

# JPAE

## JOURNAL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS EDUCATION

### SYMPOSIUM ON SOCIAL EQUITY AND DIVERSITY

Social Equity in the Twenty-First Century: An Essay in Memory of Philip J. Rutledge  
H. George Frederickson

Employment Equity and Institutional Commitments to Diversity:  
Disciplinary Perspectives from Public Administration and Public Affairs Education  
Mario A. Rivera and James D. Ward

A Primer for Developing a Public Agency Service Ethos of Cultural Competency  
in Public Services Programming and Public Services Delivery  
Mitchell F. Rice

Preparing the Public Service for Working in Multiethnic Democracies:  
An Assessment and Ideas for Action  
Michael Brintnall

Human Rights Theory as a Means for Incorporating Social Equity  
into the Public Administration Curriculum  
Jose Duarte S. Alvez and Mary Timney

Teaching "Supply-Side" Social Equity in MPA Programs  
Gerasimos Gianakis and Douglas Snow

Diversity across the Curriculum: Perceptions and Practices  
Heather Wyatt-Nichol and Kwame Badu Antwi-Boasiako

"Leadership Cannot Be Taught": Teaching Leadership to MPA Students  
Keith D. Revell

Privatization and Social Equity: A Research Note  
James D. Ward



National Association of Schools  
of Public Affairs and Administration

Kathleen M. Beatty, President  
Marvin Mandell, Vice President  
Kathryn Newcomer, Immediate Past President  
Laurel McFarland, Executive Director

---

Mario A. Rivera, Editor-in-Chief, University of New Mexico  
Nicholas Giannatasio, Managing Editor, University of North Carolina-Pembroke  
Patria de Lancer Julnes, Associate Editor for International Education, Utah State University  
Jennifer C. Ward, Production Editor Eusebio Anaya, Editorial Associate

---

EDITORS' COUNCIL

H. George Frederickson, Founding Editor, University of Kansas  
James L. Perry, Indiana University-Bloomington  
Edward T. Jennings, University of Kentucky Bruce J. Perlman, University of New Mexico  
Marc Holzer, Senior Consulting Editor, Rutgers University-Newark

---

BOARD OF EDITORS

Guy B. Adams, University of Missouri-Columbia  
Ronald A. Alum, Jr., Policy Analyst  
Danny L. Balfour, Grand Valley State University  
Frances Stokes Berry, Florida State University  
Geert Bouckaert, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven  
Stuart Bretschneider, Syracuse University  
Jonathan Brock, University of Washington  
Jeffrey L. Brudney, University of Georgia  
John M. Bryson, University of Minnesota  
N. Joseph Cayer, Arizona State University  
Robert E. Cleary, American University  
Steven Cohen, Columbia University  
Glen Hahn Cope, University of Missouri-St. Louis  
Ruth H. DeHoog, University of North Carolina-Greensboro  
Jo Ann G. Ewalt, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission  
Claire Felbinger, National Academy of Science  
Irwin Feller, The Pennsylvania State University  
Jane Fountain, Harvard University  
Lee S. Friedman, University of California-Berkeley  
Iris Geva-May, Simon Fraser University  
Mary Ellen Guy, Florida State University  
Cynthia Jackson-Elmoore, Michigan State University  
Phillip Joyce, George Washington University  
Pan Suk Kim, Yonsei University

Marieka M. Klawitter, University of Washington  
Dale Krane, University of Nebraska-Omaha  
David Landsbergen, Ohio State University  
Kuotsai T. Liou, University of Central Florida  
Laurence E. Lynn, Jr., Texas A & M University  
Steven R. Maxwell, Edison Community College  
Curtina Moreland-Young, Jackson State University  
Kathryn E. Newcomer, George Washington University  
Dorothy Olshfski, Rutgers University, Newark  
Sonia Ospina, New York University  
Laurence J. O'Toole, Jr., University of Georgia  
Hal G. Rainey, University of Georgia  
T. Zane Reeves, University of New Mexico  
Mitchell Rice, Texas A & M University  
Ann-Marie Rizzo, Tennessee State University  
Sandra Schneider, Michigan State University  
Sally Coleman Selden, Lynchburg College  
Patricia M. Shields, Texas State University  
Shui-Yan Tang, University of Southern California  
Thomas Vocino, Auburn University at Montgomery  
Charles W. Washington, Clark Atlanta University  
Barton Wechsler, University of Missouri-Columbia  
David Weimer, University of Wisconsin  
Louis Weschler, Arizona State University  
Harvey L. White, University of Pittsburgh  
Samuel Yeager, Wichita State University

---

*Journal of Public Affairs Education* is published quarterly by the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration. Claims for missing numbers should be made within the month following the regular month of publication. The publishers expect to supply missing numbers free only when losses have been sustained in transit and when the reserve stock will permit. *Subscription Rates:* Institution, \$100; Individual, \$45; Student, \$35; Non-U.S., add \$20 to applicable rate. *Change of Address:* Please notify us and your local postmaster immediately of both old and new addresses. Please allow four weeks for the change. *Postmaster:* Send address changes to *JPAE*, National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration, 1029 Vermont Avenue NW, Suite 1100, Washington, DC 20005. Educators and Copy Centers: ©2008 National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration. All rights reserved. Educators may reproduce any material for classroom use only and authors may reproduce their articles without written permission. Written permission is required to reproduce *JPAE* in all other instances. Please contact Jacqueline Lewis, NAS-PAA, 1029 Vermont Avenue NW, Suite 1100, Washington, DC 20005, phone: 202-628-8965, fax: 202-626-4978, email: jlewis@naspaa.org. The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984. *JPAE* is abstracted or indexed in Book Review Index, ERIC's CIJE Clearinghouse, Public Affairs Information Service, Sage Public Administration Abstracts, Education Index, and Education Abstracts. ISSN 1523-6803 (formerly 1087-7789).

# Journal of Public Affairs Education

Spring 2008

Volume 14, No. 1

## SYMPOSIUM ON SOCIAL EQUITY AND DIVERSITY

IN MEMORY OF PHILIP J. RUTLEDGE

### SYMPOSIUM EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

Social Equity, Diversity, and Identity:

Challenges for Public Affairs Education and the Public Service. . . . . ii

*Mario A. Rivera and James D. Ward*

INFORMATION FOR CONTRIBUTORS . . . . . ix

### ARTICLES

Social Equity in the Twenty-First Century:

An Essay in Memory of Philip J. Rutledge . . . . . 1

*H. George Frederickson*

Employment Equity and Institutional Commitments to Diversity: Disciplinary  
Perspectives from Public Administration and Public Affairs Education . . . . . 9

*Mario A. Rivera and James D. Ward*

A Primer for Developing a Public Agency Service Ethos of Cultural  
Competency in Public Services Programming and Public Services Delivery . . . . . 21

*Mitchell F. Rice*

Preparing the Public Service for Working in Multiethnic Democracies:  
An Assessment and Ideas for Action . . . . . 39

*Michael Brintnall*

Human Rights Theory as a Means for Incorporating Social Equity  
into the Public Administration Curriculum . . . . . 51

*Jose Duarte S. Alvez and Mary Timney*

Teaching "Supply-Side" Social Equity in MPA Programs . . . . . 67

*Gerasimos Gianakis and Douglas Snow*

Diversity across the Curriculum: Perceptions and Practices. . . . . 79

*Heather Wyatt-Nichol and Kwame Badu Antwi-Boasiako*

"Leadership Cannot Be Taught": Teaching Leadership to MPA Students . . . . . 91

*Keith D. Revell*

Privatization and Social Equity: A Research Note. . . . . 111

*James D. Ward*

## Social Equity, Diversity, and Identity: Challenges for Public Affairs Education and the Public Service

Mario A. Rivera, Editor-in-Chief, *Journal of Public Affairs Education*

James D. Ward, Symposium Convener and Co-Editor

Ever since scholars present at the 1968 Minnowbrook Conference called for greater integration of social equity in the public administration literature and pedagogy, researchers in our field have striven to identify the methods and means required to accomplish that aim. Later developments of all kinds, from the establishment of the National Academy of Public Administration's Standing Panel on Social Equity in Governance, in 2000, to the articulation of diversity standards and guidelines by NASPAA and the publication of successive symposia on diversity in this journal, attest to the scope of these same efforts.

At the 1968 Minnowbrook Conference, there was a markedly anti-positivist consensus, particularly when it came to concerns about social equity and social justice. It was argued that so-called value-free public management constructs lacked empirical merit, and that public administrationists were not and should not be 'value-neutral.' Finding themselves as they did in contentious policy and political arenas, public administrators should be committed to whatever feasible policy, process, and institutional changes were required for the advancement of social equity. However, as it is often commented, while the 1968 conference attendees "challenged public administration to become proactive with regard to social issues," Minnowbrook II participants seemed to many commentators to retreat from activist perspectives to "cerebral examinations of democracy, ethics, responsibility, and even economics" (Bailey, 1989, 224).

A participant at the Minnowbrook conferences, symposium contributor H. George Frederickson wrote extensively about pertinent changes in the field, what came to be defined as the "New Public Administration"—or NPA, which should not be confused with what is now termed the "New Public Management," or NPM, distinguished as it is by a market-based performance orientation. Frederickson argued, simply and straightforwardly, that the new rationale for public administration was social equity. From this perspective, a commitment to social equity should take its place alongside the classic values of administrative leadership, representativeness, and political neutrality and fairness (Frederickson, 1997). The new directions of the 1960s and early 1970s included "decentralization, devolution, projects, contracts, sensitivity training, organization development, responsibility expansion, confrontation, and client involvement" (Freder-

ickson, 1997, 330–331), as well as “programming–planning–budgeting systems, executive inventories and social indicators” (331), all of which would serve to effect change and promote equity. Frederickson made six key arguments in this connection:

1. The NPA rejects both the possibility and desirability of a strict separation of politics from administration: “Administrators are not neutral. They should be committed to both good management and social equity as values, things to be achieved, or rationales” (Frederickson, 1997, 330).
2. A fundamental aim of the NPA is the pursuit of change, within the bounds of existing governmental institutions: The “new Public Administration seeks to change those policies and structures that systematically inhibit social equity” (330).
3. Seeking out and developing new change methods are themselves goals: “change is basic to the new Public Administration” (331).
4. Public administrators already have the wherewithal to make or influence policy, that is, they in fact have considerable discretionary authority: “New Public Administration seeks not only to carry out legislative mandates as efficiently and economically as possible, but to both influence and execute policies which more generally improve the quality of life for all” (331).
5. Institutional change and policy reform are necessary to bring about social equity: The NPA “is concerned less with building institutions and more with designing alternative means of solving public problems,” through programs and policies that will not “become greater public problems than the social situations they were originally designed to improve” (331–332).
6. NPA advocates want a ‘second-generation behaviorism’ that transcends the limits of brute positivism. Scientific experimentation and empirical evaluation and analysis must be conducted to find good alternatives and develop best practices: “The second-generation behaviorist is less ‘generic’ and more ‘public’ than his forebear, less ‘descriptive’ and more ‘prescriptive,’ less ‘institution oriented’ and more ‘client-impact oriented,’ less ‘neutral’ and more ‘normative,’ and it is hoped, no less scientific” (332).

More flexible, lateral, boundary-exchange mechanisms and processes were to supplant the rigidities of bureaucracy, as to a significant extent they have, particularly with the new realities of network and collaborative management. Frederickson had in fact argued for, and anticipated, more flexible and decentralized organizations that would establish new forms of agency-stakeholder and agency-public relationships and would become more collaborative and more attuned to social equity. Greater equity in administration would, or could be expected to, translate into greater equity in the larger society. Social equity is therefore tied to representation and diversity in this sense, and both equity and diversity may be considered constitutive of twenty-first century public administration. Among

the tests for diversity initiatives are both quantitative and qualitative measures of inclusion of minority groups in government and, by extension, in academic institutions, particularly those involved in public affairs education. Mitchell Rice, a contributor to the present symposium, has in fact proposed that social equity needs to define the central aims of public administration education: "If social equity involves fairness and equal treatment" in public policy implementation and in the delivery of government services, then there needs to be correspondingly more stress on developing social equity curricula. Practitioner changes will be necessary, Rice argues, so that information about "who works in public organizations, how well they are managed, and who receives public services in a multicultural society," may be adequately assessed and acted on. In this context, Rice suggests a connection between a public organization's level of interest in social equity and its "ability to promote and manage diversity among its workforce" (Rice, 2004, 143). Social equity therefore becomes a criterion for efficacy in public administration, along with other criteria such as efficiency, economy, and productivity.

Rice's contribution to this symposium is titled "A Primer for Developing a Public Agency Service Ethos of Cultural Competency in Public Services Programming and Public Services Delivery." Consistent with his previous work, Rice here calls for culturally adaptive governmental responses to the challenges presented by demographic and cultural changes in our society. From this perspective, cultural responsiveness is predicated on the requirements of public service and social equity. Rice provides detailed contemporary examples of best practices in this area of public policymaking and management, as he maps out the territory of cultural competency concerns in human resources training, education, and modes of service delivery.

For the late Philip J. Rutledge, founding chair of the National Academy of Public Administration's Standing Panel on Social Equity in Governance, "job one is developing a protocol of indicators, scorecards, and benchmarks that will enable us to define better, measure, and track phenomena we identify as social equity issues" (Rutledge, 2002). Social equity is defined by the NAPA Standing Panel as

The fair, just and equitable management of all institutions serving the public directly or by contract; the fair, just and equitable distribution of public services and implementation of public policy; and the commitment to promote fairness, justice, and equity in the formation of public policy. (2000, 2–3)

Consistent with these criteria, articles in this symposium address challenging issues of diversity and inclusion, and of social equity as representativeness and distributive justice. The symposium's lead essay is George Frederickson's

tribute to the late Philip Rutledge (to whose memory this symposium issue is dedicated), “Social Equity in the Twenty-first Century: An Essay in Memory of Philip J. Rutledge,” an important contribution to the discussion of the subject in the discipline. Organized around an imaginary conversation with Rutledge and other colleagues, it was originally written for the 2007 Annual Conference of the Standing Panel on Social Equity in Governance of the National Academy of Public Administration (Richmond, Virginia). The journal is honored to have the symposium open with an essay from its founding editor, one of our most distinguished and prominent scholars.

The other essays in the symposium address the complex dimensionality of social equity and diversity in the field in various ways.

In “Employment Equity and Institutional Commitments to Diversity: Disciplinary Perspectives from Public Administration and Public Affairs Education,” editors Rivera and Ward consider the continuing impact of racism and discrimination in academic employment, drawing on a broad range of literature within and beyond the field of public administration. They consider “both successful and failed diversity-promotion practices among academic programs,” as well as different interpretations of what is permitted and desirable from the standpoint of affirmative action. Author Rivera fashions these arguments on the premise that our multiple racioethnic, social, and cultural identifications entail both individual choices and collective allegiances (cf. Appiah, 2005). Racial and ethnic minorities, his analysis suggests, need to guard against purely reactive assertions of identity, since these belie surrender to negative ascriptions of identity. In this vein, he argues that the politics of identity condition equity in employment, including academic employment, in complex ways. Rivera concludes that the freedom to trace authentic, individually determined expressions of identity—including professional identity—continues to be denied to some faculty of color. However, minority faculty must be able to follow or create career paths that are reasonably free of arbitrary obstacles. As Lemert (1997, 128) asserts, “Social identity most fundamentally involves a claim to rights in a social space.” Every struggle to define one’s own identity as an individual, in rejection of ascribed identity—and to therefore lay claim to life and career options—is irreducibly a political act. This kind of resistance has an ethical dimension as well, since it may be cast as a moral obligation to similarly situated others.

The Rivera-Ward article takes aim, finally, at the increasingly transparent subterfuges that frustrate the careers of minority faculty. As Hubert Humphrey said in 1967, “If we were half as clever in providing jobs as we are in denying them, we could have whipped this whole problem of discrimination in employment a long time ago” (in Thompson, 1987, 5). Old myths about insurmountable difficulties in attracting minority faculty are becoming untenable.

In “Preparing the Public Service for Working in Multiethnic Democracies: An Assessment and Ideas for Action,” Michael Brintnall, executive director of the

American Political Science Association, considers issues surrounding the governance of multiethnic democracies and the advancement of social and political equity for minorities in Europe. Brintnall opens by quoting the Working Group on Democratic Governance of Multi-ethnic Communities of the Network of Schools and Institutes of Public Administration in Central and Eastern Europe (NISPAcee) as follows: "Strengthening the capacity of the public and NGO sectors to manage diversity is an essential step to improving governance and service delivery in general." A further implication of the diversity challenge in these European regions is that "[s]ustained attention to issues of diversity require long-term capacity building through public administration education in addition to current efforts to reform laws and intervene in existing conflicts." Brintnall notes that solutions to the problems of multiethnic societies and fractioned polities have been framed variously as a matter of law, education, social psychology, community organizing, social integration, policy innovation and institution building, and reform and governance, so that the issue of ethnic and political pluralism and conflict in Central and Eastern Europe "is genuinely multi-dimensional." The paper explores what the civil service and civil servants can contribute to achieving social and political goals in these domains, and "particularly the role that education and training for public administration can play; in this regard, it tracks closely, though in a comparative context, critical concerns that Mitchell Rice addresses in the American context. Brintnall reports on a survey of public administration education and training programs in the region intended to assess how these problems are addressed, particularly in local government levels. Consequently, Brintnall is exploring in large part the interplay between national strategies and community or "street-level" initiatives in Central and Eastern Europe, and he does so in ways that shed light on parallel, albeit distinct, initiatives in the United States.

In "Human Rights Theory as a Portal for Incorporating Social Equity into the Public Administration Curriculum," Jose Duarte S. Alvez and Mary Timney argue that "human rights theory offers a unique opportunity to the PA curriculum by providing a base for social equity, incorporating global perspectives, and building coherent ethical decision-making models," all without the necessity of mastering "ethical reasoning in a philosophical context or the risk of engaging in decision-making through value-laden judgments." Alvez and Timney maintain that graduate programs would be well served if, in pursuit of a greater appreciation of social equity, they incorporated human rights literature in germane courses, because that body of work is more accessible and more serviceable for public administration students and practitioners. It is also the case that the human rights advocacy lens elicits and allows direct comparison of North American, European, Latin American, and other regional- and national-level human rights initiatives across the globe, bringing to the fore unsuspected commonalities in human and civil rights problems and responses internationally, in ways that are



inherently normative and value-defined but not necessarily built around formal ethical/philosophical analysis.

In “Teaching ‘Supply-Side’ Social Equity in MPA Programs,” Gerasimos Gianakis and Douglas Snow propose that tax policy is, of all public policy in the United States, the single most detrimental one for social equity. The authors pose the question of why tax policy is virtually excluded from MPA curricula and in particular from core courses that address social equity. They respond with an exploration of “how the social equity implications of alternative tax structures could be most effectively explored in the graduate classroom.” Gerasimos and Snow submit that tax policy has not been adequately linked with social equity in public affairs curricula. This is so, they contend, because of vestiges of the politics-administration divide that have constrained faculty from dealing with what are regarded as “purely political issues.”

In “Diversity across the Curriculum: Perceptions and Practices,” Heather Wyatt-Nichol and Kwame Badu Antwi-Boasiako address NASPAA’s new *Diversity Across the Curriculum* standard and its implications for the curricula of MPA/MPP programs. Through a survey of program directors and a subsequent content analysis, their study examines specific ways in which programs are responding to the challenge of integrating diversity in curricular and programmatic offerings—for instance, in attempts to integrate issues of diversity in existing courses rather than offer stand-alone courses. The authors find that directors and chairs generally emphasize the need for flexibility, corresponding with the capabilities and resources of their graduate programs.

In “Leadership Cannot Be Taught: Teaching Leadership to MPA Students,” Keith Revell attempts to dispel common myths about the pedagogical difficulties that attend the subject of leadership. Although not originally slated for this symposium, the article is included because Revell indicates ways in which he adapts his teaching on leadership to a very diverse student body. His classroom typically “mirrors the ethnic composition of South Florida,” since it includes “Hispanic-Americans, African-Americans, Haitian-Americans, and non-Hispanic whites,” with English, Spanish, and Creole equally common in student interactions. Revell’s treatment of the subject of leadership, touching as it does on adaptations to the cultural, ethnic, and linguistic differences found among students, as well as on the need for promoting consensus-building competencies in graduate education, is therefore appropriate for the symposium.

In “Privatization and Social Equity: A Research Note,” James Ward provides exploratory data from a survey concerned with the relationship between increased use of privatization and minority employment in the public sector. This brief work suggests that the marketization of public service can be detrimental to minorities across the spectrum of public employment.

We thank anonymous referees from the journal’s Editorial Board, along with those invited reviewers who first helped to bring this symposium to completion,

and to readiness for blind peer review. These reviewers include Norman Baldwin, University of Alabama; Lloyd A. Blanchard, Louisiana State University; Larry Geri, Evergreen State University; Susan T. Gooden, Virginia Commonwealth University; Beth Walter Honadle, University of Cincinnati; Richard Hug, Indiana University at South Bend; Audrey Mathews, California State University at San Bernardino; Blue Wooldridge, Virginia Commonwealth University; Robert Zinke, Eastern Washington University; and Marty Wiseman, Mississippi State University.

#### REFERENCES

- Appiah, Kwame Anthony. 2005. *The Ethics of Identity*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Bailey, M. T. 1989. "Minnowbrook II: An End or a New Beginning." *Public Administration Review*, 49(2):224–225.
- Frederickson, H. G. 1997. "Toward a New Public Administration." In J. M. Shafritz and A. C. Hyde, eds., *Classics of Public Administration*. Orlando: Harcourt Brace, 329–341.
- Lemert, C. 1997. *Postmodernism Is Not What You Think*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- National Academy of Public Administration Standing Panel on Social Equity. 2000. *Issue Paper and Work Plan*, October.
- Rice, Mitchell F. 2004. "Organizational Culture, Social Equity, and Diversity: Teaching Public Administration Education in the Postmodern Era." *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, 10(2):143–154.
- Rutledge, P. 2002. "Some Unfinished Business in Public Administration." *Public Administration Review*, 62(4):390–394.
- Thompson, J. C. 1987. *The Wit and Wisdom of Hubert H. Humphrey*. Minneapolis, MN: Partners Press.

## Information for Contributors

The *Journal of Public Affairs Education (JPAE)* is dedicated to advancing teaching and learning in public affairs broadly defined, which includes the fields of policy analysis, public administration, public management, and public policy. *JPAE* pursues its mission by publishing high-quality theory, empirical research, and commentary. The core values of *JPAE* are rigor, relevance, clarity, accessibility, and methodological diversity.

*Articles:* *JPAE* welcomes contributions from all public affairs educators who seek to reflect on their professional practice and to engage *JPAE* readers in an exploration of what or how to teach. *JPAE* articles are intended to influence experienced educator-specialists but also to be comprehensible and interesting to a broad audience of public affairs teachers. Articles appropriate for publication in *JPAE* include comprehensive literature reviews and meta-analyses, carefully constructed position papers, critical assessments of what we teach and how we teach it, thoughtful essays about commonly shared teaching challenges, experimental and quasi-experimental assessments of students' learning, evaluations of new curricula or curriculum trends, national and international/comparative disciplinary and pedagogical developments, and field studies of particular teaching methods.

In addition to articles, the editors welcome proposals for symposia. Proposals that are accepted will be announced in the journal and will be accompanied by a call for papers. Submissions for symposia will be considered through the normal review process.

Decisions about the publication of all articles are based on the recommendation of members of the editorial board using a blind review process. Substantive content, writing style, and length are all relevant to a decision to publish a manuscript. Depending on the type of manuscript, the review process takes into account the following criteria:

- Research-based: adequacy of theoretical grounding; reliability and validity of findings; significance of the topic; significance of the findings.
- Interpretive, reflective, critical, theoretical: significance of the topic; quality of the argument; quality of the supporting evidence.
- Creative pedagogy: creativity of the approach; soundness of the explanation; evidence of effectiveness; utility for faculty.
- Case studies: pedagogical value; scope of potential use; clear teaching purposes.
- In all cases, writing quality is an important consideration.

Manuscripts that are obviously inappropriate or insufficiently developed will be returned without formal review. Interested authors can better understand the journal's audience and its expectations for content, quality, and focus by examin-

ing what *JPAE* has published in recent years or by contacting members of the editorial board or staff.

Manuscripts submitted should not have been published and should not be under consideration elsewhere. Papers presented at a professional conference qualify for consideration; in fact, the submission of manuscripts that have been thoroughly revised following presentation at a professional meeting is encouraged.

In general, authors are strongly encouraged to have their work reviewed and evaluated by colleagues prior to submission for formal review in order to facilitate the editorial process.

Manuscripts should be sent to [jpae@uncp.edu](mailto:jpae@uncp.edu). Only electronic submissions sent to this email address as Microsoft Word attachments will be considered. Any accompanying message should be addressed simply to "Editors," not to a particular editor.

In order for manuscripts to be reviewed as quickly as possible, authors are asked to observe the following requirements:

- Ensure that the manuscript is anonymous by leaving off your name and putting self-identifying references in a separate Microsoft Word file and as a separate attachment.
- Use margins of one and one-half (1-1/2) inches at the left, right, top, and bottom of the page.
- *JPAE* uses the in-text parenthetical reference system with all references at the end of the text in alphabetical order. Notes are to be kept to a minimum. See the Chicago Manual of Style for guidance.

It is important that you identify the type of manuscript you are submitting: (1) research based; (2) interpretive, reflective, critical, or theoretical essay or position paper; (3) creative pedagogy; or (4) teaching case study.

*Creative Pedagogy:* The purpose of Creative Pedagogy is to feature innovative approaches to teaching specific public affairs subjects or concepts. The goal of this feature is to present experimental exercises, simulations, role plays, or other creative teaching technologies in a format that colleagues can readily use. Submissions are peer reviewed.

Contributions to Creative Pedagogy must include substantive details (e.g., text for the case, role descriptions for a role play exercise) and a narrative discussion about how the pedagogy is used, student response to it, suggestions for instructors who may wish to use it, and results associated with its use. The presentation of the pedagogy should be thorough and lively so that teachers reading the article will be stimulated and able to use the information.

Submissions for Creative Pedagogy should be sent to Editors, *JPAE*, at [jpae@uncp.edu](mailto:jpae@uncp.edu), as indicated above.

*Review Essays:* Reviews will commonly use a cluster format in which several books, videos, software programs, cases, CD-ROMs, Internet sites, or other

instructional materials will be compared and contrasted in an essay. Review essays should offer a point of view but should seek to treat each item in the cluster fairly. Essays could be structured around a comparison of related resources, resources related to the public affairs education enterprise, or resources that directly or indirectly have something to say about public affairs education. Review essays should strive for clarity, brevity, and timeliness. Inquires about review essays should be sent to Nicholas Giannastasio, Managing Editor, at [jpae@uncp.edu](mailto:jpae@uncp.edu).

*Copyright Notice:* Manuscripts will not be published unless a copyright transfer agreement has been signed by all the authors of a manuscript and has been received by *JPAE*. Copyright transfer forms are sent out by the NASPAA office. Educators may reproduce any material for classroom use only and authors may reproduce their articles without written permission. Written permission is required to reproduce *JPAE* in all other instances.



# Social Equity in the Twenty-First Century: An Essay in Memory of Philip J. Rutledge

H. George Frederickson  
The University of Kansas

Among the better parts of being “senior” is that one is asked, from time to time, to sum things up. This essay is a response to an invitation to sum up the current state of social equity in American public administration. Because there have been similar invitations over the years, one might assume that there is little more to say about social equity. On the contrary, there is a very great deal more to say. The applied field of social equity is highly dynamic. So too is the theoretical literature. A “summing up” is next to impossible because the social equity terrain changes so often. Therefore, an essay on the state of social equity in early 2007 will have to do.

This essay is written three days after the death of Phil Rutledge, a dear friend and fellow traveler along the roads of social equity. In view of Phil’s death, the original outline for this essay was quickly scrapped and replaced with some observations and thoughts on Phil and on how he might view the present state of social equity.

Philip J. Rutledge and I were brought together by John W. Ryan. It was 1971 and John had just been appointed the president of Indiana University. We were both active in the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA) and at an ASPA meeting John introduced me to Phil. Phil indicated that he had read my essay on social equity in the just-published *Toward a New Public Administration* (Frederickson, 1971) and was anxious to talk about it. The conversation we began that day continued, off and on, for 35 years. Phil’s part of the conversation was applied, practical, rooted in the soil of American government and public administration—a search for the ways to make social equity work. My part of the conversation was abstract and conceptual—a search for ways to bring others to the social equity case and, along the way, a search for theoretical clarity.

Although we were having a conversation about social equity, conversations were never enough for Phil. He was *the* social equity entrepreneur. During his

ASPA presidency he asked Dwight Waldo to include a symposium on social equity in the *Public Administration Review* (January/February, 1974). During this period ASPA was rewriting its Code of Ethics and Phil encouraged the drafting committee to include a social equity standard. Phil was the force behind the continuing environmental justice project panels at the National Academy of Public Administration (NAPA). Phil also was the driving force behind what is now the Standing Panel on Social Equity in Governance of NAPA and the series of annual NAPA social equity conferences.

Phil was more a choir master than a soloist. He gathered people together to make things happen. An instinctive organizer and delegator, he parceled out the work, set the deadlines, probed here and poked there. When everything was organized and the choir was assembled he insisted that everyone introduce themselves and tell their little story. He was luxurious with time. Our work was so important that it should take whatever time was available and more. Money was seldom involved but dedication to a cause was always involved. We were all able to engage in the social equity cause because Phil engaged us. And he asked us to work for our cause. Although those of us who worked with Phil said this to one another in a joking way, it was true: "Phil takes it as his personal responsibility to go about the world creating work for others." Work we did, and blessed work it was.

We were often in conferences or meetings at which one of us introduced the other. Over the years this became a contest. Of my introductions of Phil, his favorite was: "And now, ladies and gentlemen, it is my pleasure to give you Phil Rutledge, the Public Administration Tsunami." My favorite of his introductions of me was: "And now, ladies and gentlemen, it is my pleasure to introduce to you the Social Equity Work Monkey, George Frederickson." These introductions may not have been very amusing to the audience, but we loved them.

In November 2006, the Board of Directors of the National Academy of Public Administration established the George Graham Award for Distinguished Service to the Academy and agreed that Phil would be among the first to be given the Graham Award. The presentation of the award was scheduled for a Board of Director's dinner on January 26, 2007, and Phil planned to be there. He died that morning.

Imagine with me that Providence has given us one last chance to have a conversation with Phil regarding the state of social equity. In our imagination we are all at the dinner table with Phil on the night he is to receive the Graham Award.

The conversation turns to the recent death of the great sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset. Someone at the table tells us that Lipset was the only person to have been selected president of the American Sociological Association *and* the American Political Science Association. Someone else comments that Lipset was known for using a qualitative research methodology in the tradition of Max Weber; indeed, Lipset was known as the American Weber. We are reminded that



in his early years Lipset was on the ideological left and as he aged he moved to the ideological right. Yes, Phil comments, reminding us that it was Lipset, more than anyone else in the past generation, who regularly documented the sharp rise in income inequality. Lipset regularly wrote about how the rich were getting better at passing on their advantages to their children. And Lipset's special interest was describing the increasing gaps in housing, health care, employment, and lifestyles between the educated and the uneducated.

That may be true, someone else comments, but the point is that, while Lipset continued to be the leading scholar of inequality in America, over the years he changed. He was initially committed to the welfare state, to a social net, and to redistributive social policies as ways to level the social and economic playing field. In his middle and later years he changed to a rather passive non-interventionist perspective in matters of social equity.

It was Lipset, we were reminded, who argued that there are two primary competing themes that run through American history. One theme is individual achievement; the other is equality. And it was Lipset who reminded us that, throughout American history when individual achievement competed directly with equality, achievement almost always won. The American ethos of achievement and of individual merit has reshaped the ethos of equality. When our language is decoded, as Lipset said, what is usually meant by the word equality is "fair opportunity" and what is meant by freedom also means "opportunity."

In Lipset's concept of American exceptionalism, when we are compared with other democratic nations, Americans are more individualistic, more pro-business, more anti-statist, and more meritocratic. We lead the democratic world in crime, incarceration, drug abuse, and family breakdown—all reflections of our weak social ties and our ethos of freedom and liberty. Yet we are more openly religious and more willing to politicize moral issues. And we are an increasingly heterogeneous people. It was Lipset who determined that homogeneous cultures and countries are much more inclined to equalizing social policies than are heterogeneous countries such as the United States.

Then, in our imaginary conversation, Phil reminds us that Lipset dropped his support of affirmative action in the 1980s and was identified with Daniel Patrick Moynihan's concept of benign neglect. That's right, someone else says. In his comments on Lipset's death, Rakesh Khurana of Harvard University said,

There are many sociologists who described Lipset as a "conservative" sociologist. I disagree. Lipset was neither conservative nor liberal, he was part of a tradition of pragmatists, who are skeptical of all grand, utopian theories and ideas. Like the late Edward Shils or Robert Nisbet, Lipset deeply believed in the social-ordering capacity of foundational institutions, like family, religion, and community. He was skeptical of big government as a solution of micro-level problems.

A perspective that has recently been articulated by educational attainment and its links to culture. (Rakesh Kurana's Weblog)

When the subject of affirmative action enters the conversation, I ask the table if others have seen Sally Coleman Selden's excellent new piece on affirmative action in the *Public Administration Review* (Vol. 60, No. 6). Sally is at the table and, because the others at the table seem interested in learning what she has written, we turn to her.

"In this article I trace the evolution in social equity policy from equal opportunity to affirmative action as the foundation of an examination of declining support for affirmative action," Sally explains. "In a way, I was attempting to account for one of Lipset's claims—that opportunity, like achievement, will trump social policies designed to achieve equality.

"I found that, with a few exceptions, studies indicate that minorities and women have made impressive gains in equality. But most studies also show that there are still gaps, and in some cases wide gaps, between men and women, African Americans and whites, Hispanics and whites, and other minorities and whites.

"Over time public support for affirmative action has waxed and waned but almost always within a fairly narrow range. The point is that Americans are conflicted about affirmative action, neither support nor opposition holding a dominant position in public opinion. As might be expected, there is relatively wide variation in opinions of affirmative action based on the race of the respondent.

"In the last 15 years the courts have narrowed the scope of state and federal affirmative action programs.

"Grassroots legislative action, direct ballot initiatives often led by Ward Connerly, the former Trustee of the University of California, and executive orders have also narrowed the scope of affirmative action.

"The representative bureaucracy thesis is generally confirmed, which is to say that greater diversity in the public workforce has a positive influence on performance and effectiveness.

"In my conclusions, I wrote that 'despite the gains achieved by women and minorities since the early 1960s, the challenges of eradicating discrimination in the workplace remain. . . . (T)he educational pipeline for increasing diversity in their workforces is more robust than in the past, but the performance and graduation rates of minority students remain disappointing and require attention.'

"One profoundly important public administration point is left out of contemporary considerations of affirmative action and the public service. Because of an increasing reliance on grants and contracts, the federal government as well as many state and local governments now have so-called 'multisector workforces.' Indeed, for every one direct federal employee there are now between seven and eight equivalent contract employees—the so-called shadow bureaucracy. We know a very great deal about the diversity of the federal workforce and next to

nothing about the diversity of the shadow bureaucracy. Furthermore we have weak theoretical and normative positions which might account for the need for diversity and social equity in the services of the contract workforce.”

Ed Jennings is at the table and someone asks him to tell us about his recent research on the influence of the Government Performance and Results Act (GPRA) on social equity. Ed explains that GPRA requires each federal department to develop specific goals and to annually measure their performance with respect to those goals. He wanted to find out whether the federal focus on measuring outputs, outcomes, and impacts incorporated attention to social equity concerns. Of the 16 departments he reviewed, nine departments saw no need to report social equity impacts—Defense, Energy, Justice, State, Homeland Security, Interior, Treasury, Transportation, and the Environmental Protection Administration (EPA). The Department of Health and Human Services and the Department of Veterans Affairs and Education have developed social equity performance measures. All told, only 6.1 percent of federal performance measures reflect social equity consideration.

As those of us at the table reflect on Ed’s report, Phil indicates that he was surprised that the EPA is not using measures of social equity in its consideration of environmental outcomes. After all, Phil explains, EPA has funded a long-standing contract with NAPA to develop its environmental justice program. Then Phil says that the next stage of the NAPA contract with EPA should be the development of EPA social equity performance measures. Toward that end Phil begins to give particular assignments to those of us at the table.

Ed adds that certain agencies that have among their purpose addressing the needs of the disadvantaged have developed good social equity performance measures. In addition, when social equity requirements are written into law, as in the case of education, social equity performance measure reporting is extensive. But cross-cutting laws and regulations that require attention to social equity in agency behavior, as is required by civil rights laws, do little to stimulate attention to the measurement of performance. On a positive note, Ed makes the point that GPRA-based performance measures provide a potentially useful vehicle for making points about social equity. The trick will be to make federal performance measures reflect social equity purposes. Phil agrees and reminds us of the big job ahead.

Another voice asks the table what we all think about Walter Benn Michaels’ new book, *The Trouble with Diversity: How We Learned to Love Identity and Ignore Inequality*. The ensuing silence serves as a predicate to a difficult discussion of a complex and troubling argument. Advocates of social equity in public administration are accustomed to challenges to affirmative action and diversity, but not ordinarily from so-called liberals. That’s what makes Michaels’ argument so challenging. He argues that inequality in all its forms—income, housing, schooling, health care, transportation—must be at center of all claims of fairness and justice.

Diversity, he argues, is a consolation prize, a second-order issue that distracts policy makers and public administrators from the central issue—inequality.

It is no wonder, Michaels claims, that diversity is a powerful tool of self-legitimization for the rich: “A society free not only of racism but of sexism and of heterosexism is a neoliberal utopia where all the relevant grounds for inequality... have been eliminated and whatever inequalities are left is therefore legitimized.” Michaels reminds us that, despite years of affirmative action and diversity, only 3 percent of the students at selective universities are from the bottom socio-economic quartile. Universities are, according to Michaels, serving the extra-educational function of laundering privileges into qualifications.

Following Michaels, it is the ideology of diversity that demands examination. Diversity, he claims, plays an ideological trick that goes this way: “It treats economic differences along the lines of racial and sexual differences, thus identifying the problem not as the economic differences but as racial or gender prejudice.” As long as no one wishes ill to the poor, and the poor are not made to feel inferior, there are no grounds for complaint and no basis for challenging those aspects of capitalism that further inequality. Diversity, therefore, keeps those interested in social equity barking up the wrong tree.

The right tree for us to bark up, according to Michaels, is poverty, and particularly the structural factors that sustain poverty.

Someone at the table says that Michaels’ argument reminds her of the battle over admissions policy on the campuses of the University of California. After the statewide referendum that struck down race- and gender-based affirmative action in admissions, university officials attempted to design an admissions model based on the socioeconomic status of applicants. That didn’t fly. Now, based almost entirely on grades, test scores, and school quality indicators, more than half of the undergraduates on the campuses of the University of California are Asian. Hispanics and African Americans each make up less than 3 percent of enrolled students.

“What do you conclude from that?” Phil asked.

“Well,” she replies, “it appears that when it comes to University of California admissions, both identify-based affirmative action preference criteria and poverty-based preferences have trumped by so-called ‘objective’ or ‘color-blind’ measures of merit—grades, test scores, and school quality. So, at least at the University of California, Lipset had it right—achievement has trumped equality. And Michaels’ hope of structural means by which economic criteria influence admissions policy is nowhere in sight. The poor still go to California’s community colleges.”

“What about the Texas case?” Phil asked.

“Well,” she replies, “the Texas policy of admitting to the University of Texas the top 10 percent of each high school’s graduates does appear to be more effective from a social equity standpoint than the California model. Because of the rather wide variation in the funding of Texas schools and the equally wide varia-

tion in the socioeconomic circumstances of students by school, the results of the Texas model lean in the direction of admitting more students of color and students from lower socioeconomic classes than is the case in California. But it also means that some students admitted under this policy have test scores appreciably lower than the norm for standard University of Texas admissions.”

Phil then asks a more probing question about the Michaels thesis. “Virtually all the institutionalists are of the opinion that race and ethnicity have been and continue to be defining aspects of the American experience: race and ethnicity are tightly coupled with poverty. How, in view of that, can Michaels seriously argue that race- and gender-based diversity are distracting us from issues of social and economic equality? It is often race and ethnicity that put the face on poverty and give it identity. It seems to me that there is an otherworldly quality to Michaels’s claims.”

“Yes,” someone at the table says. “Both abstract ‘diversity’ and abstract ‘inequality’ and the stylized arguments about them will almost give way to what they have in common. Abstract ideologies are seldom fully embraced by Americans, and that is the case with diversity and inequality. In application, against the messy realities of complex politics and administration, both diversity and inequality can be surprisingly pragmatic. When affirmative action and diversity are ‘disappointing’ we do not end them, we mend them. When gaps between the haves and the have-nots are wide, as they are now, we work to narrow them. Diversity and inequality policy battles are untidy and protracted battles in ongoing policy wars that never end. Policies do change, though, and the implementation of policy also changes. The battle is to influence policy and policy implementation to move in the direction of both diversity and equality.”

“That sounds right to me,” Phil says. “Both diversity and equality are honorable objectives. We may never live in an entirely fair and just world, but there is much we can do to make it more fair and just.”

By then our dinner was finished. People were leaving the other tables. We were tired.

It was time to say goodbye to our leader and our friend.

*Written for the 2007 Annual Conference of the Standing Panel on Social Equity in Governance of the National Academy of Public Administration, February 17, 2007, Richmond, Virginia.*

REFERENCES

- Frederickson, H. George. 1971. "Organization Theory and the New Public Administration." In Frank Marini, ed., *Toward a New Public Administration: The Minnowbrook Perspective*. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co.
- Jennings, Edward T., Jr. 2005. "Social Equity and the Government Performance and Results Act." A paper presented at the 8<sup>th</sup> Public Management Research Conferences, Los Angeles, California, September 29–October 1, 2005.
- Michaels, Walter Benn. 2007. *The Trouble With Diversity: How We Learned to Love Identify and Ignore Inequality*. New York: Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt & Company.
- Selden, Sally Coleman. 2006. "A Solution in Search of a Problem? Discrimination, Affirmative Action, and the New Public Service." *Public Administration Review*, 60(6):911–923.
- "Symposium on Social Equity and Public Administration." 1974. *Public Administration Review*, 34(1):1–51.

# Employment Equity and Institutional Commitments to Diversity: Disciplinary Perspectives from Public Administration and Public Affairs Education

Mario A. Rivera, The University of New Mexico  
James D. Ward, Mississippi University for Women

## ABSTRACT

Are racism and discrimination forgotten issues in public administration research on the promotion of diversity in graduate education and faculty employment? Studies touching on diversity and employment equity usually address subjects such as education and training—the competencies needed by professional administrators, for example—as well as best practices in diversity management, persistent problems such as the lack of racial or gender diversity in upper management positions in public sector agencies, and the enduring challenges of minority recruitment and retention in public administration programs. The subjects of racism and discrimination as such—or of underlying factors generally—are seldom addressed centrally. Consequently, questions such as the following arise: What role might racism play in academic as well as public sector employment? What about other lines of causation impacting discrimination? How do individual, group, and institutional predispositions and actions affect employment equity? How have such questions been addressed in the public administration literature? In other research and research applications in the social, behavioral, and management sciences? And, finally, what can be learned from successful and failed diversity-promotion practices among academic programs?

A significant body of empirical research is uncovering patterns of action that have the intended or unintended effect of excluding candidates of color from recruitment pools, interview short-lists, and faculty hiring and advancement opportunities. This essay reviews and analyzes some of this literature, particularly as it relates to public affairs education. On that basis, it suggests the following: (1) new directions for diversity-related research, (2) changes in the articulation of

diversity commitments, particularly by public administration departments and programs, and (3) ways to successfully realize those institutional commitments (assuming that they are more than rhetorical), pointing to research that specifies proven practices.

---

#### DEFINING AND PROBING TERMS OF REFERENCE

“Institutional racism” is a term that indicates both intentional and unintentional racial prejudices and barriers—for instance, in biased selection and promotion processes that disadvantage racial and ethnic minorities (Price, 1997). Braham (1992, 106) suggests that widening the definition of discrimination to include indirect institutional racism would give us a much better understanding of the obstacles faced by racial and ethnic minorities. Institutional racism, he asserts, goes virtually unrecognized by either public or private sector organizations; nonetheless, it is symptomatic of extremely contentious issues for the public sector in particular. And Dominelli (2002, 157) finds that “[i]t is the subtle presence of racism in our normal activities, coupled with our failure to make the connections between the personal, institutional and cultural levels of racism which make it so hard...to recognize its existence...and combat it effectively.”

Halstead (1988) proposes that institutional racism refers to the ways in which institutional arrangements and practices, along with the distribution of power and resources, serve to reinforce the advantages of majoritarian groups. Halstead argues that because these institutional practices disadvantage minority groups, whether intentionally or not, changing them requires fundamental change in the given institutions—i.e., in their very nature, because they have in fact served to create social inequity. He concludes that, once their discriminatory impacts are exposed, such practices should be reformed or brought to an end, and that, otherwise, those acting to perpetuate them are *in effect* guilty of racism.

In an influential study, Jones (1997) distinguishes individual from institutional racism, relying on a classification system for various types of discrimination. For Jones, individual racism can take either a dominative/aggressive form or an aversive one. Aversive racism involves avoidance of people of other races because of the feelings of discomfort they evoke, while institutional racism is organizational behavior directed toward entire demographic categories rather than individuals. Jones further describes two variants of institutional racism, *individually mediated* and *standard-of-practice* racial discrimination. The first refers to the substance of institutional policies and practices, such as hiring procedures, shaped by individuals who, knowingly or not, are motivated by racial prejudice. The second includes institutional practices that directly or indirectly restrict the professional access and advancement of individuals or groups on the basis of race or ethnicity.



For Jones, individual and institutional variants of racial discrimination may operate unintentionally, but they are no less harmful for lacking willfulness.

Essed (1990) notes an overlap between individual and institutional forms of discrimination, as well as their mutual reinforcement. When individual prejudices are enacted in institutional settings—for instance in aggregate failures by academic institutions to extend to minority faculty members the same social supports as others—a climate of exclusion is created that, by necessity, adversely affects the career chances of minorities.

Distinctions between individual racism and individually and group-mediated kinds of institutional racism are necessary for a nuanced understanding of employment discrimination in the contexts here described. Attending to the institutional dimensions of discrimination helps counter the often self-serving tendency to limit consideration of racism to individual, fully conscious, and explicit or overt action. Racism is insidious because it is so often hidden among institutional practices—which are aggregations or accretions of individual attitudes, behaviors, and actions, but more than that besides. Cultural forms of institutional discrimination occur when the culture of a minority group is seen as somehow flawed, and when, consequently, its members are pressured to relinquish their own culture in favor of a majoritarian one, even to as extreme an extent as personal mannerisms and speech patterns. Other types of institutional racism include *paternalistic racism* and *color-blind racism* (Halstead, 1988). For Halstead, paternalistic racism entails the tacit belief on the part of those in the majority that they have the right to involve themselves in the lives of minorities for the latter's own good, as they define that good. Color-blind racism may be unintentional, because it rests on notions of equal regard and equal treatment, yet it has an adverse impact when it involves ignoring the historic experiences differentiating racial and ethnic minorities from majoritarian groups. Halstead concludes that social inequity and racial injustice ensue when either of two conditions prevails: if people are treated the same when in relevant respects they are different, and if they are treated differently when in relevant respects they are the same.

#### SUPPORTIVE NETWORKS, SOCIAL CAPITAL, AND EMPLOYMENT OUTCOMES

The foregoing consideration of racism operates variably at meso- and micro-levels of analysis, moving from middle levels—the institutional, cultural, and organizational, and the intra- and inter-group, levels—to the attitudes and actions of individuals. Movement among distinct levels of analysis and among loci of action is needed to adequately address the subject of employment discrimination. It is also necessary to distinguish intentional from unintentional forms of discrimination, because intentionality is often lost in patterns of organizational practice. Building upon such an analytical hierarchy, this study now turns to a discussion of employment networks, which operate at mid-levels of systemic action, involving organizational and group dynamics.

Much of the study of racism has placed emphasis on the adverse impacts of direct expressions of prejudice—exclusion from real consideration for employment, or denial of employment as such, for example. However, the effects of racism are often felt only indirectly. One indirect manifestation of prejudice involves exclusion from the supportive networks on which employment tends to rely. It is not, in other words, the direct or overt repudiation of minority candidates at the point of a hiring decision that is critical so much as their exclusion from networks of support based on mutuality and reciprocity.

The role of social-support networks may be operationalized around the theoretical construct of social capital. Nan Lin (1999) explores the differences in social capital attributable to race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status precisely by looking at social networks. In order for members of racial and ethnic minority groups to develop social capital, they must make connections, both inside and outside their identity groups, with recruitment and employment networks and other means of mutual support. Cross-group ties between minority—or identity—groups and majoritarian ones may be the most essential in making the connections necessary for better employment outcomes.

Network relationships play a particularly important role in job search, especially professional contacts in collegial networks. Activation of supportive networks increases the likelihood of finding employment, and it affects the quality of jobs that become available to job seekers through informal connections (Lin, 1999; Aguilera, 2002; Domínguez and Watkins, 2003). Conversely, unequal access to employment networks is bound to reinforce existing patterns of social disadvantage (Giddens, 1998).

One manifestation of a link between social networks and institutional forms of discrimination concerns the reliance employers place on incumbents to identify best-qualified prospects. Wherever incumbents essentially control the recruitment process (for instance, when they dominate search committees, thereby activating recruitment networks), employers will be more prone to overlook applicants with different identity traits. Minority candidates are then more likely to be excluded from recruitment pools—and not in any apparent way as a result of a conscious decision to discriminate, but instead because they are not part of employment networks from which top applicants are selected and they have different identity traits from those of the given incumbents.

An apt corrective response involves the implementation of diversity initiatives. It is now commonplace for academic programs to develop targeted support strategies for minority prospects and hires, from including minorities in search committees to establishing mentoring programs. Another is the development of cultural-competency and diversity-oriented educational and training curricula in academic and public sector settings (Rice, 2006). This study now turns to these practices, particularly ones aimed at increasing faculty diversity, and to some of their managerial and legal implications.

CRITICAL PROSPECTS: EQUITY AND DIVERSITY

The germane literature suggests that there continues to be confusion over what diversity-promotion is versus what equal employment opportunity is. If focused too narrowly, concern with employment equity may translate into little more than risk management (to avoid discrimination actions in the courts, for example). In contrast, true concern with diversity would entail overriding personal and corporate commitments to diversity that turn on concepts of equity rather than law. In this connection, Anderson and Collins (2004) argue that diversity management should not be reduced to defensive forms of risk-mitigation but rather should involve solid commitments to diversity and equity in the workplace.

A recent paper by Rice (2008) defines and distinguishes affirmative action, diversity management, and cultural competency in a clearly delineated taxonomy. Rice's three-fold definitions and an accompanying "Cultural Competency Glossary for Public Agencies" provide the platform for his treatment of cultural competency and diversity as defining values for public sector organizations (Rice, 2008, 15). Rice essentially makes the argument that cultural competencies are leadership competencies, particularly in the public sector, where the normative obligation is to serve all equitably. There, he argues, managers must exhibit cultural competency in their everyday work in public service. And they must be clear in their commitment when they are undertaking efforts entailing affirmative action, diversity, or cultural awareness in some combination.

Today, some of the best treatments of diversity and the changing workforce come from the business administration literature (Schippmann, 1999). Argyle (2005) suggests that concern for diversity is flagging in the public sector (and, by extension, in public administration education). Although the "public sector was in the forefront of implementing AA/EEO, serving as a role model for the private sector...the same cannot be said when it comes to managing diversity"; now the "private sector leads in this area" and the public sector is "playing catch-up" in its efforts to live up to its commitments (Argyle, 2005, 2) The public sector is also falling behind in articulating the normative bases of such commitments and initiatives, if only because these are more complex in public arenas.

Research reported by Johnson and Rivera (2007) similarly suggests that a commitment to faculty and student diversity may be flagging in graduate programs in public affairs and that creative ways of attacking problems of underrepresentation are needed. For instance, they uncover a marked preference for faculty hires with doctorates from the top 30 elite schools (according to *U.S. News & World Report* rankings); if academic programs seek out graduates from a range of doctoral programs beyond these elite schools, they will find qualified minority faculty candidates in greater numbers.

Based on a 2006 national survey, Johnson and Rivera (2007) found that only 39 percent of NASPAA-accredited programs had a course closely focused on diversity, despite the fact that, at the time, NASPAA strongly recommended in its

guidelines (not standards) that diversity be included in curricular offerings. Most programs surveyed reported addressing diversity across various courses, though not as a central curricular concern. Some 26 percent of unaccredited programs reported diversity-centered course offerings.

However, these two sets of reports may be overstated, because programs were characterizing courses that were, on the whole, not sufficiently focused on diversity or on imparting diversity competencies and were not explicitly attending to cultural competencies as such (cf. Argyle, 2005). However, the most pertinent conclusions that Johnson and Rivera (2007) draw from their research are that obtaining or maintaining accreditation may be helping determine the kinds of compliance apparent in curricular coverage of diversity and that public administration faculty need to develop cultural and diversity competencies as much as students do, if significant gains are to be realized.

#### RECRUITMENT, RETENTION, ADVANCEMENT, AND SCHOLARSHIP

An inventory of best practices in minority recruitment and professional development would yield a substantial literature (see, for instance, the comprehensive review in Moody, 2004). However, a more substantial body of work might be represented by research on the many problems that befall these efforts. For example, Aguirre (2000) argues that recruitment efforts have typically taken place without an understanding of the social forces that shape the professional experience and workplace satisfaction of women and minority faculty. Too often, these faculty find the academic workplace alienating because they are expected to take up organizational roles that are in conflict with their aspirations or they see themselves as victims of salary inequities in a skewed reward system that devalues feminist and minority research. Moreover, as these faculty take up minority-oriented service and mentoring activities, that sort of service becomes a settled expectation. Although they also tend to self-select or to be selected for scholarship related to race, ethnicity, or gender, that scholarship may be considered to be of little importance, suited only for what are taken to be second-rank journals.

In earlier research, Banks (1984) found that African-American faculty, in particular, face difficult role conflicts arising from disparate expectations in everything from university service to scholarship. Examining Latino or Chicano faculty, De la Luz Reyes and Halcon (1988) have discovered the following: (1) a pervasive attitude that these faculty should only occupy minority-related positions, (2) an unwritten rule that only one Latino or one minority faculty member need be hired per department, (3) as just indicated, devaluation of research related to ethnic or racial groups, and (4) numerous rationalizations and subterfuges that eventuate in a refusal to hire, reward, or promote. One remarkable rationalization is offered, for instance, by academic departments that assert that minority applicants would not be happy with them because they have no other minority faculty, or because surrounding communities lack kindred minority

populations—circular, and in a way brazen, justifications for exclusion. In the face of enduring obstacles such as these, minority faculty may face nothing but poor choices: (1) attempting to assimilate by suppressing their cultural identity, by trying to “mainstream” their research, or other devices; conversely (2) fighting back, and becoming “problem” faculty members; (3) making an effort to move on to more congenial and supportive institutions; and (4) simply giving up. For Turner (2002), there are distinct risks, benefits, and costs to strategies of incorporation or assimilation versus ones of resistance, because the latter tend to be better catalysts for institutional change.

#### INTERSECTIONALITY: MULTIPLE IDENTITY TRAITS AND DISCRIMINATION

McCall (2005) brings *intersectional analysis* to the comparative assessment of the experience of one minority group versus that of other groups, as well as to the assessment of the combinatorial discrimination sometimes faced by individuals with more than one salient identifier (of race, ethnicity, national origin, disability, or other identity traits). Along with McCall, for instance, Turner (2002) has examined the multiple kinds of discrimination that some women of color reportedly experience as faculty members. Multidimensional kinds of discrimination may also be experienced by others who combine more than one relevant identity trait, such as a member of a traditionally underrepresented ethnic minority who also has a disability, or a foreign-born faculty member with other prominent identifiers pertaining to race, gender, or religion. Schiek, von Ossietzky, and Monnet (2008) distinguish between *intersectionality* and *multiplicity*—as these are used respectively in employment law in the United States and Europe. They define these as follows: “Multiplicity is characterised as an experience of added discrimination, for example as a woman and a person to whom ethnic minority status is ascribed, whereas intersectional discrimination is discrimination experienced by persons on grounds of being representative of intersectional characteristics, for example as a black woman” (4). According to the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (2006, 6), Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 “prohibits discrimination not just because of one protected trait (e.g., race), but also because of the intersection of two or more protected bases...[e.g.] discrimination against African American women even if the employer does not discriminate against White women or African American men.” Related strictures in employment law represent “a cross relation of different prohibitions to discriminate” (Schiek, von Ossietzky, and Monnet, 2008, 4). Although in the scholarly literature there is greater concern with the experience of multiple forms of discrimination rather than with their legal repercussions, these two ways of framing the issue—i.e., lived experience and legal implications—need to be considered together. Pertinent in this regard, with reference to legalistic responses to diversity, is the retrenchment of affirmative action. Reaction is occurring not only in the courts, but also in a wider backlash against the ill-defined collection of practices that go

by that name. One form of reaction is the argument that enough has been done already, and that efforts at increased diversity amount to “reverse discrimination” or “reverse racism” (Myers and Turner, 2001). While Myers and Turner’s work focuses specifically on African-American faculty, their research would be applicable to minorities and women more broadly. Reacting against arguments that affirmative action actually violates federal or state civil rights or employment laws, Springer (2004) catalogues a number of well-tested minority recruitment, hiring, and retention strategies that—contrary to the revisionists—fall well within legal bounds, meeting tests set by federal and state courts.

#### EFFECTIVE RECRUITMENT OF MINORITY FACULTY: INNOVATION RATHER THAN COMPLIANCE

Beyond questions of legal compliance lies the problem of actual recruitment of minority faculty. For Smith (2000), effective recruitment means moving beyond various myths that serve to exclude minority faculty prospects. On the basis of a large-scale study, Smith identifies and questions six such myths: (1) that the scarcity of minority faculty in the pipeline(s) means that many institutions must compete with one another to seek out and hire minority candidates; (2) that the supposed scarcity of such faculty in certain fields means that those who are available are in high demand; (3) that minority faculty are leaving academia altogether for better-paying positions in government and industry; (4) that the competitive position of minorities in the job market makes it virtually impossible for any given department to recruit them; (5) that elite universities draw established minority faculty away from less prestigious ones, which also have fewer resources, limiting prospects for any single institution in diversifying its faculty; and, again, (6) that university departments focus so heavily on diversity that they engage in reverse discrimination (cf. Myers and Turner, 2001). Smith rejects each of these assertions on empirical grounds, then goes on to specify a broad range of legally permissible strategies for the advancement of diversity goals in employment.

In the same context, Barnett and Black (2003) examine a particular array of strategies used at various Kentucky universities to recruit and retain minority faculty, staff, and students. These proven strategies include (1) making staff diversity an institutional priority, (2) involving enrolled minority students in recruiting other students, and (3) establishing a separate budget for minority candidate recruitment. Retention strategies include faculty orientation and professional development efforts and the provision of mentoring assistance aligned with tenure and promotion goals (Plata, 1996).

Antonio (2003) stresses various ways in which student diversity provides opportunities to increase the representation of minority faculty and to improve their experience as faculty members. For Antonio, research on faculty diversity suggests that minority faculty members who work at institutions with diverse

student bodies are more comfortable with the academic culture of their campuses and more satisfied with their jobs than their counterparts who teach at less diverse institutions. The reasons for this outcome are varied: (1) racial diversity in a student body reduces the isolation experienced by minority faculty; (2) student diversity makes for a broader range of courses and course subjects (for example, ethnic studies); (3) a diverse student body reduces the likelihood of denial of tenure or promotion because of the racioethnicity of a faculty member; (4) a diverse student body reduces expectations placed on minority faculty to single-handedly attend to minority affairs, because larger numbers of students of color would mean that mentoring and similar activities would have to be apportioned more widely; and (5) in more general terms, an articulated and lived commitment to one kind of diversity signals commitments to other, complementary ones. Most compelling among these findings may be Antonio's suggestion that diversity initiatives—both to increase student diversity and to recruit and promote minority faculty—can be expected to be related and mutually reinforcing. This conclusion coincides with that reached by Johnson and Rivera (2007) in their research, namely that faculty and students both need to be given diversity tools and training and that these efforts will strengthen one other.

Also consistent with Antonio's findings is the research advanced by Hayes, Bartle, and Major (2002). They elaborate what they characterize as a "climate model," arguing that cultural sensitivity in organizations creates perceptions and expectations of fair treatment. Their common-sense view is that the greater the commitment to diversity, the more numerous the mutually reinforcing elements of cultural awareness and support. A more encompassing theoretical model that also proposes several orders of linkage between work practices and perceived outcomes is offered by Langford (2008).

There are some compelling studies of successful strategies for increasing faculty as well as student diversity. Bensimon, Ward, and Sanders (2000), for example, look specifically at the department chair's role in helping minority faculty successfully develop as teachers and scholars. Emphasis is on the chair's options in three stages of junior faculty professional development: recruitment and hiring; the first year of a faculty appointment; and evaluation of the performance of a new faculty member. Of particular concern is the establishment of mentoring as well as simply collegial relationships, helping minority faculty navigate the promotion and tenure process, helping them to develop into productive researchers and effective teachers, moderating their service obligations, mentoring them, and clarifying evaluation procedures to prepare them to navigate promotion and tenure reviews successfully. The research findings presented by Bensimon, Ward, and Sanders underscore the extent to which responsibility for the formulation, articulation, and realization of strategic diversity goals lies with the leadership of academic programs and public sector organizations.

### CONCLUDING PROSPECTS

In public administration, two particularly seminal treatments of diversity are those of Light (1994) and Rice (2006). Light was among the first to argue that those embarking on the recruitment of minority faculty—especially the chairs and members of search committees—need first of all to value difference. It is important to cast the net widely and in different venues when recruiting faculty and otherwise to address the academic market creatively and even aggressively. However, Light finds that those in search committees often fail to value differences and that their use of any given set of outreach tactics is therefore likely to fail. Light insists that the key to success in minority faculty recruitment is the positive valuation of differences. It also depends on distinguishing philosophically, in legal terms, and in practice between intensive efforts to recruit minority candidates into short lists and preferential treatment or biased hiring.

What Rice (2006, 2008) has singularly added to treatment of the topic is consideration of the diversity competencies necessary for managerial and organizational success, competencies in large part unique to the public sector, and how these may be imparted by specialized training programs. Johnson and Rivera (2007) built on Rice's schematic argument in their consideration of the peculiar challenges that a competencies curricular framework and efforts to improve minority faculty representation bring to public affairs programs.

Consideration of indicated—*best*—practices could be extended indefinitely. Whether these kinds of efforts will suffice to counter the insidious effects of racism and discrimination will depend on how widespread, sustained, and thoroughgoing they become. It also depends on how much these efforts are capable of prompting attitudinal and institutional changes over time. Much depends on the extent to which diversity efforts grow out of a positive commitment to diversity rather than from a defensive approach to risk management. A positive commitment to diversity will do much more than diversity management (narrowly defined as risk management) to protect academic programs from discrimination claims. An academic institution need not fear such actions if it embraces racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity and attendant differences. It is essential that there be accommodation of dissent with regard to both (1) academic freedom, respecting the role of faculty tenure, and (2) openness to the airing of discrimination grievances, without fear of reprisal. Tolerance for conflict and contention is essential if a commitment to diversity is to be actualized (Palfreyman, 2008).

However, it is difficult not to be pessimistic, even when one is cognizant of the gains made since the Civil Rights Movement and Title VII. It is doubtful that the broader acceptance and adoption of diversity initiatives will, of themselves, be enough to overcome the barriers of discrimination. If anything, racism and prejudice are more likely to condition diversity initiatives than to be substantially affected by them.



The totality of our analysis suggests that the study of employment discrimination among academic programs and the establishment of corrective practices must be advanced together, with full awareness of the difficulties involved. Both research and practice pertaining to diversity must address the difficult challenges that result from the intersection of individual, group, and institutional forms of wrongful discrimination (Arneson, 2008). Consideration of the fundamental issues involved requires the weighing of corrective strategies against the demands of personal and institutional transformation.

#### REFERENCES

- Aguilera, M. B. 2002. "The Impact of Social Capital on Labour Force Participation: Evidence from the 2000 Social Capital Benchmark Survey." *Social Science Quarterly*, 83(3):853–874.
- Aguirre, A. J. 2000. "Women and Minority Faculty in the Academic Workplace: Recruitment, Retention, and Academic Culture." *Higher Education Report*, 27(6). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Anderson, M. L., and H. P. Collins. 2004. *Race, Class and Gender*. Boston: Thomson/Wadsworth.
- Antonio, A. L. 2003. "Diverse Student Bodies, Diverse Faculties: The Success or Failure of Ambitions to Diversify Faculty Can Depend on the Diversity of Student Bodies." *Academe*, 89(6).
- Argyle, N. 2005. "Are We Preparing Our Students for Diversity? Diversity Management in MPA Programs." Paper presented at the National Conference for Teaching Public Administration, Fort Walton Beach, Florida, February 12–13.
- Arneson, R. J. 2008. "What Is Wrongful Discrimination?" Available at <http://philosophyfaculty.ucsd.edu/faculty/rarneson/whatwrongfuldiscriminationfinal.doc>.
- Banks, W. M. 1984. "Afro-American Scholars in the University: Roles and Conflicts." *American Behavioral Scientist*, 27(3):325–338.
- Barnett, E., M. Gibson, and P. Black. 2003. "Proactive Steps to Successfully Recruit, Retain, and Mentor Minority Educators: Issues in Education." *Journal of Early Education and Family Review*, 10(3):18–28.
- Bensimon, E. M., K. Ward, and K. Sanders. 2000. *The Department Chair's Role in Developing New Faculty into Teachers and Scholars*. Boston: Anker Publishing.
- Braham, P., A. Rattansi, and R. Skellinton. 1992. *Racism and Antiracism: Inequalities, Opportunities and Policies*. London: Sage Publications.
- De la Luz Reyes, M., and J. J. Halcon. 1988. "Racism in Academia: The Old Wolf Revisited." *Harvard Education Review*, 58(3):299–314.
- Dominelli, L. 2002. *Anti-Oppressive Social Work: Theory and Practice*. London: Palgrave-MacMillan.
- Giddens, A. 1998. *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Halstead, M. 1988. *Education, Justice and Cultural Diversity: An Examination of the Honey Affair, 1984–85*. London: Falmer Press.
- Hayes, B. C., S. A. Bartle, and D. A. Major. 2002. "Climate for Opportunity—A Conceptual Model." *Human Resources Review*, 12(3):445–469.
- Light, P. C. 1994. "'Not Like Us': Removing the Barriers to Minority Recruitment." *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 13(1):163–180.
- Lin, N. 1999. "Social Resources and Status Attainment." *Annual Review of Sociology*, 25:467–487.
- Jansen, D. J. 2005. "Black Dean: Race, Reconciliation, and the Emotions of Deanship." *Harvard Educational Review*, 75(3):306–325.
- Johnson, R. G., and M. Rivera. 2007. "Refocusing Graduate Public Affairs Education: A Need for Diversity Competencies in Human Resource Management." *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, 13(1):15–27.
- Jones, J. M. 1997. *Prejudice and Racism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: McGraw-Hill Co.
- McCall, L. 2005. "The Complexity of Intersectionality." *Signs*, 30(3):1771–1800.
- Moody, J. 2004. *Faculty Diversity: Problems and Solutions*. New York: Routledge.

- Myers, S. L. J., and C. S. V. Turner. 2001. "Affirmative Action Retrenchment and Labor Market Outcomes for African-American Faculty." In B. Lindsay and M. J. Justiz, eds., *The Quest for Equity in Higher Education: Toward New Paradigms in an Evolving Affirmative Action Era*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 63–98.
- Palfreyman, D. 2008. "Is Academic Freedom Under Threat in U.K. and U.S. Higher Education?" Available at [http://oxcheps.new.ox.ac.uk/MainSite%20pages/Resources/OxCHEPS\\_OP23ii.doc](http://oxcheps.new.ox.ac.uk/MainSite%20pages/Resources/OxCHEPS_OP23ii.doc).
- Plata, M. 1996. "Retaining Ethnic Minority Faculty at Institutions of Higher Education." *Journal of Instructional Psychology*, 23(3):221–227.
- Price, A. J. 1997. *Human Resource Management in a Business Context*. London: International Thomson Business Press.
- Rice, M. F. 2006. "Promoting Cultural Competency in Public Administration and Public Service Delivery: Utilizing Self-assessment Tools and Performance Measures." Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration, October 18–22, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Available at <http://www.naspa.org/principals/conference/2006/papers/MitchellRice.doc>; published under the same title in 2007 in the *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, 13(1):41–57.
- Rice, M. F. 2008. "A Primer for Developing a Public Agency Service Ethos of Cultural Competency in Public Services Programming and Public Services Delivery." Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the American Society for Public Administration, March 7–11, Dallas, Texas.
- Schiek, D., C. von Ossietzky, and J. Monnet. 2008. "Broadening the Norms and the Scope of Sex-discrimination Law." Available at <http://www.e-quality.nl/assets/e-quality/dossiers/EU%20Gender%20Equality/Paper%20Dagmar.doc>
- Schippmann, J. S. 1999. *Strategic Job Modeling: Working at the Core of Integrated Human Resources*. Mahwah, NJ: LEA.
- Smith, D. G. 2000. "How to Diversify the Faculty: Get Beyond the Myths and Adopt New Hiring Practices if You Want to Add Significant Numbers of Minority Group Members to the Faculty." *Academe*, 86(5):48–52.
- Springer, A. D. 2004. "How to Diversify Faculty: The Current Legal Landscape." Available at <http://www.aaup.org/Legal/infooutlines/legaa.htm>.
- Tilford Group. 2004. "Multicultural Competency Development: Preparing Students to Live and Work in a Diverse World." Kansas City: Kansas State University.
- Turner, C. S. V. 2002. "Women of Color in Academe: Living with Multiple Marginality." *The Journal of Higher Education*, 73(1):74–93.
- U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. 2006. Directives Transmittal No. 915.003, *EEO Compliance Manual*. Available at <http://www.eeoc.gov/policy/docs/race-color.html>.

Mario A. Rivera is Regents' Professor of Public Administration at the School of Public Administration, the University of New Mexico, and editor in chief of the *Journal of Public Affairs Education*. He currently serves on the NASPAA Executive Council.

James D. Ward is a professor of political science at Mississippi University for Women. He and Mario Rivera have long collaborated in research, teaching, and advocacy.

# A Primer for Developing a Public Agency Service Ethos of Cultural Competency in Public Services Programming and Public Services Delivery

Mitchell F. Rice  
Texas A&M University

## ABSTRACT

This paper addresses the need for culturally appropriate and culturally effective public programs and public services. The author discusses cultural competency in public services programming and public services delivery and addresses cultural competency concerns in human resources training, education, and service delivery. Examples of best practices in public policymaking and management are provided, and the author discusses what a public agency must do to develop and promote an ethos of community spirit through the use and application of cultural competency. The paper also provides a cultural competency glossary for public agencies.

---

As the numbers of Spanish-speaking immigrant persons and other immigrants requiring public services programming and public services delivery increases, so does the need for culturally appropriate and culturally effective public programs and public services. A public service delivery encounter between an immigrant client with this kind of background and a public service provider will involve an exchange in which different languages are spoken and differences in cultural beliefs, practices, and behaviors exist. This kind of interaction embodies a form of multiculturalism as disparate cultures merge at a public service agency. Nowhere is this situation more pronounced than in our local communities. Many suggestions for promoting culturally competent public programs and public services have been made. One approach has been the call for public service providers to

practice cultural competency and cultural proficiency in their interactions with clients (Weaver, 2005; Kelley et al., 2006; Rice, 2007). Another approach has recommended adapting public programs and public services to the culture of the populations being targeted so that the programs and services are not only culturally accessible but also culturally appropriate and culturally effective (Gorman, 1996; Malley-Morrison and Hines, 2004). Cultural accessibility is encouraged by removing obstacles to services accessibility, such as not speaking the language or not providing interpreter services, child care, and transportation (Kellar, 2005; Gross, Julion, and Fogg, 2000). Research has found that three cultural components increase utilization of services and programs among diverse population groups: ethnicity-match; language match; and location of the service agency in the ethnic community (see Flaskerud, 1986; Flaskerud and Liu, 1991). This paper discusses cultural competency in public services programming and public services delivery, explains what a public agency must do to develop and promote an ethos of community spirit through the use and application of cultural competency, and provides a compendium of relevant cultural competence terms.

#### *Recent Examples of Culturally Competent Government Actions*

- The City of Laredo, Texas, has a Spanish-English Web site ([www.cityoflaredo.com](http://www.cityoflaredo.com)) because 90 percent of Laredo's population is Hispanic, many of them third-generation immigrants (Kellar, 2005).
- Fifty percent of the Salinas, California, Police Department is bilingual; the rest of the officers take a "survival Spanish" course (Kellar, 2005).
- The U.S. Department of Defense and the Center for the Advanced Study of Language convened the first National Language Conference in 2004 to bring together leaders of federal, state, and local governments; industry; international language experts; academia; and language researchers to discuss and lay the foundation for a strategic approach to meeting the nation's language needs in the 21st century (Kellar, 2005) and to explore the need to provide government services to a diverse and multilingual population in the United States (U.S. Department of Defense, 2004; University of Maryland, 2004).
- The City of Phoenix offered premium pay to employees who gain certification in a second language (Kellar, 2005).
- The Seattle Police Department informed its officers that in many Latin American societies it is custom for the person being pulled over for a traffic violation to get out of the vehicle and walk back to the patrol car. This understanding through training has helped many officers avoid misinterpreting the actions of those being pulled over (Benavides and Hernandez, 2007).
- In the City of Santa Barbara, California, city council meetings are simultaneously translated into Spanish. Residents can listen to proceedings in real time in English or Spanish (Benavides and Hernandez, 2007).

UNDERSTANDING CULTURAL COMPETENCY IN  
PUBLIC SERVICES PROGRAMMING AND PUBLIC SERVICES DELIVERY

Culture is a set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual, and emotional features shared by society or a social group. Culture encompasses language, communication patterns, lifestyles, practices, customs, a body of learned behaviors, value systems, traditions, shared beliefs, and views on roles and relationships (Betancourt, 2004). Cultural competency is the integration of knowledge, awareness, sensitivity, attitudes, skills, and encounters by individuals in programs and services to acknowledge and respect the cultural traditions of their clients and their communities (Farr et al., 2005). At its most basic level, cultural competency addresses the role culture plays in shaping an individual or group's attitudes, values, and beliefs and evolves over an extended period through a developmental process (Cross et al., 1989).

Another way in which cultural competency has been defined is as a set of congruent behaviors, attitudes, and policies that come together in a system, agency, or among professionals and enables that system, agency, or those professionals to work effectively in cross-cultural situations (Cross et al., 1989; Isaacs and Benjamin, 1991). Operationally defined, cultural competency is the integration and transformation of knowledge about individuals and groups of people into specific standards, policies, practices, and attitudes used in appropriate cultural settings to increase the quality of services, thereby producing better outcomes (Davis, 1997). Cultural competency advocates have identified five essential elements that contribute to a service delivery system's ability to become more culturally competent. Accordingly, the service delivery system should

1. value diversity,
2. have the capacity for cultural self-assessment,
3. be conscious of the "dynamics" inherent when cultures interact,
4. institutionalize cultural knowledge, and
5. develop adaptations to service delivery reflecting an understanding of diversity between and within cultures (Cross et al., 1989).

It is argued that these five elements must be manifested in every level of the service delivery system and they should be reflected in attitudes, structures, policies, and services (Cross et al., 1989). Therefore, the knowledge developed regarding culture and cultural dynamics must be integrated into every facet of a public program or public agency. Public service delivery personnel must be trained and must effectively utilize the knowledge gained. Program administrators should develop policies that are responsive to cultural diversity. Program materials should reflect positive images of all people and be valid for use with each group. Institutionalized cultural knowledge can enhance a public agency's ability to serve diverse populations (Lindsey et al., 2003).

Institutionalization means that knowledge is formally recognized, documented, and shared in interactive ways with all public service delivery personnel and that explicit mechanisms and policies are in place that provide for maintaining and expanding on the professional knowledge base about culture, so that the public agency is truly a learning organization. One part of cultural competency is having the skills and knowledge to engage individuals, families, and community members in the public service delivery process—something that requires understanding their orientation to the public agency, their notions about the roles they may appropriately take, and their preferred ways of communicating (Boethel, 2003).

For some public service delivery personnel, the term *cultural proficiency* has often been used to denote the ability to respond to differences positively and to interact effectively with individuals from a variety of backgrounds. In some literature, this is spelled out as the attitudes, beliefs, knowledge, and skills by public service providers to interact with individuals from many backgrounds (Cross et al., 1989; Rice, 2007). In this sense, the term *cultural* encompasses not only cultural differences but also all differences among clients that have at some time been grounds for discrimination: race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, gender, sexual orientation, language identity, socioeconomic class, and ability.

To consider the cultural competency or cultural proficiency of a public service agency, one has to consider a range of factors in addition to the training and proficiency of the public service delivery personnel. These include public agency policies and practices: how the public agency deals with individuals/family/community; structures for ensuring equity of access to various programs; the provision of professional cultural competency development that meets public service delivery needs; monitoring of client outcomes to identify patterns of inequity, and so on. These dimensions are “measurable” by developing, adapting, and using frameworks and/or performance indicators to assess where an agency stands (Rice, 2007).

Lindsey, Nun Robins and Terrell (1999, 2003) have devised a “cultural proficiency continuum” to depict how public agencies (and the leaders or administrators in them) respond to and react to “difference.” This continuum ranges from cultural destructiveness to cultural proficiency:

- *Cultural destructiveness*: negating, disparaging, or purging cultures that are different from your own.
- *Cultural incapacity*: elevating the superiority of your own cultural values and beliefs and suppressing cultures that are different from your own.
- *Cultural blindness*: acting as if differences among cultures do not exist and refusing to recognize any differences.
- *Cultural pre-competence*: recognizing that lack of knowledge, experience, and understanding of other cultures limits your ability to effectively interact with them.

- *Cultural competence*: interacting with other cultural groups in ways that recognize and value their differences, motivate you to assess your own skills, expand your knowledge and resources, and, ultimately, cause you to adapt your relational behavior.
- *Cultural proficiency*: honoring the differences among cultures, viewing diversity as a benefit, and interacting knowledgeable and respectfully among a variety of cultural groups. (Lindsey and Roberts, 2005, xvii–xviii)

The five essential elements of cultural competency identified by Cross et al. (1989) in the previous discussion and the cultural competency proficiency continuum model advanced by Lindsey et al. (1999, 2003) should be bolstered by three main organizational dimensions: organizational capital or organizational infrastructure (people, philosophy, and education); organizational client support systems (policies, processes, and practices); and organizational interfacing qualities (relationships between diverse stakeholder groups).

Most importantly, cultural competency is not affirmative action, multiculturalism, diversity training, equal employment opportunity, or political correctness. Table 1 notes several differences between cultural competency, affirmative action, and managing diversity. Cultural competency is a much broader concept than affirmative action, managing diversity, and equal employment opportunity. Cultural competency has its start with the dominant culture becoming self-aware of its own customs and then showing responsiveness to and understanding of the cultural differences of others—clients, employees, or services recipients within a defined program or system. In practice, culturally competent public administration stresses the capacity of public service delivery agencies to effectively provide services that reflect the different cultural influences of their clients (Benavides and Hernandez, 2007). Or, stated another way, “cultural competency converts the knowledge gained about groups and individuals into policies and procedures that result in practices that increase the quality of the services to produces better outcomes” (Benavides and Hernandez, 2007, 2). Service delivery personnel who gain cultural knowledge and skills of a particular culture are expected to deliver more effective interventions to members of that culture (Sue, 2006).

#### STEPS FOR ADVANCING CULTURAL COMPETENCY IN PUBLIC SERVICES DELIVERY PROGRAMMING AND PUBLIC SERVICES DELIVERY

One of the first steps to take in moving toward cultural competency in a public agency is to make public services programming and public services delivery visible and accessible by translating program materials and providing the program in the primary client’s language. Typically, the first step is to translate a public agency’s brochure into the language of the target population to increase awareness that services are available. Awareness and visibility are increased by

Table I. Comparing Affirmative Action, Managing Diversity, and Cultural Competency

	<i>Affirmative Action</i>	<i>Managing Diversity</i>	<i>Cultural Competency</i>
<i>Expected Outcome</i>	<i>Remedial and compensatory.</i> Specific, voluntarily developed goals as well as court-ordered programs.	<i>Pragmatic.</i> The organization benefits in terms of morale and increase in productivity.	<i>Fairness and results oriented.</i> Seeks to end discrimination in service provision. Held accountable for meeting policy guidance.
<i>Ensure Access</i>	<i>Opens doors.</i> Seeks to affect hiring and promotion decisions in organizations.	<i>Opens the system.</i> Seeks to affect management, practices, and policies.	<i>Opens and expands the system.</i> Seeks changes in organizational practices and policies to help more clients.
<i>Driver</i>	<i>Managerially and legally driven.</i> Involves voluntarily developed goals as well as court-ordered programs. Common law has defined its legality and constitutionality.	<i>Strategically driven.</i> Behaviors and policies are seen as contributing to organizational goals and objectives such as productivity.	<i>Legally and strategically driven.</i> Mandated by federal laws. Effective service provision and achieve program goals.
<i>Framework for Change</i>	<i>Assimilation model.</i> Model assumes that persons and groups brought into the system will adapt to existing organizational norms. Can result in “sink or swim” atmosphere/environment.	<i>Synergy model.</i> Model seeks to change organizations accommodate groups. Assumes people will develop new ways of working together in a pluralistic environment.	<i>Capacity-building model.</i> Model assesses organizations’ strengths and weaknesses to address employee/client culture mismatches and employee needs.
<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Qualitative/Quantitative.</i> Emphasis is on redressing past discrimination and achieving diverse, representative workforces.	<i>Behavioral.</i> Emphasis is on building specific skills and creating a productive work environment, thereby developing the organization’s human resources.	<i>Organizational and behavioral.</i> Focus on organizational structures and policies that help employees develop skills to work with clients.

Source: Derived from Bailey (2005).



modifying recruitment strategies, such as placing radio ads on the Spanish radio stations or in the Spanish newspaper (see Table 2). Although this is an important modification, translated materials alone are not sufficient to make a public agency program culturally competent and culturally effective (Cheng and Baiter, 1997). These modifications represent what Kumpfer, Alvarado, Smith, and Bellamy (2002) refer to as “surface structure” or “first cut” changes. In addition to translation, the program’s methods and assumptions also need to be evaluated and adapted for cultural appropriateness or what Cheng and Baiter (1997) call *cultural sensitivity*.

The efficacy of a public agency’s operations could also be hindered by *cultural discomfort* or *cultural discontinuity* (Uttal, 2006). For example, attendance and participation in a health education workshop are more effective if examples that are meaningful to the participants are used. Without these adaptations, the workshop may fail to convey the knowledge it is trying to impart. Cultural discomforts created by strange examples will also undermine the retention of participants and even possibly culturally offend participants. Some programs that serve racial ethnic populations are beginning to acknowledge that their effectiveness may also depend on taking a more familistic approach, such as such as bringing the whole family into a workshop or to counseling (Malley-Morrison and Hines, 2004). Powell (1995) found it more effective to recruit and retain Latino couples in a parent education program, instead of just inviting only one individual parent (usually the mother) to participate. These types of adaptations are reflective of the changes necessary to provide culturally adapted programs that are going to work for a culturally different population.

However, cultural adaptations in public services programming may still not go far enough. Cheng (1996) makes an important distinction between culturally adapted programs and those that are culturally specific. In culturally adapted programs, the examples that are used in a workshop are transformed to respect the target culture’s practices. For example, exercises that require a lot of writing would be replaced with oral exercises in a program for people from an orally expressive culture. Exercises that require hand-holding would be removed from a program for individuals who are members of a low-touch culture. These changes leave the original points of a program intact but take into account the participants’ cultural style of learning. In culturally specific programs, the transformations go beyond adding culturally adapted components to public service programming. To make a public or program or public agency culturally specific, the design of the program and/or agency integrates the target group’s values, attitudes, and beliefs (Cheng, 1996). This change requires that the assumptions of the overall program and/or agency are critically examined and the program and/or agency’s philosophy is altered to reflect the value systems and worldview of the target population. For example, in a culture that does not verbally express self-emotions, the expectation for people to talk about themselves is dropped.

Perhaps a most important factor in considering how to achieve cultural competency is how community characteristics may also create mismatches between public service delivery programs and their target audiences. The target group may have different group characteristics that contrast with the groups for whom the program was originally developed or on which it was validated. An example of this is that public programs may have been designed with middle-class assumptions, yet the group to whom the program is delivered is working-class clients living working-class lifestyles in poor communities. The program assumes that certain basic family needs (e.g. housing, employment, transportation) are securely in place, even though the target group may have circumstances that make these risk factors more severe. Because of the severity of these basic needs, these factors are brought into the program by clients and need to be taken into account, yet the program's operation often does not allow for this adaptation (Castro et al., 2004). Unacknowledged and unaddressed, these conditions will undermine program effectiveness and efficacy. Table 2 points out the different components of a public agency in which cultural competency can be addressed.

Furthermore, public agencies may need to develop not only cultural competency programming but also cultural competency within the organization. As an organizational feature, cultural competency is more than just part of program content or interpersonal communication styles between public service providers and clients. A public agency's cultural competency is measured by several characteristics including the racial and ethnic diversity of its staff, whether an agency's mission statement acknowledges and supports the importance of cultural diversity, if staff are expected to receive training in cultural competency, and if the organizational environment is perceived as welcoming by the clients who use it (see Geron, 2002; Rice, 2007). In addition to special program services and adaptations that include such changes as the provision of interpreter services for all services, coordination with community workers and traditional caregivers, and immersion knowledge of another culture, changes in the administrative and organizational practices can also increase the cultural competency of an agency and its programming (see Geron, 2002; Rice, 2007). These cultural competency enhancements may be seen as mechanical in nature. That is, these changes result from hierarchical decisions and organizational formal actions that include benchmarking or measuring in a fairly mechanical fashion.

Another important factor affecting cultural competency in a public agency is organizational culture. According to Bernard (1998), organizational culture is the current and past operating procedures defining the commonly held organizational views, beliefs, and values. A public agency's values are defined by its governing board, staff, its mission statement about the agency's values, the fiscal state of the agency, attitudes toward equity-related initiatives, the ethnic composition of the staff, and its relationships with traditionally underrepresented groups (Rice, 2007). Thus, the beliefs that clients have about how services work may not be

**Table 2. Moving Toward a Culturally Competent Public Agency**

---

*Public Agency Communications*

- Barriers in communication with culturally diverse people identified and removed.
- A list of culturally diverse media developed and used.
- Availability of interpreters and translators.
- Availability of resource materials relating to cultural competency.
- Inclusion of culturally diverse writers/artists' work in agency publications.

*Public Agency Marketing and Community Relations*

- Acknowledgement of cultural diversity in the community.
- Collaborations with culturally diverse individuals, groups, and organizations.
- Utilization of cultural expertise among community leaders.
- Participation in community network to advocate and advance cultural competency.
- Roles/services understood and respected in the community.

*Public Agency Personnel Practices*

- Employment opportunities advertised in ethno-cultural media.
- Active recruitment of qualified culturally diverse staff/volunteers.
- Cross-cultural skills are requisite criteria for selection and performance review.
- Meaningful participation of culturally diverse people at all levels of the organization.
- Cultural competency training formal staff and volunteers.
- Racial, ethnic, religious, and linguistic composition of the community reflected in staff and volunteers.

*Public Agency Policy & Decision Making*

- Input from all staff and volunteers in decision making.
- Culturally diverse people in the community consulted to identify key diversity issues.
- Cultural competency incorporated into all policies.
- Allocation of adequate resources to implement cultural competency policies.
- Culturally diverse communities consulted before finalizing policies that may have cultural impacts.

*Public Service Delivery*

- Barriers preventing culturally diverse people from having access to services identified and removed.
- Outreach strategies to ensure participation from culturally diverse people.
- Culturally appropriate methods of service delivery are implemented.
- Culturally diverse communities consulted to identify needs and develop program goals, objectives, and activities.
- Cultural diversity added in all aspects of service delivery including assessment, planning, intervention, and evaluation.
- Availability of support services (such as ESL, interpretation).

*Public Agency Organizational Culture*

- Respect for the right of an individual to his/her cultural customs, beliefs, and practices.
- Recognition of an individual's culture as an integral part of his/her well-being.
- Incorporation of language, race, ethnicity, customs, family structures, and community dynamics in developing management and service delivery strategies.
- Openness and acceptance of differences.

*Public Agency Administration*

- Diversity management knowledge and skills as requisite requirements for all leadership positions.
  - All leadership positions are held responsible for providing support and guidance to all staff in implementing the mission statement and goals relate to cultural competency.
  - Collecting demographic data relating to cultural diversity in the community and among clients.
-

the same as the way the agency intends that they should be carried out. Yet, in order to be more effective in work with new or different populations, public agencies need to adapt new assumptions and let go of outmoded ones, such as the notion that the public service delivery staff knows what is right for the client (see Table 1). Yet, Bernard (1998, 42) states that “even under the best of circumstances, agency cultures are resistant to change in part because staff at all levels are reluctant” and they will have a difficult time developing and implementing cultural competency initiatives.

Kumpfer et al. (2002) point out that in a public agency a culturally specific program also needs to take into account the structural context of the lives of the target population being served. They recommend that

[d]eeper structure cultural adaptations should consider critical values and traditions for within-race cultural groups defined by geographic location (rural, suburbs, urban, reservation), educational achievement, socio-economic status, language, acculturation level, and the individual's own interpretation and identity with their race, ethnicity, and culture. (242)

What Kumpfer et al. are pointing out is that cultural adaptations go beyond adapting program materials or recruitment methods to fit with the cultural values and traditions of a group. A public agency also has to take into account the social location of the targeted population. Social location is shaped by other factors than cultural values, such as how much income and education the population has, how much they have acculturated to being in a new area or new country, and how they view themselves—both individually and as a subgroup—in relationship to the larger society around them. The context of having newly moved to a new area and how their family systems are adapting to the bicultural context may be a constant pressure in their lives. Other public agency programs have found that their effectiveness is dependent upon the extent to which the programs take into account the context of the lives of clients served (Harvard Family Research Project, 1996).

Another step toward a public agency's cultural competency is whether new programs and methods suggested by new staff persons or clients are integrated into the agency rather than marginalized or rejected. Rather than seeing cultural competency as a process in which newcomers' views and practices are selectively added onto the existing organizational process, an agency that has achieved an integrated organizational cultural competency would reflect how the agency is able to knit together new and old, developing transformed modes of operation and practices into a new organizational culture. Moos (2003) points out the importance of considering suprapersonal factors, that “when individuals come together in a social group, they bring with them social resources, abilities, and preferences. The aggregate of the members' attributes, or suprapersonal environ-

ment, in part defines the subculture that forms in a group, and in turn, its members' values and behaviors" (3). This notion of a suprapersonal environment is useful to apply here to assess whether an agency is integrating the new ideas that come from the new bicultural staff (see Table 2).

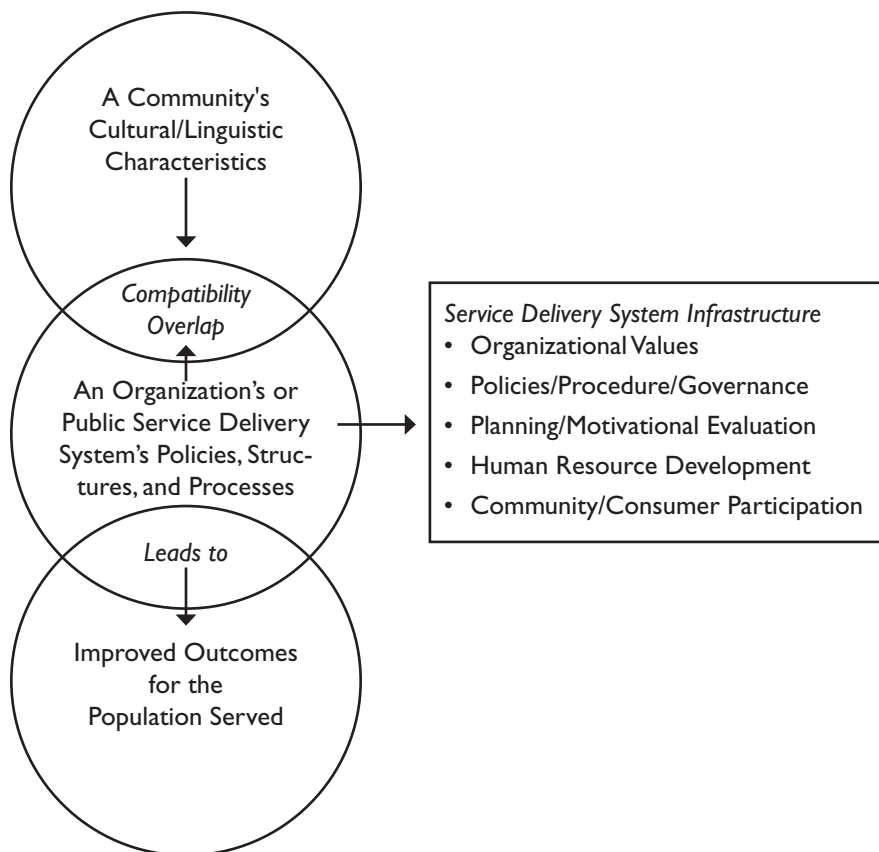
Further, a public agency's cultural competency is more than a set of skills that individual staff members acquire to work with clients and one another. It also can have a transformative effect on how the goals of an organization are defined and achieved. A public agency's cultural competency comes to exist as a matter of the daily workings of the staff in the agency. This issue will also become more common as agencies increasingly hire staff who are members of the culture they serve, such as hiring a Spanish or Hmong speaker to deliver a program in their mother tongue. Moreover, because of pre-existing organizational structures and ways of doing work, an additive approach to cultural competency may be the first adaptation an organization can make. Whether a public agency will achieve integrated cultural competency is dependent on many factors (which will not be explored here). In light of this, another component of a public agency cultural competency initiative is brought into consideration: how do agencies make their programs more culturally specific by rethinking how they perceive the target of their services—the individual client or the whole community of which the client is a member?

Public agencies typically target individual-level behaviors because they are easier to change than the values and cultural practices of an entire ethnic group. Even though many public services programs acknowledge the context and social ills that created the individual circumstances of their clients, the conventional agency approach and its client-centered programs are designed to work through a dyadic relationship between the job counselor or welfare worker and an individual client. These public service providers still relegate contextual factors and collectivistic values to the background and focus the intervention on what the individual can do to strengthen and improve his/her life (Moos, 2003). They also rely heavily on individual treatment methods where the goal is to transform the lives of individuals and to empower individuals to improve their circumstances. The underlying philosophy of such client-centered programs emphasizes the importance of personal independence, individual competence, and autonomy of the individual clients (Uttal, 2006). Even when social support is included as part of the intervention or treatment, social support is often viewed only as a wraparound for the individual client, and the importance of contexts and social relationships between the client and others are not viewed as the target of treatment or intervention. Social service programs such as job counseling or helping individuals use welfare services continue to treat the individual client rather than their families and social networks as the target of their services (Uttal, 2006).

Immigrant populations bring a broader set of needs into their contact with any public or social service agency and its programs. The needs of the individual are

often greater than the specific public or social service being offered. This creates a misfit with agencies that are organized around specific topics (e.g. welfare, jobs, housing, healthcare, etc.). Programs need to address immigrant populations more holistically and recognize that their needs often cut across all of these service systems. Implementing a holistic public service delivery approach requires a philosophical shift in organizational assumptions about program delivery and they also require additional resources. A shift in philosophy from client-centered programs to more culturally specific community-based programs may be necessary for a public agency to achieve organizational cultural competency. This philosophy suggests that compatibility between the public service agency's policies, structures, and processes and the community's cultural/linguistic characteristics would lead to better and more effective service outcomes (see Figure 1). A public service agency's compatibility with the community's populations includes awareness of the influences of culture, ethnicity, race, socioeconomic status, and related social factors on the provision of services. A public service agency's compatibility with the community's populations has a direct impact on services availability, services access, and services utilization (Harper et al., 2006).

Figure 1. A Conceptual Model for Public Service Delivery System Cultural Competencies



## FINAL OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSION

Many public and social services agencies are trying to be more culturally competent and culturally effective in working with immigrant populations. The primary way they have tried to achieve this is through translating materials and culturally adapting programs and services. Public agencies have also sought to improve interpersonal communications and remove barriers to client participation. However, more fundamental shifts may be needed to be made in an agency's operating assumptions in order to make programs and operations culturally specific and to integrate the worldview of the target culture.

What all this suggests is that an iterative process at all levels of the agency (between the clients and program directors, between agency staff, and between the program directors and their supervisors) is also needed to achieve cultural competency. In particular, public agency philosophies that do not understand an "ethos of community spirit" (Wandersman, 2003) will have a hard time understanding what appears to be a lack of efficiency, the inappropriate participation of a nontargeted population, and the misuse of their scarce resources. Public agencies might achieve this by giving more attention to empowerment and developing the advocacy skills of their clients, especially if clients come from a community that has a community-based worldview (Weaver, 2005). Weaver also recommends that problem identification, assessment, planning, goal setting, and implementation should all be done with community members as cultural guides and mentors.

A most critical issue still facing cultural competency is in improving and/or enhancing its operational specificity. Therefore, some additional questions that a public agency trying to achieve organizational cultural competency might ask itself (see Sue, 2006) are

- How can agencies change their organizational structure and assumptions to allow for a process that promotes the ideas from public service delivery personnel who were hired to develop programs for unique target populations to be expressed and to affect program design and the philosophy of the organization?
- What practices do agencies have in place to learn about the worldview and expectations of their target populations?
- How much cultural competence knowledge is necessary and what are the contents of this knowledge?
- Do different cultural competencies exist for different groups? Or, if one is deemed to be culturally competent, is he/she competent with all culturally diverse groups or competent with only a particular group?

Cultural competency allows organizations to demonstrate behaviors, attitudes, policies, and structures that enable them to work effectively in all aspects

of policymaking, administration, practice, and service delivery of a defined set of values and principles. Organizations can better value diversity, conduct self-assessment, manage the dynamics of difference, acquire and institutionalize cultural knowledge, and adapt to diversity and the cultural contexts of the communities they serve by supporting an organizational position of cultural competency. The Appendix presents a list of cultural competency terms that need to become a part of a public agency's terminology in the new millennium. Understanding and utilizing these terms in public programs and public agency operations and in public services delivery will move public services programming and public services delivery toward an ethos of community spirit.

*This paper was presented at the Annual Conference of the American Society for Public Administration, March 7–11, 2008, Dallas, Texas. The author wishes to thank the panel participants and reviewers for their comments and suggestions.*



Appendix. Cultural Competency Glossary for Public Agencies

- *Culturally Adapted Programs* is where an agency uses examples in programs and services that are transformed to respect the target culture's practices.
- *Cultural Audit* "examines a public organization's values, symbols, rules, and routines that maintain its purpose and existence to uncover counterproductive activities and barriers that may adversely impart its public service mission and service delivery process (Rice, 205, 77).
- *Cultural Blindness* is acting as if differences among cultures do not exist and refusing to recognize any differences.
- *Cultural Competence* is "a set of congruent behaviors, attitudes, and policies that come together in a system, agency, or among professionals and enables that system, agency, or those professionals to work effectively in cross-cultural situations" (Cross et al., 1989).
- *Cultural Competence* is defined simply as "the level of knowledge-based skills required to provide effective clinical care to patients from a particular ethnic or racial group" (DHHS, HRSA, 2001, 2002).
- *Cultural Competence* comprises behaviors, attitudes, and policies that can come together on a continuum "that will ensure that a system, agency, program, or individual can function effectively and appropriately in diverse cultural interaction and settings. It ensures an understanding, appreciation, and respect of cultural differences and similarities within, among, and between groups. Cultural competency is a goal that a system, agency, program or individual continually aspires to achieve" (DHHS, HRSA, 2001, 2002).
- *Cultural Competence* in health care describes "the ability of systems to provide care to patients with diverse values, beliefs, and behaviors, including tailoring delivery to meet patients' social, cultural, and linguistic needs" (Betancourt et al., 2002).
- *Cultural Competence* is "the demonstrated awareness and integration of three population-specific issues: health-related beliefs and cultural values, disease incidence and prevalence, and treatment efficacy. But perhaps the most significant aspect of this concept is the inclusion and integration of the three areas that are usually considered separately when they are considered at all" (Lavizzo-Mourey and Mackenzie, 1996).
- *Cultural Competence* is interacting with other cultural groups in ways that recognize and value their differences, motivate you to assess your own skills, expand your knowledge and resources, and, ultimately, cause you to adapt your relational behavior.
- *Cultural Competency* is the integration and transformation of knowledge about individuals and groups of people into specific standards, policies, practices, and attitudes used in appropriate cultural settings to increase the quality of services, thereby producing better outcomes (Davis, 1997).
- *Cultural Destructiveness* is negating, disparaging, or purging cultures that are different from your own.

*continued*

Appendix. Cultural Competency Glossary for Public Agencies (continued)

- *Cultural Discomfort* is when programs and services are not compatible with the beliefs, values, and attitudes of an individual or group.
- *Cultural Discontinuity* is when programs or services are not clear or are ambiguous to the individual or group.
- *Cross-Cultural Education* “can be divided into three conceptual approaches focusing on attitudes (cultural sensitivity/ awareness approach), knowledge (multicultural/ categorical approach), and skills (cross-cultural approach), and has been taught using a variety of interactive and experiential methodologies” (IOM, 2002).
- *Cultural Humility* is a process in which service providers bring into check the power imbalances that prevail in the organization (Tervalon and Murray-Garcia, 1998).
- *Cultural Incapacity* is elevating the superiority of your own cultural values and beliefs and suppressing cultures that are different from your own.
- *Culturally and Linguistically Appropriate Services (CLAS)* are “health care services that are respectful of and responsive to cultural and linguistic needs” (DHHS, OMH, National Standards for CLAS, 2001).
- *Cultural Pre-competence* is recognizing that lack of knowledge, experience, and understanding of other cultures limits your ability to effectively interact with them.
- *Cultural Proficiency* is “when providers and systems seek to do more than provide unbiased care as they value the positive role culture can play in a person’s health and well-being” (National Alliance for Hispanic Health, 2001).
- *Cultural Proficiency* is honoring the differences among cultures, viewing diversity as a benefit, and interacting knowledgeably and respectfully among a variety of cultural groups (Lindsey and Roberts, 2005).
- *Cultural Sensitivity* is “the ability to be appropriately responsive to the attitudes, feelings, or circumstances of groups of people that share a common and distinctive racial, national, religious, linguistic or cultural heritage” (DHHS, OMH, 2001, 2002; National Standards for CLAS, 2001).
- *Culturally Specific Programs* are activities are integrated to correspond to the target group’s value system and beliefs.
- *Linguistic Competence* is the capacity of an organization and its personnel to effectively communicate with persons of limited English proficiency, those who are illiterate or have low literacy skills, and individuals with disabilities. This may include, but is not limited to, the use of bilingual/bicultural staff; cultural brokers; multilingual telecommunication systems; ethnic media in languages other than English (e.g., television, radio, newspapers, periodicals); print materials in easy-to-read, low-literacy picture and symbol formats; and materials in alternative formats (e.g., audiotape, Braille, enlarged print) (Goode and Jones, 2002).
- *Limited English Proficiency* is when people have no or limited understanding and speaking of the English language.

REFERENCES

- Bailey, Margo. 2005. "Cultural Competency and the Practice of Public Administration." In Mitchell F. Rice, ed., *Diversity and Public Administration: Theory, Issues, and Perspectives*. Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe, 177–196.
- Bernard, J. A. 1998. "Cultural Competence Plans: A Strategy for the Creation of a Culturally Competent System of Care." In M. Hernandez and M.R. Issacs, eds., *Promoting Cultural Competence in Children's Mental Health Services*. Baltimore: Paul Brookes Publishing, 29–45.
- Benavides, David Abraham, and C. T. Hernandez. 2007. "Serving Diverse Communities: Cultural Competency." *Public Management*, 89(6):14–18.
- Betancourt, J. 2004. "Cultural Competence: Marginal or Mainstream Movement?" *New England Journal of Medicine*, 351(10):953–954.
- Betancourt, J., A. Green, E. Carrillo. 2002. *Cultural Competence in Health Care: Emerging Frameworks and Practical Approaches*. New York: The Commonwealth Fund.
- Boethel, M. 2003. *Diversity: Family and Community Connections with Schools*. Austin, TX: Southwest Educational Development Laboratory.
- Harvard Family Research Project. 1996. *Supporting Latino Families: Lessons from Exemplary Programs*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Family Research Project.
- Calderón, M. 1997. *Staff Development in Multilingual Multicultural Schools*. New York: ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education.
- Cross, T., B. Bazron, K. Dennis, and M. Isaacs. 1989. *Towards a Culturally Competent System of Care*, Vol. 1. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Child Development Center. CASSP Technical Assistance Center.
- Castro, F. G., M. Barrera, and C. R. Martinez. 2004. "The Cultural Adaptation of Prevention Interventions: Resolving Tensions Between Fidelity and Fit." *Prevention Science*, 5(1):41–45.
- Cheng, Gorman J. 1996. "Culturally Sensitive Parent Education Programs for Ethnic Populations." *PC Reports*, New York University, July 26.
- Cheng, Gorman J., and L. Balter. 1997. "Culturally Sensitive Parents Education: Critical Review of Quantitative Research." *Review of Educational Research*, 67(3):339–369.
- Davis, K. 1997. *Exploring the Intersection Between Cultural Competency and Managed Behavioral Health Care Policy: Implications for State and County Mental Health Agencies*. Alexandria, VA: National Technical Assistance Center for State Mental Health Planning.
- Donald, M. 2000. "The Central Role of Culture in Cognitive Evolution: A Reflection on the Myth of the 'Isolated Mind.'" In L.P. Nucci, G. B. Saxe, and E. Turiel, eds., *Culture, Thought, and Development*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 19–38.
- Farr, F., et al. 2005. *Study of the Availability and Effectiveness of Cultural Competency Training for Teachers in California—Final Report*. San Francisco: Rockman et al.
- Geron, S. M. 2002. "Cultural Competency: How is it Measured? Does it Make a Difference?" *Generations*, 26(3):39–45.
- Goode, T., and W. Jones. 2002. *A Guide to Planning and Implementing Cultural Competence Organizational Self-assessment*. National Center for Cultural Competence, Georgetown University Child Development Center.
- Gross, D., W. Julion, and L. Fogg. 2000. "What Motivates Participation and Dropout among Low Income Urban Families of Color in a Prevention Intervention?" *Family Relations*, 50(3):246–254.
- Harper, Maya, et al. 2006. *Organizational Cultural Competence: A Review of Assessment Protocols*. Tampa, FL: Research and Training Center for Children's Mental Health, University of South Florida.
- Institute of Medicine, National Academy of Sciences. 2002. *Unequal Treatment: Confronting Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Health Care*. Washington, D.C.
- Kelly, N., K. Willett, and M. Bancraft. 2006. "Bridging the Cultural Divide: Cultural Competence in Public Safety." *Emergency Number Professional*. May, 62–70.
- Kellar, Elizabeth. 2005. "Wanted: Language and Cultural Competence." *Public Management*, 87(1):6–12.
- Kumpfer, K. L., R. Alvarado, P. Smith, and N. Bellamy. 2002. "Cultural Sensitivity and Adaptation in Family Based Prevention Interventions." *Preventing Science*, 3(3):241–246.

## *A Primer for Developing a Public Agency Service Ethos of Cultural Competency*

- Lavizzo-Mourey, R., and E. Mackenzie. 1996. "Cultural Competence: Essential Measurement of Quality for Managed Care Organizations." *Annals of Internal Medicine*, 124:919–921.
- Lindsey, R. B., K. Muri Robins, and R. D. Terrell. 2003. *Cultural Proficiency: A Manual for School Leaders*, 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.
- Lindsey, R. B., L. M. Roberts, and F. Campbell Jones. 2005. *The Culturally Proficient School: An Implementation Guide For School Leaders*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.
- Mailey-Morrison, K., and D. A. Hines. 2004. *Family Violence in a Cultural Perspective*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Moos, R. H. 2003. "Social Context: Transcending Their Power and Their Fragility." *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 31(1/2):1–14.
- Powell, D. 1995. "Including Latino Fathers in Parent Education and Support Programs." In R. Zambrana, ed., *Understanding Latino Families: Scholarship, Policy, and Practice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 85–106.
- Rice, Mitchell F. 2007. "Promoting Cultural Competency in Public Administration and Public Service Delivery: Utilizing Self-Assessment Tools and Performance Measures." *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, 14(1):41–57.
- Schein, E. 1992. *Organizational Culture and Leadership*. San Francisco, Jossey-Bass.
- Sue, Stanley 2006. "Cultural Competency: From Philosophy to Research and Practice." *Journal of Community Psychology*, 34(2):237–245.
- Tervalon, M., and J. Murray-Garcia. 1998. "Cultural Humility Versus Cultural Competence: A Critical Discussion in Defining Physician Training Outcomes in Multicultural Education." *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved*, 9(2):117–125.
- The National Alliance for the Hispanic Health. 2001. *A Primer for Cultural Proficiency: Towards Quality Health Services for Hispanics*. Washington, D.C.
- Trumbull, E., C. Rothstein-Fisch, P. M. Greenfield, and B. Quiroz. 2001. *Bridging Cultures Between Home and School: A Guide for Teachers*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Uttal, Lynet. 2006. "Organizational Cultural Competency: Shifting Programs for Latino Immigrants from a Cheat-Centered to a Community-Based Orientation." *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 38:251–162.
- United States Department of Defense. 2004. "National Language Conference Results Announced—News Release." June 29. Available at [www.defenselink.mil/releases/release.aspx?](http://www.defenselink.mil/releases/release.aspx?)
- United States Department of Health and Human Service. 2001. "Cultural Competence That Works: Using Cultural Competence to Improve the Quality of Health Care for Diverse Populations." Available at <http://www.hrsa.gov/ginamcemc/hp/cultural-competence.pdf>.
- United States Department of Health and Human Services, Health Resources and Services Administration. 2002. "Definitions of Cultural Competence." Available at <http://bhpr.brsa.gov/diversity/cultcomp.htm>.
- United States Department of Health and Human Services, Office of Minority Health. 2001. "National Standards for Culturally and Linguistically Appropriate Services in Health Care: Final Report." Washington, D. C. Available at <http://www.omhrc.gov/clas/index.htm>.
- University of Maryland. 2004. *The National Language Conference: An Introduction to America's Language Needs and Resources—Briefing Document*. June 22–24, Center for Advanced Study of Language.
- Weaver, H. 2005. *Explorations in Cultural Competency: Journeys to the Four Directions*. Belmont, CA: Thomson, Brooks/Cole.

Mitchell Rice teaches in the Department of Political Science at Texas A&M University. He is a Fellow of the National Academy of Public Administration in Washington, D.C. His research areas are diversity, multiculturalism, cultural competency, and public administration. His latest book is *Diversity and Public Administration: Theory, Issues, and Perspectives* (M. E. Sharpe, 2005).

# Preparing the Public Service for Working in Multiethnic Democracies: An Assessment and Ideas for Action

Michael Brintnall  
American Political Science Association

## ABSTRACT

Successful governance of multiethnic democracies and advancement of social and political equity for minorities in Europe are well-recognized goals. As has been noted recently in the activities of the Working Group on Democratic Governance of Multi-ethnic Communities of the Network of Institutes and Schools of Public Administration in Central and Eastern Europe (NISPAcee),

The importance of finding effective long-term solutions to the management of ethnic, cultural, and linguistic difference and reduction of conflict in the region is without question. Strengthening the capacity of the public and NGO sectors to manage diversity is an essential step to improving governance and service delivery in general. Sustained attention to issues of diversity require long term capacity building through public administration education in addition to current efforts to reform laws and intervene in existing conflicts.<sup>1</sup>

The challenge has drawn attention from many sectors and is being tackled in a wide range of ways (Brintnall, 2004; Kovacs, 2002). Solutions have been viewed variously, and often simultaneously, as a matter of law (Weller, 2005), as a matter of education (Tibbetts, 2002), as one of social psychology, community organizing, and social integration (Danchin and Cole, 2002; Petrova, 2002), as a matter of new policy and institution building (Ablyatifov, 2004; Krizsán, 2004; Marina, 2005), and as one of reform of governance (Gál, 2002). The issue is genuinely multidimensional.

This paper explores what the civil service can contribute to achieving these goals, and particularly the role that education and training for public administration can play.<sup>2</sup> It reports on a survey of public administration education and training programs in the region intended to learn how they approach this problem and what progress they are making.

This paper is particularly interested in the work of Central and Eastern European civil servants who are involved directly with citizens and the community in addressing issues of racial, ethnic, and religious diversity, social and political equity, and political pluralism and conflict. Typically these officials are engaged in community-level governance work at the local government level, or what is sometimes called the “street level.” They must know policy issues appropriate to the issues they deal with and be effective at implementing policy, and they must have an understanding of the particular circumstances of the citizens with whom they deal. This is especially challenging and important for achieving goals of inclusion and social equity, when the community itself is diverse in ethnic, racial, religious, and other ways and when there are groups in the population long excluded or underrepresented in public affairs.

So far, the evidence seems mixed at best about how national strategies in Central and Eastern European countries for minority protection and advancement have succeeded in reaching these local and street-level civil servants and improving their capacity to make an effective difference. The EU Accession Monitoring reports the following, for instance:

In several countries, such as the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia the central bodies responsible for developing and implementing governmental minority protection policy lack the competence to influence local public administration effectively. Thus, efforts to enact reforms at the national level—particularly reforms which run counter to popular attitudes and perceptions resistant to giving minority groups “special treatment” may be undermined by local opposition and sometimes by contradictory local policies.... In some cases individuals occupying [local] offices have managed to raise the profile of governmental programmes, to facilitate better communications between Roma communities and local governmental structures, and to increase awareness of the needs of local Roma communities. *However, most work with little institutional support, without clear definition of their competencies, and receive little or no specialised training for their positions.* (OSI/EU Accession Monitoring Program 2002, 28; emphasis added)

#### WAYS EDUCATION AND TRAINING CAN WORK

Successful multiethnic democracies must achieve at least three goals, including (a) assurance of rights for everyone, (b) equitable delivery of services, and (c) movement toward full inclusion. Each is important and complicated. All require public sector leadership—both political and civil service—that is skilled in managing the social and political change required.

To employ the civil service in meeting these goals, especially at the local level, we must first train it well, both in the initial education that public administrators receive and in the training that follows throughout their careers. A major challenge, thus, rests with the schools of public administration education and with the training institutes.

What's involved? There are many in which education and training for the civil service can contribute to building successful multiethnic democracies. In general, the strategies include teaching about management in diverse settings, providing access for minorities to public sector roles, and advancing research and knowledge gathering about the community.

*Teaching about Management in Diverse Settings*

*Rule of law and equality under the law.* A key responsibility of public administration education and training programs, of course, is to convey the knowledge necessary for effective management. The challenge, conveying appropriate information about laws and regulations, is the same for matters of diversity, minority inclusion, and social justice as it is for any other public responsibility, such as finance, public safety, or health and welfare. Presumably public administration schools are well prepared and skillful in this connection. It is essential that effective public administration education and training include attention to issues of equality under the law and of rights of minorities and others in the social and political setting. Most programs recognize this varied agenda and carry it out well.

*Teaching about management in a diverse setting.* But there is a difference, too, between knowing the laws and carrying them out positively and effectively in socially and politically complex situations. Social and ethnic diversity is invariably coupled with inequality of resources, contests about legitimacy, histories of discrimination, and latent or overt conflict. Maintaining public order in the face of such conflict is a matter of great social skill and insight as well as formal or technical knowledge. We must prepare the next generation of public officials to understand these tensions and conflicts, to anticipate ways to apply constructive solutions, and to manage in ways that help resolve rather than inflame them.

*Providing Access for Minorities to the Public Sector*

A matter of less agreement is whether success in building multi-ethnic democracy also requires ensuring that minority groups are themselves represented in all stages of the public sector—that they are a part of the public service as well as served well by the public. Efforts to be inclusive in these ways have been a major priority of U.S. efforts to address diversity, as they have been in many other countries.

To the extent inclusion is considered valuable, the work must start in the schools of public administration to ensure that new generations of minority

citizens are well prepared for these new roles. There are many dimensions to attendant efforts.

*Recruitment of minority students.* One is the effective recruitment of minorities into the training. Even if the door is legally open for everyone to seek training, groups accustomed to being excluded may not walk through that door without some extra efforts to bring them in. Worse sometimes are programs that claim they are open to everyone but fail to make it known among minority communities, resulting a *de facto* form of exclusion. Recruitment efforts are sometimes disparaged as “affirmative action.” But recruitment of minorities need not mean favoritism or the exclusion of majorities—it can start just with vigorous outreach to everyone and with outreach to minorities that is designed to be as effective as possible in gaining their attention and involvement.

*Diversifying the faculty themselves.* In this same spirit, we need to look to the inclusion of minority communities among the teachers as well as the students. That both signals that the training is indeed intended for everyone and provides an opportunity for greater understanding about the breadth of public needs that students are trained to meet.

*Managing a diverse classroom.* Sometimes, as education and training programs themselves become more diverse, the differences and conflicts of the larger society can appear within the classroom itself. Education and training programs should be attentive to the needs of their own instructors to understand and manage diversity in the classroom (Canadian School of Public Service, 2004; Nelson, 1999).

#### *Projects to Advance Public Sector Programs*

Finally, there is much that public administration schools can do to support programs and research in support of a diverse public service beyond classroom education. Much research is needed in policy and practice pursuant to diversity and equity. Programs can be developed to detect and recognize excellence in public sector practice relevant to successful multiethnic democracy—housing, public health, public safety, or education projects that promoted exclusion, for instance. A program of “public sector excellence” might also be effective in this regard. Also, awards can be given to individual public servants, perhaps recognizing people from different minority groups who can stand as important public models.

#### SURVEY OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION EDUCATION IN CEE

We know how important public administration education and training is for the future of public service and how big the gap is. But little is known about what public administration training and education programs in the region are doing to respond to multi-ethnic communities and diversity. I thus set out to see what can be learned about current activities in CEE public administration schools to address these questions.



With the help of the NISPAcee secretariat, I sent a very brief survey to the heads of NISPA member public administration institutions. The survey asked very basic questions about the number of students they had, the numbers who belonged to minority groups, how they were recruited, how well they fared in the programs, and what new attention was being given to training how to manage in diverse settings. The survey was open-ended. A copy is provided as an appendix to this study.

#### SURVEY RESULTS

Eleven programs responded to the survey. Although the number was not large, it was at least geographically diverse, covering nine countries in the region.<sup>3</sup>

*Percentage of minorities trained.* Most programs indicated that “very few” of the students in their public administration programs are from minority communities, though the circumstances differed among them, with several describing the situation as “very, very few.” Students from border countries were most often identified as the included minorities—for example, Russian students frequently were named in former USSR countries. In some countries, Hungarians were identified as the minority community represented, but never were the Roma so identified. One school reported its minority students were “Armenians, Osetians, and Americans.”

*Steps to recruit minorities.* None took any special steps to recruit minority students to their programs, and only one indicated it was something they have thought about doing.

*Percent minority faculty.* About half the programs reported that some of their faculty were from minority communities, though the percentages were small and in many cases it appears the nationalities teaching were not from the underrepresented communities within the country—for example, German and American faculty were cited in some cases.

*Success of minority students.* I asked if the minority students in programs were able to complete their work and find employment at the same level as majority students, and no program reported any problems in this case. One said that language can sometimes be barrier. On the affirmative side, one program director noted that minority graduates may often do better than other students because “the community of the minority takes the responsibility for every one of its members. Nothing like that happens among the representatives of the majority.”

*Training on “how to manage in diverse communities.”* None indicated that they have any special courses concerning how to become public administrators in diverse communities.

*Research or other activities.* Three of the 11 programs indicated that there were relevant activities in their school besides teaching. One reported a research project on “the ethnic policy in the region” and another cited “some research prepared by the students” during their studies. A third school indicated that they

were about to join a European Centre for Minority Issues project, with foundation funding, to look at European Union political integration and minority mobilization.

#### OVERALL SURVEY CONCLUSIONS

From what is necessarily a brief look at a small number of institutions, one has to conclude that formal attention to minority inclusion in public administration is not a major priority for public administration schools in the region.<sup>4</sup> Respondents provided three very different commentaries on why this might be the case.

*Questioning Special Emphasis.* One set of arguments said it was unacceptable to place special emphasis on ethnic or other group characteristics. They expressed a considered detachment from affirmative outreach to minorities, on the grounds of equity. One respondent reported, for instance, “recruitment in public administration is based on formally required competencies (educational degree, special skills); ethnic minority candidates are in the same position as others—they get recruited if they fulfill the criteria.” This program could not report on how many ethnic minorities are in their program, however, because they said they do “not keep records on nationality or ethnic origin of the participants.”

*“Not on the Agenda.”* A second perspective indicated that these questions were simply not “on the agenda.” As one put it, “we don’t have special programs and at the moment are not planning any. This appears to be also the overall practice of public administration here—no special methods of recruiting minority officials, or special training for regions with diverse communities.”

*Absence of Strategy.* And a third indicated an interest in broadening inclusion of ethnic minorities, but without a developed strategy to do so. As one put it, they had few minorities but “are trying hard to have more; [but we have no program to recruit] except constant discussion with the relevant people.”

Clearly, there is no consensus within the public administration schools surveyed here on just what their responsibilities are in the inclusion of ethnic minorities in their training programs or other issues related to this, and there is little clear direction on how to proceed where there is an interest in taking action.

#### WHAT CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN SCHOOLS AND NISPACEE MIGHT DO

Given the findings of this survey, it is difficult to recommend what new steps public administration schools in this region, or the NISPACEE as an organization, might take. The evident lack of activity in the public administration schools in the face of strong arguments that there is an important role for the schools and the network to play suggests first that it is time for an active debate about just what these responsibilities are.

The topics for discussion include some of the following themes. Within these topics, of course, are also suggestions about actions that public administration schools might begin to think about taking if they are so inclined.

*What is the role of public administration in building a successful multi-ethnic democracy?* This is the basic question to begin with. Most observers probably agree that the equitable application of the law and even-handed delivery of social services by civil servants is essential and always has room for improvement. The more-debated question is whether the composition of the civil service and the diversity management skills of civil servants themselves must overtly reflect the diversity problems to be faced. That is, does the civil service best meet the needs of ethnic diversity by being *blind* to differences or by *embracing* differences among citizens? Does it matter for the successful inclusion of minorities that some civil servants look and talk like them?

*Does public administration education and training have an affirmative role to play in preparing members of underrepresented ethnic minorities for public service?* Should public administration education and training go to extra efforts to bring ethnic minorities into their training? Can such affirmative outreach be done in ways that are still fair to majorities?

*What sort of curriculum is most effective for teaching public administrators to manage effectively in support of multiethnic democracies?* Is the best curriculum strategy to focus on law relating to equal treatment and rights of minorities (Kovacs, 2004)? Is there also a need for training on street-level interactions with citizens of different cultural and social backgrounds?<sup>5</sup>

*What about the faculty—is it important that they reflect the community diversity?* If so, how does a program provide a diverse faculty when there may be few qualified scholars and trainers from the minority communities? Can the use of part-time teachers from minority communities, frequent use of minority speakers in classes, internships in diverse settings, and so forth substitute for a shortage of minority faculty?

*How can relevant data about class and ethnic characteristics of students best be gathered?* Does effective outreach to students from ethnic minority communities require gathering and maintaining data about such ethnic or racial characteristics? What about gender? How can effective progress in inclusion be measured if no records about underrepresented groups are maintained? Is it a threat to rights to seek such data?

*Who needs to be included in discussions about the role of public administration education and training in building a successful multi-ethnic democracy?* Should these discussions occur first within the academic and training setting? Should they include public officials—that is, the leaders of government and NGO offices who will be employing the next generation of trained public administration?<sup>6</sup> What about working with leaders of ethnic minority communities?

*How can a conversation about these topics be started and continued?* If advocates for minority protection and advancement hope to achieve lasting change, they must encourage more attention to transformation of the civil service at the street level to help implement this. NISPAcee seems ideally suited to be the forum to host

such a discussion about the roles, strategies, and performance of educational and training institutions in public administration to advance solutions to diversity.

#### CONCLUSION

This brief examination of a small number of public administration education and training programs among the NISPAcee community suggests that there is little agreement about the proper role of education and training for preparing public administrators to face the emerging needs of multiethnic democracies. And little is being done. However, the agenda for public affairs education is increasingly clear. Schools of public administration need to be a role model for the public response to diversity: to have a diverse faculty and student body, have a learning environment that respects these values, to move from understanding to competent action, and to mainstream diversity issues. As the NISPAcee Working Group has posited, areas of development for principles of good practice may be indicated by a series of questions:

- Does the public administration education or training program prepare students to work in a culturally competent way in a diverse environment, in line with EU guidelines and legal frameworks?
- Does the program have a statement of mission and purpose for addressing diversity issues, and has this mission been discussed with diverse interests in the community?
- Does the program have a diverse faculty or other resources and practices to provide diverse perspectives to students?
- Does the program recruit and support students from diverse backgrounds in the community?
- Is the program responsive to language differences in the community and among the student body?
- Is coursework addressing management of diversity mainstreamed in the curriculum or provided in electives?

These are important principles for public affairs education and training worldwide. The responsibilities and the opportunities for advancing social equity are large and compelling.

*This paper is the work of the author and does not necessarily represent the views of the American Political Science Association or NISPAcee.*

## NOTES

1. The activity report is unpublished. Activities of the Working Group can be found at [http://www.nispa.sk/\\_portal/page.php?sid=153](http://www.nispa.sk/_portal/page.php?sid=153).
2. This report draws extensively from a conference paper presented by Rosenbaum and Nemeč at the Annual Meeting of NISPAcee (2005, available in the conference proceedings).
3. The individual institutions were promised anonymity. The institutions were in Serbia, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Armenia, Latvia, Romania, Lithuania, and Georgia.
4. Although the number of responses was small, one would have to assume that programs that did have active programs on this subject would be the most likely to respond to the survey. There is little evidence that this study has overlooked substantially high rates of emphasis on minority outreach in public administration education in the region.
5. For a symposium addressing these issues in the U.S. situation, see Gooden and Myers (2004).
6. I recall observing a Western European public administration program facing this question. They had two programs—one a traditional academic public administration program for young students; and one an evening public administration program for adults who already had jobs in local government and the police department. The traditional program was taught almost entirely by white males from the majority community and the students thought this was fine; the program with working students had a completely different emphasis, with much attention to how to manage with diversity and with many teachers from different minority communities, because the students demanded these skills for their work “on the streets” of the city.

## REFERENCES

- Abyatifov, Rustem. 2004. “The Resettlement, Adaptation and Integration of Formerly Deported Crimean Tatars in Ukraine: Evaluation of Impact of Governmental Programmes of 2002.” *The 12th NISPAcee Annual Conference, Central and Eastern European Countries Inside and Outside the European Union: Avoiding a New Divide*. Vilnius, Lithuania.
- Brintnall, Michael. 2004. “Lessons from the U.S. About Diversity Management Training.” *Local Governance Brief: Policy Journal of the Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative*, Autumn:32–34.
- Brintnall, Michael. 2005. Paper prepared for the Working Group on Democratic Governance of Multiethnic Communities. Presented at the 13th NISPAcee Annual Conference: Democratic Governance for the XXI Century—Challenges and Responses in CEE Countries. Moscow, Russia, May.
- Canadian School of Public Service. 2004. Senior Advisor on Diversity [cited 2004]. Available from [http://www.myschool-monecole.gc.ca/about/sad\\_e.html](http://www.myschool-monecole.gc.ca/about/sad_e.html).
- Danchin, Peter G., and Elizabeth A. Cole, eds. 2002. *Protecting the Human Rights of Religious Minorities in Eastern Europe*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Gál, Kinga, ed. 2002. *Minority Governance in Europe, ECMI/LGI Series on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues*. Budapest: Open Society Institute.
- Gooden, Susan, and Samuel Myers, Jr. 2004. “Symposium: Social Equity in Public Affairs Education.” *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, 10(2):91–176.
- Kovacs, Petra. 2002. “Introduction to the Series.” In *Local Governance and Minority Empowerment in the CIS*. V. Tishkov and E. Filippova, eds. Budapest: Open Society Institute and Urban Institute.
- Kovacs, Petra. 2004. “Monitoring the Impact of the Anti-Discrimination Training Program in Hungary.” *The 12th NISPAcee Annual Conference, Central and Eastern European Countries Inside and Outside the European Union: Avoiding a New Divide*. Vilnius, Lithuania.
- Krizsán, Andrea. 2004. “Minority Ombudsman Helps Promote Justice.” *Local Governance Brief: Policy Journal of the Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative*. Autumn:30–31.
- Marinova, Ekaterina. 2005. “Ombudsman Wave in Bulgaria: From an EU Accession Requirements to a Local Reality.” *The 13th NISPAcee Annual Conference Democratic Governance for the XXI Century: Challenges and Responses in CEE Countries*. Moscow, Russia, May 19–21.

- Nelson, Barbara. 1999. "Diversity and Public Problem Solving: Ideas and Practice in Policy Education." *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 18(1):134–155.
- OSI/EU Accession Monitoring Program. 2002. *Monitoring the EU Accession Process: Minority Protection. Volume I: An Assessment of Selected Policies in Candidate States*, Volume I. Budapest: Open Society Institute.
- Petrova, Dimitrina. 2002. "The Denial of Racism." In C. Cahn, ed., *Roma Rights: Race, Justice, and Strategies for Equality*. New York: International Debate Education Association.
- Rosenbaum, Allan, and Juraj Nemec, eds. 2006. "Preparing the Public Service for Working in Multiethnic Democracies: A Survey of Schools of Public Administration in Central and Eastern Europe." In *Democratic Governance in the Central and Eastern European Countries: Challenges and Responses for the XXI Century*. Bratislava: NISPAcee.
- Tibbetts, Felicia. 2002. "Emerging Models for Human Rights Education." *Issues of Democracy, an Electronic Journal of the U.S. Department of State*, 7(1).
- Weller, M. 2005. *The Rights of Minorities in Europe: A Commentary on the European Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, Oxford Commentaries on International Law*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Michael Brintnall is executive director of the American Political Science Association; he formerly directed the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration. Appointed a Fellow of the National Academy of Public Administration in 2007, he is also chair of the Executive Committee of the Consortium of Social Science Associations and serves on the Board of the National Humanities Alliance, the Advisory Board for the Fulbright Scholar Program, the Council for International Exchange of Scholars, and the Membership Review Committee of the American Association of Law Schools. Brintnall's research interests include the international roles of scholarly associations in civil society and development, the role of public administration in governance of multi-ethnic democracies, and urban politics and policy. He may be reached at [brintnall@apsanet.org](mailto:brintnall@apsanet.org).

Appendix: The Questionnaire

Dear NISPAcee Institutional Member:

I am writing about a study I am conducting for the NISPAcee Working Group IV on Democratic Governance of Multiethnic Communities. I serve as co-coordinator of the working group along with Jana Krimpe, Tallinn University of Educational Sciences, Estonia. I am preparing a paper for the working group meeting at the NISPA conference in May. I am hoping you can help.

Our Working Group is interested in promoting inclusive policies that are responsive to the needs of ethnically diverse communities and that help to advance the status of minority communities and promote the well-being of the majority and minority groups together. Recently, our agenda has grown to include attention to “effective education and training for public officials to respond to multi-ethnic communities, and...the role of schools of public affairs and administration to improve this education and training.”

We know how important public administration education and training is for the future of public service. But little is known about what public administration training and education programs in the region are doing to respond to multi-ethnic communities and diversity.

I think a very brief survey of these efforts would be valuable. Based on what we learn from a survey, the Working Group will be able to develop its agenda further, NISPAcee can perhaps develop a project that will benefit member programs such as your own, and program directors can learn more about what others are doing.

Could you please send to me very brief answers to the following questions about your program. This is informal. There is no need for you to do extra research about these questions. Please just answer those questions for which you have some information, giving your best estimate of the answer. I will keep all responses confidential. I will only report summaries of all the answers, and not reveal the comments from your institution or any other one without your permission.

Please email your responses back to me at [brintnall@apsanet.org](mailto:brintnall@apsanet.org).

Here are the questions:

1. In what country is your program located?
2. a) About how many students study or are trained in public administration in your program per year? (please just estimate a number: e.g. about 20; about 100 etc.) b) Approximately how many of these students in your program are members of ethnic minorities (e.g., very few; one-quarter; etc.). What ethnicity are they?

3. Do you take any special steps to recruit ethnic minorities to become students in your program for the study of public administration? If so, what are they?
4. Are any of your faculty or trainers from ethnic minority groups? About what percentage of all your faculty or trainers are ethnic minority members?
5. Are there any differences in how ethnic minority students do in your program or training? Do they complete the courses or degrees at the same rate as other students? Do they find jobs or advance in their careers in the public service in the same ways as other students? What do you think explains any difference in the success or lack of success of ethnic minority students compared to other students?
6. Do you include any special courses or have other activities in your curriculum or training to teach students or trainees about how to be managers in diverse communities? If so, what do you do?
7. Is any research about public policies responsive to the needs of ethnically diverse communities conducted in your program? What kinds of research projects are they?
8. I would like to create a list of different activities that programs like yours are using to recruit ethnic minority students to public administration, or use to teach or train public administrators about management in diverse communities. If you have such an activity that you would like me to list, and can give me permission to use your name and your program in the list, please describe the activity here. We can share this listing among all of the NISPA programs.

Thank you very much. I promise to send you a copy of the paper when it is finished. Please email me if you have any questions. I look forward to seeing you in Moscow.

Best regards,

Michael Brintnall  
Executive Director  
American Political Science Association  
1527 New Hampshire Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
202.483.2512 fax 202.483.2657  
brintnall@apsanet.org www.apsanet.org



# Human Rights Theory as a Means for Incorporating Social Equity into the Public Administration Curriculum

Jose Duarte S. Alvez, University at Albany, SUNY

Mary Timney, Pace University

## ABSTRACT

Advancing social equity is, or should be, a primary focus of public administrators. Yet it is not an integral part of the curriculum of public administration programs, nor is it a prominent feature of the NASPAA standards. Almost 40 years ago, the Minnowbrook I scholars proposed an activist role for public administrators in achieving social equity, which came to be known as the New Public Administration (NPA). Despite the efforts of George Frederickson and others at that conference, the NPA has progressed slowly and haltingly. Through advocating privatization and market models, the NPA—such as it is today—has come to substantially deemphasize the significance of social equity.

How can social equity be made a central part of the public administration curriculum? What is needed, in our view, is a theoretical base that goes beyond Rawls' Theory of Justice or Kant's Deontology. Philosophy alone cannot provide the tools that public administrators need for this task, nor is it sufficient to examine social equity simply within the confines of a given level of government policymaking, whether it concerns local or national policy. Public policy decisions today have global implications, and social equity must take an international perspective as well. This article proposes that a complex of research and advocacy literatures that we will characterize as *human rights theory* offers a unique opportunity to the public affairs curriculum by providing a basis for education in social equity, incorporating a global perspective and coherent ethical decision-making models.

---

A full appreciation of the contribution that human rights can make to public administration must be set against a basic understanding of human rights, their basic value in the context of public administration, and proposals for change that depart from more traditional approaches to decision making. Consequently, through a brief overview of human rights theory, we will argue that placing so-

cial equity principles in the context of human rights can open the door to broader considerations of ethical reasoning that will ultimately contribute significantly to our understanding of the role of social equity in public administration and public policy.

Our focus will be on incorporating human rights theory into ethics courses; however, we believe that social equity, like ethics, should be integrated into all core courses in the public administration curriculum. Wouldn't budgets be improved if social equity were as part of their theoretical base? If they were based on social equity, programs implemented to address issues such as economic development, environmental protection, global warming, and trade policy, at every level of government, would enrich society. A recognition of the fundamentals of human rights would enable more comprehensive policy making for such problems as health care, transportation, and housing. Certainly, international policymaking would become more true to our American principles.

When human rights theory is included in the public affairs curriculum, it is generally placed in courses or programs in international politics and development. We argue that human rights should be examined in domestic policy making as well. This article will discuss the meaning of human rights in the global and domestic agendas and its potential to improve domestic policy as well as international relations through equivalent administrative decision-making models across borders.

Masters' programs in public administration and policy tend to be skill-oriented, for some very good and valid reasons. The field of public administration is so broad that it can hardly be grasped in two or three years of full-time graduate work. In addition, new and complex technologies place untold demands on professional skill development. These rigid confines of professional efficiency and effectiveness, however, beg the question "Is the public administrator merely a cruncher of numbers, an instrument of law and policy, or a good recordkeeper? Or is she or he, in fact, a fully rational being who will have to act upon broad guidelines to produce not just outcomes but outcomes with substantive meaning?"

The changing face of elected governments and the fluidity of politics raise important challenges for public administrators. They have to be responsive and permeable to change, but they must also ensure continuity and stability to vast constituencies that have grown accustomed to business as usual and who are, in most cases, not very receptive to change. Concurrently, even small shifts in bureaucratic procedures can at times represent dramatic events for particular individuals. These two stressors—one that calls for rapid response to continuously changing environments and another that favors stable and consistent government action—can have disorienting effects on the public administrator. The resulting frustration can and likely will negatively affect performance and may cause agency stagnation, trigger poor delivery of outputs, and create pockets of disillusion-

ment that will alter or possibly stop short the synergy of mechanisms required for the fulfillment of the administrator's mission.

The above realities are, of course, topics vastly covered in graduate programs.

Organizational theory demonstrates some of these dynamics over time. Micro and macro economic principles coupled with case studies and accessorized by skillful manipulation of available resources, with the study of budgets as an important component, help to navigate financial understanding. Policy studies and analysis trace government behavior back to its roots and predict with reasonable accuracy the future of policy. But all these productive, skill-building courses fail to develop a philosophy of the administrator's role in the larger scale of the lives of the citizens they purport to serve.

The human rights perspective lends informed authority to the establishment of policies while prescribing public service values that are disengaged from conflicts of interest that arise from the "basic principles of the particular polity involved" (Cooper, 132). Because human rights are, for the most part, a response to the wishes of democratic citizenries, they avoid the dangers of insular, inward-looking, regional values, which are often the epicenter of social conflict. They also ground the claims made by proponents of social equity as a legitimate process of change in administrative behavior over time.

#### OVERVIEW OF HUMAN RIGHTS THEORY

It is, perhaps, not very difficult to make the case that human rights are the historical progenitors of social equity—both theories are in need of a theoretical linkage, where the first is a natural portal for the latter. The great divide between East and West in the tense days of the Cold War, between civil and political rights (West) and economic, social, and cultural rights (East) animated the period when social equity was in its infancy.

The search for a grand theory of human rights, which continues to occupy the minds of some of the most influential intellectuals of this period, is ongoing. Perhaps the most cogent effort in this field, and the one from which programs in public administration can draw and upon which the future of social equity theory can be grounded, has been developed by Amartya Sen (2004). Sen first proposes that "proclamations of human rights are to be seen as articulations of ethical demands" (318). He then explains that, like other ethical claims that demand acceptance, there is

an implicit presumption in making pronouncements on human rights that the underlying ethical claims will survive open and informed scrutiny. Indeed, the invoking of such an interactive process of critical scrutiny, open to information (including that about other societies) as well as to arguments coming from far as well as near, is a central feature of the theory of human rights. (318)

Sen warns about some of the problems that permeate the basic assumptions of utilitarian ethics, stating that

the utilitarian calculus can suffer from valuational distortions resulting from the neglect of substantive deprivation of those who are chronically disadvantaged but who learn, by force of circumstances, to take pleasure in small mercies and get reconciled to cutting down their desires to “realistic proportions” (thereby appearing to be not particularly deprived in the special metric of pleasures or desire-fulfillment). (220)

The above concern was a major obstacle of the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s, repeatedly echoed by Malcolm X (1990) and Fannie Lou Hamer (1990), who consistently asserted that they were not just looking for civil and political rights, but for human rights that can be claimed by any human being (see, for instance, “The Black Revolution,” 1964; “The Ballot or the Bullet,” 1964; “With Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer,” 1964; and “Prospects for Freedom,” 1965).

Amartya Sen (2004) affirms that human rights “must be institutionalized” (328) and concludes with the remark that “the elements of a theory of human rights...[see] them as pronouncements in social ethics, sustainable by public reasoning” (331).

Michael Keeley (1987), in “Freedom in Organizations,” defines human rights as they are to be understood in the context of this paper: “The most plausible human rights are rights that virtually any human beings would claim for themselves, regardless of their personal tastes and motives. Very specific rights are more apt to meet this requirement than the grand, abstract rights of classical formulas (260).” For the study of public administration, however, Keeley’s conclusion is a sobering warning that formal theories of efficiency still dominate much of the field:

But what is dead, or dying, is mere ritualism: trust in ceremonial procedures and magic word of consent, which mask vested interests and favor parties with the most legal cunning (or the wealth to hire it). Although our courts and legislatures may still make plenty of errors and allow a lot of injustices, they are less likely now to mistake behavioral displays of agreement for truly voluntary acts. I think there is a lesson here for us all.

For students of organization, the moral is that positivist aversion to value-laden concepts like human rights is misguided. Unless we consciously choose our own values—in this case, rights that organizations must respect to remain voluntary—we may wind up

unconsciously accepting the values of someone else, likely one in a dominant position. The empiricist route, as followed by nineteenth-century jurists and many modern social scientists, has a way of turning seekers of truth into servants of power. (262)

Two explanatory statements must anticipate any discussion of human rights in public administration. First, the discussion of rights is not an exclusive domain of policy and lawmakers. U.S. government agencies have ample discretion (Howard, 1994) to navigate the world of rights and administration. In a near-anecdotal style, Howard (1994) narrates the reach of U.S. administration. Second, human rights are not meant to be applied to an abstract, nonexistent international community (Ignatieff, 2005). They reach everyone's doorstep, whether it is a remote rural community or a large city. Many U.S. cities, under the guise of revitalization, have initiated a process of gentrification, whereby the poor and working poor are being chased out of urban centers through economic coercion. Among the victims, minorities represent the overwhelming majority. This phenomenon is not the result of the exclusive action of policy and lawmakers. It requires the cooperation—indeed, the commitment—of government administrators. Nearly 40 years ago, social equity proponents provided an ethical foundation to resist such disparities in the administrative process. They understood their period but also understood that change was inevitable lest we continue to perpetuate an environment of administrative strife and inequality.

The great prosperity of the post-World War II period brought about some unintended consequences, particularly on the part of those who were not included in such prosperity. The 1950s and 1960s were a period of great social agitation. Roosevelt's New Deal and the defeat of German Nazism, Italian fascism, and Japanese imperialism had brought about, it seemed, a renewed hope for a more humane future. Husband and wife Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt personally committed themselves to the creation of the United Nations and the drafting of The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Ignatieff, 2005; Schlesinger, 2003; Glendon, 2001). In 1944, addressing the Democratic Convention, Franklin Roosevelt called for a second bill of rights: an economic bill of rights, which should include the right to work for a living wage, to food, to shelter, to education, to recreation, to a decent living, and to protections against old age, sickness, accident, unemployment, and unfair competition in business (Ignatieff, 2005, 18, 91). To secure these rights for all, Roosevelt stated, was the obligation of Congress.

After the 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* (347 U.S. 483, 74 S. Ct. 686, 98 L. Ed. 873), the activity of the courts, too, was critical in influencing and even ordering a review of ethical and moral standards of government action. But the scope of Supreme Court decisions was two-sided: the courts were decidedly revisiting the Bill of Rights and considering matters of equal protec-

tion, due process, and civil and political rights, in general; but they also were slowly deferring discretion to administrative agencies out of concern for efficient government operation. The ever-expanding administrative state was kept in check for its violations of civil and political rights; it was burdened with further bureaucratic proceedings and exhaustive documentation of the reasonableness of administrative action; but it also left ample room to navigate the world of regulation with minimal interference and a concern for getting things done. In this context, addressing human rights and social equity concerns would have generated, if considered in the implementation processes, a major shift in the positivist paradigms.

In 1962, Milton Friedman published a searing critique of government regulation and advocated for a return to the precepts of classical liberalism and of *laissez-faire* economy. Although Friedman's critique was ignored at the time of its first publication, it had a remarkable effect on the policies of future administrations. Friedman (2002) was following Hayek's (1944) previously published work, but he failed to recognize Hayek's cautious approach to administration and the multiple inconsistencies found throughout Hayek's defense of the free-market system. As Hayek pointed out, "in no system that could be rationally defended would the state just do nothing" (1994, 45). And later on, in what appears to be a full examination of his conscience, he says

[t]here is no reason why in a society which has reached the general level of wealth which ours has attained, the first kind of security [against physical privation and minimum sustenance] should not be guaranteed to all without endangering general freedom.... An incautious handling of these questions might well cause serious and perhaps even dangerous political problems; but there can be no doubt that some minimum of food, shelter, and clothing, sufficient to preserve health and the capacity to work, can be assured to everybody.... There is no incompatibility in principle between the state's providing greater security in this way and the preservation of individual freedom. (133–134)

While criticizing the welfare state, Hayek was also, paradoxically, making the case for the welfare state, including a defense of social insurance programs that would be extended to health and other unanticipated social problems.

Human rights theory coupled with social equity theory can be a fresh approach to public administration research. Human rights are part of "a quality of mind that will help [individuals] to use information and to develop reason in order to achieve lucid summations of what is going on in the world and of what may be happening within themselves" (Mill, 2000a, 5). Although Rohr's (1989) constitutional origins of public values are still held high in the context of con-

temporary administration, other public administration scientists are searching for new answers, particularly in the area of comparative or developmental administration. For this new field of research, the human rights perspective can be a healthy addition to the already voluminous body of work developed in the last decade. The concern for international values is gaining increased importance. It is no longer sufficient, it seems, to talk of an “American administration,” perhaps isolated from the rest of the world. Rohr’s (1989) bounded constitutionality may be proven inadequate to deal with issues of globalization. Furthermore, the Preambles to the U.S. Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, along with Article 2, Section 2, §2 of the U.S. Constitution, make the argument for “constitutional boundaries” (Rohr, 1989) far less limited than may first appear. The establishment of justice and the promotion of the general welfare in the Preamble, the pursuit of happiness in the Declaration, and the ability to make Treaties in Article 2 expand the perceived boundaries of the Constitutional text and make the advocacy of social equity and human rights not only fair game but also a mandate.

In summing up the findings of a Symposium on Globalization and International Approaches to Public Affairs Education in the *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, Ed Jennings and Harvey White (2005) stated that “the same forces of globalization that are breaking market barriers, increasing international cooperation, raising international tensions, and bringing people around the globe in close contact with each other are shaping public affairs education in ways seen and unseen” (69). Amid a long roster of unresolved issues and questions, three of their concerns are particularly relevant. They ask, “To what extent, if any, is there an emerging international consensus on mission and core curriculum components?” “What innovative approaches offer promise in addressing issues of globalization?” “How do politics and culture affect pedagogy?” (71).

Although the purpose of this paper is to provoke a discussion around such issues, Jennings and White’s questions could be enriched by further considerations, for what “affects pedagogy” is not limited to “politics and culture” but also encompasses civil, economic, and social variables. The main question, however, is raised by Jennings and White in the preceding lines of the article: “Can we prepare students to be policy analysts, city managers, agency heads in state and local government, directors of non-profit organizations, or other participants in public affairs without attending to the international environment or international practices in our programs?” (70–71).

It is a fact that the world of economics has forced the hand of national governments toward globalization of politics and that few places on earth, if any, are insulated from it. This may compel public administrators to elaborate a human rights value-based framework for public administration that will mainstream social equity and anticipate the future of research. In this effort, they can be aided by the existence of a large body of literature on human rights, which is at

an advanced stage of development, has been agreed upon by the vast majority of the world's nations, and is embodied in the several instruments that comprise Human Rights. The conclusions reached in the final drafts of those instruments are the product of the work of thousands of scholars, activists, heads of state, politicians, intellectuals, and millions of other people worldwide and, although perhaps imperfect, those contributions cannot be easily dismissed or ignored. The world of human rights represents, as far as global human understanding has been able to evolve, the most advanced system of principles to adequately inform decision-making.

Arguing that elected governments cannot sustain the stability of a democracy without lifting social and economic rights, and, I would add, cultural rights, to the same level as civil and political rights, Zehra Arat (2003) effectively creates a link between politics and administration. She states that the "responsiveness and effectiveness of governments can reinforce or weaken the legitimacy of political systems," defining responsiveness as "governmental action [that] addresses the public demand" and effectiveness as governmental action that "accomplishes its specific desired end." She goes on to conclude that "lack of responsiveness and effectiveness weakens the authority of the state and, as a result, the legitimacy of the regime" (6). This is a crucial point in public affairs and administration, one that rests at the very core of administrative purpose. But the link to human rights—the underlying philosophy or principle—is articulated by Arat (2003) in the following terms: "A modern democracy, then, to sustain its legitimacy, should pursue policies that respect and protect the civil and political rights of its citizens and provide effective responses to their social and economic needs. A balance in the government's performance in these two areas is crucial to the destiny of democratic political systems (6)." While Arat speaks to the larger theme of human rights, few public administration and policy scholars would disagree.

The nonpartisan character of human rights and social equity makes them especially attractive for institutions that do not wish to teach advocacy or otherwise do not want to convey an image of partisanship, cultural selectivity, or relativism, bias, or prejudice. All the while, the adoption of a human rights framework in public administration and policy programs would advance the goals of uniformity in the United States and around the world, as Arat (2003) properly points out, and would provide an important rational basis for the adoption of social equity.

#### HUMAN RIGHTS IN ETHICS COURSES

Because the study of ethics—that is, the determination of what is right or wrong—is often reduced to codes of conduct, and because moral values are inherently biased toward particular sets of values and depend greatly on individual judgment, it seems logical that administrators should seek more or less stable principles to guide their actions. Such principles are incorporated into several sets of human rights instruments, which the United States has helped to write, has



signed, and/or has ratified. Moreover, such instruments transcend the realm of insular politics and policy; they are equally valued by most of the global community and provide a near-perfect blueprint for reasoned and universally accepted decision-making.

The concern for universal principles that can guide ethical decision-making are not new and lie at the heart of much of the ongoing dialogue about the study of ethics in public administration programs. McCollough (1991) frames this problem when he states that “the aim of the major Western ethicists has been to discern and state rational principles on which all persons of goodwill and sound reason could agree” and that “this led ethicists to search for foundational principles that would transcend the relative historical particularities of the ethicist’s situation and constitute unchanging norms of universal validity” (7). Frederickson (2005), one of the architects of social equity, adds that “[t]he practices of politics and administration without principles can be evil” (176). Human rights instruments contain most if not all of those principles that ethicists have been searching for, and social equity scholars certainly understood their relevance by pushing forward a theory that would neutralize some of those evils.

Cooper (1998) warns that

conflicts of responsibility that people experience within public organizations should not be resolved in an idiosyncratic fashion. If public administrators are to be responsive to the wishes of a democratic citizenry, their general course of conduct toward serving the public interest must be guided by established policies and these policies should enforce and reinforce prescribed public-service values. That is, they should support the basic principles of the particular polity involved and oppose the tendencies of individuals and organizations to become self-serving. (131–132)

A viable and unified theory of ethical decision-making is debated in most modern textbooks on ethics and public administration. Terry L. Cooper’s *The Responsible Administrator* (1998) does not purport to “develop a substantive ethic for public administrators” (xxii), for

normative ethics for public administration are to be found in the ethical tradition of citizenship as it has evolved throughout U.S. history. This tradition has at its core a notion of the common good, the importance of democratic participation of the citizenry, and the ultimate sovereignty of the people. (xxii)

Dean Geuras and Charles Garofalo (2002) believe that

there are universal values and principles that govern ethics in all areas. These values and principles include respect for other people, human equality, honesty, and fairness. (xii)

To arrive at such universal principles, they propose a system of unified ethics that draws from several theories and traditions, each of them generating a particular set of questions that can instruct decision-making. In the teleological tradition, questions arise regarding consequences, long-term effects, and the promotion of greatest happiness. In the deontological tradition, there is a concern for the universal principle and its consistency in all cases, the treatment of people as ends in themselves, as well as the promotion of “the ideal of a society of free, responsible people whose ends promote each other rather than conflict with each other” (61). In the intuitionist tradition, actions are preceded by an examination of one’s conscience and a perceived feeling about them. And, finally, in virtue theory, concerns must be raised about the character traits of an action, their reflection on self and on the character of others, as well as their representation in others that one may admire (Geuras and Garofalo, 2002, 60–63).

Thomas E. McCollough’s *The Moral Imagination and Public Life, Raising the Ethical Question* (1991) pursues a path of personal ethics. As he explains, “to undertake ethical analysis is to engage in a critique of culture. . . . In seeking to ask the right questions, we may find some clues in posing the ethical question as: *What is my personal relation to what I know?*” (28, emphasis in original).

In posing this question, McCollough concludes that “what I know of the twentieth century holds me hostage. I am personally responsible for the human future” (149). This is the general feeling, with a humanistic touch, pronounced by Jean-Paul Sartre (1994): “man is nothing else but what he makes of himself” (15).

With a foreword by John A. Rohr (1993), George Frederickson’s *Ethics and Public Administration* (1993) presents another set of 13 essays authored by 20 social researchers that go beyond the normative-philosophical approaches to ethics. Frederickson explains that

philosophy, norms, and theory are the guides for both the structure and the actions of government. If research on ethics does not inform larger issues of philosophy or theory, then that research is beside the point. But if field-based research on ethics in the management of government affairs tests the validity of theoretical or philosophical claims, then it can significantly inform the practices of government. (9)

In another of his books, *The Spirit of Public Administration* (1997), Frederickson advocates ample discretion for public administrators, but develops proper norms

and ethics to support such discretion. Such norms are framed by principles of social equity and go beyond the “standards that govern public administration—neutrality, efficiency, and economy” (111).

Michael Ignatieff (2005) has compiled a series of essays that could well be the starting point for an ethics course with a new dimension. In *American Exceptionalism and Human Rights*, Ignatieff explains,

As a language of moral claims, human rights has gone global by going local, by establishing its universal appeal in local languages of dignity and freedom. As international human rights has developed and come of age, not much attention has been paid to this process of vernacularization. We must ask whether any of us would care much about rights if they were articulated only in universalist documents like the Universal Declaration, and whether, in fact, our attachment to these universals depends critically on our prior attachment to rights that are national, rooted in the traditions of a flag, a constitution, a set of founders, and a set of national narratives, religious and secular, that give point and meaning to rights. We need to think through the relation between national rights traditions and international standards, to see that these are not in the antithetical relation we suppose. American attachment to its own values is the condition and possibility of its attachment to the universal, and it is only as the universal receives a national expression that it catches the heart and the conviction of citizens. (25–26)

Waldo (1948) prescribed a very different role for administrative theory, essentially affirming that administrative theory was political theory. In fact, administrative theory was not only political theory, but it was the most important form of political theory, for it “specified the commitments we are willing to make in the conduct of public affairs in an organizational society” (Denhardt, 40). Although Simon’s core concerns were centered on efficiency and rationality, Waldo dismissed efficiency as a value, because efficiency was limited by the purpose it served.

In 1989, John Rohr narrowed the scope of ethics in public administration to regime values that were to be found in the U.S. Constitution—a more focused elaboration of his earlier work, which had posited a reference to scholarly interpretations of American history—and identified such values as freedom, equality, and property (Cooper, 1998, 175).

If democracy lives in the world of political science, the delivery systems of politically adopted rights fall squarely on the shoulders of public administration. The responsiveness and effectiveness of governments is achieved through its delivery systems. Therefore, at the heart of this delivery system there must

exist a strong commitment to those principles that not only ensure the success of programs but also grant stability to the system. Thorough knowledge of these principles and inclusion of them in normative approaches to public administration and policy are essential to the formulation of good policy and sensible decision-making, which in turn will reinforce the fabric of social relationships and provide for the survival of all of the world's communities. The United States as a nation has agreed to uphold these principles, which have survived domestic and international inquiry and scrutiny. The United States should, therefore, diffuse such principles throughout the government's delivery systems. It is not necessary for administrators to become the advocates of their constituencies (Frederickson, 2005). They must simply act, as professionals and as citizens, in a spirit of respect for those universal principles to which not one but several U.S. governments of different ideologies and compositions, through time, have sworn allegiance in the presence and company of the international community. The passion for advocacy can be replaced by the pursuit and implementation of political engagements with the international community, in domestic as well as in international affairs.

Accordingly, graduate programs in public affairs and administration would be in good—and nearly universal—company if they were to adopt foundational principles for decision-making based on defined and universally accepted principles of human rights theory, with social equity at the forefront as a strong and valid introduction to this effort.

The United States was relieved of the burden of proving that it is a morally superior society after the fall of the totalitarian regime in the former Soviet Union. However, in order to maintain its economic hegemony, the United States frequently ignores human rights abuses on the soil of several of its trading partners—China and Saudi Arabia, to name a couple among many others. It is also true that the United States often turns an equally blind eye to those human rights abuses that occur within its own geographical boundaries (for example, the racist character of its criminal justice system, which fills jails and prisons almost entirely with members of minorities, while the government continues to deprive those communities of funding for education, adequate shelter, employment opportunities, and other essential infrastructure). This quasi-indifference toward a human rights agenda at the government level has enormous implications for its administrative body, despite efforts, particularly at the academic level, to reverse this trend, against which social equity scholars seem to have expended the greatest efforts.

The consequences of such government policies are quite disturbing. First, they severely impair the ability of future administrators to carry out their duties as public managers. Second, they leave future administrators less prepared to exercise caution when handling policy demands in the face of multi-cultural, multi-racial, and multi-ethnic constituencies. And, third, they abort what was once the American vision of championing human rights at home, while promoting and

participating in the writing and adoption of international human rights instruments with its United Nations partners.

The primary duties of public administrators are to carry out and materialize public policy. They are the supply side of legislative authority. Ironically, however, at both state and local levels, they deal primarily with those matters that are extraneous to the political process, or what Madison called “the ordinary course of affairs.” They are also less exposed to the civil and political relationship between the people and government. But they are an important buffer between the civil and the political, and often the most important advising body in economic, social, and cultural debates. They deal with such fundamental issues as housing permits, permits for demonstrations, safety and security, economic life, subsidies for cultural activities and programs, and for a myriad of not-for-profit organizations. They ensure the right to free speech, to free exercise of religion, to activities that are tangential but not particularly integrants of civil and political rights. They can be instrumental, for instance, in the vitality of a soup kitchen, or in the success of a winter coat campaign. They can slow down or speed up the political process, without ever becoming involved in it, but through their own deeds. In the midst of political and even civil strife, they play an important role in diffusing potentially explosive situations, such as revising a municipal budget to alter the impact of a proposed property tax increase.

It is clear—and the events surrounding the failed response to the victims of Hurricane Katrina are unequivocal proof—that a deep understanding of the human rights framework can help public administrators to reach decisions that correspond to the hopes, aspirations, and ambitions of the vast majority of people, where no one is left out. They must not wait for disaster to strike. They can integrate such preoccupations into their daily lives. The addition of this knowledge will have a substantial impact on the development of the necessary skills to promote law and order within the comprehensive theme of constitutional equality and to regulate effectively within the framework of statutory authority, policy, and the confines of domestic and international law.

Adding to the vicissitudes of administrative life are the administrators’ obligations to diverse constituencies, some of which may be losers in the political process, and may be deprived of full civil deference, but are nonetheless part of the whole they must serve. The administrator’s level of sensitivity to the nuances of economically, socially, and culturally diverse groups can only be refined through a thorough understanding of human rights, which will model the delivery of services in unbiased ways. This is a central—indeed, the core preoccupation—of social equity proponents.

The United States has never been a land of homogeneous peoples, despite a considerable historical domination of one group over others. This fact should not stand in the way of the administrator’s ability to pursue administrative activity with full regard for the differences that the legislative process is incapable of see-

ing or predicting. The fair materialization of legislative authority depends largely on the capacity of public administrators to recognize the human dimensions that surround diversity in the midst of broad communities.

There are ample reasons for optimism. The human rights legacy in the United States, although in need of rebirth, finds full or partial expression in all but three states. In fact, 46 percent of U.S. states maintain statewide Human Rights Commissions; 28 percent maintain Civil Rights Commissions; 10 percent have either Human Affairs or Human Relations Commissions; and another 10 percent have either Equal Opportunity or Anti-Discrimination Commissions or offices (excludes Puerto Rico and U.S. Virgin Islands). Only Mississippi, Nevada, and Wyoming lack such structures (Human Rights Enforcement Project, 2006).

Although these commissions currently deal mostly with individual grievances related to violations of particular rights, especially civil rights, they nonetheless offer a unique opportunity for education and advocacy. Graduate programs in public administration can take advantage of these structures in order to expand the knowledge base of their programs and, in turn, reciprocate with professionals whose level of expertise is substantially expanded. As colleges and universities prepare thousands of students to head the modeling and delivery of public services and programs, to control crime, to apply legislation to everyday situations, and to be the face of government administration, it would seem proper, if not absolutely necessary, that such students would have a profound knowledge of international human rights instruments, which the United States has vowed to follow in its own territories. As a result, students would develop a greater understanding of social equity and shore up their future professional experience with a sense of justice and fairness. It is no longer correct to assume that there is a range of neutral competence within which administrators can act, free from moral considerations. Public administrators have, as argued by most contemporary literature in the field, substantial input in policymaking and in resource allocation.

A logical follow-up to the above arguments and to the background that governments provide in the area of human rights will have to include a closer analysis of graduate programs in schools of public administration and policy and their value orientations, because these should represent the most prominent source of administrators for municipal and state governments. Other arguments pertaining to globalization, complex trade agreements, and the continuous flow of diverse cultural patterns that blend with longstanding and often dominant cultural traditions lend further legitimacy to the effort of teaching human rights in public administration graduate programs. U.S. graduate programs in public administration and policy can no longer afford to prepare leaders who do not understand the contextual correlations between U.S. public affairs and world affairs, especially in the area of human rights, or refer such knowledge acquisition to specialized areas of administration and policy. What better route to take, instead, but that offered by social equity theory? The portal of human rights is open, and accessible, as an

apt venue for the incorporation of global social equity in the public affairs curriculum.

#### REFERENCES

- Cooper, T. L. 1998. *The Responsible Administrator*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Arat, Z. F. 2003. *Democracy and Human Rights in Developing Countries*. Lincoln, NE: iUniverse.
- Bentham, J. 1780. "Of the Principle of Utility." In J. M. Shafritz, K. S. Layne, and C. P. Borick, eds. 2005. *Classics of Public Policy*. New York: Pearson Longman.
- Birkland, T. A. 2001. *An Introduction to the Policy Process*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.
- Denhardt, R. B. 2004. *Theories of Public Organization*. Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Frederickson, G. H. 1993. *Ethics and Public Administration*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1997. *The Spirit of Public Administration*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2005. *Public Administration with an Attitude*. Washington, DC: ASPA.
- Friedman, M. 2002. *Capitalism and Freedom*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Glendon, M. A. 2001. *A World Made New: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. New York: Random House.
- Geuras, D., and C. Garofalo. 2002. *Practical Ethics in Public Administration*. Vienna, VA: Management Concepts.
- Hayek, F. A. 1994. *The Road to Serfdom*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Howard, P. 1994. *The Death of Common Sense: How Law is Suffocating America*. New York: Warner Books.
- Human Rights Enforcement Project. 2006. "The USA, State by State." Available at <http://www.humanrightsenforcement.org/usstates.html>.
- Ignatieff, M. 2005. *American Exceptionalism and Human Rights*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University.
- Kant, I. [1797] 1965. *The Metaphysical Elements of Justice*. John Ladd, ed. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Educational Publishing.
- Jennings, E., and H. White. 2005. "Introduction: Symposium on Globalization and International Approaches to Public Affairs Education." *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, 11(2):69–72.
- Keeley, M. 1987. "Freedom in Organizations." *Journal of Business Ethics*, 6(4):249–263.
- LaPorte, T. 1971. "The Recovery of Relevance in the Study of Public Organizations." In Frank Marini, ed., *Toward a New Public Administration: The Minnowbrook Perspective*. San Francisco: Chandler.
- Marini, F., ed. 1971. *Toward a New Public Administration: The Minnowbrook Perspective*. San Francisco: Chandler.
- Menzel, D. C. 1993. "The Ethics Factor in Local Government." In H. G. Frederickson, ed., *Ethics and Public Administration*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.
- Mill, J. S. 1987. *Utilitarianism*. New York: Prometheus.
- McCullough, T. E. 1991. *The Moral Imagination and Public Life, Raising the Ethical Question*. Chatham, NJ: Chatham.
- National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration. 2006. Commission on Peer Review and Accreditation. Available at <http://www.naspaa.org/accreditation>.
- Rawls, J. 1971. *A Theory of Justice*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Rohr, J. 1989. *Ethics for Bureaucrats*. New York: Marcel Dekker.
- Sartre, J-P. 1994. *Existentialism and Human Emotions*. New York: Carol Publishing.
- Schlesinger, S. C. 2003. *Act of Creation: The Founding of the United Nations*. New York: Westview.
- Sen, A. 2004. "Elements of a Theory of Human Rights." *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 32(4):315–356.
- Waldo, D. 1948. *The Administrative State*. New York: Ronald Press.
- X, M. 1990. *Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements*. New York: Grove Weidenfeld.

Mary M. Timney is a professor of public administration at Pace University. She has published articles in *Public Administration Review*, *Administrative Theory and Praxis*, and *Publius*. Her recent book *Power for the People: Protecting State's Energy*

*Policy Interests in an Era of Deregulation*, available from M. E. Sharpe, Inc., examines the California energy crisis of 2002 and the conflicts between state policy interests and market interests.

At the time of the article's submission, Jose Duarte Alves was a graduate student at The Rockefeller College of Public Affairs and Policy, Department of Public Administration and Policy, University at Albany, SUNY.



# Teaching “Supply-Side” Social Equity in MPA Programs

Gerasimos Gianakis and Douglas Snow  
Suffolk University

## ABSTRACT

The issue here examined grows out of the proposition that tax policy is the public policy that has the most pernicious effects on social equity in the United States. We hold that this proposition is so self-evident that it need be examined only tangentially to the main topics of this article: first, why would tax policy be excluded from a core MPA course on social equity, and second, how could the social equity implications of alternative tax structures be most effectively explored in the graduate classroom? The second proposition on which this analysis rests is that the substance of social equity is ultimately operationalized as economic equity. This does not refer simply to the distribution of income that emerges from market transactions, but rather to the distribution of the total range of social goods and other benefits produced by a society.

The social goods and benefits that are the products of collective actions taken to either supplement or correct the distribution that emerges from the private sector are of particular interest here. The term *correct* leads naturally to the question of what is the correct distribution, and this issue is ultimately a purely political one whose resolution can only be informed by analysis.

---

We recently attended a national conference of the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA) during which a faculty member from a leading school in the field of public management presented a syllabus for a core master's in public administration (MPA) course in social equity. The course was the product of an interdisciplinary development team, and it sought to examine how social equity issues manifest themselves in various substantive policy areas such as education, housing, criminal justice, social welfare, health policy, and public transportation programs. Measurement issues and additional technical issues associated with the concept of social equity were also explored. One of us asked whether the team had considered tax policy as a

subject for the course, and the presenter replied that they had never considered this area and that the team had not included anyone with expertise in the area. A colleague of the presenter offered that equity issues associated with taxation were addressed separately in the MPA core budgeting course. Protestations that a core course in social equity that did not include tax policy would serve to marginalize the social equity dimensions of tax policy were brushed aside.

It is important that these issues be examined because social equity is clearly emerging as a core issue of public management—at least from the collective perceptions and recent activities of NASPAA. Tax policy typically is not directly associated with the concept of social equity because the field of public administration has found it difficult to effectively deal with purely political issues. This is not to say that we believe that the field should not address issues of social equity. We reject the longstanding postulate of a politics-administration dichotomy, which here centers on the ostensibly intractable problems—an admixing of the political and managerial—that face the professional public administrator in a democratic society. We hold that past failures to move social equity issues to the core of public management grew out of a disciplinary reluctance to deal with the thorny issue of the professional administrator as unelected politician.

We believe that the field and its pedagogical efforts should be rooted in the real world of public management. MPA programs typically divide public management into its constituent instrumental functions, in part to avoid the political substance of the whole. This retreat from the real world of public management has made the field vulnerable to the influence of market-oriented theories of public management and the implementation of private sector-based service delivery systems that have failed to support the work of public managers. In addition, these market-oriented approaches to service delivery have served to further erode social equity in the distribution of public goods and services.

We use the term *demand-side* to refer to social equity in the delivery of goods and services demanded by the public and to the advocacy role that substantive service delivery agencies often play in determining the level of those goods or services. We have appropriated the language of the marketeers to refer to social equity in tax policy as supply-side social equity—that is, the amount and source of the funds available to develop and deliver substantive programs.

#### DEMAND-SIDE SOCIAL EQUITY

The Standing Panel on Social Equity of the National Academy of Public Administration (NAPA) has defined social equity in public management as the

{f}air, just and equitable management of all institutions serving the public directly or by contract, and the fair and equitable distribution of public services, and implementation of public policy and the commitment to promote fairness, justice, and equity.

In his widely read article on the three pillars of public management, H. George Frederickson held that the concept “emphasizes responsibility for decisions and program implementation for program managers” (1999, 228). Both of these definitions focus on the delivery of substantive public service programs, and equity is operationalized as accessibility and responsiveness, and fairness as something more than the simple standardization of services. They encourage public managers to tailor programs to the unique capacities and individual needs of particular social, cultural, and economic groups. This approach lies well within the expanded definition of the politics-administration dichotomy, which generally holds that public managers are inevitably and unavoidably policymakers in their roles as program implementers and deliverers, policy developers, and innovators through the legislative powers delegated in the rulemaking process and policy advocates in their prominent roles in the budget process. This is not to say that the devolution of this policymaking power to professional experts is universally acknowledged as an inevitability in the modern state, nor that it is generally applauded.

Social equity is usually pursued here through exhortations to diversify the administrative state by social, racial, religious, economic, gender, and cultural groups as well as by sexual orientation and any other demographic variable that might cause one to view a policy issue from a particular perspective (Rice, 2004; White, 2004). The same diversity should be pursued in the makeup of MPA faculty as well, in order that sensitivities to these different perspectives can be communicated to students and prospective public administrators (Pitts and Wise, 2004). This view reflects the “representative bureaucracy” approach to democracy’s dilemma of the politically influential administrator (Krislov, 1974) that we examine below.

Tax and revenue policies are necessarily excluded from this public program delivery scenario, because they are not “delivered” to the public. From public managers’ perspectives, revenues historically have been considered as something that was “out there” and over which they have little influence. Their traditional focus was on forecasting and allocating the revenues; revenues grew steadily, and the budgetary struggle centered on securing a “fair share” of the annual increment (Wildavsky, 1964). Revenue bases were viewed as legally constrained, controlled by grantor governments, and/or a byproduct of private sector transactions, such as sales, franchise, and utility taxes. Tax policies were only seldom reviewed in the annual budget process, and even more rarely in their entirety. From a pedagogical perspective, tax policy was often more closely associated with economics than with management; like quantitative analysis, it was something that managers should know about but not necessarily do (a perspective that seems to persist in many MPA programs).

Is it possible to pursue social equity in the delivery of public programs while ignoring how they are funded? Efforts to limit social equity considerations by

public managers to program delivery systems are bound to fail the political goal, and they can serve to trivialize the concept. During the panel described at the outset of this article, the delivery of parks and recreation services was discussed and a respondent complained about managers who install concrete park benches with “speed bumps” in the middle of the seat that prevented the homeless from sleeping on them. Are the social equity issues manifested by homelessness addressed in any way by ensuring the rights of the homeless to sleep on park benches? If public managers are to pursue social equity they must do so beyond the bounds of the expanded politics/administration dichotomy and within the area of tax policy. Changes have occurred that make the political role of the professional public manager increasingly necessary, if not palatable.

#### SUPPLY-SIDE SOCIAL EQUITY

What changes have occurred? Tax revolts, legally constrained tax bases, increased competition within and between levels of government for access to revenue sources, deterioration of capital infrastructure, and increases in fixed costs such as pensions and health insurance have made it necessary for public managers to move from the traditional incrementalist mode to a focus on the reallocation of existing revenues and the development of the economic bases that produce public revenues. This calls for a professional public sector that is more active in the development of fiscal policy and one that employs a longer planning horizon than that that typically limits the view of elected officials. Many of the fiscal problems that state and local governments are being forced to deal with have been the result of the failure of legislative bodies to deal with the long-term financial viability of their respective political jurisdictions, which we discuss further below.

Legislatures are loath to delegate the design and development of tax policy to bureaucratic agencies—particularly to executive branch agencies—because tax expenditures are effective vehicles for stealth pork. In one sense, professional public administrators do deliver tax policy, in that they deliver to elected officials analytical studies and fiscal notes on the effects of alternative tax structures and specific tax expenditures. However, these merely inform the legislative process, and information on social equity effects is not often requested. Such analyses are also usually partisan in substance, because fiscal policy is characterized as a purely political rather than a technical issue. The case presented later in this paper illustrates these issues.

Supply-side social equity highlights the size of government: the amount of resources available to fund programs to meet needs unmet through private sector market exchanges; the power to regulate and supplement private markets; and the capacity to redistribute the incomes produced through private sector market exchanges. Downs (1959) has argued that elected officials produce policies that garner votes rather than those designed to respond to perceived needs. For him, the public sector is always too small in a democracy because citizens undervalue

the benefits they receive from government. Movements for tax cuts and tax expenditures, hence, invariably have legs if not wings. Social equity rests in the political issue of the size of the public sector, not simply in the delivery of existing programs.

#### PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

The public hires professional managers because it wants its public services delivered at the lowest possible cost; that is, the public wants efficiency—the first “pillar of public administration” (Frederickson, 1990). This pillar refers to efficiency of means, or technological efficiency. However, as Vincent Ostrom (1986) pointed out in his seminal book, technological efficiency in the absence of allocative efficiency has no meaning. Allocative efficiency refers to how well the mix of services and goods that the public sector delivers meets the expressed needs—and some economic analysts would add unexpressed needs—of the community. Simply stated: it makes no sense to provide something efficiently if nobody wants it. Professional public managers’ charge to pursue technological efficiency necessitates some level of involvement in the more political process of determining allocative efficiency. This is particularly true in light of what Behn (1998) has called the breakdown of the capacity of the formal electoral process to do so; he avers that professional public managers must do more than simply act defensively in reaction to the anti-government sentiments generated by institutions outside the administrative state.

Since its original publication in 1974, Ostrom’s book has generated a range of market-based approaches to the allocative efficiency issue, and most of these have sought to mitigate the policymaking influence of the professional manager. Ostrom pointed to devolving policymaking to the lowest level of government feasible, so that policy makers could design programs that were responsive to local needs. Citizens are then able to “shop” among jurisdictions that provide the mix of goods and services that best meet their particular needs. The market perspective on the provision of public goods and services has dominated how public management is viewed and evaluated. Practitioners and academicians have been attracted by its promise of responsiveness, discretion, and equity in the delivery of public benefits, as well as their production. The approach of the marketers allows the field of public administration to maintain its focus on the first pillar and avoid the issues that have dogged it since its establishment.

Fairness as standardization upsets the shopping cart, in that the needs of some areas are met and the needs of others are not. These approaches to allocative efficiency and equity, however, assume that people have the resources to collect the information necessary to make optimal decisions and the capacity to move to the jurisdiction that reflects their preferences. Devolution of policymaking to lower levels of government in the pursuit of responsiveness and equity also has fiscal implications. The lower levels of government will ultimately become respon-

sible for paying for their preferences, and subnational governments cannot afford progressive tax systems because of the potential mobility of high-income citizens. Thus, the pursuit of responsiveness and efficiency in service delivery through market schemes ultimately reduces equity in the absence of the consideration of who pays.

The marketers have redefined social equity as choice in markets rather than redistribution of income. In the name of efficiency, they have sought to enhance choice by creating markets of public services through the devolution of policy development, contracting out service provision to third-party providers and employing vouchers and other market-oriented mechanisms. This approach follows free market capitalism; but private markets are not egalitarian and social equity cannot be pursued by bringing private market mechanisms to the production or provision of public goods. As a relevant aside, nonprofit agencies are being increasingly bureaucratized through public sector contracts designed to reduce the size of government in the name of efficiency and responsiveness. The historical advocacy roles of these agencies are being increasingly constrained as they are co-opted by government; this development also serves to potentially reduce the size of the public sector. Citizens of the United States enjoy one of the lowest tax burdens among the most economically developed nations; however, the tax burden of the middle-class taxpayer is among the highest (Mikesell, 2006). Thus, tax cuts resonate with the electorate despite the relatively low percentage of domestic national product consumed by the public sector.

Behn (1998) holds that public managers do not only have the right to function as policy leaders, they have an obligation to do so; one of their responsibilities must be to help repair the traditional political institutions whose breakdown has made this obligation more manifest. This call embraces the idea that public managers function in the political world rather than in the marketplace. Public managers are politicians, in that they make public policy and they work in political institutions (Cook, 1998); the only real issue is what kind of politicians they should be. The most popular approach to reconciling politics and professional expertise in public administration has been the concept of representative bureaucracy (Krislov, 1974). This approach contends that the professionals who people the bureaucracies that unavoidably make public policy are more representative of the general public than those that the public elects to represent their interests; hence, the policymaking influence that is exercised by these professionals is likely to reflect the values and interests of the general public. There would seem to be some disagreement among these theorists about whether these values and interests would or should influence whatever policy development occurs within the organization naturally and passively through the mere presence of a diverse workforce, or whether these members should actively represent the values and interests of their demographic group within their organization (Kelly, 1998; Selden and Selden, 2001). We reject both these views; the idea that each group

has a definitive point of view that can be represented is presumptuous, and the assumption that social equity can be achieved through some process of osmosis is questionable. Even worse, there is an unspoken presumption in this approach that organizational diversity *is* social equity.

We reject the representative bureaucracy approach primarily, however, because it keeps politics inside the organization and policymaking prerogatives in the hands of the professionals. If policymaking is moving to the bureaucracies, then citizens must come to the bureaucracies to engage in the kind of political dialogue that creates the polity in order to preserve democracy and avoid technocracy. Elsewhere we have described a stewardship principle for public managers: the preservation of the long-term financial viability of the jurisdiction that employs them; this is the ultimate end of the pursuit of efficiency in service delivery, which, as above, is meaningless without consideration of allocative efficiency. Social equity emerges here as a subgoal of allocative efficiency, which requires that fairness be equated with responsiveness rather than standardization. Rather than the creation of market mechanisms, we envision a community of experts—those professional managers who lead the various agencies that comprise the public organization of the jurisdiction—engaging the entire political community in a dialogue about what is needed and what is possible. This dialogue would include perspectives on the pursuit of financial viability. In this scenario, public managers as politicians do not represent themselves, their demographic group(s), particular community constituencies, or their individual agencies, but rather the jurisdiction as a whole.

The creation of a culture of diversity or a diverse workforce *per se* is not enough to encourage managers to pursue social equity, nor is it in itself the pursuit of social equity. Indeed, we view it as counter-productive—particularly the active representative bureaucracy scenario. We must create a culture of civic engagement in our public organization and tie the pursuit of social equity to the stewardship principle of public management. Of course, this approach is most feasible on the local level, may be feasible under a single elected official at the state level, and probably is not feasible at the federal level. The budget process is the administrative/political process that can be employed in this organizational development effort, because it is during the budget process that all managers are forced to acknowledge that they are a part of a shared enterprise. In short, tax policy and budgetary processes are integral to the political pursuit of social equity.

#### PEDAGOGY

We conducted an informal survey of the textbooks used in the budgeting and/or financial management courses of the top MPA programs in the United States.<sup>1</sup> Seven texts dominated the sample. Of these, in only one were more than 11 percent of the pages devoted to the analysis of revenues, including their

equity characteristics (this was Mikesell, 2006). Even there, these equity elements were examined as abstract conceptual or technical aspects of the revenue source rather than in the political context of social equity. Mikesell does provide the kind of information necessary for managers to consider such issues, if not the basis for a reconceptualization of the responsibilities of public managers. Bland (2005) makes the important and telling point that a local government’s revenue structure can be a better reflection of its political culture than the mix of services it provides, in that the former manifests greater variance.

We recommend that budgeting and financial management issues and techniques be woven into case studies that reflect the real managerial and political worlds in which public managers are called upon to pursue some definition of social equity. For example, one of the authors served as the analyst in the case described below (and elsewhere).

A state legislature had some years previously passed legislation that excluded the first \$25,000 of the assessed valuation of real property from local property taxation (the exclusion had been initially limited to in-state property owners, but the state’s supreme court had declared that element unconstitutional on grounds of due process). The current legislature was considering moving the exclusion to the second \$25,000 of assessed valuation so that all property owners paid something in property taxes. The budget director asked her analyst to estimate what the change would yield for the city. All properties valued less than \$50,000 would be affected, and this was not an inconsiderable number at the time. Using data from the county assessor, the analyst calculated that the city would realize an additional \$400,000 in property taxes annually. The budget director decided to inform the city manager to mobilize support for the change among the county’s legislative delegation. Both the director and the analyst had been surprised by the size of the potential yield, but the latter considered the change politically unfeasible and socially inequitable. The conversation went something like this:

“We are saying we need an additional \$400,000 and we want to get it from the poorest citizens of the city.”

“No, our job is just to inform the political process, not to make political decisions.”

“But shouldn’t we also inform them about the social equity issues?”

“Those are political issues; everyone should pay something and those people are the ones who use services like police and EMS.”

“Yes, they pay every day just living in those conditions; aren’t we making a political judgment when we say those are the people who should pay the \$400,000?”



It makes life easier for public managers to view themselves as technicians and it is much easier to teach public managers how to be better technicians. But they cannot become good managers until they are taught how to be good politicians. Who’s right? The budget director, or the analyst (who was eventually fired despite the fact that the legislative delegation thought the city’s administration was insane for suggesting that they support the bill, which never made it to the floor)?

Case studies bring alive the political dimensions of the everyday world of public managers, and they complement classroom discussions of the theoretical dimensions of the salient issues. Other cases could examine the equity issues inherent in the proliferation of user fees and charges in response to revenue constraints and pro-market theorists. Economists generally decry the cross-subsidizing of political preferences that is unavoidable when programs are funded through general revenues. The benefits of user charges and fees are well established (Mikesell, 2006; Bland, 2005): they enhance allocative efficiency by signaling demand, and they encourage technological efficiency in order to reduce costs. However, as Bland (2005) points out, “Can we implement a user charge in a cost effective way?” should be followed by “Should we?”—the social equity question. Perhaps the general taxes paid by high-income citizens should be used to subsidize programs that benefit lower-income citizens because the provision of these programs provides for social equity and perhaps enhances the long-term financial viability of the jurisdiction. Students should be exposed to the political as well as the economic and managerial issues associated with user fees and charges, because this issue demonstrates that the political aspects are integral to their stewardship responsibilities. Professional public managers do not simply operate in a political environment—they are politicians.

We must also develop cases demonstrating how the budget process can serve an organizational development function—that is, to help develop an organizational culture focused on the long-term financial viability of the community as a whole and shared by the community of experts that comprise the public organization. Such a shared culture serves to legitimize the active political role of the professional public manager as a representative of the jurisdiction rather than simply of his or her particular agency. We would hold that the development of such a culture would begin with the central administration, which would be required to produce an accurate forecast of the annual budget constraint, rather than one designed to maximize year-end fund balances and to protect particular interests. This would lead to padding-free budget requests from the various service departments, whose leaders could pursue technological efficiency within a shared vision of allocative efficiency.

The following is an illustrative example of the politically responsible professional administrator: The new police chief implements a new manpower allocation and deployment plan that reduces average response time to an emergency

call for service from the historical 4.0 minutes to 3.5 minutes. However, civic engagement and dialogue with the residents indicates that they were generally happy with the traditional response time, and they reduce her budget to a level that would provide an average response time of 4.0 minutes under the new deployment plan. Should this destroy her motivation to innovate? She has pursued technological efficiency and succeeded, and this led to the generation of additional revenues to pursue allocative efficiency. Perhaps these funds are used to subsidize recreation opportunities for disadvantaged youths, and these reduce the crime rate, enhance the attractiveness of the community, and contribute to its long-term financial viability. A public administrator as politician who would be pleased with this outcome is preferred to the one who would mobilize the Neighborhood Watch “rubber gun squad” to storm city hall in order to secure funds for a service no one else wants.

The organization legitimately served by the administrator as politician is the public organization as a whole. The constituency legitimately served by this politician is the community as a whole. The most basic services provided by this community of experts are educating the public and providing a forum for learning from the public. Social equity issues become an unavoidable, or even a desirable, part of this dialogue, because its absence could adversely affect the long-term financial viability of the community; that is, the stewardship principle of public management. The development of the shared organizational culture can be viewed as a pie-in-the-sky goal, but so can the pursuit of real social equity.

## CONCLUSION

Charles Goodsell recently wrote that “it is time for the field [of public administration] to mature, in the sense that it must articulate, at least to itself, a vision that captures *its* interpretation of public administration’s fulfilled contribution to a democratic polity (2006, 623; emphasis in original).

He contrasts the traditional state vision of public administration as a tightly controlled administrative apparatus and the marketeers’ desire for an administrative state that strives to emulate private sector values and methods with a civil society perspective that increasingly requires a bureaucracy engaging in direct involvement with the public. He calls for a bureaucracy engaged in “building and maintaining the public trust that makes democracy possible” (2006, 633). He notes that the field has striven to escape the normative implications of this necessary role in maintaining civil society by focusing on macro-level principles, such as equal opportunity, or on micro-level ethical guidelines. Theorists must address “a middle level in which members of the organization are most likely to move and external pressures and temptations are most obvious” (2006, 631).

The pursuit of social equity must become an integral part of the job of public managers; the values it encompasses cannot be inculcated or operationalized through a process of osmosis. At the same time, the issue is a highly political

one, and this raises certain legitimacy issues that the field has been avoiding since its inception. By focusing almost exclusively on equity in the delivery of substantive services, the field overlooks its primary causes—markets and regressive tax policies. The service delivery approach trivializes the issue and absolves public managers of any real responsibility for its pursuit. The field limits its practitioners to the service delivery focus because of its reluctance to embrace their inescapable political role. This reluctance has left it vulnerable to market-based theories that serve to exacerbate the problem of social equity and divert the field from its responsibility to reconcile democracy and professional public administration. We have sought to outline a framework that grounds the pursuit of social equity in the stewardship principle of public management: the pursuit of technological efficiency within the goal of allocative efficiency as defined through a dialogue between the political community and the community of experts that comprise the public organization.

#### NOTE

1. We employed the rankings of MPA programs with public finance and budgeting specialties compiled in *U. S. News and World Report* in 2004 (available at [www.usnews.com/usnews/edu/grad/rankings/pub/brief/padsp7\\_brief.php](http://www.usnews.com/usnews/edu/grad/rankings/pub/brief/padsp7_brief.php)). We reviewed online syllabi until no new texts were identified.

#### REFERENCES

- Behn, Robert D. 1998. “What Right Do Public Managers Have to Lead?” *Public Administration Review*, 58(3):209–224.
- Bland, Robert L. 2005. *A Revenue Guide for Local Government. International*. Washington, D.C.: City/County Management Association.
- Cook, Brian J. 1998. “Politics, Public Leadership, and Public Management.” *Public Administration Review*, 58(3):225–230.
- Downs, Anthony. 1959. “Why Government is Too Small in a Democracy.” *World Politics*, 12:541–563.
- Frederickson, H. George. 1990. “Public Administration and Social Equity.” *Public Administration Review*, 50(5):228–237.
- Goodsell, Charles T. 2006. A New Vision for Public Administration. *Public Administration Review*, 66(4):623–635.
- Kelly, Rita Mae. 1998. “An Inclusive Democratic Polity, Representative Bureaucracies, and the New Public Management.” *Public Administration Review*, 58(3):201–208.
- Krislov, S. 1974. *Representative Bureaucracy*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Mikesell, John. 2006. *Fiscal Administration*. NY: Wadsworth.
- Ostrom, Vincent 1986. *The Intellectual Crisis in American Public Administration*. University, AL: University of Alabama Press.
- Pitts, David W., and Lois Recascino Wise. 2004. “Diversity in Professional Schools: A Case Study of Public Affairs and Law.” *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, 10(2):125–142.
- Rice, Mitchell F. 2004. “Organizational Culture, Social Equity, and Diversity: Teaching Public Administration in the Postmodern Era.” *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, 10(2):143–154.
- Seldon, S. C., and F. Seldon. 2001. “Rethinking Diversity in Public Organizations for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Moving Towards a Multicultural Model.” *Administration and Society*, 33(3):303–329.
- White, Susan. 2004. “Multicultural MPA Curriculum: Are We Preparing Culturally Competent Public Administrators?” *Journal of Public Administration Education*, 10(2):111–124.
- Wildavsky, Aaron. 1964. *The Politics of the Budgetary Process*. Boston: Little, Brown.

Gerasimos Gianakis is an associate professor of public management at Suffolk University and is the author of *Local Government Budgeting: A Managerial Approach* (Praeger, 1997). He may be contacted at [ggianaki@suffolk.edu](mailto:ggianaki@suffolk.edu).

Douglas Snow is an associate professor and chair of the Department of Public Management at Suffolk University. He is the author of *Microcredit and Development Policy* (Nova Science Publishers, 2001). He may be contacted at [dsnow@suffolk.edu](mailto:dsnow@suffolk.edu).

# Diversity across the Curriculum: Perceptions and Practices

Heather Wyatt-Nichol  
Kwame Badu Antwi-Boasiako  
Stephen F. Austin State University

## ABSTRACT

One step toward generating social equity in public policy and administration is to expose future leaders within the field to a variety of discourses from historically marginalized groups. The new *Diversity Across the Curriculum* standard recently passed by NASPAA requires MPA/MPP programs to incorporate diversity into the curriculum and other program activities. Through the use of a survey of program directors and a separate content analysis, this study examined the extent to which stand-alone courses on diversity are offered, the instructional strategies used to incorporate the subject of diversity into existing courses, and MPA/MPP program directors' perception of the standard. Results indicate that race, ethnicity, and gender continue to receive more attention than other elements of diversity. Most programs also attempt to integrate issues of diversity into existing courses rather than offer stand-alone courses. Program directors emphasized the need for flexibility because of variations in size, composition, and resources of graduate public policy and administration programs.

---

The concern for diversity continues to grow in salience within the public and private sectors. It is often stated that diversity means different things to different people. Although there are variations in the definitions of diversity, the term is generally defined as "race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, age, religion, and disability differences among people" (White, 2004, 115). In comparison, cultural competence has been defined as the ability to effectively interact with individuals different from oneself (Rice, 2004; Rubaii-Barrett, 2006; White, 2004). Cultural competence is essential in today's society. Our population is becoming more diverse. Gribbin and McCain (1999) found that the minority population in America has doubled since the 1950s and contended that approxi-

mately 120 million people will be added to the current American population by 2050, with ethnic and racial minorities possibly comprising more than 90 percent of these new Americans. Although their conclusion was based on statistical prediction using population figures, it provides statistical probability of how we as a society must prepare for diversity. Such projections allow public administrators to plan ahead to prepare for meeting the demands and expectations of both employees and constituents.

Our workforce has also become more diverse. The labor force participation rate of women is 59 percent (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2005). African Americans comprise 11 percent of the labor force, Hispanic and Latinos account for 14 percent, and Asians represent 4 percent (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2006). Student populations in graduate public service programs also reflect a greater degree of diversity. According to data provided by 138 member institutions of the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA), 16,038 students were enrolled in graduate programs in public administration, public policy, public affairs, and executive master's programs during the 2004-2005 academic year. Among the 5,459 master's degrees awarded, 57 percent were female and 43 percent were male, 57 percent were white, 17 percent were African American, 6 percent were Hispanic, 4 percent were Asian/Pacific Islander, and 1 percent were Native American (NASPAA, 2005). Evidence of a changing society and workforce creates an imperative to educate and prepare students to work in diverse organizations and communities. Cultural diversity has been ranked by public officials as an essential skill for government employees at all levels (Pitts and Wise, 2004). Recognizing the importance of cultural diversity, faculty members of public policy and administration programs have a responsibility to prepare students to work in diverse environments (Rice, 2004).

The expanded concept and definition of diversity incorporates the language of social equity (White, 2004). One step toward generating social equity in public policy and administration is to expose future leaders within the field to a variety of discourses from historically marginalized groups. Studies show that NASPAA, since the 1990s, has championed diversity in higher education by offering grants to institutions introducing diversity in their curricula (Pitts and Wise, 2004). Admittedly, most NASPAA member institutions as a body have embraced diversity and recognized the need for change; however, the burden or responsibility lies with the individual institutions to tackle diversity issues through their curricula. Section 4 of the *National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA) Standards for Professional Master's Degree Programs in Public Affairs, Policy, and Administration* does not address diversity in the curriculum. Although diversity is listed as a core priority within NASPAA's strategic plan, the January 2006 edition of *General Information and Standards for Professional Master's Degree Programs* still excludes diversity as a common curriculum component. A NASPAA report in 2000 concluded that diversity courses were

more likely to be seen or offered as electives and not required core courses. Where diversity courses are offered, they are integrated into existing courses rather than offered as stand-alone courses. A critical analysis of the 2000 NASPAA report shows that not enough effort has been made to teach diversity in the schools, although there are initiatives that promote diversity in the admissions process of students. Nevertheless, there is an effort to “[e]xplore moving from guidelines to standards with regard to MPA/MPP program diversity efforts and performance” (NASPAA, 2003).

The NASPAA 2009 Diversity Standard includes *Diversity Across the Curriculum*, which requires programs to incorporate diversity into the curriculum and other program activities. The standard also moves beyond race, gender, and ethnicity to include religion, disability, class, and sexual orientation. The proposed standard as it was originally written says, “Program activities must prepare students to work in and contribute to diverse workplaces and communities. Consequently, courses, curriculum materials, and other program activities should expose students to differences relating to social identity categories, such as race, ethnicity, gender, class, nationality, religion, sexual orientation, and disability” (NASPAA 2006).<sup>1</sup>

This study examines attitudes toward the *Diversity Across the Curriculum* standard and explores what member institutions are doing to increase knowledge and awareness of the subject of diversity through curriculum and program activities. Specifically addressed are instructional strategies used to incorporate the subject of diversity into existing courses, the extent to which specialized courses in diversity are offered, and additional activities that occur outside of the classroom to expose students to a variety of diverse viewpoints. Perceptions of MPA/MPP directors on the *Diversity Across the Curriculum* standard are also considered.

#### TEACHING DIVERSITY

Continuous self-reflection and examination is one way for public policy and administration faculty to respond to diversity. We must continuously reexamine the substance, content, and strategy of our courses and teaching methods. A review of the literature on teaching diversity reveals that research has focused on two main areas. One area of research on teaching diversity that has received considerable attention is the extent to which stand-alone courses on diversity are offered. The second area of research focuses on how to integrate the subject of diversity into existing courses.

Studies on the extent to which stand-alone courses on diversity exist among graduate programs in public policy and administration have produced a variety of results. For example, one study by White (2004) found that six of the top 16 public policy and administration programs (as ranked by “Best Graduate Schools 2003”) required a course on diversity in the core. However, three of the schools did not offer any courses on diversity. Other studies have demonstrated

a limited number of courses offered on the subject of race (Gooden and Myers, 2004; White, 2004). Similarly, a study by Mills and Newman (2002) found that stand-alone courses on gender in public administration were offered by less than 30 percent of the respondents. Even more dismal is the absence of stand-alone courses on social class, religion, or sexual orientation, material that is nearly non-existent in graduate public policy and administration programs (Oldfield, 2007; Rice, 2004). The extent to which elements of diversity are incorporated into existing courses also varies. According to a diversity report by NASPAA (2000), nearly half of the member institutions reported incorporating race, ethnicity, or gender into their existing courses; however, disability and sexual orientation received less attention.

Pedagogical techniques to integrate issues of diversity into existing courses have also received considerable attention in the literature. Cunningham and Wechsler (2002) maintain that teaching diversity issues in schools is important for practitioners but they noted that professors only teach “in their own academic preparation” (74). Nevertheless, common sense and research informs us that some courses are more conducive to the subject matter of diversity. For example, most human resource management (HRM) courses will address a wide variety of diversity issues such as racial and gender discrimination, sexual harassment (including recent court decisions related to sexual orientation), and religion. The nature of public law regulating the workplace makes HRM courses ideal for addressing issues of diversity. Similarly, issues of diversity may also be easily incorporated into public policy courses as examples to illustrate steps in the policy process. Other courses, such as budgeting or research methods, require a more concerted effort to integrate examples of diversity. Examples such as demographic trends or regressive tax structures may be incorporated; however, issues of diversity remain secondary. In comparison, Burnier (2003) integrates gender into an organization theory course, creating gender awareness, and introducing students to the work of feminine scholars. The use of learning contracts and internships has also been used by various faculty members within the field to address issues of diversity. Rubaii-Barrett (2006) advocates the use of learning contracts because it can be used to enhance the cultural competencies of a student, yet the “burden” of a faculty member to become an expert on diversity is minimized. Furthermore, contracts can be tailored to meet the needs of the student.

## METHODS

This study uses a mixed methods approach that incorporates questionnaire responses and content analysis. The list of NASPAA member institutions served as the sampling frame for both components of the research. The first component of the research utilizes a questionnaire developed to measure the extent to which diversity is incorporated into the curriculum and other program activities and perception of the *Diversity Across the Curriculum* standard. Although NASPAA's



*Standards 2009* on diversity also includes sections on student and faculty recruitment, this study focuses only on the section that addresses the MPA/MPP curriculum. The successful implementation of any initiative, including the *Diversity Across the Curriculum* standard, requires support from individuals who occupy positions of leadership; therefore, program directors were emailed invitations to complete an online survey. The second component of the research utilizes content analysis of course offerings at various member institutions. Fifty schools were selected from the NASPAA list of member institutions, excluding those who had completed the online survey.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

*Survey*

Online survey invitations were distributed to 246 program directors, 92 of whom responded, resulting in a 38 percent response rate. Every respondent indicated that it was important (78 percent very important, 22 percent somewhat important) for graduate programs to promote awareness of cultural diversity issues. Nevertheless, course offerings on diversity have been somewhat limited. Not surprisingly, race, ethnicity, and gender are more likely to be addressed in stand-alone courses; a few of the course titles among the universities that responded included Civil Rights and Affirmative Action, Females and Minorities in Public Administration, Women and Men in the Workplace, Managing Intercultural Relations for Public and Nonprofit Agencies. Far fewer stand-alone courses address issues of religion, age, disability, or social class (see Table 1). Nevertheless, some courses appear to address a combination of diversity issues, evident in course titles such as Managing in a Multicultural Society, Race and Class in American Cities, and Politics of Poverty, Inequality, and Social Policy.

Table 1. Diversity Content and Delivery

<i>Item</i>	<i>Integrate subject matter into existing courses</i>	<i>Subject matter is addressed as a stand-alone course</i>	<i>Subject matter is not addressed</i>
Age	82.2%	6.7%	11.1%
Disability	89.5%	7%	3.5%
Ethnicity	75.6%	17.%	6.7%
Gender	81.8%	17%	1.1%
Race	76.9%	20.9%	2.2%
Religion	60%	5.9%	34.1%
Social Class	72.7%	11.4%	15.9%

The majority of respondents (68 percent) also have no intention of increasing the number of stand-alone courses that address diversity issues. However, many respondents indicate that issues of diversity are often integrated into existing courses through a variety of instructional strategies (see Table 2). One respondent stated, “Different pedagogical approaches are warranted depending on the composition of the student body and the population they serve.” Another respondent reported the use of collaborative projects that allow students to work with peers who are “different from themselves.” Many programs have also used social gatherings (73 percent), speaker series (61 percent), and workshops (36.7 percent) to expose students to diverse viewpoints outside of the classroom. One university also reported the use of an “improvisational troupe to reflect on and share personal narratives about race” at the program orientation.

Most program directors also believe that their graduates are prepared to work in a culturally diverse organization, 48 percent reported that graduates were strongly prepared and 50 percent reported that graduates were somewhat prepared. The response was similar when the program directors were asked if graduates were prepared to serve a culturally diverse citizenry (49 percent answered strongly prepared, 49 percent somewhat prepared). One respondent stated, “I think the emphasis should be on managing in diverse environments, creating and analyzing policy that effectively addresses the needs of diverse citizenries and interacting in a professional context with diverse peers.”

The survey also included a copy of NASPAA’s statement of the proposed *Diversity Across the Curriculum* standard. Most program directors (56 percent) responded that the standard as it is worded offers flexibility in the implementation initiatives among member institutions, 37 percent reported that the standard is somewhat flexible, and 7 percent reported that the standard is not at all flexible. The majority of directors (73 percent) also stated that their graduate program currently satisfies the proposed standard; 19 percent were uncertain, and 7 percent reported that their program did not satisfy the proposed standard. Nevertheless, 53 percent of the directors reported that some faculty members will need to revise their instructional strategies to meet the standard.

**Table 2. Instructional Strategies to Incorporate Diversity into Existing Courses**

<i>Instructional Strategies</i>	<i>Percentage of Respondents Using Strategy</i>
Required readings	91%
Case studies or simulations	71%
Guest lectures	65%
Written assignments	56%
Audio-visual presentations	27%

The survey also included a section for respondents to provide written comments about the proposed *Diversity Across the Curriculum* standard. One director noted that the standard should not become a “litmus test of program legitimacy.” Another director was concerned about lack of clarity:

It is unclear to me from the statement whether “courses, curriculum and program activities” means all such features of a program must comply with this standard or whether a preponderance of such features, a small set of such features that is strategically aimed at achieving the overarching objective, or that such features are demonstrably present in some way. I think for clarity of implementation it would be good if the standard gave some hint about what is intended with respect to the breadth of this standard.

Similar concerns about a lack of clarity or measurable objectives were also asserted by a director who said, “It would be very nice to have the results of a pilot study (or series of pilot studies) showing member institutions exactly what is to be accomplished.”

Although a few directors raised concerns about lack of clarity, flexibility was the major theme that emerged from the written comments; many respondents noted variations in diversity across campuses and variations in resources available to implement any initiatives. One director stated, “The final standard should allow programs flexibility in incorporating diversity into curricula in order to reflect varying institutional missions, cultures, and philosophies.” Several respondents indicated that their campuses and programs exhibit a high degree of diversity in both student and faculty composition. Others noted the difficulty in attracting and retaining diverse faculty. For example, one director stated,

There needs to be the realization that diversity means different things to different programs. Some programs have a much easier time meeting the standards than others. For instance, racial diversity is more difficult in regional universities existing in regions that are not racially diverse. Some programs must struggle much more than others to recruit a diverse faculty as well. Thus, the standard needs as much flexibility as possible and those judging the standard need to recognize that the universities and programs themselves are very diverse.

Several respondents also asserted the need for flexibility because of variations in resources across programs. One director noted that a small faculty size results in workload constraints and makes it difficult to develop and implement stand-alone courses. The respondent asserted that directors of small programs can emphasize to the faculty the importance of integrating diversity within existing

courses. Another director indicated that their current core of seven courses meets NASPAA standards and that “additional expectations would invariably mean a trade-off in other areas.”

### *Content Analysis*

In addition to the online survey, a content analysis of course offerings was conducted. Fifty schools were selected from the NASPAA list of member institutions, excluding those who had completed the online survey. University Web sites were used to acquire program requirements and course descriptions. Of interest are the numbers of member institutions in the content analysis sample that offer stand-alone courses on diversity. Key terms included age, disability, gender, race/ethnicity, nationality, religion, sexual orientation, and social class. Among the 50 member institutions in the content analysis sample, 15 provided stand-alone courses incorporating some element of diversity (see Table 3). None of the stand-alone courses on diversity are included in the core; however, several member institutions do offer concentrations in areas relevant to diversity. One institution offers a stand-alone course that specifically addresses most, if not all, of the individual elements of diversity in the workplace, aptly titled *Managing Diversity in the Workplace*. Two institutions in the content analysis sample offer stand-alone courses that address race/ethnicity through such course titles as *Racial Inequality in Public Policy and Strategies of Equality*. In comparison, gender as a component of diversity varies from concentrations within programs to being integrated into diversity courses. Two member institutions within the content analysis sample offer concentrations in women and public policy. Two institutions offer stand-alone courses on gender as it relates to public policy and administration under course titles such as *Women and Leadership and Survey of Women, Law, and Public Policy*. Others combine components of diversity such as nationality and gender, for example, to offer courses such as *Globalization and Gender*. Only one member institution in the content analysis sample offers a stand-alone course—*Poverty, Inequality, and Public Policy*— that addresses social class. Similarly, only one member institution offers a course on age and disability, aptly titled *Aging and Disability Policy*. Not surprisingly, stand-alone courses on religion or sexual orientation are not offered within the graduate programs in public affairs and administration at any of the institutions in the content-analysis sample. In stark contrast, 11 of the 15 institutions offered stand-alone courses that address nationality as a component of diversity. This study utilizes the definition of nationality offered by Hewins-Maroney and Williams (2007) as “courses exploring issues associated with administering public programs to non-native American populations in the United States” (34). Concentrations in international development, international administration, and global public policy are offered at six of the member institutions in our sample. Five additional institutions offer courses on international public administration and governance through various

course titles including Comparative Public Administration, International Perspectives on Public Administration, Comparative Public Policy and Administration, and Policy Evaluation in Developing Countries.

Among the 50 member institutions in the content analysis sample (excludes online survey respondents), 15 graduate programs offered stand-alone courses on issues of diversity.

The results of this content analysis indicate that stand-alone courses on issues of diversity are still an exception rather than the norm among graduate programs in public affairs and administration. It also appears that MPA/MPP programs are moving in a direction that emphasizes diversity from a global perspective. The variations in the number and types of stand-alone courses on diversity also indicate a wide range of program resources in terms of both structure and resources. For example, MPA/MPP programs housed in political science departments with either additional MA or PhD programs find it easier to offer stand-alone courses on diversity than programs operating only an MPA/MPP program. Furthermore, larger programs benefit from higher student enrollment in individual courses and more faculty members to spread out the workload, making it easier to justify stand-alone courses on diversity. The results of this content analysis also illustrate the potential flexibility of meeting broad standards of diversity and the difficulty

**Table 3. Diversity Content Addressed in Stand-alone Courses**

Schools	Age	Disability	Gender	Race/ Ethnicity	Nationality	Religion	Sexual Orientation	Social Class
A	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
B	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
D	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
E	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
F	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
G	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
H	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
I	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
J	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
K	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
L	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
M	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
O	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0

in classifying any one particular course. For example, social class, like the other elements of diversity such as ethnicity or religion, might be inherent in global public policy courses. Of course, it might also be excluded as a specific topic of discussion from the very same courses. It is imperative, therefore, that instructors of such courses articulate how components of diversity are specifically addressed in their courses.

Readers should interpret the results of both the online survey and the content analysis conservatively as there are limitations in the current study. A reasonable response rate for mail surveys averages between 20 percent and 40 percent with a follow-up (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 2000); however, an average follow-up rate has not been established for online surveys. In addition, self-reporting may overestimate the degree to which diversity issues are integrated into existing courses. The results of the content analysis are also limited to course titles and descriptions. Although the content analysis captures information on diversity in the curriculum of 50 additional member institutions that did not respond to the survey, the results of the content analysis cannot be generalized to all member institutions.

## CONCLUSION

The results of the survey and content analysis support previous studies that have demonstrated a limited number of stand-alone courses on diversity among public administration and policy programs. The instructional strategies reported might also be helpful to faculty members seeking to integrate diversity into existing courses. Furthermore, the perceptions of program directors on the *Diversity Across the Curriculum* standard reinforce the importance of clarity and flexibility.

A few recommendations for achieving diversity across the curriculum are offered. First, NASPAA, member institutions, program directors, and faculty members should continue to emphasize the necessity of cultural competencies in the workplace. Students must not only be able to function effectively in diverse organizations, they should understand the communities they serve. Second, a balance must be maintained between NASPAA and member institutions. Universities should consider incorporating diversity courses into the core curriculum. Nevertheless, budgetary and human resource constraints are recognized. NASPAA should remain flexible enough to recognize program variations; however, member institutions should also demonstrate genuine effort to move in an established strategic direction that recognizes the importance of diversity. If it is not feasible to offer stand-alone courses on diversity, faculty members should consider integrating elements of diversity into their existing courses. Unfortunately, the lack of diversity among students or faculty is often used as a blanket defense for lack of coverage of diversity issues in the curriculum. The very fact that diversity is limited in such programs and/or regions demonstrates a greater need to raise awareness of issues beyond one's province. Ironically, extreme diver-

sity has also been used as a blanket defense for lack of coverage of diversity issues in the curriculum. One assumption is that diverse students share and express different viewpoints in the classroom and work together as groups, when often students self-segregate. A second assumption is that students have a heightened awareness of the implications of their own identities (e.g., gender awareness) before they enter the classroom, when often such awareness emerges through the educational experience. Member institutions should continue to embrace efforts to recruit faculty and students from diverse backgrounds and NASPAA should recognize variations across programs; however, a lack of diversity or extreme diversity should not be used as a justification for excluding issues of diversity in the curriculum. We all share responsibility in preparing future leaders in the field of public policy and administration.

#### NOTE

1. At the Annual Business Meeting (October 12, 2007), NASPAA voted to approve the proposed Diversity Across the Curriculum Standard. Age and Veteran Status was also incorporated as components of diversity.

#### REFERENCES

- Burnier, DeLysa. 2003. "Giving Voice to Gender in the MPA Classroom: Teaching Organization Theory with a Gender Emphasis." *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, 9(4):275–283.
- Cunningham, Robert B., and Louis Weschler. 2002. "Theory and the Public Administration Student/Practitioner." *Public Administration Review* 62(1):104–111.
- Frankfort-Nachmias, Chava, and David Nachmias. 2000. *Research Methods in the Social Sciences*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed. New York: Worth Publishers.
- Gooden, Susan, and Samuel Myers, Jr. 2004. "Teaching Social Equity in the MPA: Reflections from the Social Equity Symposium." *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, 10(2):155–175.
- Gribbin, August, and Robert Stacy McCain. 1999. "Polls Dance to Latin Beat —Includes Article on Minorities in America." *Insight on the News*, Nov 15. Available at [http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi\\_m1571/is\\_42\\_15/ai\\_57770436](http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1571/is_42_15/ai_57770436). Accessed October 8, 2007.
- Hewins-Maroney, Barbara, and Ethel Williams. 2007. "Teaching Diversity in Public Administration: A Missing Component?" *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, 13(1):29–40.
- Mills, J., and M. Newman. 2002. "What Are We Teaching about Gender Issues in Public Affairs Courses?" *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, 8(2):25–43.
- Myers, Jr. Samuel. 2004. "Teaching Social Equity in the MPA: Reflections from the Social Equity Symposium." *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, 2:155–175.
- National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration. 2000. "NASPAA 2000 Diversity Report." Washington, D.C.
- National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration. 2003. "Strategic Directions." Available at [http://www.naspaa.org/principals/strategicplanning/future\\_directions2004.asp](http://www.naspaa.org/principals/strategicplanning/future_directions2004.asp). Accessed September 22, 2007.
- National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration. 2005. "Enrollment and Degrees Awarded Data: Master's Degrees 2004–2005." Available at <http://www.naspaa.org/principals/almanac/Survey2005/mastersdegrees.asp#ENROLLMENT>. Accessed September 17, 2007.
- National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration. 2007. "Proposed NASPAA Diversity Standard." Available at [http://www.naspaa.org/accreditation/diversity\\_standard/main.asp](http://www.naspaa.org/accreditation/diversity_standard/main.asp). Accessed April 11, 2007.
- National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration. 2006. "Commission on Peer Review and Accreditation. General Information and Standards for Professional Master's Degree

- Programs. Available at <http://www.naspaa.org>. Accessed May 20, 2007.
- Oldfield, Kenneth. 2007. "How Can We Democratize Higher Education if We Don't Count the Votes?" *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, 13(1):133–146.
- Pitts, David W., and Lois R. Wise. 2004. "Diversity in Professional Schools: A Case Study of Public Affairs and Law." *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, 10(2):125–142.
- Rice, Mitchell. 2004. "Organizational Culture, Social Equity, and Diversity: Teaching Public Administration Education in the Postmodern Era." *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, 10(2):143–154.
- Rubaii-Barrett, Nadia. 2006. "Teaching Courses on Managing Diversity: Using Learning Contracts to Address Challenges and Model Behavior." *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, 12(3):361–383.
- U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2005. "Women in the Labor Force: A Databook." Available at <http://www.bls.gov/cps/wlf-databook2005htm>. Accessed October 9, 2007.
- U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2006. "Charting the U.S. Labor Market in 2006." Available at <http://www.bls.gov/cps/labor2006/home.htm>. Accessed October 9, 2007.
- White, Susan. 2004. "Multicultural MPA Curriculum: Are We Preparing Culturally Competent Administrators?" *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, 10(2):111–123.

Heather Wyatt-Nichol is an assistant professor at Stephen F. Austin State University in Nacogdoches, Texas. She has taught courses in human resources, program evaluation, and ethics and currently teaches public administration and public organizations and management. Her research interests include organizational behavior, organizational justice, social equity, and ethical climates. She may be reached at [wyyatthl@sfasu.edu](mailto:wyyatthl@sfasu.edu).

Kwame Badu Antwi-Boasiako is an assistant professor in the MPA program at Stephen F. Austin State University in Nacogdoches, Texas. He teaches classes focusing on policy and program evaluation in the MPA program. He also teaches public policy and introduction to American government including international relations. His primary fields of interest include traditional institution and democracy in Africa, teaching public administration, terrorism, and diversity in the public sector. His current research involves diversity in school curricula and hiring in the public sector. He may be reached at [antwibokb@sfasu.edu](mailto:antwibokb@sfasu.edu).



# “Leadership Cannot Be Taught”: Teaching Leadership to MPA Students

Keith D. Revell  
Florida International University

## ABSTRACT

This article presents an approach to teaching leadership that employs in-class exercises to build three sets of skills: decision-making, collaboration, and negotiation. It provides a detailed explanation of these teaching techniques based on 11 years of experience with MPA students, highlighting the benefits of the appropriate sequencing of games, the use of debriefing as a pedagogical tool, and the value of patient observation and risk-taking by the instructor. The success of the approach is assessed with student survey data.

“Leadership can’t be taught,” a senior colleague told me in late September of 1996, two months after I had volunteered to teach the leadership course in the master of public administration program at Florida International University. I had not heard this bit of wisdom prior to taking on this assignment, and I was dismayed to learn that I had been wasting my students’ time. The only way to salvage the course, my colleague emphasized, would be to move beyond *ex post facto* approaches to the subject—those purporting to explain how leaders had succeeded in the past, either with social scientific theory or historical case analysis—and instead to give students practical experience leading, and that was extremely difficult to do.

This article presents the approach to teaching leadership that I developed in response to my colleague’s challenge and which I have used over the past 11 years with more than 700 MPA students: an approach that focuses on decision-making, collaboration, and negotiation taught with in-class exercises. Although the course has a theoretical component, the emphasis is on applied leadership. In other words, the course is not so much *about* leadership; rather, it is designed to help students answer the most basic question a leader must face: “Why would someone follow me?”

#### TEACHING LEADERSHIP: FINDING A FIT BETWEEN PURPOSE AND APPROACH

Denhardt and Campbell (2005) have argued that “leadership education programs can be strengthened by questioning our assumptions about the nature of leadership and the skills it requires and by using pedagogical approaches that are a good fit with the knowledge and skills we want our students to master.” When I reconceptualized this course, I assumed that teaching leadership in an MPA program should be a somewhat different undertaking than it would be in the other disciplines, such as history or sociology, that have added to our understanding of the topic. In a nonprofessional program, it might be sufficient to inform students about theories of leadership and have them analyze how organizations manage change by focusing on the traits, values, and behaviors of individuals in leadership roles. But the MPA is an applied degree and, as such, should offer something practical to students, imparting specific skills they can take into the field to make them more effective—not merely better informed—public servants.

Developing an approach to fit this goal meant taking into consideration three professional characteristics of my students. First, they tend to be mid- or lower-level managers, and many are in nonsupervisory positions, so it would not make much sense to subject them to an executive-style leadership course. Although MPA programs do educate students “for their next job,” I concluded that my clientele needed skills that would allow them to “lead from the middle” rather than from the top. Second, a typical class in our program mirrors the ethnic composition of South Florida and can include Hispanic-Americans, African-Americans, Haitian-Americans, and non-Hispanic whites; English, Spanish, and Creole are spoken here and students will sometimes use their native languages in class when they are anxious to get their point across. Working with, for, and around people of diverse backgrounds, with different approaches to authority and conflict, is thus a very important skill for our public administrators to have. Third, my students work in a world of highly fragmented governance, with 66 municipalities in our two-county region. Leadership, in this environment, means creating consensus and coordinating efforts, since no single institution is empowered to impose policy on all parties.

With these considerations in mind, I attempted to construct an approach to leadership that added to my students’ professional repertoire regardless of position or institution while expanding their ability to reach agreements among varied interests. By emphasizing decision-making, collaboration, and negotiation taught through participatory exercises, the techniques detailed below address most of the skills (33 of 37) that Van Wart (2005) identified in his comprehensive analysis of public service leadership (Table 1). There is, admittedly, less emphasis on upper-level organizational activities, but the elements presented here underpin those skills.

I do not pretend that this approach turns all students into leaders. Rather, I have built the course around the idea that leaders are often faced with the prob-

**Table 1. Leadership Competencies Addressed Through Participatory In-Class Exercises**

<i>Characteristics and Behaviors</i>	<i>Competencies</i>	<i>Decision Exercises</i>	<i>Collaboration Exercises</i>	<i>Negotiation Exercises</i>	<i>Role-Playing</i>
Traits	Self-confidence	x	x	x	x
	Decisiveness	x	x	x	x
	Resilience	x	x	x	x
	Energy	x	x	x	x
	Need for Achievement	x	x	x	x
	Willingness to Assume Responsibility	x	x	x	x
	Flexibility	x	x	x	x
	Personal Integrity	x	x	x	x
	Emotional Maturity	x	x	x	x
Skills	Communication	x	x	x	x
	Social Skills	x	x	x	x
	Influence Skills	x	x	x	x
	Analytical Skills	x	x	x	x
	Technical Skills				
	Continual Learning	x	x	x	x
Task-Oriented Behaviors	Monitoring/Assessing Work		x		x
	Operations Planning		x		x
	Clarifying Roles		x		x
	Informing	x	x	x	x
	Delegating	x	x		x
	Problem Solving	x	x	x	x
	Managing Innovation and Creativity	x	x	x	x
People-Oriented Behaviors	Consulting	x	x	x	x
	Planning & Organizing Personnel				x
	Developing Staff				
	Motivating		x		
	Building and Managing Teams	x	x		x
	Managing Personal Conflict	x	x	x	x
	Managing Personnel Change		x		x
Organization-Oriented Behaviors	Scanning the Environment				
	Strategic Planning	x	x		x
	Articulating the Mission and Vision				x
	Networking and Partnering			x	x
	Performing General Management Functions				
	Decision Making	x	x	x	x
	Managing Organizational Change		x	x	x

lem of operating amid uncertainty to reconcile the cognitive and emotional dimensions of group processes, including trade-offs between order and creativity and among competing demands and values. Individuals are more likely to step into leadership roles if they have a bag of tricks or a playbook of techniques for handling these tensions; and because I do not assign anyone to be a leader, leaders emerge by virtue of their ability to do just that. Each of the three sections of the course thus emphasizes a different but related and ultimately cumulative set of skills reinforced through in-class games and culminating in a role-playing exercise that requires all the techniques. Decision-making lays the groundwork for the other activities. The collaboration games are, in effect, group decision-making exercises, but with a greater implementation and coordination component. The negotiation games are collaboration exercises, but with more explicit conflict. Experiencing the exercises in this order allows students to build their competencies systematically; in the process, they demonstrate to themselves why someone would—or would not—follow them.

#### DECISION-MAKING: MANAGING AFFECT AND INTELLECT

We might conceive of decision-making as a matter of a leader making a decision and then communicating that decision to followers so confidently and authoritatively, with such bold and visionary strokes or with such charisma and rhetorical power, that they are compelled or inspired to act upon it. As a practical matter, however, few of my students fit this model. More often than not, leaders here are working with other individuals who may know as much, if not more, about a subject as they do and who, in any case, have an important perspective to contribute to a decision. Leadership, under these circumstances, means orchestrating a group decision-making process, not deciding for other people.

In the decision-making section of the course, therefore, I endeavor to give students a handful of techniques for making decisions—a basic decision-making model and ways to develop OK-ness for an idea, such as overstatement, preliminary, round robin, and brainstorming—to arm them with a list of red flags that will alert them that their decision process has gone awry (satisficing, bolstering, groupthink, etc.) and to make them more aware of the psychology of their own decision-making, especially as it is affected by group dynamics (Janis, 1989; Tropman, 2003). I teach these techniques using two decision-forcing cases, which are, of course, familiar tools in the PA teaching repertoire; but using them in a group setting adds the difficulties of interpersonal interaction to the challenges of decision-making, thus rendering the technique particularly appropriate for teaching leadership. In these exercises, emergent leaders must manage the tensions between the cognitive and affective aspects of group decision-making: that is, between (1) making a decision in a short time with incomplete information and (2) maintaining a positive feeling among group members who prefer certainty and consensus over uncertainty and conflict.

These tensions appear most clearly in Decision Exercise #2, which employs the Kennedy School case titled *Burning Down the House*. Students assume the role of Dayton, Ohio, Fire Chief Glenn Alexander, who must decide between putting out a massive fire at a Sherwin-Williams paint factory and possibly contaminating the city’s drinking water aquifer or letting the fire burn and contaminating the air with toxic smoke. Teams of 5 to 8 students read the case and make a decision in 50 minutes; they then write the results of their deliberations on the board and a spokesperson presents their logic to the class. I then ask whether anyone wants to change their mind now that they have heard the other teams’ presentations; typically, no one does, even if there are teams that chose to let the fire burn while others decided to extinguish it.

Here I think I have added some value to the otherwise familiar approach of using decision-forcing cases. I ask the spokespersons for each team to raise their right hand and I say that I am giving each of them a magic cell phone: the magic cell phone has one button on it; all they have to do is press it and they can immediately speak to any living person. I give the teams two minutes to decide whom they will call and what the conversation will be. Very lively discussions ensue, revealing a great deal about how groups make decisions. Most illuminating is a question that some students ask right after I give them the magic cell phone: “do we get the phone before or after we make the decision?” I tell them that they get the phone afterwards and this allows them to plunge ahead with one of the most basic of decision-making errors—an error revealed further in their choice of whom to call and what to say during that call.

After two minutes, I ask each spokesperson for their choice and I play the role of that person and engage the student in the conversation their group has suggested. Students will frequently say they want to call the city manager or the city water director, and the subsequent conversation is just an effort to alert the chain of command that the fire chief has made a decision and that there may be things to do (talking to the media, stopping the flow of water from the contaminated aquifer) as part of a disaster protocol. Others will call surrounding fire departments to ask for personnel and equipment as part of the implementation phase of their decision-making process. Some teams will call Switzerland, where a very similar chemical fire described in the case takes place; the purpose of this call is really to pass the buck or to confirm reasoning by asking the Swiss authorities, “Were you in my position right now, what would you do?” Occasionally, a team will call the Environmental Protection Agency or the Sherwin-Williams shipping manager to find out what chemicals were in the warehouse: they are using the magic cell phone to search for or confirm key information used in their decision (the case comments on the nature of the chemicals in the warehouse, but says that the fire chief did not have precise information on this crucial subject).

After I finish my conversation with the last team, I ask whether the students feel they had enough information to make a good decision in this case. Even if









































