Evaluating Public Value Failure in the Nonprofit Context:

An Interpretive Case Study of Food Banking in the U.S.

by

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ABSTRACT

In the U.S., one of the most affluent countries in the world, hunger and food waste are two social problems that coexist in an ironic way. Food banks have become one key alternative solution to those problems because of their capacity to collect and distribute surplus food to those in need as well as to mobilize collective efforts of various organizations and citizens. However, the understanding of U.S. food banking remains limited due to research gaps in the literature. Previous public values research fails to address the key role of nonprofit organizations in achieving public values, while prior nonprofit and food bank studies suffer from insufficiently reflecting the value-driven nature in evaluating overall social impacts. Inspired by these gaps, this study asks the following question: how does food banking in the U.S. respond to public value failure?

To address this question, this study employs the interpretive approach as the logic of inquiry and the public value mapping framework as the analytic tool to contemplate the overall social impacts of U.S. food banking. Data sources include organizational documents of 203 U.S. food banks, as well as other public documents and literature pertaining to U.S. food banks.

Using public value mapping analysis, this study constructs a public value logic, which manifests the dynamics of prime and instrumental values in the U.S. food banking context. Food security, sustainability, and progressive opportunity are identified as three core prime public values. Instrumental values in this context consist of two major value categories: (1) intra-organizational values and (2) inter-and ultra-organizational values. Furthermore, this study applies public value failure criteria to examine success or failure of public values in this context. U.S. Food banks do contribute to the success of public

sphere, progressive opportunity, sustainability and food security. However, the practice of U.S. food banks also lead to the failure of food security in some conditions. This study develops a new public value failure criterion based on the inherent limitations of charitable service providers. Main findings, contributions, and future directions are discussed.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Background

In the U.S., one of the most affluent countries in the world, there are two social problems that coexist in an ironic way. On the one hand, a significant number of people, including vulnerable children and seniors, do not have enough food to eat and oftentimes go to bed hungry; on the other hand, an enormous amount of food, while still edible, is being wasted every day. According to the most recent United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) report (Coleman-Jensen, Rabbitt, Gregory, & Singh, 2016), during the year of 2015, 12.7 percent of all U.S. households (about 42 million Americans) encounter different levels of food insecurity—the condition when one or more household members cannot have sufficient and nutritious food sources. At the same time, in the U.S. approximately 63 billion tons of food are wasted and end up in landfills every year (ReFED, 2016). These large-scale social problems, to a large extent, result in the manifestation of public value failure, the condition "when neither the market nor the public sector provides goods and services required to achieve core public values" (Bozeman, 2002, p. 150).

U.S. Food banks, the warehouse-based, charity practice of collecting surplus food and distributing to their partner agencies and then to the hands of those in need, seems to become an alternative solution to the hunger and food waste problems and accompanying public value failure (Daponte & Bade, 2006; Poppendieck, 1998; Pringle, 2013). U.S. Food banks do not function merely as a complement to public assistance programs but have gradually become the central institutional actor in the local charitable food

assistance network, mobilizing the collective efforts of various public, nonprofit, for-profit organizations and citizens to achieve core public values, such as food security (solving the hunger problem) and sustainability (preventing the food waste problem) (Curtis & McClellan, 1995; Daponte & Bade, 2006; Warshawsky, 2010). According to Feeding America, the largest nationwide association of U.S. food banks, in 2015 their food bank affiliates rescued 2.8 billion pounds of food and provided 4 billion meals to those in need (Feeding America, 2016). However, as U.S. food banks have grown significantly in terms of scales and client numbers, it is still difficult and complicated to evaluate their overall social impacts while so far many people still suffer from food security. Hence, there is a pressing need for a more in-depth understanding of this social phenomenon.

Research Question Statement

Do current studies provide enough answer for understanding U.S. food banks? This research argues that there are research gaps in public values and nonprofit and food bank literatures which significantly impede the in-depth understanding of how food banking in the U.S. responds to core social problems and related public value failure.

Public values (PVs) research in general and the public value mapping (PVM) approach in particular (Bozeman, 2002, 2007; Bozeman & Sarewitz, 2011) have one major pitfall. That is, the literature fails to address the nonprofit sector as one key alternative for resolving public values failure. Although the original conception of public values theory (Beck Jørgensen & Bozeman, 2007; Bozeman, 2007) has declared that government is not the sole sector having public value obligations, prior PVs research predominantly focuses on issues pertaining to the public sector or public policies. The

nonprofit sector, which contributes significantly to various public purposes and values, is seldom mentioned in the PVs research agenda. PVM studies, which aim to evaluate organizational social impacts and public values accomplishment, also limit the applications in science and technology policy without exploring public value failure in the nonprofit context. This theoretical deficit, while ignoring the need for collaborative efforts of multiple sectors, could lead to an incomplete design of solutions to public value failure issues.

With regard to nonprofit studies, there is one important gap in the existing scholarship. Current efforts of evaluating social impacts or contributions of nonprofit organizations fail to highlight the normative and charitable values-based nature of nonprofit organizations (e.g., Rothschild & Milofsky, 2006; Salamon, 2012). The business-like, market-based rationale has prevailed the theory and practice of the nonprofit sector (Eikenberry, 2009; Maier, Meyer, & Steinbereithner, 2016). Hence, research about social impact assessment of nonprofit organizations tends to emphasize the monetary, economic value added to society, failing to underscore the normative and charitable values-based nature of the nonprofit sector.

Food bank studies have pointed out advantages and disadvantages of food banking (Bazerghi, McKay, & Dunn, 2016; Poppendieck, 1998; Riches, 2011). Nevertheless, there is one major gap. Prior studies mainly focus on clients' nutrition issues and whether food banks help achieve food security or not, failing to employ values-based evaluative frameworks to assess food banks' overall social impacts related to various aspects of values in the society.

All these gaps contribute to an incomplete and thin understanding of food banking in the U.S. The value dynamics, interrelationships of values, and potential success/failure of core public values in the U.S. food banking context cannot be captured in current research. In order to address the above gaps, there is an urgent need to better integrate these literatures and contemplate how U.S. food banks respond to critical social problems and associated public value failure. This research asks the following questions: **how does food banking in the U.S. respond to public value failure?**

To address the above question, this study adopts an interpretive approach to an in-depth understanding of food banking in the U.S. as the core social phenomena of interest. There are three key steps. First, the interpretive logic of inquiry serves as the guiding logic of inquiry that recognizes the notion of multiple social realities, which fits well the social construction nature of public values. Contextuality and abductive way of thinking are emphasized in understanding the specific U.S. food banking context. Second, organizational documents, other public documents, and scholarly literature about U.S. food banks are collected for the interpretive analysis. Third, this study incorporates its interpretation into the public value mapping (PVM) framework (Bozeman, 2007; Bozeman & Sarewitz, 2011) to evaluate the overall social impacts of food banking in the U.S. Through the application of PVM analysis, this study identifies three core prime public values: food security, sustainability, and progressive opportunity. The public value logic is developed to understand the interrelationships of prime and instrumental values in the U.S. food banking context. After that, this study examines the U.S. food bank case by applying public value failure criteria and further develops a new public value failure criterion (limitations of charitable providers).

Three main findings are identified. First, the complex value dynamic of the public value logic in the U.S. food banking case demonstrates distinguishing characteristics, such as the charitable, collaborative, bottom-up, and community-based efforts. Second, U.S. food banks function as the very example of a public value enabling institution, the platform that promotes open communication and deliberation about public values issues and collective solutions. Third, this study argues that we should appreciate the charity spirit and efforts in achieving public values, but recognize the limitations of the charity practices. For the U.S. food banking issue, one possible solution is a collaborative effort involving different actors but without putting food banks as the central actor.

This research is significant in the following aspects. First, this research advances the public value mapping scholarship by broadening its usage to the nonprofit sector. This cross-sectoral approach enables the literature to design more comprehensive solutions including various sectoral actors to public value failure. Second, this research applies the public value mapping model to the assessment of nonprofit organizations' social impacts or overall contributions to the society, offering a counterpart for the prevalent market-driven social impact evaluation methods in nonprofits studies, which better reflects the values-driven nature of the nonprofit sector. Third, in addition to theoretical contributions, this research has implications for policy makers and practices as well. Specifically, policy makers cannot avoid governmental responsibility in the hunger and food waste problems. Food bank practitioners can utilize the results of this research to better understand their organization's social impacts.

Chapter Arrangement

The introduction chapter intends to lay out the research background and the research questions statement and its significance. After introduction, the second chapter focuses on the review of two broader areas of research relevant to this research: (1) public values and (2) the nonprofit sector in general and food banks in particular. The literature review chapter documents the main development, research gaps of each literature, and how those gaps led to this research. The third chapter discusses research design rationales, procedures, and the brief contour of the U.S. food banking case. This research first addresses the methodological foundations of the interpretive approach and how it fits this research's purpose and core concepts. After that, this research addresses the data sources and methods used for data analysis. Then this research briefly describes the history and the current status of U.S. food banks. The fourth chapter, public value mapping analysis, include the following major steps: identifying core public values, developing the public value logic, applying public value failure criteria, and displaying a public value mapping grid. The final chapter is the discussion and conclusion chapter. First, this research points out three main findings. Second, this research addresses theoretical contributions and practical implications. Third, limitations and future directions are addressed.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Public Values Literature

The Development of Public Values Studies

The major literature this research seeks to respond and advance is public values research in public administration. The idea of values, as "essentially contested concepts" (Gallie, 1955), remains one of the most frequently used but relatively less understood concepts in both public discourse and social sciences research. The ambiguity of the values concept mainly results from its nature: values represent individuals' complex evaluative judgment or enduring belief of personally or socially preferable objects, mode of conduct, or end-state of existence (Bozeman, 2007; Gaus, 1990; Rokeach, 1973). The above issues notwithstanding, scholars from various disciplines still show recurring interests on the research of values because values have the potential to, for the individual level, guide and rationalize human action and shape self-identity, and, for the collective level, influence organizational operation and decision-making and depict the normative ideals of a good society (E. Anderson, 1993; Bozeman, 2007; Joas, 2000; Rescher, 1969; Schwartz, 1994). Specifically, while individual values may only influence personal choices or life styles, the topic of public values—the normative consensus about what kind of collective values a good society should promote and safeguard (Beck Jørgensen & Bozeman, 2007; Bozeman, 2007)—has broader and deeper impacts for the general public and all the sectors in the society.

The study of values is not new at all in public administration (R. A. Dahl, 1947; Luther Gulick, 1937; Simon, 1976; Waldo, 1984) as well as other humanities and social

science disciplines (Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004; Rokeach, 1973; Spates, 1983). However, in recent years, the topic of public values has become a burgeoning interest in public administration and management research (Bryson, Crosby, & Bloomberg, 2014; Davis & West, 2009; Van der Wal, 2016; Van der Wal, Nabatchi, & de Graaf, 2015). For example, by conducting a systematic literature review, Van der Wal and colleagues (2015) find that more than 60% of the public values studies they identified were published between 2000 and 2012 (p. 18). The development of the public values literature is mainly a response to the insufficiency and problems of New Public Management discourse dominated by market-driven and economic individualism rationales, seeking to bring values-related issues back to the centrality of public administration research (Beck Jørgensen & Rutgers, 2015; Bozeman, 2007; Bryson et al., 2014; Stoker, 2006; West & Davis, 2011). As Beck Jørgensen and Bozeman (2007) claim, "There is no more important topic in public administration and policy than public values" (p. 355).

Several approaches to public values research have been developed, including two major trajectories: (1) managerial-focused public value (PV, value in the singular form) creation studies (e.g., Alford & O'Flynn, 2009; Geuijen, Moore, Cederquist, Ronning, & van Twist, 2017; Moore, 1995, 2013; Williams & Shearer, 2011) and (2) the development of normative public values (PVs, values in the plural form) criteria and policy applications (e.g., Bozeman & Johnson, 2015; Bozeman & Sarewitz, 2005, 2011; Bozeman, 2002, 2007; Feeney & Bozeman, 2007). While some scholars articulate the differences between public value (in the singular form) and public values (in the plural form) (e.g., Beck Jørgensen & Rutgers, 2015; Davis & West, 2009; Nabatchi, 2012), still

others do not insist the distinction or try to integrate both approaches into their research (e.g., Bryson, Crosby, & Bloomberg, 2015; Bryson, Sancino, Benington, & Sørensen, 2017). This research offers an overview of these two approaches but the major focus of this research is on the public values (PVs) approach.

The public value (PV) approach primarily follows Mark H. Moore's book titled *Creating Public Value* (Moore, 1995). Albeit without a clear definition, he considers public value as what the government creates for the public and public value creation needs to have purposes that are "publicly valuable…politically and legally supported…and administratively and operationally feasible" (Moore, 1995, p. 22). Moore develops a strategic triangle framework aiming to identify operational capacity, the authorizing environment, and desired public value outcomes (Benington & Moore, 2011, p. 5; Moore, 1995, pp. 70 – 73). Overall, the PV approach emphasizes how to improve management practices of creating (or co-creating) publicly valuable outcomes for citizens and other stakeholders (Alford & O'Flynn, 2009; Benington, 2009, 2011; Benington & Moore, 2011; Moore, 1995, 2013, 2014; for overview and current research agenda of the public value approach see Williams & Shearer, 2011; Hartley, Alford, Knies, & Douglas, 2017) and promotes public value management (or governance) as a new governance approach that deals with the problems created by the market-oriented New Public Management discourses (Alford & Hughes, 2008; Bryson et al., 2014; Geuijen et al., 2017; O' Flynn, 2007; Stoker, 2006; Talbot, 2009). However, some contend that the public value management approach is more like a new way to use old management practices (Cole & Parston, 2006) and may even reinforce the neoliberal rationale and downsize the democracy (A. Dahl & Soss, 2014).

By contrast, the public values (PVs) approach has defined "public values" in a more explicit way. For example, one of the leading scholars in PVs studies, Barry Bozeman, defines public values as:

> those providing normative consensus about (a) the rights, benefits, and prerogatives to which citizens should (and should not) be entitled; (b) the obligations of citizens to society, the state, and one another; and (c) the principles on which governments and policies should be based (Bozeman, 2007, p. 13).

More recently, Rutgers (2015) revisits several key characteristics of the public values concept, offering another encompassing definition of public values:

> Public values are enduring beliefs in the organization of and activities in a society that are regarded as crucial or desirable—positively or negatively—for the existence, functioning, and sustainability of that society—instant or distant—the well-being of its members—directly or indirectly, and present and/or future—in reference to an—implicit or explicit—encompassing normative ideal of human society—the Good Society, the Common Wealth, the General Interest—that give meaning, direction, and legitimation to collective action as they function as arguments in the formulation, legitimation, and evaluation of such—proposed or executed—collective actions. They may or may not be posed or embraced by either an individual, collectives, and/or the entire political community, thus create consensus, or be the object of debate and twist (Rutgers, 2015, p. 40).

According to these two definitions, the conception of public values is related to the normative consensus (Bozeman, 2007) and enduring beliefs (Rutgers, 2015) of the society as a whole, which manifests the inherently normative nature of the PVs approach (Beck Jørgensen & Rutgers, 2015; Bozeman & Johnson, 2015). Moreover, the public values concept highlights the role of members in the society (citizens) concerning their rights and obligations, and how collective actions and policies should be formed to achieve an ideal society.

Another important characteristic of the public values concept is that it goes beyond traditional definition of the "public" concept which only focuses on the realms within governmental organizations. The idea of "public" is not restricted in governmental organizations but more like a dimensional publicness conception (Bozeman, 1987; Bozeman & Moulton, 2011). As Beck Jørgensen and Bozeman (2007) claim, public values are not governmental because the roots of public values are located not merely in government but in the broader society and culture constituted by various individuals and groups (pp. 373-374). They further argue that, although governments play a primary role in guarding public values of the society, "public values are not the exclusive province of government, nor is government the only set of institutions having public value obligations" (pp. 373-374). Thus, other sectors (i.e., the nonprofit and the private sectors) also have public values obligations to achieve desired public values and public interest of the society as a whole.

During recent years, the PVs scholarship has developed several main directions. In Beck Jørgensen and Rutgers's term (2015), rather than a singular approach, the Public

Values Perspective (PVP) encompasses a variety of theoretical and methodological studies that adopt public values as the core concept, reflecting "the normativity of the public sector" (p. 9). The first stream of research is the public value mapping (PVM) studies, which include the development of normative public values failure criteria (Bozeman & Johnson, 2015; Bozeman, 2002, 2007), public value mapping model (Bozeman, 2007; Bozeman & Sarewitz, 2011; Welch, Rimes, & Bozeman, 2015), and the applications to different policy areas (e.g., D. M. Anderson & Taggart, 2016; Bozeman & Sarewitz, 2005; Feeney & Bozeman, 2007; Fisher, Slade, Anderson, & Bozeman, 2010; Slade, 2011). The second one is to identify and categorize public values in general (Andersen, Beck Jørgensen, Kjeldsen, Pedersen, &Vrangbæk, 2012; Beck Jørgensen & Bozeman, 2007; Rutgers, 2008), or in a specific milieu (Beck Jørgensen & Sørensen, 2013; Casey, 2015; de Bruijn & Dicke, 2006; Reynaers, 2013; Reynaers & De Graaf, 2014) or country (Beck Jørgensen, 2007; Samaratunge & Wijewardena, 2009; Vrangbæk, 2009), or in a cross-sector comparison (Van der Wal, De Graaf, & Lasthuizen, 2008; Van der Wal, Huberts, Van den Heuvel, & Kolthoff, 2006; Van der Wal & Huberts, 2008). The third one is to contemplate the interactions or conflicts of public values. For example, some try to identify value hierarchies in specific contexts, seeking to how public managers decide which public value is more important than others (Witesman & Walters, 2014, 2015). Scholars also have theoretical debates regarding the pluralist nature of values in public administration (de Graaf, 2015; Overeem & Verhoef, 2014, 2015, Spicer, 2014, 2015; Talisse, 2015; Wagenaar, 2014) or seek to find more practical guidelines for dealing with public value conflicts (de Graaf, Huberts, & Smulders, 2014;

de Graaf & Paanakker, 2015; de Graaf & van der Wal, 2010; Oldenhof, Postma, & Putters, 2014).

Given the diverse research directions mentioned above, prior PVs studies mainly focus on public values issues in the public sector, and to some extent equate public values with public sector values (for one exception addressing the nonprofit sector see Moulton & Eckerd, 2012). It is an understandable development because (1) the government does have a special, pivotal role in safeguarding public values (Beck Jørgensen & Bozeman, 2007); (2) most scholars in recent PVs studies come from public administration and correspondingly have major interests on issues pertaining to governments (Van der Wal et al., 2015). Yet, this research path does limit the applicability of public values scholarship and contradicts the original conception of public values theory as pubic values do not belong exclusively to governmental domains (Beck Jørgensen & Bozeman, 2007). Furthermore, current PVs research mainly use data, qualitative or quantitative, from public managers, which represents public organizations' perspectives. Only few studies utilize data from citizens (e.g., Witesman & Walters, 2016) so the role of citizens is largely downsized even though they are supposed to be the central subject that construct and define the normative consensus of the society (Bozeman, 2007). The research direction of current PVs studies mentioned above have led to the following research gap: the ignorance of the nonprofit sector as a key role in dealing with complex public values issues. Two dimensions of this gap are addressed below.

First, current public values studies ignore the pivotal role of the nonprofit sector, contradicting the original theoretical conception of public values theory and failing to address major issues in today's complex governance environment which entails cross-

sectoral collaborations to collectively safeguard key public values. This research gap has two dimensions. The first dimension is that the role of the nonprofit sector is embedded in the original conception of public values theory but seldom addressed in the literature. For instance, the definition of public value failure mentioned above holds that core public values are not achieved or endangered when both the market and the public sector fail to provide necessary goods and services required for those public values (Bozeman, 2002, p. 150). This actually justifies the existence and legitimacy of the nonprofit sector as a crucial alternative of resolving public value failure. Beck Jørgensen and Bozeman (2007) argue that public values are not merely government's territory and varied non-governmental actors in the society, including nonprofit organizations, also have public value obligations (pp. 373-375). Nevertheless, most of the PVs literature predominantly focuses on public organizations and the relationship with private companies that are related to science and technology policy areas. The research agendas developed by two recent PVs approach review articles (Beck Jørgensen & Rutgers, 2015; Van der Wal, 2016) only mention nonprofits once in one future direction of comparing how employees in different sectors prioritize PVs. Likewise, Bryson and colleagues (2014) claim that Bozeman's approach (normative public values failure criteria) "is silent on the role of the nonprofit sector" (p. 449). This single-sector research tendency contradicts with the original theoretical conception of public values theory and further limits public values research in the realm of traditionally defined public sector.

The second dimension of this research gap is about the current complex governance context. Contemporary social contexts regarding public problems and public values (e.g., the food bank case) are highly complex. The public sector alone cannot

accomplish and protect all public values and needs the collaborative efforts of multiple sectors and actors to tackle wicked public problems and achieve core public values (Ansell & Gash, 2008; Emerson, Nabatchi, & Balogh, 2012). Sometimes governments and markets fail to or are unwilling to resolve public problems. The nonprofit sector, or the broader third sector (including recently emergent social enterprises) has offered more flexible, innovative strategies for collaborating with public/private sectors and resolving collective societal issues (Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a, 2012b; Salamon & Sokolowski, 2016; S. R. Smith, 2008). More importantly, going beyond the institutional logics of governments and markets (Brown, 2015), the nonprofit sector manifests the democratic, voluntary, altruistic efforts (surely it involves the mixture of diverse motives) devoted by ordinary citizens and civil society to help those in need and construct a better society (Eikenberry, 2009; Salamon, 2012; D. H. Smith, 1981, 1994). Falling to address the key role of nonprofit organizations, thus, greatly falls short in reflecting current complex contexts of public affairs and limits the potential and contributions of public values theory.

After reviewing the general PVs studies, next section focuses on the critical review of public value mapping (PVM) studies because this specific stream of PVs research is the main literature this research seeks to advance.

Public Value Mapping Studies

Among the above-mentioned PVs studies, the PVM approach originally developed by Bozeman (Bozeman, 2002, 2007) has a relatively consistent research agenda and progress, from the development of public values criteria and public value mapping model (Bozeman, 2002, 2007; Bozeman & Johnson, 2015) to the exploration of

roots of public value failure (D. M. Anderson & Taggart, 2016) and the applications to different policy domains (e.g., Bozeman & Sarewitz, 2005, 2011; Feeney & Bozeman, 2007; Fisher, Slade, Anderson, & Bozeman, 2010; Valdivia, 2011; Welch, Rimes, & Bozeman, 2015). To offer a critique of this stream of research, this study tracks its theoretical conception and empirical applications.

The theoretical development of PVM studies focuses on the notion of public value failure and the conception of normative public value criteria and the PVM model. Bozeman (2002) develops the idea of public value failure in order to deal with the uneven theoretical arguments of economic, market-based rationales and government action, public interest-based counterparts. While the market gains superiority because of its assumed efficiency in providing goods and services, the government becomes a residual role that only intervenes when market failure occurs (Bator, 1958; Samuelson, 1954). Bozeman suggests that a better understanding of government intervention entails the move from philosophical conception of public interest to the more concrete exposition of core public values, and more importantly, a public-failure model (the public value mapping as a later, more articulated version) to offer a counterweight to the economic, market-based accounts. Bozeman (2002) argues that public (values) failure "occurs when neither the market nor the public sector provides goods and services required to achieve core public values" (p. 150). The public-failure model is conceptualized with seven criteria that help identify public values failure and reflect the insufficiency of market-failure rationales, while those criteria are not canonical and embrace further addition. Those criteria are: (1) mechanisms for articulating and aggregating values (policy-making processes fail to ensure effective communication and aggregation of public values); (2)

imperfect monopolies (exclusive government monopoly of providing goods and services does not perform well); (3) benefit hoarding (certain individuals or groups control public domain benefits that are supposed to be distributed to the people); (4) scarcity of providers (there is a shortage of providers for achieving core public values); (5) short time horizon (employing short-term perspectives may fail to achieve public values in the long run); (6) substitutability vs. conservation of resources (natural resources that are highly valued should not be exchanged with substitutes or indemnification); (7) threats to subsistence and human dignity (individuals' humans dignity and subsistence are not protected) (Bozeman, 2002, pp. 150–155). Moreover, Bozeman conceptualizes a public value grid that uses public values success/failure and market success/failure as its axes. The public value grid is useful in identifying the outcomes of a specific policy or case regarding its public values and market efficiency achievement (Bozeman, 2002, pp. 156–157).

In his 2007 book *Public Values and Public Interest: Counterbalancing Economic Individualism*, Bozeman further articulates the account of public values failure as a normative publicness approach that explores how institutions and policies, based on the mixture of their political and economic authority constraints and endowments, achieve public values and public interest ideals[1]. In order to counterweight the prevalent, economic, market-oriented notions in public administration and management, Bozeman

[1] The concept of publicness refers to the degree to which organizations are influenced by political authority (Bozeman, 1987). In this sense, all organizations are public because of their own mixture of political and economic authorities. The original publicness concept does not preoccupy normative connotations but focus on empirically examining different organizations' political and economic authority constraints and endowments. Recently Bozeman and Moulton (2011) seek to incorporate empirical publicness and normative publicness, two associated streams of research, by developing an integrative publicness model with two axes (one is economic authority and market success and the other is political authority and public value success).

starts from a pragmatic re-conceptualization of public interest which argues that public interest is constructed by a democratic public's collaborative and deliberative process concerning a specific public problem or policy context (p. 110). Thus, there are multiple publics and meanings of public interest (p. 183). Public values serve as the practical manifestation or the starting point of the public interest ideal. Bozeman advances previously developed public values criteria into the public value mapping (PVM) model and states that PVM "is not a decision making instrument (à la cost-benefit analysis) but an analytical framework to promote deliberation about public value (and its relation to economic value)" (Bozeman, 2007, p. 144). In addition to original seven criteria, a new criterion named "imperfect public information" is added to the PVM model and it refers to the condition when important public information is not available for the citizens to make judgments. Along with the public values criteria, the PVM grid is used to delineate the conceptual location of a specific policy or case in the quadrants with public value success/failure and market success/failure as two axes. The PVM model, similar to other PVs approaches, does not consider the public sector as the only one which have the obligation to achieve public values. Rather, depending on different circumstances, either government actions or market solutions could be the appropriate approach to the accomplishment of public values.

More recently, Bozeman and Johnson (2015) offer a case for adding two core public values criteria to the original list. The first criterion is "creation, maintenance, and enhancement of the public sphere." It functions as both a fundamental public value which denotes "open public communication and deliberation about public values and about collective actions pertaining to public values" (p. 70) and a public value enabling

institution which refers to the physical or virtual space facilitating the public sphere value (pp. 69-70). The public sphere criterion is significant in that it breeds trust, respect and collaborative actions that help realize other public values. Associated with the first one, the second criterion is "progressive opportunity," which refers to "the social conditions requisite to ensure that members of a society have equal ability to exploit their individual abilities and to achieve the goals they have set for themselves" (p. 71). This progressive opportunity criterion matters inasmuch as socio-economic inequality not only hurts the disadvantaged in the society but also hinders the accomplishment of other public values.

In addition to its theoretical construction, the PVM model also sheds light on applications to various policy contexts because the model originally intends to be a diagnostic tool for assessing public values within the context of programs, policies, or agencies (Bozeman & Sarewitz, 2011; Welch et al., 2015). In particular, the design of the PVM model intends to answer the following questions (Welch et al., 2015, p. 135):

> Given a set of social goals and missions, are the strategies for linking and mobilizing institutions, network actors, and individuals viable for achieving the goals and missions? Is the underlying causal logic of a program or mission sound? Are the human, organizational, and financial resources in place to move from the agency, program, innovation, or policy in question to desired social outcomes?

PVM applications are flexible in terms of methods, data sources, and contexts, although several basic guidelines have been developed. For example, Bozeman and colleagues (Bozeman & Sarewitz, 2011; Welch et al., 2015) develop PVM's eleven core

assumptions, including the following three aspects: (1) PVM does not confine itself in specific assessment purpose and analytical techniques; (2) PVM sticks to public values and associated activities, programs, and outcomes; (3) PVM focuses on social and environmental context at multiple levels. Moreover, the PVM model analysis has four major procedures: (1) identifying core public values within the case of interest by means of different data sources; (2) applying the PVM criteria to the case, including the identification of useful, unfit, and potential new criteria; (3) developing values analysis chains, especially contemplating multifarious types of values interrelationships and the societal outcomes of such relations; (4) using the PVM grid to display the relations between public values success/failure and market success/failure in the case (Bozeman & Sarewitz, 2011; Welch et al., 2015).

In particular, each application identifies the public values criteria that fit its case or policy because the PVM model does not require the applications to examine all criteria but focus on those more relevant ones for their specific cases (Bozeman & Sarewitz, 2011; Feeney & Bozeman, 2007). For example, Feeney and Bozeman (2007) examine six of the seven criteria (at that time the model comprised seven criteria) and find the conservation of resources criterion is less relevant in the flu vaccine shortage case. Take Logar's work (2011) for another example. For the case of mainstream chemistry, he employs three most relevant criteria (values articulation, short time horizon, and substitutability vs. conservation of resources). On the other hand, the PVM model encourages the development of new criteria, so, for instance, Meyer (2011) argues for two additional criteria (implausible or/and incomplete value chains; inadequate or inappropriate institutions) (pp. 60-61). In addition to applying public values criteria,

another major task of PVM applications is to address public values relationships. One often discussed public values relationship is the ends (intrinsic values)-means (instrumental values) value hierarchy. For example, Maricle (2011) identifies two public value logics (respectively embedded in hurricane and earthquake research) demonstrating that resilience is the intrinsic value of two logics but two instrumental values (high quality science and useful science) are not equally necessary in those two logics. Among these applications, only one recent study (D. M. Anderson & Taggart, 2016) seeks to identify what results in public value failure (in their term, failure drivers) based on the for-profit higher education context. Specifically, they affirm that goals and institutional logics are two major organizational public value failure drivers, and misplaced precision in policy design and implementation and ineffective compliance mechanisms represent two major policy public value failure drivers (pp. 4-8). In a nutshell, previous applications have contributed to the identification of roots of public value failure, core public values and failure, and public values relationships in their respective cases or contexts.

Two major characteristics of PVM applications are as follows. First, with regard to areas of application, prior research predominantly focuses on the science and technology policies, ignoring other policy domains and nongovernmental sectors. The concentration on science and technology policy is a reasonable development because the conception of the PVM model mainly follows a series of studies aiming to evaluate the broader social impacts of scientific knowledge creation, dissemination, and application (e.g., Bozeman, 2003; Bozeman & Rogers, 2002; Bozeman & Sarewitz, 2005, 2011; Kingsley, Bozeman, & Coker, 1996). Moreover, because science and technology policy

issues are often related to technology transfer and private market practices, the PVM grid that discusses public and market failure/success is quite relevant and useful. Some PVM studies examine current conditions and related public value failure in various fields of science and technology, such as science policy in general (Bozeman & Sarewitz, 2005), climate policy (Meyer, 2011) and hurricane and earthquake research (Maricle, 2011). Another major interest of PVM studies is emergent technology, including nanotechnology (Fisher et al., 2010; Slade, 2011; Youtie & Shapira, 2016), green chemistry (Logar, 2011), genetically modified organism (GMO) technology (Bozeman, 2007; Bozeman & Sarewitz, 2005). Besides, some studies focus on a specific case with specific time and context. For instance, Feeney and Bozeman (2007) utilize the public value failure criteria to analyze the 2004-2005 flu vaccine shortage case, arguing that public health-related public values, even with social consensus, were not well achieved. Likewise, Valdivia (2011) focuses on the policy impact of the Bayh-Dole Act (an act that regulates research invention funded by the federal government) on associated public values. Apart from the applications to science and technology issues, one exception is D. M. Anderson and Taggart's work (2016) which employs for-profit education as a case context to explore the organizational and policy roots of public value failure.

The second characteristic of PVM applications is that they do collect data from various sources, especially mainly from public available documents and scholarly literatures, but the perspective of citizens is largely neglected. Scholars have pointed out that the sources for identifying public values include constitution and public laws, public surveys and polls, government documents, scholarly literatures, and culture artifacts and traditions (Beck Jørgensen & Bozeman, 2007; Bozeman & Sarewitz, 2011). Thus, most

of the PVM applications utilize data from scholarly literatures or various forms of documents as value statements that help identify public values within the specific context. Because of the major focus on science and technology policy areas, some PVM applications have collected public documents (e.g., official reports, websites, mission statements, strategic plans, speeches, and proposals) from science research related agencies and institutions, such as National Science Foundation (NSF), National Research Council (NRC), and NSF-funded research institutions (Bozeman, 2007; Feeney & Bozeman, 2007; Fisher et al., 2010; Maricle, 2011; Meyer, 2011; Slade, 2011). Some studies also use congressional and executive documents in order to address how governments pass and implement a specific policy (D. M. Anderson & Taggart, 2016; Fisher et al., 2010; Valdivia, 2011). Compared to the wide use of public documents, only a few applications employ interviews with agency officials who deal with related science and technology policy (Maricle, 2011; Meyer, 2011). Apart from the above sources, Logar (2011) use science (in his case, chemistry) textbooks for public values identification in that textbooks manifest the authors' attempt to teach future scientists what kinds of public values that discipline should espouse. Given the usage of diverse sources, those PVM studies basically reflect the perspectives of policy related institutions or scientists regarding public values and values relationships. This may be due to the feature of science and technology policy that "non-scientists do not have a significant say about public investments and priorities in most areas of science" (Bozeman & Sarewitz, 2005, p. 124). Also, this research tendency has implied a logic that organizations (especially public organizations) or scientists (in many science policy areas) have the

legitimacy and the best capacity to identify, classify and assess core public values, related failure and values relationships.

Similar to the gap in the broader PVs research, the predominant concentration of PVM applications on science and technology policy, to some extent, limits the applicability of the model in other areas of the public sector as well as nongovernmental sectors, even though theoretically the PVM model should have the potential to shed light on all institutions that have public value obligations. Current PVM research falls short in exploring how different sectors utilize the collective efforts of social actors to resolve social problems and related public value failure. Furthermore, existing PVM applications primarily examine core public values, related failure, and public values relationships in existing laws (e.g., Valdivia, 2011), public policies, or government action cases (Feeney & Bozeman, 2007). How other various nongovernmental entities or actors try to solve key social problems remains seldom addressed. Apart from governmental actions possessing the top-down, formal, political authority and legal based nature, the nonprofit sector manifests the bottom-up, flexible, charity and community-based response to social problems of the society, which may have significant differences with public policy responses. The PVM research falls short to explore how emergent nonprofit initiatives or organizations seek to resolve social problems and public value failure.

Nonprofit and Food Bank Studies

This section reviews the nonprofit and food bank studies and the limitations of the literature. The broader nonprofit and voluntary sector has attract researchers from various disciplines to study the collective, altruistic-oriented efforts of multiple sectors and citizens (for a review of current nonprofit research associations and journals see David

Horton Smith, 2013). This review focuses on how the literature regarding nonprofits in general and food banks in particular deals with the issues of public values. Sections include the values-driven nature of the nonprofit sector, prior social impact evaluation studies and food bank studies.

The Value-Driven Nature of the Nonprofit Sector

In order to apply the PVM model in the nonprofit context, it is necessary to review the defining characteristics and values-driven nature of the nonprofit sector. The first question is: what is the nonprofit sector? The ideas of giving back to society and forming voluntary associations to tackle collective issues have a long history in human society and especially the U.S. context (Carnegie, 1900; de Tocqueville, 1945). The nonprofit sector plays a central role in contemporary civil society, making significant political, social, and economic impacts (Anheier, 2005; Hansmann, 1980; LeRoux & Feeney, 2015; Salamon & Anheier, 1998), even though the concepts of the nonprofit sector and terms used to define this sector are still contested (Anheier, 2005; LeRoux & Feeney, 2015; Salamon & Sokolowski, 2016)[2]. Despite the long-lasting debates, some distinctive features of the nonprofit sector have been identified. For instance, Henry B. Hansmann in his seminal article (1980) declares that the kernel of the nonprofit sector is the non-distribution constraint which refers to the prohibition of distributing pure profits to the organization members who perform control over the organization. In addition to

[2] For example, Salamon (2012) and LeRoux and Feeney (2015) have summarized several often used labels, including nonprofit sector, third sector, independent sector, voluntary sector, charitable sector, philanthropic sector, social sector, non-governmental sector, tax-exempt sector, social economy and social venture. Salamon and Sokolowski (2016) use the term the Third Sector/Social Economy (TSE) sector to reflect the current growth of social enterprises. Each term has its strength and weakness in terms of conceptualizing the sector and associated actors and activities. For the purpose of consistency, this research uses the term "nonprofit sector" to describe the collective of actors, organizations, and activities.

the non-distribution constraint, LeRoux and Feeney (2015) holds that other defining characteristics include mission-directed (aiming to fulfill specific missions or social purposes), voluntary governance (governed by volunteer boards of directors), reliance on voluntary sources (financial and non-financial contributions from the public) and mixed sources of revenue (such as corporation donations, government contracts, and earned income) (pp. 22-26). More recently, to reflect current diverse and innovative development of nonprofit practices, Salamon and Sokolowski (2016) utilize a two-stage strategy to develop a more comprehensive conception of the nonprofit sector. They first review the literature and conclude the underlying central themes of the nonprofit sector as (1) privateness (individuals or organizations outside the government's domains); (2) public purpose (pursuing the goals beneficial to the broader public); (3) non-coerced participation (free choice without compulsion). Following the preceding philosophical notions, they further employ empirical data to articulate an operational conception of the Third Sector/Social Economy (TSE) sector as formal or informal organizations that are private, self-governed, non-compulsory, and subject to total or significantly profit distribution constraint (p. 1533).

The distinctive nature of the nonprofit sector closely pertains to the next question: why is there a need for the nonprofit sector? Various economic and non-economic theories have addressed the justification of the nonprofit sector in the society (for a overview of nonprofit theories see Anheier, 2005 and LeRoux & Feeney, 2015). Economic theories maintain that nonprofit organizations offer goods and services that other sectors are unwilling to or fail to adequately provide (Douglas, 1983, 1987, Hansmann, 1980, 1987; Ott, 2001). For example, scholars utilize market failure theory to

claim that nonprofit organizations could intervene when private, for-profit organizations fail to provide goods and services associated with public goods, information asymmetry, and externalities (Hansmann, 1980, 1987; Williamson, 1971). Also, nonprofit organizations are more trustworthy than for-profit counterparts because of its leader selection and non-distribution constraint (Hansmann, 1980; Young, 1983). These market failure conditions consider nonprofits and governments as gap-filling sectors. Sometimes governments also fail. Government failure theory asserts that governments insufficiently provide goods and services to those minorities' demands, some long-lasting issues, and goods and services that only satisfy specific groups of people (Douglas, 1983, 1987; Weisbrod, 1975; Wolf, 1979). These create niches for nonprofit organizations. Moreover, the interdependence theory (Salamon, 1995) states that both governments and nonprofits have limitations in providing goods and services with the public, so governments and nonprofits should work as partners to overcome weaknesses of both sectors.

While economic theories confine nonprofits in the gap-filling role and "tell us far more about the nonprofit sector is not than they do about what it is" (Lohmann, 1989, p. 367), non-economic (political, social, and community) theories highlight the distinctive contributions of nonprofit organizations to the society (e.g., Berger & Neuheus, 1977; Lohmann, 1989, 1992; Putnam, 1995). For example, the mediating theory (Berger & Neuhaus, 1977) holds that nonprofits serve as mediating institutions between government and ordinary citizens, empowering citizens who cannot engage in large bureaucratic institutions. The theory of the commons (Lohmann, 1989, 1992) claims that nonprofits are designed with deliberate intent to fulfill various purposes within the commons—the collective community of people. Other non-economic theories of nonprofit organizations

have maintained that nonprofit organizations offer a platform for facilitating a more robust democracy (Clemens, 2006), building social capital (Putnam, 1995, 2001; J. A. Schneider, 2009), and community integration (S. R. Smith & Lipsky, 1993), and thereby promoting collective actions that cannot be done solely to achieve shared values and goals (LeRoux & Feeney, 2015).

The above exposition has pointed out one critical characteristic and contribution of the nonprofit sector pertaining to this research—the values-driven nature of the nonprofit sector. That is, the nonprofit sector is formed to express, promote and guard specific missions and values of the society as a whole (Chen, Lune, & Queen, 2013; Frumkin, 2002; LeRoux & Feeney, 2015; Salamon, 2003). For example, Frumkin (2002) uses two dimensions (demand- or supply-side orientation; instrumental or expressive rationale) to identify four principal functions of nonprofit and voluntary action: service delivery, civic and political engagement, social entrepreneurship, values and faiths. The values and faiths function signifies the supply-side and expressive dimension of the nonprofit sector which allows people involved in nonprofit organizations "to enact their values, faith, and commitments through work, prayer, philanthropy, and volunteerism" (p. 96). The nonprofit sector as a "value guardian" protects core collective values of the society, such as individualism and solidarity, two fundamental values in the American society (Salamon, 2012, p. 24). From the perspective of institutional logics, prosocial and nonprofit values (serving specific charitable purposes and missions) serve as the core institutional logic of the nonprofit sector, which distinguishes the nonprofit sector from the state/government institutions (maintaining social systems and pursuing broad public purposes) and economic-market systems (accumulating private profit) (Brown, 2015;

Robichau, Fernandez, & Kraeger, 2012). The pro-social, values-driven nature of the nonprofit sector could to some extent explain its tax-exempt status because of the "quid pro quo logic," which holds that nonprofit organizations should receive tax exemption benefits on account of their positive contributions to the society (Colombo, 2001; LeRoux & Feeney, 2015).

Moreover, the voluntary service spirit is also another cornerstone of the nonprofit sector. Volunteerism refers to "the sum of volunteer activities" (D. H. Smith, 1981, p. 23), and scholars have provided various definitions of volunteering to capture the meaning and key constructs of volunteering (Carson, 1999; Cnaan, Handy, & Wadsworth, 1996; Ellis & Noyes, 1990; D. H. Smith, 1981; Van Til, 1988; Wilson, 2000). This research utilizes the following definition of volunteering: "a helping action of an individual that is valued by him or her, and yet is not aimed directly at material gain or mandated or coerced by others" (Van Til, 1988, p. 6). This definition demonstrates key dimensions of volunteering: helping others, free choice, and without material benefits, even though volunteering encompasses a variety of activities that differ in purposes, beneficiaries, consequences and other aspects (Cnaan et al., 1996; Haski-Leventhal, 2009). Because of the great potential of their voluntary efforts, volunteers function as one essential component of the nonprofit sector and the broader civil society and contribute to the accomplishment of core societal values (Dekker & Halman, 2003; LeRoux & Feeney, 2015; Pearce, 1993). Reliance on voluntary labor is one of the distinctive features of nonprofit organizations that distinguish themselves from public and private sectors (Cnaan & Amrofell, 1993; Frumkin, 2002; LeRoux & Feeney, 2015).

Nonprofit scholars do deal with values issues, even though various terms have been used to denote the values concept, including values (Chen et al., 2013; Frumkin & Andre-Clark, 2000; Rothschild & Milofsky, 2006), social values (Whitman, 2009), nonprofit values (Helmig, Hinz, & Ingerfurth, 2015; LeRoux & Sneed, 2006), social impact (Arvidson & Lyon, 2014; Mook, Richmond, & Quarter, 2003), collaborative value creation (Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a, 2012b), performance (Moxham, 2009), or overall contributions to the society (Salamon & Anheier, 1998).

There are two major directions of studying values in the nonprofit context. First, several scholars aim to place values in the centrality of the nonprofit sector research in order to not only justify the existence of nonprofit organizations but also respond to the current marketization trend in nonprofit practices (Eikenberry, 2009; Frumkin & Andre-Clark, 2000; Jeavons, 1992; Nevile, 2009; Rothschild & Milofsky, 2006). For example, Jeavons (1992) and Rothschild and Milofsky (2006) highlight the distinctive, values-driven nature of the nonprofit sector and relate it to the ethical and moral commitments that nonprofit organizations should fulfill and emphasize. Moreover, scholars assert that to counterbalance the wave of market-oriented practices in contemporary nonprofit contexts, nonprofit organizations need to emphasize their values-based strategy to compete with large private firms (Frumkin & Andre-Clark, 2000) and reject the colonization of neoliberal, market-based imperatives to the nonprofit enterprise (Eikenberry 2009).

Another stream of research seeks to compare nonprofit values with values in other sectors (Helmig et al., 2015; LeRoux & Sneed, 2006; Miller-Stevens, Taylor, & Morris, 2015). For instance, LeRoux and Sneed (2006) analyze the assumption of government-

nonprofit partnership, finding that nonprofits also promote the notion of representative bureaucracy, which traditionally belongs to the discussion within public agencies. Likewise, using empirical data from German hospitals, Helmig and colleagues (2015) do not find significant differences in how nonprofit, public, and private organizations prioritize values, rejecting the assumption of a unique set of nonprofit values. Miller-Stevens and colleagues (2015) seek to know if public and nonprofit managers have similar values sets given the public sector's increased reliance on the nonprofit sector in terms of providing public goods and services. Using survey data from local public and nonprofit managers, Miller-Stevens and colleagues (2015) indicate that key values in the value sets reported by public and nonprofit managers are similar, whereas nonprofit managers rank altruism, generosity, and charity higher that do public managers.

Given the above efforts to study values in the nonprofit context, nonprofit studies seldom apply the notions of public values discussed above as the central concept (Miller-Stevens et al., 2015; Moulton & Eckerd, 2012)[3]. One exception done by Moulton and Eckerd (2012) defines several primary nonprofit roles, including service provision, innovation, individual expression and specialization, political advocacy, social capital creation, and citizen engagement. By following the notions of normative publicness, Moulton and Eckerd (2012) claim that each nonprofit role represents certain distinctive

[3] Past studies do employ the notions of public value (in the singular form) in the nonprofit context (Lee & Nowell, 2015; Moore, 2000, 2003) or are aware of nonprofit organizations or in their conceptual framework or applied fields (Bryson et al., 2015, 2017; Hills & Sullivan, 2006). For example, Moore (2000) argues that nonprofits should consider use the strategic triangle framework (legitimacy and support, operational capacity, and the public value to be created) as their organizational strategy. Moore (2003) further develop a public value accounting framework to evaluate nonprofits' public value added to the society. However, the goal of those studies are primarily for strategic, managerial improvement of organizational capacity or performance, while nonprofits' public value accomplishment refers to their vague, broader "community-oriented outcomes and broader benefits to society" (Lee & Nowell, 2015, p. 307), not specific social missions or values that nonprofits are formed to achieve.

public values. They employ survey data from nonprofit organizations in Columbus, OH to validate the use of a Nonprofit Role Index consisting of the above six roles. They also discover a strategic alignment relationship—particular resources are associated with the performance of certain roles/public values. What is missing in their study is the lack of the details linking the distinctive nonprofit role with specific public values pertaining to the role.

During recent decades, the value-driven nature of the nonprofit sector encounters significant challenges from the marketization of nonprofit organizations' discourses and practices (Eikenberry, 2009; Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004; Nickel & Eikenberry, 2009; Sanders, 2015). The adoption of economic, market-based thinking and solutions has been prevalent in the studies and practices of contemporary nonprofit organizations owing to the increased pressure to claim legitimacy and compete for financial and nonfinancial supports from governments, corporations, and the general public (Arvidson & Lyon, 2014; Barman, 2007; Salamon, 2003). Private sector managerial strategies and performance measurement techniques have been applied in the nonprofit sector as the strategy to demonstrate social impact and justify legitimacy (Dart, 2004a; Dees & Anderson, 2003; Kaplan, 2001; Maier et al., 2016; Shoham, Ruvio, Vigoda-Gadot, & Schwabsky, 2006). Nevertheless, economic, market-oriented discourses and strategies have their own institutional logics (private profit maximization) and values (e.g., efficiency, competition, and entrepreneurship) which may conflict with nonprofit organizations' original missions and charitable values (Eikenberry, 2009; Frumkin & Andre-Clark, 2000). Not just employing private sector management practices, many nonprofit organizations move toward commercialized and for-profit activities to broaden

their revenue sources (Kerlin & Pollak, 2011; Weisbrod, 2004; Young, Salamon, & Grinsfelder, 2012). Such consistent mission-market tension (Sanders, 2015; Young, Jung, & Aranson, 2010) often results in the erosion of original social missions, values and the distinctive nonprofit ethos (Foster & Bradach, 2005; Milbourne, 2013; Weisbrod, 2004). For instance, in UK, the prevailing market-oriented ideology has contributed to a set of dominant organizational arrangements that significantly limit the autonomy of small, community-based nonprofit organizations and thus impair the values of democratic participation (Milbourne, 2013). In short, the values-driven nature of the nonprofit sector is greatly influenced or even threated by the prevailing economic, market-driven thinking and practices. Next section reviews the studies regarding the evaluation of nonprofits' overall contributions—another area which closely pertains to the values-driven nature of the nonprofit sector and is also significantly influenced by the economic, market-driven thinking.

Current Social Impact Evaluation Methods of the Nonprofit Sector

Evaluating the nonprofit sector's overall contributions or social impacts is by no means an easy task because unlike the private sector having one single goal—profit maximization—nonprofit organizations need to meet diverse expectations from various stakeholders, including clients, governments, donors, volunteers, corporations, and the broader public (Forbes, 1998; Kaplan, 2001; Sawhill & Williamson, 2001). Moreover, the present circumstances that nonprofit organizations face are getter harsher in that they have to more persuasively prove their organizational accountability, effectiveness, performance and social impacts to compete for financial and nonfinancial resources

(Benjamin, 2008; Harlock & Metcalf, 2016; Lecy, Schmitz, & Swedlund, 2012; Mitchell & Berlan, 2016).

Prior studies have realized the difficulty of measuring the impacts of the nonprofit sector and thus seek to develop multidimensional evaluation frameworks and methods (Forbes, 1998; Herman & Renz, 1997; Lee & Nowell, 2015; Sowa, Selden, & Sandfort, 2004). Based on the summary done by Lee and Nowell (2015), there are three major dimensions. The first dimension is about what nonprofits put in their activities, such as inputs (nonprofits' ability to gain necessary resources) (e.g., Bagnoli & Megali, 2011; Cutt & Murray, 2000; Moxham, 2009; Newcomer, 1997), and organizational capacity as nonprofits' structural and process competence for delivering services and goods) (e.g., Kaplan, 2001; Moore, 2003; Sowa et al., 2004). The second dimension is about what nonprofits produce, such as outputs (direct production of services and goods) (e.g., Bagnoli & Megali, 2011; Berman, 2006; Cutt & Murray, 2000; Newcomer, 1997; Poister, Aristigueta, & Hall, 2014), outcomes (results and benefits for the target population by nonprofits' services and goods) (e.g., Bagnoli & Megali, 2011; Berman, 2006; Campbell, 2002; Ebrahim & Rangan, 2010; Kaplan, 2001; Moxham, 2009; Newcomer, 1997; Poister et al., 2014), social impact or value (long-term socio-economic effects on the society) (Mook, Quarter, & Richmond, 2007; Moore, 2003; Ryan & Lyne, 2008; Talbot, 2008). The third dimension is about the relations between nonprofits and the social environment (i.e., other organizations, stakeholders, and the broader society), including inter-organizational network building (the ability of nonprofits to gain support from the social network) and institutional legitimacy (how nonprofits' activities achieve their missions and comply with norms and laws) (Bagnoli & Megali, 2011; Balser &

McClusky, 2005; Herman & Renz, 2008; Moore, 2003; Talbot, 2008). The ultimate goal of those multidimensional measurement methods is to offer a more comprehensive and accurate understanding of performance and social impacts of the nonprofit sector so that nonprofit organizations could utilize the evaluation results to justify their existence and strive for resource support.

However, similar to other areas of the nonprofit sector, scholarly efforts to evaluate the nonprofit sector's social impacts have been greatly influenced by the economic, market-based thinking and practices because of various practical needs, such as accountability, process improvement, demonstration of mission achievement, and finding resource support (Moxham, 2009; Sawhill & Williamson, 2001). Specifically, the influence has been manifested in two aspects: (1) the adoption of private sector evaluation methods; (2) the emphasis of social value analogous to monetary, economic value, rather than public values that the nonprofit sector upholds.

First, most of current studies apply evaluation methods articulated in private organizational and management literature to the realm of the nonprofit sector. One often used way of applying private sector evaluation methods is to modify those methods to fit the specific nature of the nonprofit sector (Berman, 2006; Kaplan, 2001; Poister et al., 2014). For example, Kaplan (2001) utilizes the method of balanced scorecard which emphasizes financial, customer, internal process, and organizational learning and growth perspectives. While private companies put financial or shareholders' interests first, Kaplan (2001) holds that a nonprofit organization's mission should be placed at the highest level of its scoreboard. Moreover, Kaplan argues that, when evaluating the customer perspective, nonprofit organizations need to take into consideration

donors/funders (those who provide financial resources) and service beneficiaries (those who receive services). Another way of adopting private sector evaluation methods is to underscore the prosocial aspect of the nonprofit sector (scholars in this tradition tend to add "social" to related terms, such as social performance, social return on investment, social accounting, social value, and social economy) (e.g., Ebrahim & Rangan, 2010; Moody, Littlepage, & Paydar, 2015; Mook, 2013; Mook et al., 2007). For example, the social return on investment (SROI) approach, initially developed by Roberts Enterprise Development Fund (REDF, 2001), applies the cost-benefit analysis methods in business evaluation to the measurement of nonprofit organizations' SROI ratio (the monetary equivalent social value created by the one Dollar (or other currencies) investment in a program) (e.g., Arvidson, Lyon, McKay, & Moro, 2013; Florentine Maier, Schober, Simsa, & Millner, 2015; Nicholls, Lawlor, Neitzert, & Goodspeed, 2009). Some nonprofit scholars not only adopt private sector evaluation methods but also use the market rationale to justify why nonprofit organizations should utilize performance measurement. For example, Sawhill and Williamson (2001) hold that successful performance measurement can help nonprofits more marketable, and for the public, measures enhance nonprofits' businesslike capacity, "which can be enormously comforting to donors who want to make sure that their charitable dollars are being used in the most efficient and effective manner possible" (p. 385).

Second, when evaluating social impacts of the nonprofit sector, nonprofit scholars tend to use the concept of social value equivalent to economic, monetary value, and devote relatively few efforts in demonstrating accomplished values for the society. Influenced by the market and business-like thinking (Alexander & Weiner, 1998;

Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004; Maier et al., 2016; Shoham et al., 2006), nonprofit scholars, especially those who follow the social accounting tradition[4], tend to use the value concept equivalent or similar to economic, monetary value in demonstrating nonprofit organizations' social impacts as their marketable competence (Arvidson et al., 2013; Richmond, Mook, & Quarter, 2003; Ryan & Lyne, 2008). For example, studies of social return on investment determine nonprofits' social value by a Blended Index of Return, which refers to the ratio of inflow of resources to outflow of resources (Moody et al., 2015; REDF, 2001). Furthermore, some social accounting scholars develop the notions of value added, which refers to "a measure of wealth that an organization creates by adding value to raw materials, products, and services through the use of labor and capital" (Richmond et al., 2003, p. 316). In this line of research, nonprofit organizations' value added for the broader stakeholders of the society is calculated by the expanded value added statement which combines financial outputs (from audited financial statement) and nonfinancial social outputs (such as social labor, donated services, skills training, and knowledge transferred to other organizations; each of these social outputs is assigned a comparative market value) (Mook, 2013; Mook et al., 2007, 2003; Richmond et al., 2003). The basic notion of above-mentioned social accounting studies is to evaluate "how organizations can establish market values for their nonmonetized social outputs" (Richmond et al., 2003, p. 321). Compared to those studies focusing on demonstrating nonprofits' economic value, few research explores the assessment of nonprofits' social or

[4] Social accounting is defined as "a systematic analysis of the effects of an organization on its communities of interest or stakeholders, with stakeholder input as part of the data that are analyzed for the accounting statement" (Mook et al., 2007, p. 2)

public values (in the plural term) (one exception see Whitman, 2009)[5]. This trend of emphasizing economic value and performance of nonprofit organizations also to some extent results from the emergent development of social enterprise, which pursues social purposes in the form of private corporations (Bagnoli & Megali, 2011; Dart, 2004b; Ryan & Lyne, 2008). Thus, the emphasis of nonprofits' social impacts as economic value in the literature has shown the prevalence of economic, market-based thinking in both theory and practice of the nonprofit sector.

However, current methods of assessing nonprofit organizations to some extent insufficiently address the values-oriented nature of the nonprofit sector (Moulton & Eckerd, 2012). Although many studies do recognize the necessity of revising private sector evaluation methods to fit the specific context and nature of the nonprofit sector, the very market-based thinking embedded in those private sector evaluation methods have conceptualized or even swayed how nonprofit organizations should function. Yet, scholars have warned that merely using business-like, economic and monetary-based assessments of nonprofit organizations would fail to gain support and commitment from "those who believe in the qualitative purposes of the organization" (Rothschild & Milofsky, 2006, p. 139). After all, nonprofit organizations are found because their social mission and related normative, charitable values. If the evaluation of nonprofit social impacts is merely based on the economy value added, such evaluation fails to distinguish

[5] The public value approach developed by Mark Moore (Moore, 2000, 2003) not only deals with public sector issues but also seeks to apply their notions to the nonprofit sector. With the use of public value scoreboard (as a revision of balanced scoreboard), public value created by nonprofit organizations is defined as "the extent to which it achieves its mission, the benefits it delivers to clients, and the social outcomes it achieves" (Moore, 2003, p. 22). Although this public value concept is measured in nonfinancial terms, it is to some extent vague and fails to clearly manifest the social or public values that nonprofit organizations uphold and promote for the society.

nonprofit organizations (mission and values-driven) from private organizations (profit-driven).

Food Bank Studies

This section discusses food bank studies in general and in the U.S. There are several research foci. The first one is to describe the history, nature and practice of food banking. That is, although the U.S. government has provided several public food assistance programs, such as Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP, formerly known as Food Stamps)[6], still a significant number of Americans fall through the public safety net and urgently need food assistance from other sources (Allen, 1999; Berner, Ozer, & Paynter, 2008; Curtis & McClellan, 1995). Thus, food banks play a more active role than governments in resolving food insecurity and related issues (Allen, 1999; Bazerghi et al., 2016; Daponte & Bade, 2006; Warshawsky, 2010).

The development of U.S. food banks entails the discussion of historical contexts and driving forces of the food banking concept. For example, Poppendieck (1998) details the historical development of U.S. food banking in her book *Sweet Charity? Emergency Food and the End of Entitlement*. Based on documents and interviews with food bank managers, she describes the main reasons why U.S. food banks grew rapidly in the 1970s and 1980s, including economic recession, unemployment issues, and inadequate design of public assistance problems (e.g., the government changed how citizens could receive the benefits of food stamps). Emergency food assistance based food banks, through its

[6] Three major federal food assistance programs are SNAP, National School Lunch Program (NSLP), and the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC). For program details see the website of Food and Nutrition Service (FNS), United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) http://www.fns.usda.gov/data-and-statistics.

operation and the retreat of governments, have become institutionalized as the major response to the hunger problem in local areas.

Likewise, Daponte and Bade (2006) focus on the evolution of the private, charitable food assistance network, and argue that the changes of public assistance programs (such as food stamps) led to the increased, and chronic need to the private food assistance network. They hold that another public assistance program, Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program (TEFAP), aims to distribute public resources to the private food assistance network and thus institutionalized the network in the society as a legitimate response to the hunger problem. Also, from a local perspective, Warshawsky (2010) claims that the rise of food banks represents the result of neoliberal urban governance. He uses Chicago's food banks as the case and discusses their growth, commercialization and professionalization. He holds that those food banks have become key institutional players in the local context to conceptualize not only what the hunger problem is but also how to solve the problem.

In addition to the discussion of the historical development of food banks, scholars seek to point out the limitations of food banking. For example, Poppendieck (1998) addresses several major problems—seven deadly sins—of the practice of U.S. food banks. She argues that the functioning of U.S. food banks has led to the following negative consequences: (1) insufficiency in terms of the quantity, quality, and appropriateness of food products provided to clients; (2) inappropriateness in meeting clients' needs; (3) the lack of nutrition of the food; (4) instable food support from donations; (5) some people live in the area without easy access to food pantries; (6) the inefficiency of using volunteer work; (7) the stigma attached to food bank clients.

Wakefield and collegues (2012) revisit these seven pitfalls of food banking in several Canada food banks by employing organizational documents and key informant interviews. They find that "Poppendieck's critique of emergency food remains relevant, for the convergence of diverse organizational actors within the food movement under the banner of community food security does not inherently signify structural change" (p. 444). That is, structural constraints of emergency food assistance organizations impede the full accomplishment of the original mission. A systematic literature review article done by Bazerghi, McKay and Dunn (2016) also demonstrates the evidence that food banks fail to resolve food insecurity problems because food banks cannot meet clients' needs in an appropriate way. They hold that "food banks are not able to ameliorate short- or long-term food insecurity, nor are they able to meet nutritional requirements of those in need" (p. 738).

Practical experiences of Canada food banks have provided empirical evidence for scholars' critique of the social construction of food banking as the adequate response to food insecurity issues. For example, Riches (2002, 2011) argues that the rise of emergency food assistance manifests the weaken public safety net and signifies the retreat of governments from their responsibility. He holds that the functioning of short-term food assistance is inherently unable to meet clients' sufficient, nutritious, and culturally appropriate needs. The crucial point is that when the hunger problem is constructed as a matter of charity and food security is not considered as an entitlement, food banks may become part of the problem. Also, Tarasuk and Eakin (2003) conduct an ethnographic study of food banks in Ontario, finding that the inherent constraints of food banks make them unable to meet clients' needs. Charitable food assistance, thus, merely

serve as a "symbolic gesture" which expresses the charity spirit but fails to achieve the ultimate mission. Loopstra and Tarasuk (2015) examine the operational measurement of food security, arguing that using food bank usage to determine household level food insecurity is a poor concept, and doing so "seriously underestimates both the number and nature of people experiencing food insecurity" (p. 452).

Another stream of studies look at the food bank issue from the nutrition perspective because clients' nutrition needs are a major concern (Fox, Hamilton, & Lin, 2004; Handforth, Hennink, & Schwartz, 2013; Hoisington, Manore, & Raab, 2011; Starkey, Gray-Donald, & Kuhnlein, 1999). Scholars from the nutrition profession area utilize the nutrition indicators to determine the health situations of food bank clients. For example, Starkey, Kuhnlein, and Gray-Donald (1998) conduct a survey to ask food bank clients in Montreal about their sociodemographic and nutritional characteristics. Moreover, they find that frequency of food bank use, household size, smoking or not, education level and country of birth are the determinants of food bank users' nutrient intake.

Given the various routes to the study of food banks, there is one major research gap—the lack of using values-based evaluative frameworks in contemplating overall social impacts of food banks. Prior studies mainly focus on developing the operational definition of food security and examining the nutrition needs of food bank clients. Indeed, whether food banks meet clients' nutrition needs or not is critical for evaluating the impacts (or success) of food banks. However, merely considering clients' nutrition needs or achievement of food security limits the understanding of overall social impacts of food banking. The overall social impacts of food banks go way beyond meeting

clients' nutrition needs, especially when considering the impacts on various public values. For example, the food banking concept helps reduce food waste and leads to a better use of natural resources, which advances the value of environmental sustainability. Moreover, food banks often seek to raise public awareness about hunger, food waste, and nutrition issues through public education and advocacy activities. Their social impacts are multidimensional and related to different core values in the society. Current studies fail to use values-based evaluative frameworks to assess the overall social impacts of food banks. This research tendency impedes a more comprehensive understanding of food banking as a complex social phenomenon.

Summary of Literature Review

Because the context focus of this research is about food banking in the U.S. and public value failure issues, this chapter offers an overview of public values studies as well as nonprofit studies in general and food bank research in particular. The above review has pointed out key research gaps in those areas of study.

First, public values (PVs) research encompasses a variety of approaches and methods (including PVM studies) that have contributed to a better understanding of values issues surrounding public affairs. Nevertheless, for the PVs and PVM studies, the main research gap is the ignorance of the nonprofit sector in achieving core public values of the society. On account of the neglect of the key role of the nonprofit sector in safeguarding and promoting public values, PVs and PVM studies have confined themselves in the traditional public sector domain (the private, for-private sector is also seldom addressed; for one exception see D. M. Anderson & Taggart, 2016). This single-sector research focus contradicts the original conception of public values theory and

limits the usage of the results of PVs and PVM studies. Moreover, PVs and PVM studies fail to reflect the intricate social context that requires the collaborative efforts of different sectors in dealing with social problems and accompanying public value failure.

Second, although the mission and values-oriented nature of the nonprofit and voluntary sector has been highlighted in the literature, the economic, market-based thinking prevails in the theory and practices of the nonprofit sector and threats nonprofits' original missions and values. The important gap in extant nonprofit and voluntary scholarship include is the lack of evaluating nonprofit organizations' overall contributions based on the extent to which they accomplish original missions and values. That is, prior nonprofit social impact evaluation literature mainly focuses on the contributions of nonprofit organizations as economic value added, whereas the ultimate goal of the nonprofit sector—the accomplishment of missions and values—is not reflected in the literature. Because of the merits and influence of economic, market-based thinking, many nonprofit scholars employ private sector methods to the evaluation of nonprofits' social impacts. The economic value added to the society, rather than the extent to which nonprofits accomplish their missions and values, has been more often used as the measure of nonprofits' social impacts. The research tendency imposes the market-based logic on the practices of nonprofit organizations and fails to evaluate nonprofit organizations based on their very missions and values-driven nature.

Moreover, food bank studies address various issues of food banking, and mainly discuss how food banks solve food insecurity from the nutrition perspective. Nevertheless, similar to the broader nonprofit literature, previous food bank studies also have one major research gap—the lack of employing values-based evaluative frameworks

to assess the overall social impacts of food banks. This research trend hinders a more complete understanding of the food banking phenomenon.

In conclusion, the above review shows that current public values and nonprofit and food bank literatures have significant research gaps which impede the advancement of those scholarships. As for PVs and PVM scholarship, efforts need to be done by applying concepts and analytic tools of public values to the nonprofit context. With respect to nonprofit and food bank literature, current ways of conducting nonprofit social impacts are greatly dominated by economic, market-based thinking and practices. To counterbalance such research trend, there is a need for the alternative that could evaluate food banks' social impacts in a way that better reflects their values-driven nature, not just the economic value added to society or merely numerical outcomes of their activities. These research gaps have shown a limited understanding of how U.S. food banks respond to core social problems and related public value failure. Thus, this study asks the following research question: **how does food banking in the U.S. respond to public value failure?**

Next section elaborates the design of the research project that seeks to address the above research gaps and research question.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

To address above-mentioned research question and gaps, this study adopts an interpretive approach to an in-depth understanding of U.S. food banking as the core social phenomena of interest. This study's strategy is to incorporate its interpretation into the public value mapping (PVM) framework (Bozeman, 2007; Bozeman & Sarewitz, 2011) to evaluate the overall social impacts of food banking in the U.S.

The Interpretive Approach as the Logic of Inquiry

This study employs an interpretive approach as its guiding methodology. In social sciences, theoretical perspectives, such as positivism, interpretivism, critical theory, and postmodernism, serve as the philosophical stance guiding the logic of inquiry (Crotty, 1998). Different from the positive paradigm that aims to explain and predict social phenomena (Benton & Craib, 2001), the interpretive approach is "a set of ideas and methods that helps us understand social practices at various levels of organizational analysis" (Jun, 2006). Thus, the interpretive approach does not seek to conduct hypothesis testing but manages to achieve an interpretive understanding of the social reality rooted in specific cultural and historical contexts (Crotty, 1998).

Various scholars and intellectual traditions contribute to the broader stream of the interpretive tradition (Benton & Craib, 2001; Creswell, 2013; Crotty, 1998). For example, Max Weber uses the German term *verstenen* to describe the interpretive understanding of social action (Weber, 1947). Major interpretive approaches include phenomenology (understanding the very nature of the social phenomena without the constraints of previous knowledge) (Husserl, 1931; Merleau-Ponty, 1962), symbolic interactionism

(human interactions constitute meaning, human conduct and collective life in a symbolic process) (Blumer, 1969; Mead, 1934), and hermeneutics (uncovering meanings hidden in the text) (Gadamer, 1989; Heidegger, 1962). While recognizing these diverse intellectual traditions, this study does not stick to a specific theory but utilizes the set of interpretivism arguments as the overall perspective to interpret the nature, dynamic, and nuance of the social phenomena of interest.

The basic ontological and epistemological stance of the interpretive approach holds the assumption of multiple social realities (Creswell, 2013; Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012). That is, meaning social realities are constructed by humans. As Crotty (1998) explains, the interpretive approach holds that "all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful realities as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context" (p. 42). It is different from the positivist perspective that assumes an external, objective, and only reality out there for researchers to discover (Benton & Craib, 2001). Human interaction and interpretation is critical for constructing meaningful social realities (Berger & Luchman, 1966; Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Crotty, 1998). The goal of theories in the constructivist perspective is to "understand meanings and actions and how people construct them" in particular situations (Charmaz, 2014, p. 231). The researcher following the interpretive perspective is not a passive and neutral observer but an inventive and reflective actor engaging in interpreting and constructing his or her own understanding of social phenomena of interest (Crotty, 1998).

The interpretive approach is appropriate in pondering public values because the nature of public values, as social constructions of normative consensus among the public, is in accord with ontology and epistemology assumptions of the interpretive approach. Public values, even with the same term, have different social constructed meanings in different cultural, social, organizational and historical contexts (Bozeman, 2007). The social construction of the commonly accepted set of public values is a long-lasting and sometimes conflicting deliberation process among various social members (e.g., de Graaf & van der Wal, 2010). Assuming one single, objective, unchanged definition or commonly accepted set of public values is problematic and could result in a thin and single-dimensional understanding of the complex public values concepts. The interpretive logic of inquiry focuses on exploring and understanding values, beliefs, and feelings that are embedded in various kinds of texts and policy artifacts (language, objects, and acts) (Yanow, 2000, 2014). The interpretive perspective is, therefore, appropriate for the study of public values.

Two guiding principles of the interpretive approach are fundamental for this interpretive research project. First, the interpretive approach emphasizes contextuality (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012). That is, social context is crucial for making sense of concepts rooted in the social phenomena of interest. Schwartz-Shea and Yanow (2012) hold that "the logic of interpretive inquiry—focused on meaning-making in context—requires researchers' central attention to the concepts used by the human beings they study" (p. 53). Hence, interpretive researchers do not seek universal explanation or prediction of causal relationships among context-free variables. Rather, they strive to conduct meaning-making practices through the interpretation and reinterpretation of

specific social phenomena, policies, or organizations situated in certain social and local contexts (Yanow, 2000; Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2014). The interpretive analysis and the abstract concepts developed through such analysis are therefore context-specific.

Second, the interpretive approach highlights the abductive way of thinking during the research process (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012). Abductive reasoning refers to the logic of making imaginative inferences to explain puzzling findings in the inductive analysis process (Charmaz, 2014; Reichertz, 2007). It is an iterative and recursive process that requires researchers to go back and forth between the data and their analysis in order to make sense of complex and sometimes surprising findings from the research case or context. Going beyond the inductive/deductive dichotomy, abductive reasoning enables researchers to be more flexible in constructing meaningful interpretation and to maintain critical reflexibility in the analysis process (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012).

Moreover, the interpretive approach offers the flexibility to connect with other evaluative frameworks or methods because the interpretive approach does not confine itself in certain modes of research methods or processes (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012). This research combines the interpretive logic of inquiry with the public value mapping (PVM) framework (Bozeman, 2007; Bozeman & Sarewitz, 2011) as an analytic tool to investigate the U.S. food banking case. By doing so, this study also addresses the above-mentioned research gaps. Public values research fails to address the nonprofit context, while nonprofit and food bank studies do not employ values-based evaluative frameworks. This study's strategy better incorporates these scholarships and fills current research gaps.

Public Value Mapping Methods

Research Case Selection

This section discusses the process of data collection and analysis for the research case of U.S. food banking. Here this study discusses the reasons for choosing U.S. food banks as the research case. There are three major reasons. First, although the practice of food banking in the U.S. and other countries in the world share some common characteristics, such as the collection and distribution of surplus food (Riches & Silvasti, 2014). They still have significant differences in terms of their historical context, operation mode, formal and informal regulations, and other aspects (Bazerghi et al., 2016; Riches, 1986, 2002). Food banks in the U.S. are more similar in operational modes and rooted in the similar historical and cultural context. For the interpretive approach highlighting the centrality of contextuality, it is crucial to define the boundary of the research case.

Second, per the preceding literature review, relatively fewer studies address the context of U.S. food banks, and many of them focus on Canada food banks (Lambie-Mumford, 2013; Loopstra & Tarasuk, 2015; Riches, 2011; Wakefield et al., 2012). Nevertheless, the concept of food banking started from the U.S. and the biggest scale of food banking practices is in U.S. Thus, there is a need to address the U.S. food banking context.

Third, the choice of this research case comes partially from my prior research experience and interaction with St. Mary's food bank alliance (SMFBA) in Arizona. As Schwartz-Shea and Yanow (2012) claim, it is appropriate for the interpretive approach to utilize prior knowledge to develop research questions and even guide the research

process. From 2014 to 2016 I had the opportunity to work with SMFBA as one member of the pro bono project team formed by the Center for Organizational Research and Design (CORD) at Arizona State University. The main goal of the project was to help SMFBA evaluate their social impacts. Because of this opportunity, I was able to reach their organizational data, access the sites, and talked with senior and other program managers. Thus, I acquired practical knowledge regarding different dimensions of food banking practices. I also volunteered in the 2015 annual Thanksgiving Turkey giveaway event to have the on-site experience about how the food bank worked. These on-site and research experiences actually enrich my understanding of U.S. food banks and influence this interpretive research task.

Data Collection

This study utilized three major document sources as its data corpus. First, this study collected public available data from the websites of 203 U.S. food banks[7] that are members of Feeding America. There are definitely more than 203 food banks in the U.S because some food banks decide not to join Feeding America to keep their autonomy (Warshawsky, 2010). However, Feeding America is the largest U.S. food bank association and it requires its food bank members to fulfill certain organizational regulations and financial statement obligations. Their affiliates include almost all major food banks in every local food assistance networks. Thus, those food banks represent the most typical type of U.S. food banks. Also, because Feeding America has a list of all

[7] Those 203 Feeding America's food bank members are located in 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. I collected their organizational documents from their websites during late February and early March in 2017.

those food bank affiliates' websites, it is easier to gather organizational documents. Thus, this study focuses on the 203 Feeding America's food bank affiliates.

For this data source, from their websites I collected texts and documents which could manifest core values, such as mission statements (including mission, vision, and values), annual reports, IRS 990 forms (the form has brief description of mission), strategic plans, and other program information. Among these organizational documents, mission statements were the major data for coding and interpretation and the development of the public value logic of the U.S. food banking practice. Why did this study use mission statements? The mission of a nonprofit organization declares its very reason of existence, and well-articulate mission statements enable us to understand the organization's purpose, vision, long-term goals, clients' needs, core values, guiding principles (Anheier, 2005, pp. 176 – 178). Furthermore, mission statements are one of the major documents that help identify public values (Bozeman & Sarewitz, 2011). One caveat here is that those food banks' organizational documents (mission statements, strategic plans, and annual reports) oftentimes focus on their positive performance and impacts. This is logically reasonable because they want to highlight their positive impacts on their website so as to compete for financial and nonfinancial resources. However, when contemplating public value failure with public value criteria, the research should take into account the research case's overall social impacts, positive and negative. Thus, another two relevant data materials were collected for reaching a more in-depth and comprehensive interpretation.

The second data source this study gathered were public documents related to food banking in the U.S., including those from Feeding America, USDA, and Food and

Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO). These public documents could provide official statistics about U.S. food banks and related information regarding food insecurity and food waste. Publicly available research reports also help understand the broader picture (e.g., household food insecurity in the U.S. in 2015) or specific issues (e.g., senior hunger or rural food desert) about the key concepts of U.S. food banking.

The third data source this study collected was scholarly literature pertaining to food banking in general and in the U.S. Sometimes scholarly research offers more in-depth quantitative or qualitative analysis about food bank issues, and helps identify the positive and negative impacts of U.S. food banks, especially the critique part. This source was primarily utilized for the application of public value failure criteria and the development of public value mapping grid.

Public Value Mapping Analysis: Main Steps

As noted above, the public value mapping (PVM) framework has four major procedures: (1) identifying core public values; (2) applying public value failure criteria; (3) developing public value chains; and (4) displaying public value mapping grid (Bozeman & Sarewitz, 2011; Welch et al., 2015). Nevertheless, to make the logic of my argument simpler, I changed the order of the second and third steps, and then incorporate the first two steps into one step. Thus, for this research, there are three public value mapping analysis steps: (1) developing public value logic; (2) applying public value failure criteria; (3) displaying public value mapping grid.

The first major PVM step is to develop public value logic. This step incorporates the process of identifying core public values and developing values analysis chains for this U.S. food banking context. Different scholars develop their own values analysis

chains in different terms, but they denote the similar thing: the interrelationships of values in a specific case or context.[8] For this study I used the term public value logic as Maricle (2011) did. The major documents used for coding were U.S. food banks' mission/vision/value statements, while other documents and literature were also used for the identification of core public values and deliberation of the public value logic.

To conduct this first PVM analysis step, this study utilized a two-cycle coding strategy and MAXQDA 12 as the data analysis software. The first cycle coding method was values coding, which captured the expression of values embedded in the text (Saldaña, 2013). For example, when the food bank addressed "our mission is to fight hunger…," I captured the key words "fighting hunger" and coded it as "food security." When food banks clearly mentioned their values, such as "service, accountability, diversity, respect…," I coded them by using their terms or the common patterns identified in other food banks' expressions. I coded the values not only based on the terms they used but also on the value expressions hidden in the text. For instance, I coded the sentence "WCFB's mission is to engage, educate, and lead Worcester County in creating a hunger-free community" as "public sphere" because this sentence demonstrated the engagement and education function that a public sphere has. The analytical principle of constant comparison was employed to discern variations, differences and similarities in the data (Charmaz, 2014; Corbin &Strauss, 2008; Glaser &Strauss, 1967; Hallberg, 2006). For the first cycle coding process, I was able to code all key values expressed in the documents and reached a broader understanding of all the key values in the U.S. food banking context.

[8] See articles in the 2011 special issue in *Minerva* and an overview done by Bozeman and Sarewitz (2011).

For the second cycle coding process, I employed focused coding to construct major value categories (Saldaña, 2013). Focused coding was used to "determine the adequacy and conceptual strength of…initial codes" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 140). That is, this research dissected the analytic power of the first-cycle values codes; then this research reconstructed and reorganized initial values codes into several major value categories that made most analytic sense (Charmaz, 2014; Charmaz & Belgrave, 2012; Saldaña, 2013). For example, food security, sustainability and progressive opportunity, stood out from all the values in terms of their importance in the initial coding process. As a result, I identified them as three core prime public values. For an example of developing major value category, this research examined the definitions assigned to each value, and decided that five instrumental values (public sphere, charity and volunteerism, collaboration, sense of community, and trust) were more about the enhancement of inter- and ultra-organizational relationships. I created a value category named inter-and ultra-organizational values to encompass those five values. After conducting focused coding, this research constructed the public value logic and used other document sources for contemplating the appropriateness of this public value logic.

The second PVM analysis step is to apply the public value failure (PVF) criteria to the U.S. food banking case. Currently there are ten PVF criteria (Bozeman & Johnson, 2015). I employed the public value logic developed above as well as other documents and literature for identifying applicable PVF criteria, examining success/failure of public values in each case, and developing a new PVF criterion for this research case and potentially the broader nonprofit context.

The third PVM step is to use a public value mapping grid to display the conceptual locations of the research case in terms of its related public values success/failure and market success/failure (Bozeman & Sarewitz, 2011; Welch et al., 2015). I used all related documents and the results of first two steps to determine the proposal conceptual locations of the U.S. food banking case in a PVM grid.

Research Case: U.S. Food Banks

A Brief History of Food Banking in the U.S.

Food banks refer to nonprofit organizations that collect and store donation of surplus foods in warehouses and distribute the foods to partner agencies that offer direct food assistance to the needy (Berner & O'Brien, 2004; Curtis & McClellan, 1995; Riches, 2002). Local, chartable, community-based emergency food relief problems, such as food pantries and soup kitchens have long existed in the American society since the Great Depression or even earlier time (Nichols-Casebolt & Morris, 2002; Poppendieck, 1998; Winne, 2008). However, the conception of food bank in the modern format was not yet developed until mid-1960s. In 1967, a retired businessman John van Hengel established the world's food bank, St. Mary's food bank in Phoenix, AZ (Cotugna & Beebe, 2002; Daponte & Bade, 2006; Poppendieck, 1998). He initially solicited surplus food for a soup kitchen. When the amount of food was too large, he founded a warehouse to store those food items for future distribution.

The rapid growth of U.S. food banks happened in late 1970s and 1980s. The Tax Reform Act of 1976 provided the incentive for private companies to donate food products (Cotugna & Beebe, 2002). Moreover, in the 1980s the number of food banks surged owing to the combination of various factors, such as increased

unemployment/underemployment, escalating housing costs, and reduced public assistance (Poppendieck, 1998). America's Second Harvest (ASH) was established in 1979 as an organization that collected food donations at the national level and then formed the nationwide food bank network. By merging with Foodchain, the biggest national food rescue organization, ASH became more dominant in defining the model of U.S. food banking (Warshawsky, 2010). It changed its name to Feeding America in 2008. By virtue of their flexible, innovative, and community-based capacity that could facilitate enormous voluntary efforts and contributions to alleviate hunger, U.S. food banks have become the central actor in local private food assistance networks to this day (Cotugna & Beebe, 2002; Daponte & Bade, 2006; Vitiello, Grisso, Whiteside, & Fischman, 2015; Winne, 2008).

According to its most recent report in 2014, Feeding America has more than 200 food bank affiliates that collaborate with approximately 46,000 partner agencies nationwide, distributing more than three billion pounds of food items and serving 46.5 million clients in 15.5 million households per year (Weinfield et al., 2014).

How Do U.S. Food Banks Work?

Because of their capacity to solicit and distribute large resources, U.S. food banks function as the central actor within the local, charitable food assistance network to collaborate with governments, corporations, other nonprofits, and the broader public to solve the hunger problem (Berner & O' Brien, 2004; Daponte & Bade, 2006; Warshawsky, 2010). Furthermore, U.S. food banks also serve as one alternative solution to the food waste/loss problem because food banks can better utilize surplus food and

grocery products that could otherwise be wasted or thrown away (Godfray et al., 2010; Lipinski et al., 2013; F. Schneider, 2013).

The practice of U.S. food banks is a warehouse-based operation as shown in Figure 1. Food banks receive surplus food mainly from corporations (especially food retailers and manufacturers), governments, farmers, and food drives. Food banks also receive money donations from various sources for maintaining their operation. Volunteers play a significant role in providing labor for packing, sorting, and distributing food items. After receiving food products, food banks store food products in their warehouse, and sort and prepare those food products in a distributable condition. Food banks distribute those food items to their local partner agencies, such as food pantries and soup kitchens. Rather than going directly to food banks, clients go to those partner agencies to receive food boxes.

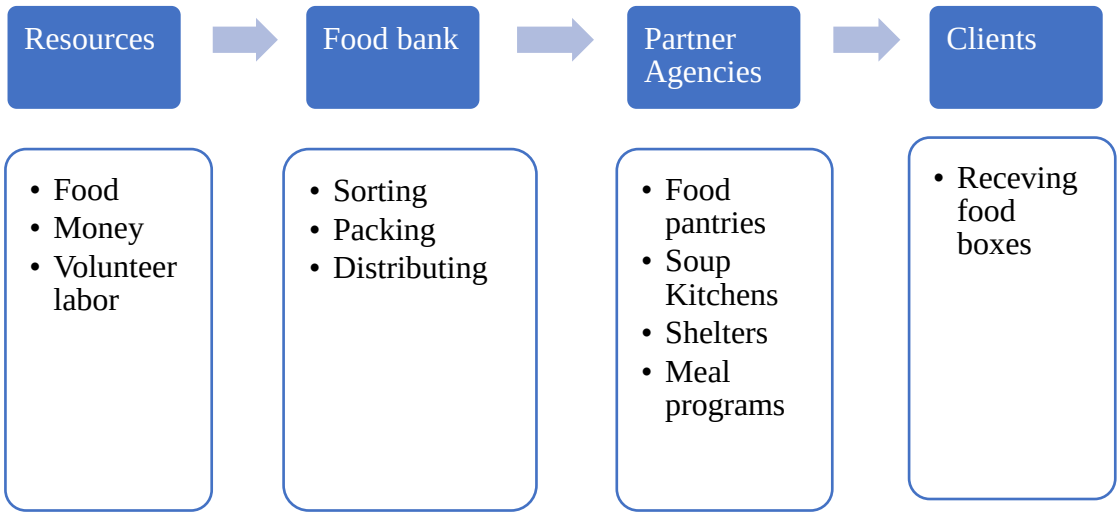

Figure 1. The Operation Process of U.S. Food Banks

Yet, the daily practice of U.S. food banking is more complex than what the above figure shows because U.S. food banks operate various kinds of programs, which offer varied food and non-food services to clients. Generally, given the variations in local contexts, broader program types include: (1) children hunger relief (e.g., Kid's Café, Backpack program, and summer food service); (2) senior hunger relief (such as delivering food to the seniors with limited incomes); (3) food rescue (such as gleaning at local farms); (4) mobile food pantry (directly delivering food to those who do not have easy access to partner agencies) (5) community nutrition program (e.g., community garden and nutrition education); (6) disaster response (providing emergency food items and necessities to those suffering from natural disasters); (7) client service (e.g., helping clients apply for SNAP and other public assistance programs); (8) community kitchen (helping people gain self-reliant skills).

Moreover, local food banks have innovative programs that go beyond the traditional meaning of food bank programs. Food banks also hold special events (e.g., Thanksgiving Turkey Drive, or fundraising and advocacy events) (Cotugna & Beebe, 2002; Warshawsky, 2010; Weinfield et al., 2014). Therefore, U.S. food banks not only distribute surplus food to those in need, but also try to raise public awareness and promote public policies about hunger, food waste, nutrition and other related issues.

CHAPTER 4

PUBLIC VALUE MAPPING ANALYSIS

This chapter articulates the results of my public value mapping (PVM) analysis. As noted in the methods chapter, the PVM analysis consists of three major steps: (1) developing public value logic; (2) applying public value failure criteria; (3) displaying public value mapping grid.

Public Value Logic Analysis

First of all, this study expounds the public value logic in the U.S. food banking context through the interpretative analysis of related data corpus. The interpretive approach emphasizes contextuality, reflexivity, and sense-making of core concepts (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012), and these guiding notions are utilized during the development of the public value logic. Figure 2 shows the public value logic. This public value logic basically illustrates a means (instrumental values)-ends (prime values) relationship as well as the logical structure of related values (how values within and outside food banks interact with each other) (Bozeman, 2007; Bozeman & Sarewitz, 2011). Prime values are ends in themselves, while instrumental values function as the means to help achieve prime values. The dynamic of this public value logic demonstrates the complex nature of the U.S. food banking context that requires specific values pertaining to the successful collective efforts. This study examines prime public values first and then discusses instrumental values in this research case.

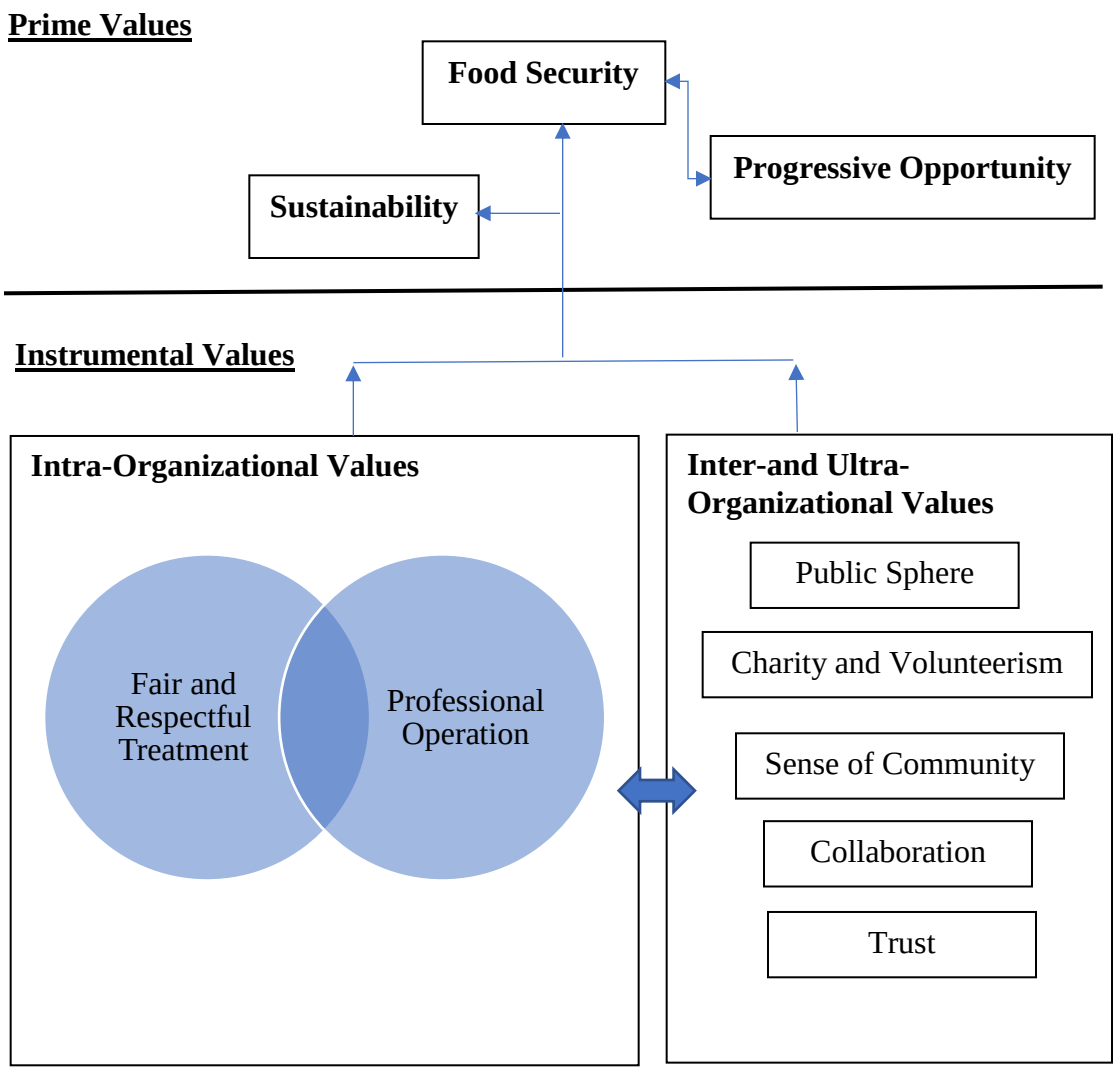

Figure 2. Public Value Logic in the U.S. Food Banking Context

Prime Values: Food Security, Sustainability, and Progressive Opportunity

Through the interpretative analysis of current related documents and the construction of public value logic, this study identifies three prime public values in the U.S. food banking context, including food security, sustainability, as well as progressive opportunity, one value closely associated with food security but having broader significance for the society as a whole.

Food Security. First, the formost core and prime public value in this research case is food security. Defined by Anderson (1990) and adopted by USDA, food security refers to:

> access by all people at all times to enough food for an active, healthy life and includes at a minimum: a) the ready availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods, and b) the assured ability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways (e.g., without resorting to emergency food supplies, scavenging, and other coping strategies) (S. A. Anderson, 1990, p. 1575).

Food and Ariculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations also has developed a similar definition of food security which highlights the importance of having "physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy and life" (FAO, 2009, p. 1). Food security is a broader term that can include other related concepts and values, such as food safety, nutritious diet, sufficient food access, and self-sufficiency.

Why is food security a public value? The major reason is that failing to achieve food security, namely food insecurity, will lead to many negative individual and collective social problems. The condition when one or more individuals in the households fail to achieve food security is considered as food insecurity.[9] Food insecurity is often intertwined with many social problems, such as poverty, unemployment, and economic

[9] USDA has defined different levels of food security from high food security, marginal food security to low food security and very low food security. Using 18 household survey questions, USDA access household food security as a supplement to the regular Current Population Survey (CPS). Details see https://www.ers.usda.gov/data-products/food-security-in-the-united-states/

crisis (Poppendieck, 1998; Sen, 1981). It has the potential to cause various negative consequences, and one most frequently mentioned consequence is hunger—"the uneasy and painful sensation caused by a lack of food" (S. A. Anderson, 1990, p. 1576). Serious hunger directly jeopardizes human subsistence and dignity. Furthermore, aggregated food insecurity could result in other health and social problems, such as malnutrition, obesity, children' poor academic performance, and broader community crime issues (Hamelin, Habicht, & Beaudry, 1999; Maxwell, 1996; Wunderlich & Norwood, 2006). Food security has significant impacts on various societal aspects, and few will object that individuals, especially those vulnerable people, should suffer from food insecurity. Hence, this study argues that food security is a public value in modern society.

The next question is, why is food security a core and prime public value in the context of food banking in the U.S.? Food banks, by definition, solicit, prepare and distribute surplus food to partner agencies and then to the hands of those in need (Feeding America, 2011). The raison d' etre of food banking is to address the hunger problem and associated food insecurity issues (e.g., safe, nutritious food sources). It is also evident in the mission/vision/value statements of U.S. food banks. Fighting (or verbs with different intensity) hunger is a common theme in the data. Almost all U.S. food banks claim that their mission or vision is to deal with the hunger issue. Given different terms or ways of expression, they collectively demonstrate the willingness to end or alleviate hunger and portray the vision of a hunger-free community (or their specific service location).[10] Furthermore, the definition of food security includes the concept of sufficient and

[10] For example, 48 out of 202 food banks in my dataset use "hunger-free" in expressing their mission or vision.

nutritious food access as basic human right and the ultimate goal. In the data corpus, human dignity (terms related to human survival, subsistence, dignity, basic human/citizen right and entitlement) and nutritious diet (words about nutrition and health knowledge and food safety) are two forms of manifesting food security, in addition to the direct expression of fighting hunger. Examples of human dignity and nutritious diet are as follows: (1) "food is a fundamental right of all people" (Worcester County Food Bank, Inc., Massachusetts); (2) "access to nutritious food is a right for all" (Feeding America Eastern Wisconsin, Wisconsin); (3) "Hunger is universally unacceptable, and nutritious food is available to everyone" (Second Harvest North Central Food Bank, Minnesota); (4) "…a hunger-free Oklahoma, where everyone has access to healthy, nutritious food" (Regional Food Bank of Oklahoma, Oklahoma).

In addition to the evidence from food banks documents, the food banking literature also intensively discusses how the practice of food banks responds to hunger/nutrition problems and the extent to which food banks have resolved those problems (e.g., Bazerghi et al., 2016; Poppendieck, 1998; Wakefield et al., 2012). Thus, it is adequate to claim that food security is the most important prime public value in the U.S. food banking context, and this notion is very likely to be applicable to food banking in other countries.

Sustainability. Second, another core and prime public value in the U.S. food banking context is sustainability. Although the concept of sustainability could include social, economic, and environmental aspects, in the food banking context it refers to environmental sustainability (SE), which seeks to "improve human welfare by protecting the sources of raw materials used for human needs and ensuring that the sinks for human

wastes are not exceeded, in order to prevent harm to humans" (Goodland, 1995, p. 3). Sustainability has been recognized as one key public value and a conceptual focus for governmental actions (Beck Jørgensen & Bozeman, 2007; Fiorino, 2010). In the food banking context, the major social problem that could endanger sustainability is food waste. USDA defines food loss and waste as "reductions in *edible* food mass anywhere along the food chain."[11] The food loss/waste circumstance is the coproduct of the modern food industry and the consumption culture, especially in the U.S. According to United States Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), landfills contribute to 20 percent of total methane emissions in the U.S., while food is biggest source of landfills.[12] Scholars (Hiç, Pradhan, Rybski, & Kropp, 2016) estimate that by 2050 greenhouse gas emissions associated with food waste could be 1.9−2.5 Gt CO2eq per year, which may cause significant climate change.

Why is sustainability a core and prime public value in the U.S. food banking context? The primary practice of food banking is to collect, inventory, prepare and distribute surplus food to those who face food insecurity. Thus, to achieve the most important mission and value—food security—food banks at the same time help prevent food waste and promote the value of sustainability. For example, when discussing food rescue as the way to solve hunger, Feeding America holds that "it's about sustainability, too" ("Fighting food waste with food rescue," 2016). This logic is evident in the U.S. food bank documents as well. In their mission/vision/value statements, some food banks

[11] See details https://www.usda.gov/oce/foodwaste/faqs.htm

[12] See details https://www.epa.gov/sustainable-management-food/united-states-2030-food-loss-and-waste-reduction-goal

clearly claim that their mission is to solve hunger and food waste problems. Some example expressions include: (1) “food banking solves two problems…hunger and waste” (South Plains Food Bank, Texas); (2) “mission of the Regional Food Bank is to alleviate hunger and prevent food waste” (Regional Food Bank of Northeastern New York, New York); (3) “we strive to end hunger effectively and efficiently - where waste is unacceptable” (Great Plains Food Bank, Minnesota); (4) “to persons in need that reduces waste and alleviates hunger in our valley” (Second Harvest Food Bank of San Joaquin and Stanislaus Counties, California). Apart from the explicit claim of fighting food waste, the manifestation of preventing food waste is also through the expression of collecting “surplus food,” operation of some food bank programs, and the intentions to develop sustainable solutions and food systems. Therefore, sustainability (at the general, abstract level) with preventing food waste is another core prime value in the U.S. food banking context.

Progressive opportunity. The above discussion points out two core prime public values (food security and sustainability) in the U.S. food banking case, and their importance has been expressed in related food bank and public documents. Nevertheless, progressive opportunity, albeit not as explicit as those two prime public values, is also another core prime public value in this U.S. food banking context. As Bozeman and Johnson (2015) hold, progressive opportunity refers to “the social conditions requisite to ensure that members of a society have equal ability to exploit their individual abilities and to achieve the goals they have set for themselves” (p. 71). In the U.S. food banking context, progressive opportunity is related to the concepts of social equity, opportunity, and equal access to food. It is closely associated with food security because when more

individuals or households reach food security, they are more likely to develop self-sufficiency as others do (Chiu, Brooks, & An, 2016). Food security is still different from progressive opportunity in that socio-economic inequality is intertwined with various problems of the society. Food insecurity is just one dimension of the consequences of socio-economic inequalities. Therefore, in this public value logic, progressive opportunity is an implicit prime public value closely associated with food security, but two other prime public values (food security and sustainability) are more explicit in the documents. In addition, progressive opportunity as a public value failure criterion is discussed in the next section.

The expression of progressive opportunity can be found together with three sub-dimensions: hope (hope and belief about a better quality of life or future), social justice (fair and just individual-society relationship), and self-sufficiency (being self-reliance or having ability to earn a living and purchase food by themselves). Example expressions regarding progressive opportunity are as follows: (1) "…a Montana free from hunger, where everyone has equal access to nutritious food" (Montana Food Bank Network, Montana); (2) "Transforming Hunger into Hope" (Ozarks Food Harvest, Missouri); (3) "To create hope and nourish lives through a powerful hunger relief network" (Second Harvest Food Bank of Central Florida, Florida); (4) "Social Justice: We commit to addressing the root causes of hunger and advocating for social justice and the common good because we believe that access to safe, sufficient, nutritious food is a basic human right, and because we believe that empowered people and their communities thrive" (Community Food Bank of Southern Arizona, Arizona); (5) Achieving Self-Sufficiency: …our programs and services are dedicated to the sustained improvement of

human life by bridging the gap between situations of poverty, and emotional or economic self-sufficiency" (HACAP Food Reservoir, Iowa).

Overall, the public value of the U.S. food banking has three prime public values: food security, sustainability and progressive opportunity. Instrumental values in this context, including intra-, inter, and ultra-organizational values, interact with each other for the achievement of prime public values.

After examining prime values, this study now focuses on the instrumental values part. The dynamic and interactions of instrumental values in the U.S. food banking context, to a large extent, manifest the distinguishing inner logic and characteristics of the nonprofit sector (Brown, 2015; LeRoux & Feeney, 2015; Salamon, 2012). Instrumental values in this research case are categorized into two major groups: (1) Intra-organizational values and (2) Inter-and ultra-organizational values. The main reason for such categorization is that the functioning of U.S. food banks does include various public, private, and nonprofit organizations as well as citizens (e.g., donors, volunteers, and clients) involved in activities of food banking. With the ultimate mission and associated prime public values (food security, sustainability, and progressive opportunity) in mind, food banks themselves need to achieve certain intra-organizational values in order to cooperate with partner agencies and complete for resources provided by public and private organizations and citizens. Moreover, achieving the mission and prime public values entails good interactions among several key inter-organizational values (those that are critical for successful relationships between food banks and other organizations/citizens in the charitable food assistance network) and ultra-organizational

values (those that are critical for promoting food banks' mission outside the charitable food assistance network).

Instrumental Values: Intra-Organizational Values

Intra-organizational values in this case include two value categories: (1) fair and respectful treatment (associated with the interactions with people involved in the food bank context) and (2) professional operation (related to a well-functioned food bank). Furthermore, these two value categories have three overlapping values (integrity, accountability, and commitment to service). Those values are elaborated below.

Fair and respectful treatment. This value category consists of values with regard to the ways to treat all individuals involved inside a food bank: (1) respect (2) diversity.

The first value, respect, refers to the notion of treating all with justice, equity, and compassion. That is, for food banks, treating all people involved in the food banking practices with equal standards and compassionate attitudes (especially for clients) is a key value for the organization to achieve its mission. The emphasis of respect is obvious in many mission/vision/value statements and oftentimes the concept of respect is listed as one core value of the food bank. Several examples include: (1) "treating others, as we want to be treated" (Second Harvest Foodbank of Clark, Champaign, & Logan Counties, Ohio); (2) "compassion & respect: we value and hold in high regard our staff, volunteers, partners, donors, and most importantly, the people in need for whom we work" (Good Shepherd Food Bank, Maine); (3) "respect – we respect the inherent worth and dignity of every person and treat all with respect, equity and compassion" (Mississippi Food Network, Mississippi); (4) "we are committed to treating all people in need with respect

and dignity" (Food Bank of the Golden Crescent, Texas). From these examples, the respect value is applied not only for those clients but also for all people involved in the interactions of food bank activities.

The second value in this fair and respectful treatment category is diversity. Based on the data, diversity in the food banking context has three dimensions. Food banks value diversity in terms of (1) actors involved (e.g., staff, board, partners, and volunteers); (2) thoughts and ideas, and (3) inclusiveness and the recognition of the diverse community nature. In the data corpus, many food banks point out the need to uphold diversity as their core values. Following four examples show the contour of the diversity value: (1) "Diversity. We seek a diversity of backgrounds, opinions and skills in our staff, Board, partners and volunteers, and we respect and value all contributions" (Food Bank of Alaska, Inc., Alaska); (2) "We believe that the ethnic, cultural and social diversity of our County should be reflected in our staff, Board and network of partner agencies" (Feeding America San Diego, California); (3) "We accept one another and encourage diversity of thoughts and ideas, as well as ethnic, cultural and social diversity" (Fredericksburg Regional Foodbank, Virginia); (4) "An appreciation of the diverse nature of our community and a commitment to inclusive practices in the hiring of staff, recruitment of volunteers and provision of services" (Hoosier Hills Food Bank, Indiana).

Professional operation. This value category includes those values pertaining to what a well-operated food bank needs: (1) stewardship of resources (2) efficiency (3) effectiveness (4) innovation.

First, food banks highlight stewardship of resources. Valuing stewardship of financial and nonfinancial resources is vital for food banks because those resources are

donated or provided by governments, corporations, and citizens. Those voluntary contributions to a specific food bank oftentimes may be based on the reputation, performance, and trustworthiness of that food bank. Therefore, food banks need to demonstrate their appreciation for those donations and contributions by acting as the steward that uses resources wisely or protect those resources. This is a distinguishing characteristic of food banks as well as the nonprofit sector in general, because their daily operation mainly depends on the public's voluntary contributions (time, money, food, volunteer work, and non-financial items). If food banks do not perform the stewardship spirit, they will probably lose those resource supports and thus fail to accomplish their goals and mission. Examples in related documents are as follows: (1) "We will keep faith with the public trust through the efficient and effective use of resources entrusted to us" (Feeding the Gulf Coast, Alabama); (2) "Remain good stewards of all that is gifted" (River Valley Regional Food Bank, Arkansas); (3) "Stewardship – By planning ahead and holding ourselves accountable, we ensure the responsible and sustainable use of resources in the long-term" (Three Square Food Bank, Nevada); (4) "Stewardship – Fulfilling our mission requires that we use our resources, gifts and donations wisely and with accountability to the public (Virginia Peninsula Foodbank, Virginia).

Second, efficiency is probably one of the most frequently used values in any type of organizations. Efficiency is about doing things successfully without wasting time and money or refers to a good ratio between input and output. In the food banking context, conducting daily operations in an efficient manner is very important. Thus, the expression of "efficiency" is well documented in the data corpus. Example uses of the efficiency concept include: (1) "We help families thrive by efficiently procuring and distributing

food and essentials to the hungry through our programs and partner agencies" (Food Bank of the Rockies, Wyoming); (2) "…to develop efficient solutions to strengthen individuals, families and communities" (The Idaho Foodbank, Idaho); (3) "efficiently distribute these resources to the hungry in Western New York through our member agencies" (Food Bank of Western New York, New York); (4) "We fight hunger efficiently" (Food Gatherers, Michigan).

Third, effectiveness is another value often used together with efficiency. Effectiveness denotes the capacity to produce intended outcomes. It is very crucial in the food banking context because food banks frequently highlight the amount of food or meal they provide and the number of people they serve. The emphasis of evaluating organizational effectiveness is evident in the documents. Some examples are listed as follows: (1) "FOOD Share responds to community emergencies quickly and effectively" (Food Share, Inc., California); (2) "We strive to maximize community resources by effectively obtaining and distributing food through a food collection and distribution system" (Toledo Northwestern Ohio Food Bank, Ohio); (3) "…ensuring consolidated network of effective food collection and distribution which will provide universal access to food for the needy in our communities" (Food Bank of Northwest Louisiana, Louisiana); (4) "…feed hungry people by soliciting and effectively distributing grocery products and perishable foods…" (New Hampshire Food Bank, New Hampshire).

The fourth value in this category is innovation, which refers to creative, new, innovative way of thinking, solutions, and changes. Today, food banks and the nonprofit sector in general have to utilize imaginative, creative thinking to develop innovative solutions to social problems with limited resources. Also, food banks have the capacity to

collaborate with various individual and organizational actors, creating the condition for innovative ways of achieving their missions. Expressions of innovation could be found as follows: (1) “Innovation & creativity: We strive to constantly evolve and evaluate, so we may implement the most effective strategies to achieve our mission” (Good Shepherd Food Bank, Maine); (2) “We will seek new solutions” (Food Bank of Lincoln, Inc., Nebraska); (3) “We lead by finding creative ways to prevent and reduce food insecurity” (Rhode Island Community Food Bank, Rhode Island). Moreover, the manifestation of innovation also can be identified through various innovative programs that go beyond traditional food bank programs. For instance, Food Bank of the Rio Grande Valley in Texas has a “School Tools” program that provides school supplies with local elementary school teachers to help students from low-income households. Another innovative program example is the H & J Weinberg NE PA Regional Food Bank’s weatherization assistance program, which utilizes government funding in helping low-income families reduce energy costs. Food banks, therefore, have the great potential to devise creative ways to help the local community.

As noted above, three intra-organizational values (i.e., accountability, integrity and commitment to service) are located in the overlapping part of “**fair and respectful treatment”** and “**professional operation.”** That is, the achievement of accountability needs to be evaluated by how the food bank treats all people well and how it fulfills all fiscal and professional requirements. Likewise, integrity and commitment to service are not only for the job/programs but also for the people being served.

First, accountability, as a key value in intra-organizational values, refers to having clear measurements, records, and reports to demonstrate the organization’s competence,

efficiency, and effectiveness (accountable for tasks) and being responsible to the community, donors, volunteers and partners (accountable for resource providers and the public). In short, the accountability value emphasizes being responsible to the tasks they do and to the public. Some food banks combine stewardship and accountability as one core value. Examples include: (1) "Accountability-We maintain and communicate accurate and timely information regarding fulfillment of needs in our service area…regular evaluation and reporting as to how resources are used" (Fredericksburg Regional Foodbank, Virginia); (2) "We will embrace a twofold responsibility through accountability: first, for policy, decisions and actions; and second, for complete, accurate and clear record keeping to report information" (Food Bank for Monterey County, California); (3) "We believe…in fiscal responsibility, transparency and accountability" (Feeding America Eastern Wisconsin, Wisconsin); (4) "Stewardship and Accountability – We keep faith with the public trust through the efficient, effective and compassionate use of resources entrusted to us…" (Northwest Arkansas Food Bank, Arkansas).

Second, the meaning of integrity is to act with honesty, trust, transparency, openness, and ethical standards. When interacting with people involved and implementing food bank practices, food bank practitioners need to act with integrity. Example expressions include: (1) Acting with honesty, trust and openness and delivering on our commitments (Food Bank of the Golden Crescent, Texas); (2) "Integrity: We will be open and honest in all relationships, dealings and transactions" (Feeding the Gulf Coast, Alabama); (3) "Integrity of our words, decisions, and actions" (Roadrunner Food Bank, New Mexico).

Third, commitment to service is also a value related to the attitude towards people and programs. It is related to dedication, enthusiasm, and similar attitudes towards donors, clients and programs. Several examples are as follows: (1) Service: We believe service to others is fundamental in working towards our mission (Northwest Arkansas Food Bank, Arkansas); (2) "We value providing quality service in all that we do" (Feeding South Dakota, South Dakota); (3) "Service – We are committed to help the hungry, sick and poor…" (Virginia Peninsula Foodbank, Virginia); (4) "Service with Excellence" (Community Food Share, Colorado).

Instrumental Values: Inter-and Ultra-Organizational Values

In the U.S. food banking context, five inter-and ultra-organizational values are pivotal to the achievement of the mission and prime public values: (1) trust (2) collaboration (3) sense of community (4) charity and volunteerism (5) public sphere. In fact, these values are closely related and interact with each other in the nonprofit context.

Trust. Food banks, as well as the nonprofit sector in general, have the potential to attract and receive voluntary donations from various individual and organizational actors, mainly because they are trustworthy (if well-functioned). The interactions and collaborations between food banks and partner agencies also entail mutual trust as the bond to conduct collective tasks. Trust, therefore, is not only a way of doing things within the organization. It is also what makes collaborative efforts of the charitable food assistance network possible. Trust in this context refers to the belief or the willingness to believe other organizations or people in a reliable mutual relationship. Furthermore, trust is the defining factor that helps food banks' public education, advocacy, and other purposes reaching the broader public outside the charitable food assistance network.

When people consider food banks as trustworthy, what food banks seek to educate or advocate would be more likely to succeed. There are several examples of trust in the data corpus: (1) “We maintain the public trust through the efficient and effective use and stewardship of the resources entrusted to us” (Community Food Bank of Southern Arizona, Arizona); (2) “We will strive to earn and convey trust through openness and honesty” (Food Bank for Monterey County, California); (3) “We will honor the public’s trust by maintaining the highest standards of ethics and stewardship” (The Foodbank, Inc., Ohio).

Collaboration. The concept of collaboration is vital in the U.S. food banking context. The collaboration value emphasizes the importance of working together to pursue common goals. As noted above, the practice of food banking entails a great amount of collaborative efforts, from the collection of surplus food, the preparation and distribution to partner agencies and finally to the hands of those in need. Every step of food bank activities needs certain form of collaboration. This is also an important characteristic of the nonprofit sector because the collaborative efforts from the civil society are vital for the achievement of nonprofits’ social missions. In the data corpus, the notion of collaboration is emphasized in most of the food banks. Examples are as follows: (1) “Collaboration – We promote partnerships that engage individuals and organizations focused on the common goal of a hunger-free Idaho” (The Idaho Foodbank, Idaho); (2) “We know that our ability to feed everyone in need depends on our strong collaboration between the Food Bank and our member agencies” (Rhode Island Community Food Bank, Rhode Island); (3) “Operating collaboratively, efficiently &

ethically will help us end hunger in our region" (Chattanooga Area Food Bank, Tennessee).

Sense of community. Another distinguishing value in the food banking context is the sense of community, which refers to belongingness to the local community and showing concerns about community affairs. U.S. food banks collaborate with partner agencies and serve clients at the local community level. Given the costs of collecting and distributing food, one state usually has several food banks which serve different regions or counties. Food banks, therefore, manage to improve the well-being of people in their local community and seek support from the local community. Also, most of the time food bank volunteers come from nearby cities and areas. Thus, the sense of community becomes one key value that makes food banking work. The frequent mention of the community concept is evident and can be found in following examples: (1) "The Vision: To Build Hunger Free Communities" (Yuma Community Food Bank, Arizona); (2) "We believe in the power of community" (Northwest Arkansas Food Bank, Arkansas); (3) "Partnering with and strengthening community-based responses to hunger and its root causes, and inspiring and engaging our community to lift its collective voice to end hunger" (Greater Chicago Food Depository, Illinois).

Charity and volunteerism. One value that is more implicit in the data corpus is charity and volunteerism, which denotes the notion of benevolence, generosity and caring for others, as well as voluntary contributions of time, money, food and effort. This is another key value characteristic of food banks and the broader nonprofit sector. The altruistic-based, charity and volunteerism motivation is one major factor that makes individuals and organizations' supports possible, even though egoistic motivations still to

some extent drive voluntary behaviors in food banking and general nonprofit contexts (Clary & Snyder, 1999; D. H. Smith, 1981). The quest for volunteers is always at the most salient locations on the food bank websites. Therefore, this study considers charity and volunteerism as a key inter-and ultra-organizational value. Several examples are as follows: (1) "Volunteers are an essential part of the Food Bank's operations" (Greater Cleveland Food Bank, Ohio); (2) "We also work to mobilize the public to support what we do through donations, advocacy and volunteerism" (Mid-Ohio Foodbank, Ohio); (3) "…our mission is accomplished through the generosity of others" (Feeding South Florida, Florida); (4) "Inspire generosity among current supporters and attract a new generation of donors" (Rhode Island Community Food Bank, Rhode Island).

Public sphere. One key value in this context, albeit implicit in the organizational documents, is public sphere, which helps achieve core prime values of food banking. Bozeman and Johnson (2015) claim that public sphere is "a public value pertains to open public communication about public values" (p. 69) and it "reinforces trust, respect, and cooperation, generally antecedents to accomplish joint work and consensus on public values" (p. 71). It is a public value in itself and can also refers to a physical or virtual space or platform that contributes to open communication and deliberations regarding how to achieve public values. Food banks create the potential platform for diverse actors to get involved and carry out collective actions to solve hunger and food waste problems. Social impacts of food banks often go beyond the boundary of their local food assistance networks by raising public awareness about hunger/nutrition/food waste issues and advocating for social changes. Public education (conducting research and raising public awareness about hunger and nutrition issues) and advocacy (advocate for the mission and

mobilize resources from legislation and public policies) are two sub-dimensions under the public sphere value concept. In their mission/vision/value statements, U.S. food banks frequently mention the importance of education and advocacy. The functioning of education and advocacy promotes the discussion about food security and sustainability, two prime public values in the food banking context. Examples of expressing the public sphere value include: (1) "We work together to accomplish the mission in our regions, valuing each other's roles and using an open process and honest communication" (Northwest Arkansas Food Bank, Arkansas); (2) "…is dedicated to relieving hunger, the causes of hunger, and the problems associated with hunger through awareness, education…" (FIND Food Bank, California); (3) "…and to educate and engage the community in the fight against hunger" (America's Second Harvest of the Big Bend, Inc., Florida); (4) "…conduct hunger education and awareness campaigns and advocate for public policies that alleviate hunger" (Los Angeles Regional Food Bank, California).

In sum, these instrumental values (including intra-, inter-, and ultra-organizational values) are critical to the success of prime public values in the U.S. food banking context, as demonstrated in U.S. food banks' related documents.

Applying Public Value Failure Criteria

After elaborating the public value logic in the U.S. food banking context, the next step of PVM analysis is to apply public value failure (PVF) criteria to the examination of core prime public values. As Bozeman (2007) argues, public value (failure) criteria "are used to investigate the extent to which public values seemed to have been achieved" (p. 18). The public value logic discussed above has shown the conceptual, logical structure of how various values work and interact with each other in order to achieve the ultimate

prime public values. Nevertheless, how the public value logic of the U.S. food banking works is not equal to the real, overall social impacts of the U.S. food banking. In real world situations, every logical connection of values in the public value logic may not be so solid or well-functioned. And even each connection and each value works well, the public value logic does not actually guarantee the success of public values.

With the above-mentioned caveat in mind, this study employs the current ten PVF criteria (Bozeman, 2002, 2007; Bozeman & Johnson, 2015) to evaluate the overall social impacts of food banking in the U.S. While these PVF criteria do not contain specific, quantitative measures of public values, they are useful in terms of assessing or contemplating the extent to which public values have been achieved or failed by a more general and normative angle. Furthermore, the PVF criteria have two key characteristics. First, the set of those criteria is not immutable or exclusive. Actually, the development of those criteria started from the comparison of market failure in the public values context (Bozeman, 2002, 2007), and was expanded by the recognition of two core public values (public sphere and progressive opportunity) (Bozeman & Johnson, 2015). Thus, the logic of the PVF criteria does encourage scholars to argue for new additions to the criteria from theoretical and empirical examination of different cases or contexts (e.g., Meyer, 2011), and the new criterion (or criteria) may be useful for the case or more general context (Bozeman & Sarewitz, 2011). Second, not all current ten criteria are applicable to all cases or contexts. That is, a PVM analysis does not need to apply all ten criteria because some PVF conditions are less possible in some cases or contexts. The PVM analysis askes researchers to identify inapplicable criteria in their specific cases or contexts (Bozeman & Sarewitz, 2011). Therefore, this study applies the PVF criteria to the U.S.

food banking case in the following order: (1) identifying unfitted criteria; (2) examining those applicable criteria; (3) developing a potential new criterion for the research case.

Table 1 offers a summary of applying PVF criteria to the case of food banking in the U.S. Starting from the left-hand side, two columns describe the names and definition of ten current PVF criteria and one new PVF criterion developed by this study. The third column discusses how core prime values are damaged or failed, before the involvement of food banking. In some criteria, there may be no clear public value failure conditions. The fourth column points out social impacts of food banks in general, including positive impacts regarding how food banks deal with public value failure as well as the unintended, negative impacts of food banks in the society.

Table 1

Applying Public Value Failure Criteria to the U.S. Food Banking Context

Public value failure criteria	**Definition**	**Public value failure in the food bank context**	**Social impacts of food banks**
Creation, maintenance and enhancement of public sphere	*As a public value:* The open deliberative process about public values *As a public value enabling institution:* The physical or virtual space where the public sphere value is achieved	No clear public value failure conditions	**Success:** Food banks function as a public value enhancing institution by playing a central actor in the charitable food assistance network. Moreover, food banks help raise public awareness about hunger (through public education). Food banks also facilitate social changes (through advocacy). Thus, food banks advance the public sphere value

Public value failure criteria	**Definition**	**Public value failure in the food bank context**	**Social impacts of food banks**
Progressive opportunity	Collective actions and public policies are needed to reduce structural, socio-economic inequalities	**Food security:** When suffering from structural and income inequalities, people do not have equal access to meet basic food needs and will not have equal opportunity to achieve full personal development **Sustainability:** It fails when the industrial food system overutilizes natural resources, creates food loss and waste, and therein lies intergenerational inequality	**Success:** Food banks serve as a social mechanism to redress socioeconomic inequalities by collecting and distributing surplus food to disadvantaged and vulnerable people. In addition, food banks' better use of surplus food reduces food waste and contributes to intergenerational equality
Mechanisms for articulating and aggregating values **(Not applicable in this case)**	Effective process of addressing public values entails sufficient political processes and social cohesion		
Legitimate monopolies **(Not applicable in this case)**	If governments possess legitimate monopoly about providing public values goods, private provision is inappropriate		

Public value failure criteria	**Definition**	**Public value failure in the food bank context**	**Social impacts of food banks**
Imperfect public information **(Not applicable in this case)**	Sufficient transparency is required for citizens to make informed judgments		
Distribution of benefits	The distribution of public commodities and services should be uncontrolled and equitable.	**Food security:** The design of public food assistance programs let many people fall through the safety net and face food insecurity	**Success:** Food banks play a more flexible, active role in collecting and redistributing public resources **Failure:** The practices of food bank sometimes cannot meet clients' needs (oversupply or undersupply of certain food items)
Provider availability	Providers are necessary for providing vital good and services required to achieve public values	**Food security:** Because the government only provides certain public food assistance, a significant portion of people still face food insecurity. Also, the market is unwilling to provide goods and services to deal with food insecurity issues without profit	**Success:** Food banks and the charitable food assistance network help fill the gap in the safety net when neither the government nor the market provide necessary foods to those in need

Public value failure criteria	**Definition**	**Public value failure in the food bank context**	**Social impacts of food banks**
Time horizon	Inappropriate short-term actions may fail public values which require long-term considerations	No clear public value failure conditions	**Failure:** The emergency, short-term nature of food banking concept results in long-term failure of food security, when food bank clients become frequent or recurrent users and rely on charitable food assistance in the long run
Substitutability vs. conservation of resources	The distinctive nature of highly valued public resources should be recognized	**Sustainability:** Food waste issues result in the waste of natural resources and negative environmental effects	**Success:** Foodbanks' better use of surplus food reduces food waste and contributes a more sustainable food system
Ensuring subsistence and human dignity	Subsistence and dignity of human beings, especially the vulnerable, should be protected	**Food security:** Hunger and malnutrition issues keep threatening people's subsistence and dignity	**Success:** Food banks help protect clients' subsistence and basic food needs **Failure:** Stigma has been attached to food bank clients, hurting their dignity
Limitations of charitable providers	Utilizing nonprofit organizations as the primary response to social problems would result in continued public value failure due to nonprofits' inherent constraints and the retreat of public and private institutions	No clear public value failure conditions	**Failure:** Food banks fail to ultimately solve the hunger problem and may become part of the problem because they cannot meet clients' needs with unstable food resources. Moreover, food banks may blur the responsibility of governments. Corporations also avoid their social responsibilities

Identifying Inapplicable Criteria

This study identifies three public value failure criteria that do not fit the case of food banking in the U.S. First, the criterion of "mechanisms for articulating and aggregating values" refers to the notion that "political processes and social cohesion should be sufficient to ensure effective communication and processing of public values" (Bozeman, 2007, p. 145). One example of public value failure is, in the 1950s, the U.S. Congress controlled by some senior members with extreme value orientations and agendas (Bozeman, 2007). Therefore, this criterion is more about the political system and its influence on public value articulation and aggregation. The hunger problem, in the U.S. food banking context, is a consistent policy focus in U.S. politics (from President Johnson's war on poverty policy to the development of food stamps programs) and a societal concern with great level of normative consensus. Albeit different choices of policy tools, insufficient political processes and social cohesion seem to not happen in the U.S. food banking case.

The second one is legitimate monopolies, which means public value failure occur "when goods and services are deemed suitable for government monopoly, private provision of goods and service is a violation of legitimate monopoly" (Bozeman, 2007, p. 145). Examples include U.S. Postal Service's first-class mail monopoly (Bozeman, 2007) or U.S. foreign policy as a legitimate government monopoly (Bozeman & Sarewitz, 2005). However, providing goods and services (mainly food) with those hungry people is not a legitimate government monopoly, because other sectors or citizens can help feed the hungry people without being considered as invading government legitimacy. Likewise, preventing food waste can be done by any individual who decides to eat all what he or

she cooks. Sustainability needs not and should not be the government's sole responsibility or exclusive province. Therefore, the legitimate monopolies criterion is not applicable in the U.S. food banking context.

Third, the "imperfect public information" criterion refers to the idea that "similar to market failure criteria, public values may be thwarted when transparency is insufficient to permit citizens to make informed judgments" (Bozeman, 2007, p. 146). A classic example is medical care, which involves complex negotiations and arrangements among governments, drug industries, insurance companies and health service providers (Bozeman, 2007). In that condition, citizens often do not have sufficient information and may be forced to accept what they can get. However, the hunger problem is not mainly attributed to imperfect public information, because the root causes of food insecurity stem from various individual, social and economic factors, such as poverty, unemployment rate, and the status of local economy. This criterion is, therefore, not suitable in this case. Next, this study elaborates the interpretive understanding of each applicable criterion for the U.S. food banking case.

Creation, Maintenance and Enhancement of Public Sphere

The definition of the public sphere criterion has two dimensions. First, as a public value, public sphere denotes "open public communication and deliberation about public values and about collective action pertaining to public values" (Bozeman & Johnson, 2015, p. 67), Second, as a public value enabling institution, a specific public sphere refers to "the space, physical or virtual, in which the realization of the public sphere value occurs" (Bozeman & Johnson, 2015, p. 67). Examples of public sphere locations could be

found in local town halls where democratic deliberation about local concerns and related public values debates are taken place.

In the U.S. food banking context, previously there was no serious impediment to open communication about the hunger and food waste problem. The emergence of U.S. food banking does contribute to the advancement of the public sphere both as a public value and as a public value enabling institution. As addressed above in the public value logic section, this study has identified public sphere as a key instrumental, inter-and ultra-organizational value in this research case. Food banks themselves function as the platform for different individual and organizational actors to collectively discuss hunger, nutrition, and food waste problems and develop innovative solutions to those problems. In particular, the public education function of food banks, as highlighted in their documents, plays a significant role in raising public awareness about those social problems. For example, Feeding America has conducted several research reports discussing the current status of hunger in America, as well as the Map the Meal Gap project which measures county-level food insecurity rate and annual food budget shortfall (the estimated dollar amount that food-insecure individuals need to pay for buy food just enough for their basic need).[13] Several local food banks also conduct hunger research and post on their website for public information. The public education function of food banks is further implemented in their various programs, such as education about nutritious diet for children, senior health, community garden which seeks to provide sustainable food production knowledge, and outreach programs that provide clients with public benefits application guidance.

[13] See details http://map.feedingamerica.org/

The advocacy function of food banks, similar to public education, seeks to go beyond the boundary of food banks, food pantries, and the charitable food assistance network. Food banks encourage citizens to call their representatives so as to promote legislation that helps alleviate the hunger problem. Because of their nonprofit, charitable, and mission-driven nature, food banks often have the potential to influence governmental actions and create social changes. Moreover, food banks' advocacy capacity could mobilize corporations, other nonprofit organizations or foundations, and general citizens to enhance large-scale social innovation projects. For example, Feeding America has participated in the joint effort of the Food Waste Reduction Alliance formed in 2011 to collectively address food waste issues with other organizations.

In short, food banks do contribute to the success of public sphere as a public value because its public education and advocacy functions. Furthermore, food banks themselves function as the very example of a public value enabling institution as the platform and physical space for open communication and deliberation about public values issues and collective efforts (Bozeman & Johnson, 2015).

Progressive Opportunity

As another newly developed PVF criterion, the progressive opportunity criterion focuses on the required social conditions for individuals to have equal opportunities to achieve their growth and goals (Bozeman & Johnson, 2015). The focus of the progressive opportunity value is on structural, historically rooted inequalities. As Bozeman and Johnson (2015) express, the progressive opportunity value illustrates the argument that "an 'equal playing field' is less desirable than collective actions and public policies

addressing structural inequalities and historical differences in opportunity structures" (Bozeman & Johnson, 2015, p. 67).

In the U.S. food banking case, progressive opportunities of many Americans do suffer from being food insecure. For example, according to the recent USDA report, about 13.1 million children under 18 in the United States live in food insecure households (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2016). Children in food insecure families tend to have malnutrition and obesity issues due to insufficient and unhealthy food intake and they are more likely to have lower academic performance and other behavioral issues (Hamelin et al., 1999). With a great number of next generation citizens facing these predicaments, it is not adequate to say that the American society has offered sufficient social conditions for individuals' equal opportunities to do what they want. According to Feeding America, certain groups of people (children, seniors, minorities, and those living in rural area) are more likely to suffer from food security[14]. For example, some impoverished local communities without easy access to grocery stores or other healthy and affordable food sources are defined by USDA as "food deserts."[15] Without basic food needs to maintain a healthy life, individuals cannot expect the equal access to other socio-economic requirements (e.g., education and job opportunity) for achieving full personal development. Thus, the failure of food security certainly goes hand in hand with the failure of progressive opportunity the U.S. food banking case.

Moreover, sustainability as a public value also fails together with progressive opportunity in this context. Modern industrial food supply system has overutilized natural

[14] For details see http://www.feedingamerica.org/hunger-in-america/

[15] Details and measurements see https://www.ers.usda.gov/data/fooddesert/

resources and creates significant food loss/waste in the food production, distribution, selling and consumption process. The loss of natural resources, creation of greenhouse gas, and accompanying climate changes could lead to intergenerational inequality, making the next generation of America pay for the expensive price.

What are the social impacts of U.S. food banks here? The practice of food banking does imply the goal to alleviate social inequality and achieve progressive opportunity, based on the evidence shown in the public value logic. To some extent, food banks as a social mechanism plays the redistribution role in the society. They solicit and collect surplus food from food manufacturers, grocery stores, individual donors, and food drives. They also gain governmental grants, corporation funding, and private donations for their daily program operations. U.S. food banks utilize those financial and nonfinancial supports to distribute food to partner agencies and then to disadvantaged and vulnerable people. Thus, food banks does contribute to the accomplishment of distributive justice (Rawls, 1971). As noted above, the expression of hope, opportunity, and self-sufficiency in mission/vision/value statements, clearly points out that the logic of food banking aims to achieve progressive opportunity. Several food bank programs, such as community kitchen, help people gain job skills to be self-reliant, demonstrating the efforts to counterbalance socio-economic inequality as well. In addition, food banks' better use of surplus food reduces food waste and contributes a more sustainable food system that ensures intergenerational equality.

Overall, the practice of food banking enhances the progressive opportunity value because food banks have significant positive impacts to alleviate socio-economic inequality, help the needy have more equal access to food needs, and promote a more

sustainable environment. However, a significant number of people are now still facing food insecurity problems and still great amount of edible food goes to landfill. Food banks do not completely solve those problems, but their efforts to alleviate those problems remain salient.

Distribution of Benefits

Distribution of benefits as a PVF criterion focuses on the free and equitable distribution of public resources and benefits. Bozeman (2007) holds that the condition of "benefit hoarding" occurs when certain individuals or organizations control public goods and services and then impede a free and equitable distribution.

In the U.S. food banking context, the food security value fails because the design of public food assistance programs (such as SNAP and WIC programs) does not construct a strong public safety net, letting many people fall through the net and face food insecurity. Food bank literature has shown that the safety net provided by U.S. public assistance problems fails to prevent those in need from food insecurity threats (Allen, 1999; Berner et al., 2008; Curtis & McClellan, 1995). Many households having income over 130 percent of the poverty line are not eligible for SNAP benefits but are still unable to secure sufficient and nutritious food. Thus, the inadequate design of public assistance programs fail to distribute public resources equally.

U.S. food banks, for this criterion, succeed in redistributing public benefits but fail to meet every client's need. For the success part, U.S. food banks play a more flexible and active role in the chartable food assistance network by collecting and redistributing resources provided by public, private sectors and civil society to those falling through the public safety net. Moreover, food banks have many outreach programs that assist clients

to apply for public benefits which they may qualify to receive but do not know before. Food banks, in this sense, contribute to a more equitable distribution of public resources.

Nevertheless, U.S. food banks encounter a consistent problem that prevents the equitable distribution of public resources. That is, they fail to meet different clients' needs because the donations they are receiving are unstable and oftentimes food banks cannot require food donors to provide certain kinds of food product. Food banks can ask for the food items that are most needed, but they cannot compel donors to do so. Clients' needs are diverse in terms of their varied definitions of sufficient, nutritious, and culturally appropriate food needs. It is difficult for food banks with unstable food donations to meet the diverse needs, and sometimes food banks oversupply or undersupply certain food items. Food boxes provided by the food bank or food items in the food pantries may not meet clients' real needs. One recent literature review research has documented the pressing problem of clients' unmet needs from food bank staff and clients' perspectives (Bazerghi et al., 2016). Therefore, as for this criterion, food security still fails albeit the efforts of U.S. food banking.

Provider Availability

The criterion of provider availability highlights the importance of the normative and legitimate consensus about the need of providers offering vital goods and services to achieve core public values. Unavailable good and service providers cause the failure of public values "[w]hen a vital good or service is not provided because of the unavailability of providers or because providers prefer to ignore public value goods" (Bozeman, 2007, p. 146). A classic example of unavailable providers is the hollowing out practice of the

government which limits the capacity of governments to provide public values goods and services (Bozeman, 2007; Rhodes, 1994).

With regard to this provider availability criterion, food security does fail because of the scarcity of goods providers. Because the government only provides certain levels of public food assistance, a significant portion of people are left behind and face food insecurity. The private sector, especially food manufacturers and retailers, is unwilling to provide goods and services to deal with food insecurity issues without profitable feedback. The condition that neither the public sector nor the private sector provide sufficient and nutritious food is worsen when the society regards poverty, unemployment and accompanying hunger as an issue of personal responsibility. Deeper, complex, institutional and socio-economic inequalities are ignored.

What are the social impacts of U.S. food banks in terms of this criterion? The criterion of provider availability is probably the most important PVF criterion that justifies the existence of U.S. food banks and the nonprofit sector in general in dealing with public values issues. The definition of public value failure argues that public values fail when "neither the market nor public sector provides goods and services required to achieve public values" (Bozeman, 2002, p. 150). The original theoretical conception of the nonprofit sector is to fill the gaps when governments and corporations do not adequately provide necessary goods and services for members of the society (Douglas, 1983, 1987, Hansmann, 1980, 1987; Ott, 2001). For this specific U.S. food banking context, food banks exist and provide food with the hungry people because the gap is getting bigger (i.e., more and more people fall through the safety net and cannot secure basic food needs for a healthy life), whereas governments and private companies fail to

or are unwilling to cope with the hunger issue. Food banks provide food with people who are not well covered by public benefits or suffer from the high food price resulted from the meticulously designed food supply chain. Thus, food banks gain the provider legitimacy (other sectors fail to provide food security goods) and moral superiority (food banks do not aim to get profit and operate based on charity donations) in dealing with the failure of food security. In this sense, food banks lead to the success of food security to a large extent.

Time Horizon

This time horizon criterion refers to the argument that "[p]ublic values are long-run values and require an appropriate time horizon" and "[w]hen actions are calculated on the basis of an inappropriate short-term time horizon, there may be a failure of public values" (Bozeman, 2007, p. 146). That is, short-term, emergency solutions for achieving public values may result in the failure of public values requiring long-term planning and consideration.

For this criterion, there is no clear failure of food security or sustainability before the involvement of food banks. However, the practice of U.S. food banking, ironically, fails to achieve the full accomplishment of food security—if the meaning of food security involves self-sufficiency (S. A. Anderson, 1990). According to Feeding America's research in 2011 (Feeding America, 2011), food banks become the new staple of hunger because more than half (54%) of food pantry clients in the Feeding America network visited a food pantry at least six or more months during the prior year. Those clients are considered as frequent or recurrent clients. The original idea of U.S. food banking is to serve as the warehouse for collecting, storing, and distributing food items and products

that the "emergency" food assistance network will need (Curtis & McClellan, 1995; Daponte & Bade, 2006; Poppendieck, 1998). Such emergency food assistance network is supposed to meet emergent, short-term hunger relief needs owing to personal conditions, economic crisis, or natural disasters. Yet, significant numbers of people become chronic food bank clients and fail to achieve self-reliance in the long run. Although U.S. food bank programs are intended to help clients become more self-sufficient, the circumstance of long-term users gets empirical support in the study mentioned above (Feeding America, 2011). Therefore, evaluating the overall social impacts of U.S. food banks is a bit difficult in terms of this criterion. Clients' chronic reliance on food banks would be more like a negative impact of food banks, because the full achievement of food security does entail a long-term, complex design of various public, private, and nonprofit solutions. The emergency nature of U.S. food banking is evident in the mission/vision/value statements while they uphold the principle of urgency—helping clients' food needs quickly. Because the feeling of being hungry is really unbearable, food banks need to act in an emergency mode. However, as U.S. food banks nowadays become institutionalized and get bigger in scales and numbers of chronic clients, it is not adequate to determine the status quo as the success of food security.

Substitutability vs. conservation of resources

This criterion refers to the notion that "[a]ctions pertaining to a distinctive, highly valued common resource should recognize the distinctive nature of the resource rather than treat the resource as substitutable or submit it to risk based on unsuitable indemnification" (Bozeman, 2007, p. 146). That is, the distinctive nature of public resources should be respected and not be treated as substitutable things.

For the U.S. food banking context and this criterion, sustainability associated with food waste is the public value for examination. As pointed out previously, the great amount of food loss and waste in the food system has resulted in the waste of natural resources (more than 30 percent of food is wasted during the food supply chain) and negative environmental effects (greenhouse gas emission and climate change) (e.g., Hiç et al., 2016; ReFED, 2016). While the society allows the food industry to overutilize natural resources and encourages a consumption culture that does not treasure food, sustainability fails in terms of this criterion.

Food banks provide an alternative solution to this food waste problem by collecting surplus food (especially from food manufacturers and retailers) and distributing to partner agencies which serve clients directly. In this sense, the concept of food banking demonstrates the account of respecting and better utilizing natural resources. Therefore, food banks contribute to the success of sustainability by reducing food waste.

Ensuring Subsistence and Human Dignity

This criterion is related to the importance of human dignity and holds that "human beings, especially the vulnerable, should be treated with dignity and, in particular, their subsistence should not be threatened" (Bozeman, 2007, p. 146).

In the U.S. food banking context, this criterion is definitely associated with food security because hunger and malnutrition issues do directly threaten people's subsistence and dignity. Without enough food, people will die. Without sufficient food, people, especially children and seniors, will face chronic health and behavioral issues as well as

negative evaluative judgment toward themselves. The failure of food security to some extent resembles threats to subsistence and human dignity.

As for the criterion, U.S. food banks and food banking in general function as a double-edge sword. That is, the functioning of food banking helps clients secure subsistence and retrieve dignity, but also attaches stigma to clients and hurt their dignity. For emergency situations, such as earthquake or hurricane, many people in a local region may highly appreciate the emergency food support from local food banks because they can survive with food. Also, as noted above, the usage of dignity (especially with regard to clients) is well documented in the mission/vision/value statements, so the ultimate mission of food banking is to enhance human dignity. However, the dark side of food banking has been pointed out by scholars, and especially some argue that the stigma attached to clients threatens their dignity (Poppendieck, 1998; van der Horst, Pascucci, & Bol, 2014; Wakefield et al., 2012). The south kitchen stigma has its historical root in the American society (Poppendieck, 1998). Clients often encounter negative feelings when they need to receive food from others' charitable support without or with few choices (e.g., they need to take whatever in the food box). Also, clients may suffer from suspicion, depersonalization, other people's judgements or self-denial when they cannot have a self-reliant life (Poppendieck, 1998; van der Horst et al., 2014). Thus, the conception of food banking help clients secure food and dignity, but the practice of food banking to some extent hurts clients' dignity.

A New Public Value Failure Criterion: Limitations of Charitable Providers

After developing the public value logic and examining these ten PVF criteria, this study has demonstrated the practice of U.S. food banking manifests not only positively

contributes to resolving public value failure (at least to a limited extent) but also have some negative social impacts.

Moreover, based on the interpretation of all related documents, this study develops a new public value failure criterion for the U.S. food banking context, and the new criterion is potentially applicable for other nonprofit cases. That new PVF criterion is named “limitations of charitable providers”, which refers to the notion that utilizing nonprofit organizations as the primary response to social problems would result in continued public value failure due to the inherent constraints of nonprofit organizations and the outcomes when public and private institutions shirk their responsibilities.

The conception of this PVF criterion mainly stems from food bank literature. While food banks’ public documents, including mission statements, strategic plans and annual reports, often highlight the positive social impacts of food banks, the scholarly literature offers more critical perspectives pertaining to the insufficiency part or negative social impacts of food banking. Also, when examining the public value logic again, one caveat emerges. That is, even if the public value logic functions well, which means all instrumental values work and interact in a positive and productive way, the ultimate achievement of food security is still not possible. The major reason is that U.S. food banks are being utilized and socially constructed as the major response and *the* solution to the hunger problem. However, the essential constraints of food banks make them unable to fulfill such onerous task. Socially constructing food banks as the major response to the hunger problem also provides a good excuse for governments and markets to step back and eschew their responsibility to devote more efforts to solve the hunger problem.

The first key component of this criterion is the inherent constraints of food banks. For example, scholars have pointed out that food banks are essentially unable to fulfill their mission because of several inherent constraints, including the inability of food banks to meet growing, diverse, and nutritious needs, the inherent instability based on voluntary donations, the inefficiency of the food collection, sorting and distribution process, and the stigma attached to food bank clients (Poppendieck, 1998; van der Horst et al., 2014; Wakefield et al., 2012). Therefore, the practice of food banking may become more like a symbolic gesture that merely expresses charitable spirit (Tarasuk & Eakin, 2003), not the real solution to the problem.

The second key component of this criterion is the social construction of hunger as a matter of charity along with the retreat of governments and markets. Riches (2002, 2011) argues that the growth and institutionalization of emergency food assistance will reinforce the notion that the hunger problem should and can be solved by food banks and the charitable food assistance network. Thus, the hunger problem becomes the charity's obligation. Nevertheless, the social construction of the problem as "food insecurity" and "hunger" leads to the ignorance of the broader, complex socio-economic inequalities that governments fail to resolve and markets have contributed to these problems significantly (Poppendieck, 1998). Specifically, the public sector has more stable and larger resources, as well as central obligations to cope with the hunger problem, its root causes and consequences. If there should be a major response to the hunger problem, governments should be more proactive and take the major response role, rather than serving as "the silent partner" of food banks (Poppendieck, 1998, p. 121). Corporations, especially the food industry, have also contributed to broader socio-economic inequalities and

unaffordable food price. Food banking should not be a relief for the food industry or the whole consumption culture resulting in hunger and food waste problems. Merely donating money and surplus food and providing volunteers do not really fulfill their corporate social responsibility.

Hence, utilizing food banks as the primary response to the hunger problem will not really solve the problem but will make food banks become part of the problem itself, owing to the inherent constraints of food banks and the retreat of governments and markets (Poppendieck, 1998; Riches, 2011). In a nutshell, the U.S. food banking case shows that public value failure continues in the name of charity.

Public Value Mapping Grid

Based on the deliberation of the above public value logic and public value failure criteria, this study utilizes the public value mapping (PVM) grid to illustrate the conceptual locations of the U.S. food banking context in terms of public (value)/market success/failure. The PVM grid is shown in Figure 3.

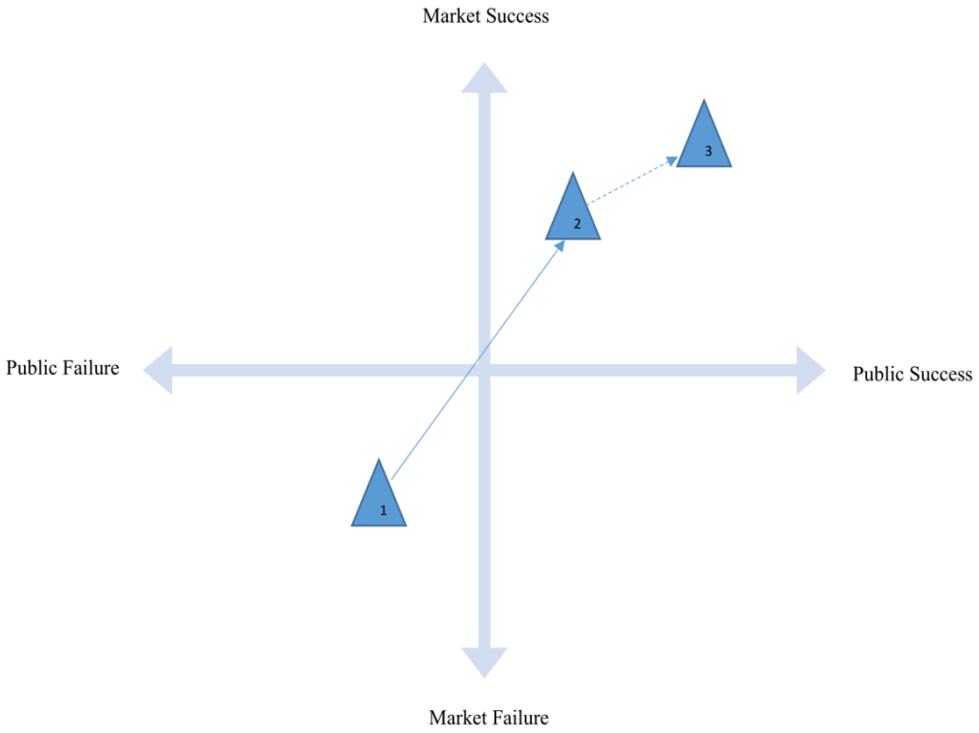

Figure 3. Public Value Mapping Grid in the U.S. Food Bank Context

The purpose of the PVM grid is to present graphically the conceptual locations of the research case in terms of the relationships between public (value) success/failure and market success/failure (Bozeman, 2002, 2007; Bozeman & Sarewitz, 2011; Welch et al., 2015). Figure 3 illustrates the interpretive analysis of the PVM grid in the U.S. food bank context. Triangle 1 in the third quadrant refers to the failure of both public value and the market. This condition occurs when, hypothetically, there are no food banks. Significant numbers of people suffer from food insecurity but neither the government nor the market provides sufficient food to meet those people's basic needs. Moreover, the industrial food system produces surplus food that ends up becoming food loss and waste, damaging environmental sustainability. The food security and sustainability values fail in this

condition. It is also a market failure situation because the market does not want to provide food with the hungry people without profitable outcomes.

The involvement of food banks, to some extent, has changed the story. The functioning of food banks has moved the public failure/market failure condition to the public success/market success condition (triangle 2 in the first quadrant). Public values succeed in that food banks help alleviate the hunger and food insecurity and better utilize surplus food to promote sustainability. The market also succeeds because the industrial food system and food retailers could utilize food banks as a solution to the food loss and waste problem and at the same time fulfill their corporate social responsibility (van der Horst et al., 2014). Other private corporations could also improve their reputation by donating financial (money) and nonfinancial (employees work as volunteers) resources to food banks. However, the food security value only succeeds in a limited sense because of food banks' negative social impacts addressed above.

Moreover, this limited success situation may persist because institutionalized food banks receive the hallo effect of holding the moral high ground and now become the key institutional players that "control the conceptualization of hunger, management of poverty, and organization of food distribution systems" (Warshawsky, 2010, p. 763). To change the status quo in the local food assistance network would be a difficult task.

Nevertheless, this research proposes a conceptually possible, ideal scenario (such as triangle 3). It refers to a condition when collective efforts involve more responsible governments, markets, and nonprofit organizations (including food banks), such efforts have the better potential to accomplish public value success and market success. To achieve this ideal situation, the society needs to recognize the limits of U.S. food banks as

the charity practice. U.S. governments should be more proactive and take more responsibilities to address the root causes and related consequences of the hunger program, while food banks focus on playing the gap-filling role (helping those falling through the food safety net). Markets also need to do more than simply donating money, surplus food, and volunteer efforts. The hunger problem may be ultimately solved by means of more engaging, collaborative efforts with three more responsible sectors and the engagement of citizens.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Main Findings

The Distinctive Characteristics of Public Value Logic in the U.S. Food Banking Context

Overall, the public value logic in the U.S. food banking context displays some context-specific and some general nonprofit characteristics, distinguishing itself from other public value logics in the public sector or public policies (e.g., Bozeman & Sarewitz, 2005; Logar, 2011; Maricle, 2011).

First, the public value logic developed by this study demonstrates the bottom-up, community-based response to social problems and related public value failure. Public policies or governmental actions manifest top-down, law-bound and formal response to social problems or what the government wants to shape the society. By contrasts, the nonprofit sector emphasizes the bottom-up, community-based efforts to deal with social problems citizens consider as critical issues relating to their daily, local life in the community. U.S. food banks is a great example that highlights the sense of community as one key determinant of successful food banking practices. Most of the time donors and volunteers do not come from a place far from the community. It is the hungry people in the nearby local communities that attract those voluntary efforts to help.

Second, the U.S. food banking's public value logic underscores the joint efforts of trust, collaboration, and the charity and volunteerism spirit. Unlike governmental actions which have legitimate financial (taxes) and nonfinancial (public servants) resources, food banks and the broader nonprofit sector cannot maintain their daily operation without

voluntary donations of time, food, and money, as well as the collaborations among various individual and organizational actors. Charitable organizations like food banks demonstrate their non-for-profit, mission and value-driven nature, which provides the trustworthy characteristic that attracts benevolence and voluntary donations. Mutual trust is very important for food banks to function well. Food banks' staff members need to show their stewardship of resources entrusted to them. Collaborations among food banks, partner agencies, citizens and other organizations depend significantly on mutual trust. Because of the emphasis on community, mutual trust, collaborations, and charity spirit, this U.S. food banking public value logic distinguishes itself from other public value logics of formal governmental actions.

U.S. Food Banks as a Public Value Enabling Institution

The case of U.S. food banks has demonstrated one possible way to advance the research of public values by providing empirical evidence for theoretical arguments. That is, U.S. food banks function as a very example of the concept of public value enabling institution, which advances "creation, maintenance, and enhancement of the public sphere"—one recent developed public value failure criterion (Bozeman & Johnson, 2015). A public value enabling institution is one place or organization that provides a physical or virtual platform with citizens and institutional actors to conduct open communication and deliberation about how to collectively achieve public values. Because of their nonprofit, and community-based nature and the capacity to facilitate collaborations and mobilize large resources, U.S. food banks provide the platform for local community members to interact and discuss possible solutions to hunger and food waste problems.

The public value enabling institution function is also evident in food banks' ability to raise public awareness through education and research. Therefore, through food banks' public education endeavors, local citizens are more likely to join food banks' activities and efforts. Moreover, food banks aim to go beyond the boundary of their own charitable food assistance network by advocate for possible alternatives addressing the hunger problem. By means of the advocacy function, food banks want to contribute to social changes and gain support from politicians and the general public. Thus, U.S. food banks not only provide the physical space for those who share public values concerns to gather and conduct collective actions. They also have become a broader, virtual forum or devise that drives continuing, broader dialogue about public values—the realization of the public sphere value.

Furthermore, as Bozeman and Johnson (2015) argue, the functioning of public sphere value is often associated with the realization of progressive opportunity. As noted above, progressive opportunity refers to a public value that emphasizes the importance of citizens' equal opportunities to achieve their full development. The public value logic of U.S. food banking has shown that food banks seek to promote hope, opportunity, and a healthy and self-reliant life. In this sense, the U.S. food bank case offers the empirical support for the theoretical arguments of public sphere and progressive opportunity in public value theory. What is more, this research case is from the nonprofit sector and therefore broadens the applicability of public values theory and justifies its original theoretical assumption—all institutions in the society have public value obligations (Beck Jørgensen & Bozeman, 2007). Thus, the analysis of U.S. food banks sheds light on the understanding of how a public value enabling institution impacts the society.

Appreciate the Charity, But Recognize Its Limits

One key argument of this study is offer an in-depth, interpretive understanding of U.S. food banking as a core social phenomenon. In particular, by contemplating overall social impacts of U.S food banks from a values-based perspective, this study argues that, although the original conception of food banks is noble in terms of its charitable and moral impetus, the practice of food banks has significant limitations that make the accomplishment of the original mission impossible.

The food insecurity problem that U.S. food banks seek to resolve is intertwined with numerous social, economic, and political issues, which go way beyond the capacity of food banks as nonprofit organizations. Household food insecurity is essentially a large-scale social problem pertaining to poverty, unemployment, rise and fall of the economy, local community situation, as well as broader institutional and socio-economic inequalities. The mission and values-driven nature of food banks (and the general nonprofit sector) is an advantage (with the focus and prestige within one or two central focus areas) and a disadvantage as well (inability to cope with more complex issues due to the lack of expertise and resources going beyond their mission).

Moreover, as the new PVF criteria developed by this study, the practice of U.S. food banks cannot achieve its ultimate goal—solving the hunger problem—owing to their inherent constraints and the retreat of governments and markets. As pointed out by many scholars (Bazerghi et al., 2016; Poppendieck, 1998; Riches, 2011; van der Horst et al., 2014; Wakefield et al., 2012), food banks have many inherent limitations that make them unable to meet clients' diverse needs. They at best function as a "symbolic gesture" demonstrating personal altruistic or humanitarian values (Tarasuk & Eakin, 2003) and at

worst become part of the problem when the society reinforces charitable food banking as the legitimate and major response to the hunger problem (Riches, 2011).

This study holds that the noble spirit of helping those in need should be appreciated. Voluntary and charitable giving in the food banking context has reflected a long-lasting cultural tradition of philanthropy and volunteerism in American society (Carnegie, 1900; deTocqueville, 1945). Such charitable spirit is indeed a key driving force of modern civic society. However, charity has its limitations and is unable to serve as the silver bullet that can completely solve social problems. From the food banking case, governments and markets may use charity as the excuse for them to step back and avoid their responsibilities. Charity may also hurt the people it serves, such as the example of the stigma attached to food bank clients. Socially constructing hunger as the matter of charity may deprive citizens of food security as one key entitlement and public value. From this perspective, public value failure continues in the name of charity.

In modern society, especially the United States—the land of plenty—food security should not be merely a kind of personal responsibility or charitable giving by others. Rather, it should be considered as an entitlement, base human right, and of course, a public value that comes from the society's normative consensus that all citizens should be able to meet their basic food needs (Bozeman, 2007; Riches, 2011).

Theoretical and Practical Implications

This study has several theoretical contributions. First, this research advances the public value mapping scholarship by broadening its usage to the nonprofit sector. Apart from prior studies mainly focusing on governmental issues and public policies, this research delves into the U.S. food banking case and the nonprofit context, offering a

different picture of public values dynamics. Moreover, the U.S. food banking case has pointed out that solutions to public value failure problems do entail collaborative efforts across different sectors and citizens of the society. Other streams of research in public administration (e.g., collaborative governance and co-production literature) have highlighted this collaboration aspect (e.g., Ansell &Gash, 2008; Bryson et al., 2014; Emerson et al., 2012) but current public value mapping studies fail to do so. This study's cross-sectoral approach enables the literature to design more comprehensive solutions involving various sectoral actors to deal with public value failure.

Second, this research applies the public value mapping model to the assessment of nonprofit organizations' social impacts or overall contribution to the society, presenting a counterpart for the prevalent market-driven social impact evaluation methods in nonprofits studies. By doing so, this study's values-based evaluation better reflects the values-driven nature of the nonprofit sector. Prior nonprofit social impact methods focus mainly on the social value added in the economic value sense. Yet, the success/failure of public values cannot simply be assessed by the monetary value-based measurement. More dialectic, interpretive deliberations of related complex public values concepts have proven useful by this research. Nonprofit social impact scholarship should include this values-based evaluative approach as one of its methods to achieve a more in-depth and comprehensive understanding of nonprofits' overall social impacts.

Third, in addition to theoretical contributions, this research has implications for food policy makers and practices as well. Specifically, this study holds that policy makers who want to solve the hunger problem cannot avoid governments' central responsibilities in the hunger and food waste problems. That is, policy makers could still highlight the

importance of food banks in helping fill the gaps, but they need to be more proactive and try to develop more comprehensive policy design including multiple sectors and citizens to collectively and collaboratively address various social and economic aspects that cause or are caused by the hunger problem. Besides, this study is also useful for food bank practitioners. They can utilize the results of this research to better understand their organization's social impacts at the level of public values, not just at the level of pounds of food delivered or numbers of clients served. This research could also inform food bank practitioners about the limitations of food banking, which is indeed helpful for the practice of food banking.

Limitations and Future Directions

This study has several limitations that point out the need for future research. First, this study collected current organizational documents (such as most recent annual reports) during a short time period. Hence, this study is essentially a cross-sectional study which captures the snapshot of a contemporary social phenomenon at a specific period of time (Babbie, 2013). This approach, therefore, is inevitably limited in that it cannot demonstrate the long-term dynamics and changes of the public value logic of U.S. food banking. Future research can conduct time-series case studies to collect data from different time periods so as to highlight the dynamics and changes of the public value logics of U.S. food banks or other nonprofit organizations over time.

Second, this study mainly employs public and organizational documents to identify public values and conduct public value mapping analysis. However, this organization-centric approach misses the perspective of citizens, while citizens are at the center of the original conception of public values theory (Bozeman, 2007). Moreover, in

the food banking and broader nonprofit contexts, citizens play more active and diverse roles, such as donors, volunteers, Board members, and clients. Their perspectives could help construct a more comprehensive understanding of food banks and the broader nonprofit sector. Specifically, the perspective of volunteers is very important because relying on voluntary labor is one of the most distinctive characteristics of nonprofit organizations (especially food banks) (Anheier, 2005; LeRoux & Feeney, 2015; Musick & Wilson, 2008) and volunteerism has been a growing research area across different disciplines (Clary et al., 1998; Wilson, 2012). Future research could conduct surveys or interviews to gather data about the perspectives of volunteers and other citizens in understanding nonprofits' overall social impacts.

Third, the main document source of this study is from 203 Feeding America's food bank affiliates. To some extent, these documents only reflect the dominant form of food bank practices in the U.S. As noted above, some local food banks choose not to join Feeding America because they want to keep their autonomy (Warshawsky, 2010). Nonprofit organizations, because of their community-based nature, should be more flexible to meet their local needs and situations. However, nowadays bigger nonprofit organizations may have the power to determine the "proper" way of doing charitable work (e.g., Milbourne, 2013). Feeding America and its food bank affiliates may have the same circumstance, because the voice of smaller local food banks may be silent in the mainstream Feeding America practices. Future research could employ critical theory (Habermas, 1971) to unveil the taken-for-granted power structure or dominance in the food banking context or other charity endeavors.

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