

GOVERNANCE IN THE MIDST OF DIVERSITY

Issues and Challenges

HARVEY L. WHITE

Diversity represents significant challenges for effective public management and service provision at all levels of governance and in each sector of society. It also constitutes new opportunities to rethink and expand the capacity of public service and help support human advancement in a variety of endeavors. Many challenges and opportunities emanate from rapidly changing demographics that are transforming society and affecting delivery of and demand for public goods and services. Others are by-products of emerging social and culture values. The mosaic of language, racial, cultural, ethnic, age, economic, gender, and sexual groups with demands on public resources necessitates not only a more diverse set of services but a variety of management strategies, techniques, and technologies for providing them as well. Moreover, an examination of diversity should not only consider the composition of the public workforce and recipients of public services but also focus attention on when, where, and how services are delivered and the technologies employed.

This chapter addresses an array of diversity issues and challenges and their effects on the administration of public services. It also gives attention to technologies that are enhancing the capacity of public administrators to promote good governance. First, the chapter provides an overview of diversity as a governance concept in political and administrative theory literature. This is followed by an overview of select human difference issues such as multiculturalism, same-sex marriage, and generation preferences. Consideration is then given to diverse technologies and the expanding range of services government must provide. The chapter concludes with a discussion of management challenges confronting public service professionals.

DIVERSITY AS A CONCEPT IN GOVERNANCE

Diversity as a concept in governance is well grounded in political and administrative theory. The literature in these areas is replete with discussions on class and social divisions, representativeness, culture, religion, gender, race, ethnicity, and other ways humans differ. This includes work by classical, modern, and postmodern theorists.

As Arlene Saxonhouse (1992) points out in her work, *Fear of Diversity*, early theorists such as Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle addressed the role of diversity in achieving good governance. Socrates, for instance, began his philosophical work by abandoning astronomy and focusing his attention on differences humans bring to the agora, or marketplace (Meagher 2008). Plato stresses diversity in his work as the main characteristic that enables a city to survive and that is also essential for it to thrive (Reader 2005). Not only does Aristotle, in Plato's *Republic*, argue for diversity but warns,

"It is clear that if the process of unification advances beyond a certain point, the city will not be a city at all" (Rackham's translation 1932, 71).

Theorists as different as Adam Smith, Karl Marx, and Emile Durkheim give attention to human difference in their work. While these scholars typically focused on the material or class-conflict aspects of diversity, they recognize its governance implications as well. As Hartmann and Gerteis (2005) point out, there are gestures in these scholars' work toward the impact and value of diversity in "modern societies." Adam Smith emphasizes the rights of individuals to pursue self-interest through which both individuals and their nations would prosper. Marx recognizes diverse class interests in society, which he believes necessitate new governance arrangements. And Durkheim stresses different social conditions that allow individuals to distinguish themselves and require the use of government to prevent structural inequalities or class monopolies. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Immanuel Kant, Georg W.F. Hegel, and other modern theorists also gave consideration to diversity and governance. For these theorists, human difference is an aspect of the values that govern society, even though it was not the primary consideration in their work (Hartmann and Gerteis 2005). Religion, forms of government, natural rights, dialectics, and other factors were the principal focus of their attention. This is not the case for many contemporary and postmodern scholars, particularly those with a focus on administrative theory.

Twentieth-century theorist John Rawls's (1993) criticism of utilitarian administrative politics was influential in this regard. He calls for a society that permits people with diverse values and different ways of life to live in peace with mutual respect for one another's basic rights in a system of political liberalism. Rawls's work continues to influence the embrace of social equity initiatives in public administration (Frederickson 1997). Similarly, Charles Taylor's (1983) vision in his work for a "politics of difference" is very influential in contemporary discussions of diversity and governance. In this politics, government would find ways to support racial or ethnic groups seeking to retain their unique identities. Taylor's concept is widely used, in Canada and to some extent in Africa, to advocate for inclusive approaches to governance.

Public administration scholars draw upon the work of these and other theorists to address a variety of differences that affect the delivery of public goods and services (Hoffman and Graham 2009). The governance ideals theorists put forth constitute the intellectual foundation for discussions of race, age, gender, disability, sexual preferences, ethnicity, and multiculturalism that pervade the literature in public administration and allied fields.

Herbert Simon (1976) initiated work on decision making in his acclaimed book, *Administrative Behavior*, by referring to the "pursuits among philosophers." He then moves to a subtle consideration of human differences through a discussion of "group versus individual alternatives." As he explains, "Hence, the alternatives available to the group must be carefully distinguished from the set of alternatives available to the individual" (Simon 1976, 105). His views of diversity were enhanced in his effort to understand and value multiple perspectives to problem solving. Economist Scott Page (2007) uses Simon's work in his highly acclaimed book on the value of human difference to illustrate how groups that display a range of perspectives outperform groups of like-minded experts.

A parallel to Simon's work that continues to have a tremendous impact on diversity literature in public administration is Donald Kingsley's (1944) early scholarship on public service. Kingsley draws upon the work of modern political theorists in his writings on the British civil service, in which he coined the term "representative bureaucracy." He argues that "... bureaucracies, to be democratic, must be representative of the groups they serve" (Kingsley, 1944, 305). A large number of public administration scholars utilized the representative bureaucracy concept to address diversity and governance issues (Long 1952; Van Riper, 1958, Mosher 1982; Riccucci and Saidel 1997; Grissom, Nicholson-Crotty, and Nicholson-Crotty 2009).

RACE AND ETHNICITY

An early focus of representative bureaucracy was on the low levels of racial and ethnic inclusion in the civil service (Ricucci 1987; White and Rice 2010). In this regard, public administration scholars point out that to be truly representative, the public service must be inclusive of diverse racial and ethnic groups. They spell out specific governance enhancements that result from a more racially inclusive bureaucracy (Kranz 1976; Pitts 2009). These include:

- More democratic decision making and better decisions by expanding the number and diversity of views brought to bear on policy making;
- Improved bureaucratic operations and outputs from decisions and services that are more responsive to the needs of all citizens, particularly members of minority groups;
- Better human talent development and management decisions;
- An increase, both symbolically and actually, in the legitimacy of public service and other governance institutions; and
- Elevation of social equity and justice to prime administrative values on par with other values in public administration paradigms (Kranz 1976; White and Rice 2010).

As representative bureaucracy scholars have come to realize, racial and ethnic groups possess distinct cultural values and perspectives that can enhance governance (Kranz 1976). Numerous studies have confirmed racially differentiated perspectives on an assortment of governance and public service–related issues (Gabbidon and Higgins 2009; Rushefsky 2002; Lipset and Schneider 1983). Bringing diverse perspectives to bear on deliberations is also shown to improve outcomes (Page 2007; Linstone 1984; Linstone 1999). Demographics suggest that the challenges and opportunities for achieving a more representative bureaucracy are expanding in the United States.

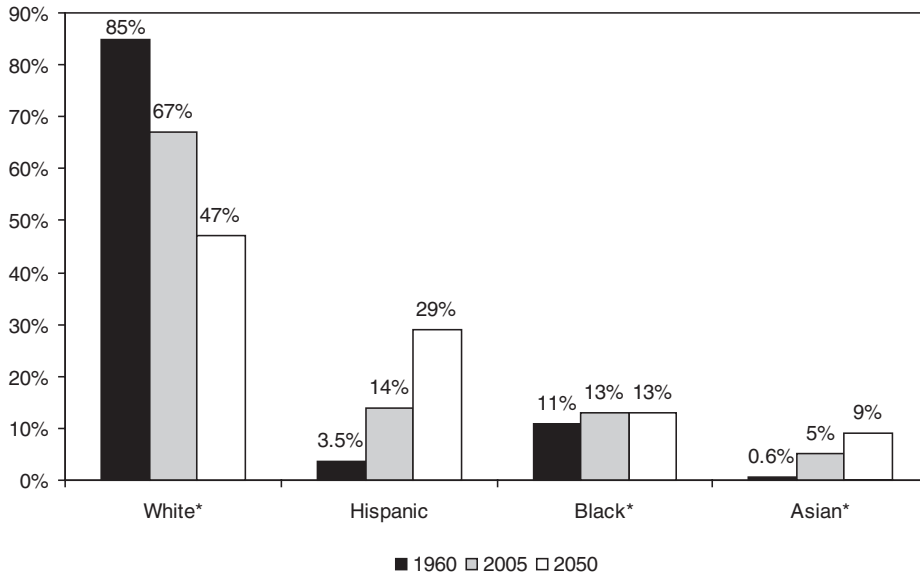
If current trends continue, the demographic profile of the United States will change dramatically by the middle of this century (Kinder and Sanders 1996). Population projections by the Pew Research Center indicate that nearly one in five Americans (19 percent) will be foreign-born in 2050, well above the 2005 level of 12 percent, and also surpassing the historic peak immigrant population percentages of 14.8 percent in 1890 and 14.7 percent in 1910 (Figure 23.1). By 2050, the racial and ethnic mix will be quite different as well. Non-Hispanic whites, who made up 67 percent of the population in 2005, are projected to decrease to 47 percent. Hispanics will rise from 14 percent of the population in 2005 to 29 percent in 2050. African Americans will continue to make up 13 percent of the population (Passel and Cohn 2008).

Although racial and ethnic inclusion in the civil service has been enhanced, most minority groups are still underrepresented at all levels of government in the United States, particularly in management and leadership positions. Not only does the quest continue for a more racially representative bureaucracy; it has also gradually expanded to embrace other differences. This includes the focus on gender representation in the civil service.

GENDER REPRESENTATIVENESS IN CIVIL SERVICE

Gender scholars are using representative bureaucracy to focus attention on the proverbial glass ceiling which prevents the advancement of women and minorities to higher levels of management. Many public administration scholars also address issues of “gender representativeness” in public service. Ricucci’s (1986, 1987, 1990) research addresses women’s employment and other protected groups at all levels of government and within not-for-profit organizations. Naff’s

Figure 23.1 **Population By Race and Ethnicity, Actual and Projected: 1960, 2005, and 2050 (percent of total)**



Source: Pew Research Center (2008).

Note: *All races modified and not Hispanic; American Indian/Alaska Native not shown. See "Methodology." Projections for 2050 indicated by white bars.

(1994) work on the glass ceiling draws attention to gender inequity in upper-level management at the state and federal levels of government. Strivers' (2002) work applies a gender lens to the field of public administration by looking at issues of status, power, leadership, legitimacy, and change. Guy (2002) focuses on the difference that gender makes in policy development and implementation. These and a variety of other gender scholars continue to highlight the need for a more representative bureaucracy and attention to women's contributions for the advancement of public service and effective governance.

MULTICULTURALISM AS DIFFERENCES

Advocates of multiculturalism draw upon theories of representative bureaucracy as well as political liberalism to justify the embrace of cultural differences in public administration. This entails two basic arguments. First is Rawls's liberal premise that a fully human existence entails the freedom to live according to one's cultural traditions (Hoffman and Graham 2009). The second asserts that an understanding of cultural behaviors of individuals and communities served is a requisite for effective public administration (White and Rice 2005). Victoria Antonova's discussion of diversity management and concepts of multiculturalism in Russia draws upon both of these arguments. From a pluralistic perspective, Antonova (2007, 8) notes, "If multiculturalism's principles are within the very fabric of the civil service this would indicate that multicultural principles are highly valued by public administration and the state—which, in turn, would make it possible to assume that such principles are shared by both citizens and government." Antonova (2007, 5) makes an equally persuasive argument for a more representative public service: "If multiculturalism actually works within the civil service (which is the centre of public administration) it could be said that civil

society and government institutions will benefit from multiculturalism—and that multiculturalism should thus be developed within a diverse society, and within the civil service, which would enable the latter to demonstrate and increase its ability to achieve its own goals.”

Antonova is only one of many scholars who use multiculturalism to challenge and expand public administration. Her uniqueness, however, is not only the linkage of her work to the two main arguments for multiculturalism in public administration, but the emphasis placed on governance as well. As she points out, “Another important issue related to the governance level is the role played by the civil service when forming multicultural policies and putting forward antidiscrimination legislation” (Antonova, 2007, 7).

Antonova’s observations on governance and multiculturalism deserve particular notice. It is important, in this regard, to not confuse the authority to govern with the capacity to govern. Although achieving a political majority is extremely important in a democracy, majority-centered politics does not ensure effective governance. Achieving a majority enhances authority to govern, but, as the emerging body of work on multiculturalism makes clear, achieving inclusiveness enhances capacity to govern. Whether moral majorities, silent majorities, ethnic majorities, or racial majorities, the lack of inclusiveness has hindered effective governance (Sheeran 1983; Makanza 2008; Schiesinger 2009). Clarification of both subtle and often major distinctions between majority rule and effective governance deserves more attention from public administration scholars.

VALUING DIFFERENCES

Walter Broadnax (2000) contends that the desired state of inclusiveness suggested by multiculturalism can be achieved by shifting the current focus on rights to “valuing differences.” Similarly, Lani Guinier describes the valuing of difference as a strength to be built upon to enhance several aspects of governance that are crucial features of democratic societies. According to Guinier (1994, 175), “Decision making that values diversity multiplies the points of access to government, disperses power, and struggles to ensure a full and developed rational dialogue.”

Building on this premise, Jong Jun argues in the *Social Construction of Public Administration* that there is a very special role for public administrators in fostering an atmosphere for valuing differences. For Jun (2006, 199), “the perplexing questions are about how public administrators in a multicultural society can help citizens see diversity as a strength to be built upon and how public administrators can provide opportunities to develop intergroup discourse for dialogue and sharing for mutual concerns in the community.”

The concept of a “representative bureaucracy” has helped sensitize public administration scholars and practitioners to the need for a more inclusive public service. It continues to serve as a conceptual framework for advancing a variety of diversity issues. Although widely embraced, the concept has not diminished diversity as a challenge for governance.

DIVERSITY AS A CHALLENGE FOR GOVERNANCE

The diversity challenge for governance is long-standing and the source of many societal tensions. These tensions continue to manifest themselves in race and gender legacy debates around taxation, representation, employment, career advancement, and suffrage. They are also present in census activity, immigration, educational opportunity, rights and citizenship privileges for same-sex couples, access to public facilities, and many other social issues. Essentially, the tension is about the rights afforded members of a society and whether there will be limits on the access to these rights for a subset of members because of their differences (Walzer 1995). That

is, will the concept of diversity continue to expand and value differences manifesting themselves in contemporary society?

If the expansive nature of diversity developed through various governance initiatives reflects society's capacity to become more inclusive, the answer to the question posed above may be yes. There are also strong tensions that suggest otherwise as well. The progression of initiatives to address racial and ethnic disparities, prevent religious persecution, enhance opportunities for racial minorities, provide access for the disabled, and advance gender equity is indicative of how encompassing diversity has become. Added to this mantle are diverse groups that have been given protected class status against discrimination and harassment (i.e., national origin, skin color, age, familial status, sexual orientation, disability, veteran, and genetic information nondiscrimination).

Even though the expanding nature of diversity has resulted in a succession of challenging and contentious issues, governance has effectively ameliorated emanating tensions with new laws, policies, programs, and administrative procedures. An emerging group of complex differences, however, are far more challenging, and there are few generally acceptable governance mechanisms available to address them. These include issues relating to citizenship rights and privileges of same-sex couples, and recognition of multiracial and generational group differences.

Citizenship Rights and Privileges of Same-Sex Couples

Same-sex couples are demanding spousal privileges, benefits, and marital and parental rights available to other couples. These demands have sparked contentious debates in the United States and other parts of the world. Same-sex couples argue that they should not be denied the rights and privileges afforded others couples simply because of their same-sex difference.

The complexity of this difference is that it may conflict with values important to other groups, religious communities, and traditional families. Deciding what constitutes a marriage and subsequently a family, as well as who has the right to make this determination, is not clear. Legislation, court decisions, referendums, and religious edicts have not given clarity to these issues. Even religious communities themselves are deeply divided over same-sex marriage.

The Catholic Church and most Evangelical Christian churches are actively opposed to gay marriage. Gays and lesbians are fully accepted in some but not all Protestant denominations. Several denominations are grappling with whether to ordain gay men and women as clergy and whether to require celibacy. Questions surround churches' right to perform or prohibit same-sex wedding ceremonies in their facilities. Still being resolved are federal and interstate governance issues pertaining to tax status, employee benefits, and provision of children and spousal benefits that may have implications for religious organizations. The federal system, separation of church and state, and equal protection provisions make same-sex marriage a particularly complex challenge to governance.

Same-Sex Differences in a Federal System

The U.S. government does not recognize same-sex marriages and is prohibited from doing so by the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) passed by Congress and signed into law by the President on September 21, 1996. Same-sex marriages are currently performed in five states: Massachusetts, Connecticut, Iowa, New Hampshire, and Vermont. Legislation authorizing same-sex marriage for the District of Columbia is also being implemented there. The different legal status same-sex marriage is afforded within the U.S. federal system has the potential to generate interstate governance challenges.

Even though DOMA proclaims, no “state needs to treat as a marriage a same-sex relationship considered a marriage in another state” (Section 2) differences do arise (Sanders 2007). One area highlighted in this regard is parental rights. As Joanna Grossman (2009, 1) observes, “two recent cases—one from New York and one from Florida—are a potent reminder of the potential conflicts created by states’ taking different approaches to the legal recognition of same-sex parenting.” Questions that have arisen include:

- Can an individual adopt the biological children of his or her same-sex partner?
- Is a same-sex spouse entitled to a presumption of parentage for children born to the other partner during the marriage?
- Can a same-sex couple jointly adopt a child that is not biologically related to either?

The collage of emerging rules varies from state to state and can be extremely problematic when same-sex couples with children relocate or separate, and the children are taken to a state that does not recognize their parents’ marriage (Grossman 2009).

This problem was evidence in the recent custody case involving former same-sex partners who live in different states. The former partners were joined in a Vermont civil union and are the parents of a young child. After the couple broke up, the birth mother moved to Virginia, denounced homosexuality, and denied her former partner visitation rights prescribed by a Vermont family court when it dissolved their civil union. After the Vermont court switched custody to the other parent, the birth mother disappeared with the child. However, local authorities in Fairfax County, Virginia, refused to investigate the case, citing jurisdictional concerns (CBS/AP, 2010).

Custody and other legal issues between same-sex couples have been actively litigated, and the patchwork of rulings has been very mixed. If forecasts for interstate taxation and employment benefits challenges materialize, governance issues surrounding same-sex marriages will become even more complex in the United States (Black 2008). The global political nature of same-sex relationships also adds to its complexity and challenge for governance.

Global Complexities of Same-Sex Relationships

At least seven countries with which the United States has strong diplomatic, political, and economic relationships allow same-sex marriages: the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, Canada, South Africa, Norway, and Sweden. Others provide for civil unions or domestic partnerships (Pew Research Center, 2009; Masci et al. 2009). How will citizens who are same-sex couples from these countries be treated in the United States? In contrast, how will same-sex couples from the United States be treated in countries that do not recognize their marriage? Four countries ban same-sex marriage and at least seventy explicitly outlaw homosexuality (Pew Research Center, 2009).

The two countries that border the United States have conflicting policies. Same-sex marriages have been legal nationwide in Canada since 2005. Neither same-sex marriages nor civil unions are recognized at the federal level in Mexico. The Mexican state of Coahuila and the Federal District (Mexico City), however, allow civil unions. The Mexico City government recently passed legislation authorizing same-sex marriage, which is being challenged by the federal government. How will these contrasting laws affect relations among the three countries, which are connected together in an economic federation by the North American Free Trade Agreement? Will they be forced to accept one another’s laws, and how will governance issues be reconciled? At least one legal scholar argues that recent legal, economic, social, and technological developments make it nearly impossible for the United States not to recognize same-sex marriage so long as it is lawful in Canada (Spitz 2004).

Multiracial as a Governance Issue

Another complex issue is the United States government's allowance for the classification of individuals as "multiracial." The growing number of minority groups gives individuals a multiplicity of ways to define themselves. Respondents in the 2000 census were given the option to mark one or more races on the questionnaire to indicate their racial identity. While multiracial ancestry is an unquestioned cultural phenomenon for many Americans, some groups question whether or not there are political motives behind establishing it as a new classification. For instance, if this classification is widely embraced, it can significantly reduce the official size of African American and other population groups with diverse ancestry.

Historian Henry Louis Gates (2009), with the help of geneticists, has discerned that most African Americans may be multiracial. As his work reveals:

- 58 percent of African Americans have at least 12.5 percent European ancestry (equivalent to one great-grandparent);
- 19.6 percent of African Americans have at least 25 percent European ancestry (equivalent to one grandparent);
- 1 percent of African Americans have at least 50 percent European ancestry (equivalent to one parent); and
- 5 percent of African Americans have at least 12.5 percent Native American ancestry (equivalent to one great-grandparent)

The option to declare oneself multiracial became an extremely sensitive political issue just prior to the 2000 census. As Kim Williams (2006) asserts in her book on multiracial America, adding a multiracial category to the 2000 U.S. Census provoked unparalleled debates about race. House Speaker Newt Gingrich, affirmative action opponent Ward Connerly, and Project RACE were proponents of "multiracial" as a new racial category, while most civil rights leaders opposed it.

Supporters of the multiracial classification argue that it is vital for both genetic and self-knowledge components. The genetic factor is said to be important for personalized medicine, which will be a basis for much of public health and medicine in the future. The knowledge about oneself, one's family, and one's ancestors is thought vital to individuals because it allows them to "claim and embrace ALL of who they are" (Rand Reed 2009, 1). Opponents insist that it has the potential to diminish the political strength of traditional minority groups. The number of multiracial individuals is increasing, and the compromise option to mark more than one category on the 2000 census does not appear to satisfy either supporters or opponents of the new classification.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, there were fewer than 500,000 children who could be classified as multiracial in 1960. This number increased to almost 2 million in 1990 and to more than 6 million by 2000 (DeBose and Winters 2002). The complexity of this diversity issue extends far beyond black and white concerns. The 2000 census allowed for sixty-three possible combinations of six basic racial categories, including six categories for those who report exactly one race, and fifty-seven categories for those who report two or more races (Table 23.1).

The census multiracial classification does give recognition to an expanding and diverse group of citizens; however, it still falls short of Rawls's premise that a fully human existence entails the freedom to live according to one's cultural traditions. It also does not facilitate an understanding of cultural behaviors of individuals and communities that constitute this group. Without question,

Table 23.1

Multiracial America

Number of Races Selected on 2000 Census	Number	Percent of Total	Percentage of Multiracial
2	6,368,075	2.26	93.29
3	410,285	0.15	6.01
4	38,408	0.01	0.56
5	8,637	0.00	0.13
6	823	0.00	0.01

Source: Census 2000 analyzed by the Social Science Data Analysis Network (SSDAN).

individuals within these sixty-three categories have cultural rights, but are there limits to the value society places on differences? Or, to paraphrase Herbert Simon, is the embrace of unlimited demographic differences possible, or is it necessary to “satisfice” and accept “bounded diversity”?

Generational Differences and Public Service

Issues surrounding generational differences also represent demographic governance challenges that are receiving significant attention. Generational cohorts have been identified that possess unique cultural, political, and economic orientations that transcend race, ethnicity, and gender. These cohorts are aggregations of individuals with similar experiences into groups, which often have unique values, have competing demands and needs, and make different contributions to society.

The concept of generational cohorts was introduced by Karl Mannheim in the early 1920s and gradually expanded and applied to subsequent population groups. Six main cohort groups are identified in the literature. Each group is said to have experienced a common set of “memorable events,” and group members exhibit similar “key characteristics” (Meredith and Schewe 2007). The memorable events experienced by each cohort are believed to produce unique group perspectives and accompanying behavioral characteristics (Strauss and Howe 1992). These generations’ memorable events and key characteristics are delineated in Table 23.2 along with each cohort’s age range in 2010.

The memorable events, experiences, and accompanying behavioral characteristics unique to each generational cohort have also produced diverse sets of social and political preferences and public service requirements. There are also differences in cohort groups’ value for, contribution to, and demand for public services. View of authority and political orientation also vary across generations. While there are transgenerational similarities, there are also significant differences. A brief summary of generational relationships to public service is depicted in Table 23.3.

The diverse perspectives, values, demands, and orientations of generations represent multiple governance challenges that are often contrary to expectations and not easily reconciled. For instance, the baby boomer and millennial generations have similar political orientations and voting patterns. Both generations express strong support for environmental initiatives, diversity, and health care. Nearly three-quarters (74 percent) of millennials and two-thirds of baby boomers (69 percent) who voted in 2008 supported the assertion that there is more that government should be doing (Madland and Teixeira 2009). Collectively, these two generations will make up nearly 55 percent of the voting-age population in the near future. This suggests the possibility for clear policy choices in several areas and a rare governance opportunity to enhance the status

Table 23.2

Generational Cohorts

Cohort Generations	Great Depression	Pre-World War II	World War II	Baby Boomer I	Baby Boomer II	Generation X	Generation Y Millennial
Dates of Birth	1912–1921	1922–1927	1928–1945	1946–1954	1955–1964	1965–1980	1981–2001
Age in 2010	88–98	83–88	65–82	56–64	46–55	30–45	9–29
Memorable events	Great Depression; unemployment; lack of creature comforts; financial uncertainty	War; women working in factories; focus on defeating a common enemy	Economic growth; social tranquility; the cold war; drug culture; McCarthyism	Political unrest, walk on the moon; civil rights; the environmental movement; sexual freedom; social experimentation	Watergate; oil embargo; hypo-inflation; disco; gas shortages; Nixon resigns; the cold war	<i>Challenger</i> tragedy; Iran-Contra; AIDS; Reaganomics; MTV; safe sex; home computer; cold war ends; Desert Storm	Rise of the Internet; cultural diversity; two wars in Iraq; 9/11 attack on United States; global financial crisis of 2008–10
Key characteristics	Striving for financial security; risk adverse; waste-not attitude	Nobility of sacrifice; patriotism; team player	Conservatism and family values	Experimental; individualism; social cause orientation	Less optimism; pragmatism; general cynicism	Quest for emotional security; independence; informality; entrepreneurial	Quest for physical security and safety; heightened fears; acceptance of change; technically savvy

Source: Aging Is an Asset Forum (2009).

Table 23.3

Generational Relationships to Public Service

Cohort Generations	Great Depression	Pre-World War II	World War II	Baby Boomer I	Baby Boomer II	Generation X	Generation Y Millennial
Value for public service	Least government is better	Public service as duty	Government useful for cold war	Public service as an opportunity	Public service as option	Government is the problem	Service as a privilege
Contribution to public service	Employment	Military service	Military and employment	Employment; Peace Corps	Employment Volunteers in Service to America	Work in not-for-profits	Employment volunteerism
Demand for public service	Housing; income; health care	Education; income; health care	Security from communism	Social and economic justice; women's rights	Protection for people with disabilities	Tax relief; rights for people with disabilities	Environmental and economic recovery
View of authority	Respect authority	Respect authority	Respect authority	Question authority	Cynical and disrespectful	Power relationships	Rebellious and own person
Political orientation	Social conservative	Social conservative	Economic conservative	Radical and progressive	Moderately progressive	Economic conservative	Progressive

Source: Aging Is an Asset Forum (2009).

and performance of public service. However, these two generations have significantly different policy preferences in other areas that could be extremely detrimental to collaborations between the two cohort groups.

Same-sex marriages, privatization of Social Security, and the war in Afghanistan are three of these areas (Madland and Teixeira 2009). Baby boomers oppose same-sex marriages, and millennials are more inclined to allow them. There are wide generational differences on Social Security. This division is evident in poll responses to whether Social Security funds should be aggressively invested in the stock market. The millennials (78.3 percent) appear to want their Social Security funds invested aggressively, while baby boomers (54 percent) prefer conservative investment practices (Zogby International 1999).

Afghanistan is another area of significant intergenerational difference. An August 2009, Harris Poll (Voters For Peace, 2009) on support for troop levels exemplifies this difference. Older generations are more likely to support committing more troops and younger generations are more likely to oppose increasing troop levels. Just less than one-quarter of those between the ages of eighteen and thirty-four (23 percent) say they want to commit more troops compared to 44 percent of those fifty-five and older. The reverse is true for sending fewer troops, as almost two in five of those between the ages of eighteen and thirty-four (38 percent) say they believe the United States should commit fewer troops, while only 14 percent of those aged fifty-five and older support sending fewer troops (Zogby International 1999).

As the data in Table 23.3 indicate, the baby boomers are closely aligned with generations that precede them in some issue areas and with millennials in others. Millennials' and generation Xers' views are closely related in some areas and contrast in others. Both the similarities and the differences have policy and governance implications. The size of millennials' and boomers' cohort groups suggest that they have the capacity to build or stifle collaboration and consensus needed for successful policy making and effective governance. The smaller generational cohorts are also positioned to build alliances to advance their interests.

The view of authority is another area of generational difference that has governance implications. In addition to enforcement areas, such as police and fire protection, zoning, and code enforcement, that require citizens' compliance, the uniquely rebellious view toward authority prevalent in the millennial generation has significant management and leadership implications as well. The record number of millennials expected to enter the workforce in the near future will require different types of leadership, management, structures, technology, and work options. It will also require leadership and management practices attuned to the values and needs of this generation. Personnel management, human resources management, and human capital management are embedded with precepts that reflect baby boomers' work behavior, which are often antithetical to the needs of millennials (White 2009). A multigenerational approach is needed.

HUMAN TALENT MANAGEMENT

One approach that is gaining acceptance is human talent management and development, which involves a shift away from valuing employees as resources and capital assets and toward what is described as the more salient tenets of human talents. At the core, human talent management is a fundamental change in how organizations value people and their differences, which includes changing how they recruit, develop, align, assess, and retain employees. As Heidi Spirgi, president of Knowledge Infusion, points out, the new focus on talent management represents "a paradigm shift in the way HR defines its mission and measures its success" (Reuters 2008, 1). This emerging paradigm is enabling organizations with a framework for redesigning and rethinking talent

processes, and using new technologies to transform and enhance the way human talent performs (Spirgi and Corsello 2009). The paradigm shift that Spirgi argues for and the corollary embrace of new technologies seem opportune given the generational divide described previously. It also bodes well as a mechanism to help address the diversity of technology that is a challenge for governance.

DIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY AND GOVERNANCE

Providing public employees the diverse technologies they need to be productive is a difficult and costly challenge. Compounding this challenge are the range and expanding nature of public services that must be provided; variant skill and experience levels of employees; and skill, competence, and experience of individuals and organizations public administrators must serve. These factors make diversity of technology an important governance consideration.

An indication of the need to consider diverse technologies is the array of tools generational cohorts use in their daily routines. For example, the Depression, pre–World War II, and World War II generations continue to use telephones, letters, and various forms of print materials for most of their communications. These generations were the first primary users of the personal telephone and maintain it as their technology of choice. They also occasionally use the telegraph and fax machine and other wire-related technologies. Baby boomers prefer face-to-face conversations, telephones, and e-mail, with some reliance on print materials. Although members of this generation were the first regular computer users, interpersonal communication continues to be extremely important to them (Aging Is an Asset Forum 2009).

The generation Xers were the first to make extensive use of cell phones but continued to rely on e-mail. The Xers began the move away from the reliance on face-to-face communication, which continues to accelerate with the millennials. The millennials used information technologies to institutionalize text messaging, and popularized MySpace, Facebook, and Twitter (Aging Is an Asset Forum 2009). These diverse communication styles suggest both limits and enhanced possibilities for the provision and production of public services. They are also helpful in discerning the appropriate leadership and management styles for a multi-generational workforce.

From a workforce perspective, the generation Xers' and millennials' affinity for technology suggests the possibility of greater efficiencies in the delivery of public goods and services. These generations have grown up with computers and advanced technologies and expect to use them in their work. Remote collaborations, alternative work options, decision making based on real-time data, and other innovations made possible with information technologies offer promising opportunities for enhancing public services. Hard science technologies and applications from bioengineering, geology, and genetics are facilitating similar advances, particularly in the areas of security, criminology, and environmental remediation.

Reduction in paperwork and paper cost are real possibilities, as is the ability to respond instantaneously to citizens' needs and receive immediate feedback from them. While the promises of technologies are real, so are the challenges. Perhaps the biggest challenge is the diverse technology capacity and willingness of citizens to utilize public services generated with this technology. Citizens will bring their generational preferences with them when they utilize public services, which may clash with the preferences of those providing the services. For example, baby boomers' preference for face-to-face communication contrasts with generation Xers' and millennials' propensity for communicating electronically. The computer literacy of many in the pre–World War II and World War II generations is another challenge. The preferences of these

generation groups for print media and telephone services will require a variety of technologies for the provision of public services in the immediate future.

The capacity to manage and deliver services via the Internet is one of the exciting opportunities being realized. For example, the U.S. National Institutes of Health and other federal agencies currently encourage, and in some instances require, online applications and reporting for funded research. Although the savings from technology innovations are significant, the opportunity to transform work processes is perhaps more profound. Accompanying this opportunity is the responsibility of managing information technologies and the expanding array of goods and services they facilitate in a manner that is inclusive and equitable.

DIVERSITY OF SERVICES

The expanding diversity of public services that must be provided is also an area that is a challenge to governance. The 9/11 attacks, Katrina, the Haiti and Chile disasters, cyberattacks, H1N1 influenza (swine flu), global warming, the financial crisis of 2008–10, the Gulf Coast oil disaster, and an array of other events are expanding the demand on public services at an exponential rate. The costs and diverse needs for health care have solicited demands for government to not only place performance criteria on industry but to become a competitor in this market as well. Food and product safety concerns are compelling inspection and enforcement activities to focus on global production of consumer goods. Another area that will require the attention of public service is civilian activity in outer space.

Space tourism is already experienced through the Russian Federal Space Agency with major plans under way in several countries to expand this industry. Serious consideration has been given to the production advantages of a zero-gravity environment, which outer space offers. Also, use of private commercial space cargo enterprises to resupply the International Space Station is expected when the U.S. Space Shuttle program ends its activities in this area. With these space activities will come additional regulatory and management responsibilities for public servants (Date 1992; Pasztor 2008).

The expanding range of responsibilities placed on public servants is a response to the array of social, biological, and technological issues influencing contemporary governance. Whether the collapse of financial markets or natural disasters, differing generational needs, adequate health care, pandemics, energy needs, oil spills, or the emergence of new and exotic concerns related to space tourism, there is an expectation that government will respond. Juxtaposed to this expectation is the libertarian principle of limited government that public administrators must traverse. These countervailing forces represent important differences and management challenges that public administrators are often not prepared to address.

DIFFERENCES AS MANAGEMENT CHALLENGES

Recognizing and appreciating differences have become central aspects of public managers' duties and responsibilities. Critical in this regard is employing management practices that embrace differences and foster an inclusive workforce. The challenge is to understand the ways people differ and utilize these differences to enhance the delivery of public goods and services. This requires developing a consensus on the differences that should be recognized in the public sector workforce and recognizing the sociological phenomenon they represent.

The enhanced participation by women, people of color, persons with disabilities, new and recent immigrants, gays and lesbians, and intergenerational mixes in the workforce represents sociological phenomena that are transforming not only the workplace but the lexicon used to

define it. Similarly, technological manifestations are universalizing the workplace and providing access to copious collaborative resources for the provision of public service. Managers must, therefore, expand both their understanding of diversity and its capacity to enhance individual and organizational performance. They must also prepare and manage differently. This includes developing the ability to manage across and within an expanding array of issues and networks that are beyond the traditional domain of public administration. Moreover, effective public managers must be able to skillfully collaborate with and participate in a complexity of diverse technological and sociological networks, peculiar to the twenty-first century.

Management in the context of prevailing technological and sociological phenomena requires multidisciplinary approaches beyond those within traditional management sciences. For instance, public managers must design and implement policies to prevent exclusionary and predatory practices made possible through genetic analyses, bioengineering, and information sciences. In the process they are expanding regulatory activities into new spheres of human endeavor. Similar expansion is emanating from forays into regulation of financial markets, energy, the environment, and health care. The accelerated levels of global warming and environmental degradation are forcing governments worldwide to design and implement new energy and building alternatives.

Public administrators must represent the public's interest in complex issues relating to nanotechnology, molecular engineering, new commons, open-source software, cyberspace governance, intellectual property rights, high-tech-product recycling, and life-extension technologies. They are also tasked with resolving an array of ethical issues, ranging from the distribution of human organs to property rights for new forms of life. Representing the public interest and finding solutions in these areas require knowledge and expertise often unavailable in public organizations.

THE ROAD AHEAD

Governance in the midst of diversity is both a challenge and an opportunity. The diversity challenge for governance is long-standing and has been the source of many societal tensions. These tensions continue to manifest themselves in debates over a variety of policy and administrative issues. They are also present in political and social issues that pervade public service. One of these issues is whether rights afforded some members of a society will not be available to other members because of their differences. A corollary to this issue is the question of whether there are appropriate limits to diversity and if so who has the right to establish these limits.

Variant skill, competence, and experience levels of employees as well as those of individuals and organizations using public services evidence the need for a diversity of technology. Technology competence levels vary across generation groups as do preference and need for public services. Meeting the complex needs and demands for public service also requires drawing upon technological applications from the sciences and humanities, and the expertise available through networks and collaborative management.

Research on the expanding nature of diversity as a governance issue is wanting. Discerning and documenting the specific contributions of diversity for enhancing delivery of public service also needs to be explored. Finally, theoretical and empirical research is sorely needed on questions concerning the limits of differences or bounded diversity and who has the rights to set these limits.

Diversity is both old and new; it transcends time. The issues surrounding diversity represent significant challenges for governance. The dynamics they generate, however, continue to be an important source of energy for sustaining, invigorating, and expanding effective governance, which the social contract requires and public administration helps to achieve. The opportunity

to shape these dynamics is what makes public administration such a fascinating and rewarding profession.

REFERENCES

- Aging Is an Asset Forum. 2009. Civic engagement for all generations. www.iii.siuc.edu/Aging/index.html.
- Antonova, Victoria. 2007. Diversity management and concepts of multiculturalism in Russia. Policy paper, Open Society Institute, International Policy Fellowship Program. www.policy.hu/document/200808/victoria.antonova.pdf&letoltes=1.
- Aristotle. 1932. *Politics*. Trans. by H. Rackham. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Reprinted 1972.
- Black, Stephen T. 2008. Same-sex marriage and taxes. *BYU Journal of Public Law* 22 (2): 327–357. <http://www.law2.byu.edu/jpl/V0122.2/Black.pdf>.
- Broadnax, Walter D. 2000. *Diversity and Affirmative Action in Public Service*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- CBS/AP. 2010. Formerly Gay Birth Mom Defies Court Orders to Turn Over Daughter to Ex-Lover. January 8. http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-504083_162-6067417-504083.html.
- Date, Shirish. 1992. NASA seeks outer-space moneymaker. *Spokesman Review* (Spokane, Washington), October 21. <http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1314&dat=19921021&id=UwUSAAAAIBAJ&sjid=MvADAAAAIBAJ&pg=6858,24029>.
- DeBose, Herman L. and Loretta I. Winters. 2002. *New Faces in a Changing America: Multiracial Identity in the 21st Century*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- DOMA. 1996. The Defense of Marriage Act. 28 U. S. Code 1738C. One Hundred Fourth Congress of the United States of America. Section 2.
- Frederickson, H. George. 1997. *The Spirit of Public Administration*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Gabbidon, Shaun L., and George E. Higgins. 2009. The role of race/ethnicity and race relations on public opinion related to the treatment of blacks by the police. *Police Quarterly* 12 (1): 102–115.
- Gates, Henry L. 2009. *In Search of Roots*. New York: Random House.
- Grisson, Jason A., Jill Nicholson-Crotty, and Sean Nicholson-Crotty. 2009. “Region, Race, and Bureaucratic Representation.” *Public Administration Review* 69 (5): 911–919.
- Grossman, Joanna L. 2009. When same-sex couples adopt: Problems of interstate recognition. FindLaw, legal commentary, June 9. <http://writ.news.findlaw.com/grossman/20090609.html>.
- Guinier, Lani. 1994. *The Tyranny of the Majority: Fundamental Fairness in Representative Democracy*. New York: Free Press.
- Guy, Mary E. 2002. The difference that gender makes. In *Public Personnel Administration: Problems and Prospects*. 4th ed., ed. Steven W. Hays and Richard C. Kearney, 256–270. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Hartmann, Douglas, and Joseph Gerteis. 2005. Dealing with diversity: Mapping multiculturalism in sociological terms. *Sociological Theory* 23 (2): 218–240.
- Hoffman, John, and Paul Graham. 2009. *Introduction to Political Theory*. 2d ed. Harlow, UK: Pearson Education.
- Jun, Jong S. 2006. *Social Construction of Public Administration: The Interpretive and Critical Perspectives*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Kinder, Donald R., and Lynn M. Sanders. 1996. *Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kingsley, J. Donald. 1944. *Representative Bureaucracy*. Yellow Springs, OH: Antioch University Press.
- Kranz, H. 1976. *Participatory Bureaucracy: Women and Minorities in a More Representative Public Service*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.
- Linstone, Harold A. 1984. *Multiple Perspectives for Decision Making: Bridging the Gap between Analysis and Action*. North-Holland: Elsevier Science Pub. Co.
- . 1999. *Decision Making for Technology Executives: Using Multiple Perspectives to Improve Performance*. Norwood, MA: Artech House.
- Lipset, Seymour M., and William Schneider. 1983. *Confidence Gap*. New York: Free Press.
- Long, Norton E. 1952. Bureaucracy and constitutionalism. *American Political Science Review*, 46: 801–818.

- Madland, David, and Ruy Teixeira. 2009. *New Progressive America: The Millennial Generation*. Washington, DC: Center for American Progress.
- Makanza, Maggie. 2008. The Majority Are Not Always Right. *Zimbabwe Independent*, June 5. www.theindependent.co.zw/opinion/20461-the-majority-are-not-always-right.html.
- Maschi, David, Hope Lozano-Bielat, Michelle Ralston, and Elizabeth Podrebarac. 2009. Gay Marriage Around the World. Report, Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, July 9. <http://pewforum.org/Gay-Marriage-and-Homosexuality/Gay-Marriage-Around-the-World.aspx>.
- Meagher, Sharon M. 2008. *Philosophy and the City: Classic to Contemporary Writings*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Meredith, Geoffrey E., and Charles D. Schewe. 2007. *Defining Markets, Defining Moments: America's 7 Generational Cohorts, Their Share Experiences, and Why Businesses Should Care*. New York: Hungry Minds. <http://www.booklocker.com/pdf/2780s.pdf>.
- Mosher, F. 1982. *Democracy and Public Service*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Naff, Katherine. 1994. Through the glass ceiling: Prospects for the advancement of women in the federal civil service. *Public Administration Review* 54 (6): 507–514. Reprinted in *Classics of Public Personnel Policy*. 3d ed., ed. F.J. Thompson, 328–345. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2003.
- Page, Scott E. 2007. *The Difference: How the Power of Diversity Creates Better Groups, Firms, School, and Societies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Passel, Jeffrey S., and D'Vera Cohn. 2008. U.S. Population Projections: 2005–2050. Report, Pew Research Center, Social and Demographic Trends, February 11. <http://pewsocialtrends.org/pubs/703/population-projections-united-states>.
- Pasztor, Andy. 2008. NASA takes a leap in outsourcing. *Wall Street Journal*, December 24. <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB123006422453630883.html>.
- Pew Research Center. 2009. The Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life: Gay Marriage & Homosexuality. <http://pewforum.org/Topics/Issues/Gay-Marriage-and-Homosexuality/>.
- Pitts, David W. 2009. Diversity management, job satisfaction, and organizational performance: Evidence from U.S. federal agencies. *Public Administration Review* 69 (2): 328–338.
- Rand Reed, Kathleen. 2009. How the multiracial category can be a lifesaver. Letter, April 20. Project Race. www.projectrace.com/urgentmedicalconcern/archive/multiracial_support_medical_concern.php.
- Rawls, John. 1993. *Political Liberalism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Reader, John. 2005. *Cities: A Magisterial Exploration of the Nature and Impact of the City from Its Beginnings to the Mega-Conurbations of Today*. London: Random House.
- Reuters. 2008. Cornerstone OnDemand's Client and Partner Conference—Convergence 2008—Highlights. Press release, May 27. www.reuters.com/article/pressRelease/idUS103430+27-May-2008+BW20080527.
- Riccucci, Norma M. 1986. Female and minority employment in city government: The role of unions. *Policy Studies Journal* 15 (1): 3–15.
- . 1987. Black employment in municipal work forces. *Public Administration Quarterly* 11 (1): 76–89.
- . 1990. *Women, Minorities and Unions in the Public Sector*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Riccucci, Norma M. and Judith R. Saidel. 1997. The representativeness of state-level bureaucratic leaders: A missing piece of the representative bureaucracy puzzle. *Public Administration Review*, 57 (5): 423–430.
- Rushefsky, Mark E. 2002. *Public Policy in the United States: At the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.
- Sanders, Steve. 2007. Federalism and same-sex marriage. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Hyatt Regency Chicago and the Sheraton Chicago Hotel and Towers, Chicago, August 30.
- Saxonhouse, Arlene W. 1992. *Fear of Diversity: The Birth of Political Science in Ancient Greek Thought*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Schiesinger, Stephen. 2009. Why a league of democracies will not work. *Ethics and International Affairs* 23 (1): 13–18.
- Sheeran, Michael J. 1983. *Beyond Majority Rule: Voteless Decisions in the Religious Society of Friends*. Philadelphia: Quaker Books.
- Simon, Herbert A. 1976. *Administrative Behavior: A Study of Decision-Making Processes in Administrative Organization*. New York: Macmillan.
- Spirgi, Heidi, and Jason Corsello. 2009. An opportunity for change: 10 recommendations for advancing your HR technology strategy. Research Study, Knowledge Infusion Center of Excellence, April.

- Spitz, Laura. 2004. At the intersection of North American free trade and same-sex marriage. *UCLA Journal of International Law and Foreign Affairs* 9:163.
- Strauss, William, and Neil Howe. 1992. *Generations: The History of America's Future, 1584 to 2069*. New York: William Morrow.
- Strivers, Camilla. 2002. *Gender Images in Public Administration Legitimacy and the Administrative State*. Washington, DC: Sage.
- Taylor, Charles. 1983. *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Van Riper, Paul P. 1958. *History of the United States Civil Service, 1789–1957*. Evanston, IL: Row, Peterson.
- Voters For Peace. 2009. AF-PAK War View Depends on Age, Gender. <http://votersforpeace.us/press/index.php?itemid=2657>.
- Walzer, Michael. 1995. *Toward a Global Civil Society*. Providence: Berghahn Books.
- White, Harvey L. 2010. Talent Development and Management: Optimizing Human Performance in the Public Sector. In *Proceeding of the International Conference on Administrative Development: Towards Excellence In Public Sector Performance*. King Faisal Hall for Conferences, Riyadh Kingdom of Saudi Arabia November 1–4, 2009 <http://www.fifty.ipa.edu.sa/conf/customcontrols/paperworkflash/Content/pdf/m2/en/11.pdf>.
- White, Harvey L. and Mitchell F. Rice. 2010. In *Diversity and Public Administration: Theory, Issues and Perspectives*, ed. M. Rice. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.
- Williams, Kim. 2006. *Mark One or More: Civil Rights in Multiracial America*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Zogby International. 1999. New poll: Voters support social security privatization. August 2. www.socialsecurity.org/zogby/fullreport.pdf.