive and negative affect: The PANAS Scales. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 54:1063–70.
- Winter, Søren C. 2002. Explaining street-level bureaucratic behavior in social and regulatory policies. Paper presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Boston, MA, August 29–September 1.
- Wright, Bradley E., and Sanjay K. Pandey. 2010. Transformational leadership in the public sector: Does structure matter? *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 20:75–89.
- Yukl, Gary. 1999. An evaluation of conceptual weaknesses in transformational and charismatic leadership theories. *The Leadership Quarterly* 10:285–305.
- Yukl, Gary. 2010. *Leadership in organizations*, 7th ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Zacka, Bernardo. 2017. *When the state meets the street: Public service and moral agency*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard university press.