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At a Crossroads: Public Affairs Education Scholarship in Transition

With this fall 2008 issue of the *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, the School of Public Administration of the University of New Mexico (SPA/UNM) has reached the three-year mark as the journal's editorial home. With that benchmark, it and NASPAA have fulfilled their mutual commitment to editorship of the journal for this duration, consistent with the length of tenure of previous editors and editorial teams. Ten issues (including two double issues) have been completed under our editorial sponsorship, which began with the winter 2006 issue, released in February of that same year.

The need for two double issues has resulted from delays occasioned by the transition to on-demand print publication and PDF-format Web posting, which the NASPAA Executive Council approved in March 2007 and reconfirmed by vote at the October 2007 NASPAA Annual Conference. A redesigned *JPAE* Web page at the NASPAA Web site has provided Internet access for members and subscribers for nearly a year and a half, beginning with the spring/summer 2007 issue (Volume 13, No. 2). Web posting has been a first for the journal, the culmination of a joint commitment undertaken with the Executive Council's approval of the original 2005 SPA/UNM proposal for *JPAE*.

As editor-in-chief and previously as editor, I have been responsible for close to 100 peer-reviewed articles in these 10 issues, a substantial increase in the number of articles per issue and articles total for any comparable period in the journal's past. This has been accomplished while maintaining the high quality previously established with respect to pedagogical and scholarly research articles. The change has allowed for the management of a building backlog of approved manuscripts and manuscripts under review. Longer issues, a redesigned format and cover (which some have characterized as more in keeping with a scholarly journal), and Web posting have had the combined effect of raising the journal's reach. *JPAE* is now a global journal, drawing an ever-wider international readership.

Hallmarks of the new—redesigned, expanded, and more widely accessible—journal include greater attention to comparative and international administration and greater attention as well to issues of diversity and social equity. Both are consistent with the legacy of Ferrel Heady at the University of New Mexico and with our 2005 proposal for the journal. The winter 2007 issue was the first ever devoted entirely to diversity and equity as closely interlinked themes (previously addressed as fairly distinct concerns in *JPAE*). It should be noted that every one of the first nine issues had a single organizing theme (whether or not a symposium), again consistent with both the original SPA/UNM proposal. The spring

2008 issue was the second to focus as a symposium on diversity and social equity. Distinguished by a lead article by Founding Editor George Frederickson, that issue has drawn considerable attention and particularly favorable comment by *JPAE* readers.

The journal has brought unprecedented focus to these dual concerns, which have long been defining commitments for NASPAA as an organization. It has devoted more space and attention to these issues under our editorship than it had in the entirety of its prior history, and *JPAE* has published as many minority and women authors in three years as it had in the entirety of the preceding decade.

In an article featured in the winter 2007 symposium issue titled “Teaching Diversity in Public Administration: A Missing Component,” Barbara Hewins-Maroney and Ethel Williams reported on their analysis of the content of *Public Administration Review* and *JPAE* for coverage of diversity during the period 2001–2005, inclusive. They found that *PAR* had run 10 germane articles to *JPAE*’s 11, for a total of 21 articles in those five years, a record they characterize as “quite scant,” and not unrepresentative of the importance given to the subject in public administration journals and scholarship generally. In the three years of our editorship, we have exceeded that combined record considerably, featuring diversity and equity consistently, in both national and international contexts, and in both dedicated symposia and regular issues. I would point to this accomplishment as the most significant in our tenure, a clear expression of a commitment which I hope and expect will be sustained under the new editorship.

We have maintained approximately a 36 percent acceptance rate since winter 2006, consistent with *JPAE*’s past record under previous editors-in-chief Ed Jennings, James Perry, and George Frederickson, notwithstanding the increase in the number of articles in each issue. We have worked closely with authors seeking assistance in getting their work ready for approval, as did our predecessors. Editorial Board members, in their service as reviewers, have helped us to work diligently with authors to improve manuscripts that did not initially meet the journal’s standards for publication. Were it not for these extraordinary efforts and circumstances, the acceptance rate would easily have fallen to 25 percent or less. The beneficiaries of these efforts to bring manuscripts to print include some junior faculty for whom publication was important for professional development reasons, including tenure and promotion reviews.

A hurdle consistently facing *JPAE* is to be listed by more of the various indexing and citation services, and otherwise to gain even greater scholarly and geographic visibility. Of what have become two alternative strategies for *JPAE*—either a higher profile in this regard or easier and wider availability—only the latter has proven entirely feasible to date. The fact that *JPAE* is a membership journal, bundled as a benefit with NASPAA paid memberships, means that establishing a readership base for the purposes of indexing is extraordinarily dif-

ficult. A possible move toward free Web access to the journal may make for the greatest possible availability but will also make it virtually impossible to mark a readership base for the purposes of indexing and scholarly ranking.

Notwithstanding this reality, with which I must confess to being less than comfortable, I am confident that in most significant respects we at SPA/UNM have accomplished what we set out to do in our proposal for the journal early in 2005. Notably, in summary, we have brought about a significant increase in readership, a format and cover redesign, and, as just noted, a significant increase in articles concerning diversity, social equity, and comparative and international public administration, all in the context of internationalization of the journal.

Editing the journal has been a very demanding but also very rewarding experience—equipping me recently, I am grateful to say, to take up editorial leadership duties with other major, international journals. As with the previous editors-in-chief, having accepted appointment to the Editors' Council, I will remain available to the new editorial team in helping it accomplish a successful transition. As with most everything else at NASPAA, *JPAE* is largely a volunteer effort, the product of dedicated service.

The journal is at a crossroads, as is public affairs education scholarship in general. With our first African-American president, we are poised before a new era in race relations in the United States. At the same time, we face seemingly intractable, global problems, from terrorism to open-ended warfare and deepening economic crisis. These are the problems that our students (much as our new president) will have to face as public managers and policymakers. *The Journal of Public Affairs Education* must continue to address these same challenges, advancing germane, interdisciplinary scholarship, committed to equity and fairness, in open and inclusive dialogue.

This final issue offers a representative compendium of articles, all of them outstanding. Unlike all earlier issues in our journal series, there is no single theme, but rather a sequence of interwoven topics.

Three of the articles address ethical and normative dimensions of scholarship and pedagogy: Reginald Shareef's "Teaching Public Sector Ethics to Graduate Students: The Public Values/Public Failure Decision-Making Model," Pamela Gibson's "Evaluative Criteria to Create and Assess Case Studies for Use in Ethical Decision Making Analysis," and Eleanor Glor's "Identifying Organizational Patterns: Normative and Empirical Criteria for Organizational Redesign." Another three articles argue for the teaching of law, and specifically constitutional law, in public administration graduate programs, and for the consideration of organizational theory from a constitutional standpoint: "Teaching Constitutional Law to Public Administrators," by Diane Hartmus, "Teaching Law in Public Administration Programs," by Robert Roberts, and "Teaching Organization Theory from a Constitutional Perspective: A New Twist on an Old Flame," by Stephanie Newbold.

Another four articles address pedagogical strategies aimed at the professional preparation of diverse student bodies, in the United States and abroad: “Public Administration in Action: Preparing Professionals and the MPA Lab at USC,” by Shui-Yan Tang and Sandra Buchan, “Using Petra Simulation in Teaching Graduate Courses in Human Resource Management: A Hybrid Pedagogy,” by Abdulfattah Yaghi, “Transforming Grades into Meaningful MPA Program Outcomes,” by Esteban Dalehite, and “Teaching What We Know: Describing and Challenging the Neglect of Management Science Methods in MPA Programs,” by Christopher Horne.

Two concluding articles address the development of graduate degree programs in Egypt and the value of the MPA in federal career paths in the United States—a reflection, once again, of the comparative and international emphases brought to the journal over the last three years: “Developing Public Administration/Public Policy Master’s Programs in Egypt,” by Jennifer Bremer of The American University in Cairo and Laila El Baradei of Cairo University, and “Graduate Education and Federal Career Success: How Well Does the MPA Stack Up?,” by Gregory Lewis of Georgia State University and Seong Soo Oh of Georgia State University and Georgia Institute of Technology.

Special thanks must go to all of these authors, whose work has chanced to close our tenure as the editorial team for the journal. We anticipate that our colleagues at Arizona State who are about to take up this responsibility will invest themselves as fully in this endeavor.

—Mario A. Rivera, Editor-in-Chief

Information for Contributors

The *Journal of Public Affairs Education (JPAAE)* 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. *JPAAE* pursues its mission by publishing high-quality theory, empirical research, and commentary. The core values of *JPAAE* are rigor, relevance, clarity, accessibility, and methodological diversity.

Articles: *JPAAE* welcomes contributions from all public affairs educators who seek to reflect on their professional practice and to engage *JPAAE* readers in an exploration of what or how to teach. *JPAAE* 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 *JPAAE* 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 examining what *JPAAE* 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 JPAAE@ASU.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.
- *JPAAE* 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, *JPAAE*, at JPAAE@ASU.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.

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.

Teaching Public Sector Ethics to Graduate Students: The Public Values/Public Failure Decision-Making Model

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ABSTRACT

Recent Wall Street corruption scandals have prompted calls for major reforms in the teaching of ethics in the MBA curriculum (Ghosal, 2005; Pfeffer, 2005; Shareef, 2007). Some prominent business school professors have argued that graduate business school students should come to appreciate that they are stewards of society's scarce resources and, consequently, that more than profit maximization should be considered when making administrative decisions (Mitroff and Swanson, 2004). This call for stewardship and ethical management reflects the same normative and affective motivations that attract future public managers to serve the public interest through public service (Perry and Wise, 1990). Although stewardship theory is now common in discussions of business ethics pedagogy (Wasserman, 2006), these higher-order motivations are equally grounded in the "uniqueness" of public management theory (Perry and Kraemer, 1983). However, ethical violations continue to occur with regularity in public agencies.

This study considers my search, in teaching public administration graduate courses, for a praxis-based ethical decision-making process that might be useful to public administration practitioners. Involvement in a landmark Virginia eminent domain case has allowed me to synthesize two concepts—the administrative moral hazard/free-riding dynamic and Bozeman's (2002) public values/public failure construct—into a useful framework for teaching administrative ethics in public management courses.

I begin my public administration graduate courses in leadership, organization theory, and public personnel administration with the following question: When should ethical values become paramount in a public manager's strategic decision-making? The apt answer: Before the administrative moral hazard leads to public failure. Class discussions and readings then outline an ethical decision-making framework that distinguishes between administrative efficiency and several economic opportunistic "tipping points" like imperfect monopolies, benefit hoarding, and scarcity of providers that are actually the catalyst for public failures (Bozeman, 2002). However, identifying and avoiding the administrative moral hazard/free-riding trigger—the antecedent of most managerial economic opportunistic behaviors—is the focus of the class instruction.

This paper reviews concepts relating to moral hazard/free-riding, public values, and altruistic democracy, then reviews the *Walter Clayton v. Roanoke Redevelopment Housing Authority* eminent domain case and discusses that case in connection with the free-riding/public failure framework.

MORAL HAZARDS/FREE RIDING, PUBLIC VALUES, AND ALTRUISTIC DEMOCRACY *Moral Hazards/Free Riding*

Moral hazards are ubiquitous in the public sector. This form of economic opportunism occurs because the benefits enjoyed by managerial decision-making will not be worth the concomitant costs to third-party payers (i.e., taxpayers). Hence, the moral hazard leads to managerial "free riding," because managers' unethical behaviors are essentially costless (to themselves).

Organizational cultures—both public and business—reflect unethical management practices that are inconsistent with the institution's espoused ethical values (Yukl, 2006). Administrative moral hazards arise when managers take inefficient actions because their individual interests are not aligned with the espoused values of the public agency or business enterprise (Milgrom and Roberts, 1992). Thuro (1996) found that capitalist efficiency rationality requires free-riding the system whenever possible if monitoring costs are low or nonexistent.

Milgrom and Roberts (1992) give the following example of the moral hazard/free-riding dynamic in the medical profession: "Some doctors in the United States...in an attempt to protect themselves from malpractice suits, practice 'conservative medicine,' ordering tests and procedures that may not be in the patient's best interest and surely not worth the costs (which are borne by the patient or insurer—not by the doctor making the decision)... The doctor who orders the extra tests benefits in terms of the reduced likelihood of successful malpractice suits but does not pay for the costs of the tests or suffer from the discomfort they cause" (168–169).

A report by the National Center for Women and Policing (Lonsway, 2002) gives an excellent example of public sector moral hazard/free-riding by male Los Angeles police officers. Between 1990 and 1999, the City paid out \$63.4 mil-

lion for judgments or settlements in civil liability lawsuits involving excessive force by male LAPD officers, compared to only \$2.8 million in excessive-force settlements for female officers during the same period. Because the Los Angeles City Council annually reserves large sums of money for out-of-court settlements involving LAPD officers, there is no financial disincentive to reduce the number of excessive-force incidents. Thus, this group of police officers routinely engages in “costless” unethical behavior.

Importantly, this unethical behavior is also costless to the LAPD administrators who continue to hire and promote aggressive male police officers.¹ The real cost of continued police brutality cases is borne by Los Angeles taxpayers, whose economic resources are diverted from needed public service projects into budget accounts reserved for settling excessive force claims. In this organizational context, the police administrator’s “flow of events” is uninterrupted and he/she “makes sense” of budgeted monetary settlements as efficient management (Weick, 1996).

If no social organization exists to check the moral hazard, the doctors, male police officers, and police administrators in these examples have an incentive to free ride and enjoy the benefits of the system even if their unethical behavior leads to long-term operating inefficiencies. With gaps between the cause and the effect in organizational change (Senge, 1990), these inefficiencies accrue over time until they eventually threaten the institution (Thurow, 1996). For public agencies, this is usually manifested in a crisis of legitimacy, whistleblowing, and calls for reform.

Public Values

The public values concept moves beyond the ill-defined idea of public interest and reflects a normative theory of public management (Bozeman, 2002). Moore (1995) initially conceptualized public values as a correlate of private values that measured stakeholder return. Public values can be created through a number of beneficial societal outcomes, including economic development, social cohesion, or reduced criminal activity. Public managers are responsible for how efficiently and effectively tax dollars are used to create stakeholder returns.

Bozeman’s public values reflect Rawls’ (1971) essentialist ethical perspective that suggests that the hallmark of public service delivery systems should be providing for the citizens’ basic needs. Although Rawls’ core values scheme included the right to subsistence, rule by consent of the governed, and civil rights and liberty, Bozeman (2002) broadened these social and moral values to include beliefs that prohibit dehumanization policies and victimization of the poor. Both Bozeman and Rawls’ constructs view the provision of basic needs as a social contract between the citizen and government. Based on reciprocity, social contracts are an effective framework for understanding administrative and economic activity (Fama, 1980; Ouchi, 1980).

Bozeman (2002) is concerned about preventing public failures—that is, when neither market efficiency strategies (e.g., contracting out/outsourcing) nor direct

public management provides goods and services required to achieve core public values. Bozeman found that public failures usually occur during periods of market efficiency. As stated earlier, the ethical goal of public administrators should always be to prevent perceived efficient processes like free riding—because of taxpayer third-party payers—from creating public failures.

The Media's Romance of Leadership and Altruistic Democracy Values

The media are the public organization's most powerful stakeholder, because they shape perceptions of both the leader and the agency for public consumption (Shareef, 2000). Kingdom (1995, 182) found that "[w]hen trying to understand change, social scientists are inclined to look at structural changes while journalists are inclined to emphasize the right person in the right place at the right time." The "right person" is one who seeks to facilitate organizational transformations from bureaucratic cultural norms (rule-bound and impersonal) to a Theory Y (McGregor, 1957) inclusive and humanistic agency culture. Chen and Meindl (1991) characterize Theory Y-type cultures as "altruistic democracy." This brand of leadership and change process represents fundamental American journalistic and political cultural values where (a) news selection is not free from values and ideology, (b) the media are part of the political system, and (c) leader images are constructed in the media (Chan and Meindl, 1991).

Public leaders who facilitate change from Theory X to Theory Y cultures get positive image constructions and reconstruction from media elites. A primary reason why these image constructions/reconstructions occur is that the "romance of leadership" norm reflects an institutional belief that the fate of policy or organization outcomes can best be understood through the substantive actions and activities of the leader (Chen and Meindl, 1991). Conversely, public administration leaders like Terry's administrator conservator (1995), who tend to preserve bureaucratic cultures, are more likely to receive negative press constructions.

Transforming leadership and altruistic democracy are the media's most fundamental value-preferences. Deephouse (2000) reports that media coverage shapes the agenda-setting process by raising the salience of particular issues for the public and by facilitating the social construction of how citizens view organizations. An agency's reputation is a valued resource property that enhances the perception of efficiency and effectiveness. Thus, public leaders should be image conscious—because of Theory X or Theory Y implications—of how the agency is portrayed in the media (Chen and Meindl, 1991).

Economists like Thurow (1996) bemoan the fact that no social organization exists to check managerial free-riding in business enterprises. This is the oft-discussed "agency problem" in agency theory, in which there is frequent goal incongruence between the manager's interest and the owner's interest (Fama, 1980). Internal incentive plans and monitoring strategies are designed (and

constantly revised) to reduce agency loss through opportunism, shirking, or other self-interested managerial behavior (Eisenhardt, 1980).

Obviously, free riding takes place in public organizations as well. However, as we shall later consider, the media often serves as a powerful regulatory check on agency managerial free riding. Public sector workers retain First Amendment speech protections when contacting the media about unethical or illegal administrative behaviors that are in the public interest (*Pickering v. Board of Education*, 391, U.S. 563, 1968). Although this legalistic approach is effective, it is backward-looking and occurs only after massive ethical management violations have taken place and enormous amounts of tax dollars have been wasted.

WALTER CLAYTOR AND EMINENT DOMAIN

In June 2003, retired Roanoke, Virginia, dentist Walter Claytor won a landmark eminent domain decision when a Circuit Court judge ruled that the Roanoke Redevelopment and Housing Authority (RRHA) had violated his 5th and 14th amendment rights under the U.S. Constitution because of an inverse property taking. The RRHA condemned the Claytor family property in 1976 but never purchased the land. In 1999, the agency notified the Claytors that it would not purchase the property but that the condemnation would remain on the land.

Consequently, the judge ruled that a *de facto* property taking had occurred that had dramatically reduced the value of the property, made the property unmarketable, and eliminated the Claytor family's reasonable investment-backed expectations in owning the property (*Walter Claytor, et. al. v. Roanoke Redevelopment & Housing Authority*, 23rd Judicial District, Circuit Court of the City of Roanoke, VA, 2003). The legal standard for determining whether a *de facto* property taking had deprived the citizen of the economic use of a property was established in *Penn Central Transportation Co. v. New York City*, 438, U.S. 104 (1978). The judge found that the Claytors had met the legal standard established in the Penn Central case.

RRHA did not appeal the ruling to the Virginia Supreme Court. After a lengthy settlement process, the Claytor family received more than \$400,000 in award damages (Shareef, 2006). This court decision established a legal precedent in the area of inverse condemnation property takings in the Commonwealth of Virginia. Although several U.S. Supreme Court rulings had found *de facto* property takings unconstitutional (*First English Evangelical Lutheran Church v. County of Los Angeles*, 42, U.S. 304, 1987; *Lucas v. South Carolina Coastal Council*, 505, U.S. 1003, 1992; *Palazzolo v. Rhode Island*, 533, U.S. 606, 2001), the RRHA contended in its court pleadings that the agency could legally keep a citizen's property under the "cloud of condemnation" in perpetuity. The Circuit Court judge rejected this legal argument and ruled that the Claytor family had filed a lawsuit for damages within the required three-year statute of limitation period after RRHA had notified the family that the property would not be purchased.²

ADMINISTRATIVE FREE RIDING AND PUBLIC FAILURE

Weick (1995) notes that, although unethical administrative decision-making tends to flow uninterrupted for long periods of time, cues about environmental threats are always lurking in an organization's turbulent operating milieu. Ignored, these signals (as in *Claytor*) can lead to a "cosmology episode" that threatens the legitimacy of the institution (Weick and Sutcliffe, 2001).

For years, the RRHA had faced environmental challenges to its use of eminent domain in general, and for the Claytor condemnation in particular, from a number of powerful stakeholders: (a) academic scholars (see e.g., Shareef, 1991; Fullilove, 2004); (b) newspaper columnists (see e.g., Bishop, 1995; Shareef, 2001); (c) legislatures—a Virginia lawmaker had legislation passed that limited property condemnations to five years with the proviso that the agency had to prove within three years of condemnation that it had the money to purchase the property; otherwise, the condemnation would be lifted (Powers of Redevelopment & Housing, HR 2348, Virginia General Assembly, 2001)³; and (d) courts—the aforementioned U.S. Supreme Court rulings, spanning a 23-year period, that consistently found *de facto* property takings unconstitutional.⁴

In his April 2003 ruling, the judge in the Claytor case ordered both sides to convene a panel of commissioners to decide monetary damages. This process took two and a half years. In November 2005, the citizen commissioners agreed on damages of \$400,000, plus interest, to the Claytor family; \$150,000 to the Claytors' attorney; and \$230,000 to the law firm that represented RRHA. For taxpayers, the total cost of the lawsuit exceeded \$800,000. However, these huge payouts cost neither RRHA executives nor the agency's board members anything for refusing to settle with the Claytor family in 1999 for \$200,000 and avoiding the costly lawsuit.

Moreover, given the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling on inverse property takings, most observers believed that the RRHA had a very weak legal case. Still, the RRHA and its Board pursued the case in court because there was no apparent economic disincentive not to do so. The agency's decision-making process represents a classic example of administrative free riding.

Public Failure

Public administrators should manage governmental agencies as efficiently and efficaciously as possible. They should not agree to out-of-court settlements in cases like the Claytor condemnation unless the prospects for a favorable judicial verdict are highly unlikely. On the other hand, efficient management should not be confused with administrative free riding and public failure. Walter Claytor was victimized by both of these dynamics in his quest for justice.

When the property in the Gainsboro area was condemned in 1972, the City of Roanoke planned on rehabilitating a small percentage of the homes in the neighborhood and selling large parcels of land to commercial interests for economic

development. By 1995, all of these strategic objectives had been accomplished. However, the Claytor property had not been purchased. Walter Claytor's compensation request in 1999 for \$200,000, based on fair market value and the loss of rental/lease income over 20 years, was reasonable. When RRHA refused Claytor's request, determining instead that the property would remain in condemnation status in perpetuity, a public failure occurred.

Implications

Before the lawsuit, the *Roanoke Times* editorial page writers had urged the RRHA to settle fairly with the Claytor family. After the verdict, reporters for major newspapers throughout the mid-Atlantic region—including the *Washington Post* and the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*—wrote about the historic decision. In March 2006, my guest editorial in the *Roanoke Times* suggested that both RRHA leadership and the agency's board were "free riders" and that the public should more closely monitor the RRHA's activities.

During this period, the RRHA's executive director retired and a new agency head was hired. Three months into his tenure, the new housing authority director called for a federal audit to determine if the Roanoke consulting firm IMG, headed by the former housing authority board chairman, got preferential treatment in winning contracts for housing authority work (Chittum and Jackson, 2006a). The investigation began after a local resident filed a Freedom of Information Act request seeking information about potential conflicts of interest between a current city councilman who is both a partner in IMG and also a former RRHA board member.

By November 2006, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) had labeled the agency high risk because of the ongoing audit (Chittum and Jackson, 2006b): This classification means that all RRHA procurements using HUD funds must be approved in advance. Three of the seven RRHA board members resigned by December because of the federal investigation. On December 1, 2006, HUD issued its final audit report of the RRHA and requested that \$2 million be repaid because of conflicts of interest and the improper bidding of public contracts (Chittum and Jackson, 2006c). The government audit detailed a series of problems, including flawed contracts issued by the agency to some of Roanoke's best-known businesses, including the law firm that represented RRHA in the Claytor case. In fact, the largest amount HUD wants reimbursed is \$825,000 paid to the law firm in a contract that contained no limit on the amount that the legal firm could bill.

As a result of the audit, RRHA's new director has mandated that employees undergo procurement and ethics training. Additionally, the agency's board will have to participate in ethics training as recommended by the HUD report. Reportedly, HUD's Inspector General is considering filing criminal charges in the case.

Because of its leadership style and bureaucratic culture, RRHA has gotten poor media construction for years. My 2006 *Roanoke Times* editorial appears to have

been a powerful impetus for local citizens to vent their concerns to lawmakers and the media about ethical violations committed by the agency. The citizen who filed the FOIA request also contacted reporters at the *Roanoke Times* to discuss his concerns about potential conflicts of interest. Given the sordid history of the agency in resolving the Claytor case, and the history of eminent domain abuse by RRHA officials (Shareef, 2001), these new ethical violation allegations ensured a media feeding frenzy that has done incalculable damage to RRHA's image and reputation. The negative press coverage will continue until RRHA changes its bureaucratic leadership and culture.

CONCLUSIONS

The Claytor case illustrates how administrative free riding leads to public failure. An ethical managerial decision would have allowed RRHA to compensate the Claytor family for the economic loss of their property in 1999 when the agency decided that the land was not needed to complete the Gainsboro urban renewal project. The decision not to purchase the property at that point and the ensuing trial, damage award, and attorneys' fees resulted in the inefficient use of taxpayer resources and negative media constructions. Because an agency's "brand" is directly linked to media-shaped perceptions, many of the problems RRHA now faces with HUD can be traced back to nearly two decades of negative characterizations and portrayals of the agency in *The Roanoke Times* and other media outlets.

Future public administrators are unlikely to have such a time lag (as in the Claytor case) between the beginning of negative media reporting about unethical administrative decision-making and a shift in public opinion about agency image perception. A faster reporting process about ethical issues will occur because journalism schools are now producing quasi-public intellectuals in their graduate programs. This trend began several years ago in Columbia University's graduate journalism program (Bollinger, 2003). As a result, the Columbia graduate school program has been expanded from one to two years. These potential "qua public intellectuals" now take courses in history, economics, statistics, leadership, and the sciences. They are trained not only to source and report news but also to be interpreters of public affairs, and they will add their voices and opinions to the civic debate on public affairs. This is a completely different role for journalism school graduates, and it will produce an entirely new set of public intellectual actors whose daily role will be to impact public opinion about administrative and managerial behavior. In essence, these qua public intellectuals—working in the newsrooms of the nation's most prestigious newspapers—will dramatically raise the monitoring costs of unethical behaviors of public managers.

American elites, whether liberal or conservative, seek to maintain their dominant place (Dye, 1978). This is true for media elites as well. Chen and Meindl (1991, 540) report that the journalistic culture promotes the notion of the leader

as the major determinant of organizational outcomes in order to maintain stability and control in rapidly changing environments: “The business press, with its antideterministic bent, makes an important contribution to that kind of assurance.... In doing so, we rescue ourselves from the threats of a dangerous and capricious world and the disconcerting prospects of uncontrollable, if organized, human systems.”

Consequently, media writers create negative constructions about agency leaders who trigger public failures because of administrative free riding in order to, fundamentally, maintain the stability of American society. This is as true in micro situations like the Claytor case or in macro mismanagement calamities such as Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans.⁵ Teaching graduate students who intend to become professional public managers crucial distinctions between administrative efficiency and economic free riding, how public failures occur, and the media’s dominant cultural values can provide a holistic sensemaking framework for effective, ethical decision-making.

Students find this ethical construct interesting and useful. In case study analysis, they sometimes see free riding opportunism where it does not exist. However, the public values/public failure construct makes them aware that a tipping point exists between ethical and efficient public management and unethical public administration. Real-world experience will reinforce their newly developed ability to accurately identify the administrative free riding/public failure dynamic; moreover, it will help them understand that the fault line is not as ambiguous in daily managerial activities as it appears to be in classroom exercises.

NOTES

1. Shareef’s (1998, 2002) research on using New Pay concepts to change public sector organizational culture shows that redesigning/aligning appraisal and reward systems with new strategic goals is an effective means of altering bureaucratic managerial behaviors. Despite lofty visionary statements and espoused agency values, managers tend to engage in the types of behaviors the compensation system evaluates and rewards.
2. Author served as an expert witness for the plaintiff on eminent domain and *de facto* property takings in Claytor.
3. Virginia House Delegate (now U.S. Congresswoman) Thelma Drake has publicly stated that “Walter Claytor was the poster guy” for her legislation.
4. Kingdom (1995) writes that policymakers should also consider shifts in the national mood when making strategic decisions. By 2003, public opinion had shifted dramatically concerning the use of eminent domain for economic development purposes. The U.S. Supreme Court’s 5-4 ruling in *Kelo v. City of New London*, 545, U.S. 469 (2005)—upholding the taking of private property for economic development—galvanized public opinion. As a result, many state legislatures have acted to prohibit property takings solely for economic development purposes.
5. FEMA Director Michael Brown had to resign his position in the wake of the agency’s mishandling of Hurricane Katrina relief efforts, because of negative media coverage and resulting public pressure, despite President Bush’s support of his managerial performance.

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Evaluative Criteria to Create and Assess Case Studies for Use in Ethical Decision-Making Analysis

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ABSTRACT

The case method approach to analyze ethical dilemmas is common in graduate public administration ethics courses or public administration courses that include an ethical component. To keep the cases current, relevant, and engaging, the instructor can draw on the wealth of personal experiences that students offer. The dilemmas they face in day-to-day public service are rich in complex relationships, organizational and political pressures, and competing personal and professional values, but the scenarios must incorporate certain characteristics to maximize classroom discussion and to ensure that key ethical issues receive sufficient attention. This article provides the criteria by which students are taught to frame their experiences with ethical dilemmas so that those cases can be formally delivered to the class, ignite debate, and clearly demonstrate essential components of ethical decision-making analysis. These required conditions for formulating a quality case study for analysis may similarly serve as a means to evaluate the quality of any professionally produced case study available for use in the classroom; this article also offers the criteria by which cases may be critiqued.

When Menzel (1997) conducted a survey of NASPAA-member schools providing graduate degrees in public administration, he found a steady growth in ethics instruction and ethics courses in their curricula over the past 25 years. The method of instruction weighed heavily toward interactive styles, with small group discussion, case studies, and decision-making scenarios being the most frequently employed approach to tackling the topic.

The case study can serve as a powerful and successful mechanism for instruction in public administration ethics. For generations, other branches of academia have successfully employed the case study method to ignite interest, invoke debate, and demand committed decision-making from students. Law students

use historical cases to analyze current statutes; medical students employ true-life stories to articulate professional principles; and business and public administration instructors use cases to explore the multiple dynamics of human nature that play a part in managerial practices (Herreid, 1997).

Case scenarios demonstrate the complexity of the issues, the time-sensitive nature of decision-making during conflict situations, and the significant consequences of decisions. A good case can draw the student into the dilemma as an active participant to practice ethical decision-making. Ethical conflicts often have no readily apparent resolution, and cases that require the critical thinking skills of interpretation and evaluation of all elements of a situation enhance the learning process and improve student appreciation and understanding of ethical dilemmas.

The traditional, expert lecture format of teaching provides a passive experience for the student to absorb unilateral delivery of the instructor's knowledge and perspective. This is certainly an appropriate and viable method to impart new factual information and to introduce theoretical underpinnings of issues relevant to the field of study. However, the case study method shifts the focus as the instructor moves from the role of leader to that of moderator in students' self-discovery as they grapple with the competing demands of real-life situations. Cases are narrative accounts of real or realistic circumstances in which the student must take a position on the problems the circumstances raise. The case method is highly appropriate in administrative ethics instruction.

The case study method has been a popular and effective tool for investigating administrative ethics since the publication of *Public Administration and Policy Development: A Case Book* in 1948. Seminal works, such as *Ethics and Politics: Cases and Comments* (Gutman and Thompson, 1997) and *Public Administration: Concepts and Cases* (Stillman, 2005), have provided administrative case studies with prominent ethical dimensions conducive to analysis in the classroom. Electronically available cases from the University of Washington's Daniel J. Evans School of Public Affairs, the Electronic Hallway (www.hallway.org), and the Case Program in Public Policy and Management at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government (<http://www.ksgcase.harvard.edu/>) offer timely scenarios that engage public administrators in ethical decision-making.

Case study material is not confined to the ranks of publishing houses and institution-sponsored Web pages. Public administration instructors have introduced their own stories to the classroom for challenge and debate and have called upon their students to create scenarios with ethical dilemmas they have encountered in their work experiences in the public sector. In *Ethical Dilemmas in Public Administration* and *These Things Happen: Stories from the Public Sector* (Pasquerella, Killilea, and Vocino, 1996), provide the efforts of practitioners to articulate their experiences and to critique the decision-making process by which they addressed real-life challenges. As the number of real-life cases available to instructors continues

to grow, it is important to establish criteria for the development of quality cases and an evaluative method for choosing cases for class instruction.

CASE STUDY DESIGN

The intent of the case study method is to elicit higher-order critical thinking skills—competencies necessary regardless of profession or course topic. On the grandest scale, McDonnell argues, “analyzing a case fosters many skills required for citizenship. Recognizing and evaluating facts, formulating and understanding arguments, applying criteria, and making judgments are crucial competencies for engaged citizenship” (2002, 68). The case study is a mechanism to allow the exercise of these skills. Cases provide real-world scenarios that interest students in investing in the story. The struggle to construct relevant meaning applicable to their professional lives only comes when the cases have some essential components.

Critical Framework. All cases must have the fundamental structure of (1) identified and missing facts, (2) issues and principles relevant to the case, (3) arguments to support and defend a criteria for judgment and, finally, (4) decisions to resolve and conclude the case (McDonnell, 2002). The basis criteria for a case require the provision of a story line that establishes conflict within the characters and calls upon the reader to draw conclusions about what the protagonists should do to resolve the dilemma. Other significant characteristics make some cases better than others at promoting student engagement and critical thinking skills in class discussion than others.

Bennett and Chakravarthy (1978) interviewed faculty and students of Harvard Business School to ask for their assessment of what makes a good case. Wrage (1994) conducted a similar solicitation of opinion from the now-defunct Pew Faculty Fellowship at Harvard University. Robyn (1986) wrote a note on cases that have proven successful at the Kennedy School of Government. Herreid developed his recipe to “generate excitement in the classroom” (1997, 163), and Abell (1997), in an association’s case award ceremony speech, gave his top 10 ingredients for a good case. As a whole, their criteria have many elements in common:

Make it interesting. Herreid supports a “story...(with) an interesting plot.... It must have a beginning, a middle, and an end (although) the end may not exist yet; it will be what the students need to supply once the case is discussed” (1997, 163). Abell argues for going beyond simple storytelling. He calls on a case to invoke a managerial issue that needs attention. He seeks an investment on the part of the reader to “put themselves in the shoes of one or more of the managers portrayed in the case” (1997, 4).

Make it engaging. Establishing empathy for the characters is a common criterion noted to engage student participation. Herreid (1997) suggests enhancing that empathy by adding quotations from the characters, having issues of relevance to

the students' lives, and attaching present-day conditions that "have the trappings of a current problem" (163).

Make it short. Brevity is paramount to holding the student's attention, although length varies: from 15 single-spaced pages in a case used in the New Kennedy School (Robyn, 1986), to Abell's claim that "participants have difficulty reading and absorbing more than eight to ten pages of text" (1997, 7). It is generally agreed: the shorter the case, the better.

Make it relevant. All agree that a critical element of a good case is "pedagogic utility" (Robyn, 1986, 1). Despite the fact that, as Robyn readily admits, it may not be possible to determine the pedagogic function a case might serve until after exposure to class discussion, each case should be coached in a theoretical foundation from which generality can take place to extend lessons learned beyond the specifics of the case (2).

Make it incomplete. Another significant element receiving consensual support from the experts in identifying a good case is the open-ended questions in the case delivery that elicit interpretation and activate debate, or what Paraschos describes as "leaving the widest possible room for student discussion and learning" (1997, 3). Wrage makes an interesting suggestion

that a good case shares a number of qualities with a bad lecture... where a good lecture lays out a complex matter in a clear light, a good case highlights the ambiguities that surround an issue and leaves it to the discussants to resolve them. A good case is only complete enough so the discussion leader can pose a provocative question, then retreat for awhile into the background as the members of the class pursue several paths to its resolution (22).

Make it demand a decision. And, finally, there is general agreement that conflict-provoking cases are only successful if they also force a decision. According to Robyn (1986), "a sense of immediacy" prevents students from distancing themselves from the process, the case, and, eventually, from learning. Herreid (1997) claims that "students can not duck the issue" or rest on perfect hindsight if the case is prospective and requires a choice or decision.

In addition to the characteristics necessary in any case study offered for examination in an academic environment, cases addressing ethical dilemmas must incorporate certain specific components to focus on the dynamics of the ethical decision-making process.

CASE STUDY CONTENT: ETHICAL DILEMMAS

Make it open to debate. Kidder (1995) argues that cases that promote ethical decision-making establish dilemmas between two or more values in a "right vs. right conflict.... They are genuine dilemmas precisely because each side is firmly

rooted in one of our basic, core values” (18). He goes on to note four common dilemmas that demonstrate the opportunities for a struggle between two ethically sound decisions, namely truth versus loyalty, individual versus community, short-term versus long-term, and justice versus mercy. An ethical conflict that allows for a successful case study discussion will present these value conflicts in such a manner that no readily apparent “correct” decision is available. That is, there are real alternative decisions that can be equally justified, and each has consequences for all significant characters in the scenario. Killilea, Pasquerella, and Vocino (1995) employed the case study method in their ethics workshops and note that

[a]dministrators in our workshops who admitted to making moral mistakes realized that the failures in judgment were not the result of doing what they knew to be wrong, but instead resulted from inadequate reflection. After all, these are situations in which more than one course of action is ethically defensible. The problem was that the decision-maker failed to recognize principles or to fully understand the implications of various alternatives because they were unskilled in ethical analysis (24).

The “decision-making checklists” like those offered by Lewis (1991) and Gortner (1991) delineate the fundamental components of the case that carry an ethical dimension and offer key questions to analyze the ethical conflict and uncover value systems and principles that guide the student’s ethical framework. They also serve to assess the effectiveness of the case itself to bring forth not only the facts of the story but also the tradeoffs that make any real resolution of ethical dilemmas so difficult in the day-to-day lives of public administrators.

Make it pliable and capable of increased complexity. As an instructor becomes well versed in using ethical case studies in the classroom, he or she should consider a final element of a good ethical case study. Stories that allow for incremental changes in specific character positions, relationships, time, and consequences create the freedom to move the discussion and further challenge students to refine and defend their positions. Columbia University sponsored two television series created by Fred Friendly: *Ethics in America* and *The Constitution: That Delicate Balance* (1987), both of which follow this style of engaged conversation. Additional information is added to the case as decisions are made to further demonstrate the difficult tradeoffs that are continually confronting the decision-maker. (What if the accused is your son? What if you knew beforehand and did nothing?) Incorporating new twists and turns in the case and in class discussion will retain the immediacy of the issue for the student and demonstrate the incremental nature of decision-making in practitioner contexts.

Make it conducive to analysis. A pragmatic analysis offered by May (1980) and Cooper (2006) champions a process by which the decision-maker progresses

through a sequences of steps in which the specifics of the case, ethical issues, alternative actions, consequences of those actions, and ultimate selection of a course of action takes place.

The demonstrated success of the case study method and of a case study approach that addresses ethical dilemmas rests in the proper analysis of the case facts and the articulation of the subsequent lessons learned. An instructor can offer a case that satisfies the basic requirements of case study design and offer added elements for ethical content as noted above and still neglect to orchestrate analysis sufficient to ignite critical thinking and greater scrutiny by students faced with future ethical dilemmas. A structured sequence of steps that guide the student in analyzing cases provides such an opportunity. The following instructions for analyzing ethical case studies are provided in a class handout format in Appendix A.

CASE STUDY ANALYSIS: ETHICAL DILEMMAS

Clearly identify the ethical problem(s). The student must first isolate the general ethical problem that the behaviors in the case study exemplify; e.g., “This is clearly a question of organizational loyalty competing with legal duty,” or “this is a simple question of fraud, the misappropriation of public funds.” Students should be cautioned to not assume that there is only one problem present in a case. As they begin to identify the general problem, they formulate moral criteria by which they judge the importance of each issue and recommend solutions.

In order to effectively identify the ethical problems in the case, a student must be able to identify the key actors, their relationships to one another and the values related to these identified associations. Once the values inherent in a relationship have been identified, they prove significant to the analysis. For example, “Tom is Bob’s immediate supervisor and a close friend” notes the supervisory relationship reflects a certain set of values: the personal, which is unofficial, yet important, to the relationship. The identification of the basic values that are involved in a relationship will help in devising a suggested resolution to the case. It creates a decision point that allows a determination of who owes whom, what, and why.

Interpret the problem and isolate the facts. Students must be able to isolate the essential facts; not all the facts are necessary to an understanding of the ethical issue. Often, some of the facts that are given are intended to provide a sufficient narrative to support the story of a case but do not inform the analysis. In addition, the student must segregate important missing and implied facts. Rarely does a case study based on real life offer a complete evaluation of all necessary information for analysis. Students infer and conjure arguments when facts are missing or implied and must learn to disclose when these assumptions are made. The student must choose a direction based upon an implied fact and offer a rea-

soned argument for why their assumptions are the logical choice in assessing the case facts.

Once students have established an understanding of the actors and the situation, they must identify the behavioral issues of the case and raise the appropriate ethical issues for debate. The student offers the behaviors exhibited in the case, the rightness or wrongness of the actions, and the criteria employed in making this assessment. An example of relating the behavior of the case to a value criterion is as follows:

Sally's use of the government vehicle to go shopping, even though it would have been very inconvenient for her to go home and get her car, was an abuse of the perquisites of office. Her behavior was entirely self-serving and a violation of agency rules that prohibit the use of government vehicles for anything other than official uses. As a professional, she has pledged never to engage in behaviors that expose her or her employers to public criticism, even though the infraction of the rules seems to be minor.

Recommend a solution to the problem. Buttressed by criteria that are rooted in law, common sense, and ethical principles, the students can now recommend a course of action for the ethical problems they have identified. In addition to offering suggested actions to be taken, the students must articulate the consequences that could follow from their recommendations. Each proposed action must be accompanied by an explanation of how the proposed action accords with basic values or ethics—legal, professional, societal, organizational, and so on. The students become sensitive to the fact they are analyzing the deciding questions of values and benefits. For whose benefit they are deciding, how the benefit relates to values and ethics, and, most importantly, how this action exemplifies how a professional should act.

If they are provided this framework for analysis, students gain an appreciation of values and the role that values play in purposive organizational behavior. The principal aim of employing this kind of analysis is to identify value issues. Once this has been accomplished, students can apply commonly accepted standards of behavior and recommend solutions. Properly applied, this procedure can be an effective tool in enhancing students' professional development and their approach to dilemmas they are sure to encounter in public service.

DEVELOPING CASE STUDY AUTHORS

The most successful case studies—cases that are “brief, provocative, ambiguous and open to a number of conflicting responses” (Wrage, 20)—are true to life. Once provided with the essential elements in a case, and provided sample cases

for analysis in class, graduate students are a natural source for the creation and evaluation of cases for ethical analysis.

I have used case studies in graduate ethics courses for more than 20 years. The last assignment of the class is a self-created case in which the student frames an experience from his or her own life experiences (as a public servant or public citizen) in the format of cases used throughout the course, a project similar to one required by Rizzo (1998):

The case project has three components: a case scenario in which the dilemma and characters are presented; discussion questions that direct the reader's attention to pertinent ethical quandaries, themes and lines of argument; and the author's analysis and resolution of the ethical dilemma (3).

Upon reflection, many students discover the vast array of ethical issues within their professional and personal lives. They revisit situations with a newfound understanding and framework from which to assess their thinking at the time, and they learn to strengthen and articulate a "personal ethics profile" to guide future actions when faced with similar dilemmas. With the students' permission, I use these cases to create and provide new cases for subsequent classes. Using their own experiences to teach future classes keep the cases fresh, relevant, and current.

CONCLUSION

The practical application of theoretical instruction is a constant concern for public administration instructors. Making a class relevant to students and their professional lives brings to life the meaning of academic exercises and fosters greater opportunity for learning. Case studies of ethical dilemmas exhibit a true marriage of practice and theory and scenarios extracted from the student's own experiences enhance and promote skilled decision-making.

Providing students with a framework within which they formulate the ethical dilemmas that they have experienced demonstrates their learned application of theoretical concepts and offers rich cases that will engage future students. Ethical conflict is resolved with active, timely engagement of key actors, exploration of possible alternative decisions and their tradeoffs, and, finally, the execution of decisive action. What better way to learn the process than by experiencing it under the guidance of professional instruction that accentuates critical elements of each stage and the significant role of the decision-maker in the process? As Rizzo (1998) discovered from her own classroom experiences with case studies,

[i]n completing a narrative case study about ethical dilemmas, students demonstrate their level of ability in applying general ethical principles in matters of conduct or conscience of their choosing. This

process enables students to integrate ethics theory and practice most effectively. Perhaps just as important, their participation as case critics allows them to try out higher-level, metaethical reasoning. Even when metaethical thinking is not exhibited in course assignments or other learning activities, these discussions move us closer to an inchoate community of ethical inquiry (6–7).

The magnitude and intensity of ethical dilemmas are best communicated by vibrantly presented case studies that confront, confuse, and demand attention. Any other modality provides a comfortable distance that can cloud and inhibit active learning.

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Appendix A: Student Guidelines: Administrative Ethics Case Analysis

The cases included in this course are real. The instructor has not manufactured them. Students who have taken the Administrative Ethics course in the past have reported them. Each case is unique in its setting. Although, as unique as each case is, the central issues are relatively common to political, professional, and organizational life. Each case, depending on how you interpret it, might have civic, private, professional, religious, legal, or other significance. In some of these cases you will be faced with obvious violations of law. In others, there are acts of ignorance or omission. In some, the behaviors may not be patently illegal, but they may “feel funny.” They may seem to be unprofessional or sleazy. The governmental professional encounters all of these situations.

Analyzing these cases does not constitute a mere exercise. When you become comfortable with this type of analysis, you will find you are able to apply this methodology to other problem situations. It will give you an understanding and appreciation of values and the role that values play in purposive organizational behavior. The principal aim of employing this kind of analysis is to efficiently identify the value issues. Once this has been accomplished, the application of commonly accepted standards of behavior can be applied, and solutions can be recommended. This procedure, properly applied as you face organization ethical problems, can save you time and be an effective tool in enhancing your professional development.

There are three major steps to the process. The first is *problem identification*. In this step, you isolate the problem and identify the key actors. Step two requires you to *interpret the problem and isolate the facts*. The third step insists that you *recommend a solution to the problem*, buttressed by criteria that are rooted in law, common sense, and ethical principles. Additional assistance is provided in the form of a checklist. This statement of procedure allows you to reflect upon the central issues of the case and the criteria by which you have justified a decision.

Step 1

Read the case in its entirety without attempting to capture every nuance of behavior of the actors. Try to get a general impression of what is going on. Then respond to the question—

What is going on? A general statement.

Most students attempt to summarize the case using a great deal of detail in describing what has happened. *Do not do that!* Simply, identify the general problem that the behavior you see exemplifies. Do not assume that there is only one problem or issue. There may be several. Include each as you think they are important. As you identify the general problem or issue, you will find that you are beginning to call up moral criteria by which you will judge the importance of the issue and recommend appropriate solutions.

Re-read the case to identify the key actors and their relationships to one another—

Who are the key actors?

What are their relationships to one another?

What values are related to the relationships of the key actors?

All of the individuals mentioned in the cases are not necessarily important to understanding the situation. In identifying the key individuals, you are making your analytical task easier. You should think of the relationship identification as isolating the “value fields” for easier analysis. Once the value field has been identified, certain values will become important. The identification of the basic values that are involved in a relationship will assist you greatly in suggesting a solution to the case. It creates a decision point that allows you to determine who owes whom, what, and why.

Re-read the case, carefully, and decide—

What are the essential facts? List them.

Please understand that you are being asked for the essential facts: not *all* of the facts. Some students will dismantle the case on a fact-by-fact basis and list everything that happened. Not all of the facts will be necessary for your understanding of the issues and assistance in solving the case. Some facts are present only to make the narrative flow smoothly, and some have been inserted to mislead you. Identify only those facts that will clarify the situation for you and help you solve the case.

It may occur to you that some information that is important to your understanding of the situation is either missing or implied—

What important facts are missing?

What important facts are implied?

Do not be discouraged if inconsistent possibilities are suggested because appropriate information is missing or implied. In rare instances, implied facts will be the hinge upon which an understanding of the situation swings. If you encounter this, you have two choices. The first is to supply the missing or implied facts and follow them to a conclusion. The other is to choose a direction based upon an implied fact and offer a reasoned argument for why the implied fact you chose was the only logical possibility in this situation.

STEP 2

You have now established an understanding of the actors and the situation. Now, examine the issues—

Identify the behavioral issues.

Raise the appropriate ethical issues.

Analyze them.

Initially, this will be difficult. It becomes easier with practice. After you have identified the actors, arranged the facts in an understandable sequence, and identified the ethical issues, you should be able to state succinctly the situation. This statement should include the behaviors, the rightness or wrongness of the action, and the criteria you have applied to

the situation. The key element is that you are able to relate the behavior in the situation to a value criterion that is important professionally.

STEP 3

Having developed a comprehensive understanding of the situation, you are now in a position to recommend a course of action for each of the problems that have been identified—

What actions should be taken?

What consequences could follow from your recommendations?

What criteria have you employed for your recommendations?

Each recommendation must be accompanied by an explanation of how the proposed action accords with basic values or ethics—legal, professional, societal, organizational, and so on. Where some individual in the case appears to be untouchable, do not waste time by recommending ideal sanctions. Please comment upon the “untouchability” issues and speculate upon the consequences of the continuance of that behavior. You may also want to comment upon the organization’s environment, or relationships that might arise outside of the immediate case situation. Please include these observations if you consider them to be relevant.

Always be sensitive to the fact that you are analyzing the deciding questions of values and benefits. For whose benefit are you deciding? How is this benefit related to values and ethics? You are also setting an example that teaches an important lesson: “This is how a professional would act.”

*This approach to the analysis of cases was constructed by the late Dr. Leigh Grosenick, professor at Virginia Commonwealth University, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, and based on suggestions by Dr. William May in the Hastings Center publication *Ethics Teaching in Higher Education*, edited by Daniel J. Callahan and Sissela Bok (1980).*

Identifying Organizational Patterns: Normative and Empirical Criteria for Organizational Redesign

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ABSTRACT

Public service organizations (PSOs) function in patterns that endure over time. Derived from the study of complex systems, the observation of patterns is important for public policy and organizational change. Although the notion of organizations having cultures is now well accepted, organizational patterns involve more than culture—they are the product of the interaction of dynamic multidimensional factors at work in organizations. These dynamics are explored through the three factors of individual motivation, organizational culture, and the challenge of implementing a change. When these three factors interact, they form eight organizational patterns. Based on a case study of each pattern, the character of each pattern is explored. Advantages and disadvantages of each organizational pattern and the context in which each pattern functions best are identified, the implications of an understanding of patterns are explored, their impact on new entrants to the workplace is identified, and suggestions for teaching the patterns are offered.

Thinking about how to change organizations is presented clearly in the management literature. It consists of the predominant role of the leader, the importance of communication, dealing with resistance through burning platforms, changing the organization culture, and implementation (Seijts, 2006). Despite seeming consensus about the need for this hierarchical and authoritarian approach, little evidence supports this approach in other than a few specific scenarios. It works only rarely in the long term and almost never in large, complex organizations (Beer and Nohria, 2000; Grint, 1998; Mourier and Smith, 2001; Applebaum and Wohl, 2000; Seijts, 2006; Burke, 2002; Pollitt, Bouckaert, and Löffler, 2006). Why, then, do organizations, consultants, and business and public

administration courses often adhere to this “one best way” approach that forces employees to do what management wants? Although organizations, like individuals, must be able to change when necessary or when they choose to do so, why do organizations and their advisors keep to this pattern for achieving change, despite its weaknesses?

In a thorough study of the organizational change literature, W. Warner Burke suggests that one problem is the lack of theory of organizational change. Another problem is that little consideration is given to the theories and models of change that underlie what is being suggested. Many leaders assume, for example, that an organization is a thing, that it exists as a concrete entity. Others consider an organization is a set of processes (Van de Ven and Poole, 2005; Stacey, 1996, 47; 2000, 186–7). One could assume that an organization is an accumulation of people who have formed an agreement to believe an organization exists and therefore to do things certain ways. Leaders and consultants often ignore both the individuals and the individual organizations themselves, how they function, and how they interact in and with their environment. All organizations are assumed to be basically the same; how they do things does not matter.

A way to understand organizational patterns like these is presented in this paper. An organization is an accumulation of individuals who have an agreement—often subconscious—to do things a certain way. Individuals, groups, and challenges of implementation are each deemed important. The patterns formed by these factors are important and, once established, tend to hold their shape, despite the numerous changes that are constantly occurring in an organizational setting. Such an understanding is potentially of benefit to managers, consultants, and members of organizations who seek to understand why things happen the way they do, why people react as they do, and why most change seems so difficult to achieve.

The hierarchical model of change, sometimes the only one presented (for example, by Seijts), is not universal, as its sole presentation suggests. Rather, it is a particular pattern of change—a top-down, power-based pattern. It is one model of organizational change, not *the* model. Is it a model that is likely to secure the cooperation, commitment, and long-term implementation efforts of organizational staff? There is no one answer to that question. Occasionally it does; usually it doesn't.

Rather than starting with a plan for change prepared by senior management and external consultants, the first step in public service organization (PSO) change should be to understand the organization that is looking to change. This means understanding the individuals and their motivations, the societal and organizational culture, and the challenges posed by a possible change. Once these are understood, managers and employees need to take a second step to assess the dominant pattern(s) influencing the organization. An understanding of how organizations function in patterns could provide information about which organizational behaviour pattern is predominant in the organization and in its units.

Most organizational change literature starts with how to do organizational change, which then usually leads to one best recommendation. The theory behind such an approach is linear and reductionist. Systems theory and complex adaptive systems (CAS) theory provide better models for conceptualizing how organizations function and change and how they could and should change. A change agent must understand an organization's patterns of functioning and how the key factors and interactions that make up those patterns are expressing themselves. These patterns are crucial to the capacity of the organization to change, to the approaches to change that will fit the organizational situation, and to the impact of change initiatives. Those who wish to create change, no matter where they work in an organization, should consider its pattern(s), understand its advantages and disadvantages, and work with it, not ignore it. The idea presented so often in the literature that a change initiative is going to change an organizational culture is not adopted with this kind of approach. Rather, it recognizes, acknowledges, and suggests working with and from within the existing organizational patterns, including its culture.

HOW DO ORGANIZATIONS FUNCTION?

Some authors suggest that organizations function as systems (Wilson, 1992; Burke, 2002). Considering an organization as an interactive system is an improvement over thinking only about what to do, without an understanding of the organization as a functioning entity. The notion of an organization as a system allows for influences from outside the organization and for the interaction of the people, ideas, and subsystems within the organization. Systems theory admits that an organization and its employees experience many influences, not only the desires and directives of management. While providing for an exterior environment, systems theory has not developed the organizational or interior environmental context; it acknowledges there is one, but it has not developed an understanding of the impact of the individuals working in the organization, the culture of the organization, and the challenges presented to employees in implementing a change.

A considerable amount of work has been done separately on individual motivation in the workplace (Maslow, 1973; Herzberg, 1968; Bandura, 1977a; McClelland, 1985; Atkinson and Raynor, 1975), on organizational culture (Cummings and Huse, 1989; Schein, 1985), on organizational climate (Ostroff, Kinicki, and Tamkins, 2003), and on implementation challenges (Rogers and Eveland, 1978; Burke, 2002; Litwin and Stringer, 1968). While Litwin and Stringer identified these issues, they sought a cause-effect, linear, and therefore measurable relationship among motivation, organizational climate, and task.

This paper presents a framework for addressing these issues in an integrated way. Complex Adaptive Systems (CAS) theory's notion of emergent patterns (Waldrop, 1992; Kauffman, 1995; Holland, 1995) is employed to portray how

three factors (individuals, organizational culture, challenge of implementation) interact, how organizations function, and why they maintain their patterns or shapes despite strategic, structural, procedural, and personnel changes. CAS theory provides concepts and methods such as dynamics, emergence, and patterns to describe nonlinear systems. A linear organization is one in which an intervention has a proportionate and predictable effect. Machines function in a linear manner. Organizations can sometimes be reduced to simple functioning, if enough freedom and interaction are removed. The consequences for the organization are almost sure to be negative, however, as this also largely removes its capacity to interact with and adapt to its environment. Most organizations, social groups, and individuals function as CAS—often without being aware that they are doing so. In CAS, interaction occurs among systems and the components of the system interact as well. Individual employees adapt as they can within the limits of their positions, but larger-scale adaptation also occurs at the organizational or organizational pattern level. In Darwin's conception, all adaptation (evolution) occurs above the individual level.

Systems of living things form complex systems. Even some systems involving nonliving things, such as the weather, form CAS. CAS theory uses the notion of patterns to explain the capacity of CAS to adapt to change and still maintain a basic character or shape. Organizations form, maintain, and retain patterns as well; these patterns form much of the context for activities in an organization, and the patterns influence the other dynamics within the organization.

To be certain, changing an organizational pattern requires changing individuals, groups, structures, systems, procedures, leaders, and interactions, and even the outside environment often presents the need for change. Because this is unlikely to be possible or desirable, managers, employees, consultants, political parties, and academics need to learn to understand and work with organizational patterns, if the organization is not only to survive but thrive.

The three factors of individual motivation, culture, and challenge, taken together, influence organizational patterns and organizational innovation and change (Glor, 2001a). These three dynamic factors interact to form eight innovation patterns (Glor, 2001b) that affect not only innovation but all organizational change. The patterns must be somewhat functional in order for the organizational system to get its day-to-day work done, or the organization and the pattern would not have survived; however, a pattern may not always have been optimal, and it may not have remained helpful. While a pattern can be functional, it may also present problems or be suboptimal when change, evolution, or adaptation is needed. Because its pattern is part of what an organization is, it cannot be ignored.

ORGANIZATIONAL SYSTEM DYNAMICS (FACTORS)

This paper works with the hypothesis that multidimensional organizational system dynamics interact with each other and have a major influence on the pat-

tern within which an organization functions. Although some parts of an organization may have somewhat different patterns, the organization as a whole has one too, and it tends to replicate throughout the organization. The three factors/dynamics of individuals, culture, and challenge, and some of the things we know about them, are described below.

Individual Motivation

Individual motivation “energizes, directs, and sustains behaviour” (Perry and Porter, 1982). It involves not only the amount of effort expended on a task, but also the direction and quality of the effort. Motivation to work emerges from the hierarchy of personal needs (Maslow, 1973). In ascending order, individuals have physiological needs (hunger, thirst, and rest), safety needs (physical and psychological), social needs (belonging, affiliation, friendship, acceptance), esteem needs (respect from others and self-esteem), and self-actualisation needs (reaching one’s potential, fulfillment). Based on Maslow’s description of personal needs, Herzberg (1968) distinguished between what makes people happy at work and what makes them unhappy and proposed that those are not mirror images of each other. He suggested that individuals are made unhappy at work by the way they are treated, and they are made happy by what they do or the way in which they are utilized. The former he called hygiene factors—those that will not increase motivation as such but will decrease it—and the latter he called motivating factors. Hygiene factors include working conditions, salary, job security, and company policies. Motivating factors, on the other hand, derive from people having a sense of achievement, recognition, responsibility, and opportunities for personal growth.

The concepts of *extrinsic* and *intrinsic* motivation refine Herzberg’s understanding of motivation (Dyer and Parker, 1975). *Extrinsic motivation* is “motivation for behavior that is neither inherent in the behavior itself nor representative of goals established by the behaving person” (Cofer, 1996). Extrinsic motivation “can refer to rather arbitrary rewards and goals, in contrast to the inherent reward of an act itself, or to self-determined [sic] goals that characterize intrinsic motivation” (Cofer, 1996). The tools available to management—such as giving direction and rewards—thus typically create extrinsic motivation. Perry and Porter (1982) define the variables affecting (presumably mostly extrinsic) motivation as individual, job, work environment, and external environments, and identify four motivational techniques: monetary incentives, goal setting, job design (all extrinsic), and participation (which could be either intrinsic or extrinsic).

To Bandura (1986, 240–241) *intrinsic motivation* comprises three types of relationship: one in which the consequences originate externally but are naturally related to the individual’s behaviour, a second in which behaviour produces naturally occurring outcomes that are internal to the organism, and a third in which a self-evaluative mechanism is at work. He suggested that pursuit of activities is lasting and least subject to situational inducements when the effects are either

intrinsically related to the behaviour or are self-provided. According to Thomas and Velthouse (1990), intrinsic task motivation is achieved in four ways: through meaning (value of work goal or purpose), competence (self-efficacy), self-determination (autonomy in initiation and continuation of work), and impact (influence on work outcomes). Motivation is an important factor in how much sustained energy an individual is willing to put into his or her work.

But motivation is also generated in a different way—through public service. Wittmer (1991) compared the motivations of individuals employed in public, private, and hybrid organizations and found differences in what motivated public and private sector employees. In a study of the differences in rankings for eight preferred reward categories among a sample of 210 employees of public, private and hybrid organizations, he found significant differences among public and private sector employees with regard to preferences for higher pay, status, and helping others. Perry and Wise explored the possibility that there is a unique public service motivation, defined as “an individual’s predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations” (Perry and Wise, 1990, 368–369). They identified three analytically distinct types of public service motivation: *rational motivation*, which is grounded in individual utility maximization and includes the desire to participate in the formulation of good public policy; *norm-based motivation*, which is based on idealism and includes such motivations as the desire to serve the public interest; and *affective motivation*, which is commitment based on personal identification with a program that develops out of such factors as conviction about its social importance.

If public servants have unique motivations, what about PSO managers? In a study of motivations of 421 managers in 47 municipalities to adopt information technology innovations, Perry *et al.* (1993) found that three categories of managers (top managers, other department and division heads, information system managers) shared two major motivations, the desire to improve productivity and to enhance service. Altruism was more important than self-interest, control was not more important than production efficiency, and prestige and professional status were not more important than service and efficiency.

The types of motivation described above fall into two basic categories. Some—such as Perry *et al.*’s (1993) norm-based, affective, rational, commitment to the public interest, self-interest and control—derive from the personal belief or need systems of the public servants involved, and, according to Thomas and Velthouse’s (1990) definition, should be considered intrinsic motivators. Others—such as productivity, service, and arbitrary rewards and goals—relate to the external world and should be considered extrinsic motivators. Both Perry *et al.* and Hannaway suggest that public servants are motivated by both intrinsic and extrinsic motivation,¹ but more by intrinsic motivation than are private sector employees. A complex interaction of experience, personality, and environment determine motivation.

ORGANIZATIONAL AND SOCIETAL CULTURE

Although the dominant individual motivation for work contributes to an organization's pattern of functioning, social dynamics are also important. *Societal consciousness* creates a generalized capacity to be aware on the part of societal actors, in part through an aggregation of individual members' consciousness, but also through institutionalization of awareness on the collective level. Etzioni (1971, 224–5) concluded that this institutionalization can occur through the creation of subunits charged with paying attention. The social environment in the workplace is important from many perspectives—it affects motivation, implicit consciousness, and the institutionalization of awareness. This is organizational culture, which includes the impact of both societal and organizational ways of doing things. Because it is mostly implicit, culture is hard to detect. While employees can describe how things are done, they find it hard to describe the organizational culture as such, without breaking it down.

Etzioni recognized the importance of both individual and collective consciousness in producing autonomy and innovative behaviour, which are crucial to having an impact in organizational change. He identified three types of consciousness that contribute to action: consciousness of the acting self, the environment, and controlling overlayers. First, while a normative-cognitive pattern provides an evaluative structure for action, autonomy is possible. The capacity to act rather than be paralyzed is related to the capacity for autonomous direction and action, growing out of individual self-consciousness, self-identity, values, commitment, knowledge, and power. At the same time, self-conscious actors can be expected to be less well integrated into their societal systems, communities, and, presumably, organizations. They can also be more instrumental and manipulative than others, and have slower reactions. Self-conscious actors can also be expected to be more creative, to engage in less trial-and-error behaviour when confronted with a new problem, to design solutions, and to be more transformable and more utopian (Etzioni, 1971, 225–229).

Second, consciousness can be collective as well as individual. Making a societal unit more conscious of its societal environment—its structure, its identity, and its dynamics—is part of the process of helping adaptive change to emerge. Consciousness is an essential prerequisite for the adaptive orientation; although actors can behave with limited or even no consciousness, in such cases they will tend to realize fewer of their goals. An increase in consciousness alone implies mainly an increase in symbolic activity, and, hence, if other elements such as commitment, power, and action are lacking, the societal unit may not be more active (Etzioni, 1971, 229). The concept of organizational culture is commonly used to describe the collective consciousness in a workplace. According to Cummings and Huse, corporate culture is “the pattern of basic assumptions, values, norms and artifacts shared by organization members.” These cultural elements are “generally taken for granted and serve to guide members' perceptions, thoughts and actions”

(Cummings and Huse, 1989, 421, 71). Artifacts are visible manifestations of the other levels of cultural elements and include observable behaviours of members, structures, systems, procedures, rules and physical aspects (Cummings and Huse, 1989, 421). Similarly, Schein defined organizational culture as “a pattern of basic assumptions—invented, discovered, or developed by a given group as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration—that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems” (Schein, 1985, 9). Culture should be understood at three levels, according to Schein: artifacts (the visible level—the constructed physical and social environment), values, and basic underlying assumptions. Assumptions are taken for granted and are less conscious than observed behavioural regularities, norms, dominant values, organizational philosophy, rules of the game, feelings, and climates. Schein saw organizations or groups as “open systems in constant interaction with their many environments,” consisting of “many subgroups, occupational units, hierarchical layers and geographically dispersed segments” (Schein, 1985, 7). While the management literature has tended to treat organizational culture as a malleable instrument for improving performance (Peters and Waterman, 1982; Deal and Kennedy, 1982), organizational development studies usually consider culture a network of shared meanings (Turner, 1971; Smircich, 1983) or a structure of symbols that is quite constant (Silverman and Jones, 1976; Burawoy, 1979). This discussion of organizational patterns treats culture in the second way.

Etzioni's third perspective recognizes the importance of understanding controlling overlays and power within an organization. Filby and Willmott (1988) perceived work culture as a medium and an outcome of the reproduction of a structure of power relations. Burrell and Morgan (1979) saw “cultural myth” as a tool used to reflect and reproduce, in codified forms, relations of domination. Some innovation research has emphasized the role of structure and process as reflections of power and authority. Rogers and Eveland (1978, 191–192) suggested three of seven components of structure were control or authority structure, centralization or decentralization, and formalization (represented by codification of jobs). Individuals who provide an organization with openness are cosmopolites—usually regarded as managers, but working-level staff was also found to have networks exterior to the organization. Both internal and external structure were important.

Handy (1986) recognized top-down and bottom-up cultures. His “power culture” is centrally controlled by a single individual or group that determines the culture and favors and nurtures strong individuals. In “role cultures,” processes are subject to rule, precedent, and regulation, and people are organized in a pyramid, with large power distance and reduced ambiguity. On the other hand, the “culture of the task” or “business project” is often found in decentralized, consen-

sual organizations that favour group over individual work in matrix structures. A “culture of people or professionalism” favours individualism, avoids bureaucratization and large power distances, and often lacks structure. Of Handy’s four types of organizational culture, power and role cultures can be seen as top-down while task and people cultures can be seen as bottom-up.

Power relationships in the societal environment have a major impact on power relationships within organizations. Power is a complex concept, treated by psychologists as a motivating factor or expectancy belief state internal to the individual. Power fulfills the need for self-determination and a sense of personal efficacy (Bandura, 1977a). In this psychological conceptualization, power has its base within motivational disposition, is closely related to the concept of personal empowerment, and can be considered an element of intrinsic motivation (discussed earlier under Individual Motivation).

While psychologists focus on personal empowerment, sociologists and political scientists see power as influence and control over sanctions. Most analysts start with Max Weber’s (1968) definition of power: the probability that a person can carry out his or her own will despite resistance. Bierstedt (1974) sees power as force or the ability to apply sanctions. He includes the potential, not just the actual use of force (the application of sanctions), and distinguishes it from influence. Power is inherently coercive and implies involuntary submission, whereas influence is persuasive and implies voluntary submission. For Dahl (1963), power is exercised whenever one party affects the behavior of another, thus fusing the force and influence dimensions. An unused potential is not power, because power implies successful use of the potential. Wrong (1968) holds that the behaviour of others can be altered either by potential power or by use of power (actual power). Compliance is often based on the target’s subjective expectation that the potential can and will be used when necessary. Groups and individuals may control resources that can be developed into a base for power or the base can be left dormant and undeveloped: Attention should be paid to the subjective nature of power and the processes of power acquisition. Bacharach and Lawler (1980) regard power as a sensitizing device and a primitive concept.²

Power is at work and is used in PSOs. Numerous sanctions have been built into the system, affecting both intrinsic and extrinsic motivators and group dynamics. While the use of sanctions has increased in recent years, the effect of the use of power on motivation has rarely been considered in government. This may be partly because intrinsic motivation is so widespread that it may mitigate the predictable negative effects on motivation of the use of authority, power, and sanctions. This reaction could encourage the use of power, which affects both the collective consciousness and organizational culture.

Societal dynamics tend to be reproduced in organizations, especially as they existed at the time the organization was created. These dynamics then continue to reproduce themselves as organizational culture. Social interaction and its pat-

terns, or actions or attempts at action in the workplace on the part of leaders, consultants, or staff, create a reaction in other individuals. They affect motivation and they create change in organizational culture by modifying structure, process, and power. They also create a direct challenge to members of the organization, if not done in concurrence with the culture.

CHALLENGE

If the collective patterns of individuals and groups affect organizations wishing to change, so does the challenge presented by the change. Implementing a change presents a challenge and/or an opportunity to management and staff. Challenges are factors that create resistance to adoption of an idea, program, process, or innovation. Bandura (1977b) identified challenges such as perceived risks, negative self-evaluation, various social barriers, and economic constraints. Although the challenge presented by change can be defined as *risk*, the management literature tends to treat risk as challenges to management and the organization, without much reference to challenges for working-level staff. The concept of challenge addresses phenomena faced by working-level staff as well as management.

Implementation of change is sometimes regarded similarly to the fashion in which engineers (as opposed to architects) are taught to regard buildings—to focus on the needed elements as manipulable objects. People are not objects, however, and prefer to be dealt with as subjects. At the personal level, the challenges and opportunities presented by change, presumably, involve such dynamics as the amount of money, time, effort, and psychic energy required to implement a change. Losses or gains might be implied. Losses and gains can be personal, involving power, money, status, and respect, or they can be public, involving success or failure, career consequences, public scrutiny, and/or positive or negative media attention. Change is often disruptive, especially change that affects employees personally. Each individual in the organization can have a different perception of the challenge or opportunity.

The impact of the challenge of implementation can be conceived similarly to Rogers and Eveland's (1978) characterization of an innovation that affects its rate of adoption. They include relative advantage compared to what it is superseding, compatibility with existing values and past experience of the implementers, complexity both in terms of understanding and use, testability, and observability of results. These advantage and compatibility dimensions contain both a potential perceived implication of commitment to further change and a threat of change. Communication is a vital component of innovation dissemination because of challenge.

The magnitude of a challenge is an important issue for both managerial and working-level staff. Nadler and Tushman (1986) distinguished between two types of change that reflect the amount of challenge: incremental and strategic change. Incremental change affects pieces or components of the organization and

strategic change involves most of the organization's parts and features. Strategic change is more challenging than incremental change to the people affected and the organization.

Significant change is challenging to people. Following an extensive review of the organizational change literature, Burke concluded that most efforts by executives, managers, and administrators to significantly change their organizations do not work (Burke, 2002, 1). By "significant change," he meant change to "the way we do things"—what I have referred to as culture. Significant change is achieved by reaching a tipping point, induced by changes in any of the strategic or transformational factors that affect the entire organization when they are changed. Strategic factors include the external environment, mission and strategy, leadership, and organizational culture. Building on Litwin and Stringer's (1968) organizational climate research, he also identified transactional factors that involve more of the day-to-day operations. These include management practices, systems (policies and procedures), structure, work unit climate, motivation, task requirements and individual skills/abilities, individual needs, and values (Burke, 2002, 201–209). Strategic change is more of a challenge than is transactional change.

Hickson et al. (1986) developed a system of classification for magnitude of change. They described four degrees of challenge (change): status quo, expanded reproduction, evolutionary transition and revolutionary transformation. While status quo can be concerned with both strategic and operational changes, no change in current practice is implied. Expanded reproduction is usually concerned with operational decisions and involves "more of the same" ways of meeting challenges. Evolutionary transition is mainly concerned with the strategic level, with change occurring within existing parameters of the organization (change, but retain existing structure, technology, and patterns). Revolutionary transformation is predominantly strategic and shifts or redefines existing parameters. Hickson et al.'s framework can be used for thinking about challenge as predicted and perceived by the members of an organization.

Embedded in the challenges identified by Rogers and Eveland (1978), Nadler and Tushman (1986), Burke (2002), and Hickson et al. (1986) is the question of whether power can be expected to change for those affected by the change. If power will change, especially if it will change considerably, the challenge is heightened. The challenge also increases if overt power is used to accommodate the change. Edgar Schein addressed the overt use of power in changing organizations. According to him, the function of culture is to solve the group's problems of survival and adaptation to an external environment and of the integration of internal processes to ensure the capacity to continue to survive and adapt (Schein, 1985, 50). Power is also part of organizational culture. Schein perceived organizations as going through three developmental phases, during which the function of culture, the change mechanisms, and the challenges vary. During birth and early growth, culture holds the organization together, and socialization is a sign of

commitment. Change occurs through natural evolution and managed revolution by outsiders. During organizational midlife, new subcultures are spawned, key goals and values are lost, and an opportunity to manage the direction of change is presented. Change mechanisms include planning, organization development, technical seduction, scandal and explosion of myths, and incrementalism. During organizational maturity, markets mature or decline, the organization becomes internally stable or even stagnant, and there is a lack of motivation to change. The culture becomes a constraint on innovation, by preserving the glories of the past as a source of self-esteem and self-defense. Change occurs through transformation, where some parts of the culture change, or even through destruction. The change mechanisms are coercive persuasion, turnaround, reorganization, destruction, and rebirth (Schein, 1985, 271–272). According to Schein, the overt use of power is most likely in the third phase.

Changes in power relationships are often a challenge to managers and overt use of power is a challenge to employees. Bandura (1977b) suggested that challenge is counterbalanced by influences encouraging adoption, such as stimulus inducements, anticipated satisfactions, positive self-evaluation, observed benefits, and experienced functional value (which can be revealed out front through pilot and demonstration projects). If the positive benefits are perceived as dominant, the net magnitude of challenge is low; if negative perceptions predominate, change is seen as a major challenge. Challenges are not only a matter of perceptions, however. Changes to structures, strategies, and goals are usually high challenge, while changes to activities are low challenge.

ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE PATTERNS

Each of the factors—individual motivation, organizational culture, and challenge—is itself complex and dynamic and interacts with the others factors. Patterns of adaptation emerge from these complex factors if there is sufficient variety, reactivity (Rogers et al., 2005), and capacity for emergence (Glor, 2007). Organizational patterns are produced by the three CAS dimensions of motivation, culture, and challenge. At this point, these patterns should be regarded as primitive concepts, sensitizing to issues and aiding theory construction (see earlier).

While the issues represented by the three factors may not cover every dynamic in an organization, they represent a sufficiently broad range of key issues that they can jointly be taken to represent an important portion of the dynamics in the workplace. The model illustrated below integrates the interactions of individuals, culture, and challenges to form eight patterns (Table 1): reactive, imposed, active, necessary, proactive, continuous, buy-in, and transformational change. The patterns are described below and a Canadian case study of each is discussed. Additional information on these case studies is available in Glor (2001b).

The first four patterns of organizational change are extrinsically motivated. These patterns are often oriented to solving problems. Such changes are either

programmed ahead of time or introduced in response to stress or distress. In the 217 Harvard University/Ford Foundation Innovations in American Government Award nominations he studied, Borins (1999, 375–387) found extrinsic motivation: 49 percent were responding to internal problems, 30 percent ahead of crises, and 19 percent to political factors (more than one reason was allowed). The problems, crises, and political factors probably created extrinsic motivation among public servants.

When extrinsically motivated employees interact with change of minor challenge in a top-down culture, a *reactive pattern* results. In the case of operating budgets (Table 1), the government of Canada (GoC) decided, initially at the request of a line department, that all departments would be allowed slightly more flexibility in moving money between types of activity. This allowed departments some flexibility in responding to a major (30 percent) budget-cutting exercise.

The mixture of a top-down culture with major challenge forcing change on extrinsically motivated employees produces an *imposed pattern*. The Province of

Table 1. Individual, Social and Challenge Dynamics Form Organizational Change Patterns

Dynamics			Patterns	
<i>Individual Motivation</i>	<i>Organizational Culture</i>	<i>Magnitude of Challenge</i>	<i>Organizational Change Pattern</i>	<i>Canadian Case Study</i>
Extrinsic	Top-down	Minor	Reactive	Introduction of operating budgets in Treasury Board, GoC
Extrinsic	Top-down	Major	Imposed	Literacy New Brunswick
Extrinsic	Bottom-up	Minor	Active	Canada Customs' Missing Children program, GoC
Extrinsic	Bottom-up	Major	Necessary	Shipyards Repair Atlantic, DND, GoC
Intrinsic	Bottom-up	Minor	Proactive	Agriculture Canada partnerships database, GoC
Intrinsic	Top-down	Minor	Buy-in	Mississauga Capacity Building
Intrinsic	Bottom-up	Major	Continuous	Health Promotion, Health Canada, GoC
Intrinsic	Top-down	Major	Transformational	Province of Saskatchewan Potash Takeover

GoC = Federal Government of Canada; DND = Department of National Defence.

New Brunswick (NB) responded to an unacceptably high illiteracy rate but no new funding by privatizing its literacy program to nonprofit, community-based organizations and a newly created coordinating nonprofit organization (NPO). Instead of hiring qualified teachers, the nonprofits hired paraprofessionals, that is, nonprofessionals or qualified teachers who could not find work in the public school system during a recession. This shift of the program to the community and the voluntary sector led to major improvements in outcomes (it was only measured in the first year), and changed the delivery culture by changing the delivery agent. At the same time, because the change was imposed, it caused damage to the relationships between the government and the NPOs.

Extrinsic motivation also occurs in bottom-up cultures. This combination could occur, for example, when exterior forces such as budget reductions impinge on organizations from outside. Although in such a situation staff members are not intrinsically motivated to change, they can organize to deal with the challenge in a bottom-up matter. This unusual combination of extrinsic motivation with a bottom-up culture produces an *active pattern* when combined with minor challenge. In the case of Canada Customs' Missing Children program, for example, an international voluntary organization asked the management of Canada Customs to search for missing children at borders. The department did not want to pay customs agents more to do this additional task, and so asked the unionized staff if they would do so voluntarily, without compensation. They agreed.

Extrinsic motivation combined with a bottom-up culture and major challenge produces a *necessary pattern*. In the case of Shipyard Repair Atlantic, the government of Canada imposed major budget cuts on the Department of National Defence (DND) repair shipyard over several years and then again as part of Program Review and threatened layoffs and even privatization. In this unionized environment, management consulted with the employees, and together they identified sufficient operational cuts to meet the reduction targets without layoffs or privatization. They were able to work in this cooperative manner over time during several waves of budget cuts.

Intrinsic motivation produces quite different kinds of behavior: there is more problem seeking and more problem solving at the unit level than when people are extrinsically motivated. Intrinsic patterns result from personal initiative, when individuals have or create the time to think about something besides their immediate work. In such cases, individuals take steps to deal with organizational or governmental problems either because the problem interests them or because the process to solve the problem interests them. Borins found that 49 percent of the innovations he studied from the Innovations in American Government Award were responding to internal problems and 33 percent were created in response to opportunities (Borins, 1999, 377).

A combination of intrinsic motivation with a bottom-up culture and minor challenge produces a *proactive pattern*. From some perspectives proactive change

can be seen as problem-focused, but the creation of solutions before agreement to solve the problem has been achieved within the organization places it in a less convergent, active, problem-solving category. In the case of the Agriculture Canada partnerships database, for example, the organization had created slack by announcing the layoff of an executive as part of a 10 percent reduction in the executive cadre. During the compulsory six-month warning period, the executive led an initiative to create an interactive database of public-private partnerships, using external resources that he recruited.

If necessary, staff can recognize the validity of changes imposed by others. The combination of intrinsic motivation with a top-down culture and minor challenge creates a *buy-in pattern*. In the case of Capacity Building, the City of Mississauga sought employee input and implemented a number of quality improvement suggestions. The initiative was, however, directed from the top. In an environment where individuals are intrinsically motivated but there is a top-down culture and major challenge, a *transformational pattern* is created. The Saskatchewan potash industry takeover required years of negotiations with the industry and eventually the threat of legislation before a resistant industry agreed to sell several mines totaling 40 percent of the industry to the provincial government. This led to the creation of an industry head office in the province and attention being paid to local and provincial needs.

Intrinsic motivation combined with a bottom-up culture and major challenge creates a *continuous change pattern*. In a continuous pattern, major change is created both through cumulative minor changes and through periodic major changes. The Health Promotion program delivered programs to Canadians over many years, despite changes of government and within the organization. Both big and small innovations were introduced during that time, including new conceptual models, new approaches and processes, and new programs. One of the programs, for example, was an anti-smoking media program aimed at youth.

Although organizational patterns tend to maintain their shape, on occasion leaders or employees, usually both together, have been able to create other patterns. Several of the examples presented above, for example, occurred within the government of Canada. It did not change its overall organizational pattern during the period reviewed—it remained reactive overall—but in some cases staff of work units were able to change the local pattern, sometimes in cooperation with senior executives, other times not. My sense is, however, that both the factors and the patterns usually retain a consistent shape for long periods of time. Individuals tend to respond in a more or less consistent way to each new need for change. The organizational culture remains basically the same. The barriers and challenges (Glor, 2006) that must be overcome to implement the change tend to be similar each time (for example, securing approval and a budget). Once they have become established and socialized, the organizational patterns tend to maintain their shape, despite changes in leadership, personnel, structure, resources available, and

external environment. Decision making processes, for example, have changed very little over time in Canadian governments, remaining top-down for 150 years.

DISCUSSION

Organizational patterns reproduce their initial conditions, but they also change over time. They incorporate the effects of historical, societal and organizational origins, experience, models and power relationships.³ Patterns also represent the consequences of day-to-day functioning, experiences with change, challenges met and not met, remembered and forgotten, environmental pressures, leaders and employees present and past, and more. They incorporate the organizational equivalent of Etzioni's societal unconscious, but they include the effects not only of the past but also of the present. Most organizational patterns are not good at adjusting quickly to major changes in the environment nor at creating an intentional future. In this sense organizational patterns are a conservative force and function best in the environment in which they evolved. The patterns recognized here include organizational culture, individuals, their needs and the task at hand.

Each of the patterns has its advantages and disadvantages. Table 2 presents a few advantages and disadvantages of each organizational pattern. The tricky balance involved in securing the commitment and participation of leaders, front-line staff, and the organization itself to create change are reflected.

Patterns suggest, for example, why the reductive, one best way, top-down change initiatives rarely work. If the organizational pattern is top-down and employees are habituated to doing what they are told, not asking questions, acting out of extrinsic motivation, and working official channels only, a top-down change initiative may be effective. In these reactive and imposed patterns, however, much is lost in the way of individual initiative, effective responsiveness to the environment, knowledge-sharing, and collective overcoming of challenges. The reactive and imposed patterns are relatively optimal during crises and disasters, and organizations functioning in these patterns have many, because the patterns interact with their environment—they help to create the environment in which they are effective. The organizational leaders thus see these patterns as functional, and the patterns are reinforced and resources are allocated accordingly. Most leaders and employees would prefer not to function in such terms, however. If the organization has a different pattern—for example, an active pattern—such behavior from management will cause distress, confusion, and seemingly uncooperative behaviour, and management may feel threatened.

Each pattern is thus effective in certain environments and less effective in others. Organizations tend to have emerged in an environment in which the pattern was an effective or functional approach and to have recreated and reinforced both the pattern and the environment over time. Leaders and employees who fit the pattern have been chosen and the pattern has molded to them as well. An effective change strategy must, therefore, take into account the organizational pattern—to

Table 2. Advantages and Disadvantages of Eight Organizational Patterns

Pattern	Advantages	Disadvantages	Environment Where It Functions Best
Reactive	Staff responsive to direct commands (compliant). Personal needs rarely interfere with the work.	Little individual initiative. Personal needs do not contribute to the work.	Change is incremental.
Imposed	Little outside interaction. Staff responsive to commands (compliant).	Unresponsive to exterior environment. Organization only capable of dealing with major challenges in limited ways and often only one at a time.	Strong leadership is able to identify the problem and solution and implement it.
Active	Bottom-up culture produces can-do attitude. Capacity to overcome challenges.	Bottom-up culture and independence may threaten executives' control.	Leaders are willing to seek and work with employees ideas.
Necessary	Need for change can be acknowledged.	Lack of intrinsic motivation limits capacity to act and duration of change.	Discrete, short-term solutions are appropriate.
Proactive	Both individuals & culture responsive to need to act, challenge not too big.	Interventions not likely to be very significant as usually lacks executive support and therefore organizational resources.	Local solution is needed.
Buy-in	Individuals willing.	Culture creates a drag on change.	Solutions can be implemented by senior management without need for staff cooperation, only passive acceptance.
Continuous	Issues get acted on.	Responses can be slow. Hard to maintain the pattern in the long term (tends to break down).	A solution can be allowed to emerge.
Transformational	Important issues get acted upon. Resources are made available. Leadership is solidly committed to the change.	Only a few options are seriously considered. Some individuals get left behind. Changes may not endure in long term. Tends to be ideological and hence tends toward punctuated equilibrium.	Solutions are clear, discrete, and have support of population

work within rather than against it in order to be effective. Imposed changes are the organizational equivalent of environmental catastrophes, and lead to unpredictable, potentially catastrophic punctuated equilibrium patterns of change. Their use as a change strategy is high risk and should be avoided if possible.

A more integrative and cooperative change strategy emerges from bottom-up patterns. Such an evolutionary approach requires different skills of leaders. Instead of leaders with strong egos, will, and insensitivity to individuals, organizations and leaders at all levels of the organization seek to enhance knowledge, networking, communication, and understanding of the need to change. Change is created in a cooperative and democratic manner. The objective is the greater good of everyone involved—employees, managers, executives, owners, elected officials, partners, the public—rather than only one or two privileged groups. This is possible in PSOs in particular, given the dominant motivations. PSO actors create an environment in which leaders are willing to seek out and work with employees' ideas, local solutions are requested and allowed to emerge, and solutions are in general encouraged to emerge instead of being imposed. Win-win solutions are created, not the more typical win-lose solutions (which are less likely to succeed).

Organizational patterns are not external things but something that is created by all concerned—by how they look at and relate to it and by whether they see themselves as having an effect on it. The organization is not responding to an environment but is co-creating it. Organizational change is likewise co-created by leaders, employees, suppliers, clients, owners, and voters. In such organizations there are fewer crises and more opportunities, changes and opportunities are not imposed but co-created, and work is cooperative, not imposed. These organizations can become more outward looking, effective, functional, and adaptive.

NEW ENTRANTS FUNCTIONING WITHIN ORGANIZATIONAL PATTERNS

How, then, can new PSO organizational employees become conscious, active, and effective in public service? The factors and patterns described above can help new and mature public servants better understand their experiences. Although not necessarily apparent, motivation, culture, power, and authority have substantial impacts on the workplace. Structure and processes are often surrogates or representations of those dynamics. Employees who cannot understand why things work the way they do, or even how they work may be failing to understand these dynamics. If they looked for them, they could achieve greater understanding of what they are experiencing. To understand whether one is working in a top-down or a bottom-up environment is crucial to determining what kind of behaviour is expected within an organization, for example. Etzioni's analysis makes clear that new entrants have the potential to be active in their environment and that not being integrated into the environment, its values, and perspectives can be a good thing. It does not necessarily feel like a good thing, however, as it affects how well a new employee is accepted.

Although new entrants to government may not find that public servants' intrinsic motivation and commitment is apparent, they should remember that it is there. Other values, such as commitment to political neutrality and adherence to norms and roles, may mask commitment. New entrants to government often perceive the challenges to create a change as less important than do long-term employees. New entrants must ensure that this is not the result of a lack of understanding and sympathy (pensions do matter!), but they can make a contribution here in helping to reduce the perceived challenges and to address the real ones.

CLASSROOM EXERCISE

Individual and group approaches to teaching the patterns should be used. Students should be invited to

1. Assess the pattern(s) of an organization they know well and have known over time to check the validity of the idea of organizational patterns from their own experience.
2. Describe a change needed in the organizational environment they know. If some students cannot identify a case, teachers could give them copies of cases or of the examples provided in Glor (2001b). Students should analyze the factors and organizational pattern of their case, using specific evidence from the domains of motivation, organizational culture, and challenge.
3. Prepare a plan to secure approval for and implementing the change within the existing pattern.
4. Consider whether and how it would be possible to influence the pattern in order to create an environment more accepting of change. The professor should review this material.
5. The professor should then ask one or two students to describe the context for their case and their analysis of the three factors. The class should discuss this analysis, asking questions that allow them to drill down to understand well the pattern of the environment in which the change would be attempted. The professor may wish to prepare a case from personal experience and describe it instead of having a student do so. It will become clear that all indicators do not point in the same direction and that assessments and judgments must be made. The benefit is learning to understand these dynamics, not only getting the pattern right. Political and administrative history should be considered as well as individuals and groups in the organizational environment and their composition and variety. This information needs to be converted into input for the assessment of each of the factors. The discussion should attempt to answer the following questions: Are people in this environment predominantly intrinsically or extrinsically

motivated? Why? Is the culture predominantly top-down or bottom-up? Why? How much of a challenge will it be to implement the change? Why? Criteria for these factors are available (Glor, 2001b) and could be handed out.

6. Some of the cases prepared by the students should be presented in class. During the class presentations and discussions, the professor should complete an eight-column table with the following columns, in sequence: case, dominant motivation, organizational culture, challenge environment, organizational pattern, recommended intervention, likely endurance. Next, each student presenting should support his or her intervention by describing it in reference to its pattern—why it seems appropriate and likely to succeed within its pattern, and whether and why it would be likely or not likely to endure. The class's conclusions about the likely endurance of the solution should be compared to the assessment in Table 2, concluding with a discussion of both agreement and disagreement between the students' conclusions and the general assessment in the table.

There is no best answer to these open-ended exercises. Although they will take unpredictable turns and time, the exercises will offer students the opportunity to integrate much relevant organizational development information. Some students may attempt to implement their plan; if they do, they should be encouraged to report their experience to the class.

CONCLUSION

Conflicts inherent in change, barriers to action, and factors acting to support or challenge change in organizations have been identified. They integrate as CAS organizational change patterns. A pattern is a concept developed in the complexity literature to describe how nonlinear complex systems function. Complex systems such as organizations do not function predictably, but they can be better understood than they are currently by looking for their patterns. How complex organizations with well-established patterns change is an important issue that needs further consideration. This paper has suggested that the most effective change pattern is not always the typically promoted top-down change model but rather a process in which the sense of a need for change emerges from within the organization, in keeping with its pattern, while drawing on the knowledge, strength, and intention of all employees.

The notion of three dynamic, multi-dimensional factors interacting to form patterns in organizations helps observers come to grips with their own complex environments. Eight organizational patterns were identified in this paper, a case study of each was examined, some advantages and disadvantages of each were discussed, and an environment in which they function well was identified.

Some patterns seemed to be more conducive to emergent change and to support employees to deal with challenges more effectively than others. This conclusion requires additional consideration.

NOTES

1. Brewer, Selden, and Facer (2000) used Perry's concepts to acknowledge the multi-faceted nature of public service motivation and to build four conceptions of public service motivation: Samaritans, communitarians, patriots, and humanitarians. The lack of provision for less altruistic motivations such as self-interest or fear in their model is striking.
2. Bacharach and Lawler (1980, 13–14) distinguished two types of concepts: primitive and derived. Primitive concepts are less specific and more abstract, while derived concepts are less abstract. The value of primitive terms is largely heuristic; they sensitize people to an issue. Power is a primitive concept. Elaborating the implications of a primitive term is not easy, but it is possible to distinguish forms and content in a social relationship. Form refers to the basic pattern or configuration of the phenomenon such as the parameters within which action or interaction occurs. In the case of power, the form consists of factors like sanctions and is characterized by some level of dependence or interdependence in the power relationship. Although these factors may vary by degrees across settings, they are likely to be present in every case and to represent the most basic aspects of the phenomenon. Content refers to dimensions that are not omnipresent and that vary in terms of degree and presence. Authority and influence are the specific content of power; they may or may not be present (Bacharach and Lawler, 1980, 12–14).
3. Many Canadian federal government PSOs have their origin, for example, in the 1860s and 1870s, when most employees were illiterate. Today, many employees have university degrees.

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Teaching Organization Theory from a Constitutional Perspective: A New Twist on an Old Flame

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ABSTRACT

Over the past 30 years, organization theory has become an increasingly important component of public affairs education. Many of our graduate programs typically require, or at least highly encourage, students to enroll in courses relating to organization theory and organization behavior and change as one way of preparing them for the many complexities of public sector management. The purpose of this article is to highlight the practical relevance and intellectual significance of teaching organization theory from a constitutional perspective. This focus highlights the argument made by constitutional school scholars (Rosenbloom 2007) that all areas of public administration curriculum should be grounded in constitutional tradition.

In *Federalist* 27, Alexander Hamilton argued, “[The people’s] confidence in and obedience to a government, will commonly be proportioned to the goodness or badness of its administration” (Cooke, 1961, 172). For public administration scholars interested in demonstrating how civil servants work to conserve the institutional and regime values of the American state, Hamilton’s observation remains significant (Cooper, 1991; Rohr, 1986, 2002; Rosenbloom et al., 2000; Terry, 2002). Throughout the *Federalist Papers*, Publius underscores the notion that good government is dependent upon good administration. A number of public administration scholars who focus on constitutional theory, ethics, and the legal environment of public affairs advance the idea that the constitutional framework created by the American founders during the great debates of 1787, as well as in later Supreme Court decisions, legitimize the administrative state historically, politically, institutionally, and especially constitutionally (Phillip Cooper, 2002, 2006; Terry Cooper, 1991; Lee, 2005; Rohr, 1986, 1989, 1998, 2002; Rosenbloom, 2000, 2003; Rosenbloom et al., 2000). Organization theorists,

however, have paid relatively little attention to how the constitutional principles of federalism and separation of powers provides a noteworthy theoretical framework in which to teach, explain, predict, examine, and understand complex *public* organizations. The purpose of this article is to illustrate how teaching organization theory from a constitutional perspective presents a useful way of conceptualizing the relationships between the state and its public organizations.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THEORY TO THE STUDY OF ORGANIZATIONS

Defining theory is complex, and yet organization scholars from a variety of different intellectual genres and schools of thought point to its significance (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991; Hatch, 2006; Kaufman, 1991, 1960; Rainey, 2003; Perrow, 1986; Scott, 2003, 2001; Shafritz et al., 2005; Thompson, 2006; Weick, 1995; Williamson, 1995). A single, agreed-upon definition, however, does not exist. As a result, a number of definitions and perspectives permeate the literature on the importance of theory to the study and practice of complex organizations—public, private, and nonprofit. Jay Shafritz et al., for example, argue that theories seek to explain or predict “how organizations and the people in them will behave in varying organizational structures, cultures, and circumstances” (2005, 1–3). Similarly, Hal Rainey (2003) argues that organization theory “focuses on topics that concern the organization as a whole, such as organizational environments, goals and effectiveness, strategy and decision making, change and innovation, and structure and design” (8). Mary Jo Hatch (2006) provides a more generalist perspective and asserts, “Whenever you create your own meaning or grasp someone else’s, you make things, feelings, ideas, experiences, values and expectations into ideas or concepts. In doing this you explain yourself and your world and this constitutes theorizing” (4). More broadly, James Thompson (2003) calls our attention to the value of studying organization theory from both a closed and open systems approach. Charles Perrow (1986) emphasizes how the human relations and neo-Weberian models, the institutional school, the environment, economic theories of organizations, and the role of power in analyzing organizational dynamics affects the theoretical and practical aspects of complex organizations. Richard Scott (2003) points to the value of understanding organizations from a rational, natural, and open systems framework.

By means of comparison, George Frederickson and Kevin Smith (2003) define public administration theory in a way that is both appealing and functional for students of organization theory. They maintain that public administration theory is useful because it increases our capacity to describe, explain, and predict, and “the descriptive features of theory help us see; the explanatory features of theory help us understand” (5). Frederickson and Smith define theory in three ways: “First, in the natural and physical sciences, theory means a rigorous testing of predictive theorems or hypotheses using observable and comparable data; second, theory in the social sciences and in public administration means the ordering

of factual material so as to present evidence through definitions, concepts, and metaphors that promote understanding...by means of social behavior, organizational behavior, institutional dynamics, political systems and behavior, and patterns of communication and culture; and the third meaning of theory is normative—theories of what ought to be” (2003, 7). These definitions are helpful. They provide a framework within which scholars and students can analyze and evaluate the complexities associated with the study and practice of organizations generally and public organizations specifically.

As we can see, however, how organization scholars and public administrators define theory in the context of studying organizations varies greatly. The ideas presented in this article support a new way of teaching and understanding organization theory that places specific emphasis on how American constitutional tradition enhances our appreciation for the institutional and managerial complexities associated with *public* organizations. If this type of discussion occurs in our classrooms and in our scholarly debates, students are more likely to value the institutional, historical, political, and legal dimensions of public sector organizations in a more comprehensive and realistic manner. More specifically, grounding organization theory in American constitutional tradition draws attention to how the principles of federalism and separation of powers underscore the legitimacy of public organizations in a more historically accurate and practical way, or, as John Rohr (1986) proposes, “to encourage administrators and the public to think about administrative behavior in constitutional terms” (182). This theoretical approach to teaching organization theory emphasizes two important points. First, it draws attention to the connections among the history of the administrative state, its democratic institutions, and its public organizations, and second, it reveals how the structure of American constitutional government continues to shape the roles and responsibilities of civil servants and public organizations. Both points hold the potential to raise the intellectual, theoretical, and constitutional quality of graduate public affairs education.

ORGANIZATION THEORY, FEDERALISM, AND SEPARATION OF POWERS

Underscoring how the constitutional principles of federalism and separation of powers work in the United States demonstrates how the Constitution serves as a reference point for all areas of study in public affairs education, and not simply those that only emphasize ethics or the legal environment of public administration. Supreme Court Justice Stephen Breyer (2005) speaks directly to this point in his latest work, *Active Liberty*, when he articulates the role of the Constitution in modern-day American democracy:

I see the document as creating a coherent framework for a certain kind of government. Described generally, that government is democratic; it avoids concentration of too much power in too few hands; it protects

personal liberty; it insists that the law respect each individual equally; and it acts only upon the basis of law itself (8).

Let us examine this line of reasoning further and with scrutiny, because it is particularly relevant for teaching organization theory from a constitutional perspective. The Framers created a form of republican government that embodied the principles of federalism and separation of powers as a means to secure and protect the individual rights of citizens and to ensure that neither a supreme legislature nor an all-powerful executive controlled the government in its entirety (Rohr, 1986). Articles I, II, and III of the United States Constitution enumerate the powers granted to the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government. An important distinction of the American regime is that the president and members of Congress derive their power directly from the Constitution, not from election to office. The only powers federally elected officials in the United States have are the ones granted to them by the Constitution, which is why they take an oath of office to support and defend it prior to assuming their respective positions.¹

The federal government's powers, nevertheless, are not unlimited or without restriction. The Tenth Amendment, which is part of the Bill of Rights, provides guarantees of protections to the states and ultimately to the people themselves. It reads,

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

A careful textual reading of this amendment, however, reveals the omission of the word "expressly." If this amendment had read, "The powers not *expressly* delegated" it would have potentially weakened the federal government, a possibility that very much worried Hamilton and his strong executive supporters. These theoretical observances and nuances have been a source of great contention since the founding of the Republic, particularly between those who favor the Hamiltonian position that the president's powers are both granted *and* implied and those who argue that the only powers the Constitution affords the president are the ones expressly stipulated in Article II. Contemporary presidential and executive branch scholars (Aberbach and Rockman, 2000; Fisher, 2006; Hult and Walcott, 2004; Light, 1995; Nathan, 1983; Neustadt, 1990; Skowronek, 1997; Walcott and Hult, 1995) have provided historical and empirical evidence that demonstrates how presidents and members of Congress continually struggle with the amount of implied power the president demands versus how much authority and responsibility the legislative branch is willing to grant not only to the chief executive but also to the departments, agencies, and organizations that constitute the executive branch.

Similarly, contemporary scholars of administrative and constitutional law have argued that the Supreme Court in the Rehnquist era created a “new jurisprudence of constitutional federalism,” designed to provide greater protections to the states from federal regulation and intrusion. Such efforts not only limited Congress’s powers under Article I, Section 8, and under the Fourteenth Amendment but also highlighted the rather “intriguing” issue of how to establish and maintain dual sovereignty in the United States, a point that was of great constitutional interest to Justice Antonin Scalia in *Printz v. United States* (1997) (Conlon and Chantal, 2001; Gold, 1998; Rohr, 2002; Rosenbloom and Ross, 1998; Wise, 1998, 2001). In *Printz*, Justice Scalia, writing for the Court, does not distinguish between policymaking and policy implementation, because, according to his jurisprudence, executive action is almost always linked to policymaking (Rohr, 2002; Wise, 1998). Scalia’s opinion is important for courses that extend beyond those that solely focus on ethics or the legal environment of public affairs, like organization theory. Determining the amount of control the federal government has over the state governments has raised contentious constitutional questions dating back to the days when John Marshall served as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court from 1801 to 1835. The Court’s decisions in cases like *Printz* that shift the balance of power between the federal and state governments not only establish new precedent for American constitutional law, they also have important implications for complex public organizations and the theories that guide us in understanding their role within the confines of the administrative state. Public affairs educators should pay particular attention to how changes in this type of precedent, which directly involves the constitutional principle of federalism, can provide a distinctive type of framework for teaching and understanding the theoretical and practical relevance of the study of organizations.

In *Federalist 47* and *51*, Madison defends the establishment of a separation of powers regime and his arguments in these two papers provide additional support for incorporating American constitutional theory into organization theory. In *Federalist 47*, Madison begins with the assertion that, if all the powers of government belong to any one branch, tyranny would emerge. This was an extraordinary concern for the Founders, so much so that it led Madison to assert that

[t]he legislative, executive and judiciary powers ought to be kept as separate from, and independent of each other *as the nature of a free government will admit; or as is consistent with that chain of connection, that binds the whole fabric of the constitution in one indissoluble bond of unity and amity*” (Cooke, 1961, 327, emphasis in original).

As Rohr (1986) correctly observes in his critique of *Federalist 47*, “Clearly, no administrative agency ever has or ever could function as a ‘department’ (i.e., referring to the legislative, executive, or judicial branches) that exercise[s] the

'whole power' of another department" (19). The only way to maintain the success of a separation of powers regime, therefore, was to allow for a "partial intermixture" between the three constitutional branches.

In *Federalist 51*, Madison indicated how a separated, yet connected, partially intermixed government would not only preserve liberty, which is essential for the republican regime established in the 1787 Constitution, but would also provide protections against tyranny:

It is evident that each department should have a will of its own; and consequently should be so constituted, that the members of each should have a little agency as possible in the appointment of the members of the others. Were this principle rigorously adhered to, it would require that all the appointments for the supreme executive, legislative, and judiciary magistracies, should be drawn from the same fountain of authority, the people, through channels, having no communication whatever with one another.... It is equally important that the members of each department should be as little dependent as possible on those of the others, for the emoluments annexed to their offices.... But the great security against a gradual concentration of the several powers in the same department, consists in giving to those who administer each department, the necessary constitutional means, and personal motives, to resist encroachments of the others" (Cooke, 1961, 348–9).

Madison's observation is relevant to how we should describe, predict, explain, and teach organization theory today, especially as it relates to organizations that are part of the public domain. Scholars of public administration and organization theory unfortunately have yet to connect the substance of Madison's position with many of the arguments made in the classical texts of organization theory. This connection provides a distinctive opportunity to examine the continued relevance of the nation's constitutional heritage to the subject of organization theory and its intellectual and practical significance to public administration. For example, Gulick's (1937) emphasis on the functions of the executive, Barnard's (1938) interest in theories associated with incentives and authority, Selznick's (1957) groundbreaking work that describes how organizations become institutions, March and Olsen's (1989) institutional argument that politics plays a vitally important role within the confines of creating and maintaining stability and change within organizations, and Terry's (2003) notion of administrative conservatism collectively speak to Madison's brilliant defense of a separation of powers system of government. It also illustrates how this type of organizational structure will shape the roles and responsibilities of the government's departments—the

public organizations—that carry out the will of the people as determined by their elected officials.

More specifically, Merton's (1957) contention that the office conveys authority, not the person who performs the functions associated with the office provides an interesting and noteworthy parallel to Madison's position in *Federalist 51* that "the interest of the man must always be connected to the constitutional rights of the place" (Cooke, 1961, 349). In a word, if students developed a more refined understanding for how the constitutional principles of federalism and separation of powers relate to the study and practice of public organizations, they would be more likely to rely on this knowledge and use it as a reference point in their scholarly examination of this specific field as well as in other areas of public affairs education and practice. Furthermore, the connection between how specific constitutional principles affect public organizations would provide students with a richer understanding of the legal, historical, political, and institutional complexities of the American administrative state in the present.

For our purposes, Hamilton's well-defined argument in *Federalist 72* provides additional support for the need to teach public sector organization theory from a constitutional perspective:

The ADMINISTRATION of government, in its largest sense, comprehends all the operations of the body politic, whether legislative, executive or judiciary, but in its most usual and perhaps in its most precise signification, it is limited to executive details, and falls peculiarly within the province of the executive department . . . The persons therefore, to whose immediate management these different matters are committed, ought to be considered as the assistants or deputies of the chief magistrate; and, on this account, they ought to derive their offices from his appointment, at least from his nomination, and ought to be subject to his superintendence. This view of the subject will at once suggest to us the intimate connection between the duration of the executive magistrate in office, and the stability of the system of administration (Cooke, 1961, 486–487, emphasis in original).

Hamilton's emphasis on the importance of good administrative practice in the executive branch speaks directly to Rohr's (1986) observation that, in American public administration, public organizations are incapable of being completely instrumental, either in theory or in practice, because we are unable to determine whose instrument they serve: Congress, the president, or the courts. Such is the direct effect of serving three constitutional masters. Rohr (2002) has also observed that "[a]t the heart of the struggle between Congress and the president

for control of administrative agencies is the longstanding congressional practice of driving a wedge between the president and his subordinates in the executive branch of government” (101). This point is in interesting parallel to the theory of bureaucratic-politics, particularly in terms of creating ways to mobilize political support and enhance agency power in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches, within the administrative departments of government, and among various interest groups and the citizenry at large (Allison and Zelikow, 1999; Dean, 2004; Kingdon, 1995; Long, 1949; Moe, 1995; Radin, 2004; Rourke, 1969, 1978; Weingast and Moran, 1983; Wilson, 1989).

In a healthy separation of powers system, Congress, the president, and the courts are constantly struggling to control the mission, objectives, and policy goals of executive departments and agencies as well as in a variety of other types of public organizations. If public organizations operate under the assumption that elected and appointed members of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches are directing them in different directions, resembling a tug-of-war contest, that is par for the course in a separation of powers system designed “to secure and protect the blessings of liberty.” Several ways in which Congress works to control administrative agencies are through appropriations, regulation, and oversight. The president works to execute the laws and to gain various types of support for his policy agendas through the power of persuasion (Neustadt, 1990). The courts also determine whether decisions, policies, and laws fit within the boundaries of the Constitution and other statutory laws. And herein lies the connection to the study and practice of organization theory. When we teach this subject from a constitutional perspective, particularly as it relates to a separation of powers regime, a distinctive and stable theoretical framework emerges that highlights the significance of constitutional tradition to the study and practice of public administration *and* its organizations. All three constitutionally created branches of American government work to shape the structure of the nation’s democratic institutions and precisely how they attempt to control the administrative state should be of particular interest to organization theorists.

CONNECTING THEORY TO PRACTICE—THE SUPREME COURT’S HISTORIC ROLE

Looking to the past often sheds light on both the present and the future. Three important Supreme Court cases, *Myers v. United States* (1926), *Humphrey’s Executor v. United States* (1935), and *Morrison v. Olsen* (1988), highlight how the Court shaped the nature, roles, and responsibilities of public organizations in light of the constitutional principle of separation of powers. As Justice Scalia noted in his dissenting opinion in *Morrison*, “[t]he Framers of the Federal Constitution similarly viewed the principle of separation of powers as the absolutely central guarantee of a just Government,” which is precisely why it remains relevant to the study and practice of public organizations. Although at first glance these cases may appear dated and irrelevant to modern-day administrative practice, a careful

examination of how the Court relied on the principle of separation of powers provides important and additional insight into the need to teach organization theory from a constitutional perspective.

Myers v. United States (1926)

Myers v. United States was a noteworthy Supreme Court case that examined the president's constitutional authority to remove appointed and confirmed officials from the executive branch without the consent of the Senate. The case centered on a decision made by President Woodrow Wilson in 1920 to remove Frank Myers from his appointed position as a first-class postmaster in Portland, Oregon. Former president and then-Chief Justice William Howard Taft delivered the opinion of the Court in a lengthy decision that relied heavily on arguments made at the founding of the republic. In this decision, the Court examined the constitutionality of an 1876 statute requiring "the consent of the Senate necessary both to the appointment and removal of first, second, and third class postmasters" (*Myers v. U.S.*). Myers argued that this law prohibited the president from removing him from office without the Senate's consent. In a six to three vote, the Court ruled that the executive authority created by Article II of the Constitution grants the president the power to remove appointed executive branch officials without the consent of the Senate. This, according to the majority of the Court, provides the president with the type of constitutional authority needed to ensure that the laws are faithfully executed. As such, the Court maintained that the 1876 statute in question violated the principle of separation of powers between the executive and legislative branches and undermined the president's constitutional role and responsibilities under Article II. We can assert with a strong degree of confidence that Luther Gulick (1937), an important classical scholar of organization theory (Shafritz et al., 2005) would have agreed with the Court's affirming opinion, because it provided additional mechanisms to enhance executive power.

In Justice Louis Brandeis's excellent dissent, he challenges the opinion of the majority, especially as it relates to preserving a separation of powers regime. Although the following quotation from Brandeis's opinion is lengthy it provides an important observation about the responsibilities of the legislative branch to check the powers of the executive, and such efforts have significant and longstanding ramifications for making the case that organization theory should be examined from a constitutional perspective:

Checks and balances were established in order that this should be "a government of laws and not of men" The doctrine of the separation of powers was adopted by the convention of 1787 not to promote efficiency but to preclude the exercise of arbitrary power. The purpose was not to avoid friction, but, by means of the inevitable friction incident to the distribution of the governmental powers

among three departments, to save the people from autocracy. In order to prevent arbitrary executive action, the Constitution provided in terms that presidential appointments be made with the consent of the Senate, unless Congress should otherwise provide; and this clause was construed by Alexander Hamilton in *The Federalist*, No. 77, as requiring like consent to removals.... The Constitution empowered Congress to vest the appointment of inferior officers, "as we think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments." Nothing in support of the claim of uncontrollable power can be inferred from the silence of the convention of 1787 on the subject of removal. In America, as in England, the conviction prevailed then that the people must look to representative assemblies for the protection of their liberties. And protection of the individual, even if he be an official, from the arbitrary or capricious exercise of power was then believed to be an essential of free government (*Myers v. U.S.*).

Brandeis's opinion provides us with another way of understanding how the three branches of government check each other's power. According to Brandeis, the Court should not allow the president to ignore statutory law that clearly requires him to consult the Senate prior to removing an appointed postmaster from his position. Brandeis's dissent allows the Court in the next case we examine, *Humphrey's Executor v. United States*, to narrow the precedent established here.

Humphrey's Executor v. United States (1935)

Like *Myers*, the case of *Humphrey's Executor v. United States* illustrates the connection between established constitutional principle and sound organization theory. It also served as an opportunity for the Court to address many of the concerns brought out in the dissenting opinions of *Myers*, particularly Justice Brandeis's. In this case, President Franklin Roosevelt removed William Humphrey from his post at the Federal Trade Commission (FTC), a position to which President Hoover had previously appointed him with the advice and consent of the Senate. Humphrey served the FTC in good standing for seven years prior to his removal from office. Despite his high level of performance, Roosevelt removed Humphrey from his position for what he perceived as a failure to support New Deal policies and programs with the amount of vigor the president and his administration demanded. As was the case with *Myers*, the constitutional question before the Court was "whether the power of the President to remove an officer shall prevail over the authority of Congress to condition the power by fixing a definite term and precluding a removal except for cause will depend upon the character of the office" (*Humphrey's Executor*). In this case, the Court made a distinction between the civil servant here involved versus the one affected by the *Myers* decision.

Myers was an executive officer whose roles and responsibilities as a first-class postmaster were strictly executive; Humphrey's position at the FTC, which is a regulatory agency, was both quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial. Humphrey, as a result, could not be removed from office by the president without the consent of the Senate.

The Court's ruling in *Humphrey's Executor* underscores two key points. The first focuses on the constitutional role of the judiciary in checking the power, authority, and decision-making processes of Congress and the president. The second highlights the implications of this decision for public organizations, which Justice Sutherland, who wrote the Court's opinion in *Humphrey's Executor*, outlined best:

We think it plain under the Constitution that illimitable power of removal is not possessed by the President.... The authority of Congress, in creating quasi legislative or quasi judicial agencies, to require them to act in discharge of their duties independently of executive control cannot well be doubted; and that authority includes, as an appropriate incident, power to fix the period during which they shall continue, and to forbid their removal except for cause in the meantime. For it is quite evident that one who holds his office only during the pleasure of another cannot be depended upon to maintain an attitude of independence against the latter's will (*Humphrey's Executor*).

From *Myers* to *Humphrey's Executor*, the Supreme Court changed, or at least significantly narrowed, its own precedent. Rohr (1998) asserts that *Humphrey's Executor* allowed the Court to address the problems it created in *Myers*, particularly the way in which "Justice Taft treated the executive branch of government as though it were a managerial enterprise instead of a political institution in which the Congress will always have a legitimate interest" (108–109). In a word, the president does not have unilateral authority under Article II to remove a governmental appointee whose administrative, professional, and constitutional responsibilities extend beyond those associated with executive branch dynamics.

During the early part of the twentieth century, concerns over the constitutional nature, responsibilities, and roles of regulatory agencies and commissions were important matters of discussion for presidents, members of Congress, the courts, and scholars of public administration and political science. Robert Cushman, who was part of the landmark 1937 President's Committee on Administrative Management, commonly referred to as the Brownlow Report, devoted an entire paper to the topic. He warned that independent regulatory commissions presented "a challenging problem in any program of Federal administrative reorganization.... Experience has evolved no practical means of making them responsible are a sort

of 'fourth department' in the National Government" (1937, 1; Newbold and Terry, 2006). Rosenbloom (2000) argues that this case legitimated Cushman's observation. Here, the Court checked the power of the president. For our purposes, both *Myers* and *Humphrey's Executor* highlight how the Supreme Court determines if one branch of government can remove appointed officials with or without the consent of the Senate and still act within the boundaries of Article II of the Constitution. These two decisions have important implications for organization theory, particularly as they relate to power and politics in organizations, hierarchy, the institutional school's emphasis on the environment, and Selznick's notion of institutional statesmanship.

Morrison v. Olsen (1988)

Fifty-three years after the Supreme Court decided *Humphrey's Executor*, the case of *Morrison v. Olsen* brought the justices' attention to another area of legal and constitutional interest affecting the relationships between a separation of powers regime and organization theory. This case examined the constitutionality of the independent counsel provisions, which were part of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978. Attempting to create a truly independent counsel, "Congress provided that the appointment should be made by a judicial panel and that removal could be effected only for cause" (Rohr, 1998, 110). In a seven to one opinion,² Chief Justice William Rehnquist, writing for the Court, argued that this provision was constitutional, because it "did not violate the Appointments Clause of the Constitution³ or the limitations of Article III, nor do they impermissibly interfere with the President's authority under Article II in violation of the constitutional principle of separation of powers" (*Morrison v. Olsen*). Rehnquist's opinion and the administrative details of this case are especially significant to how and why we should think of organization theory in constitutional terms.

Alexia Morrison, the independent counsel, and Theodore Olsen, the assistant attorney general for the Office of Legal Counsel at the Department of Justice, were dueling over an important constitutional question. Would the creation of an independent counsel usurp power from the president or would it establish an institutional environment in which this type of counsel prevented abuses of power within the executive branch? The very essence of this separation of powers argument hinged on the interpretation of "inferior officer"—was the independent counsel inferior to the executive branch, or was it part of the executive branch? The majority of the Court argued that the independent counsel was an inferior officer, because she "had various judicial and prosecutorial powers, including the power to arrest and imprison for trial, to issue warrants, and to institute prosecutions under laws relating to the elective franchise and civil rights" (*Morrison v. Olsen*). As a result, Rehnquist argued that Congress had the constitutional authority to create a judicial panel for the purposes of appointing these officers to their positions.

Justice Scalia, the lone dissenter, disagreed with the majority's opinion and provided two key points that are pertinent to how the constitutional principle of separation of powers affects organization theory. He asked the majority the following questions—questions that remain relevant to the connection between sound constitutional principle and the implementation of organization theory into practice:

- (1) Is the conduct of a criminal prosecution (and of an investigation to decide whether to prosecute) the exercise of purely executive power?
- and (2) Does the statute deprive the President of the United States of exclusive control over the exercise of that power? Surprising to say, the Court appears to concede an affirmative answer to both questions, but seeks to avoid the inevitable conclusion that since the statute vests some purely executive power in a person who is not the President of the United States it is void (*Morrison v. Olsen*).

Scalia concludes that the independent counsel serves at the pleasure of the president because governmental investigation and the authority to prosecute crimes are strictly executive functions. Rohr (1989) provides an excellent analysis depicting Scalia's argument as one that supports the Court's previous decision in *Myers*, whereas Rehnquist's opinion is one that limits the *Myers* ruling. This, according to Rohr, has extraordinary implications for American civil servants. Building upon Scalia's argument that the Court's decision provides Congress with "an open invitation to experiment," Rohr argues, "The experiments would test just how far the Congress could go in protecting purely executive officers from dismissal at the pleasure of the president without impeding the president's ability to perform his constitutional duty" (111). Rosenbloom's (2003) analysis of this case further demonstrates the astonishing impact this ruling had on public administration, "because it essentially holds that the executive branch does not belong to the president but rather is subordinate to Congress and the federal courts as well" (24). This precedent is striking and has notable implications for the study and practice of public organizations. In this case, the majority of the Court limited presidential power within the confines of the executive branch in a startling way—one that Justice Scalia found constitutionally distressing. The application of this case to the topic of how and why organization theory should be examined from a constitutional perspective is considerable and noteworthy. It illustrates how great the struggle remains for which branch of government can best control the very public organizations, departments, and agencies that not only make up the executive branch but also American public administration.

What connects *Myers*, *Humphrey's Executor*, and *Morrison* is of central importance to how and why public affairs educators should conceptualize organization theory from a constitutional framework. How much constitutional authority

the president has to remove appointed officials from their positions within the executive branch; how much constitutional authority Congress has in limiting the powers of the president to control executive departments and agencies; and how the Supreme Court attempts to shape the constitutional dynamics affecting the administrative state should be of great interest to organization theorists who teach graduate students in public affairs. All three cases illustrate how the constitutional principle of separation of powers directly and indirectly affects complex public organizations. They also point to the notion that executive branch agencies—which represent hundreds of public organizations—are constantly serving three masters of equal constitutional stature who are competing to control their policies and programs and the hiring and firing of their civil servants. These cases are also useful teaching tools that demonstrate the relevance of constitutional theory to the various dynamics affecting the vast political and administrative complexity of public organizations.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study has been to start a serious and thoughtful conversation about the importance of connecting organization theory to the constitutional principles of federalism and separation of powers. According to the Constitutional School, which is a group of public administration scholars and practitioners, joined in a loose confederation, and characterized by an interest in the principles embodied in the Constitution of the United States as the basis for their research and practice,⁴ all areas of the public administration curriculum should be grounded in constitutional tradition. This approach does not suggest that other equally effective and meaningful ways do not exist for teaching, explaining, predicting, and understanding organization theory in the context of public affairs education. It does emphasize, however, that grounding organization theory in sound constitutional principle is *one* way to explain how organization theory directly relates to the study and practice of public administration. The use of the indefinite pronoun, *one*, is significant and should not be underemphasized. When we develop a more comprehensive understanding of how American constitutional theory affects organization theory, a distinctive and stable theoretical framework emerges and greatly expands our appreciation for the complexities affecting public organizations. Such efforts not only enhance and improve public affairs education, but they also demonstrate the contextual value for scholars and students who are willing and able to recognize the connection between constitutional tradition and the study and practice of public administration and its organizations.

NOTES

1. John Rohr examines this point extensively in *To Run a Constitution* (Kansas, 1986) and in *Founding Republics in France and America* (Kansas, 1995).
2. Justice Kennedy did not take part in this decision; Justice Scalia was the lone dissenter.
3. Article II, Section 2, Clause 2.

- Richard Green, Karen Hult, Doug Morgan, Stephanie Newbold, John Rohr, and David Rosenbloom established this definition for the Constitutional School at the 2007 Southern Political Science Conference, New Orleans, Louisiana.

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Appendix A. Case Analysis Checklist

1. Does the statement of the problem capture accurately the situation? Is it stated in one sentence?
2. Have you identified the key actors? Have you identified other essential information? Have inessential and marginal characters been eliminated? Can a reader capture your intention without extensive interpretation?
3. Have all of the essential facts been stated? Have the inessential been eliminated?
4. Are the missing or implied facts stated? Have you justified the inclusion of the implied or missing facts?
5. Are the essential behaviors included? Have they been identified with values and ethical problems?
6. Does your analysis represent a fair interpretation of the situation?
7. Are your recommendations clearly stated with regard to each of the actors? Are the recommendations practical?
8. Do the consequences of your recommendations make good ethical and behavioral sense?
9. If you have recommended alternative actions, is each given the appropriate weight?
10. Have you included in your discussion of the ethical criteria, a clear indication of the values you are representing?
11. Would you be proud of having your analysis reprinted in *The New York Times*? Check your writing grammar, punctuation, spelling, and sentence structure.

Teaching Constitutional Law to Public Administrators

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ABSTRACT

Public administrators face a tension between the administrative values of efficiency, effectiveness, and economy and constitutional requirements that establish individual rights and impose duties on administrators. Whether as street-level bureaucrats directly responsible for the delivery of services, as human resource managers, or as administrators managing agencies and programs, they are confronted by constitutional law throughout their careers. Administrators' actions are frequently tested in the courts and they can be surprised to find themselves answering in court not only in their official capacity, protected by their employers, but in a personal capacity as well. This study proposes that MPA programs need to recognize the importance of teaching students the role the constitution plays in governing their work environment.

A survey would reveal that few MPA programs offer courses in constitutional law. Courses in administrative and regulatory law are more common and no doubt important for administrators, but these may not allow for in-depth consideration of the tension between the administrative values of efficiency and efficacy and the constitutional law of rights and duties.

The importance of imparting the skills needed for constitutional literacy is best explained by noting that the logic of administration is focused on efficiency, effectiveness, and economy. Students will become familiar with these values in courses throughout the standard MPA curriculum. Yet, at times, these values are in direct tension with constitutional law protecting individual rights and therefore imposing responsibility on administrators. If students are to balance the tension between efficiency and rights and duties creatively, it is important that they understand the roles that the Constitution and the Supreme Court play in their professional lives. If MPA programs are to “produce professionals capable of intelligent, creative analysis and communication” (NASPAA, Standard 4.0) those

programs must provide students with the basic tools needed to understand the law that applies to their conduct.

We cannot, of course, teach students how the Court will rule in the next pertinent case. The Supreme Court does not decide easy cases. But we can give students the tools to recognize the roles that the Court and the Constitution play in their professional lives. Students can become familiar with the tests and procedures the Court uses in making its decisions. This is important in educating future leaders in the profession. It will help them to move from simply applying rules to an understanding of the rights and duties underlying the rules.

The unexpected opportunity to teach a course in constitutional law for students in the John Jay College of Criminal Justice MPA program has convinced me of the importance of this course in the MPA curriculum. Overwhelmingly positive student reaction to that first course has convinced me that public managers need to understand the basic constitutional principles, concepts, and values that govern their actions. This article will discuss the pedagogy, materials, and methods that I have used in creating a course in constitutional law for public managers.

CURRENT STATUS OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW COURSES IN MPA PROGRAMS

Public administrators face a workplace of increasing complexity, including a growing body of constitutional law governing their actions. From law enforcement officers who must respect individuals' rights to be free from illegal search and seizure, teachers who must understand and protect students' privacy rights, social workers who must ensure that their clients' due process rights are respected, personnel specialists who must understand and apply the latest in affirmative action law, and even librarians who must be aware of constitutional law as it applies to patrons' rights to access the Internet, administrators are increasingly called upon to exercise "constitutional competence."¹ Yet, with perhaps the classic exception of the Miranda warning that police officers must recite to an individual before interrogation, many street-level bureaucrats know nothing of the Supreme Court's involvement in these policies or the tests and standards the Court uses in reaching its decisions.

Students are interested in learning the role that Supreme Court decisions interpreting the Constitution play in their daily work lives. Furthermore, although on-the-job training may have provided administrators with the knowledge needed to stay within constitutional boundaries, it frequently does not provide them with "why." Students' sense of satisfaction upon discovering that there are constitutional reasons for their actions, some of which may have seemed like simply so much bureaucratic paperwork, is reward enough for teaching the class.

Nothing can replace top-notch training in assisting administrators in making the sometimes split-second decisions that are required in their jobs, but a basic knowledge of the Court's reasoning and standards, and appreciation of the inherent tension between administrative values and constitutional values, will make

those decisions better informed. Providing students with corresponding analytical tools is a first step in creating administrators who are more than just cogs in the wheel—who are able to take steps to not only enforce the regulations but to look at the bigger picture and therefore move into leadership positions, including policymaking.

Unfortunately, an Internet review of the curriculum of 100 randomly selected NASPAA-accredited programs shows that MPA programs rarely offer courses in constitutional law.² Of the 100 schools surveyed, none included a constitutional law course in its core curriculum. Two schools offered a course as an elective, and three schools offered a course, but did not specify core or elective courses in their curriculum. Thus, a total of 5 of the 100 programs surveyed, or 20 percent, offer a course in constitutional law, but none require such a course. Sixteen of the 100 programs surveyed offered no law courses at all. Ten schools had no core law courses, and did not provide an listing of electives on their Web site.

Administrative law courses, which may contain some constitutional law but focus on the administrative and regulatory process, are much more common in MPA curriculums. Of the 100 programs surveyed, 4 had administrative law courses in their core curriculums, 27 had such courses listed as an elective, and 14 schools listed such a course without specifying core or elective. A total of 45 of the 100 schools thus had administrative law courses as part of their offering. Personnel management courses may also offer students some background in constitutional law, particularly law affecting hiring decisions such as affirmative action and in some statutory interpretation involving the Americans with Disabilities Act.

The existence of courses focusing on, or including, law is encouraging, in that MPA programs appear to recognize the need for students to have knowledge of the legal aspects of administration. This is further bolstered by the fact that of 79 schools and programs that were surveyed and that provided educational information on faculty, 42 had faculty with either a law degree or a law degree and a Ph.D. In addition, at least six of the schools surveyed offered joint J.D./MPA degree programs in which students would undoubtedly learn constitutional law. For many schools and programs, then, offering a course in constitutional law would not require a major retooling of curriculum or even a search for appropriate faculty. Rather, a recognition of the importance of constitutional law within the MPA curriculum is what is needed.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW COURSE AT JOHN JAY COLLEGE

The MPA program at John Jay College of Criminal Justice is the only MPA program in the nation housed within a school of criminal justice. The College is dedicated to education, research, and service in criminal justice and related areas of public safety and public service. The College makes explicit efforts to reach out to minority students, and about two-thirds of the approximately 375 MPA

students are members of minority groups, and 50 percent are women. Seventy-five percent of the students in the MPA program are employed full time, bringing practical experience in the public sector, along with real-life questions and concerns about their own work experiences. This diverse, engaged, yet frequently over-extended student body offers challenges as well as rewards in designing a class on constitutional law.

In my course, I assume that students come in with little to no knowledge of the court system in general, including the role of the Supreme Court, though they may have a background in criminal justice. At the risk of oversimplifying, I always begin with an introduction to the court system. I remind students that we have a dual court system and then move quickly to the role of the federal courts, particularly the Supreme Court. I briefly cover some history, including *Marbury v. Madison*, in which the Court asserted its power to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional. We review the separation of powers doctrine, and I remind the students that the Court cannot simply decide that an issue needs to be addressed but must wait for one to be brought before it. We discuss some simple jurisdictional issues, including *certiorari*. At the end of the first class, I distribute a handout with a picture and brief biography of each justice.

Throughout the semester we will repeatedly discuss the tension between efficiency and rights and duties. This is a concept that for public administration students can be startling: unlike the other two branches, the Court is not overly concerned with efficiency or cost. Schooled throughout their MPA program about the importance of both these concepts in classes from fiscal management to human resources, this is a difficult concept for students to digest. As we discuss, again and again, the fact that the major concern of the Court is the upholding of constitutional protections and not the cost involved in so doing, I can see students understanding of their own roles as administrators expand. As they begin to understand the underlying tension between cost effectiveness and constitutional competence, they begin to see their own role as administrators in a different light. At times, I can watch them sit back and square their shoulders as their understanding of the burdens they carry grows. Because the logic of administration can be so much in tension with the logic of the law, giving students a greater understanding of the reasoning behind legal precepts can help them see the issues more clearly, making them more capable of administering policy in a way that may be both efficient and constitutionally sound.

Procedurally, the class is traditional in that the students take a mid-term and a final exam and turn in weekly written responses to assigned questions, and untraditional in that the weekly class meetings are primarily student-led discussion sections. The class ranges in size from 15 to 30 students from semester to semester. Desks are arranged in a circle and each student, or sometimes a team of two students, is responsible for leading the discussion of one week's cases and assigned questions from the text. When they lead discussion, students are expected to be

very knowledgeable of the case excerpts assigned and to encourage discussion among their fellow students of the questions that follow the readings. For many students this is the first time they have been introduced to actually reading case law, and it is a difficult process. The assigned questions, taken from the textbook, attempt to help students identify the major holdings, including any tests and standards spelled out by the Court in the case, and then to engage the students in critical thinking by asking the students whether they agree or disagree with the holding or how they would have acted under the circumstances described in the case. Students are eager to discuss their thoughts at length on whether they agree or disagree with the case, and on how they might have responded, but are understandably considerably less eager to discuss the Court's holding. After the first midterm I gave, in which student responses focused on the student's personal thoughts about what had happened in the fictional case I presented, I now stress many times in the early part of the semester that I want students to know the tests the Court uses for the areas we are examining, and that while their opinion of the Court's actions is of value, that opinion must be grounded in argument supported by the Court's reasoning, or lack thereof. This can be a hard message to get across to students, but watching a student learn how to agree or disagree with a Court opinion, not simply because she or he thinks it isn't right but because she thinks the Court's reasoning or standard is faulty is an extremely rewarding teaching experience. I am, in effect, using a modified form of the Socratic method to engage students in the basics of legal reasoning: looking at both sides of an issue, weighing its strengths and weaknesses, taking a position on the issue, and advocating forcefully for that position. These skills are invaluable for administrators, not only in the situations where they deal directly with and need to understand lawyers, but also in their own work implementing policy.

Substantively, I cover some very distinct and broad areas of constitutional law with my students, including absolute and qualified liability, First and Fourth Amendment rights, due process, and equal protection and affirmative action. The textbook I use, *Constitutional Competence for Public Managers* by Rosenbloom, Carroll, and Carroll, begins with a discussion of approaches to constitutional interpretation, including a paragraph or two on five different approaches, such as the textual approach, the historical approach, and precedent. I find this particularly helpful to introduce students to the idea that the Court doesn't work from a standardized template when deciding cases. Teaching students that they will not be able to predict the outcome of Court cases, no matter how much they study the Court, is an important aspect of the class. I assure them throughout the semester that I am not expecting them to know what the Court will decide. Rather, I want them to be able to recognize a situation that might possibly violate the Constitution, be able to determine the level of scrutiny the Court will use in making its decision, and be able to discuss any tests the Court may use in deciding the case.

In order to grab the attention of my students, I introduce them to 42 U.S.C., Section 1983, in the second week of class. "Section 1983," as it is called, provides that state and local employees³ who knowingly violate an individual's constitutional rights can be held personally liable for their actions. Section 1983 is the core around which I build the rest of the class. Students are alarmed when they learn that they can be held personally liable for actions taken at work, and their desire to learn about the constitutional rights involved increases dramatically. Introducing the concepts of absolute and qualified immunity, and discussing the limited situations where absolute immunity applies, is an important part of the discussion, as is the concept of indemnity. I always ask students who are currently employed whether they know their employer's policy on indemnification, and, as most do not, I assign them the task of finding out.

We begin our discussion of constitutional rights by examining substantive rights that are clearly spelled out in the Constitution. The First Amendment rights of speech, assembly, press and religion, all subject to strict scrutiny, yet not absolute, all pose complex questions for public administrators. Case law illustrating the issues that arise for public administrators in these areas is plentiful and is helpful in introducing students to tests used by the Court in these areas. General concepts, such as the balancing governmental and defendant interests, are discussed, as are more specific tests such as the neutrality test when dealing with religion questions and the time, place, manner, and content tests when dealing with freedom of speech issues.

Fourth Amendment privacy rights are a substantial topic for discussion. Many students deal daily with these issues in their workplace, and they are very interested in the Court's approach to this issue. Misconceptions in this area are legion, and the Court's rules, although not always clearly determinative of outcome, are clearly established. First, students learn that the protection extends only to "unreasonable" searches and seizures. This is also an excellent area to explore the concept of whether the Court does, or should, react to our changing society when making its decisions and to examine current and even pending cases. The Court is repeatedly called upon to decide what is "reasonable," and in light of changing security concerns the Court's docket will undoubtedly continue to address this area of concern.

Procedural due process is another important area for public administrators. Many administrators find themselves the middle of governmental action that harms the life, liberty, or property interests of others. Although the Supreme Court itself has called procedural due process "an elusive process,"⁴ it has spelled out a specific balancing test to determine if due process has been followed. Teaching students that injuries to life, liberty, or property require the balancing of the individual's protected interest, the likelihood of errors in the government's decision making process, and the government's interest is an important step in

the learning process for many administrators, many of whom are already engaged in conduct but have no idea why they must go through the procedures that have been taught them in their training programs.

Substantive due process, or the protection of rights considered to be fundamental but not specifically spelled out in the Constitution, poses an increasing challenge for students. Because substantive due process rights are found in case law, they are by their very nature open-ended and changing. Students, of course, find this enormously frustrating: how can they be cognizant of rights that they may not even know exist? Although these rights, such as the right to treatment for persons involuntarily confined in mental health facilities or prisons, or the right to privacy, are well illustrated in case law, this is a controversial and unstructured area of the law, and I impress upon students that they must stay on top of what the Supreme Court is doing and encourage them to work with the legal staff at their organizations to make sure that they are kept abreast of current case law that may affect their jobs. One student told me that after this class she arranged for her office's legal staff to create a quarterly in-house newsletter to be circulated to all relevant employees, discussing state and federal case law that would affect their duties.

The final area that we cover in class is equal protection and affirmative action law. Equal protection law, although somewhat complex, has a clear structure today and students are interested to learn that although race and ethnicity are considered "suspect" classifications, age, residency, wealth, and sexual orientation are not. The "quasi-suspect" classification that the Court has spelled out for gender is always interesting to students, and the question of whether sexual orientation is heading in this direction arises in light of the recent case finding Texas's sodomy laws unconstitutional.

The course also spends some time looking at a handful of other areas, particularly any that have been in the news recently, such as the rights of private property owners. We also examine reasons why poorly drafted regulations may be found unconstitutional, such as regulations that are overbroad, vague, under-inclusive, or have a chilling effect on the exercise of a constitutionally protected right. By the end of the semester, students have learned that predicting the outcome of a Court decision may be impossible, but that there are patterns of reasoning that the Court has adopted, and the knowledge and application of those decisional patterns will make them better public administrators.

CONCLUSION

Teaching constitutional law to public administration students is a challenging, rewarding experience. If we are to help create public administrators who can creatively address the issues of today and prepare themselves to face the issues of tomorrow, they must know how the Constitution governs their actions. The

interface of law and public administration will undoubtedly continue to grow, including instances in which the tension between efficiency and efficacy and the protection of rights and the performance of duties will clash. Administrators will often find themselves trying to balance the rights of those they serve with the rules and regulations they implement. They must come to understand the sources of this tension and gain the skills needed to make sound decisions. Introducing students to constitutional law helps form administrators capable of understanding policy in many contexts, not as bureaucrats applying rules and regulations but as well-informed managers exercising discretion. As educators, we should be certain that students graduating from our programs have the tools they need to creatively handle the tension between administrative values and constitutional rights and duties.

NOTES

1. I am indebted to the text *Constitutional Competence for Public Managers: Cases and Commentary* for this term. The authors, David H. Rosenbloom, James D. Carroll, and Jonathan D. Carroll define it as “knowledge of constitutional law as it applies to public managers” (xv).
2. An Internet survey obviously does not provide an in-depth look at course content, and I recognize that many MPA programs may include constitutional law issues in courses that may not, on the surface, reveal that fact. Despite the limitations of this type of survey, including underrepresentation, I chose this method, noting the traditionally low rate of return on written surveys and the cost and time involved.
3. Although Section 1983 does not apply to federal employees, they are liable under the First, Fourth, Fifth, and Eighth Amendments.
4. *Hannab v. Larche*, 363 U.S. 420, 442 (1960); cited in Rosenbloom, 10.

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Teaching Law in Public Administration Programs

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ABSTRACT

This study argues that public agencies face a multitude of legal issues directly related to the administration of public programs and the delivery of public goods and services. Despite this fact, the vast majority of public administration programs continue to offer traditional administrative law courses that only indirectly deal with public sector risk management. The article also argues that public administration programs should consider offering courses on public administration's legal environment, focusing more heavily upon public sector risk management issues in order to help prepare graduates of public administration programs to effectively manage and reduce the potential legal liability of their organizations and themselves. The article does not argue that public administration programs should abandon the teaching of administrative law. It does argue that courses on the legal environment of public administration should be restructured to include subjects such as the management of government ethics, public contracts, and public employment law.

Historically, courses on the legal environment of public administration and administrative law have focused primarily upon traditional administrative process issues such as administrative rule making, administrative order making, evidentiary adjudication, judicial review of discretionary administrative actions, the role of the administrative law judge in the administrative process, and freedom of information and open meeting laws (Rosenbloom, 2003a). Despite the fact that recent decades have seen the expansion of the subject matter of administrative law courses to include suing government and its administrators (Warren, 1996) and the procedural due process rights of individuals subject to governmental action (Rosenbloom, 2003a), courses on the legal environment of public administration and administrative law still focus primarily upon traditional administrative law topics.

The argument presented here is that public administration programs should consider shifting the focus of courses on the legal environment of public administration to public sector risk management. In other words, courses on the legal

environment of public administration should prepare students with the tools necessary to reduce their potential liability and the liability of their organizations to legal action and to reduce the need for the government to pursue criminal or civil action against public employees or private individuals or corporations who do business with the government agencies. To help prepare graduates of public administration programs to be effective risk managers, this article argues that, in addition to traditional administration law topics, courses on the legal environment of public administration should cover (1) the constitutional foundations of public administration, (2) tort and statutory risk management, (3) public integrity management, (4) legal issues in privatization, and (5) public employment law.

Critics of such a proposal will certainly argue that it is impossible to incorporate all of the above topics into a single course without watering down the administrative law subject matter of courses addressing the legal environment of public administration. On the other hand, we tend to forget that, because of deregulation at the federal and state level, the last 25 years have seen a major reduction in the scope of government regulation. Congress and state governments have deregulated large segments of the economy, including transportation, energy, and telecommunications. At the same time, recent decades have seen significant increases in constitutional tort and non-constitutional tort litigation, the issuance of criminal and administrative ethics rules and regulations, the outsourcing of government operations, and employment-related litigation. There is every reason to believe that these trends will continue for the foreseeable future.

THE DIVORCE OF LAW AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The 1926 publication of Leonard White's *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration* represented a turning point in the study of public administration (White, 1926).

The preface to the first edition included the now-famous statement that the book "assumes that the study of administration should start from the base of management rather than the foundation of law" (White, 1926). To White, and earlier to Woodrow Wilson and Frederick Taylor, "the values of management... efficiency and economy" were incomparable with a preoccupation with legal restraints on the exercise of bureaucratic power (Rosenbloom, 1987, 78). During the first half of the twentieth century, many public administration theorists argued that legal doctrines often interfered with the ability of public administrators to use new or innovative methods or organizational structures to improve the efficacy of public agencies.

The decision in 1935's *Schechter v. Poultry Corp. v. United States*, 295 U.S. 495, came to symbolize judicial opposition to the growth of the administrative state. Relying upon the so-called non-delegation doctrine, the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional key provisions of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA). The National Recovery Administration (NRA) had relied upon the NIRA to

force thousands of small businesses, farmers, and large corporations to enter into “codes of fair competition” in an effort to balance production with demand. Not surprisingly, President Roosevelt and members of his New Deal coalition responded with outrage to the Court’s action. Despite that outrage, the next two years, from the perspective of the Roosevelt Administration, saw matters go from bad to worse. By narrow margins, the Court found unconstitutional federal and state laws that sought to regulate the operation of private businesses, including a New York State law that established a minimum wage for women employees (Grossman, 2006; *Morehead v. Tipalod*, 1936).

President Roosevelt prevailed in his battle with the high court in the 1937 cases of *West Coast Hotel v. Parrish*, 300 U.S. 379, and *National Labor Relations Board v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp*, 302 U.S. 1. Seemingly overnight, the high court shifted from a philosophy of aggressive oversight of the exercise of bureaucratic power to a philosophy of judicial acquiescence in the existence of the administrative state (Rosenbloom, 1981). Judicial acquiescence to the administrative state took a number of important forms. Judicial recognition of privilege doctrine of privilege effectively denied government employees access to the courts to challenge the legality or constitutionality of personnel actions (Dotson, 1955). Equally significant, the sovereign immunity doctrine effectively precluded tort suits against local, state, and federal government agencies. And the doctrine of absolute official immunity made it next to impossible to collect money damage judgments against public employees and officials for constitutional and nonconstitutional torts. Interestingly, even the passage of the Administrative Procedure Act of 1946 (APA) did not lead to a significant increase in judicial oversight of the federal administrative process. Beginning in the mid-1930s, the American Bar Association lobbied hard for the passage of administrative process reforms in order to remove barriers to judicial review of the administrative process. The lobbying campaign culminated with the passage of the Administrative Procedure Act of 1946 (APA) (Woll, 1972, 558). Even though the APA only provided for limited public participation in rulemaking and judicial review of agency actions, some public administration scholars attacked the passage of the APA for giving the courts too great a role in the oversight of the administrative process. For instance, in a 1946 *Public Administration Review* article, Blachly and Oatman lambasted the APA:

It will destroy the distinctions which Congress and the courts have made in respect to the differences in forms of action, procedures, enforcement methods, the use of sanctions, and the need for judicial control. It seeks to substitute therefore a system not based on constitutional, legal, economic, or administrative reality, but upon the desire of lawyers to have the maximum opportunity to participate in the process of administration, to block administrative action, and

to subject the administrative process to judicial methods and judicial controls at every point. The cost to the taxpayer to this new system will be great; the confusion and uncertainty that will result will be enormous; the benefits to the individual (other than the lawbreaker) will be a minus quantity (Blachly and Oatman, 1946, 226).

From the perspective of Blachley and Oatman, the passage of the APA represented a major victory for the enemies of the administrative state.

THE JUDICIALIZATION OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Writing in 1968, administrative law scholar Martin Shapiro concluded that “during the last twenty years the federal court system has devoted the vast bulk of its energies to simply giving legal approval to agency decisions” (Shapiro, 1968, 264). In other words, through the 1960s, the federal courts generally deferred to the judgment of federal administrative agencies as long as those federal agencies followed procedures maintained by the APA. However, the approach adopted by the federal courts did little “to assure substantive justice or that bureaucratic power [was] exercised in a manner responsive to the electorate or the elected” (Rosenbloom, 1981, 33).

Yet, during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, a number of trends led to the end of the era of judicial acquiescence to the administrative state (Bertelli, 2004; Carroll, 1982; Chayes, 1976; Cooper, 1985; Rosenbloom, 1987; Woll, 1972). First, the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483, decision represented the beginning of so-called institutional or structural reform litigation (Horowitz, 1983). By holding that the Fourteenth Amendment’s Equal Protection Clause prohibited the operation of separate school for whites and African Americans, the Warren Court committed the federal courts to the oversight of public school systems to ensure compliance with the *Brown* decision (Driver, 1979).

In a 1976 article titled “The Impact of Courts on Public Administration,” United States Court of Appeals Judge David Bazelon justified increased judicial oversight of public agencies and public administrators. “Courts become involved in the administrative process only when a party cares enough about the injustice he perceives has been done to him to expend the time and energy—as well as money—to petition for redress,” stressed Bazelon (Bazelon, 1976, 103).

Not unexpectedly, Bazelon and other advocates of judicial oversight of public administration strongly disagreed with the presumption that public administrators and bureaucratic organizations generally acted in the public interest. Referring to the motivations of a hypothetical administrator who attempts to hide the potential public health risks of particular policy, Bazelon argued:

The motives of this hypothetical administrator would be anything but venal. He could in good faith rationalize that this cover-up is justified

by the hard political “realities”—for instance, that the public is still too immature to accept the trade-offs between health and dollars which society makes all the time. The desire to avoid the short-term flak is understandable. If complex decisions are couched in terms designed to “sell” the program, like selling soap, the public cannot be expected to develop greater sophistication (Bazelon, 1976, 109).

In other words, public administrators often make decisions directed more at protecting their reputations and the power of their organizations than the public interest.

Further contributing to the demise of the doctrine of judicial acquiescence, the 1960s and 1970s saw a new generation of public interest lawyers argue that powerful special interests had effectively captured key federal regulatory agencies (Warren, 2002). This situation led to federal regulatory agencies adopting policies directed at ensuring the financial stability of regulated industries. This situation also led directly to regulatory agencies downplaying the impact of regulatory agencies on consumers or the health and safety of the general public. The early 1970s also saw Congress take the controversial step of extending federal mandates to state and local governments. This trend included requiring state and local governments to comply with the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) (Lee, 1987), including Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act (Lee, 1987). In addition, the Warren and Burger Courts took a number of major steps to lower the barriers to judicial review of the federal administrative process. In *Abbott Laboratories v. Garner*, 387 U.S. 136 (1967), the high court held that the APA included a presumption of judicial review. In *Association of Data Processing Organizations v. Camp*, 397 U.S. 150 (1970), the high court replaced the “legal interest” with the “injury in fact” standing test.

Equally significant to the judicialization of public administration, the 1960s and 1970s also saw the Supreme Court lower the barriers to the filing of constitutional tort lawsuits against public officials and local governments (Rosenbloom, 1980) and begin to dismantle the public employment “privilege doctrine” (Rosenbloom, 1975, 2003b). In the aftermath of the Watergate scandal (1972–1974), governments significantly expanded the use of criminal and administrative ethics rules in an effort to restore public confidence in government (Reynolds, 1995). And the reinventing government movement of the 1980s and 1990s led directly to large increases in government agencies contracting with the private sector for the delivery of various public goods and services in an effort to reduce costs (Prager, 1994).

These changes in the legal environment of public administration help make a persuasive argument that public administration programs should consider restructuring “legal environment” courses to focus more on public sector risk management than on administrative law.

COMPETENCY AREA I:

THE CONSTITUTIONAL FOUNDATIONS OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

First, one may make a strong argument that courses on the legal environment of public administration should discuss how the high court has applied the doctrine of federalism to mediate disputes between the states and the federal government (Kincaid, 1990; Rosenbloom and Ross, 1998; Wise, 1998; Wise and O'Leary, 1992). Between 1996 and 2005, for instance, the Supreme Court issued a series of controversial opinions that sharply limited the ability of Congress to abrogate the Eleventh Amendment immunity of States from money damage lawsuits brought in federal court (Galloway, 2005). In 1996's *Seminole Tribe v. Florida*, 517 U.S. 44, the Court held that Congress could not use the Commerce Clause to abrogate the Eleventh Amendment immunity of states from money damage lawsuits brought in federal court by private citizens. Subsequently, the Court held that Congress could not make use of Section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment to waive the Eleventh Amendment immunity of states from money damage lawsuits filed for alleged violations of the Fair Labor Standards Act (*Alden v. Maine*, 1999), and the Americans With Disabilities Act (*Board of Trustees v. Garrett*, 2001). On the other hand, the high court held that Congress lawfully used Section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment to abrogate the immunity of state government under the Family and Medical Leave Act (*Nevada Department of Human Resources v. Hibbs*, 2003, 721).

Second, one may make an equally persuasive argument that public administrators and public agencies have the highest likelihood of violating the Fourth, Fifth, and Fourteenth Amendment rights of individuals in the course of the performance of their official duties. For instance, the Fifth Amendment taking clause prohibits governments from seizing private property for a public use without paying the owners of the property the fair value of the property. Once relied upon by state and local government to acquire land for the construction of roads, schools, and other public facilities, a growing number of communities now make use of the eminent domain to acquire private property as part of economic development plans (Cohen, 2006). In the 2005 case of *Kelo v. New London*, 125 S.Ct. 2655, by a vote of 5 to 4, the high court refused to hold that the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments prohibited local governments from seizing private property to implement economic development plans. Yet, the *Kelo* majority made clear that nothing prevented the states from prohibiting the use of the power of eminent domain for economic development purposes. Besides challenging the authority of local governments to use the power of eminent domain to seize private property for private economic development programs, critics of the zoning ordinances have argued that too-restrictive zoning regulations may constitute a Fifth Amendment taking and therefore require governments to compensate landowners (Rosenbloom, 1994).

Public risk management experts also agree that public administrators need a working knowledge of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendment procedural due process rights of individuals. The 1970s saw the Supreme Court significantly expand the scope of procedural due process (Pierce, 1996, 1973). In the 1976 *Mathews v. Eldridge*, 424 U.S. 319, decision, the high court created a three-part cost-benefit analysis to determine “what due process procedures should be extended to parties under various circumstances” (Warren, 1996, 313). Consequently, the *Mathews* three-part test requires public administrators to balance

{f}irst, the private interest that will be affected by the official action; second, the risk of an erroneous deprivation of such interest through the procedures used, and the probable value, if any, of additional or substitute procedural safeguards; and finally, the Government’s interest, including the function involved and the fiscal and administrative burdens that the additional or substitute procedural requirement would entail (*Mathews v. Eldridge*, 1976, 335).

And the Fifth and Fourth Amendments continue to place restrictions on how public agencies gather information through the use of subpoenas and administrative searches and inspections (Warren, 1997). Finally, public administrators must also recognize that the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment continues to place restrictions on the types of policies pursued by public agencies (Rosenbloom, Carroll, and Rosenbloom, 2000). On June 5, 2005, for instance, the Supreme Court granted *certiorari* to consider a suit alleging that a local school district violated the equal protection clause by denying a student admission to a magnet school solely because of the student’s race. The student assignment plan reserved a minimum of 50 percent of places in the magnet school for African American students (*Meredith v. Jefferson County Board of Education*, 2006). In addition to the requirement that they not violate federal constitutional rights in these contexts, public administrators must also guard against violating state constitutional rights (Friedelbaun, 2003).

COMPETENCY AREA 2:

CONSTITUTIONAL AND NONCONSTITUTIONAL TORT RISK MANAGEMENT

The second competency area focuses on familiarizing public administration students with the law governing constitutional and nonconstitutional tort lawsuits. In sharp contrast to the private sector, the law of sovereign government immunity and absolute official immunity historically shielded governments and public employees from liability for actions committed in course of the performance of official duties and responsibilities (Warren, 1996). During the second half of the twentieth century, however, a number of important trends led to governments

and public employees and officials losing much of the protection afforded by the doctrines of sovereign and absolute official immunity (Epp, 2000; Governmental Tort Liability, 1998; Lee, 1987; MacManus and Turner, 1993).

First, the period saw an explosion in Section 1983 constitutional tort lawsuits filed against state and local government officials and local governments (Rosenbloom, 1980). In the 1961 case of *Monroe v. Pape*, 365 U.S. 167, the Warren Court reinterpreted the Ku Klux Act of 1871 to permit citizens to sue state and local government officials for damages in federal court, for violating their constitutional rights (Note, 1961). Then, in the 1978 case of *Monell v. New York City Dept. of Social Services*, 436 U.S. 658, the high court held that Section 1983 permitted individuals to collect money damages from local governments if a federal court found that a local government policy was responsible for the constitutional tort or statutory violation. Second, the passage of the Civil Rights Attorney's Fees Act of 1976, Section 1988, Title 42, of the United States Code, made it economically viable for civil rights attorneys to pursue Section 1983 constitutional tort lawsuits by requiring courts to award the plaintiff attorney's fees if the plaintiff prevailed in the lawsuit (Spurrier, 1983).

Third, the twentieth century saw governments take on the responsibility for delivering a wider variety of services. Under common law, the doctrine of sovereign immunity protected governments from lawsuits related to the performance of governmental functions. On the other hand, if a government provided services "resembling those handled by the private sector (e.g., garbage pickup and park management)," common law treated them just like a private business for purposes of liability (MacManus and Turner, 1993). In the aftermath of the second world war, the federal government and many states enacted tort claim acts in order to permit citizens to seek compensation, within statutory limits, for certain injuries resulting from the actions of government employees and officials. Interestingly, many states adopted the common law standard of prohibiting damage awards against state or local governments for injuries resulting from the performance of traditional governmental functions and permitting damages for injuries related to the performance of proprietary functions (*City of Chesapeake v. Cunningham*, 2004; *Pollock v. Florida Department of Highway Patrol*, 2004). Not unexpectedly, state courts have experienced considerable difficulty distinguishing between governmental and nongovernmental functions. Writing in 1975, Professor Kenneth Culp Davis described the confusing situation created by the continued use of the governmental/proprietary sovereign immunity test:

Streets, sidewalks and bridges are often proprietary, and police and fire departments are almost always governmental. Parks, swimming pools and recreation centers may be either; education is generally governmental, and municipal airports may be proprietary. At least

one state has both governmental manholes and proprietary manholes; surely some states must have mixed manholes (Davis, 1975, 97).

More than a quarter century after Davis wrote those words, confusion about the application of the governmental/propriety function test still exists.

Complicating governmental tort risk management is the fact that the Federal Tort Claims Act (FTCA) does not make use of the governmental/proprietary function test. Instead, the FTCA “generally waives the federal government’s immunity from liability for tortious or omissions committed by its employees” with the exception of acts or omissions that occur in the performance of discretionary functions (Weaver and Longora, 2002; Cook, 1984). New Jersey, for instance, adopted the discretionary-ministerial acts test when it passed the New Jersey Tort Claims Act (*Coyne v. D.O.T.*, 2005, 481). Equally important, state tort claims statutes often waive the sovereign immunity of a jurisdiction up to the limits of the insurance it carries. States have adopted this provision because of concerns about citizens injured by the conduct of public employees and officials. By limiting the amount of a possible recovery, states have attempted to avoid the perceived problem of excessive judgments in private sector tort cases.

Interestingly, the period that saw the erosion of the doctrine of sovereign immunity also saw the erosion of the doctrine of absolute official immunity. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, the courts began to grant public employees and officials absolute immunity from civil suits for alleged torts. Beginning in the mid-1960s, first the Warren Court and then the Burger Court sharply limited the number of public employees and officials eligible for absolute immunity. Instead, the high court held that the vast majority of executive branch employees and officials are only entitled to “qualified” official immunity (Rosenbloom, 1980). In *Harlow v. Fitzgerald* (457 U.S. 800, 1980), the high court moved to make it easier for public employees and officials to obtain “qualified immunity” by holding that Section 1983 only permitted public officials and employees to be held liable for violations of “clearly established” constitutional rights. The late 1980s and 1990s saw the Court hold that federal courts may not generally deny public employees and officials qualified immunity without a finding that the official or employee had received “fair warning” of the existence of a “clearly established” constitutional or statutory right (Stivender, 2002/2003).

Although public agencies do not face nearly the same level of lawsuits experienced by private businesses, the fact remains that the vast majority of public agencies must devote considerable resources to the management of risks associated with non-constitutional and constitutional torts. Besides helping public administration students understand the law of non-constitutional and constitutional public torts, the topic also forces students to examine the much broader issue of the rights of citizens injured by the actions of public employees and officials acting within the scope of their official duties and responsibilities.

COMPETENCY AREA 3: PUBLIC INTEGRITY MANAGEMENT

In the aftermath of the 1970s Watergate scandal, the country experienced a sharp decline in public trust in government. Investigatory journalists and critics of big governments pointed to large amounts of “waste, fraud and abuse” helped to reinforce the public perception that government provides services in a wasteful and inefficient manner (Frederickson and Frederickson, 1995, 165). In direct response to this public backlash against “big government,” the 1970s saw the federal government and state governments place a renewed emphasis on ethics in government (Council of Government Ethics Laws, 2005). Of particular importance to the management of public programs, the Department of Justice in 1976 established a new Public Integrity Section within the Justice Department’s Criminal Division and assigned it overall responsibility for coordinating the federal fight against public corruption (Public Integrity Section, 2004, ii). Subsequently, in the last three decades, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and federal prosecutors have assumed an unprecedented role in the investigation and prosecution of public corruption (Salvatoriello, 2001). From 1977 through the end of 2004, federal prosecutors obtained convictions of 11,360 federal officials, 2,000 state officials, 5,665 local government officials, and 6,717 private citizens convicted on public corruption-related offenses (Public Integrity Section, 2004, ii).

As a direct result of this new emphasis on rule-driven ethics, local, state, and federal employees face a maze of criminal and administrative ethics directed at preventing public corruption and maintaining public confidence in the objectivity and impartiality of public employees and officials in the performance of their official duties (Blake, Jill, and Grob, 1998; Gilman, 1995; Huddleson and Sands, 1995; Lewis, 1993). And of particular importance to state and local government employees, federal prosecutors have taken the lead in the prosecution of public corruption (Roberts and Doss, 1993).

The post-Watergate preoccupation with government ethics helped to persuade many public administration programs to offer public service ethics courses. Yet, public service ethics did not come to focus on the nuts and bolts of public ethics management. Instead, courses tended to focus on so-called high-road ethics issues that emphasized moral reasoning, democratic thought and citizenship, character development, and constitutional regime values (Blake, Jill, and Grob, 1998; Hejka-Ekins, 1988; Menzel, 1997). And these courses did not spend a great deal of time upon so-called low-road ethics issues such as conflict of interest regulation and public corruption investigations and prosecutions.

What explains the heavy focus of public ethics courses on high road ethics? Between 1935 and 1941, Carl Friedrich and Herman Finer engaged in a classic debate over whether external controls or the character of public employees played the most important role in maintaining high standards of ethical conduct in public organizations. Carl Friedrich argued that the character of public employees played a much more important role in maintaining high ethical standards in

government than external controls (Friedrich, 1940). Writing in 1941, Herman Finer argued that “[m]oral responsibility is likely to operate in direct proportion to the strictness and efficiency of political responsibility, and to fall away into all sorts of perversions when the latter is weakly enforced” (Finer, 1941). In the decades following the Friedrich and Finer debate, many public administration scholars sided with Friedrich on how best to maintain high ethical standards in government (Denhardt, 1988; Frederickson, 1990; Rohr, 1989). Followers of Friedrich argued that public administrators have much broader ethical obligations than simply not accepting inappropriate gifts—i.e., they are obligated to actively pursue policies that contribute to the creation of a just society (Reynolds, 1995). The focus on character-driven ethics helps to explain the lack of research on the management of rule-driven public ethics programs (Burke and Benson, 1989; Gilman, 1995; Huddleson and Sands, 1995; Roberts, 1988; Smith, 2003; Walter, 1981).

The fact remains adequately preparing public administration students for public sector careers requires that they graduate with a basic understanding of criminal ethics rules and regulations. Besides traditional prohibitions upon accepting bribes, the vast majority of public employees are subject to criminal and administrative prohibitions dealing with (1) the acceptance of gifts from non-government sources, (2) gifts between employees, (3) conflicting financial interests, (4) remedies for conflicting financial interests, (5) impartiality in performing official duties, (6) government employees seeking other employment, (7) misuse of public positions, and (8) lobbying restrictions on former government employees and officials (United States Office of Government Ethics, 2006). Equally important, many public employees face public financial disclosure requirements. Further complicating public ethics management is the increasing trend of individuals moving back and forth between the private and public sectors (United States Office of Government Ethics, 2004a; United States Office of Government Ethics, 2004b). Finally, there are a large number of privatization issues that affect government employees and that have serious ethics management implications. What types of financial relationships may government employees have with government contractors? What restrictions do governments impose on government employees negotiating with employment with government contractors? What types of hospitality may a government employee accept from a government contractor? May a spouse or family member work for a government contractor for whom the government employee has responsibility for monitoring contract compliance? (United States Office of Government Ethics, 1995).

COMPETENCY AREA FOUR: LEGAL ISSUES IN PRIVATIZATION

In recent years, all levels of government have significantly increased outsourcing as part of an overall effort to control costs and improve the quality of service delivery (Auger, 1999; Prager, 1994). For instance, local governments in the

United States now outsource “animal control, legal services, fire protection, trash collection, health care, data processing, street cleaning, street repair, and recycling” (Padovani and Young, 2006, 29). Yet, administrative law textbooks devote little time to public contract law (Peckinpaugh, 1999). This is in sharp contrast to business law textbooks, which place a heavy emphasis on contract law. The process of public contracting is inherently legalistic. No government agency enters into a public contract simply on the basis of a handshake. Writing in 1963, Professor Royal D. Sloan, Jr., of the University of Nebraska argued that introductory public administration courses should place a much heavier emphasis on “federal, state, and local government contract programs” (Sloan, Jr., 1963, 93–94). Writing in 1980, Professor Phillip J. Cooper of Georgia State University, in an article titled “Government Contracts in Public Administration: The Role and Environment of the Contracting Officer,” stressed that public administration literature had generally ignored the topic of public contract law “except as an adjunct of military affairs or science and technology policy” (Cooper, 1980, 459). More recently, public contract experts have begun to argue that government organizations need to hold government contractors to high performance standards and not allow government contractors to treat governments as organizations with low performance expectations (Crawford and Krahan, 1998). This fact makes the argument even stronger for public administration programs to devote more time to prepare graduates for government by contract (Ward, 1998).

Much like the nineteenth-century civil service reform movement, the evolution of public contract law grew out of a good government reform movement. Between 1900 and 1920, the Progressive movement pushed to control widespread corruption in government operations, particularly in the awarding and administration of public contracts. In an effort to reduce the level of corruption, reformers lobbied heavily for competitive bidding and “continuous oversight and monitoring” of the negotiation and implementation of public contracts (Bowden and Klay, 1996, 389). As explained by one public contract expert,

[i]n contract theory, the assumption that human beings and their attendant organizations are not to be trusted to do the “right thing” emerged directly from the anti-spoils, “good government” movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Based upon the experience of spoils oriented governments, reformers feared the collaboration between contracting parties was likely to become collusion. Enactment of elaborate control mechanisms was the response for public contracting (Bowden and Klay, 1996, 389).

To ensure that government got it they paid for, twentieth-century governments increasingly relied on detailed contract specifications. Despite the argument that public contracting has become unduly legalistic (Bowden and Klay, 1996),

public contracting remains heavily regulated at the local, state, and federal levels (Kettl, 1988; Rehfus, 1990).

Today, government contracts take a number of different forms. First, “procurement contracts for goods and services are the most familiar form of government contracting” (Freeman, 2000, 164–165). Governments continue to rely upon “detailed bidding, award, and contract management” procedures to regulate procurement contracts (Freeman, 2000, 165).

Second, more recently, governments turned to private providers to perform traditional governmental functions such as the collection of solid waste (Fleming, 2004, 38) and the management of public utilities (Schundler, 1997, 45). Third, with the explosion in government entitlements, governments have become increasingly dependent upon private providers “for the delivery of social services such as health care, welfare benefits, job training, day care, and education (Freeman, 2000, 165–166). These types of service agreements create their own sets of problems, including charging for services not delivered and mistreatment of clients. It is well established that private nursing homes receive a disproportionate percentage of their receipts from the Medicaid program (Freeman, 2000, 177).

Because there is likely to be increased reliance on contracting out, graduates of public administration programs need a basic understanding of (1) the types of government contracts, (2) the procedures used to award contracts, (3) the criteria used to determine the eligibility of contractors, (4) procedures used to resolve disputes between government agencies and government contractors, and (5) auditing outsourced public contracts. Whether one supports or opposes the increased reliance upon outsourcing to deliver public goods and services (Allen, 2004), the fact remains that public agencies will continue to face strong pressure to contract for the delivery of essential public goods and services (Brudney, Fernandez, and Ryu, 2005; Chi, Arnold, and Perkins, 2003; Harkness, 2006). And it is essential that graduates have a working knowledge of public contract law and procedures.

COMPETENCY AREA 5: PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT LAW

Published in 1971, the sixth edition of Stahl’s *Public Personnel Administration* did not include any significant discussions of public employment law. During the 1970s, this situation changed quickly (Developments in the Law, 1984). First, the 1960s and 1970s saw the Supreme Court dismantle the so-called public employment “privilege doctrine,” which had permitted public employers to regulate the exercise of constitutional rights by their employees (Rosenbloom, 1975). The dismantling of the privilege doctrine helped to touch off extensive litigation directed at defining the constitutional rights of public employees (Jaegal and Cayer, 1991).

Second, the period saw Congress extend to the majority of public employees a number of federal laws directed at providing employees employment security and safe working conditions. Specifically, in 1974, Congress extended the mini-

imum wage and overtime pay provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) to state and local government employees. Even though the Supreme Court in the 1976 case of *National League of Cities v. Usery*, 426 U.S. 833, found that the Tenth Amendment prohibited Congress from requiring state and local government employers to comply with the provisions of the FLSA, the high court reversed that decision in 1985 in *Garcia v. San Antonio Metro Transit Authority*, 469 U.S. 528. However, in *Alden v. Maine*, 527 U.S. 706 (1999), the high court effectively precluded state employees from filing money damage lawsuits either in state court or federal court for alleged FLSA violations (Gibson, 2001). The decision still permitted state employees to seek redress of FLSA violations with the U.S. Department of Labor. Despite the long and drawn out legal battles over the FLSA, state and local governments continue to face litigation surrounding the application of FLSA provisions (Wilkins and Wald, 2005). Equally important, public employers are subject to federal occupational health and safety requirements (Cruz, 2002). And in 1993, Congress signed into law the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) and applied its provisions to public and private employers with more than 50 employees (AFSCME, 2006). Like their private sector counterparts, public agencies have experienced significant challenges in the administration of family and medical leave benefits (Kim, 1998). And not surprisingly, the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) has created a number of important workplace risk management issues across sectors as well (Barnes and Good, 2005).

As a result of the extension of federal and state workplace mandates, public employers face a number of serious workplace risk management issues. A 2000 survey conducted by the Public Entity Risk Management Institute identified a number of risk management concerns of government jurisdictions. Of the 312 responses received, respondents mentioned a number of risk management concerns that included employee safety/OSHA compliance, general liability, worker's compensation, employment-practices liability, automobile liability/fleet management, claims management, employee benefits, disaster planning and recovery, and risk identification (Hoetmer, 2001). Across the country, local and state government agencies struggle to contain workplace-related liability costs. For instance, early in March of 2006, Los Angeles County officials reported that reforms in the county's workers' compensation program had resulted in substantial savings to taxpayers. For fiscal year 2004–2005, Los Angeles County paid out \$362 million for "legal judgment and settlements, worker's compensation claims and related costs, down 12 percent from a record \$413 million the previous year" (Anderson, 2006). The experience of Los Angeles is no difference from the experience of many large cities and counties (Chan, 2003; Palermo, 2004).

Third, public managers face the equally difficult task of ensuring that their organizations comply with employment discrimination statutes. The list of federal statutes include Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act as amended by the Equal

Employment Opportunity Act of 1972, the Equal Pay Act of 1963, the Age Discrimination in Employment of 1967, the Pregnancy and Discrimination Act of 1978, the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, and the Civil Rights Act of 1991. The provisions of these laws apply to all aspects of the public employment relationship.

Fourth, with an increased emphasis on employee performance appraisal, public agencies face greater pressure to terminate poor performers. Yet, many public agencies are reluctant to fire employees because of the belief that the courts or arbitrators will overturn termination decisions (Bohlander, 1994). However, one may make a persuasive argument that public managers lack the training to accurately document poor performance by public employees or the training to avoid other types of conduct that might give rise to any lawsuit alleging that a public agency used poor performance as a pretext for dismissing an employee for an impermissible reason such as race, gender, sexual orientation, age, or disability (Foster, 2005; Walters, 1994). Not surprisingly, many public managers describe the task of removing public employees as a “gut wrenching” experience (Wills, 2006).

It is important to stress that risk management experts argue that public agencies and managers should take a number of steps to reduce employment practices liability suits. First, employers should provide employees an opportunity to air their grievances without fear of retaliation. Second, public managers need to keep careful records of interviews, carefully determine and document the “essential functions of every job,” and fully document performance evaluations (Lenckus, 2005). In sum, public organizations must routinely deal with a wide range of employment-related legal issues.

LEGAL RISK MANAGEMENT AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Little doubt exists that effective legal risk management may result in substantial savings for public sector organizations (Palermo, 2004; Rudolph, 1998). Largely because of the increased difficulty and cost of purchasing private insurance protection, many governments particularly at the local level have turned to insurance risk pools or self-insurance to protect their jurisdictions. Equally important, it is common practice for local and state governments to “indemnify their employees to protect them from liability for unlawful conduct within the scope of their employment” (Schwartz, 2001). Consequently, governments have a strong incentive to limit their legal risks (Government Risk Management, 2005).

It is important to stress that the teaching of administrative law in public administration programs has evolved to reflect the judicialization of public administration over the last four decades. Some administrative law texts now include a discussion of the constitutional context of public administration (Hall, 2006; Rosenbloom, 2003a) and public administrators’ liability for constitutional torts (Hall, 2006; Rosenbloom, 2003a). Yet, administrative law texts continue to focus

on traditional administrative law subjects such as rulemaking, order making, the timing of judicial review, and the scope of judicial review. To adequately prepare men and women for public service, it is important to provide them the tools to necessary reduce the legal risks of their organizations and their own potential legal liability. Accomplishing this important objective may require public administration programs to modify the topics traditionally dealt with by legal environment and administrative law courses.

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Public Administration in Action: Preparing Professionals and the MPA Lab at USC

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ABSTRACT

MPA programs nationwide are facing increasing challenges as they attract an ever more diverse set of students with different educational and professional backgrounds and career aspirations in multiple sectors. The MPA Lab is one of the several initiatives USC has undertaken in the past few years to address these challenges. This paper explains the setup of the Lab, its evaluation, and what lessons it may offer to other MPA programs.

It has been increasingly challenging to design and run any typical master of public administration (MPA) program as such programs attract an ever more diverse set of students with different educational, professional backgrounds, and career aspirations. Unlike those several decades ago, a typical MPA program today attracts not only students who are interested in careers in government but also those interested in nonprofit organizations, foundations, consulting firms, businesses, and international organizations.

As shown in a study by Paul Light (1999), graduates from U.S. public affairs programs are taking very different career paths than those 30 years ago. For example, among the public affairs graduates Light surveyed, 76 percent of the 1973–74 class had their first jobs in government, versus 11 percent in the private sector and 12 percent in the nonprofit sector, while for the 1993 class, 49 percent had their first jobs in government, versus 23 percent in the private sector and 25 percent in the nonprofit sector. At the University of Southern California (USC), as part of the self-study exercise for our NASPAA reaccreditation, we sent a

survey in late 2004 to 807 of our MPA alumni who had graduated in the previous 10 years. We received responses from 249 of those graduates (31 percent). Among the respondents, 35 percent had less than three years of work experience prior to enrolling in the MPA program, 25 percent had 4 to 6 years of experience, 20 percent had seven to 14 years of experience, and 20 percent had 15 or more years of experience. At the time of the survey, 63 percent worked in the public sector, versus 18 percent in the private sector and 17 percent in the nonprofit sector. Current students in our program also came with diverse interests. In our fall 2006 incoming class, 25 percent of the students indicated nonprofit management as their main area of interest; this was followed by public policy (22 percent), local government (16 percent), and community and economic development (11 percent).

The changing career interests of our MPA students and the changing career paths of our graduates reflect the changing nature of public service, which has increasingly involved organizations from both the business and nonprofit sectors (O'Leary et al., 2006). In his 2004 keynote address at the annual NASPAA Conference, Lester Salamon (2005) highlighted the management, accountability, and legitimacy challenges that arise as a result of the rise of complex collaborative systems involving organizations from multiple sectors in public problem solving and service delivery. Managers in these collaborative systems can no longer work within tightly structured hierarchies but must engage in cooperation and negotiations across traditional sectoral and organizational boundaries. Salamon thus proposed that public affairs programs should focus on the training of "professional citizens." In Salamon's words,

A professional citizen is thus a person who works, and is trained to work, whether in a paid or volunteer capacity, on public problems—to identify them, to analyze them, to devise solutions to them, and to implement actions that alleviate them—whether they are employed in governmental agencies, nonprofit organizations, or even for-profit companies in roles that focus on the solution of public problems (13).

Salamon suggests that, in preparing students for the professional careers, public affairs programs ought to insist on training public and nonprofit managers together as they are going to end up addressing similar problems and working together to solve those problems, and because students are likely to develop careers across multiple sectors. This suggestion is consistent with the mission of the MPA program at USC, which strives to provide a common curriculum in preparing students for leadership positions in public service, broadly defined to include public problem solving and service delivery by public, nonprofit, and business organizations.

Salamon also suggests that the curriculum ought to equip students with problem-solving skills that are compatible with contemporary realities—tool-based

instead of program-based approaches to problem solving; public management based on networks instead of hierarchies; public-private partnerships instead of privatization; and negotiation and persuasion instead of command and control. Yet what set of knowledge and skills MPA students need to acquire in order to be successful leaders and managers in these settings remains an open question. This is a key question confronting many MPA programs. At USC this is compounded by the fact that our students enter the program with varying levels of professional experience; in our fall 2006 entering class, around 67 percent were classified as in-service and 33 percent as pre-service, with two years of full-time professional experience as the criterion for classification.

Given the diversity of the student body and the increasingly complex array of skills and tools that MPA students are expected to acquire, how can the MPA curriculum be restructured so that it covers both the traditional topics such as financial management, organizational behavior, and program evaluation, as well as new skill sets needed for managing new collaborative governance arrangements? To address these challenges, the MPA program at USC has undertaken a number of initiatives in the past few years. One such initiative was the introduction of a new core course titled "Cross-sectoral Governance," which introduces students to several emergent trends and skills in contemporary public management such as collaborative planning, facilitating civic engagement, and network and contract management.

In addition to introducing "Cross-sectoral Governance" to the core curriculum, we introduced a number of additional elective courses in the past few years. Most elective courses in our program have traditionally been offered as 4-unit courses. In addition to 28 core units of (seven courses), students typically choose three elective courses to complete the 12-unit elective requirement. The new 2-unit courses introduced in the past two years included the following:

- Leadership Development in Public and Nonprofit Organizations
- Human Resource and Diversity Management in the Public and Nonprofit Sectors
- Geographic Information Systems in Public Policy, Planning, and Development
- Contract Management
- Grant Development and Proposal Writing

These 2-unit courses cover some key emergent topics and skills in public management, and they give students more opportunities to gain knowledge in a larger number of emergent topics and skills. In addition to these changes in the core requirement and elective offerings, we have introduced a new MPA Lab requirement for all incoming students. The Lab is an experiential supplement to the students' classroom experience as well as an added bonus to the traditional

services offered by the Career Services Office, headed by a director assisted by two full-time staff, which helps students to develop polished resumes, learn interview techniques, and negotiate salaries and benefits. The Office also provides mentoring and networking opportunities for students and an on-site interview program for our employers. The Career Services programming provides students with the necessary foundation tools to start or advance a career. The MPA Lab supplements services provided by the Career Services Office by offering site visits and specific professional skills development workshops.

The MPA Lab has been in place for more than two full years and has shown to be relatively successful as part of an overall strategy for addressing the key curriculum challenges identified earlier. In the rest of this paper, we first introduce the brief history and basic setup of the MPA Lab requirement. This is followed by a summary of the evaluation and feedback we received from our students. We conclude by discussing the lessons we have learned so far as well as several design issues of possible interest for other MPA programs.

THE MPA LAB: THE HISTORY AND BASIC SETUP

Before becoming a formal requirement for all entering MPA students beginning in fall 2005, the MPA Lab had been in the making for at least two years. The MPA faculty engaged in a number of discussions about career and skills development for our students, and a student organization, the Graduate Policy and Administration Community (GPAC), also provided input based on surveys and focus group discussions on these topics. The conclusion from these deliberative forums was to offer two prototype workshops during the 2004–2005 academic year. At that time, these were stand-alone workshops organized by the Career Services Office and offered to all current students free of charge. The Office hosted a one-day grant proposal writing workshop and a half-day time management workshop. It was clear from these two workshops and additional input from student evaluations that these offerings were not long enough and that the students wanted more content. We later decided to make the MPA Lab a formal requirement beginning in fall 2005 for all incoming MPA students who register for the gateway course PPD 540, “Public Administration and Society.”

When students are enrolled in PPD 540 in their first semester, they are required to pay a \$300 Lab fee, which entitles them to attend any of the Lab’s site visits and skills development workshops throughout their entire two-year enrollment in the program. The fee covers the cost of honoraria, transportation, class materials, and refreshments. Depending on the type of activities, a module may take place on a Friday, in the evening, or over a weekend.

The MPA Lab is designed as an experiential supplement to the students’ classroom experience in the program; attendance is entirely voluntary and not tied to any course grade. Over a two-year period, all students are given the choice of a number of activities, including site visits to local and state governmental agen-

cies, nonprofit organizations and associations, policy institutes, and the state legislature in Sacramento. Workshops are hosted on a variety of skills development topics such as leadership, nonprofit management, municipal budgeting, networking skills, risk analysis, and writing and presentation skills. Offerings are adjusted each year based on the career interests of newly admitted MPA students, surveys of current students, and consultation with professionals in the field. Below are lists of offerings for the past three academic years.¹ See Appendix 1 for a description of each Lab.

Academic Year 2005–2006

P.A.C.E. (Portable Adventure Challenge Elements)
Effective Communications: Staff Report Writing and Presentation Skills
Practical Budgeting: The Nuts and Bolts of Accounting in the Public Sector (Levying Fees, Revenue Enhancements, and Prop 218)
Office of LA County Emergency Preparedness Department
Grant Writing
Capital Career Day

Academic Year 2006–2007

P.A.C.E. (Portable Adventure Challenge Elements)
Nonprofits in Los Angeles: Downtown
Grant Writing (fall semester)
Practical Budgeting: The Nuts and Bolts of Accounting in the Public Sector (Levying Fees, Revenue Enhancements, and Prop 218)
Homeland Security and Immigration Issues—San Diego Organizations
Governance, Infrastructure, and Coordination
Grant Writing (fall and spring semesters)
Capital Career Day
Effective Communications: Staff Report Writing and Presentation Skills

Academic Year 2007–2008

P.A.C.E. (Portable Adventure Challenge Elements)
Multimedia Applications for Public Administrators
Nonprofits in Los Angeles: Westside
J. Paul Getty: Foundation, Trust Fund, Research, and Policy
Risk Analysis
Office of LA County Emergency Preparedness Department
Capital Career Day
Governance, Infrastructure, and Coordination
Homeland Security and Immigration Issues: San Diego Organizations
Communications Management for Public Administrators
Justice and Judicial System Overview for Public Administrators
Networks that Work: A Practitioner Guide to Managing Networked Action

Note: In this paper, we cover only the Lab offerings in the Los Angeles campus. We also provide offerings in our State Capital Center in Sacramento, which caters to a smaller number of MPA students. The circumstances in Sacramento are quite different from those in Los Angeles. In order to have a more focused discussion, this paper only covers the offerings in Los Angeles.

One of the main objectives of the MPA Lab is to provide opportunities for students to observe the daily operation of an organization so that they can acquire first-hand knowledge of what constitutes a career in that field and relate their classroom knowledge to a real-world setting. Through the site visits, students may also observe the culture of the organization and ask questions about professional and career development in that arena. We schedule a number of site visits in and around Los Angeles as well as San Diego and Sacramento in order to broaden the range of experiences available to the students. When arranging for these site visits, we make sure that students are not just shown the physical facilities, but are also briefed by key officials from the host organizations and have chances to raise questions about their operations.

Another main objective of the MPA Lab is to help students acquire key professional skills that may not be covered systematically in the regular curriculum. In arranging these workshops, we specifically hire as instructors only distinguished practitioners who have acquired these professional skills through their work as executives, managers, or consultants. The key to the design of the workshops is to make them as relevant to workplace situations as possible.

EVALUATION

We have developed a two-tier evaluation system: (1) a survey after each module, and (2) an open-ended survey at the end of the year. We have collected data for the full array of offerings in both 2005–2006 and 2006–2007. As 2007–2008 is still ongoing at the time of writing, we report in this paper only the evaluations for 2005–2006 and 2006–2007. The collected data show that the students are satisfied with most of the Lab offerings and believe that the Lab adds to their knowledge and understanding of the professional field (see Tables 1 and 2). With the exception of the two grant-writing workshops in fall 2006 and spring 2007, all workshops and site visits held in 2005–2006 and 2006–2007 received an overall rating of more than 3.00 on a 4-point scale. The rating for job relevance was uniformly high as well. Written comments were also positive and included some constructive suggestions such as the need for better time and logistic management.

Table 1. Student Evaluations of Individual Labs: Fall 2005–Spring 2006

Workshop	Attendance (RSVP)	Agree that Instructor Provided New Insight & Content	Agree that Delivery was Clear with Detail	Agree that Length was Right	Overall Rating (on a 4-point scale)	Job Relevant (on a 4-point scale)	Most Helpful	Suggestions
P.A.C.E. (Portable Adventure Challenge Elements)	23 (32)	74%	100%	87%	3.65	3.04	Team building; working with peers; building trust	More time for reflecting.
Effective Communications: Staff Report Writing and Presentation Skills	14 (17)	100%	100%	86%	3.86	3.71	I liked the examples of written info provided; the stories were very informative and entertaining; handling the media.	It was extremely useful, and I hope that it is available each year for students.
Practical Budgeting	9 (11)	78%	78%	56%	4.00	3.33	Intricacies of CA law; real world practices; connected a lot of dots; overview of practical issues.	Split up into two days; more budgeting exercises.
Office of LA County Emergency Preparedness Department	6 (23)	100%	100%	83%	4.00	3.33	Understanding OEM and how government manages disasters and emergencies.	Time was perfect; sorry for those who missed it.
Capital Career	23 (24)	80%	82%	74%	N/A	N/A	I really enjoyed the diverse panel presentations; it was well orchestrated with a great group of people.	I would like to spend more one on one time with those working in capitol.
Grant Writing	11 (40)	100%	100%	100%	3.81	3.90	Outlined everything to write a proposal; handout well organized.	Need more time for discussion; need more proposal examples; budget practice session would be great.

Table 2. Student Evaluations of Individual Labs: Fall 2006–Spring 2007

Workshop	Attendance (RSP)	Agree that Instructor Provided New Insight & Content	Agree that Delivery was Clear with Detail	Agree that Length was Right	Overall Rating (on a 4-point scale)	Job Relevant (on a 4-point scale)	Most Helpful	Suggestions
P.A.C.E. (Portable Adventure Challenge Elements)	23 (30)	74%	100%	87%	3.66	3.04	Meeting colleagues; observing leadership styles; team building interactions, teamwork.	If time permits, provide examples of how past groups solved the problems.
Nonprofits in Los Angeles: Downtown	20 (22)	100%	100%	75%	3.45	3.05	Allowed introduction to various nonprofit executives and staff; received more insightful approach to NPOs.	More information on how foundations collect funds; split into two separate sessions for large nonprofits and small.
Fall Grant Writing	7	100%	14%	57%	2.50	2.43	The overview to all the process, handouts are very detailed and informative; useful site; useful concept explanation; getting a certificate to put on my resume; funder search skills/proposal format	Less time searching for grants and more on grant construction; more hands on the actual proposal writing; content was very basic and delivery largely incoherent and unengaging; maybe two levels will be better; beginners/advanced.
Practical Budgeting	14 (19)	100%	91%	75%	3.67	3.33	Great delivery, great presenters; class size was manageable; overview of all aspects of municipal finance.	Much of the basic level material (first part of presentation) was what is presented in the PPD finance course.
Homeland Security and Immigration Issues: San Diego Organizations	2 (23)	100%	100%	100%	4.00	3.50	Learning about the amount of traffic in general that flows through the port of San Ysidro and San Diego; learning how the different government entities interact in the port of San Diego.	Making any PowerPoint presentations available beforehand to facilitate note taking.

Workshop	Attendance (RSVP)	Agree: Instructor Provided New Insight & Content	Agree: Delivery was Clear with Detail	Agree: Length was Right	Overall Rating (4-pt. scale)	Job Relevant (4-pt. scale)	Most Helpful	Suggestions
Homeland Security and Immigration Issues: San Diego Organizations	2 (23)	100%	100%	100%	4.00	3.50	Learning about the amount of traffic in general that flows through the port of San Ysidro and San Diego; learning how different government entities interact in the port of San Diego.	Making any PowerPoint presentations available before hand to facilitate note taking.
Governance, Infrastructure and Coordination	18	100%	100%	83%	3.89	3.67	Various perspectives on city governance, listening to insights from speakers relevant to USC learning and how public problems get resolved, networking with public administrators and fellow students.	An introduction to the city hall office, a tour, perhaps more networking time with main speakers, 5-10 minutes break in bathroom would be great, use public transit as group, possible to get more female speakers.
Spring Grant Writing	20	60%	25%	35%	1.90	2.05	Being registered on guidestar.org, Where to find funders in order to submit grant proposals, writing grant examples.	Present the class and content in more organized and logical ways, having a more clear cut outline for sessions, stay on topic, break up the Lab to allow for one weekend in between sessions.
Capital Career Day	19	84%	84%	79%	N/A	N/A	A pretty thorough background of overall state government, Office visit well orchestrated with a great group of people, ability to mingle with panelists afterward.	Include a break between two last panels. Acknowledge restroom breaks, give time for bio breaks, when legislature is in session (for future), part of the day devoted solely to obtaining a job.
Effective Communications: Staff Report Writing and Presentation Skills	7	100%	100%	86%	3.86	3.71	Practical experience advice; writing samples; practical information and skills; presenters were engaging, enthusiastic, and overall very informative.	Perhaps more time could have been spent on staff reports.

The most disappointing among all the offerings were the two grant writing workshops in fall 2006 and spring 2007, receiving 2.50 and 1.90 in their respective overall ratings. These two ratings contrast with the high 3.81 rating received by the one offered in spring 2006. As the latter was taught by a different instructor from the former, it appears that the key problem is not with the subject of the workshop, but the instructor's delivery style. Written comments on the two workshops in fall 2006 and spring 2007 show that the instructor failed to organize the workshops and present the materials in a logical and orderly fashion, and some students felt the content of the workshops was too elementary to be useful. Nonetheless, the students still believed that grant writing should be an important part of their education. The challenge is to find an instructor who can deliver the right content more effectively.

In addition to the evaluation following each module, we sent an email message in May 2007 asking all current MPA students in May 2007 to respond to several open-ended questions about what they liked and disliked about the MPA Lab. Thirty-eight students responded to our open-ended questionnaire. Among the respondents, 87 percent provided exclusively positive comments, and the comments from the rest were mixed. Most of the negative comments centered on the grant writing workshops for 2006–2007 (also reflected in the evaluations for individual modules discussed earlier). We also received some negative comments about the budgeting workshop. Specifically, several students believed the content of that particular workshop was inaccurately advertised. They were led to believe the workshop to be a general overview of city/county budgeting processes, but the instructor actually limited his discussion to specific financial and funding instruments such as bonds and special assessment districts. A number of students offered constructive suggestions for the coming year:

- More workshops on the weekends
- More “hands-on” exercises than just listening to speakers
- Workshops on public safety and redevelopment
- Workshops on federal employment
- More workshops and site visits to the state government

PROGRAM DESIGN ISSUES AND CONCLUSION

Based on the feedback from the first two years, we believe that we are on the right track by offering these site visits and workshops to our MPA students and that the students are getting an enriching experience that relates their classroom knowledge to real-world applications. Although the evaluations were positive overall, we did encounter a number of challenges. Our foremost challenge is the fact that, although the students paid a fee for the MPA Lab, some were lax about signing up and attending the workshops and site visits. Early in the discussions about the Lab's design, the faculty decided that there would not be a penalty

for nonattendance or any grade associated with attending the modules, mainly because of logistical considerations. We had expected that the fee requirement would encourage attendance. Lower than expected attendance in some modules is probably due to the fact that most MPA students hold full-time or part-time jobs, and many are reluctant to take a day off from their jobs to attend a full-day workshop or site visit. Because all site visits need to be scheduled on weekdays, we have scheduled some workshops on weekends to provide more opportunities for those with full-time jobs. Even with such added flexibility, achieving high attendance rates for all the modules has remained a challenge.

Second, because we drew on outside consultants and professionals to deliver most of the workshops, maintaining uniformly high quality has been a challenge. Although most of our offerings have achieved high ratings from students, two workshops have obviously failed to meet the students' expectations. Thus it is important to maintain a regular and consistent evaluation system so that we can provide constructive feedback to the instructors.

Third, most students who have attended the modules expressed a high degree of satisfaction, and many have commented that the \$300 Lab fee is well worth it, especially given that they can take advantage of all the Lab offerings in the entire duration of their program. Two students, however, claimed that job and other circumstances prevented them from attending any module and requested a refund of the Lab fee. Because the way the Lab is set up, we declined both requests. When designing similar Lab arrangements, other programs need to consider a financing arrangement that is appropriate for their own circumstances.

Fourth, so far the MPA Lab is not connected in any specific way to the core courses. Because of that, we may have missed opportunities for reinforcing the Lab experiences with other class discussion venues. We are searching for ways to achieve such reinforcement, which may not be easy because it will involve active coordination with various course instructors.

Fifth, a key design issue for the MPA Lab is that it ought to be relevant to the professional development needs of students with diverse interests and backgrounds. We have made systematic efforts to collect feedback from students about their experience in the workshops and site visits and to determine whether they feel they have learned useful professional skills in those activities. Yet students, especially those who are at an early stage of their career, may not be fully informed about the kinds of professional skills they need in the future. Thus, in addition to relying on feedbacks from students, the faculty and the Career Services Office need to consult with professionals in the field regularly to identify emerging issues and suitable instructors. One of the virtues of the MPA Lab is its flexible format, which allows for easy adjustments over time.

Sixth, the MPA Lab is a labor-intensive endeavor that requires continuous adjustments and often tedious scheduling and coordinating efforts. The MPA Program at USC is located in a large comprehensive school, the School of Policy,

Planning, and Development, which has more staff resources than those typically available to MPA programs located in smaller schools and departments. When considering the adoption of a similar arrangement, program directors in other universities need to consider the amounts and types of staff resources that will be available. If existing staff resources are limited, one needs to consider how additional resources can be secured before launching such an arrangement.

Finally, the MPA Lab is only one of several possible vehicles for addressing the many challenges for preparing MPA students to be professionals who can work across multiple sectors. Yet if designed and delivered properly, it could be of immense value. The experience at USC may prove useful for other MPA programs facing similar challenges.

We thank Brian Zepeda for collecting and compiling the evaluation data for this paper.

NOTES

1. In this paper, we cover only the Lab offerings in the Los Angeles campus. We also provide offerings in our State Capital Center in Sacramento, which caters to a smaller number of MPA students. The circumstances in Sacramento are quite different from those in Los Angeles. In order to have a more focused discussion, this paper only covers the offerings in Los Angeles.

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Appendix I: Descriptions of Each Lab

Every year several modules are repeated. For example, each incoming class goes through the Portable Adventure Challenge Elements (P.A.C.E.) training, which helps the students to build a cohort among themselves. The Capital Career Day is offered each year so that students in Los Angeles have an opportunity to learn about the operations and career opportunities in the state government in Sacramento. In addition, if certain modules are oversubscribed, we try to repeat them the second year so that students who miss them in their first year will have an opportunity to take part in the experience before graduation. Below is a short description of each module that has been and will be offered between 2005 and 2008. The modules are divided into one of two groups—workshops or site visits.

Workshops

Portable Adventure Challenge Elements (P.A.C.E.) (5 hours). We hired a trainer from the USC Leadership, Services, and Scholars Department to conduct this exercise. P.A.C.E. is a system of portable ropes course consisting of 14 challenges that assist individuals in acknowledging the unique needs and dynamics of their groups. The training helps participants to develop skills in leadership, planning, communications, conflict resolution, teamwork, risk-taking, decision-making, and trust building. This team-building workshop is offered early in the fall semester in order to help incoming students build connections among themselves.

Effective Communications: Staff Report Writing and Presentation Skills (6 hours). The workshop was taught by two assistant city managers from the Los Angeles area. They started with an overview of the roles of the management team and the governing board. The written communications portion of the workshop covered grammar, diction, style, and staff report formats. It ended with a case study, "All is Not Right at Oak Park Cemetery." The afternoon portion included a public speaking exercise on oral communications, how to make your point persuasively, and how to make visual presentations.

Practical Budgeting: The Nuts and Bolts of Accounting in the Public Sector (Levying Fees, Revenue Enhancements, and Prop 218) (6 hours). This training was conducted by an assistant city manager and a division manager from MuniFinancial. This workshop consisted of segments on understanding and crafting a budget, financing activities, redevelopment agencies, Proposition 218, fees, assessments, taxes, as well as enterprise and internal services funds.

Grant Writing (all day). We obtained referrals for this training from the Center for Nonprofit Management. The instructor of this two-day seminar provided the students with in-depth information and learning activities concerning (1) research of private and public funding sources; and (2) the development of grant proposals. The workshop included lectures, small group exercises, and a customized workbook.

Multimedia Applications for Public Administrators (two half days). Students learn to use current technology to document events, showcase programs, and make historical records using WebPages, videos, iMovies, and PowerPoint presentations.

Risk Analysis (6 hours). The presenter of this workshop is an internationally recognized, 33-year veteran of California Law Enforcement and a practicing attorney with a background and formal education and experience as a risk manager. The workshop delivers an implantation approach to risk analysis that includes recognition, prioritization, and mobilization; it addresses risks in every aspect of an operation.

Communications Management for Public Administrators (6 hours). This workshop builds on students' oral communication experience in the classroom. Techniques are taught to help the student present ideas and data to stakeholders such as the City Council, constituents, and governing boards.

Networks That Work: A Practioner Guide to Managing Networked Action (6 hours). Students learn what it takes to develop and sustain a network for goal attainment. They learn how to leverage trusted relationships with organizations and to extend limited resources and amplify on-the-ground results.

Site Visits

Office of LA County Emergency Preparedness Department (6 hours). We worked with our MPA Board Chairman to set up this visit to give our students on-site opportunities to observe and ask questions of the professionals who are responsible for emergency preparedness in the Los Angeles area. This department coordinates and leads all of the disaster planning for the County of Los Angeles. The students were briefed by department officials. The Terrorism Task Force answered questions from students over lunch.

Capital Career Day (all day). The Los Angeles students were bused to Sacramento the night before so that they were ready to tour the capital at 9:00 a.m. The remainder of the day was filled with career panels. There was a guest speaker for lunch, and the day ended with a reception for all the attendees. The panelists explored careers that included policy, management, legislative research and affairs, and lobbying and public relations.

Nonprofits in Los Angeles (6 hours). The nonprofit sector in Los Angeles is spread out and diverse. Thus we broke up our site visit into two separate visits: downtown and the West side. Downtown sites included the following: All People's Christian Center, Community of Friends, Center for Nonprofit Management, Community Partners, and the United Way. The West-side nonprofits included P.S. Arts, Vista del Mar Child and Family Services, Natural Resource Defense Council, and the Westside Food Bank. These sites provided the students with a broad sample of nonprofits supporting underserved populations as well as resource centers supporting nonprofits.

Homeland Security and Immigration Issues: San Diego Organizations (all day). We departed Los Angeles for San Diego around 6:00 a.m. One of our adjunct professors arranged site visits with Immigration, Customs, and Enforcement (ICE) as well as tours and discussions on defense and immigration issues with San Diego International Airport and San Diego Port officials.

Governance, Infrastructure, and Coordination (6 hours). In 2006–2007 the students met with Los Angeles city government officials as well as the Chief Legislative Officer. The officials shared with the students their experiences with working in a large bureaucracy and how they must coordinate their activities and policies in the City and County of Los Angeles. In the spring semester of 2008 the students will have a site visit to the City of Arcadia. The students will be briefed by city officials about the following issues: charter vs. general law, contract services, economic development, environment impact assessment, and revenue generation.

J. Paul Getty: Foundation, Trust Fund, Research, and Policy (6 hours). Students visit the foundation for a first hand look at how a large foundation and museum operate. Foundation officials meet with the students to discuss the Foundation's operations, trust fund, and research and art policy.

Justice and Judicial System: Overview for Public Administrators (8 hours). Students visit the Superior Court and are briefed by members of the court system, law enforcement, District Attorney's Office on judicial careers as well as key issues confronting the courts and legal systems in California.

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Using Petra Simulation in Teaching Graduate Courses in Human Resource Management: A Hybrid Pedagogy

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ABSTRACT

The Petra simulation project is a hybrid pedagogy developed to teach master's-level courses in human resources management by incorporating traditional teaching with role-playing. PSP aims to improve students' understanding of theories and applications of human resources management in the public sector through a semester-long series of learning activities inside and outside the classroom. During the semester, students form groups and work as teams to perform several tasks: (a) lead class discussion of human resources topics, (b) analyze existing personnel systems, (c) develop a personnel system for a mythical city—Petra—from the ground up and write recommendations for system implementation, (d) defend the constructed personnel system, and (e) complete two take-home exams. This paper reports on these activities, in which 40 master of public administration students have participated. Based on a survey with 19 close-ended questions, 82 percent of students rated the Petra simulation project successful and 77 percent believed it satisfied their learning needs. This study calls on graduate faculty to diversify their teaching methods in order to improve learning outcomes.

Graduate public affairs programs such as the master's of public administration (MPA) aim to prepare students to become better managers, civil servants, and leaders. This overarching goal requires that instructors emphasize applied aspects of graduate education. Although traditional lecturing and seminar formats may provide students with adequate knowledge, hybrid teaching methods such as the Petra simulation project (PSP) can, in addition, provide unique opportunities for students to bridge the gap between theory and practice and to apply what they learn.

In 2006 and 2007, I integrated PSP in my teaching after I modified and improved major aspects of the *Freedonia* project, which Martha Dede has developed (2002). PSP intended to improve curricular, professional, and interdisciplinary

student learning outcomes. I introduced the PSP to MPA students enrolled in HRM courses that I taught. The experiment (I use simulation, experiment, and PSP interchangeably) consisted of four learning activities: (a) class discussion of HR topics, (b) analyses of existing personnel systems for various public organizations, (c) developing a personnel system for a mythical city named Petra from the ground up, writing recommendations for better implementation of the system, and presenting the system, and (d) completion of two take-home exams. I gave students a written scenario outlining the purpose, structure, and instructions and rules of the simulation. The experiment required students to form six groups of which each one specialized in one of the six standard sections of any personnel system namely, (1) job classification; (2) recruitment, examination, and selection; (3) employee training and development; (4) performance appraisal, promotion, and discipline; (5) labor relations and collective bargaining; and (6) equal employment opportunity and diversity. I simultaneously applied traditional teaching methods (lectures, exams, and students' presentations) along with PSP. At the end, I administered a questionnaire to evaluate the experiment. Results of the survey revealed the experiment was successful. The purpose of this paper is to discuss these findings and the different stages and processes of the PSP. It also provides a detailed account of the experiment so that others can replicate and/or develop it.

WHY "PETRA?"

At the beginning of the experiment, I asked students to choose a name for the mythical city to which they were about to develop a personnel system. Most favored the name "Petra" from a list of other names. Briefly, the real Petra is an ancient city located in a large canyon called "Moon Valley" in the country of Jordan. More than three thousands years ago, Petra was the center of the Arabic civilization and a commercial capital in the region. Some historians claim that the city maintained an efficient public administration system that was capable of recruiting, hiring, training, and retaining employees based on merit. It has since become a commercial, banking, and educational center, an administrative success story (Salibi, 1998). The choice of the name Petra was inspiring to students. Using "Petra" as opposed to "Freedonia" would make it easier to distinguish between the first and second generations of this creative pedagogy (Dede, 2002). The sections that follow explain the simulation in some detail.

THEORY

According to Vygotsky's social learning theory (1978), interaction among students can profoundly influence their cognitive development (Riddle and Dabagh, 1999). Vygotsky explains that two levels of learning exist. At a lower level, students can learn by themselves (independent problem-solving), and at a higher level they need the assistance of others (guided problem-solving). Between these

levels lies a “zone of proximal development (Dede, 2002, 276; Driscoll, 1994; Crawford, 1996).” This zone spans what students know and what they need or want to know. (For an excellent discussion of this topic, see, Riddle and Dabbagh, 1999).

If we believe that students enroll in MPA programs because they want to develop their knowledge and skills, then an instructor’s responsibility would be to use classroom, library, Web, and myriad other resources as tools to design instruction that facilitates student-student and student-teacher interactions. It is through this interaction that graduate classes can become communities of learning where proximal development occurs (Riddle and Dabbagh, 1999).

Learning experiences remain useless unless students transfer them, that is, apply and use what they learn (Holton et al., 2000; Yaghi, 2006; Khasawneh, 2004). Transferring experiences (e.g., skills, knowledge) in an interactive environment, such as PSP, facilitates the reciprocation of learning and empowers a continuous dialogue between students and their classmates and the instructor (Riddle and Dabbagh, 1999). In this environment, learning opportunities emerge. The potential for significant learning, however, increases when students recognize their need to learn new skills, sharpen older ones, and develop new forms of expertise (see Dede, 2004; Doolittle, 1997; Khasawneh, 2004). For Yaghi (2006), taking advantage of such learning opportunities requires self-motivation, as well as support by others. In developmental theories generally, motivation and learning form a continuum (Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch and Sohmer, 1995).

If self-motivation is weak, it can be stimulated by human support; motivation and support complement one other (Holton et al., 2000; Crawford, 1996; Blanter, 2000). Support, however, entails trust in students’ ability to choose the right learning practices (Yaghi, 2006; Yamnill and McLean, 2005). Bonnet (2000) and Bair (2000) emphasize that interactive learning and student-centered pedagogies (e.g., PSP) can develop students’ sense of responsibility to carry out difficult tasks by developing venues of cooperation with others. To put it differently, when learners take responsibility for their actions and decisions they may become more likely to develop autonomy in the way they think and behave (Voshell, 2007; Blanter, 2002). While intellectual autonomy is important, it does not mean that learners should be isolated from others.

In this paper, I report on the content and outcome of the Petra interactive learning pedagogy, consistent with these observations about student-centered instruction (Yaghi, 2006; Khasawneh, 2004). The following section provides a blueprint for this pedagogical approach.

STRUCTURE OF THE PETRA SIMULATION PROJECT

The PSP’s learning objectives, scenarios, assumptions, and project design are as follows:

Learning Objectives

By adopting the PSP, I anticipate the attainment of a number of learning objectives. It can sometimes be difficult, however to categorize learning objectives therein, because PSP operates collectively, so that attendant learning objectives may overlap. Generally, the PSP experiment pursues three types of objectives, namely curricular, professional, and interdisciplinary ones. Curricular objectives include (a) learning about HRM theories and gaining competency in the subject matter. To achieve this goal, the experiment utilizes class discussions, lectures, essay writing, textbook-based presentations, and exams. As student-centered pedagogy it aims (b) to improve students' motivation to learn about different topics in HRM. Writing assignments are aimed (c) at developing students' ability to communicate professionally and persuasively.

Professional objectives concern development of practical, administrative skills. The MPA is a professional degree, often geared toward mid-career public employees. While many students come with some sort of professional experiences, others do not. However, all students expect to learn advanced administrative skills, such as critical thinking, analytical and writing competency, public speaking, and leadership. PSP satisfies these objectives through a flexible course delivery design revolving around the assignment of students to various roles (e.g., they can be team leaders, presenters, or discussants). Active role-taking is a departure from the traditional student role of mere listener; students gain motivation and a sense of ownership over what they do.

Interdependency refers to, (a) topical interconnectedness of all HR functions and (b) personal interdependence among students (Dede, 2002). Achieving this goal requires students to be involved with a group and to work effectively in a team-centered setting (Suleiman et al., 2000; Black et al., 2005; Duffy, 2006). The PSP project also requires students to discuss their work in groups, learning to listen to and persuade others, and solving problems in teams. As mentioned earlier, some students have more practical experience than do others, and the PSP pedagogy allows them to share their experience with others lacking it (Repenning, 2002; Halpin, 1999). PSP also aims to develop students' sense of self-awareness and initiative (Blanter, 2002; Brown and Harding, 2002). These skills or skill-sets have an impact on students' life inside and outside the classroom, with long-term effects on character building as much as skill-building

Introducing the Experiment

Although I modified the original Freedonia project (see, Dede, 2002), I tried to maintain key elements of the project including the introduction, so that the simulation ideas can remain accessible to instructors. Duffy (2006) and Suleiman et al. (2000) explain that introducing the experiment to students is essential to its success. They assert that in similar role-playing projects, the instructor cannot assume that students know what they are supposed to do or that they understand

the objectives and structure of the project. Therefore, I gave students clear, precise, and extensive explanation of all aspects of the experiment in its early stages. In particular, I spent a good portion of the first week of the semester trying to understand the different backgrounds and interests of my students, as well as to allow them to know each other and get to better know me. Second, I fully introduced the PSP to them; I explained themes, objectives, activities, and the grading system in light of the project. Third, I distributed a written scenario, which explained the mythical city of Petra for which students would develop a personnel system. Fourth, I gave them enough time to ask questions, so as to familiarize themselves with the project in general.

Scenario

I gave students the following scenario of the mythical city of Petra. I adapted the following scenario from Martha Dede (2002) with some modifications:

Twenty-four hours ago, Petra was established as a city somewhere in the U.S. Its government aims to accommodate the growing population of the city and surrounding Moon Valley County. Despite its recent establishment, people in Petra are eager to approach their city government with demands for services and solutions for their problems. However, Petra has neither a personnel system nor actual personnel to run city government. In an emergency meeting, the city council voted to create two agencies that were needed most, the Fire and Public Safety Department and the Department of Power and Water. The council also created an HR Department with two major responsibilities: staffing the new agencies and developing a comprehensive personnel system.

The city council established six HR units, namely job classification, recruitment and selection, employee training, performance appraisal, labor relations, and equality and diversity. Each unit (composed of several individuals) represented one of the major tasks of any human resources management [department]. Each was charged with researching best personnel practices and incorporating them in one coherent system. The city council and the mayor expected from each unit a written document/report to explain the HR rules and regulations needed, in addition to an oral presentation of each unit's recommendations.

Presentations were allotted 20 minutes each. The purposes of the presentations were to allow citizens to hear how the personnel systems would be handled and to get members of the council to vote to approve or disapprove the new system. Each unit was expected to provide a written report and include the following elements:

1. Introduction; a brief history of personnel systems at federal, state, and local levels, statement of mission and philosophy of the city and HR department.
2. Provisions of the personnel function.
3. Short conclusion; identification of major challenges and system strengths; and recommendations for the mayor and city council on how to best execute the system.

Assumptions

Students needed to know the following hypothetical facts about the city. These aimed to justify the need for agencies and departments and certain HR system provisions (Dede, 2002):

- Petra as a growing town with a population of 20,000; it is a very diverse community with little racial or cultural discontent;
- As a growing community, Petra suffers from a rising crime rate, especially car theft, home burglaries, and traffic-related crimes, as well as from usual incidences of fire;
- Industrialization, traffic, growing population, and other urbanization-related problems have caused water quality to drop to a threatening level. Hence, people in Petra spend more money on buying potable water. The city council has articulated a long-term goal to eliminate this problem by the year 2015;
- Although the fire department in the neighboring city of Showback is providing sufficient services to people in Petra, the latter needs its own fire and emergency services. Therefore, an objective of the city council is to create a strong local fire department with excellent staffing. The new department will be expected to deal with a 20 percent increase in population in the next decade, with major increases in crimes and fire-related problems;
- The current electric grid is expected to be insufficient to provide Petra with needed power within the next 10 years;
- In its first meeting, the city council appointed several officers to supervise establishment of new departments, run the city, and coordinate services: City Manager, City Attorney, Police Chief, Fire Department Chief, and Manager of the Power and Water Department.

Designing and Applying the PSP

First, unit creation. The first meeting in the semester was dedicated to orientation. Instructor and students introduced themselves and exchanged information about the MPA program, expectations for the course, long-term professional goals, and the like. After that, I described the simulation project and instructed students to (a) form groups and choose team leaders, (b) choose the HR unit

(function) for which they would prepare a personnel system, and (c) choose the topic in course texts that they would want to present. Students had class time to meet with their group members.

Second, student learning activities during the semester. I implemented the simulation project over a two-year period, 2006 and 2007. Participants were students enrolled in a course entitled "Human Resource Management in the Public Sector." Forty-five students participated in the project. Each class session was three hours long. Class time was divided into three segments. The first was reserved for my lecture, covering the HR literature. The second was devoted for students' pre-scheduled presentations from assigned textbook chapters. After a short break, students convened for a class activity concerning a specific HR function according to a pre-announced schedule (published in the second meeting).

I made descriptions of various existing personnel systems available for students in advance, before we discussed any particular HR function. Students and I would then engage in extensive discussions of different aspects of the HR function assigned for a given week. Students analyzed the selections of personnel systems that I gave them at least a week earlier, and provided critiques. The discussion tackled legal, regulatory, procedural, managerial, and social implications of personnel management. Although each group participated fully in every class discussion, groups assigned to present the topic on a particular week had greater responsibility. They were expected to lead and broker class discussion. The instructor's role in those discussions was to keep everybody on track, supervise their efforts, and facilitate discussion.

All participants used WebCT Vista as the formal medium of communication outside the classroom; the discussion board and email system were tools that students used extensively. Dede (2002) indicates that topics covered early in the semester might have an advantage over those covered later, because they tend to generate more discussion. To avoid this problem, I prescheduled topic discussions and allotted equal time to all topics each semester. In addition to equitable time allocation, my aim was to emphasize the interconnectedness of various HR activities and processes (see, for example, Dede, 2002). The final grade of the course reflected my evaluation of students' performance across presentations, exams, and written reports (particularly on personnel systems). Grading was responsive to students' different backgrounds, learning styles, capabilities, interests, and readiness to learn. Each course segment and each assignment complemented others, so that if a student did not do well in one of these he or she had the chance to compensate for it by doing better in others.

During the verbal presentation of the final report, each group of students discussed their part of the proposed personnel system. They justified the inclusion or exclusion of various provisions of the system, and they explained how their system would harmonize with other HRM functions (thereby stressing intercon-

nectedness). Students also developed recommendations that reflected their appreciation of both the theoretical and practical nature of HRM.

EVALUATION

This paper reports on the implementation of the PSP, a second-generation of Dede's Freedonia (Dede, 2002). My personal contacts with Professor Dede and with colleagues who tried to apply the Freedonia experiment revealed that lack of understanding of the different processes and elements of the project, and lack of confidence that the simulation actually can work, stood as the major obstacles to successful implementation (personal phone conversations and email exchanges). In this section, I provide evidence that the experiment as I developed and implemented it was successful, and that its desired learning outcomes were achieved.

I evaluated the experiment by using a survey consisting of close-ended questions that corresponded with learning outcomes; in addition, I relied on informal feedback from students and also on my observations of students' performance during the semester. Results of the survey in Table 2 show a 4.11 overall approval rating for the experiment, on five-point scale (equivalent to 82 percent approval). Students also indicated that traditional pedagogies would not have given them a comparable experience. About 55 percent indicated that a simulation-only arrangement would be desirable, while 72% thought a combination of simulation and traditional methods better: These findings provide support for the PSP. It is noteworthy that students pointed out the importance of verbal presentations and the confidence they gained as a result. Finally, as Table 2 suggests, there was a very positive assessment of the PSP and course, compared with other MPA courses.

Table 1. Course Activities

Activity	Relevance to the Student Learning Outcomes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Orientation • Introduction of the PSP • Assigning topics • Forming groups • Lectures by the instructor • Case studies and analysis of real HR systems in real public agencies • Students' discussions and presentations • Students' final verbal presentations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students understand their responsibilities • Familiarize students with concepts and theories of HRM • Prepare students to apply HR theories to real cases and situations, to make decisions, and to solve problems • Help develop students' critical thinking skills • Emphasize the interdependence of all functional elements of a personnel system • Emphasize teamwork • Finalize the simulation; provide informed recommendations

Table 2. Students' Evaluation of their Experiences

#	Criterion	%	Approval (5- pt scale)
1	Overall, the Petra simulation project was successful	82.35	4.11
2	Overall, the amount of work, activities, and information given during the semester was adequate	84.7	4.23
3	The Petra simulation project satisfied my need to learn about personnel issues	74.11	3.7
4	The Petra simulation project provided me with valuable learning experiences	77.64	3.88
5	The Petra simulation project provided me with many opportunities to learn and understand different functions of human resources management	77.64	3.88
6	The Petra simulation project bridged the gap between theories of human resource management and their practices	72.94	3.64
7	Personally, I believe traditional teaching (e.g., lecture) would have had more learning utility compared to utilizing the Petra simulation project	33.5	1.34
8	Readings and assignments for the current course were adequate	97.00	3.88
9	I believe that combining the textbook with the Petra simulation project has helped me understand the specific functions of human resource management	72.94	3.64
10	I would prefer focusing only on the Petra simulation for the entire semester, rather than combining Petra with book readings	55.29	2.76
11	I believe class activities and working with classmates were useful	74.11	3.7
12	There was too many requirements that I needed to keep up with	56.47	2.82
13	I had to work hard in this course	71.76	3.56
14	Compared to other MPA courses that I have taken, I think this course was more engaging	64.7	3.23
15	Compared to other MPA courses that I have taken, this course encouraged me to think critically	71.76	3.56
16	Compared to other MPA courses that I have taken, this course helped me understand the similarities and differences between various theories and approaches in the personnel arena	71.76	3.56
17	Compared to other MPA courses that I have taken, this course made it easier for me to work and collaborate with other colleagues	71.76	3.56
18	Compared to other MPA courses that I have taken, this course was fun and learning at the same time	63.52	3.17
19	The current course improved my competency in human resource management	71.76	3.56

IMPLICATIONS FOR INSTRUCTORS

The instructor plays a central role as mentor in PSP, as he or she does in a traditional instructional setting. With PSP, however, instructors play more than one role; they are not only teachers and mentors but also coaches and facilitators. In order to successfully play these roles, mutual trust, approachability, and providing students with one-on-one guidance are essential. Flexibility should also be built into the structure and delivery of the course. Instructors need to diversify evaluation methods. Informal interaction and communication are essential to build trust between students and the instructor. This is important because degree programs such as the MPA tend to recruit nontraditional students who have a certain level of practical experience which should be shared in the classroom. The classroom is a platform for such exchanges among members of a learning community (Vygotsky 1978; Riddle and Dabbagh, 1999). By carefully facilitating students' experiential learning activities, instructors can help them develop cognitively without isolating them in a rigid classroom setting (Driscoll 1994; Voshell, 2007).

With the PSP, I dedicated more than the usual allotment of time to reading student papers, grading, mentoring students outside the classroom, preparing for weekly discussions, preparing readings, and maintaining long office hours to address student concerns and questions (virtual as well as physical office hours). Dedicating such levels of time and energy, however, might realistically pose challenges for some faculty. And the PSP experiment poses challenges for students as well, requiring good preparation, cooperation, and sustained hard work.

In cooperative learning, such as that involved by the PSP experiment, rewards can be used to motivate students to work effectively (Yaghi, 2006; Blanter, 2002; Dede, 2002, 281). Instructors can use psychological rewards, in the guise of numerous forms of praise or recognition (see, for example, Bonnet, 2000 and Bair, 2000). As Holton et al. (2000) have suggested, intrinsic rewards can also be an incentive for students to perform well.

In this experiment, I noticed that team leaders provided a significant support to their group members. Team leaders also facilitated discussions, followed up with individual members to ensure they did their assignments, assigned roles, and distributed tasks, among other activities. While some of those functions were scripted to leaders, others arose from their creativity and enthusiasm. Another reason why team leaders worked diligently to have their team members perform is the fact that the entire group would get the same grade. Beyond this leader-centered performance incentive, rotating team leadership can also be an important motivator for students.

ACHIEVING LEARNING OUTCOMES

Although learning styles differ from one student to another, the PSP, as Vygotsky has suggested, the experiment provided opportunities for all students to learn, both on their own and with the aid of the instructor and peers (Vygotsky,

1978). Using different methods to deliver the course (e.g., lectures and simulation) helped accommodate the different learning styles of students. Therefore, this hybrid course may have bridged the gap between what students knew and what they needed to know, and also narrowed the gap among students with different learning abilities (Blanter, 2002; Yaghi, 2006; Riddle and Dabbagh, 1999). Simultaneously, the experiment facilitated learning transfer from the workplace to the classroom and vice versa (see, for example, Holton et al., 2000; Khasawneh, 2004; Doolittle, 1997). The experiment provided many opportunities for students to develop practical skills, such as professional and analytical writing, leadership, public speaking, and critical thinking, among many others (see Table 2).

One of the Petra simulation project's principal objectives was to enhance students' understanding of the interdependence and complementarity of all personnel functions. Students in the PSP were in fact able to recognize the comprehensiveness of a personnel system and the interdependencies among its various functions early in the semester. Moreover, they understood instructions and did not seem to have any problem with the implementation of the project. This was apparent in the quality of student performance and of group interactions as well as in the quality of their final products. A learning culture centered on open communication, collaboration, teamwork, and mentorship was created (see Holton, 2000; Carleton, 2007; Dallman-Jones, 1994; Duveen and Solomon, 1994). Student groups and student mentorship helped low-functioning students to compensate for the weaknesses they might have and at the same time, high-functioning students were empowered and provided with opportunities for leadership. Table 3 reports major descriptors for each group.

Finally, students were expected to demonstrate critical thinking in at least two formal areas. First, the exams were designed to measure whether students were able to synthesize theories of human resource management, comparing and contrasting them. Second, in the weekly presentations, students were expected to ask the class challenging questions requiring in-depth analysis. They were also expected to answer any questions put to them by their classmates or me.

CONCLUSION

Petra simulation was the second generation of a creative pedagogy in teaching MPA courses that Martha Dede (2002) introduced years ago. The purpose of this study was to report on the processes and outcomes entailed in adopting a hybrid pedagogy based on the Dede model, involving simulation-based instruction along with traditional teaching methods, in the Petra simulation project. PSP aimed in large part to improve students' understanding of various theories, concepts, and practices in HR. Class time was divided into three segments, lecture by the instructor, student presentations, and class discussion, all revolving around creation of a personnel system for a mythical city (Petra) from the ground up. This personnel system was to incorporate six standard HR functions. Accord-

ingly, students formed six teams, and each team elected a leader to coordinate its work. The evaluation of students' performance in the course was based on a number of assignments, including a written report (on the personnel system), verbal presentations, and general participation and attendance.

Although the simulation was a new pedagogy with which students were not familiar, the learning outcomes of the experiment were encouraging. The experiment achieved the objectives set forth and gained support of the majority of students (82.35 percent). Review of this experience indicated that two major learning behaviors emerged as result of the simulation, namely high-functioning and low-functioning. The differences between the two behaviors corresponded to differences in the levels of students' enthusiasm, motivation, ability, and willingness to engage in semester-long learning experiences. Although any class might have students with different learning capabilities and performance levels, the PSP effectively bridged the gap between the two groups. The PSP created a learning culture in which all students were engaged in learning activities even if they were individually lacking in enthusiasm or in the ability to perform well. For these various reasons, instructors are encouraged to adopt and adapt similar hybrid pedagogies, provided they have the time and energy this kind of undertaking requires.

Table 3. Characteristics of Students' Performance Based on their Responses to PSP

High-functioning students

- Motivation to learn and develop new skills
- Exercise of leadership and decision-making
- Coordination and sharing information with others
- Effective team activities, support of other members, and cooperation with team leaders
- Time management and respect of deadlines
- Overachieving; conducting research and gathering information beyond what was required
- Active participation
- Eagerness to help other students
- Extensive note-taking

Lower-functioning students

- Struggle to come to class on-time or submit work by deadlines
- Passive participation in class discussions as well as group activities
- Hesitation to ask questions
- Limited number of times accessing WebCT Vista (poor virtual communication)
- Inability to use professional terminologies
- Heavy reliance on team leaders

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Transforming Grades into Meaningful MPA Program Outcomes: Lessons from Benchmarking Learning Objectives in the Public Budgeting and Finance Course

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ABSTRACT

MPA programs have experienced increasing pressure from external stakeholders to produce indicators of program effectiveness. Producing these measures, however, can be both difficult and expensive. This article presents a low-cost method of transforming grades into meaningful MPA program outcomes. The method consists of (1) defining learning objectives, (2) structuring assessment instruments according to these learning objectives, and (3) using basic statistical procedures to determine whether a benchmark has been reached for each learning objective. The method presented in this article allows individual faculty to align course content with program mission, refine the specifics of program objectives, and measure the achievement of both. Hence the method is a good means of not only outcome assessment but also of faculty and curriculum development. Course specific indicators provide timely information on performance and can produce positive effects that spill over into the internship, capstone, and eventual real-world job experiences of students and alumni.

The National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA) and other accreditation bodies require that institutions of higher education periodically measure the outcomes of their master of public affairs or administration (MPA) programs. Most outcome measures that MPA programs use reflect external recognition, customer satisfaction, or a match between services supplied and demanded. For example, MPA programs often use information from

the following sources to construct outcome measures: (1) admissions data on why students turned down the program, (2) student body demographic and scholastic aptitude data, (3) student entry surveys, (4) course evaluations, (5) internship supervisor surveys, (6) student exit surveys, (7) alumni surveys, (8) employer surveys, (9) enrollment, (10) faculty reviews, (11) faculty publication records, and (12) national rankings (Roberts and Pavlak, 2002a; Aristigueta and Gomes, 2006; Williams, 2002). Some of the outcomes built from these information sources fall under what Jennings (1989) calls the “career success approach” to conceptualizing outcomes.

The focus of this article is a different source of information commonly offered by MPA programs to gauge achievement of program goals and objectives, namely grades and transcripts (Roberts and Pavlak, 2002a; NASPAA, 2004; Aristigueta and Gomes, 2006; Williams, 2002). Grades assess student learning of specific knowledge, skills, and values, and fall under what Jennings (1989) calls the “value-added approach” to conceptualizing outcomes. However, commonly reported grades reveal very little if anything about the specific knowledge, skills, and values that students learn and thus have little construct validity as measures of achievement of program mission and objectives.

This article presents a method of transforming grades into meaningful MPA program outcomes and lessons derived from the application of this method to the introductory public budgeting and finance course. The method consists of (1) defining learning objectives, (2) structuring assessment instruments according to these learning objectives, and (3) using basic statistical procedures to determine whether a benchmark has been reached for each learning objective. This method allows individual faculty to align course content with program mission, refine the specifics of program objectives, and measure the achievement of both. Hence the method is a good means of outcome assessment and of faculty and curriculum development. Course-specific indicators provide timely information on performance and, insofar as this leads to improvements, these indicators can produce positive effects that spill over into the internship, capstone, and eventual real-world job experiences of students and alumni, and hence improve indicators of external recognition as well. The additional time required by faculty to carry out this method is minimal.

BACKGROUND

The method presented in this article was applied to the core course in public budgeting and finance at Florida International University’s (FIU) public administration program, during the spring of 2005. The master of public administration at FIU was established in 1976. It was first accredited by NASPAA in 1982 and has since been reaccredited in 1990, 1998, and 2005. The MPA program operates under an open admission policy. However, an average grade of B is required to graduate, and a probationary system is in place for students with low college

GPA's. Student enrollment oscillates in the 100–140 range. Most students are entry- or mid-level managers, and more than three-fourths have minority status.

The method was developed in direct compliance with two internal policies: (1) a directive issued by the dean of the school for all faculty to incorporate learning goals and objectives in course syllabi; and (2) a resolution made by the program's faculty during the self-study year leading to the 2005 reaccreditation to define course-specific outcomes and measure them systematically. However, both of these policies exist in the context of the outcome assessment requirements placed on the program by NASPAA, the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (FIU's regional accrediting body), and the Florida Board of Governors. It should be noted that discretion was left to individual professors to define and measure course-specific outcomes. Thus, the method presented here can be thought of as a bottom-up effort by individual faculty to produce course-specific program outcomes within the framework of a general program-wide requirement to do so. Nevertheless, the method is compatible with mission-curriculum alignment initiatives where central planning and monitoring are more prominent (Roberts and Pavlak, 2002a; Aristigueta and Gomes, 2006).

DEFINING LEARNING OBJECTIVES

The first step is to define learning goals or objectives. Learning goals are not new and have long been considered a staple of effective teaching. They provide professors and students a sense of direction, and when adequately conceptualized are indispensable for designing, implementing, and evaluating instruction (Lucas and Murry, 2002). Goal setting has long been considered a major mechanism to affect motivation, provided that goals are specific, challenging, and accepted (Latham and Locke, 1979). In addition to their pedagogical and motivational value, defining learning goals is equivalent to determining the specifics of program mission, course by course. Thus, it is an activity that provides individual faculty with some degree of discretion in defining the path of an academic organization, by identifying knowledge, skills, and values that are considered necessary for a successful career in public service.

In addition, defining learning objectives provides the opportunity to take ownership of the course and to think critically and specifically through course materials. Course syllabi are often based on the structure of adopted texts or on syllabi designed by others. The public budgeting and finance course syllabus, prior to the application of this method, was no exception. One lesson learned from the application of the method is that this passive method of designing syllabi implies an uncritical acceptance of the explicit or implicit learning objectives of others.

More technically, defining learning objectives and writing exam questions are instances of the processes of conceptualization and operationalization of constructs inherent in most research. The experience described in this article showed that this can easily be overlooked. Learning objectives represent the concepts or

constructs, and exam questions represent the operationalization of those constructs. Thus, defining learning objectives provides a benchmark against which the validity of the instruments of student learning assessment may be judged. Absent learning objectives, the validity standard tends to be vague, less articulated, and could probably be summarized as “the entire content of textbook, supplemental readings, and assignments,” plus perhaps “topics the students should know.” Such a broad learning goal makes for a diffuse program mission and casts doubt on the validity of assessment instruments.

Several information sources were used to define learning objectives for the public budgeting and finance course. Chief among these were the program mission, the course catalog description, and NASPAA standards. These sources are reproduced in Table 1. As one can see, the FIU MPA program mission provided only a general orientation. The complement to the program mission, on the other hand, provided more specific guidance by stating that graduates should be well prepared for “finance director” or “budget analyst” positions. Naturally, the most detailed direction came from the catalog course description. It calls for a traditional course in public budgeting and finance similar to the overview course in budgeting required in most programs (Alexander, 1984).

NASPAA standards help one realize that a course such as budgeting and finance does not necessarily have the sole purpose of teaching budgeting and financial skills. The course can and probably should encompass the broad areas of conveying knowledge (for example, public policy environment), developing critical thinking skills (for example, problem solving, analytical, policy or decision making skills), and understanding the values or the conflicts of values that may be at play. The public budgeting and finance course can also be used as a means of enhancing written and verbal communication skills through papers, projects, and presentations. In addition to the above mentioned sources, guidance for the definition of learning objectives was also derived from existing course materials, and student, peer, and stakeholder input. Other valuable sources were James R. Alexander (1984), Wes Clarke (2002) and Howard Frank (2002).

Based on these inputs, general and specific learning goals or objectives were defined for the public budgeting and finance course, as seen in Table 2. These learning goals include fairly traditional materials that should be familiar to anyone who has taught the subject. They should not be seen as the perfect design for the public budgeting and finance course but rather as an iteration of a course that may continue to develop. This is one important lesson of the process presented in this paper. Defining learning objectives, if not done perfunctorily, is more the beginning of a journey than a one-shot activity. There is never a feeling of having fully finished the task, but rather the realization that learning objectives are likely to be defined and redefined overtime with experience, new insights, or new developments in the market for the educational services provided by MPA programs. In this sense, perhaps the best philosophy to have for the ongoing revi-

Table I. Guidance for Developing Learning Objectives

Program mission found in the 2004 self-study report

“The Public Administration Program at Florida International University is a professional degree program providing a diverse student population with the knowledge, skills, and values for career preparation and advancement in public administration. The program places a special emphasis on the challenges confronting urban areas affected by internationalization” (FIU-PAP, 2004, 2–3).

Complement to the program mission found in the course catalog

“The Master of Public Administration prepares students for careers in public service and non-profit organizations. It also prepares students for private sector positions having significant contact with public organizations. The degree provides pre-service and mid-career students with an appropriate mix of technical and generalist skills needed for management and analytic positions in local, state, and federal government, as well as non-profit organizations. Students are given broad exposure to the field in the core and subsequently develop expertise within their areas of specialization. The degree also provides students with the necessary analytic and substantive background for successful pursuit of doctoral studies within the discipline. Graduates are well-prepared for positions as city manager, finance director, budget analyst, personnel director, special project coordinator and program analyst” (FIU, 2005, 437).

Course description found in catalog (FIU-PAP)

“PAD 6227 Public Finance and the Budgetary Process examines the theory and practice of public budgeting and its relationship to the administrative processes of control, management, and planning. Special emphasis will be given to the social balance question; the kinds and scope of government expenditures; the fiscal role of government in a mixed economy; sources of revenue available to government; administrative, political and institutional aspects of the budget and the budgetary process; and problems and trends in intergovernmental fiscal relations” (FIU, 2005, 442)

NASPAA standards 4.1, 4.2 and 4.21 (relevant aspects)

1. The purpose of the curriculum shall be to prepare students for professional leadership in public service.
2. The curriculum components are designed to produce professionals capable of intelligent, creative analysis and communication, and action in public service.
3. The curriculum components shall enhance the student’s values, knowledge, and skills to act ethically and effectively:
 - a. In the management of public service organizations, including budgeting and financial processes.
 - b. In the application of quantitative and qualitative techniques of analysis, the components of which include:
 - i. Policy and program formulation, implementation and evaluation, and
 - ii. Decision-making and problem-solving
 - c. With an understanding of the public policy and organizational environment, the components of which include:
 - i. Political and legal institutions and processes.
 - ii. Economic and social institutions and processes (NASPAA, 2006).

sion of learning objectives is the same that underlies “zero-based budgeting.” In other words, every year all learning objectives should be placed on the chopping block and justified as the most desirable set of knowledge, skills, and values for a successful career in public service.

The learning objectives contained in Table 2 are classified by topic. However, it can be useful to also classify learning objectives according to the cognitive processes involved. Bloom’s (1964) widely used typology distinguishes between the following stages in the progression of cognitive reasoning: knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation. The latter three are categorized as higher-order skills. Considering this typology and the current design of the measuring instrument described below, learning objectives

Table 2. Learning Objectives for the Core Course in Public Budgeting and Finance

General learning objective

The general learning objective can be titled *budget and revenue competency* and can be defined broadly as having the capacity to (1) develop, seek approval, and administer operating or capital budgets, (2) think critically and make decisions about budget process design and revenue systems, and (3) understand the history, politics, and theoretical underpinnings of major reform efforts and shifts in revenue structures across all levels of government in America.

Specific learning objectives

1. *Normative and positive foundations of public budgeting and finance (FPBF).* The student should be sufficiently familiar with the rational paradigm, welfare economics, and the Thiebout hypothesis to have a good understanding of the efficiency gains and assumptions underlying normative prescriptions concerning (a) the role of the state in the economy, (b) budget reform, (c) the appropriate level of government to make tax-and-spend decisions, and (d) the design of revenue systems. In addition, the student should have a good understanding of the tradeoffs between efficiency and social equity as well as the roles of ideology and politics in determining tax-and-spend decisions.
2. *The federal and state budget processes (Bud).* The student should have a good understanding of the basic phases of a budget process, the federal budget process, the roles of its main players, and the basic differences between federal and state budget processes. This includes a good understanding of the advantages and disadvantages of executive-led versus legislative-led budget processes, and annual versus biannual budget processes.
3. *Budget reform to rationalize spending decisions (PerfBud).* The student should have a good understanding of federal and state reform efforts to rationalize spending decisions, the byproducts of these efforts, and an assessment of their success. This includes distinguishing between inputs, outputs, and outcomes, and their relationship with different budget formats.
4. *Budget reform to control the deficit (Def).* The student should have a good understanding of the drivers of and debate over “excessive” spending, the procedures established at the federal and state levels to control expenditures, and an assessment about whether they have worked.

1 through 5 in Table 2 can be placed in a group of learning objectives in which the first three stages of Bloom's typology are being assessed. Learning objectives 9 and 10 (Techniques I and Techniques II) involve largely application skills that are intensive in mathematics and computations. Learning objective 9 (Techniques I) also assesses analytic skills. Lastly, learning objectives 6, 7, and 8 (Revenues I, Revenues II and Revenues III) contain a nice progression along the stages of cognitive reasoning. Revenues I contains questions that solely require knowledge, comprehension, and application. Revenues II assesses the latter three plus analytic skills. Revenues III is heavier on analytic skills. These distinctions are useful for the interpretation of results.

Table 2. *continued*

Specific learning objectives (continued)

5. *Capital budgeting and debt finance (CapBud)*. The student should have a good understanding of (1) the equity implications of financing capital assets over their useful life, (2) the rationale for having separate capital budgets at the federal and state levels, (3) the different types of bonds and the activities that each is designed to finance, and (4) the basics of bond issuing and factors that raise or lower interest rate costs.
6. *Revenues I: In general (RevI)*. The student should have a good understanding of basic concepts and computations for the diverse revenue sources—for example, how to calculate taxes, how to determine effective tax rates, rules to determine business purchases that are exempt from sales taxation, etc.
7. *Revenues II: Revenue evaluating criteria (RevII)*. The student should be able to evaluate individual revenue sources according to standard criteria (equity, efficiency, etc.)
8. *Revenues III: Tradeoffs between major revenue sources (RevIII)*. The student should be able to evaluate the tradeoff between revenue sources (if one is substituted for the other) applying the same criteria.
9. *Techniques I: Time value of money and its application in public finance (Tech I)*. The student should be competent in the application of quantitative techniques to account for time (i.e. productivity and inflation). Specifically, the student should be able to use these techniques to (1) create inflation indexes, (2) convert nominal to real expenditure and revenue trends, (3) project a current services budget, (4) determine rates of growth, (5) forecast revenues, (6) discount costs and benefits in cost benefit analysis, (7) determine the price of a bond, and (8) determine the assessed value of commercial property.
10. *Techniques II: Basic forecasting techniques (TechII)*. The student should be competent in the application of the following basic revenue forecasting techniques: Linear trend (simple regression of revenues on time), moving averages, and proportionate rate of change.

MEASURING LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Having developed learning objectives—the validity benchmark—the next step is to develop the measuring instrument. A written multiple choice instrument, administered as midterm and final examinations, was used as the measuring instrument. The reasons for choosing this format and its limitations are discussed later.

The first part of this step involved taking questions from previous exams and grouping them by learning objective. Two particularly important lessons were derived from this exercise. First, some objectives had a considerable amount of questions attached to them while other objectives had only one or two. In other words, some learning objectives were overrepresented while others were seriously underrepresented. This underscores and provides evidence for the validity issues raised above, which likely would have gone unnoticed had the process of defining and measuring learning objectives not been undertaken. Formally, one of the issues is known as content validity, which “concerns the extent to which a measure adequately represents all facets of a concept (Singleton and Straits, 2005, 99).” The other is mono-operation bias, which refers to using a single indicator to represent a construct: “Construct validity will be lower in single exemplar research than in research where each construct is multiply operationalized in order to triangulate on the referent (Cook and Campbell, 1979, 65).” These validity issues underscore the difficulty of designing valid exams in the absence of learning objectives. The second lesson was that several questions were unrelated to any relevant learning objective; this was likely the result of a goal-less exam writing process. For instance, questions are often taken from a text and are not related to a relevant learning objective, although they might represent useful information that can be applied in limited circumstances.

To improve the validity of the measuring instrument, questions that were unrelated to learning objectives were eliminated and additional questions were written for underrepresented learning objectives. An effort was made to guarantee a minimum of five questions per learning objective, except for Techniques II, which was given only three questions corresponding to the three specific techniques covered in this section. The number of questions for each learning objective is given in Table 3. Basic guidelines for the design of multiple choice questions were followed; see Bradbard, Parker, and Stone (2004) for a summary. In addition, many of the questions had been tested on several occasions for their ability to discriminate between high and low scorers.

COURSE-SPECIFIC OUTCOMES AND BENCHMARKING

Once learning objectives are defined and measuring instruments are developed and administered, the third step of the method is to assess whether a particular benchmark has been achieved. The first part of this step involves processing results. Fortunately, most universities have Scantron® processing centers that

usually deliver results in one day, if not sooner. To save time, it is important to request output in an electronic file. With some minor data processing, results can be turned into a data set in which columns are learning objectives, rows are students, and each data entry is the percentage of correct answers that each student got for the questions under each learning objective. With the data arranged in this way, the competency of each student for each learning objective is measured as a percentage that can potentially range from 0 to 100 percent. A student that achieves a score of 100 percent for a particular learning objective can be considered fully competent in that particular set of knowledge, skills, and values.

Results for the spring 2005 iteration of the public budgeting and finance course are presented in Table 3. This table presents descriptive statistics of the raw scores, with no curve or adjustments made. Final grades awarded to students may indeed be curved to judge each student against the average. However, it would be a mistake to make any kind of an adjustment to scores for purposes of gauging achievement of learning objectives. It is important for faculty and administrators to observe actual levels of competency achieved by students in the program under each learning objective.

Simple descriptive statistics can provide valuable information about the assessment experience. Maximum scores, for instance, reveal that at least one student—but not necessarily the same student—is answering all questions correctly for each learning objective, except for the case of RevII where at least one student answered 90 percent of questions correctly. This is particularly good evidence

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics and Number of Questions for Each Learning Objective

<i>Learning Objective</i>	<i>Max</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Min</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Number of Questions</i>
FPBF	100%	71%	75%	30%	20%	10
Bud	100%	83%	86%	50%	14%	14
Def	100%	70%	67%	17%	20%	6
PerfMeas	100%	73%	67%	44%	14%	9
CapBud	100%	59%	60%	20%	22%	5
RevI	100%	76%	77%	48%	15%	31
RevII	90%	68%	70%	30%	15%	10
RevIII	100%	65%	67%	17%	16%	6
TechI	100%	61%	55%	27%	21%	11
TechII	100%	35%	33%	0%	29%	3
N=28 students						

that the exam is not excessively hard and that the top end of the distribution is fully meeting course and program objectives. In contrast, minimum scores show that at least some students are performing very poorly. Some of these minimum scores can be considered extreme outliers according to standard rules of thumb. Nevertheless, they are kept in the analysis, even if some of these students may have to repeat the course or may be unable to graduate on account of poor grades.

The average score—the measure of central location—is the most informative about the level of achievement or competency of most students. It is also the average that is amenable to simple statistical inferential tools to judge whether a particular benchmark has been achieved. For this exercise, a benchmark or performance objective of 70 percent competency is chosen. This benchmark appears to pose a reasonable challenge, given open admission policies and the large spread in student academic backgrounds at FIU. To test whether this benchmark is reached for each learning objective, a simple one-sample t-test is conducted where $H_0: \mu = 70$ percent. This procedure places the mean score for each learning objective within the repeated sampling framework of inferential statistics according to which the sample is only one of a theoretically infinite number of samples drawn from the same class. The purpose is simply to determine whether chance alone can explain the difference between the sample mean competency and the benchmark competency for the class (or hypothetical true mean). If chance is ruled out (i.e., p-values are smaller than the usual alpha levels) and the sample mean is less than 70 percent, the conclusion can be made that the benchmark has not been reached. The results of this analysis in the form of a report card are provided in Table 4. This report card, or a time series built from similar information collected over time, could be one way of presenting course grades as MPA program outcomes.

Table 4 presents the mean competency, the t-score, the p-value, and a simple “yes” or “no” answer to whether the benchmark has been reached for each learning objective. If t-scores have negative signs and the corresponding p-values are smaller than the alpha level of .1, the conclusion is made that the benchmark has not been reached. For simplicity, a distinction is not made between the three alpha levels of .1, .05, and .01.

For this class and this semester, the report card shows that three learning objectives have fallen below the benchmark: capital budgeting and debt finance (CapBud), time value of money techniques (TechI), and basic revenue forecasting techniques (TechII).

Several relevant conclusions can be distilled from this report card, which may be valuable to individual faculty and the program. First, results show that average achievement or competency levels are not uniform across learning objectives. Second, results also show that students are on average doing more poorly in learning objectives that are challenging analytically and mathematically, specifically RevIII, TechI, and TechII. For individual faculty, results may point at areas

where teaching effectiveness can be improved. For example, the information can be used to make decisions about how to allocate time and attention across learning objectives. This decision could entail giving more time and attention to failing learning objectives and, in exchange, taking time and attention from learning objectives where students clearly exceed the benchmark (Bud and RevI). However, time and attention alone may not be enough considering that failing learning objectives are more analytically and mathematically challenging. Changes in teaching methods, specifically active learning methods, may be required. Nevertheless, it must be said that a considerable amount of class time and active methods were dedicated to time value of money techniques (TechI) alone. This may suggest that changes in the program may also be necessary.

From the standpoint of the program, results indicate areas in which the average student may be deficient as she or he enters the workforce. It may be particularly

Table 4. Report Card for the Public Budgeting and Finance Course, Spring 2005
(Benchmark: Average competency of 70%)

Learning Objective	Average Competency	t $H_0: \mu = 70\%$	p -value	Benchmark met?
Foundations of public budgeting and finance (FPBF)	71%	0.29	0.773	YES
Federal and state budget processes (Bud)	83%	4.90	0.000	YES
Budget reform to control expenditures (Def)	70%	0.06	0.951	YES
Performance budgeting (PerfMeas)	73%	0.97	0.342	YES
Capital budgeting and debt finance (CapBud)	59%	-2.70	0.012	NO
Revenues—Conceptual and computational basics (RevI)	76%	2.00	0.056	YES
Revenues—Evaluating criteria (RevII)	68%	-0.62	0.538	YES
Revenue—Tradeoffs between revenue sources (RevIII)	65%	-1.70	0.101	YES
Techniques—Time value of money (TechI)	61%	-2.23	0.034	NO
Techniques—Revenue forecasting techniques (TechII)	35%	-6.39	0.000	NO

Note: Two-tail t -test. Benchmark is not met if $t < 0$ and $p < .1$

troubling that the average student may be deficient in time-value-of-money techniques, basic revenue forecasting, or critical thinking skills, given that these may be necessary for the average alumni to have access to the positions for which she or he is presumably being trained (city manager, finance director, and budget analyst). However, this evidence is from only one course of more than a dozen courses taken by students. Program administrators and the faculty as a whole will do well to take these results in the context of the entire program experience. Other courses—such as quantitative methods, leadership, research methods, or the capstone experience—may indeed be better suited for the development of critical thinking skills, or all courses taken together may produce a different overall outcome. In any event, results show that there is room for improvement. Several remedial actions could be considered at the program level. One of them is to establish an algebra refresher course for new students, which is used in other programs. A second measure is to establish certain prerequisites for the course. For example, taking a quantitative methods course prior to the public budgeting and finance class may help to improve outcomes. Lastly, a third measure is to cover certain essential skills in several courses throughout the curriculum to guarantee ample exposure and review by students.

LIMITATIONS OF THE METHOD

This section discusses two limitations to the method presented here. The first derives from the use of multiple choice exams. The multiple choice format was considered the best alternative for two main reasons. First, writing and revising the exam can be time consuming; however, once written, it is quick and cheap to apply, score, and analyze using statistical tools. This is an important consideration if the systematic production of report cards is expected. Second, multiple choice exams are ideal for testing the broad range of knowledge, values, and skills taught in the introductory public budgeting and finance course. Indeed, considering the volume and diversity of knowledge, skill, and value sets covered in the public budgeting and finance class, it is hard to envision an alternative method that is as time efficient. One increasingly popular alternative for outcome assessment is the rubric approach (Stevens, 2005; Arter and McTigue, 2001). This method works well for courses with well-structured final papers or projects such as statistics, research methods, or the capstone course. However, given the extensive coverage of materials, it may not be the best option for the introductory course of public budgeting and finance.

Other frequently mentioned benefits of multiple choice exams are (1) reliability, (2) relative objectivity and low scoring bias, (3) low measurement error, (4) high correlation with scores of constructed-response (short essay) exams, and (5) when well-designed, adequacy to test at least some higher-order or critical thinking skills (Chan and Kennedy, 2002; Buckles and Siegfried, 2006; Dogan Tozoglu and Ahmet Gurses, 2004; Bradbard, Parker, and Stone, 2004). However,

tradeoffs arise from the use of the multiple-choice format, particularly in comparison to the so-called constructed-response (short answer/essay) format. Disadvantages of multiple choice exams include facilitating guessing, testing partial knowledge, and lower degree of difficulty (Chan and Kennedy, 2002; Bradbard, Parker, and Stone, 2004). Although some of these problems can be attenuated by improving the design of questions, including as many response options as possible, or using alternate ways of scoring (Reid, 1976; Bradbard, Parker, and Stone, 2004), some scholars simply prefer constructed-response formats because they are “believed to measure more important skills, be more relevant to applied decision making, better reflect changing social values, and have more positive social consequences (Katz, Bennett, and Berger, 2000, 55).”

The second limitation of the method is more fundamental. Even though the multiple-choice format allows for the inclusion of large samples of course content, measured outcomes do not include the entire classroom experience. The spring 2005 public budgeting and finance course in FIU’s public administration program, in addition to midterm and final exams, included regular assignments, a guest speaker, class discussions, and a final project where students formed teams, chose a city or other local entity, interviewed public officials, analyzed budget and financial documents, and finally performed an investigation and assessment of expenditure, revenue, and financial management processes, practices, trends, and challenges. The learning experience in this final project has been well-rated by students and has even led to job offers. However, much of what students may have learned in these additional deliverables and activities is not captured in the report card produced in this article. The omission may be particularly unfortunate if one considers that the educational objectives of these deliverables and activities may be rich in critical thinking skills.

This discussion underscores the difficulty of producing perfect program outcomes, a constant complaint in the field. Although solace can be taken in David G. Williams’s suggestion to not “let the perfect drive out the good” (2002, 45), these limitations could motivate the development of complementary indicators to capture the missing part of the classroom experience.

CONCLUSION

MPA programs have been under increasing pressure from external stakeholders to produce indicators of program effectiveness. Producing these measures, however, can be both difficult and expensive (Williams, 2002; Jennings, 1989). This article presents a low-cost method of transforming grades into meaningful indicators of program effectiveness, with ancillary benefits in the areas of faculty and program development. The simple method presented in this paper may, in addition to improving teaching effectiveness, provide timely information to administrators and faculty about the level of student competency in knowledge, skills, and values considered essential for a successful career in public service.

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Teaching What We Know: Describing and Challenging the Neglect of Management Science Methods in MPA Programs

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines typical patterns of instruction in quantitative methods in master of public administration programs. Based on a large-scale survey, it finds a strong preference for social statistics methods over management science ones. Instructors' training and experience, lack of familiarity with management science methods, and the accommodation of competing programmatic goals may help explain the difference in emphasis. Management science methods are suitable aids for administrative decisions, including ones based on little data or subjective judgment, and ones that must be made quickly. Consequently, the 78 percent of instructors who want their students to "gain skills useful for day-to-day administrative decision making" may find management science methods to be a valuable complement to conventional social statistics.

Virtually all master of public administration (MPA) programs train their students in quantitative methods, certainly driven in part by the NASPAA accreditation standard requiring instruction "in the application of quantitative and qualitative techniques of analysis," but just as certainly reflecting recognition of the importance of proficiency with quantitative tools in professional public administration. This paper describes the goals, methods, and topics of quantitative methods instruction in U.S. MPA programs based on a survey of 106 instructors, finding that instructors share a commitment to applied methods but largely neglect management science methods, instead focusing mostly on social statistics. Reasons for this emphasis may include instructors' lack of familiarity with management science methods and competing programmatic goals, including learning goals for students. I advocate a more balanced approach to quantitative methods

training, particularly by way of a stronger emphasis on management science methods, and I provide recommendations for the initiation and implementation of such an approach.

Earlier studies and position papers have identified two main approaches to quantitative methods instruction in public administration curricula: social statistics and management science methods (the latter largely synonymous with operations research and decision science methods, not to be confused with Frederick Taylor’s “scientific management”) (Aristigueta and Raffel, 2001; Caulkins, 1999; Fischhoff and McDaniels, 2005; Fitzpatrick, 2000; Keeney, 2004).

Scholars agree that quantitative methods instruction should have an applied focus, preparing students to make decisions and to influence policymaking as professional public administrators. They disagree, however, on the relative priority that should be given to social statistics and management science methods. To state the differences somewhat too starkly: Proponents of social statistics methods appreciate their application to policy-level decisions, program evaluation, and consuming scholarly research, and proponents of management science methods tout their suitability for day-to-day management-level decisions, quick decision making, decisions made based on little or no data, and decisions based on subjective judgments (Table 1).

Previous studies have documented the near ubiquity of social statistics training in MPA programs (Roeder and Whitaker, 1993; Waugh, Hy, and Brudney, 1991) and pushed for greater incorporation of management science methods (Aristigueta and Raffel, 2001; Caulkins, 1999). Aristigueta and Raffel (2001)

Table 1. Comparison of Social Statistics Methods and Management Science Methods

	<i>Social statistics</i>	<i>Management science</i>
<i>Data requirements</i>	Large N	Small N or no data
<i>Treatment of subjective judgment</i>	Minimize it	Structure it, incorporate it, make its role explicit
<i>Time horizon</i>	Long-term	Short-term, quick
<i>Applications</i>	Policy-level decisions, program evaluation, consuming and applying scholarly research	Management-level decisions, day-to-day decisions
<i>Computer software requirements</i>	Statistical software for advanced methods	Widely available spreadsheet software or no software
<i>Examples of common methods</i>	Correlation, multiple regression, t-tests, ANOVA, factor analysis, binomial distribution	Payoff matrices, multiattribute utility analysis, decision trees, binomial distribution, Poisson distribution

and Caulkins (1999) have persuasively argued that management science methods support managerial decisions routinely faced by a broad range of public administrators, whereas social statistics are associated with research that is more suitable for specialized policy analysis and program evaluation conducted by relatively few practitioners.

The text *Operations Research and the Public Sector* (Pollock, Rothkopf, and Barnett, 1994) presents exemplary applications of various management science methods to a diverse range of public management tasks, including police dispatching, snowplow routing, selecting from alternative welfare programs, legislative redistricting, desegregating schools, estimating public safety risks, routing public transit, siting water treatment plants, and allocating fishery harvests. The premise that broadly applicable management science methods should be taught in MPA programs in addition to social statistics motivates that text, as it does the present study. For illustration, Table A1 (Appendix) provides a description of selected management science methods.

METHODS

In March 2007, invitations to participate in an online survey were sent to directors of the 188 MPA programs listed in NASPAA's roster, including 130 accredited programs and 58 nonaccredited member programs. Directors were asked to forward the email with a link to the survey to instructors who teach any courses that are (or would be) intended to meet the NASPAA standard requiring instruction in quantitative methods. Additional invitations were sent directly to instructors identified by earlier survey respondents.

The survey asked questions about respondents' eligibility for the study, learning goals, teaching methods, specific quantitative methods covered, textbooks used by students, respondents' background, and respondents' departments. To permit comparison of instructors' emphasis on social statistics and management science, representative learning goals, activities, and methods distinctive to each approach (see Tables 2, 3, and 4, respectively) were selected based on a review of several standard textbooks and a convenience sample of syllabi.

FINDINGS

During March, April, and May, 2007, 106 instructors from 90 programs (48% of the known total number of programs; 52% of accredited programs and 40% of unaccredited member programs) completed the survey. The respondents estimated that they teach a total of 5,515 MPA students per year in 165 courses that include quantitative methods content. Of these courses, 79% are required for all MPA students, 6% are required for only some MPA students (such as those in specific concentrations), and the remaining 15% are optional for all MPA students. Respondents were asked to answer the remaining questions with their required courses in mind. Response rates for individual items ranged from 85 to 100 percent.

What are instructors' goals in teaching quantitative methods?

Instructors share a desire for their students to acquire useful quantitative skills; 78% intentionally design their courses to give students the opportunity to “gain quantitative skills useful for day-to-day administrative decision making.” When asked to select the most important, second most important, and third most important learning goals from a range of choices, instructors selected goals associated with social statistics methods much more frequently than goals associated with management science methods. Well over half of the instructors prioritize students gaining skills for policy analysis, program evaluation, and analyzing large datasets, whereas one-fifth or fewer prioritize students gaining skills for analyzing decisions with little or no data, incorporating subjective judgment into decision making, and quick decision making (Table 2).

What activities do instructors use to teach quantitative methods?

Instructors most often employ course activities that support social statistics-oriented learning goals. The most common course activities identified as a “major

Table 2. Instructors Prioritize Learning Goals Associated with Social Statistics over Goals Associated with Management Science

<i>Learning goal</i>	<i>Instructors who include the learning goal in a required course by design</i>	<i>Instructors who rank the learning goal as most, second most, or third most important</i>
Social statistics oriented		
Students gain quantitative skills useful for policy analysis	76%	62%
Students gain quantitative skills useful for analyzing large datasets	72%	55%
Students gain quantitative skills useful for program evaluation	68%	59%
Management science-oriented		
Students gain quantitative skills useful for incorporating subjective judgment into decision making	48%	15
Students gain quantitative skills useful for quick decision making	45	14
Students gain quantitative skills useful for analyzing decisions and problems with little or no data	34	21

component” include discussions of survey data analysis (70%), use of policy analysis examples (62%), and students conducting original work focused on policy analysis (62%). In contrast, only 24% of the instructors use examples of quantitative analysis to support quick decision making, 23% discuss methods to quantify decision makers’ subjective judgments, and 20% have their students practice quantifying subjective judgment (Table 3).

What methods do MPA students learn?

Given the priority assigned to learning goals and activities associated with social statistics methods, it is not surprising that most instructors cover topics representative of social statistics methods and few cover topics representative of management science methods (Table 4). Over 80% of instructors teach their students multiple regression and bivariate regression, and over 90% teach null hypothesis testing, descriptive statistics, bivariate correlation, and t-tests—all standard social statistics methods. From the list of representative management science methods, decision analysis using decision trees is taught by the most instructors, 27%, with the proportion teaching the remaining methods ranging from 18% teaching the Poisson distribution to less than 5% teaching multiattribute utility analysis or the hypergeometric probability distribution.

Table 3. More Course Activities Focus on Social Statistics Than Management Science

<i>Course activity</i>	<i>Instructors who describe the activity as “a major component” of a required course</i>
Social statistics oriented	
We discuss analysis of survey data.	70%
Examples focus on applications of quantitative skills to policy analysis.	62%
Students’ original work involves applying quantitative skills to understanding public policy problems.	62%
Examples focus on applications of quantitative skills to long-term applied research projects.	43%
Management science oriented	
Examples focus on applications of quantitative skills to quick decision making.	24%
We discuss methods to quantify decision makers’ subjective judgments.	23%
Students’ original work involves quantifying subjective judgments.	20%

Table 4. Instructors Teach and are Familiar with More Social Statistics Methods Than Management Science Methods

<i>Method</i>	<i>Instructors who teach the method</i>	<i>Instructors who are “not at all familiar” (or “a little familiar” but “do not know how to use this method”)</i>
Social statistics methods		
Basic descriptive statistics	97	0% (0%)
Null hypothesis testing	95	0 (0)
Bivariate correlation	95	0 (0)
Bivariate regression	95	0 (0)
t-tests	93	0 (0)
Multiple regression	83	0 (0)
Constructing indices/scales	68	1 (4)
ANOVA	62	0 (4)
Regression analysis of time series data	39	0 (4)
Factor analysis	16	2 (10)
Management science methods		
Decision analysis using decision trees	27	5 (10)
Poisson probability distribution	18	3 (21)
Payoff matrices	15	24 (23)
PERT/CPM	9	28 (16)
Linear programming (or other optimization methods)	9	10 (27)
Value trees	7	36 (33)
Multiattribute utility analysis	5	41 (31)
Hypergeometric probability distribution	5	35 (34)
Analytic hierarchy process	0	41 (40)

Instructors' choices of textbooks are consistent with their choices of topics. Three textbooks are used by nearly two-thirds of instructors: *Research Methods for Public Administrators* (O'Sullivan, Rassel, and Berner, 2003, or earlier editions, 30%), *Applied Statistics for Public and Nonprofit Administration* (Meier, Brudney, and Bohte, 2006, or earlier editions, 23%), and *Essential Statistics for Public Managers and Policy Analysts* (Berman, 2006, or the earlier edition, 13%)—all excellent texts. Of these, only *Applied Statistics* includes instruction in management science topics with a chapter on linear programming, a chapter on decision analysis, and sections on management applications of probability distributions.

What explains the emphasis on social statistics over management science methods?

Instructors choosing to emphasize social statistics over management science methods may very well simply believe that this is the best approach to take given their goals for student learning—certainly a legitimate, and evidently popular, position. Others may be aware that management science methods are being taught in management oriented courses. This is likely for some methods, such as PERT/CPM, which would fit naturally in management courses, but unlikely for most methods, which are more “generic” in their applications.

What, then, might predispose an instructor to emphasize social statistics or management science methods? I tested four potential explanations: instructors' familiarity with management science methods, instructors' disciplines, instructors' practitioner experience, and the influence of Ph.D. programs and other master's programs offered alongside MPA programs.

The simplest explanation may be instructors' lack of familiarity with management science methods. As would be expected, none of the instructors, 95% of whom hold doctoral degrees, describe themselves as “not at all familiar” with any of the survey's representative social statistics methods, and very few described themselves as only “a little familiar” (Table 4). They are even less familiar, however, with management science methods; many instructors described themselves as either “not at all familiar” or “a little familiar” with representative management science methods, including multiattribute utility analysis (72%), hypergeometric probability distribution (69%), and linear programming or other optimization methods (37%).

This lack of familiarity, as well as considered decisions not to teach management science methods, may be a function of instructors' own disciplines. Most instructors obtained their highest degrees from one of two disciplines: 27% are public administrationists and 36% are political scientists. The remaining instructors hold degrees in public policy (12%), economics (7%), and a range of other disciplines. A simple index summing positive responses to management science-oriented items (the nine topics items, three course activities items, and three course goals items indicated in previous tables) was used to test the hypothesis that public administrationists tend toward a stronger management science

orientation than political scientists. Indeed, the mean public administrationist score is about 1.4 points higher than political scientists' ($t = 2.0, p < .05$), meaning that public administrationists include, on average, about one and a half more learning goals, course activities, or topics representative of management science than political scientists (Table 5).

Tests of the second and third hypotheses—that instructors who have practitioner experience and those who teach MPA students exclusively are more management science-oriented—yield statistically insignificant results (not surprising given the sample size), though the means compare as expected. The 31% of instructors who have ever worked full-time as public administrators have a mean score about one point higher on the index. This admittedly small difference cannot be attributed to mere familiarity—both groups are equally familiar (and unfamiliar) with the management science methods, but instructors with practitioner experience are nonetheless slightly more likely to align with the management science orientation than instructors without practitioner experience. The 58% of instructors who teach only MPA students scored slightly higher on the index—just under one point—than did instructors whose courses also count toward other master's degrees (most often in political science) or doctoral degrees. The influence of the competing, nonmanagerial learning goals of other programs may detract from a management science orientation for MPA students, but if so, only weakly.

Table 5. Public Administrationists, Instructors with Practitioner Experience, and Instructors in Courses Exclusively for MPA Students are More Management Science-Oriented than Other Instructors

<i>Instructor and course characteristics</i>	<i>Management science orientation index score (0 – 15)</i>	
Instructor's discipline*		
Public administration (27% of all respondents)	4	.8
Political science (36%)	3	.4
Instructor's full-time practitioner experience		
Some (31%)	4	.6
None (69%)	3	.7
Mix of students in courses with quantitative methods content		
MPA students only (58%)	4	.4
MPA students plus students from other master's or Ph.D. programs (42%)	3	.5

* *t*-test significant at $p < .05$

RECOMMENDATIONS

For those of us who believe that these methods warrant an important place in MPA curricula, the results of the survey are discouraging. However, they do support at least five recommendations for bringing more management science content to quantitative instruction in MPA programs and for promoting the quality of quantitative instruction more generally.

First, MPA program administrators and instructors should be mindful of the distinctiveness of the discipline, including the distinctive potential applications of quantitative methods. We may be tempted to pursue efficiency by combining “methods” courses for students in related disciplines—after all, we all calculate standard deviations the same way—but management science has a distinct set of quantitative tools ideal for MPA students but inappropriate for, say, political science students. Similarly, MPA program administrators should be wary of giving responsibility for quantitative methods instruction entirely to instructors from other fields, particularly ones without any management orientation. MPA students need to learn quantitative methods primarily as tools for administration, not tools for academic research.

Second, quantitative instruction in MPA programs should be shaped by the priorities of practitioners. MPA programs routinely consult with advisory boards and expert practitioners for other curricular decisions—which concentrations to develop, which electives to offer—but quantitative methods instruction has probably not benefited nearly as much from the input of practitioners. The findings show only a small increase in management science orientation among instructors with practitioner experience, but an intentional effort to take practitioners’ experience into account may yield a larger shift toward a management orientation in quantitative instruction.

Granted, the first two recommendations are tied rather weakly to the findings; public administrationists, instructors teaching only MPA students, and instructors with practitioner experience are only slightly more likely (if at all) to include management science learning goals, activities, and topics in their courses. More certainly, those wishing to include management science methods in their courses are themselves most likely not very familiar with these very methods, and, unfortunately, quantitative methods textbooks specific to public administration provide little support. As a third recommendation, then, such instructors can look to the management science discipline for textbook support. Although largely concerned with business applications, several popular management science textbooks include numerous examples from the public and nonprofit sectors. Anderson, Sweeney, and Williams (2004), for example, include extended examples of applications in the GAO, EPA, and a public utility company. Much of the content of private sector examples applies directly to the public sector, such as quantitative methods for planning projects, scheduling transportation, forecasting trends, and assigning tasks.

Fourth, instructors' lack of familiarity with management science methods also calls for adding management science content to doctoral curricula in public administration. Obviously, public administrationists should be trained as social science researchers, but as educators of professional public managers they should also be (at least) familiar with the core content of the management disciplines, including management science. Without this training, public administrationists are left not knowing what they don't know and are limited to replicating their social science research skill sets in MPA students. Future quantitative methods instructors should become at least minimally familiar with management science methods so that they can make informed choices when deciding what topics to include in their courses.

Finally, the findings also suggest a strategy for program administrators and instructors who want to train students in management science methods but believe they do not have room in the curriculum to add new content. Mindful of the primary goal of preparing administrators, not researchers, MPA faculty can prioritize quantitative methods content, triaging potential methods as those that all public administrators should be able to perform competently, those that administrators should be able to understand when performed by others, and those that can be reserved for subsets of public administrators, such as policy analysts and program evaluators.

Different instructors will surely disagree how to categorize the various quantitative methods, but most would agree, for example, that all public administrators should be able to perform basic descriptive statistical analysis. It is unlikely, however, that very many public administrators will (or should) perform multiple regression independently during their careers, yet it is covered by 83% of instructors in required courses. It is just as likely, though, that public administrators will encounter multiple regression results and will need the ability to interpret and apply them. By training MPA students to "consume," but not necessarily to perform, multiple regression (as some of this 83% may very well do), instructional time can be reallocated to other methods, including management science methods. Still other methods could safely be reserved entirely for policy analysis and program evaluation specialists, perhaps including constructing indices and scales (taught in required courses by 68% of instructors) and regression analysis of time series data (taught by 38%). (Fitzpatrick, 2000, includes a helpful discussion of the consumer-oriented approach to teaching research methods to MPA students.)

In the end, this call to consider including management science methods in MPA curricula may be like the seed that falls on rocky ground. Chances are, instructors reading this report have no training in management science methods, nor do they need management science methods to progress in their own research. The appeal, then, must be to our intent to give students quantitative skills they will use, and use routinely, in effective and efficient public administration. If we

share this intent, we owe it to our students and the public they will serve to consider whether management science methods should be part of our curricula.

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Appendix. Description, Recommended References, and Illustrative Applications for Selected Management Science Quantitative Methods

The table below provides a description of selected management science methods. This list is not meant to be exhaustive, but rather it is representative of topics typically found in management science (and related) courses and textbooks with applicability to decisions faced by public administrators. Illustrative questions are provided to give the reader a sense for the types of decisions that can be aided by each method.

<i>Purpose (and recommended reference)</i>	<i>Illustrative decision scenario</i>
<p><i>Multiattribute utility analysis</i></p> <p>Aids selection from among mutually exclusive alternatives on the basis of multiple criteria (McEachern, 1984).</p>	<p>Which job training curriculum should we adopt, considering cost, staffing requirements, duration, and content?</p>
<p><i>Linear programming*</i></p> <p>Identifies levels of inputs that optimize output subject to constraints on how the inputs may be allocated (Meier, Brudney, and Bohte, 2006).</p>	<p>Which routes minimize the cost of transporting commodity foods from storage facilities to distribution centers while meeting minimum requirements for equity and variety of selection?</p>
<p><i>Decision analysis using decision trees</i></p> <p>Predicts the probability of outcomes for alternative courses of action that entail series of decisions to be made under uncertain future circumstances. (White, Clayton, Myrtle, Siegel, and Rose, 1980).</p>	<p>What water use restrictions should our county adopt based on long-range weather forecasts and the possibility of a new water-sharing agreement with the neighboring county?</p>
<p><i>Poisson probability distribution*</i></p> <p>Describes the probability of a rare event occurring during a given period of time. (Meier, Brudney, and Bohte, 2006).</p>	<p>If we hire two homicide response counselors, how often would we be unable to send a counselor to a homicide scene within three hours?</p>
<p><i>Program Evaluation Review Technique (PERT)/Critical Path Method (CPM)</i></p> <p>Structures plans for completing complex projects that require series of interdependent tasks and identifies opportunities to reduce time to project completion (Ammons, 2002).</p>	<p>How can we allocate staff time to transition to the new accounting software as quickly as possible?</p>

* Standard spreadsheet software includes built-in functions for linear programming and several probability distributions, making these tools much more accessible to public administrators than when their management applications were first developed.

Developing Public Administration and Public Policy Master's Programs in Egypt

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ABSTRACT

An essential element for successful reform in Egypt is the availability of skilled professional personnel; thus, professional education programs play an important role, particularly those in public administration (PA) and public policy. This paper examines Egypt's four master's programs in public administration/public policy, exploring whether they are on a par with international standards (the supply side) and whether they meet Egyptian employers' requirements for mid-level administration and policy staff (the demand side). The four programs are compared based on overall structure, enrollment and graduation numbers, curricula, and other factors. A competencies framework reflecting the competencies required for reform support is developed, and these competencies then form the basis for assessing the programs' fit to the marketplace, based on MPA program representatives' assessments of which competencies are covered in their programs and employers' assessment of relative need for and current levels of these competencies in their organizations. The analysis finds a poor match between employers' stated needs and current staff capacity and a lack of clarity in the perception of the MPA skill set in the Egyptian market. These deficiencies must be addressed to establish higher professional standards for public administration programs and their graduates.

THE CHALLENGE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN AN ENVIRONMENT OF INTENSIVE REFORM

The public sector in the Arab world faces new demands on its skills and capabilities, the result of the serious development challenges confronting the Arab nations. These challenges arise from external factors—the result of increased interaction with a complex and globalizing world—and internal factors, notably the accelerated pace of reform processes within Arab governments and societ-

ies. These new demands fall on top of institutions wrestling with continuing deficiencies in the administration of core public functions, such as education and health. The conflux of increased challenges and a weak administrative base impede development in the region and contribute to its weak showing in comparison to international peers on such parameters as adult literacy, child mortality, and job creation.

In the case of Egypt, the success of current reform programs requires that public sector leadership build new competencies and skills for a market-based economy, while at the same time working harder to close critical deficits in education, housing, job creation, and service provision and to move Egypt's economy into a more competitive position. These efforts must be implemented within the context of an overstuffed and under-funded bureaucracy of some 5.7 million employees, one in which illiterate employees outnumber the 40,000 employees holding advanced degrees (excluding university employees) by as much as 25 to 1 (El-Nahass, 2007).

The challenges facing public administration are thus monumental. In principle, graduate education programs in public administration and public policy, particularly professional training at the master's level (MPA, MPP, and related degrees, hereafter MPAs), should play a central role in preparing the public sector to meet these daunting challenges.

The current study considers whether Egypt's master's programs in public administration and public policy are in fact addressing this need. This assessment is based on an exploratory evaluation of the programs' current curricular structure and content against international research priorities and professional standards and on an analysis of the fit among the skill sets offered by the programs, the skills demanded by Egypt's employers of mid-level administrative and policy staff, and the skills that these same employers believe master's degree holders currently possess.

Despite Egypt's evident need for well-trained public sector leaders, MPA programs have shown only limited development in Egypt. Over the past 25 years, master's programs in public administration and, more recently, public policy have taken shape, but only in a handful of institutions in the top ranks of Egypt's universities. The American University in Cairo (AUC) launched Egypt's first formal MPA program in the late 1970s, although AUC and Cairo University (CU), among others, had incorporated public administration topics into their respective political science programs prior to that date. Cairo University offered its first master's degree in public administration in 1991. Since 2000, both the Sadat Academy of Management Sciences (SAMS, a specialized school for the public sector) and the Arab Academy for Science and Technology (AAST, an Arab League-affiliated institution) have also begun to offer the MPA degree in Cairo, although both programs have only recently been fully accredited by the Supreme Council of Universities, the top-most governmental accreditation authority in Egypt.

SCOPE AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This paper considers the degree to which Egypt's four current graduate public administration and policy programs are now positioned to provide highly skilled mid-level staff and line personnel for the country's administrative apparatus, both governmental and nongovernmental. The paper explores program positioning based on an analysis of three broad factors, shown in Table 1.

To examine these issues, profiles of the four programs were first developed, encompassing their overall structure, curriculum, enrollment, and other factors, and a list of 95 thesis titles was assembled for the three programs that include or require a thesis. The results of this analysis are presented in the next section.

To explore the fit between program content and the needs of employers, a list of 26 competencies was first developed. As further discussed in the section on the competencies analysis, the competencies list was designed to reflect the skills that would be required of midlevel professionals working in an environment of rapid programmatic and policy reform, based on the literature and practitioner experience. This list then formed the basis for an analysis of the demand for and availability of relevant skills in the marketplace and in the MPA programs. This analysis relied on in-depth interviews with senior representatives of the four academic programs studied and with 20 representatives of 13 different employer/ stakeholder organizations—government offices, think tanks and consulting firms, donors, nonprofit organizations working on policy issues, and universities. The latter interviews provided data on both the importance of the 26 competencies studied to the work of organizations in public administration and the degree to

Table 1. Analytic Approaches Used to Assess MPA Programs

Program Aspect	Standard for Assessment	Egyptian Information Source
<i>Program Structure and Overall Curriculum</i>	Accreditation standards as set by National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA)	Overall program structure and scope, degree requirements, faculty, course offerings, and graduate career paths
<i>Sectoral Focus of Graduate Research</i>	List of top 10 topics in public administration on an international level identified by the Institute of Public Administration in Canada (McConkey, 2006)	Topics of MPA student theses, 2000–2006
<i>Match of Skills to Market Needs</i>	Assessment by senior officials of skills needed on their staff and preference for MPAs vs. other graduate specializations	Questionnaire/interviews with agency heads and senior officials and MPA program heads or other representatives

which employers believe that the master's degree holders on their staff (hereafter, MDH, for brevity) possess those competencies.

To provide a consistent view across the organizations, the competencies selected as the basis for the analysis were skills that apply generally to the work of many different types of organizations, such as financial management. The set did not include subject-matter competencies, such as environment or privatization, which would vary from organization to organization. The list reflects the processes of policy and programmatic reform rather than routine administration. It omits capacities in specific analytic tools (such as regression, modeling, decision analysis), reflecting the fact that such techniques are not widely used in Egypt.

GRADUATE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION EDUCATION IN EGYPT

Egyptian Context for Graduate Education in Public Administration

The need to develop managerial capacities throughout Egypt society is widely perceived as urgent. The general consensus in the private sector and even more so in the public sector is that the many deficiencies in Egyptian organizations can be traced back to poor managerial skills. As early as 1988, Palmer, Leila, and Yassin stated that "the Egyptian bureaucracy is a major obstacle to the economic and social development of Egyptian society" (Palmer et al., 1989, ix). Sadly, this statement remains as valid today as when it was written 20 years ago.

Over the years, Egyptian reformers and donors have made many attempts to reform government administration. Some positive results have been achieved, but much still remains to be done. Currently, the lead responsibility for overseeing the government reform process rests with the Minister of State for Administrative Development. The current minister, Ahmed Darwish, has put forward ambitious reform plans covering such areas as e-government, institutional development, human resources development, reform of government services, rationalization of government size (staffing), and issuance of a new civil service law, among other plans (A.R.E. Ministry of State for Administrative Development, 2007). Parallel to these efforts, the Central Agency for Organization and Administration, reporting directly to the prime minister, holds the responsibility for restructuring the bureaucracy, developing and training the civil service, and managing daily personnel issues related to government employees.

Reform and day-to-day management both pose daunting challenges, given the 5.7-million-strong roster of government employees distributed among hundreds of government organizations, semi-independent agencies, and enterprises. One of the essential elements in the success of the reform is the availability in Egypt of high-caliber academic and professional education programs, particularly in public administration and public policy. These programs must be able to provide those working in the government and those supporting it from the private and civil society sectors with the set of competencies and skills needed to realize the government's developmental goals and to do so with greater efficiency and effectiveness.

Overview of Public Administration Master's Degree Programs in Egypt

At present, only four educational institutions in Egypt offer the master's in public administration or similar degree: the American University in Cairo (AUC), Cairo University (CU), the Sadat Academy for Managerial Sciences (SAMS), and the Arab Academy for Science and Technology and Maritime Transport (AAST). All four programs are currently recognized by the Supreme Council of Universities (SCU, the governing body for Egyptian universities).

AUC's program, launched in the early 1970s, is the oldest and best-established among the four. The program began as a specialization within the master's degree in management science, which was then offered by the political science department. A master's in public administration was created in 1979 under the leadership of the late Dr. E. H. Valsan, who must be considered the father of public administration education in Egypt.¹ The degree was reorganized in 2005–2006 as a master's in public policy and administration. Although AUC does not offer a doctorate, the SCU accreditation permits graduates of the program to pursue Ph.D. studies at Cairo University's Faculty of Economics and Political Science, (FEPS).

A total of approximately 350 students completed AUC's MPA between 1985 and 2007. The program is currently in a rebuilding and redesign phase aimed at consolidating development of the region's first public policy degree. The unit, which in recent year has awarded between 10 and 20 master's degrees annually, has three full-time faculty members and is further supported by adjunct professors and faculty from other departments.

Cairo University's program is housed within FEPS, which started operation in 1961 (Cairo University, 2000, 22–25). Public administration studies were initiated at FEPS as part of the political science department, with graduate students pursuing master's and Ph.D. degrees in political science having the option of concentrating on public administration topics. A formal PA program was established only in 1991, however, when a separate Department for Public Administration was created at FEPS. Because of the close association among the Departments of Public Administration, Political Science, and Economics, the public policy area continues to be perceived as a joint responsibility. The program has 13 full-time faculty members.

The Sadat Academy for Management Sciences was established by Presidential Decree 127 of 1981 as an institute to provide higher-level training to civil servants, the successor to various earlier institutions serving this purpose dating back to the 1950s. SAMS' Faculty of Management currently offers a "Fellow in Managerial Sciences" degree, equivalent to a master's degree. Although this degree has been offered for several years, it achieved full SCU accreditation only in 2005. Sadat awards five to 10 PA master's degrees annually.

Egypt's fourth MPA program is housed in the Arab Academy for Science and Technology and Maritime Transport. Despite AAST's affiliation with the Arab

League, it has independent financial status. The PA master's program was initiated in 2002 through AAST's Graduate School of Business, located in Cairo, and received full accreditation by the SCU in 2006. AAST's program is the largest in Egypt, awarding 60–100 degrees annually (although this number declined to 33 in 2007). Table 2 provides a comparative overview of the four programs.

Enrollment

Table 3 shows the number of graduates for the four MPA programs from 2000 through 2006. Figure 1 displays the number of AUC graduates for a longer period, from 1985 to 2007. While AUC's numbers have remained fairly constant, between 10 and 20 graduates in most years, the program, like its peers, is now

Table 2. Master's Degrees in Public Administration Offered in Egypt

	<i>American University in Cairo (AUC)</i>	<i>Arab Academy for Science and Technology and Maritime Transport (AAST)</i>	<i>Cairo University (CU)</i>	<i>Sadat Academy for Management Science (SAMS)</i>
<i>Degree Title</i>	Master of public policy & administration	Master of public administration	Master of public administration	Master of public administration
<i>Organization Type</i>	Private university, chartered in U.S.	Private, affiliated with Arab League	Public sector university	Public sector training institution
<i>Start Date</i>	Master of public administration introduced in 1979; restructured as MPPA in 2005	Started 1991 as professional qualification; recognized as academic degree by Supreme Council of Universities in 2005	1991	Started in 1988 as Fellow in Managerial Sciences; recently recognized by the Supreme Council of Universities as master's degree
<i>Course of Study</i>	Coursework & comprehensive (thesis optional: 2 electives may be substituted)	Coursework (sequenced—no electives) & comprehensive	Coursework & thesis	Coursework & thesis
<i>Courses for Degree</i>	11 courses (with thesis; 13 without thesis)	16 courses	16 courses	8 courses
<i>Language of Instruction</i>	English	Arabic	Arabic: Course material Arabic/ English	Arabic

experiencing a decline in enrollment. The moving average rose gradually from the first year to reach a peak of around 21 graduates in 1997, but has since fallen to around 15 graduates annually.

Egyptians account for the overwhelming majority of AUC's graduates, with 87 percent of all AUC graduates for whom nationality can be identified coming from Egypt. The remaining 13 percent are divided among other Arab countries (4 percent), Europe and North America (each 3 percent), and graduates from other Asian and African countries (3 percent).

Figure 1. AUC MPA and MPPA Graduates, 1985–2007

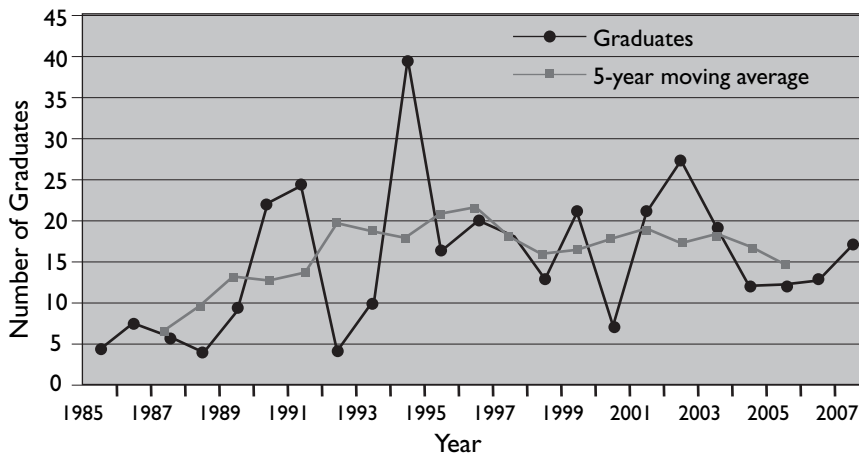


Table 3. Number of MPA Graduates, 2000-2006 (Peak year highlighted)

Year	MPA Program				Total
	AAST	AUC	Cairo	Sadat	
2000		7	7	5	19
2001		21	13	9	43
2002	33	27	6	9	75
2003	64	19	7	5	95
2004	93	12	4	7	116
2005	89	12	4	7	112
2006	66	13	8	7	94
<i>Total, 00–06</i>	345	111	49	49	554

Post-Graduation Employment of MPAs—Evidence from AUC's Graduates

AUC's alumni records provide insights into post-graduation employment patterns of MPA holders. Employment information is available for 209 of the 345 graduates on record, but the results of this analysis must be regarded as preliminary because the records have not been consistently updated. Thus some records show positions held shortly after graduation, while others show current or more recent employment. Nonetheless, pending better information, these data can be used to assemble an initial picture of MPA employment patterns.

The principal conclusion of this review is that only a small portion of graduates, around 10 percent, work for Egypt's government. If this finding holds for the other programs, dispersion of the graduates outside public administration, per se,

Table 4. Post-graduation Employment of AUC MPAs

<i>Employer type</i>	All alumni with known employment		All alumni with known employment, excluding AUC employees	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Academic	64	30.6	22	13.2
Bank	22	10.5	22	13.2
Business, other than bank	61	29.2	61	36.5
Government	20	9.6	20	12.0
International agency	13	6.2	13	7.8
Legislature	1	0.5	1	0.6
Multinational	18	8.6	18	10.8
Nongovernment organization	10	4.8	10	6.0
<i>Total</i>	209	100.0	167	100.0

<i>Summary classification</i>	All alumni with known employment		All alumni with known employment, excluding AUC employees	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Business	101	48.3	101	60.5
Government including international agencies	34	16.3	34	20.4
Academic and NGO	74	35.4	32	19.2
<i>Total</i>	209	100.00	167	100.0

Source: Analysis of information in AUC alumni database for graduates between 1985 and 2007.

may contribute to a low profile of the field. As discussed below, the interviews with employers did indeed find that the MPA degree does not have a clear image with this important group.

Table 4 summarizes available data on post-graduation employment of AUC's MPAs. Nearly half—48 percent—pursued careers in the private sector. Because many AUC employees pursue the MPA degree while employed there, these data are presented both including and excluding AUC employees.

Comparison of Thesis Topics with International Priorities for PA Research

To explore whether graduate student PA research in Egypt falls within the mainstream of PA research globally, the topics of master's theses prepared between 2000 and 2006 were analyzed based on titles and compared with the list of the top 10 topics in public administration identified by the Canadian Institute of Public Administration (CIPA) (McConkey, 2006). A total of 112 theses were written over the period studied, with Cairo University accounting for the largest share, followed by SAMS and AUC. Because some theses addressed more than one topic, a total of 152 topics were included in the group.

Table 5 shows the number of theses addressing each of the top 10 topics identified by CIPA as well as five additional topics that figured prominently among Egyptian MPA theses. Overall, about two out of five topics addressed were among the top 10 identified by CIPA, and more than half of the theses (55 percent) addressed at least one such topic.

The top-ranked thesis topics overall were organizational development and human resource management, both traditional topics not identified as priorities in the CIPA ranking. Although falling outside the range of topics identified as global priorities, these topics may indeed merit additional attention in Egypt, given the many institutional and organizational obstacles facing Egyptian administration. Among the top 10 topics identified by the CIPA, the most popular in Egypt were municipal and urban government (eighth on the CIPA list) and technology (ninth on the CIPA list). Conversely, regulation, which topped the list internationally and is a vital concern in an emerging market such as Egypt, fell last among all topics analyzed.

Preliminary Benchmarking Against NASPAA Accreditation Criteria

An examination of the four programs' alignment with the accreditation standards of the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA) provided a further assessment of the quality of the four MPA programs offered in Egypt. NASPAA accredits programs in public administration, public affairs and public policy in the United States. As non-American institutions and programs seek international benchmarks, they increasingly look to such established standard-setters as NASPAA and its counterpart, the European Association for Public Administration Accreditation (EAPAA) (Calarusse and Raffel, 2007, 25).

Table 5. Egyptian MPA Thesis Topics Compared to Global Priority Topics

<i>CIPA Rank</i>	<i>Topic</i>	<i>Percent of all topics covered</i>	<i>Percent of all theses covering this topic</i>
Other	Organizational Development	25	35
Other	Human Resource Management	11	16
Next 5	Municipal/Urban PA	9	13
Next 5	Technology Change and Policy	8	11
Other	Education Policy	6	9
Other	Other Public Policy Areas	6	9
Other	Non Governmental Organizations	6	8
Top 5	Environmental Policy	5	7
Next 5	PA of Quasi-Public Organizations	5	7
Top 5	Health Policy	4	6
Top 5	Organizational Culture	4	5
Other	Gender Studies	3	4
Next 5	Governance	3	4
Next 5	Performance Evaluation	3	4
Top 5	Democratic Dialogue	2	3
Top 5	Regulation	1	2
	Total	100	

Percent of all topics:

In top 5 topics internationally	16
In next 5 top topics internationally	26
Not in top 10 internationally	57
	100

Percent of all theses covering topics:

In top 5 topics internationally	22
In any top 10 topic internationally	55
Not in top 10 internationally	72

Source: McConkey, 2006, and authors' analysis.

Although highly preliminary, the present review provides an initial look at how Egypt's programs compare to global standards and suggests directions for future inquiry. Overall, the assessment indicates that none of the Egyptian programs would, as yet, meet the NASPAA standard. In particular, the curricula of all four institutions lag behind global best practice in incorporation of quantitative analytic techniques, student services (such as placement), and use of formalized practica or internships. The last difference may reflect both the part-time structure of much Egyptian graduate study (most graduate students hold full-time positions as well) and the limited use of experiential techniques in Egyptian education overall.

COMPETENCIES ANALYSIS:

DO EGYPT'S MPA PROGRAMS PROVIDE THE RIGHT SKILLS?

Analysis of the congruence among the competencies most valued by employers—those found among current MDH on their staff and those offered by MPA programs—indicates that the current match among these critical parameters remains weak. The analysis reported here gave particular emphasis to those competencies most needed for policy analysis and reform implementation, reflecting Egypt's need for these skills and the resulting strong demand in the marketplace. It was based on a set of competencies used in the process of policy analysis and reform, as well as in a wider range of professional PA activities and functions. The following sections describe the survey methodology used in more detail, present the results of the survey research, and draw conclusions regarding the fit between current MPA programs and the needs of the marketplace.

Methodology for Assessing Competencies

Twenty-six competencies were identified for the analysis. These are shown in Table 6, which also displays the assignment of each competency to a subgroup based on: 1) the stage of the policy analysis and reform implementation process where it is most likely to be used and 2) the skill set required in the exercise of the competency, as further shown in Table 7 below.

These competencies and the six subgroups shown above formed the basis for a questionnaire administered to employer organizations involved in policy analysis and reform and a parallel questionnaire administered to senior representatives of the four MPA programs. A nonrandom sample of 13 organizations was selected for interviews, based on the objective of interviewing representatives of each of the main groups believed likely to hire MPAs in Egypt—government agencies, universities, think tanks, associations, and consulting firms—as well as the availability of senior representatives from prominent Egyptian organizations.

A structured interview guide was used, in which employers were asked to report on the number of master's degree holders in their staff, their perceptions on the comparative abilities of master's degree holders versus other staff, likely

Table 6. Competencies Used in the Analysis

Category	Competency	Skill-set Category*
Situation Analysis	Definition of problem in form suitable for analysis	A
	Data collection	A
	Quantitative, economic & statistical analysis of data	A
	Qualitative analysis of data	A
	Synthesis of situational or problem analysis into form useful for decision-makers	E
	Writing policy papers/reports	E
Program Development	Development of overall program strategy and objectives	A
	Development of alternatives to achieve objectives	A
	Analytic comparison of alternatives	A
	Projection of impact of various alternatives	A
	Development of budgets to implement alternatives	M
	Development of implementation plans	M
	Development of strategy to gain acceptance of preferable alternative(s)	E
Proposal writing for donors or others	E	
Program Implementation	Leadership skills	M
	Decision making skills	M
	Motivation skills	M
	Time management skills	M
	Financial management of program	M
	Legal competencies	M
	Monitoring and follow-up	M
	Collaboration with partners/donors	E
	Preparing project progress reports	M
	Oral presentation skills	E
	Interpersonal communication skills	M
	Evaluation of results	A

*A=analytic skills, E=external communications and relationship skills, M=program management skills.

career paths for MPAs as compared to other specialties (MBA, MA/Econ), and related issues, in addition to the questions on competencies.

Competencies were rated using three complementary 3-point scales, two for employers and one for program representatives:

- Employers were asked to rank each competency with regard to its importance to the work of their organizations (critical to their work, useful to their work but not of critical importance, or generally not needed in their work).
- Employers were then asked to rate the competency of individuals currently on their staff with a master's degree (MDH), regardless of their field of study,² again using a 3-point scale (at least adequate to their needs, having some capacity in the competency area, but needing more to meet the organization's needs, or not having the competency to an appreciable degree).
- Program representatives were asked to rate each of the 26 competencies on a 5-point scale reflecting the degree to which the curriculum incor-

Table 7. Summary of Competency Categories Used in the Analysis

Subgroups	Core Issue	Number of Competencies
Programmatic Categories		
<i>Situational Analysis</i>	Nature of the problem	6 competencies
<i>Program Development</i>	Alternatives to address the problem	8 competencies
<i>Program Implementation</i>	Implementation of chosen approach(es)	12 competencies
Skill-set Categories		
<i>Analytic ("A" in Table 6)</i>	Competencies requiring analytic skills, either quantitative or qualitative	9 competencies
<i>External ("E" in Table 6)</i>	Competencies related to communication with external partners, including senior levels of the interviewee's own agency, particularly policy analysis findings and recommendations	6 competencies
<i>Managerial ("M" in Table 6)</i>	Competencies needed to manage a program or project	11 competencies

porated material designed to build this competency in MPA students. This scale was normalized to a 3-point scale for comparison with the employers' rankings.

These data were then used to compare the extent to which current MDH meet employers' needs and the fit between program content and employers' requirements. Given the small sample size, the analysis remains preliminary, but it nonetheless provided valuable insights into the issues facing graduate PA education in Egypt.

Employer Perceptions of Competencies: Importance and Current Staff Capacity

Table 8 displays employers' rankings of the 26 competencies on a 3-point scale, with "3" corresponding to the highest degree of importance to their organization's work and the highest degree of competency among current MDH on their staff. These results indicate the existence of a major gap between the employers' views on the competencies needed and their assessment of current staff capacity. Overall, employers ranked the average competency level at or above their assessed need in only six of the 26 categories. Five competencies emerged as areas critical to the employers with low current competency on staff:

- definition of the problem in form suitable for analysis
- writing policy papers and reports
- synthesis of the situational or problem analysis into a form useful for decision-makers
- development of overall program strategy and objectives
- development of alternatives to achieve objectives

Other competencies identified as deficient, but ranked as lower in importance, included the following:

- leadership skills
- decision-making skills
- development of strategy to gain acceptance of preferable alternatives
- interpersonal communication skills
- evaluation of results
- legal competencies
- financial management of the program
- quantitative and statistical analysis of data

Table 9 shows the most important competencies overall as ranked by the employers.

Tables 10 and 11 summarize these findings to show the largest gaps between the need for and current levels of key competencies. These suggest a need to

Table 8. Employers' Rankings of Importance of Specific Competencies Compared to Current Capacity of Master's Degree Holders on Staff

Competency		Rankings by Employers		
		Average importance to employer	Average current capacity	Gap (importance –current capacity)
Situation Analysis	Definition of problem in form suitable for analysis	2.8	2.2	0.6
	Data collection	2.4	2.5	-0.1
	Quantitative, economic & statistical analysis of data	1.9	2.1	-0.2
	Qualitative analysis of data	2.1	2.4	-0.4
	Synthesis of situational or problem analysis into form useful for decision-makers	2.7	2.0	0.7
	Writing policy papers/reports	2.8	2.1	0.7
	Average across situation analysis competencies	2.4	2.3	0.1
Program Development	Development of overall program strategy and objectives	2.7	2.2	0.5
	Development of alternatives to achieve objectives	2.7	2.6	0.1
	Analytic comparison of alternatives	2.4	2.2	0.2
	Projection of impact of various alternatives	2.5	1.9	0.6
	Development of budgets to implement alternatives	2.3	2.1	0.2
	Development of implementation plans	2.3	1.9	0.4
	Development of strategy to gain acceptance of preferable alternative(s)	2.5	2.0	0.5
	Proposal writing for donors or others	2.6	1.9	0.7
	Average across program development competencies	2.4	2.2	0.2
	Leadership skills	2.3	2.1	0.2
Program Implementation	Decision making skills	2.3	2.1	0.2
	Motivation skills	2.4	2.1	0.3
	Time management skills	2.7	2.1	0.6
	Financial management of program	1.8	2.0	-0.2
	Legal competencies	1.8	1.6	0.2
	Monitoring and follow-up	2.4	2.3	0.1
	Collaboration with partners/donors	2.7	2.0	0.7
	Preparing project progress reports	2.3	2.2	0.1
	Oral presentation skills	2.5	2.5	0.0
	Interpersonal communication skills	2.4	2.4	0.1
	Evaluation of results	2.3	2.3	0.0
	Average across implementation of programs	2.4	2.2	0.2
	Average across all competencies	2.4	2.1	0.3

*3=critical; 2=useful; 1=not needed **3=adequate; 2=some, need more; 1=none

Table 9. Most Important Competencies as Ranked by Employers

	<i>Competency Rating</i>			
	<i>Need for competency by the organization</i>		<i>Current capacity among master's holders on staff</i>	
	<i>Percent rating competency as "critical"</i>	<i>Percent rating competency as "critical" or "useful"</i>	<i>Percent rating staff skill as "adequate" or "better"</i>	<i>Percent rating staff skill as "some" or "none"</i>
<i>Competencies ranked as "critical" by 2/3 of raters or more</i>				
Definition of problem in form suitable for analysis	83	100	20	80
Writing policy papers/reports	83	92	20	80
Development of overall program strategy and objectives	67	100	18	82
Synthesis of situational or problem analysis into form useful for decision-makers	67	100	20	80
Collaboration with partners/donors	67	100	25	75
Time management skills	67	100	33	67
Development of alternatives to achieve objectives	67	100	60	40
Proposal writing for donors or others	67	89	11	89
<i>Additional skills ranked as "critical" or "useful" by more than 85 percent of raters</i>				
Projection of impact of various alternatives	50	100	10	90
Development of strategy to gain acceptance of preferable alternative(s)	50	100	17	83
Oral presentation skills	50	100	55	45
Analytic comparison of alternatives	42	100	30	70
Interpersonal communication skills	42	100	36	64
Motivation skills	50	92	33	67
Leadership skills	33	92	9	91
Decision-making skills	33	92	18	82

Table 10. Critical Capacity Gaps as Measured by the Percentage of Employers Ranking Capacity as "Adequate or Better" Compared to Importance Assessed as a "Critical Need"

<i>Competency</i>	<i>% Rating Competency as Critical Need</i>	<i>% Rating Staff Capacity as Adequate or Better</i>	<i>Gap (Absolute Difference)</i>
Definition of problem in form suitable for analysis	83	20	63
Writing policy papers/reports	83	20	63
Proposal writing for donors or others	67	11	56
Development of overall program strategy and objectives	67	18	48
Synthesis of situational or problem analysis into form useful for decision-makers	67	20	47

Table 11. Other Major Gaps: Difference Between Percentage of Employers Assessing Importance as "Critical" or "Useful" and Percentage Assessing Capacity as "Adequate or Better"

<i>Competency</i>	<i>Gap</i>
Projection of impact of various alternatives	90
Development of strategy to gain acceptance of preferable alternative(s)	83
Leadership skills	83
Proposal writing for donors or others	78
Collaboration with partners/donors	75
Legal competencies	75
Decision making skills	73
Development of implementation plans	73
Analytic comparison of alternatives	70
Time management skills	67
Interpersonal communication skills	64

strengthen the teaching of these competencies as MPA programs are upgraded, with additional attention to such topics as strategic management, research methods, policy analysis, and general professional writing.

The interviews indicated a high level of dissatisfaction with writing and other external relations skills. To examine this issue more closely, the competencies were re-sorted into three groups (analytic skills, external relations skills, and managerial skills, as discussed in the methodology section above). Tables 12 and 13 present the resulting gap analysis in terms of the absolute score (using the same 3-point scales) and the percentage of respondents rating.

The gap in communication skills reported by the interviewees during the less-structured element of the interviews is confirmed by this analysis. External communication and relationship skills are shown as the most critical competency area overall, but the percentage ranking their staff as adequate or better is the second lowest, leading to the largest gap between the two measures.

Table 12. Functional Competencies—Average Scores

<i>Average by type of skill</i>	<i>Average Ranking of Importance to Employers</i>	<i>Average Capacity of Current MA/MS-holders on Staff</i>	<i>Gap Between Need and Capacity</i>
Analytic	2.4	2.3	0.2*
External	2.6	2.1	0.5
Managerial	2.3	2.1	0.2

*Rounding error.

Table 13. Functional Competencies—Rankings

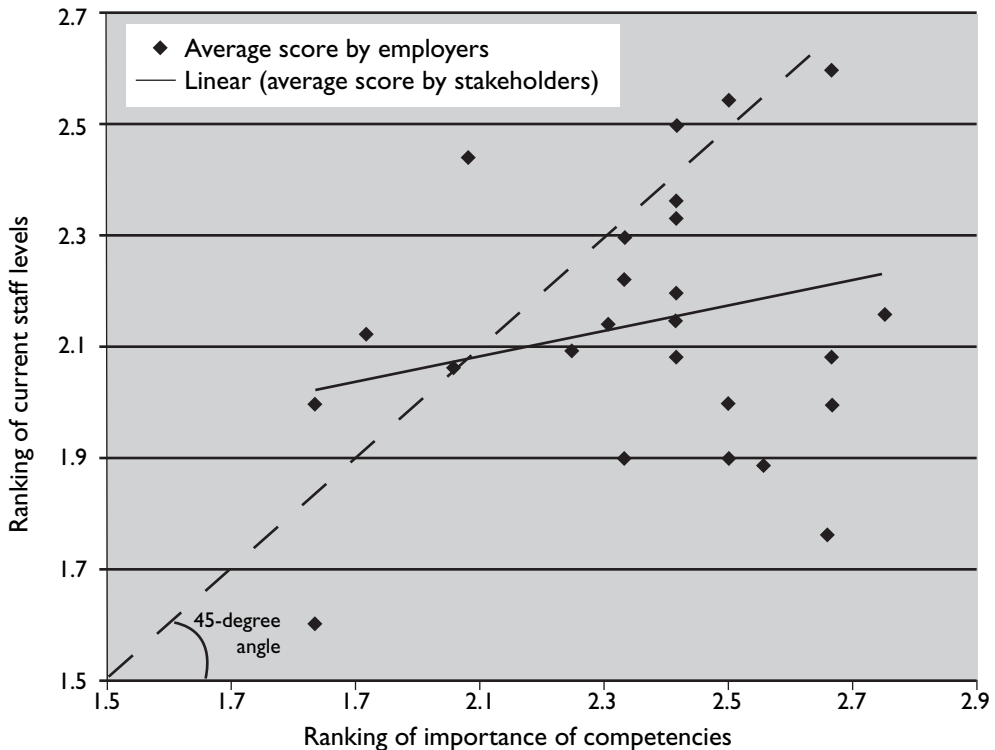
<i>Average by type of skill</i>	<i>Percentage of Employers Ranking—</i>				<i>Gaps</i>	
	<i>Need</i>		<i>Capacity</i>		<i>“Critical” Less “Adequate or Better”</i>	<i>“Critical or Useful” Less “Adequate or Better”</i>
	<i>Critical</i>	<i>Useful or Critical</i>	<i>Adequate or Better</i>	<i>Some or None</i>		
Analytic	53	90	32	68	21	58
External	64	97	25	75	39	72
Managerial	41	86	24	76	17	63

Overall, employers valued analytic skills less highly than the external communications skills but more highly than managerial skills. Thus, although employers ranked current managerial capacity below that in the other two areas, the capacity gap was narrower.

Figure 2 summarizes the relationship between the need for competencies and the current staff supply of these capacities as assessed by employers. As shown by the trendline, there is a positive relationship between the two, that is, the competencies that are most in demand are also, overall, the ones assessed as the strongest among current staff. On the other hand, as shown by the 45-degree line, the average current competency levels fall short of the average importance assigned by the employers and the shortfall is greatest among the most desired competencies.

It must be reemphasized that the number of interviews conducted was quite small; thus, differences among the competency areas of the magnitude found may not hold up under further analysis. The overall direction of the findings, however, strongly underscores the need to raise the capabilities of master's degree holders in all three skill areas, particularly in the analytic and external communications areas.

Figure 2. Competencies: Need vs. Supply



Program Representatives' Views on Competencies Addressed in Current MPA Programs

The views of the program representatives generally tallied with employers' assessments of the areas needing and receiving emphasis. For all four programs, the raters reported that the least emphasized competencies were: financial management, development of budgets to implement program alternatives, quantitative and statistical analysis of data, legal competencies, and time management skills. The representatives also reported that their programs give comparatively less attention to professional writing skills, such as proposals for donors and policy papers/progress reports.

The program representatives were also in general agreement about the areas of major emphasis across the programs, agreeing on three competencies as among the most heavily emphasized: oral presentation skills, interpersonal communication skills, and definition of the problem in a form suitable for analysis, and, to a lesser extent, agreeing that current areas of strength include leadership skills and decision-making skills. Although the program representatives were asked to use a 5-point scale in ranking the degree to which their programs incorporate the 26 competencies, the results have been normalized to a 3-point scale to facilitate comparison with employer rankings, shown in Table 14.

Match Between Perceptions of Program Representatives and Employers Interviewed

A comparison of rankings provided by the academic program managers with those of the employers finds, as might be expected, both similarities and differences. First, both groups identify "writing policy papers and progress reports" as a priority area for improvement. This fundamental but essential skill was perceived by program representatives as generally not addressed in their curriculum, while employers identified it as both an important need and an area where MDH on staff lack sufficient capacity. As shown above, 83 percent of employers assigned it a ranking of "critical need," but only 20 percent ranked capacity as adequate or better.

Although program representatives generally agreed that their programs give little emphasis to financial and quantitative skills—specifically, financial management, development of budgets to implement alternatives, quantitative and statistical analysis of data—the employers did not perceive these skills as critical needs nor an area of current staff deficiency. For example, the competency "quantitative and statistical analysis of data" was identified by only 23% of the employer group as critical, although 38% cited it as an area where staff needed greater competence, while "financial management of programs" was identified by only 15% of the interviewees as critical and as an area needing greater competency by only 38%.

As for the programs' strong points, program representatives and employers differed in the area of communication skills. Although the two groups perceived "oral presentation skills" as strengths of the programs and of current MDH on staff, respectively, they were farther apart on "interpersonal communication

Table 14. MPA Program Representatives' Ranking of Competencies' Presence in Their Program and Comparison to Employers' Stated Importance

<i>Competency Area</i>	<i>Average Ranking by Program Representative*</i>	<i>Employer Ranking Minus MPA Program Ranking</i>
Situation analysis	2.4	0.0
Definition of problem in form suitable for analysis	2.9	0.0
Data collection	2.6	0.1
Quantitative, economic, statistical analysis of data	2.1	0.2
Qualitative analysis of data	2.4	0.3
Synthesis of analysis into form useful for decision-makers	2.4	-0.3
Writing policy papers/reports	2.3	-0.5
Program development	2.1	-0.4
Development of overall program strategy and objectives	2.4	-0.3
Development of alternatives to achieve objectives	2.3	-0.4
Analytic comparison of alternatives	2.4	0.0
Projection of impact of various alternatives	2.2	-0.3
Development of budgets to implement alternatives	1.7	-0.6
Development of implementation plans	2.0	-0.4
Development of strategy to gain acceptance of alternative(s)	2.3	-0.3
Proposal writing for donors or others	1.2	-1.4
Implementation of programs	2.4	0.0
Leadership skills	2.6	0.3
Decision-making skills	2.6	0.3
Motivation skills	2.4	0.0
Time management skills	2.1	-0.6
Financial management of program	1.4	-0.5
Legal competencies	2.1	0.3
Monitoring and follow-up	2.6	0.1
Collaboration with partners/donors	2.3	-0.4
Preparing project progress reports	2.4	0.1
Oral presentation skills	2.9	0.4
Interpersonal communication skills	2.9	0.4
Evaluation of results	2.4	0.1
Overall average	2.3	-0.1

*Program managers rankings were normalized from a 5-point scale to a 3-point scale for comparison with employers' rankings.

skills”; program representatives cited this as a strength, but only 36% of employers rated staff as adequate in this area.

A significant point of disagreement was found in the fundamental skill area of “definition of the problem in a form suitable for analysis.” This competency was perceived as a strength by program representatives (three of the four placing their program in the highest category out of five, with the remaining managers placing it in the second-highest category), while this skill was perceived as both a critical area by 83% of the interviewees and as an area of staff weakness, with only 20% ranking staff as adequate. Both leadership and decision-making skills were also perceived as areas of strength by the program representatives, but only 9% and 18% of employers, respectively, perceived staff capacity to be adequate in these areas.

A final area of disagreement between the two groups is “development of overall program strategy and objectives.” Again employers perceived it to be both a critical need and an area of capacity shortfall, but program representatives did not rate it as important in their programs.

In sum, the match between the two groups’ perceptions shows a considerable gap between program priorities and strengths as defined by the academic program managers, on the one hand, and, on the other, the competencies sought by the employers surveyed and current staff. In some areas, such as report writing, the academic managers identified the deficiency, but in other areas, such as problem definition and overall program strategy development, managers’ responses indicate a need to reassess the fit with employer needs.

CONCLUSIONS

Several conclusions may be drawn from the analysis of graduate public administration in Egypt and its fit with Egypt’s needs.

Overall, graduate public administration programs in Egypt needs to be strengthened. Only four universities offer MPA or similar degrees and enrollment and graduation levels are both low and declining. AUC post-graduation employment data, moreover, indicate that an even smaller number of graduates—around 10%—are employed in government after graduation. Thus, the MPA programs are not positioned to contribute on a positive and significant level to building the capacity of Egypt’s midlevel career public administrators and policy makers.

The competencies analysis found that there is a weak match between the competencies demanded in the marketplace and those offered by the programs. All four program representatives agreed that among the 26 competencies they were asked to rank, the least emphasized competencies in their programs were financial management, development of budgets to implement program alternatives, quantitative and statistical analysis of data, legal competencies, and time management.

There is also poor alignment between the skills needed for organizational performance and the actual skill levels of master’s holders as perceived by employers. Overall, although the analysis found a positive relationship between skill

levels and competency importance, employee capacity was assessed as equal to or greater than employee need, on average, in only six of the 26 competencies. The analysis identified large gaps between the need expressed by employers and the capacity of current master's holders.

The preliminary analysis of alignment with the NASPAA standards indicates that the programs are not on a par with international standards in a number of areas, particularly student services and the incorporation of experiential learning. This reinforces the finding from the employers survey that such professional competencies as writing and communication skills do not receive enough attention in Egyptian graduate education.

The comparison of the four program representatives' rankings of their programs' strengths with employers' assessment of their needs identified considerable gaps in all three skill areas of analytic competencies, external communication competencies, and managerial competencies.

The overall subject matter emphases in the programs, however, appear to be in line with global practice, based on the analysis of thesis topics. Overall, 60% of MPA theses prepared by students in master's programs addressed topics among the top 10 identified by the IPA study.

These results underscore the need for academic program managers to work more closely with employers and other stakeholders to ensure that programs provide the skills needed in the marketplace.

AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The research suggests several lines of future inquiry to improve understanding of graduate public administration education in the Middle East and to identify ways to strengthen these programs:

- A more detailed study of Egypt's master's programs in public administration and public policy against the NASPAA standards could offer additional insights into areas needing further development to bring programs into alignment with emerging global standards.
- Application of the same study methodology to graduate public administration programs in other countries in the Arab region could help create an overall understanding of common educational needs and identify areas for future collaboration.

The preliminary finding on the employment of graduates, which indicate that only a minority are working in government, needs further confirmation based on more extensive surveying of the graduate population and suggests a need for further analysis to identify ways to retain highly educated managers in public service or to improve government access to such experts based in nongovernmental organizations.

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the European Group for Public Administration meeting in Madrid in September 2007.

NOTES

1. The late Dr. E.H. Valsan deserves to be recognized as among the most important leaders in public administration education in Egypt. He was a member of the AUC faculty from 1967 to his retirement in 2003, founding and then directing the MPA program from 1985 to 2003. He passed away in 2006.
2. Interviewees were asked to address the competency of all master's holders rather than MPAs only for three reasons: 1) many organizational units reported no MPAs on staff (only three of the 13 organizations had MPAs on staff), 2) overall, the number of MPH on staff was small, so that respondents generally had only a handful of master's holders with any specialty, and 3) it was apparent that most of the individuals interviewed did not distinguish among the different professional degrees as to capabilities or responsibilities assigned.

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Graduate Education and Federal Career Success: How Well Does the MPA Stack Up?

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ABSTRACT

Using a 1% sample of federal personnel records for 1983 through 2003, we compare the career success of employees with master's degrees in public administration (MPA) to those with bachelor's degrees or graduate degrees in other fields—especially law, business administration, and the social sciences, the degrees most likely to compete for our students. Federal employees with master's degrees in any field tend to be one grade higher and earn 13 to 16% more than comparable employees with bachelor's degrees. Although federal employees with law degrees earn substantially more than other graduate degree-holders, those with a master's in public administration have salaries, grades, and supervisory authority comparable to those who have a master's in business administration (MBA) and those with master's degrees in the social sciences.

Do master of public administration programs offer practical as well as intellectual rewards? Can we tell prospective students that MPA degrees will not only help them understand how government works, but help them get interesting, rewarding jobs that allow them to put their skills to use? This paper examines the practical value of the MPA degree in the largest single employer of MPAs, the federal civil service. Using a 1% sample of federal personnel records for 1983–2003, we compare the salaries, hierarchical status, and supervisory authority of graduate degree-holders in public administration, law, business administration, the social sciences, and other fields to those with bachelor's degrees. We first

examine trends in the number of federal employees with graduate degrees and their distribution by field. We then compare mean salaries and grade levels and the percentage with supervisory authority across fields of graduate study. Next, we examine characteristics of MPAs that might be impeding their career success. Finally, we assess the impact of the MPA degree on salaries, grades, and supervisory status after controlling for those individual differences.

BACKGROUND

The field of public administration cyclically loses confidence in itself, perhaps tied to enrollment declines in MPA programs. Vincent Ostrom's *The Intellectual Crisis of American Public Administration* (1974) inspired a symposium on "the crisis in public administration education" (Adams, 1982) and an update on the "intellectual crisis in public administration in the current epoch of privatization," in which Haque (1996) warned that the new public management and the global privatization movement might devastate demand for public administration education by undercutting the credibility of public administration as a practice and an academic discipline. With a rising ideology of the market and a focus on customer service and efficiency, he argued, business education appeared more valuable even to those who intended to go into the public service, echoing concerns expressed earlier by McCurdy (1978), Golembiewski (1979), and Thai (1982).

Though MPA enrollments rebounded in the aftermath of 9/11 and a faltering economy, lingering doubts about the value of the MPA degree remain. Addressing those doubts is difficult. Surveys of alumni (e.g., Ashmore, Lynch, and Threldkeld, 1981; Grode and Holzer, 1975) or those who hire them (e.g., Thompson, 1978) generally find that both groups are satisfied with our programs. These surveys typically examine graduates of a single program rather than a random sample of alumni of all MPA programs, however. The only evidence they provide that our graduates are doing better than they would have if they had not pursued a master's degree, or had pursued one in a different field, is respondents' own perceptions, which are potentially inflated by their stake in believing that their educational investment paid off. Further, response rates tend to be low, which may increase that inflation.

A stronger research design surveys both bachelor's and master's degree-holders, typically from a single university or in a single field of study, then regresses earnings on a variety of characteristics that influence earnings (e.g., gender, race, age, experience, and perhaps college major, college grades, SAT scores, and hours worked). Controlling for most of these variables, various scholars have estimated that a master's degree boosts expected salary 14 to 36 percent (Barkley, Stock, and Sylvius, 1999; Carlan, 1999; Tsui, 1998). Using the best data set (the 1993 National Survey of College Graduate (NSCG) conducted by the National Science Foundation) but almost no controls (age in broad categories),

Hecker (1998) found that a master's degree boosted median annual earnings by 12.8% for women and 18.7% for men, averaging across 150 majors or subfields and 125 occupations in a sample of 215,000. Using similar methods, several economists have determined that college graduates who majored in engineering, computer science, business, mathematics, and maybe science consistently have higher mean salaries than those majored in education, the humanities, agricultural and natural resources, communications, and the social sciences, except economics (Berger, 1988; Brown and Corcoran, 1997; Daymont and Andrisani, 1984; Gilbreath and Powers, 2006).

General population surveys include far too few MPAs to draw conclusions on the value of the degree, however. To increase his sample, Lewis (1987) applied a similar approach to a 1% sample of the federal, white-collar civil service, which probably has the highest concentration of MPAs of any large workforce. Though not a random sample of MPAs, much less of graduate degree-holders generally, it represents a large market for public administration education, and the one with the most accessible data. After controlling for differences in education, experience, race, and sex, Lewis (1987) found that MPAs earned as much as MBAs and those with graduate degrees in most other fields in 1982.

DATA

We update Lewis (1987), using a 1% random sample of full-time, college-educated, white-collar federal employees taken from the Central Personnel Data File (CPDF) at five-year intervals from 1983 to 2003 (U.S. Office of Personnel Management, 2004). The U.S. Office of Personnel Management (OPM) maintains the CPDF as the federal government's personnel records and draws 1% random samples annually for study purposes. To focus on employees most similar to our graduates and potential students, we restrict the sample to those with at least a bachelor's degree. For those with graduate degrees, we identify whether their highest degree is have a master's degree, a professional degree, or a doctorate. For much of the analysis, we categorize the fields of study for graduate degree-holders into five groups: (1) public administration, (2) business administration, (3) law, (4) social science, and (5) other fields. For simplicity, we sometimes refer to those with graduate degrees in public administration, business administration, law, and the social sciences as MPAs, MBAs, lawyers and social scientists, respectively, although a few MPAs and MBAs actually hold doctorates and some lawyers and social scientists hold jobs unrelated to their fields of study.

Basic Patterns

The number of MPAs. Educational levels are rising in the federal service. The percentage of civil servants with graduate degrees rose by half over the last two decades, from 9.8% in 1983 to 14.9% in 2003 (Table 1). Although MPA pro-

grams are holding our own in this market, business schools are doing far better. In our sample, the percentage of graduate degree holders who had studied public administration increased from 3.6% to 4.3%, but the change is not statistically significant. Likewise, the percentage with law degrees is unchanged. The rise in the percentage in business administration (from 11.9% to 16.8%) is highly significant, however. MBAs outnumbered MPAs by more than three to one in 1983 and nearly four to one by 2003.

Nearly one-third of federal employees with master's degrees earn them after entering federal service. Together business and public administration accounted for half the master's degrees earned in the federal service. Indeed, half of the MBAs and 44% of MPAs earned their degrees while already federal employees. The MPA is still losing to the MBA in attracting federal employees interested in earning a master's degree; however in-service MBAs outnumbered in-service MPAs 3.5 to 1.

The relative status of MPAs. Employees with graduate degrees do substantially better than other college graduates in the federal service (Table 2). In 2003, they earned an average salary of \$81,000, 20% more than those with just a bachelor's degree, and had a mean grade of 12.7, 1.3 grades higher than that of college graduates. Over one-quarter of them were supervisors or managers, compared to less than one-fifth of undergraduate degree holders.

MPAs fare as well as other graduate degree-holders, except lawyers. In 2003, federal employees with law degrees earned 19% more and were 1.2 grades higher than the average graduate degree-holder, but somewhat less likely to hold supervisory authority. Otherwise, mean salaries, mean grades, and percentages in supervisory positions did not vary much across fields.

Individual characteristics. MPAs differ from other graduate degree-holders in several ways that might be pulling down mean salaries and grades (Table 3).

Table 1. Distribution of Graduate Degrees by Field, 1983–2003

	1983	1988	1993	1998	2003
<i>Public administration</i>	3.6	4.5	4.3	3.8	4.3
<i>Business administration</i>	11.9	14.3	14.8	16.0	16.8
<i>Law</i>	11.9	11.4	11.6	12.8	11.5
<i>Social science</i>	8.8	7.3	7.8	8.4	8.6
<i>Other</i>	63.8	62.6	61.4	59.0	58.8
<i>Total</i>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>N</i>	1,267	1,520	1,731	1,659	1,691
<i>Percent of white-collar employees</i>	9.8	11.1	12.3	14.3	14.9

In 2003, 42% of federal MPAs were women and 29% were minorities, somewhat higher than the percentages for graduate degree-holders generally (35% and 21%, respectively). MPAs were also somewhat younger than other graduate degree-holders, though they had more years of federal service, suggesting that MPAs chose federal careers earlier. MBAs had the most federal experience. Graduate degree-holders in both public and business administration almost universally had master's degrees, whereas three-quarters of lawyers had professional degrees and one-fifth of social science graduate degrees and the residual category were doctorates. MPAs and MBAs were also twice as likely as others to have earned their degrees after entering federal service and to have earned them more recently than others, even though they had been in the federal service longer.

Table 2. Career Success of Graduate Degree Holders by Major (2003)

	<i>Mean Salary</i>	<i>Mean Grade</i>	<i>Supervisory Authority (%)</i>
<i>Public Administration</i>	78,417	12.6	26.4
<i>Business Administration</i>	79,272	12.6	31.0
<i>Law</i>	96,293	13.9	23.1
<i>Social Science</i>	79,716	12.7	33.6
<i>Other</i>	79,069	12.5	23.5
<i>Graduate Degree</i>	81,047	12.7	25.7
<i>Bachelor's Degree</i>	67,124	11.3	18.8

Table 3. Mean Characteristics of Graduate Degree Holders by Major (2003)

	<i>Public Admin.</i>	<i>Business Admin.</i>	<i>Law</i>	<i>Social Science</i>	<i>Other</i>
<i>Male (%)</i>	58.3	66.6	66.7	69.2	65.0
<i>White (%)</i>	70.8	77.8	80.5	79.5	79.7
<i>Federal service (mean years)</i>	17.5	18.5	14.9	15.2	15.6
<i>Age (mean years)</i>	46.0	49.6	46.3	46.5	49.5
<i>Degrees earned in-service (%)</i>	52.8	52.1	12.8	19.3	20.5
<i>Years since degree (mean)</i>	14.8	16.1	17.3	17.2	18.6
<i>Professional degree (%)</i>	0.0	1.4	75.9	2.7	6.0
<i>Doctorate (%)</i>	1.4	0.0	6.2	18.5	20.1
<i>Administrative occupation (%)</i>	86.1	61.6	18.5	62.3	22.2
<i>Professional occupation (%)</i>	12.5	34.5	80.5	36.3	74.5
<i>Domestic agencies (%)</i>	73.6	51.8	88.2	83.6	75.9
<i>Sample size</i>	72	284	195	145	979

Almost all MPAs and three-fifths of MBAs and social scientists held administrative positions, whereas three-quarters or more of lawyers and graduate degree-holders in the residual fields of study held professional positions. On average, professional positions pay better and have higher average grades, though they are less likely to have supervisory authority than administrative positions. Three-quarters of MPAs worked for domestic agencies, whereas nearly half of MBAs worked for the Department of Defense, an interesting change since 1983, when two-thirds of both groups worked for the Department of Defense. As domestic agencies tend to pay better than the Department of Defense (Lewis, 1997), MPAs have probably gotten the better deal, but this suggests that business schools largely control a potential market for expanding our programs.

Isolating the Impact of the MPA Degree

Method. We regress salary, grade, and supervisory authority on fields of study, controlling for level of education, federal service, age, race, and sex. Because we use the natural logarithm of salary, the regression coefficients roughly represent proportional rather than dollar differences in salaries. To make their meaning clear, we exponentiated them, subtracted 1, and multiplied times 100, converting the regression coefficient to an expected percentage difference in salary. We use logit analysis on supervisory status, a dummy variable coded 1 for those whose position is classified as supervisory or managerial.

We measure education with three dummy variables for level (coded 1 for those with master's, professional, and doctoral degrees, respectively) and four field of study dummy variables for graduate-degree holders only (coded 1 for those with graduate degrees in public administration, business administration, law, and the social sciences). Because the sample is restricted to college graduates, the reference group for the first group of dummy variables is employees with bachelor's degrees, and the reference group for the second group of dummy variables is graduate degree-holders in fields other than public or business administration, law, or the social sciences. Thus, in the salary regression, the coefficient on Master's Degree is the percentage difference in expected salary between those with master's degrees in the residual category and comparable employees with bachelor's degrees. The coefficient on Public Administration is the percentage difference in expected salary between those with graduate degrees in public administration and comparable employees with the same graduate degree in the residual field. To determine whether there was a penalty for earning a graduate degree after entering federal service, we added a dummy variable coded 1 for degrees earned while already a federal employee, plus an interval-level measure of number of years since the degree was earned.

Race and gender were added as a set of nine dummy variables. Each coefficient shows the expected difference between that group and white males with the same level of education, federal experience, and age. Federal experience and age (which

serves as a proxy for pre-federal work experience) are entered in both years and years squared, to capture the tendency for salaries and grades to rise faster earlier in one's career. Although we ran models for all five years, we report only the 2003 results; key findings do not vary across years.

Findings. In Table 4, the Master's Degree coefficient in the salary model shows that federal employees with master's degrees in the residual fields (not public or business administration, law, or the social sciences) tended to earn 14% more than comparable employees with bachelor's degrees. A professional degree or doctorate in the residual fields raised expected salaries by 34% to 37% relative to college graduates. Lawyers earned another 14% more than other professional degree-holders (about 48% more than college graduates). Otherwise, field of study made little difference. The Public Administration, Business Administration, and Social Science coefficients are all positive (giving slight evidence of a pay advantage relative to the residual category), but small and statistically insignificant. Whether one pursued graduate work in public administration, business administration, the social sciences, or the residual category mattered little—all tended to earn 15% to 17% more than comparable employees with bachelor's degrees.

Graduate degrees earned after entering federal service have less impact on salaries than pre-service degrees. Expected salary rises an additional 0.2% for each year one has had one's degree, and in-service degrees appear to raise expected salaries by about 5 percentage points less than pre-service degrees held the same length of time. For instance, the model suggests that in 2003 a new pre-service master's degree raised expected salary by 13.8% relative to a comparable employee with only a bachelor's degree, whereas a new in-service master's degree raised it only 9.1% (13.8–4.7). A pre-service degree probably pays off in the grade at which a new hire enters federal service and has a cumulative impact over time. Employees who earn their degrees in-service may not see a payoff as rapidly, because appropriate promotion opportunities may not be available immediately. They may also focus less on their jobs during the period they are taking classes and may not be promoted as rapidly while they are in school as equally talented employees who are not in graduate programs. Nonetheless, the return on an in-service master's degree is still substantial, and employees are still earning their salaries while in school.

Patterns for grade level are very similar. A master's degree boosts expected grade by 1.1 relative to a college graduate, a professional degree or doctorate boosts it by 2.0 to 2.3 grades, and a law degree raises it by an additional 0.9 grade. Again, the Public Administration, Business Administration, and Social Science coefficients are positive but statistically insignificant. An in-service degree did not raise expected grade as much as a pre-service degree, but the number of years one had held the degree did not seem to matter.

Patterns are slightly different for supervisory status, which appears to be largely a function of experience and age rather than education, which influences status

Table 4. Impact of Graduate Degree and Field of Study, College Graduates Only (2003)

	Salary (% Difference)		Grade Level		Supervisory Authority	
Master's degree	13.8**	(6.83)	1.129**	(8.11)	-0.431	(1.94)
Professional degree	34.2**	(9.26)	2.037**	(8.72)	-0.327	(0.99)
Doctorate	37.2**	(13.29)	2.282**	(13.05)	-0.996**	(3.73)
Degree earned while in federal service	-4.7**	(2.85)	-0.360**	(2.89)	0.338*	(2.08)
Years since graduate degree earned	0.2*	(2.04)	-0.001	(0.10)	0.013	(1.56)
Public administration	3.3	(0.96)	0.270	(1.10)	-0.017	(0.05)
Business administration	1.2	(0.63)	0.131	(0.93)	0.105	(0.59)
Law	13.7**	(4.52)	0.861**	(4.12)	-0.927**	(3.30)
Social science	2.4	(0.99)	0.243	(1.38)	0.516*	(2.31)
Years of federal service	2.9**	(17.58)	0.169**	(14.19)	0.054**	(2.79)
Years of federal service squared	-0.03**	(7.03)	-0.002**	(6.13)	-0.001	(1.73)
Age	2.2**	(6.54)	0.182**	(7.39)	0.160**	(3.40)
Age squared	-0.03**	(7.26)	-0.002**	(8.45)	-0.001**	(3.11)
Asian male	3.4	(1.53)	0.088	(0.56)	-0.340	(1.41)
Black male	-2.7	(1.49)	-0.111	(0.84)	-0.093	(0.50)
Hispanic male	-3.8	(1.69)	-0.330	(1.96)	0.219	(0.93)
Native American male	-16.1**	(3.34)	-1.233**	(3.17)	0.541	(0.98)
Asian female	-6.5**	(2.64)	-0.511**	(2.78)	-0.756*	(2.19)
Black female	-12.4**	(8.61)	-0.892**	(7.87)	-0.567**	(2.95)
Hispanic female	-10.9**	(4.05)	-0.834**	(3.96)	0.093	(0.27)
Native American female	-17.2**	(3.51)	-1.485**	(3.74)	0.607	(0.89)
White female	-8.4**	(9.36)	-0.563**	(8.13)	-0.012	(0.12)
Grade level					0.667**	(20.05)
Constant			6.064**	(11.65)	-14.441**	(12.49)
Observations	4909		4957		4957	
Adjusted R ²	0.40		0.30			
Adjusted Count R ²					.18	

Note: t- or z-statistics in parentheses; * p<.05, ** p<.01

primarily through elevating employees into higher-grade positions. Comparing employees in the same grades, graduate degree-holders were significantly less likely than college graduates to be supervisors. This was especially true for those with doctorates or law degrees, though that disadvantage disappears if grade level is dropped from the model. Oddly, social scientists were more likely than other graduate degree-holders at the same grade level to have supervisory authority.

Master's Degree-holders Only. In Table 5, we restricted our sample to employees with master's degrees and divided field of study much more finely. We distinguished MBAs with accounting or finance specializations from other MBAs, and economists, political scientists, and sociologists from other social scientists, in each case expecting that the former would be doing better than the latter. And we divided the residual category into 20 majors, leaving only those in interdisciplinary studies, theology, philosophy, and social work in the reference group.

MPAs were earning about 11% more and were .8 grade higher than comparable employees in this reference group. Master's degree-holders in five fields (economics, computer science, communications, engineering, and political science) had higher expected salaries, but only the economics, computer science, and engineering differences were statistically significant. A master's degree in engineering also had a significantly higher payoff than an MPA in 1988, 1993, and 1998; and the computer science degree had a significantly higher payoff in 1988 and 1998; but the payoff to an economics major is significant only in 2003 (and at the .10 level in 1998). Generalist MBAs had virtually the same expected salaries and grades as MPAs in all five years, with accountants and finance experts never faring significantly better than generalist MBAs. Thus, the only fields where a master's degree appears to yield higher salaries (computer science and engineering) are not obvious competitors with public administration. In all years, the coefficient on either Degree Earned While in Federal Service or Years Since Graduate Degree Earned is statistically significant (the former positive and the latter negative), indicating that the advantage to a master's degree grows over time.

CONCLUSION

MPAs are doing well in the federal service. Federal employees with master's degrees earn 14% more and are a full grade higher in the federal hierarchy than comparable employees with bachelor's degrees. The field of study of the master's degree makes little difference. Although master's degrees in computer science, engineering, and mathematics appear to have higher payoffs, MPAs are doing as well as MBAs (including accountants and finance experts) and social scientists (with the possible exceptions of economists and political scientists). The skills MPA programs teach and the credential they provide are as valuable in the federal service as our natural competitors. Because we cannot identify the schools at which employees earned their degrees, we cannot say whether particular curricula

Table 5. Grades and Salaries of Master's Degree Holders (2003)

	Salary (% Difference)		Grade Level	
Public Administration	11.1*	(2.23)	0.797*	(2.45)
Accounting or Finance	-2.4	(0.43)	-0.009	(0.02)
Other Business Administration	10.6*	(2.52)	0.746**	(2.70)
Economics	34.9**	(3.45)	1.844**	(3.06)
Political Science	19.0**	(2.62)	1.356**	(2.95)
Sociology	5.4	(0.69)	0.376	(0.72)
Other Social Science	4.7	(0.98)	0.465	(1.44)
Agriculture and Natural Resources	-3.9	(0.80)	0.071	(0.21)
Architecture and Environmental Design	6.4	(0.85)	0.402	(0.80)
Area Studies	17.6	(1.70)	1.222	(1.85)
Biological Sciences	-1.4	(0.29)	0.016	(0.05)
Communications	21.0*	(2.09)	1.546*	(2.45)
Computer and Information Science	30.2**	(4.35)	1.665**	(3.97)
Education	-5.7	(1.27)	-0.337	(1.05)
Engineering	20.6**	(4.45)	1.112**	(3.82)
Fine and Applied Arts	-1.2	(0.11)	-0.588	(0.78)
Foreign Languages	-7.1	(0.73)	-0.106	(0.15)
Health Professions	4.4	(0.98)	0.430	(1.41)
Home Economics	-5.4	(0.51)	-0.041	(0.05)
Letters	4.5	(0.70)	0.535	(1.24)
Library Science	-9.5	(1.56)	-0.735	(1.66)
Mathematics	19.1**	(2.78)	1.324**	(3.05)
Military Science	20.2	(1.21)	1.496	(1.42)
Physical Sciences	7.1	(1.34)	0.440	(1.25)
Psychology	-3.0	(0.53)	-0.010	(0.02)
Degree Earned While in Federal Service	-0.8	(0.34)	-0.017	(0.10)
Years Since Graduate Degree Earned	0.6**	(4.15)	0.031**	(2.86)
Years of Federal Service	2.0**	(6.45)	0.093**	(4.41)
Years of Federal Service Squared	-0.02*	(2.33)	-0.001	(1.54)
Age	3.8**	(5.53)	0.261**	(5.67)
Age Squared	-0.04**	(6.13)	-0.003**	(6.35)
Asian Male	1.2	(0.26)	0.191	(0.61)
Black Male	-1.2	(0.33)	0.050	(0.20)
Hispanic Male	-1.7	(0.36)	-0.074	(0.23)
Native American Male	-8.4	(1.02)	-0.424	(0.71)
Asian Female	-2.9	(0.63)	-0.317	(0.98)
Black Female	-7.9*	(2.55)	-0.511*	(2.30)
Hispanic Female	-5.1	(0.83)	-0.367	(0.85)
Native American Female	-32.4*	(2.12)	-2.497*	(2.02)
White Female	-4.4*	(2.38)	-0.305*	(2.36)
Observations	1187		1190	
Adjusted R ²	0.39		0.27	

Standard errors in parentheses; * p<.05, ** p<.01

or programs advance federal careers more. The similarity of earnings, grades, and supervisory authority across master's degrees in administration and the social sciences, however, suggests that curricular changes at the margins will have little impact on the value of an MPA degree in the public service.

The MPA degree has as much to offer current and future federal employees as any of our near-competitors. Though an MBA or an MA in economics may be more portable, allowing employees greater access to private sector jobs, we found no evidence that employees with MBAs or master's degrees in economics were any more likely to leave their federal jobs than those with MPAs (in separate, unreported analyses). Federal employees tend to be in their federal careers for the long haul; the value of competitive degrees outside the public service should not impact educational decisions of current or future federal employees. Master's degrees earned in-service appear to raise salaries nearly as much as pre-service degrees that have been held as long, but the salary boost appears to rise substantially with the length of time one has had the degree, indicating that now is the time to begin a master's program for anyone planning to earn a degree. Federal employees who can earn an MPA degree part-time in three or four years can expect to earn about 15% more per year for the remainder of their careers.

The decline in enrollments that MPA programs experienced in the 1990s disappeared after September 11 and the downturn in the economy. The impending wave of federal retirements suggests the demand for MPA programs will increase as the federal labor market opens up. Half the federal employees with MPAs and MBAs earned their degrees in-service, suggesting a strong desire for continuing education among employees climbing the federal administrative ladder. However, nearly four times as many chose to pursue MBAs rather than MPAs, with the discrepancy particularly strong in the Department of Defense, even though MPAs and MBAs had nearly identical earnings in the Department of Defense. MPA programs are not capturing our natural markets. We need to harness the evidence of our graduates' success and develop new marketing strategies for both in-service and pre-service students.

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