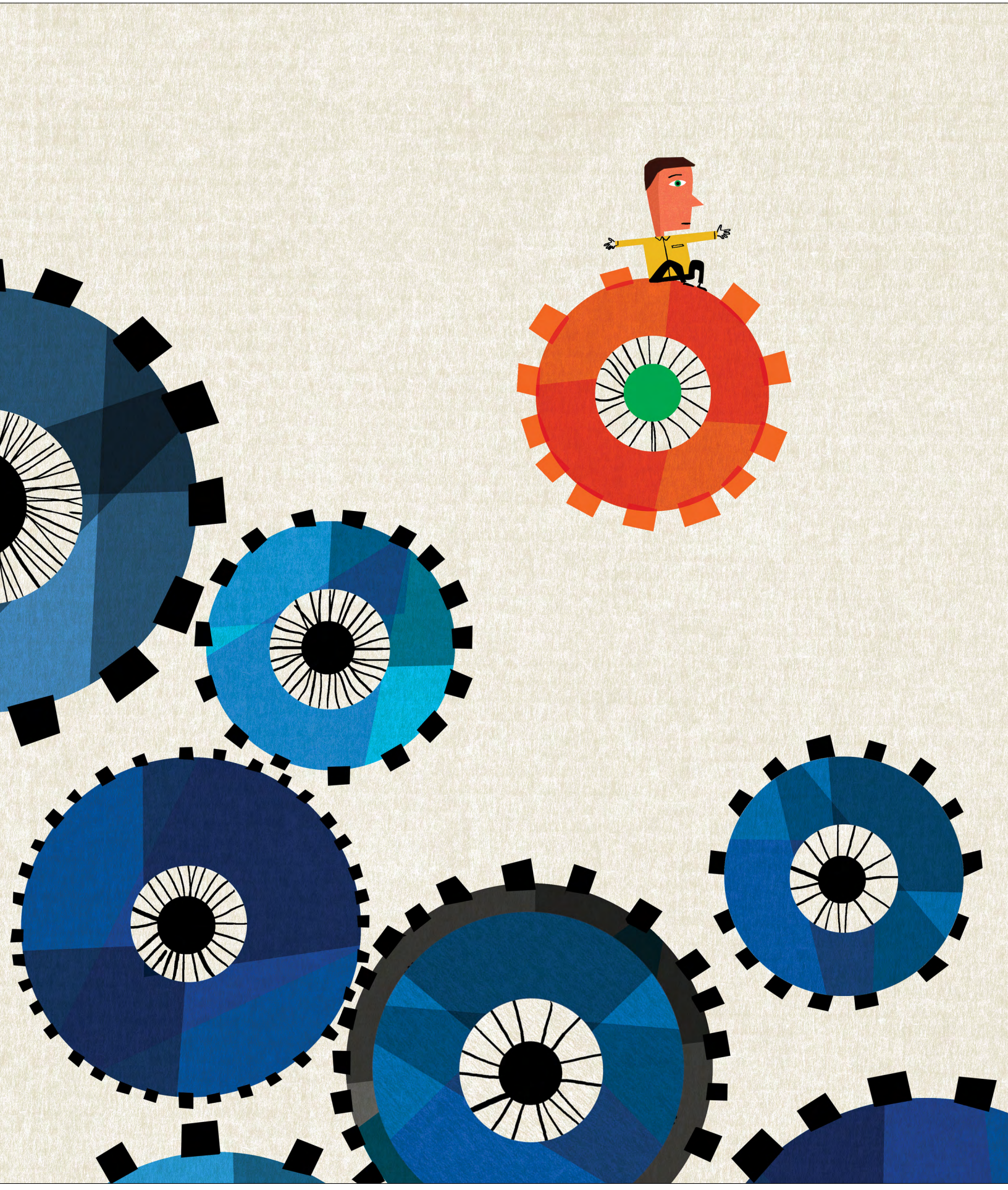


RETHINKING BUDGETING

Rethinking Strategic Planning

Rethinking the rules for more effective planning

BY SHAYNE KAVANAGH AND CHRIS MORRILL

About GFOA's Rethinking Budgeting Initiative

Local governments have long relied on incremental line-item budgeting, in which last year's budget becomes next year's with changes around the margins. In a world defined by uncertainty, this form of budgeting puts local governments at a disadvantage, hampering their ability to adapt to changing circumstances.

As we all know so well, the ability to adapt has become essential over the last two years—and will certainly remain so for some time. The premise of the Rethinking Budgeting initiative is that the public finance profession has an opportunity to update local government budgeting practices with new ways of thinking and new technologies to help communities better meet changing needs and circumstances. The Rethinking Budgeting initiative seeks out and shares unconventional but promising methods for local governments to improve how they budget, and how they embrace the defining issues of our time.

Strategic planning is a long-standing "best practice" in public finance. This is for good reason, as it is important to think strategically and long term in a volatile and resource-constrained environment. However, strategic planning, as it is commonly practiced, has limitations. This article, part of GFOA's **Rethinking Budgeting** initiative, calls into question fundamental underlying assumptions of traditional strategic planning and proposes a new approach that is better suited to meet the challenges governments face today.

The three unwritten rules of traditional strategic planning

Let's examine the conventional wisdom around strategic planning, which has three unwritten rules that often underpin how local governments approach it.

- Planning involves following prescribed steps, like developing a "vision statement."
- Planning and long-term thinking are done at a certain time, like once per year, as part of a planning process that precedes budgeting. It is done by certain people, like department directors, perhaps with support from budget staff.
- Long-term priorities should be stable over time, should cover all of what the organization does, and drive department actions.

These unwritten rules have consequences. Consider the first rule: Planning involves prescribed steps at certain times, like a vision statement, long-term goals, performance measures, etc. This might be the most harmful assumption. The routine steps of planning give a false sense of certainty about an uncertain future. The steps of planning serve as a (poor) substitute for strategies that will be robust under different possible futures. Further, as steps become routine, they tend to lose the connection to what might have made them valuable. For example, many people are familiar with the eye rolls and maybe even audible groans that accompany the mention of a "vision statement." These reactions are often well deserved, as many vision statements are generic boilerplate that could belong to any local government. However, a powerful vision is transformative to a local government, as we will explore later.

Overly routine planning can cause participants to become cynical about planning and long-term thinking. Routinized planning can become oriented toward producing a planning document and not making sure the process is meaningful. This can be a case of the "tail wagging the dog," where the "need" to produce a document diminishes the value of the process.

The second unwritten rule, that planning is done at certain times by certain people, often results in the compartmentalization of planning. For example, plans may be created by elected officials and executive leadership but seem irrelevant to the working lives of frontline staff and citizens (who sometimes have a better understanding of on-the-ground realities). The second unwritten rule positions planning as a top-down process, performed by "experts" (usually staff). Right or wrong, society has developed a distrust of experts.[1]

The COVID-19 pandemic has made obvious the limits of one part of the third unwritten rule: Long-term priorities should be stable over time. Putting aside COVID-19, local governments are in a volatile environment. For example, information technology brings rapid changes in the economy and social movements. This volatility means that governments and their plans are at added risk of failing to adapt to changing conditions. A government may feel committed to achieving the goals or tasks in a strategic plan, even as they become irrelevant due to changing conditions.

The other part of the third unwritten rule is: Strategies should cover everything the organization does and drive department actions. A strategic plan that tries to include the whole organization risks producing a bad strategy for three reasons: First, an effective strategy is focused on a limited set of the most important issues. Local governments often offer a broad set of services (and departments). Focused strategies will rarely cover everything a government does. Second, proceeding from the mindset that a plan must cover everything may cause the government to root strategies in what the government is already doing. This is because if every department is expected to have a goal or task related to the strategy, it is easier to do if the strategy is based on what they are already doing! In some cases, current capabilities might be a fine basis for a strategy; but in other cases, they may not. Third, the exercise to reach a comprehensive plan can be exhausting for all involved, stretching resources to the breaking point.

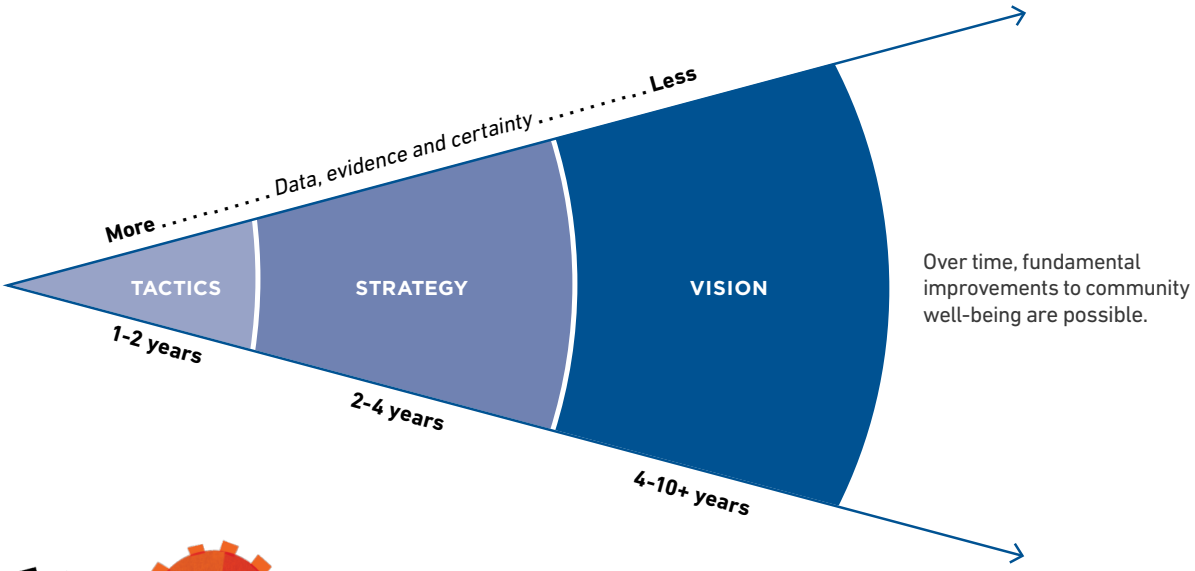
Let's look at how these rules may make strategic planning *counterproductive*, not just ineffective. Consider the following description of how strategic planning might work under the rules:

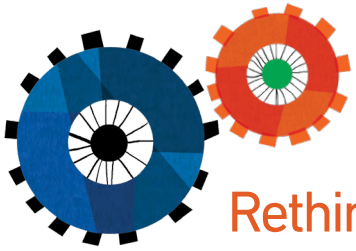
- The local government develops a strategic plan that has a list of tasks or goals (rule 1).
- Executive leadership then celebrates every quarter or so when they check off tasks as done—or they give a list of reasons why they were not done (rule 2).
- There is a chance that conditions changed since the plan was completed, so even if the local government finished all the tasks, it might not be any closer to achieving its goals, and it likely did not learn from those times when it failed (rule 3).
- Elected officials may put bonus programs in place for their chief appointed executive officer based on completing the strategic plan, creating an incentive to check off the boxes, even if they are no longer relevant (rules 1, 2, and 3).

As steps become routine, they tend to lose the connection to what might have made them valuable.

EXHIBIT 1 | THE TIME CONE*

The time cone shows us that tactics, strategy, and vision are all, simultaneously, part of strategic planning but receive different emphasis based on how far you are looking into the future.





Rethinking the Rules

Military theorist Carl von Clausewitz said: "No plan survives contact with the enemy." Boxer Mike Tyson had a more prosaic take: "Everybody has a plan until they get punched in the face." General Dwight D. Eisenhower's famous quote seemingly agrees with both, but adds: "Plans are nothing, planning is everything."

This means that detailed plan documents have limited value because they will become obsolete when the world changes. However, Eisenhower's point was that thinking about the future and how we might shape it is invaluable. A rethought planning process maximizes forward-thinking and continuous strategy development and minimizes detailed planning that "won't survive contact with the enemy." In that spirit, we will not offer a new set of rules. Rather, we will suggest design principles, summarized in the table below and explained after. Local governments can use the design principles to develop a planning process that fits their circumstances.

- Accept uncertainty
- Define the problem before defining the solution
- Provide focus by introducing constraints
- Develop a rolling planning process
- Make sure planning is collaborative
- Make sure planning is fair

1 Accept Uncertainty

Uncertainty is uncomfortable. Traditional strategic planning offers the comfort of a structured process, but it can't change that the future is largely unknowable. Accepting uncertainty doesn't mean giving up on planning or strategy. It means that the approach to planning and strategy must accept our limited knowledge of the future. For example, futurist Amy Webb advocates dispensing with timelines (a linear approach) and adopting time cones (an expansive, adaptive approach). We show a time cone in Exhibit 1. The left end is closer to the present, where the

* The concept of the time cone is originally from: Webb, A. (July 30, 2019). How to do strategic planning like a futurist. *Harvard Business Review.* GFOA has modified Webb's conception to better fit what we believe to be distinct circumstances of local governments compared to the private firms that were Webb's main audience.

near future is more predictable. To the right is the far future, which is less predictable. This implies that strategic planning should have different emphases at different time scales.

Four to 10+ years: VISION

The vision is an aspirational state for the community. It should be broad enough that it can conform to changes in strategy that go with newly elected leadership but not so broad as to be meaningless. The San Antonio 2020 vision threads this needle. It also has proven staying power: It has survived three changes in mayoral administrations. Collaboration across the community to form and maintain the vision has been key to the vision's longevity. Thousands of San Antonio citizens helped create the vision. Many public, private, and nonprofit organizations are active participants in moving the vision forward toward reality. You can read more about San Antonio's vision and comparable efforts in other communities in the GFOA report "Network Enterprises: An Information Age Solution to Enduring Problems?"[2]

Let's illustrate what a vision contributes to our discussion of strategy with examples from education and public safety. A community might have a vision for on-time graduation rates for a percentage of students (perhaps higher than the state average, for example). A community might want to reduce street-level violence, perhaps as measured by homicide or aggravated assault rates. Either of these could be further broken down to measure how other neighborhoods or populations are doing compared to the vision. Also, issues like graduation rates and street-level violence are likely to be ongoing concerns for communities that prioritize them.

Over time, good strategic planning can lead to a change in how these issues are addressed and to major improvements to community well-being. To explain, both graduation rates and street-level violence often have root causes in public health issues. Students who experience hunger or homelessness don't come to school ready to learn. Street-level violence often spreads through a community, much like a disease, and it can be countered using techniques from public health.[3] A strategic plan can offer the vehicle for combining public health resources with traditional education and public safety programs. There are also other opportunities for cross-disciplinary and cross-sector solutions to the complex problems that communities are faced with. A good strategic plan is a forum for convening the right players and coordinating their actions for a lasting impact.

Two to four years: STRATEGY

Strategy defines the direction and priorities for how the organization will achieve the vision. Two to four years is a proper time horizon for strategies because the future beyond two years is too fluid for tactics to be feasible. We use four years as an outer limit to correspond with the typical term of office for elected officials. The composition of a local government's elected leadership is a key determinant of direction and priorities. This is not to say strategies should never look more than four years ahead. Making a difference in the complex problems local governments are asked to deal with might take more than four years! Rather, planning should give special attention to the two- to four-year time horizon. If the public can see positive results in two to four years, people who support the strategy will likely be elected to office to continue the strategy.

Flexibility in Strategies Serves Metroparks

As the time cone suggests, planning should be careful about being overconfident about what the future holds. Planning can consider alternative futures and different strategies for those futures. Cleveland Metroparks has a 10-year planning horizon but emphasizes remaining flexible. William Chroba, CFO of Metroparks, says: "Imagine a highway—you can change lanes, but you have to stay within the guardrails." This was put into practice when declining revenues and supply chain problems during COVID-19 required the Metroparks to reconsider its capital construction strategy. Metroparks refocused on smaller projects that didn't require materials that were in short supply in order to make progress toward Metropark's larger vision.

We'll use our example of high school graduation and street-level violence to illustrate strategies. For graduation rates, a strategy might be to prevent or mitigate summer learning loss and to focus limited resources on kids at greatest risk of not graduating. For street-level violence, the strategy might be to prevent violence by identifying and interrupting the vectors along which violence starts. For example, in some communities, perceived slights can escalate to potentially deadly violence.

One to two years: TACTICS

Tactics are appropriate where there is more certainty about the environment. Examples might involve implementing new programs, abolishing obsolete or unaffordable programs, or fine-tuning existing services. Tactics have a direct connection to the budget but are not synonymous with it. Tactics are putting the strategy into action, and some actions may not fit neatly in the budget. For example, some local governments have used a "business plan" to establish tactics for two years while only developing a detailed annual budget. A business plan describes how strategies will be carried out and the tactics that will be pursued. Certainly, the budget should reflect the tactics, but planners remain aware that tactics could go beyond the budget. For example, tactics could be reflected in human resource practices, operational plans maintained by departments, and other management tools.

To illustrate what "tactics" look like, let's continue our earlier examples. For preventing summer learning loss and focusing limited resources, a school district might identify the subjects in which poor grades are predictive of graduation problems and concentrate summer learning programs on those subjects for students who don't do well. The district could build partnerships with organizations like libraries or local nonprofits that might help kids stay intellectually engaged during the summer.

For preventing violence by identifying and interrupting the vectors along which violence spreads, tactics might include:* 1) detecting and interrupting potentially violent conflicts, 2) identifying and treating people who are at highest risk of committing violence, and 3) mobilizing the community to change norms.

2 Define the problem before defining the solution

As part of strategic planning, local governments are often asked to face complex problems like degradation of the natural environment, increasing economic opportunities, reevaluating how public safety is provided, racial disparities, drug addiction, and more. In the GFOA paper "Defining the Problem: The Missing Piece to Local Government Planning," we show why the traditional planning process is unsuitable for complex problems.

READ THE REPORT

gfoa.org/materials/defining-the-problem

* These tactics are taken from Cure Violence, an evidence-based approach that has been implemented by several city governments. See: https://cvg.org/what-we-do

One reason is that the traditional process is linear. The underlying assumption is that the future will look like the past and incremental adjustments are made in revenues and expenditures from year to year. As Exhibit 1 showed, a strategic planning process should not assume linear time scales.

Defining the problem allows the government to understand the causes of the problem. With the root causes identified, solutions will be easier to find. Let's continue with high school graduation rates as an illustration of finding and acting on root causes. We can start by finding out the subjects in which poor grades are most predictive of graduation problems. For example, one school district found that students who do not pass algebra and physics in ninth grade tend not to complete high school. Looking deeper, the district realized that poor math skills were a cause of struggles in algebra and physics. Hence, students who don't do well in middle school math classes were unlikely to do well in ninth grade algebra or physics. This led to a program called "Grade 8.5," where kids who don't meet benchmarks in eighth grade math are invited to attend summer school at the high school they will be attending in the fall to revisit key math skills, become familiar with the school and teachers, and learn the study skills for success in high school. Grade 8.5 was adopted districtwide after it was proven by a pilot program at one of the district's largest high schools. The district looked back in the chain of events to intervene before students struggle with middle school math. This led to the creation of Grade 5.5. Fifth grade students who are likely to struggle in middle school attend a summer course that helps them adapt to the routines they will encounter in middle school, such as having their own locker, working with many teachers throughout the day, and pre-teaching literacy and math skills necessary for transition to middle school.

Our example is not a full definition of the problem. There is more to on-time graduation than math skills. The district this example was adapted from pursued root cause analysis on other contributors to graduations rates as well. GFOA's "Defining the Problem" explains the benefits of defining the problem and how to do it. The main takeaway of this article is that local government budget officers should design a process that includes problem definition as a key part of planning.

How can leaders maintain credibility while embracing uncertainty?

Leadership credibility is often associated with providing people with certainty about the future direction of an organization. Leaders can maintain credibility with their team while embracing uncertainty by:

- Helping team members understand and accept that the future is uncertain. Stories from the organization's history of how changing conditions demanded change from the organization can help.
- Working with team members to develop options to respond to a changing future and not rely on a single strategy.
- Helping the team make sense of information about a changing strategic environment.
- Assuring the team that while the leader is uncertain about the way forward, the leader is confident in the team members' skills and abilities to determine the right course.

3 Provide focus by introducing constraints

A risk in strategic planning is trying to cover too much. For example, there may be a belief that every department has to be covered in the plan. Or there may be many issues facing the community with a wish to address them all. However, a local government only has so much capacity to act. A planning process needs to identify the most important strategies and, of those, the ones that give the local government (and its partners) the best chance for success.

You can provide focus by introducing constraints on what the strategic planning process will consider. Constraints can be a filter to remove some strategies from consideration and highlight trade-offs between different strategies. That filter can take the form of criteria used to judge what strategies to take on. Important criteria include:[4]

- **Legitimacy and support.** This speaks to support among elected officials and the extent to which a strategy is politically acceptable. Beyond that, it speaks to the presence of broad and deep support for taking on a strategy. This is crucial for aligning the authority and money needed to see the strategy through.
- **Operational capacity.** The local government can enact the strategy and maintain it over the time necessary to get results. The capabilities might include human resources, financial, administrative, technological, and so on. These could be held by the local government itself or partner organizations.
- **Public value.** The strategy has the potential to make a positive difference in the lives of stakeholders at a reasonable cost. This could include the evidence in favor of the strategy being effective to achieve the vision. Strategies that address root causes or prevent problems from occurring in the

first place are often more valuable. For example, ensuring students are reading at grade level by the third grade will not only positively impact on-time graduation rates but also future crime rates.[5]

Speaking of evaluation criteria, veteran budgeteers may wonder how a focused strategy could serve as a filter for deciding where to allocate money in the budget. If strategies should be focused on a limited number of critical problems, then much of the local government's operations will not be related to the strategy. If that's the case, how do you evaluate budget requests, many of which will concern operations that fall outside of the strategic focus? First, if a strategy is focused, it helps identify the most valuable budget requests. It helps prevent "strategic alignment" from becoming a box-checking exercise, where every request is related to the strategy in some way. That said, local government will always have responsibility for day-to-day services, and those services may not necessarily be "strategic." Budget requests that don't support the strategy could be evaluated on their potential for maintaining acceptable standards for day-to-day services.

This model of strategic planning will be more successful for governments that approach budgeting as funding services and outcomes rather than funding departments. Our examples of focusing on education or crime as strategies require a multidepartment—or even multisector—approach to make sustainable progress. Improving on-time graduation rates as a strategy could be supported by programs in the libraries, parks and recreation, social services, and nonprofit agencies.

4 Develop a rolling planning process

Strategic plans should avoid over-specifying long-term goals that will be rendered obsolete by changing conditions. Further, the time cone (Exhibit 1) tells us that strategy cannot be thought of as a straight line. Rather, adjustments will need to be made to respond to changing conditions. A rolling planning process should precede budgeting to update strategies and tactics, as seen in Exhibit 1. The goal is not to produce a new "strategic plan" but rather to guide the budget process about where resources should be allocated.

Specifically, the goals of a rolling plan are twofold. First, refine the strategies to consider the changing conditions and priorities. Perhaps conditions have changed such that your underlying assumptions are less certain or more certain. Or maybe there are new opportunities or new problems to be considered. An example of the former might be a new grant that makes a strategy more cost-effective than it was before. An example of the latter might be that one of your strategies is not producing the results you thought it would. For instance, perhaps not enough kids are taking part in summer learning programs to make a big difference in graduation rates. Or perhaps a partnership with a local nonprofit to deliver the programs is not working well. This might mean adjusting or abandoning old strategies in favor of something more suitable to the changed conditions.

Second, confirm the tactics that will be addressed in the budget. This should flow from your refined strategies. Let's continue our case of improving high school graduation rates. If the definition of the problem suggests a "Grade 8.5" and "Grade 5.5" program, like our example school district, then the budget should provide funding for pilot programs to try the strategies and for continued funding if the pilots prove successful.

A rolling planning process could become administratively burdensome if it tries to do too much. The rolling plan just needs to guide what to fund in the budget and make sure that the

EXHIBIT 2 | ROLLING PLAN, THE BUDGET, AND A COMPARISON TO OTHER APPROACHES

strategies stay relevant to changing realities. Some elements of strategic planning do not need to be revisited every year:

- **The vision.** There should not be a need to change the vision from year to year.
- **Definition of the problems that planning is meant to address.** Earlier, we advocated for defining the problem before defining solutions. This does not mean that the problem needs to be re-litigated each year. A problem can be analyzed once, then strategies developed, allies recruited to help, and strategies and partnerships refined from year to year.

Of course, these items need to be updated at some point, but when? One approach might be to expand the planning process to address these items at the start of elected officials' terms of office. Each local government will have to decide what will work best. For some, it might work well to align with the term of a chief elected official, like a mayor. For others, it might be better to align with the terms of a larger governing board.

Beware of Overcorrecting the Course

One risk of a rolling plan is overreacting to short-term changes in the environment. If you define the problem and its root causes, you can use the results as your North Star or touchstone each year. Does a change in the environment call into question the nature of the problem? In most cases, probably not. A change may call for refinement to the strategy or tactics but not a total revision.

Exhibit 2 shows how a rolling plan interacts with a budget. It shows that a rolling plan could involve more steps than the conventional approach to strategic planning, especially in a volatile environment. The benefit is that the rolling plan will be better for guiding budget decisions. If the environment remains stable, though, the rolling plan and the conventional approach will need similar levels of effort. This is because the strategies and tactics will not need as much updating.

5 Make sure planning is collaborative

For planning to have a positive impact, it must be collaborative. The reason is simple: If people are involved in planning, then they are more likely to be committed to the strategies that planning produces. If they are simply handed the strategies and told "do it," then their commitment will likely be half-hearted at best. There should be plenty of ways to involve others in planning. Here are some examples:

- Surveys can be used to discover the issues that are of great concern to the community, including subgroups within the community (such as minority groups), to make sure the whole community is represented.
- Defining the problem can involve a range of stakeholders inside and outside of government. The Rethinking Budgeting report "The Accountability Trap" gives an example of a process called "Turn the Curve" to do just that.
- A wide range of stakeholders can be involved in developing strategies. "The Accountability Trap" discusses how to create a high-performing, collaborative environment.
- Elected officials and department heads can be involved in rolling updates to refine strategies and tactics each year.

These examples are not intended to be exhaustive. Local governments can find other ways to make strategic planning collaborative. The Rethinking Budgeting initiative will offer other guidance on public engagement at gfoa.org/materials/rethinking-public-engagement.

READ THE REPORT

gfoa.org/materials/accountability-trap

5 Make sure planning is fair

Fairness is easy to overlook in an expert-driven, top-down planning process. If the process is not perceived as fair, it will not have support. The two core elements of fairness are procedural and distributive justice.

Procedural justice concerns whether the process itself is perceived as fair. Are the decision-makers being objective and neutral? Is it clear how the process works? Are participants treated with dignity, and do they have a voice? Procedural justice is critical because people are more willing to accept a decision or action that goes against their self-interest when they perceive that the process that led to the decision was fair. Here are the features of a procedurally just process and how strategic planning could fulfill these features:

- **Decisions are based on accurate information.** This feature can be met by defining the problem before defining the solution. This creates a shared definition of the problem for all participants.
- **A transparent and consistent set of decision-making criteria is applied equally to everyone.** We described three criteria that could

be used to filter potential strategies. There will likely be other points in a strategic planning process where a range of options has to be narrowed down. Transparent and consistent criteria can be defined for those decision points too.

- **All affected stakeholders are given the opportunity for input.** In the design criteria of collaborative decision-making, we described several options for getting stakeholder input. Our discussion of distributive justice, coming next, also has implications for stakeholder engagement.
- **Mistakes are recognized and corrected.** A rolling planning process refines the strategies that will be followed and the tactics that will be funded in the budget. Inherent in this refinement is evaluating what is working and what is not. Remember, perception is critical: Stakeholders must be aware that this evaluation cycle exists for it to impact their perceptions of fairness.

Distributive justice concerns how resources are allocated. Distributive justice is determined by comparing the "actual reward" of some resource to our internal belief of a "just reward."[6] There are two parts of strategic planning where distributive justice comes into play.

The first is deciding what community problems and strategies to focus on. For example, if the concerns of a minority group are consistently sidelined and go unaddressed by planning, then that group will believe the process is unfair and may result in them not participating in planning. The solution to this problem could be a collaborative planning process that gives the entire community opportunity to influence planning and ensures that concerns from every segment of the community have equal opportunity for consideration.

The second part is how the strategies impact the budget. For example, if the strategies are perceived to overwhelmingly "benefit" the budget of one department, then perceptions of unfairness will arise. Of course, if you focus planning on certain issues, some departments will surely have a greater role in the strategies than others. A possible solution is to create an opportunity for cross-departmental strategies and tactics. Not only will this counteract feelings of unfairness, but it will also likely generate better solutions. After all, the solutions to the complex problems local government strategic planning must deal with are rarely contained in a single department. To explain, let's consider our example of street-level violence. Cities that have used the approach we outlined often involve the public health department, not just the police department. This is because violence has many similarities to disease, and public health departments have experience with disease prevention.

Adopting a mindset that complex problems require multidisciplinary solutions can open up chances for multiple departments to contribute to the strategy via their day-to-day activities. For example, for either improving community safety or graduation rates, parks and recreation, libraries, social services, police, and fire all might have a role.

How the budget is distributed to different parts of the community could be an issue: Some parts of the community may be consistently underserved. This could be addressed by separating the vision to focus on different geographies or populations. For graduation rates, there could be large gaps between different racial groups, so resources could be focused in that way. Or perhaps some schools struggle more with graduation rates than others, so more help could be provided to those schools.

It is also important to consider who needs what services. Street-level violence is a greater problem in some neighborhoods than others, typically low-income or mostly minority neighborhoods. So distributive justice may require identifying the needs of marginalized groups and how to meet those needs.

Conclusion

Good strategy is essential for a local government budget to give the public the best value from their tax dollars. A good strategy identifies issues of great importance to the community and provides an effective means by which those issues can be addressed. However, the conventional approach to strategic planning often prevents good strategy and forestalls adapting to changing conditions. Strategic planning that is focused on producing a plan may be rendered obsolete by changing conditions. Strategic planning that is focused on iterative planning and producing flexible strategies that is responsive to changing conditions has a better chance of producing good strategies—strategies that are relevant, responsive, and inclusive of issues facing the community. In this article, we outlined some design principles to help local governments put into place such a planning process.

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[1] Cary Funk, Alec Tyson, Brian Kennedy and Courtney Johnson. "Scientists are among the most trusted groups in society, though many value practical experience over expertise". Pew Research Center September 29, 2020. https://www.pewresearch.org/science/2020/09/29/scientists-are-among-the-most-trusted-groups-in-society-though-many-value-practical-experience-over-expertise

[2] Kavanagh, S. (November 2020). "Network Enterprises—An Information Age Solution to Enduring Problems?" Government Finance Officers Association. https://www.gfoa.org/materials/network-enterprises

[3] This is the essence of the "Cure Violence" approach, a proven method of violence reduction. See: https://cvg.org/what-we-do

[4] Criteria inspired by: Moore, M. H. (1997). Creating Public Value: Strategic Management in Government. Harvard University Press.

[5] https://www.begintoread.com/research/literacystatistics.html

[6] Jasso, G., Törnblom, K. Y. & Sabbagh, C. (2016). Distributive justice. In: Sabbagh, C. & Schmitt. M. (eds) Handbook of Social Justice Theory and Research. Springer, New York, NY. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4939-3216-0_11