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CELEBRATING THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN’S SUFFRAGE

An Interview with Nancy Tate

Lauren Bock Mullins recently took time to interview Nancy Tate, former executive director of the national League of Women Voters, about her time at the League, the struggle for women to win the right to vote, and the upcoming year commemorating that momentous achievement.

For 15 years, you served as executive director of the League of Women Voters of the United States, which you have noted is the only national organization started by the suffragists still in operation today. How was it formed and what is its mission?

Let me provide some background on the women’s suffrage movement to enable women to vote. Starting in 1848 with the Declaration of Sentiments in Seneca Falls, the organized struggle in the United States for women’s right to vote took 72 years, spanning organizations and generations of supporters. It was a tough fight. By 1915, the movement had split again, with different strategies for achieving the goal of amending the U.S. Constitution. The National American Woman Suffrage Association, headed by Carrie Chapman Catt and the largest organization, focused on building the state-by-state support needed to convince Congress and eventually ratify the amendment.

Catt officially founded the League of Women Voters in 1920, six months before the 19th Amendment passed. It was conceived as a “mighty political experiment” to help 20 million American women carry out their responsibilities as voters in shaping public policy and their society. From the beginning, advocacy and education have been its dual purposes. The goal was to “continue the fight,” not just for the vote or just for women, but for a wide range of public policy issues affecting the nation.

The League’s core mission has not changed, though its structure and the issues it addresses have evolved. The League is a grassroots organization with nearly 800 state and local leagues run primarily by volunteer members. It has a decentralized structure; each state and local league is empowered to deal directly with the level of government closest to it. The national League—the League of Women Voters of the United States or LWVUS—focuses on the federal government. An important point: The League began including male members almost 50 years ago.

The national League’s focus has changed over time. Of course, educating voters about issues and candidates—and registering people to vote—have been central since the beginning. But, other issues have concerned the League for nearly as long, including a range of “good government” reforms, concern about the environment and international peace and democracy building. For example, the League was a strong advocate for creating the United Nations and present when the UN Charter was signed in 1945; it continues to have special consultative status at UN Headquarters. The League is not limited to voting issues or women, but the name has great brand recognition and we are sticking with it!

What were some of the challenges that you and the organization faced during your tenure? Which ones remain?

We have hit a significantly different moment in time in the last several years. I stepped down in 2015 but during my tenure, and for 30 or 40 years before that, recruiting active members was one of our standard challenges. Being a League member means you really do something in your local community; you join at the local level, engage in voter education, hold candidate forums, lobby your town council or assemble educational programs on topics of importance to your community. As many other organizations experienced, once women joined the workforce in greater numbers, it became harder to get grassroots members with the time to do all that.

Other challenges during my tenure reflected the changing times. The increase in levels of partisanship and polarization has made it more
difficult for leagues to present candidate forums and has turned issues like government transparency into partisan challenges. We have watched the value of fact-based candidate forums and straightforward discussion of issues become undermined; some politicians refuse to participate, alleging the League is too partisan.

In the last several years, the League’s challenges have somewhat changed. Beginning with the 2016 election cycle, the country has experienced a wave of progressive anxiety and many more people want to join the League. Membership challenges now revolve around trying to adapt to different demographics and expectations. We discovered that more people want to engage online than as “on the ground” members; yet sharing a tweet is not the same as being willing to do something in your community on a continuing basis. Also, online activists are not part of the traditional dues structure, which forms the basis of local league budgets. This has been a big challenge: Integrating people’s energy and online skills—new people who want to be involved—into an organizational culture with long-time members used to doing things more traditionally.

That’s an interesting perspective on the adaptation to the cultural and technological shift. With so many major changes, what has enabled the League to survive as an influential organization for as long as it has?

The League wields influence with two spheres: politicians and the public at large. Many politicians know the League, how it operates and what it stands for. They have personal experience with its grassroots members, have participated in local or state league debates or have been lobbied on a local issue. That we have “boots on the ground” has ripple effects across all levels of government. We have real members who will visit their members of Congress to express League positions and push for transparency and accountability. It is a different dynamic than organizations whose members participate primarily through direct mail contributions or whose advocacy work is conveyed largely through mass mailings and online alerts. The League is a citizen organization, not a special interest group, and it does not give money to anyone.

Further, the League has considerable brand recognition with the public because of the services we have provided to voters in local communities for nearly 100 years, and because we hosted the presidential debates for many years. In fact, we often are urged to “take back” the debates from the Presidential Debates Commission, which is led by representatives of the two major political parties. The image of the League banner on the stage is imprinted in many people’s minds.

The League’s longevity and credibility rest on a few key components. Its grassroots structure and nonpartisan nature are two of the most important. Another related feature is its focus on voters—providing them with information and skills to participate in American democracy. This task is never complete. Nonpartisanship, a core value for the League, means much more than a legal classification. For us, it means going to great lengths to ensure nothing is said or done to support or oppose any candidate or political party.

Unfortunately, the meaning of the word “nonpartisan” has become muddled in recent years. It does not mean that an organization cannot have a point of view or work to advance specific policy positions. The League does advocate for various policies, but it also goes to great lengths to determine its positions based on study and data, not political affiliation. That fact-based approach is a key characteristic.

Tenacity is another one that has contributed to our longevity and influence. Just like their suffragist foremothers, League members do not give up, even as the generations change. One example is voting rights for the District of Columbia, for which the League has pushed for more than 60 years—and we are not done yet!

After stepping down from your position, you became active in efforts to commemorate the 2020 centennial of passage of the 19th Amendment, which guaranteed women the right to vote. Why is this an important anniversary?

We like to celebrate historical anniversaries in the United States. Take the centennial of our participation in World War I, for instance. 100th anniversaries are particularly interesting because they recall a time in the not-too-distant past. They are a good time to reflect on aspects of the earlier historical period that still resonate today.

The 100th anniversary of women winning the vote through passage of the 19th Amendment is important for other reasons. First, half of the adult American population was enfranchised on a single day; in so doing, women were explicitly incorporated in the U.S. Constitution for the first time. There is no other day like that in our history. Yet most Americans know almost nothing about the 72-year fight and its ultimate success. Suffrage history is a very powerful story about what several generations of suffragists did to win power when they did not have any. There is drama in this story, as anyone who has seen the movie Iron Jawed Angels can attest. We want more Americans to know this story, and to understand that getting the vote was a fight down to the last minute. Literally. For those who do not know the story, the amendment won by one vote when a young legislator in Tennessee—the 36th and final state needed for ratification—switched to support it
after urging from his mother! The common notion that women were “given” the right to vote could not be more misleading.

That is why the fight for women to have the vote is not just interesting history. It has relevance in today’s world. There are still women (and men) who do not feel fully empowered or enfranchised. The barriers faced and the strategies used in the suffrage movement offer lessons that are applicable today. In 1917, the suffragists began a nearly one-year silent picketing of the White House, with banners asking, “Mr. President: How Long Must Women Wait for Liberty?” This type of peaceful protest was later emulated by both Gandhi and the 1960s civil rights movement. Today, very few Americans would argue that women should not have a constitutional right to vote, but the purpose of commemorating the 19th Amendment centennial is to increase understanding of what it took to win that right and what can be learned from that struggle that applies not only to women but also to other groups who feel disempowered now.

What should public administrators know about the suffrage fight? How are those lessons relevant today?

I knew hardly anything about it myself when I came to the League. This is not a subject taught well in school. The first point is to refer to these women as “suffragists,” not “suffragettes,” an originally derogatory term adopted in Britain. The passage of the 19th Amendment created the largest expansion of democracy on a single day the world had ever seen. The organizations with which I am working are trying to ensure this significant historical event, and the struggle that produced it, are better known and commemorated across the country. It is important for public administrators to know this and develop ways their agencies, universities and communities can join in these commemorations.

Many of the reasons why it took 72 years of advocating to obtain the women’s vote are reasons that still exist—among them are the roles of money and special interests, and press and people in power who, at that point, were all men. The role of people in power during this time may be particularly instructive for public administrators. President Woodrow Wilson did not cover himself in glory on the issue of women and the vote, although he ultimately supported the amendment. He put it off during this first term and did not urge passage until the country was in the midst of World War I. A little-known fact is that wartime has been when those in power most often agreed to broaden the franchise. It becomes harder to explain the defense of democratic values while excluding various categories of people from voting. This was true for African American voters and the Voting Rights Act during the Cold War and passage of the 26th Amendment lowering the voting age to 18 during the Vietnam War.

This all reflects an evolution in the concept of American democracy and representative government. Looking at the historical context is a less threatening way of enabling one to stand back and look at who can play a role in our democracy. Of course, I cannot speak about every public administrator’s job, but knowing women’s suffrage history can increase one’s sensitivity to what it is like to have no voice and what it takes to get and use one. Two contemporary movies relate to suffrage. One was Iron Jawed Angels, starring Hillary Swank and Angelica Huston, which condenses the last 10 years of the suffrage fight in the United States. It is not a documentary but captures the frustrations and drama of the history fairly accurately. A 2015 movie, Suffragette, is harder to watch but has more emotional impact; it stars Carrie Mulligan and Meryl Streep and focuses on working women’s efforts in the British suffrage movement. Several new productions are in the works, too, including a PBS program and TV series based on the excellent book, The Woman’s Hour.

How can the public administration community—practitioners and academics alike—get involved with commemorating the successful struggle for women to win the vote?

The place to start is to find out what other organizations are doing. Efforts are underway at the national, state and local levels, and more are being developed all the time. Some are particularly worth noting.

I am the co–chair of the 2020 Women’s Vote Centennial Initiative (WVCI), an information-sharing collaborative of scholars and women’s organizations whose goal is to help all types of organizations commemorate the 100th anniversary of the 19th Amendment. We are working to develop state-based networks so organizations and individuals find others with whom they might want to partner. We also are ensuring various commemorations in Washington, DC, especially this year and next, when a number of federal museums and libraries will host exhibits on aspects of women’s fight for the vote and lessons learned. Exhibits will open this year at the Library of Congress, National Archives and National Portrait Gallery, among others. WVCI also is sponsoring symposium series with panels each year through 2020. These will explore the suffrage struggle, with particular attention to aspects that have relevance today. WVCI’s website, www.2020centennial.org, is a great source of information.

One of WVCI’s partners is the National Collaborative for Women’s History Sites (www.ncwhs.org) and its Votes for Women Trail initiative. The project provides resources for groups to learn more about what happened in their own community during

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A REGIONAL APPROACH TO RENEWING GOVERNANCE:
Lessons from the Volcker Alliance’s Government-to-University Initiative

Partnerships between universities and government at all levels—local, state and federal—can generate substantial benefits in preparing our nation to address complex, urgent challenges. Yet there is a growing disconnect between government needs and university alignment with them. For example:

- **We face an urgent public sector workforce crisis.** Only seven percent of the federal government workforce is under age 30, compared with 23 percent in the private sector. Federal, state and local governments will see the percentage of their retirement-eligible workforce double in the next five years. Nearly half of students are interested in government jobs, but only two percent of graduates from NASPAA-accredited schools accept federal government positions.

- **The performance of our government institutions depends critically on the training and education of talented public servants.** Government practitioners confirm that “reskilling” needs will increase with changes in work due to technology. Irrespective of changing technology, public administration curricula have evolved to focus more on the theory of policy and policymaking, rather than the science of governance and implementation.

- **The link between academic research and governance is ever more attenuated.** Budget constraints and performance demands compel government leaders to use data and analytics to improve effectiveness and efficiency. Yet only 13 percent of top public administration journal articles focus on specific government performance problems. The misalignment is exacerbated as tenure and promotion systems at most top universities have tended not to reward “applied research” efforts.

To address these concerns, the Volcker Alliance last year launched the Government-to-University Initiative (G2U). During the first phase of the initiative, we convened roundtables in four cities across the nation—Pittsburgh, Chapel Hill, Kansas City and Austin—to explore a national initiative bringing together public agencies and institutions of higher education to improve alignment on recruitment, skills and research.

The response—from more than 200 leaders from all levels of government and senior-level university professionals representing undergraduate, public affairs, business, health and engineering schools and civic organizations—has been overwhelming. There is an enormous appetite for building sustainable connections between government and universities. Why? Here are some reasons.

- **Making Valuable Connections.** Meetings of government practitioners and university leaders do not occur as frequently as one would expect. At one roundtable, a longtime Federal Executive Board head, charged with coordinating the entire federal presence in that region, confessed to never having set foot on the campus of the major research university hosting the roundtable. State and local officials were excited to create connections with their federal counterparts, as 85 percent of federal employees work outside the Beltway. G2U attendees fostered new relationships that already have led to follow-up trainings, coordinated meetings and recruitment drives.

- **Best Recruitment Practices.** Effective government hiring was top of mind at every session. There was shared urgency to devise new strategies to recruit bright young people into the public workforce. Incomprehensible government job titles and postings serve a deterrent to attracting talented applicants. We began to sort through ways that public sector recruiters might experiment with using more descriptive, modern job titles that capture a position’s function, rather than titles that detail rank. It is not news that government recruiters should engage earlier with graduating students to meaningfully compete with the private and nonprofit sectors. The news is that we had the right stakeholders in the room to think about fresh, actionable strategies for making it happen. For example, there is great potential in creating supplemental, regional job boards to aggregate employment and internship opportunities across all levels of government in the area. The U.S. Office of Personnel Management has been developing a platform that can be customized for just this type of regional use. Upon learning about this resource at the Kansas City session, participants began to consider ways to leverage it.
• **Building Regional Research Networks.** There is no marketplace for government to identify its research needs and for universities and other capable partners to respond. Although productive government-university research partnerships exist around the country, many tend to be relationship driven and ad hoc. Others are dependent on deep philanthropic investment. In every city we visited, participants enthusiastically envisioned a new model to facilitate delivery of priority government research: a regional network of universities and government stakeholders. At its best, a regional research collaborative would enable collective, thoughtful prioritization of problems most in need of new solutions. It would attract the best minds in the region—across disciplines and experience—to address intractable management problems and make government systems run better. As important, this kind of collaborative has the potential to engage students and inspire and prepare them to succeed as future members of the public workforce.

• **Sustaining Momentum.** The key takeaway from this initiative’s first phase was the unambiguous call to facilitate ongoing collaboration between governments and universities in a region. The Volcker Alliance is privileged to heed that call. Throughout 2019 and 2020, it will build a national network of G2U regional councils. Each one will be composed of federal, state and local government practitioners alongside key counterparts from nearby universities. With project management and technical assistance from our team, each council will aim to make progress on high-need areas of strengthening the talent pipeline into government and promoting productive research exchanges.

With trust in government at record lows, even as our shared challenges grow ever more daunting, the Volcker Alliance believes that regional action has enormous potential to achieve national impact and renew our governing institutions. We are excited to set out on this journey and invite contact from leaders in government, universities and civic groups to explore launching a G2U Regional Council in your area.

*The Volcker Alliance advances the effective management of government to achieve results that matter to citizens. Launched by former Federal Reserve chairman Paul A. Volcker, the nonpartisan alliance envisions a public sector workforce with the experience, preparation and commitment to ensure government delivers with excellence. For more information, go to www.volckeralliance.org*
The shutdown is over for now, but the hazards it exposed will remain long after paychecks are cashed and past-due bills finally are paid. Federal employees, contractors and grantees are correct to wonder whether shutdowns will become more frequent and how far the Trump administration might go in its continuing attacks on the government. The questions are likely to continue as Congress and the president inch toward the end of the fiscal year next September and the risk of further battles over the president's agenda increases.

It is hard to find a silver lining in this detritus. But, the shutdown could mark a turning point in public attitudes toward the public service.

First, Americans finally met the real public service as the media put a human face on the shutdown. Contrary to the caricature of overpaid and underworked employees often promoted in the president's campaign rallies and Twitter feed, the federal workforce turned out to be composed of real people who clock in every day to make a difference for their communities and country. Americans saw the genuine and painful impact of missed paychecks on people just like them, albeit through iconic stories—and accompanying images—of furloughed employees standing in line at the food pantries, worrying about how to reconcile their checkbooks and longing to get back to work. Contrary to the president's advisers, the federal workforce did not see the shutdown as a paid vacation. It was an insult to their commitment.

Second, Americans met the government-industrial workforce, as I call it. Media coverage during the first days of the shutdown focused almost entirely on the 800,000 employees furloughed or forced to work without pay, but eventually turned to the impact on the contractors and grantees at risk in the nine affected departments. According to my estimates of the true size of the federal workforce, the federal government as a whole employed 7.2 million civil servants, contractors and grant-funded employees in 2017, of which about 2 million were hit by the shutdown.

Americans also met the service contract employees sent home when federal office buildings closed—that is, the cafeteria workers, custodians, temps and other low-wage workers who depend on steady paychecks to keep their families going. The media even reached out to the workers whose jobs depend on household spending by the federal government's blended workforce, including the staff at the Bickering Sisters Café in Ogden, Utah, just at the moment when the Internal Revenue Service and Forest Service turned off their lights at the federal facilities in town.

Third, Americans are starting to realize that the federal workforce is at a generational crossroads. The media covered almost every aspect of what former Federal Reserve Board chairman Paul Volcker once called the “quiet crisis.” As Volcker's 1988 National Commission on the Public Service predicted at the time, the federal government would eventually reach a tipping point when the baby boomers hired in the 1970s would retire and the nation would have to meet the expectations of an entirely new generation of employees.

The commission did not know when the quiet crisis would hit but saw it coming. “One need not search far to see grounds for concern,” the Volcker Commission told President George H.W. Bush in March 1989: “The erosion has been gradual, almost imperceptible, year by year. But it has occurred nonetheless.”

The commission did not know just when the crisis would hit; it never imagined that a record-setting shutdown would bring the quiet crisis to a roar 30 years later. Yet that is what happened during the month of January. The partial shutdown may have taken an uneven toll on the federal workforce but it has created deep uncertainty among all employees as Congress and the president approach the new fiscal year. With his frivolous promise to keep the federal government closed for “months or even years,” the president gave all federal employees—and many of their contract- and grant-funded partners—good reason to ask whether they still want a federal career.
More important for the public administration community, the shutdown has provoked urgent questions about a “brain drain” as retirement-eligible federal employees ask whether it is a good time to retire. Retirement rates spiked last year in what may yet be remembered as an early warning of an exit tsunami that cannot be combatted with the limited next generation of young Americans joining government. The U.S. Government Accountability Office has written about this possibility for years now and personnel specialists readily acknowledge the surge is no longer a question of “if,” but “how soon.”

Together, these three effects come together in a moment of great challenge for the future of public administration. Buried in all the bitterness, anger and insult associated with the shutdown is the possibility that the federal government’s blended workforce is about to enter a renaissance built on public support, even gratitude.

Luckily, the public administration community has the research, practice, energy and commitment to bring its substantial expertise to bear on the opportunity and its significant questions of how to solve the quiet crisis. If there is any silver lining to the shutdown, it is in a once-in-a-generation chance to remake the federal service. The public administration community is up to the task. The question is who will make the call.

Paul C. Light is a professor of public service at New York University. He was the director of studies at the National Academy of Public Administration, a senior advisor to Sen. John Glenn (D-OH) and vice president for governmental studies at the Brookings Institution. The author of The Government-Industrial Complex: Tracking the True Size of Government, 1984-2018, he can be reached at pcl1226@nyu.edu.

CELEBRATING THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN’S SUFFRAGE

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the long struggle for suffrage. Women would not have won the vote if 36 state legislatures had not ratified the 19th Amendment, which they did due to public support. Identifying individuals who played key roles—men and women, supporters and opponents—and any homes or public buildings where key events occurred, can provide opportunities for public involvement and civic pride. Some governments and organizations are promoting these “trails” as part of their local attractions.

A new attraction underway near Washington, DC is the Turning Point Suffragist Memorial, the only national memorial to the entire women’s suffrage movement. It is being built at the site where women who picketed the White House for the vote in 1917 were jailed and, in some cases, force-fed. I encourage everyone to visit www.suffragistmemorial.org and consider donating so the memorial can be completed by the 2020 centennial. Individuals and organizations donating $1,000 or more will have their names listed on the Donor Wall.

The new federal Women’s Suffrage Centennial Committee will be developing initiatives, as well. This congressionally chartered group began operations in late 2018 and will create a website and promote various commemorative activities.

It is important for public administrators to know what may be going on in their own state. For instance, New York celebrated the 1917 ballot initiative that secured full voting rights for women there. In fact, several states already had legalized voting for their women citizens prior to the federal amendment, especially those in the West. That is a proud history many states and localities can celebrate.

Is there anything else you want to add in conclusion?

I want to thank ASPA for bringing attention to the 2020 centennial of women winning the vote. The 72-year struggle to pass the 19th Amendment is important for its own sake and for the various lessons we can draw from it. Public administrators are well positioned to encourage their organizations and communities to commemorate this significant milestone and to probe its relevance to both public policy and citizen engagement today.

Since 2015, Nancy Tate has served as the co-chair of the 2020 Women’s Vote Centennial Initiative, an information sharing collaborative focused on commemorating the 100th anniversary of women winning the constitutional right to vote. From 2000 to 2015, she served as the executive director of the League of Women Voters of the United States. Prior to that role, she was the chief operating officer of the National Academy of Public Administration, where she is also an elected member. Tate has a BA from Stanford University and an MPA from The George Washington University. She can be reached at tatenancye@gmail.com.

Lauren Bock Mullins is a professor at LIU Post, teaching public administration, health administration and research methods. Her research focuses mostly on work/family balance and social equity. She has a PhD from the School of Public Affairs and Administration at Rutgers University—Newark, and an MA from Columbia University. She can be reached at lauren567@gmail.com.
From the day Andrew Owen’s ’17 parents let him push the button in a voting booth, he’s worked hard to stay atuned to what matters to citizens. As a deputy treasurer, Andrew strives to meet the public’s needs and involve them in decision making. Those values led him to Regent University. With a challenging curriculum, expert faculty and multidisciplinary approach, Regent prepared him for public leadership. “Regent teaches you not to be a bureaucrat, but to serve those around you.” We’ll prepare you, too.

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Robertson School of Government
Christian Leadership to Change the World
Talent Strategy: Focus on Retention...and Recruitment

Government agencies devote considerable time, effort and resources to hiring talented employees. However, the other side of the talent coin—retention—often is overlooked. Most government organizations collect turnover data, but many also were “right-sized” during and after the great recession. In this environment, some viewed turnover as helping government “do more with less.”

Today’s workplace is different. Unemployment is at a 50-year low and the long predicted retirement tsunami has made landfall. This is particularly true in government, where public sector employees on average are older than their private sector counterparts.

At the other end of the demographic spectrum, today’s young hires have a different perspective on work. According to Gallup, 60 percent of millennials are open to a new job and 21 percent have changed jobs in the past year.

This tough talent landscape probably explains a key finding from the Center for State and Local Government Excellence’s 2018 survey of state and local government human resources professionals. Respondents identified “recruitment and retention of qualified personnel with needed skills for public service” as their number one priority.

Leadership and Managing Change. Leadership often drives employee engagement. It has been the number one engagement driver in “Best Places to Work in the Federal Government,” which the Partnership for Public Service has published every year since the rankings began in 2003.

One federal agency director dissatisfied with her agency’s low ranking made improving engagement a priority. Several years later, her agency was ranked first in its category. Key performance indicators improved dramatically, as well.

The Work. Employees want to believe they are making a difference and to see the link between their work and the organization’s mission. This is illustrated by a story about the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). As the story goes, a group of reporters visited its headquarters and came across a custodian. They asked the custodian what his job was. He replied, “I help send men to the moon.”

Apocryphal maybe, but would it not be great if all employees had this kind of line of sight?

Training and Development. Employees will stay if they are building their skills. Public sector organizations that invest in their employees build loyalty, as well as competencies. Some examples:

- In Riverside County, California, the 20-20 program allows employees in hard-to-fill jobs to work a reduced schedule and continue to be paid as full-time employees while completing requirements for a degree or certification.
• The New York State Empire Star Public Service Award gives outstanding performers a $5,000 scholarship to attend college classes, conferences or training programs.

• Nebraska encourages state government employees to spend 15 minutes each day learning and has partnered with LinkedIn Learning to make 5,000 online courses available.

Recognition. Research shows that 55 percent of employees cite a lack of recognition as a reason for leaving their last employer. Conversely, organizations with recognition programs report 23 percent lower turnover than those without them.

Recognition is not always about money, especially in government. Here are some low- or no-cost ways to recognize employee contributions:

• Provide some time off.

• Recognize employee achievements at a staff meeting.

• Surprise the employee with a thank-you note.

• Compliment the employee within earshot of others (word will spread).

• Mail a handwritten note to the employee’s home.

• Send a department-wide email praising an employee or team.

• Ask employees to recognize each other.

• Pull an employee aside and ask for his or her opinion.

• Give employee recommendations on LinkedIn.

• Hand out recognition cards that include such sentiments as, “You make a difference,” “You’re awesome,” and “Glad you are on the team.”

There is no easy way to ensure that government retains talented employees. It requires an integrated set of strategies that include using data and focusing on engagement.

Melissa Asher is director of recruitment, training and development for CPS HR Consulting, where she oversees two divisions and brings 24 years of experience in human resources to public sector clients. A certified project management professional and senior certified professional in human resources, Asher has published articles in human resources and related association publications and regularly speaks at conferences. She can be reached at masher@cpshr.us

Robert Lavigna is director of the Institute for Public Sector Employee Engagement, a unit of CPS HR Consulting, an independent government agency. The institute was created to help government organizations measure and improve engagement. His previous positions include assistant vice chancellor and director of human resources for the University of Wisconsin-Madison, vice president of research at the Partnership for Public Service and administrator of the state of Wisconsin civil service system. He can be reached at rlavigna@cpshr.us
Leading Courageously in Challenging Times

We are what we repeatedly do. Excellence, then, is not an act, but a habit.

—Aristotle

The Oath of the Athenian City State challenges public officials to strive for the ideal and sacred things of the city, both alone and with many. That was my guiding principle as city manager. I believed it was my responsibility to promote democracy and add value to public life by leading a well-managed organization that was efficient, effective and economical.

As fundamental as those principles are to public management, they are not enough. Too often, public meetings are dominated by angry citizens shouting insults or special interests monopolizing discussions. Elected officials often respond to the loudest voices, even if the voices do not reflect the way most people feel. When citizens are invited to discuss an important issue, generally nobody shows up except the “regulars.” In other instances, like the siting of a public facility, people show up but make unrealistic demands. Whether from apathy, frustration or anger, citizens feel increasingly alienated from city hall. The growing mutual mistrust between citizens and governmental institutions robs those institutions of the support they need from the production of public goods that only citizens themselves can make.

The initial response of most public administrators—especially city managers—is to do more with less, such as reduce taxes or maintain service levels through better management practices and a customer-service orientation. Other approaches include increasing public participation through advisory committees and special initiatives like participatory budgeting; walking neighborhoods with elected officials to see residents’ problems firsthand and advising what the city can do to fix them; demonstrating accountability and responsibility by better reporting on the quality of services provided; and increasing transparency by reporting “performance results” on a website. Those in city hall often are pleased with what they are doing, but public confidence continues to decline. These trends can be ignored, especially when citizens complain meeting after meeting about problems city hall cannot possibly fix. Yet these wicked problems demand a sustained, comprehensive and expensive response, one that requires will, resources and commitment where administrators and citizens work together.

When public administrators understand and define their role as the professional expert, problem solver and individual with all the right answers, they reduce democracy to voting and jury duty, rather than the more robust Athenian view of democracy as a form of governance where the people act together collectively to produce things that make life better for everyone. Citizens working with one another—and with government—to produce public goods gives a sense of themselves as agents of democracy who can make a difference, rather than as constituents, consumers or customers sitting on the sidelines.

What can public administrators do to increase public trust and engage citizens in solving problems they care about? How can they engage with citizens but not become overwhelmed with more demands for city hall to act? How can they tap into the good works that citizens already do in their communities and then expand that work into other places or issues? First, public administrators must recognize that citizens bring something to the table: community resources and civic assets. When the resources and assets are leveraged with those of public institutions, public administrators can work on the wicked problems that people care about, not alone but with many as the Oath of the Athenian State reminds us. The critical next step is for public administrators to muster the courage to do things differently, especially in times of political, economic and social uncertainty that fuels declining public confidence in government.

Challenging times require local government practitioners to align their professional routines with the way that citizens in communities work. They must go beyond current engagement practices to strategies where city hall works more with the public rather than merely for it. It means overcoming mutual mistrust between citizens and public officials and enhancing the participatory vibrancy of citizens to co-produce public goods with government. It means that citizens work with government to name the issue in language that identifies what is valuable to citizens; frame the issue so that a range of actions are considered and the costs, consequences and trade-offs are evident; make...
A Treatise on Civics Education

For the things we have to learn before we can do them, we learn by doing them.

-Socrates

Civics was a dreaded, required one-semester course for all high school freshmen. The class often was taught by a football coach who lectured more about plays than presidential powers in the lead-up to each Thursday night game. Four days of the week, my classmates were enamored with gridiron war stories. If our team lost Thursday night, which it often did, the coach would teach a week’s worth of civics lessons on Friday morning. While my classmates were bored—or boiled over by another loss—I asked a week’s worth of questions in those 50 minutes. Even at the ripe old age of 12, I knew four days of self-taught civics and an hour’s worth of questions were more important to my future than playing football.

But, in my noncompliant and nerdish youth, I did not foresee that one does not just read about the foundations of government, federalism, the three branches of government and what comprises each one. While I practiced the power of the words I read—ethical behavior, personal responsibility, freedom and consequences of choice—I did not fully realize their power until I worked with those who integrated them into their lives by working on campaigns, marching for civil liberties with Chicago neighborhood groups and unions, living abroad, working with military personnel and educating others as college professors.

As a university professor myself, I quickly realized that students enrolled in my American government and public administration classes were passionate about specific concerns but had little ability to debate the issues. Even fewer were willing to listen to opposing viewpoints or reference unbiased sources in their research. Often, I relied on a middle school civics textbook to supplement college lectures.

More recently, my concerns about the state of civics education were verified on a CBS Sunday Morning segment on civics education.

The story featured three Supreme Court justices: Sandra Day O’Connor, Sonia Sotomayor and Neil Gorsuch. The justices and I shared two experiences: High school civics was boring but taught us how to be good citizens. Combined with life experiences, the classes showed how to discuss controversial topics civilly, to place country over self and political ideology. In their observations, the devolution of civics courses coincided with an increase in partisan discord. We all are noticing the impact.

O’Connor’s response was to establish iCivics, an online teaching program; hers is just one example. Eric Liu, former speechwriter and aide to President Clinton, founded Citizen University, a nonprofit organization that re-teaches high school civics classes. Khan Academy has created its own curriculum with teachers implementing those lessons in social studies classes to the extent that state testing allows.

Yet all of these programs miss one component that only we as bureaucrats and professors can teach: the importance of bureaucracy, of public administration, in carrying out the laws and policies that our three branches of government established. We—military service members, police officers, public school teachers, social workers, firefighters, DMV receptionists, public administration and policy professors, public health officials, campaign workers, community advocates, executive staff of labor unions and professional associations and the currently furloughed—are the face of the laws passed and upheld by the president, members of Congress, judges, governors, state legislators, mayors and others. We are the critical bridge between the officials and citizens we jointly serve. As our fellow citizens turn their attention toward civics, they are learning about how the three branches of government pass laws that we, the street-level bureaucrats, implement. This education is best accomplished by us bureaucrats working with iCivics or Citizen University programs, or maybe even creating our own, to ensure basic civics lessons include discussions about the important bridge that civil servants create.

At the end of the Sunday Morning segment, Justice Sotomayor said, “What are you doing about it? If you really care, then you can’t complain. You have to do. Then we can have a conversation.”

Let us write and communicate our contribution to civics education, not have it written by others and taught to us by an athletic coach.

It is time we teach others.

It is time we learn about ourselves.

It is time we do.

An ASPA member since 1993, Dwight Vick has been a contributor to PA TIMES since 2015. He can be reached at dwight12vick@msn.com.
PRESIDENT’S COLUMN:

Gauging Success

A year in the life flies by. We should, but rarely do, take the time to reflect on what has been accomplished. So, today I am grateful to have the opportunity to share my thoughts about ASPA: what we have accomplished in the past year, what it means for all of us as members of a noble profession and where we go from here.

Above all, ASPA is a group effort. We gather in Chapters and Sections—and at our Annual Conference—to meet each other and share our thoughts about how we can help make a difference in our field. In the process, this leads the way to create positive change in our community, our country and the world.

With a government shutdown that felt endless and demeaning, it is hard to see progress. Yet from my vantage point over the past year, I have witnessed forward motion. You may remember from an earlier PA TIMES column that I identified four factors that I would be evaluate to see whether our focus had been successful; whether greater focus on a few initiatives would make a greater impact. We have tackled infrastructure, public finance, public service and social equity. You have seen it throughout the year in ASPA’s partnerships, publications and at our conference.

We also have invested time and energy on ASPA’s own infrastructure, implementing bylaws changes over time; placing more decisionmaking responsibility in the National Council; more leadership responsibility in our executive director; and providing a two-year term for ASPA’s president that will enable more leadership stability (to be implemented in 2021).

We are beginning to see the results of these institutional changes. They provide the foundation for our Society to make progress in the following areas:

1. Regained respect for the public service and public servants, measured in multiple ways, including diverse, talented new hires. I grant you that this is a stretch but even in this most difficult year we have welcomed 2,000 new members, including many students, and have planned an annual conference that has exceeded our programmatic and financial benchmarks, including many more exciting, expert speakers from partner organizations.

2. New and expanded partnerships leading to innovative, results-oriented action on high impact issues. In the past year, ASPA has extended its reach to organizational leaders in the four impact areas, creating partnerships that will benefit our members—and theirs—in the near and long term. They operate within public finance (Government Finance Officers Association), public service (IBM Center for The Business of Government, Volcker Alliance and Senior Executives Association, to name just a few), social equity (National Civic League and the Kettering Foundation) and infrastructure (American Society for Civil Engineers, @ProcurementPros and NIGP: The Institute for Public Procurement). All have partnered with our Society to advance our work; we look forward to our continued collaboration.

ASPA extended its reach within its membership, as well, creating new partnerships with universities across the country, helping us work with MPA and PhD students to further their goals and keep us at the front of their minds now, at the beginning of their public service careers. These partnerships are just as valuable as the others; how we touch students as they start will affect their perceptions of us later, when they really need us. I am excited that ASPA has built these relationships and that we have welcomed hundreds of new student memberships all year long because of it.

3. Recognizable and impactful brand. This success factor may be the hardest to see and take the longest to achieve. It is tempting to boil this area down to viewing the ASPA logo on national news shows or seeing ASPA leadership as "talking heads" in media. Yet a brand is about more than the optics. A true brand is about creating a sense of belonging for your audience; a feeling that the services we provide are singular in nature and not to be met by other organizations. Success here may come last—after our partnerships have worked, respect has increased and our budget has grown. There are some early signs of progress in our increased partnerships, social media presence and you, our members, and your increased loyalty and support for everything for which ASPA stands.
4. A more robust ASPA with an increased operating budget and endowment. This area is about the numbers and bottom line, both of which are growing. Endowment giving achieved its highest individual giving rate last year and the trend is similar for 2019. Capitalizing on its status as the number one ranked journal in our field, Public Administration Review generated robust royalties in 2018, exceeding its budget and demonstrating that brand recognition is starting to show itself in monies earned. This trajectory must be met over time, though. Rather than a flash in the pan, true increased operating budget numbers are measured over spans of years, not months. We have made a good start and I hope it continues.

We have a long way to go before these success factors come to full fruition. As the adage goes, “Rome wasn’t built in a day.” Similarly, ASPA’s brand will not be adequately amplified in a year, or even two. But, these are efforts worth waiting for—for ASPA’s long-term success, of course, but even more, in dedication to the mission we all serve: Advancing excellence in public service. The public—and those who serve them—deserve our dedicated efforts and so much more.

Thank you for your support throughout my year as president. I ask that you give just as much support to my successor, 2019-2020 president Paul Danczyk. Help him continue the vitally important work of re-establishing public service as a foundational value of our political system. Be ready and willing to lend your efforts to the cause when he calls.

Jane Pisano is professor in the University of Southern California Sol Price School of Public Policy. She has been on the school’s faculty since 1991, when she began a nearly seven-year tenure as dean. Pisano later served as president and director of the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County from 2001 to 2015. She can be reached at jpisano1@me.com.

LEADING COURAGEOUSLY
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decisions through deliberation, identifying trade-offs to turn hasty reactions into sound judgment; identify resources available, including intangible ones like commitment, enthusiasm and local knowledge; organize actions to address the issue in a complementary fashion with explicit roles for citizens; and make use of collective learning to keep the actions going. In so doing, they have a stake in the outcome; it becomes a shared responsibility between them and government, not the sole responsibility of the latter.

Working together on shared community issues reduces distances and mistrust that increasingly have become the defining relationship between the public and government. This revolutionary shift happens when public managers learn to achieve results with citizens. It means recognizing citizens as value creators, not simple consumers. We live in a time when the only constant is change. Public managers must incorporate democratic engagement practices into their professional routines to effectively meet today’s challenges if they are to transmit their city not only the same as, but greater, better and more beautiful than it was transmitted to them.

Valerie Lemmie is director of exploratory research at the Kettering Foundation. She joined the foundation following a distinguished career in public service that included leadership positions as city manager of Petersburg, Virginia and Dayton and Cincinnati, Ohio; commissioner on the Public Utility Commission of Ohio; and district director and acting chief of staff for Congressman Mike Turner. A fellow and former board chair of the National Academy of Public Administration, she has served as adjunct professor at Howard University and the University of Dayton and as a fellow at the Center for Municipal Management at George Washington University. Lemmie can be reached at vlemmie@kettering.org

Note: The term “citizen” is to describe the individual’s experiential role as a coproducer and complementary public actor with government, not as a legal status.

Did you know there are 35 original ethics videos available online, free of charge, courtesy of ASPA’s Public Integrity journal and its Section on Ethics and Integrity in Governance? Three years ago, Public Integrity editor in chief Carole Jurkiewicz launched the project at ASPA’s Annual Conference and continued it at the 2017 and 2018 events. Working with me as the journal’s media editor, as well as Ethics Section Chair Richard Jacobs, she recruited volunteers to participate in videos on ethics topics of importance and interest to practitioners and academics alike.

As a practitioner, you may say, “Oh, but I’m not responsible for promoting ethics in my agency so I don’t know why I would be interested in these videos.”

Or, an academic might say, “I’m neither an ethicist nor do I teach ethics courses or participate in ethics training: why should I be interested in the videos?”

To the practitioner: Every member of a public or nonprofit organization has a duty to promote ethical behavior. As for the academic: Ethics is part and parcel of every course you teach, from finances to program evaluation, organizational change to human resources management.

Let’s take a closer look at a handful of the videos on which students, practitioners and academics can draw.

- **Ethics, Law and Morality.** This video explores the relationships among ethics, laws and morality with a focus on why ethics has become more significant in recent decades.

- **Ethical Considerations in Performance Evaluation.** This video explains the proper ethical behavior for a program evaluator.

- **Ethics and Contractors.** How ethical oversight—or the failure to perform it—can cause significant issues in a public agency is the subject of this video.

- **Whistleblowing.** Would you like to meet a real whistleblower? This video brings you face-to-face with Joel Clement, a former member of the Senior Executive Service, who explains why his reassignment in the U.S. Department of the Interior was a violation of the U.S Whistleblower Protection Act.

- **Ethics in the United States Government.** This video examines the U.S. Office of Government Ethics and the functioning of Congressional ethics committees.

- **Ethics and Lying.** This popular video examines why people lie and what can be done to discourage or prevent lying.

- **What Is an Ethical Dilemma?** This video addresses what can be done to prevent an ethical dilemma and explores how to resolve them.

- **Why Do Codes of Ethics Matter?** This video explains why ethical principles and practices are important components in emergency management.

Explore the rest of the collection for yourself and learn more reasons to share it with your colleagues and peers. Visit YouTube.com and search for Public Integrity. If you have published an article in Public Integrity and would like to film a video for inclusion in this collection, please contact me at donmenzel@verizon.net.

ASPA Past President Don Menzel is author of Ethics Management for Public Administrators. He can be reached at donmenzel@verizon.net.
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What does a strong public servant look like? Where does public service stand today in modeling or reflecting that definition?

Strong public service comes from an avocation to leave a community better for those who come after you. You do not need to be employed by a public or nonprofit agency to contribute to public service. Many private sector companies look to provide it through volunteer days, sponsorship of clinics and foundations and many other ways. Regardless of who you signs your check, you can serve the public. The best in public service look to provide strong and inclusive leadership to others to follow in their path.

We need to get better in telling our stories. What we see when looking to leaders at the national level, I can only describe as what not to do in many cases. Unfortunately, those headlines taint the good work that thousands of individuals do every day to make our air and water safer, safeguard the justice system and provide assistance in disasters. Local service, where I have had most of my experience, has a better reputation for quality public service because it has a direct effect on daily life—"where the rubber meets the road."

What personal experiences drew you toward a public service career? What factors influenced your decision?

I am a proud third generation public servant. It is my avocation, as well as my career. The joke is that public service is in the genes! My grandfather was a Boston firefighter, my mother a librarian and my sister works for a public school district. Since I was little, I wanted to help others—whether working with veterans, peer counseling, Safe Rides for high school friends, serving in a fraternity, working in disasters, donating blood and platelets, being a Big Sister. All of those things were in addition to what I was paid to do. I also had a great Social Studies teacher, Mr. Reney, who taught our class about the history of our community and how regular people stepped up. Since then, I knew that I wanted to work in public service and that the law is an essential part of it.

What skills do public servants need to be more effective in their roles that are more important now than a decade ago? Which ones will they need 10 years from now?

Programs that prepare people for public service are varied. Technologies advance every minute and improve opportunities to make our communities better. More analytical capacity and efficiencies and faster access to data make the public more eager for transparency. The focus on technology and data has come at a cost: the humanity of the public servants providing services. Today and a decade from now, there is and will continue to be an increased need for public service managers and the systems supporting them to provide training and experience in mindful leadership to an employee population more diverse in gender, race, age, culture—and the differing values and priorities from the work experience.

What can public or private organizations can do to encourage public service and ensure people remain in it?

Traditionally, internships and externships are tied to formal educational experience. Much like we cross-train throughout teams in the work environment, public agencies and private companies need to allow for cross sector exchanges for defined periods. These exchanges would provide for those in a particular field, such as policy, human resources, finance, accounting or management, to participate in knowledge transfer and invigorate both workforces, resulting in new ideas and increased engagement.
What personal experiences drew you toward a public service career? What factors influenced your decision?

One of my favorite quotes comes from Frederick Buechner, who said, “The place God calls you to is the place where your deep gladness and the world’s deep hunger meet.” For me, the intersection of passion and purpose is public service. I always have desired a career where I could help others and make a difference in the world. Even at a young age, I viewed public service as where I could do the most good and the vehicle through which I could help as many individuals as possible. Furthermore, my family, my faith community and my matriculation at a Jesuit high school inspired me to be civically engaged and work toward the pursuit of social justice. As a result, I became involved in the NAACP and National Urban League, volunteered for local political campaigns, interned in Congress and the Delaware General Assembly, and pursued public administration as my field of study.

The culmination of these experiences has yielded a rewarding public service career where I am fortunate to help shape public policy in state and local government. Though many hold cynical views of public service, I firmly believe that it is a noble calling and that a strong public service can restore trust and confidence in our governing institutions.

Thinking about the next generation of public service leaders, including those with whom you work, what gives you cause for optimism and hope?

I am optimistic and hopeful because public service is becoming more diverse and starting to look more like the communities we serve and represent. It is refreshing when public service leaders reflect diversity of gender, race, ethnicity, age, religion, orientation, ideology, economic status and worldviews. Public service is strengthened and enhanced when different voices and perspectives have a seat at the table. I am also inspired when others in my generation become leaders in their workplaces or achieve elected office. This all contributes to improved public discourse, public policies and relationships between citizens and their government.

Although we have made significant strides, there is still much more we can do to embrace diversity and inclusion as core values of public service. For example, I personally benefitted from the Public Policy and International Affairs (PPIA) program, which aims to increase the participation of underrepresented groups in public service. Fellowships like PPIA expose students to career opportunities they might not otherwise have considered and provide the educational and financial resources to succeed. Another example is the Michigan Municipal League’s 16/50 project, which aims to close the gender gap in local government management. Through education, professional development and outreach, we hope to increase the number of women serving in public service leadership roles. These and other noteworthy initiatives are a great cause for hope and optimism that we can and will continue to break glass ceilings in public service.

What advice would you give to those considering a career in public service?

My advice is simple: Take the plunge. Certain aspects of public service can be frustrating or disheartening, but the fulfilment and sense of purpose are incomparable. I also encourage an openness to try new things. A public service career can offer so many opportunities, whether working in government, a nonprofit or advocacy organization, community organizing or serving in elective office. Do not let your notion of what public service means limit the possibilities of what it actually can be. I would be remiss if I did not encourage everyone, regardless of career choice, to be involved in their community. Local governments always look for talented and enthusiastic individuals to serve on boards and commissions. If that is not your cup of tea, plenty of service clubs and organizations do...
What does a strong public servant look like? Where does public service stand today in modeling or reflecting that definition?

Strong public service is future focused, transparent and inclusive. It should result in decisions that meet immediate needs and create positive outcomes for the long term. It includes operating in a manner that provides the public efficient and effective services, engages and educates on complex public policy issues, and makes decisions to benefit all segments of society. A program or policy that trades short-term gain for long-term harm is bad public service.

The majority of public servants I work with—both locally and nationally—try to model the ideals of public service. However, the current lack of civil discourse endangers the nuance of intelligent opposition; rather, it offers the vilification of those with differing perspectives. There is no tolerance for reasoned opposition, but there is no ability to distill complex issues in the crucible of debate. This can impair effective public policy, erode trust in government and diminish the chance of long-term positive outcomes. It is imperative that we reframe the conversation.

Thinking about the next generation of public service leaders, including those with whom you work, what gives you cause for optimism and hope?

One of the things I love about my job is that I come to work every day and am surrounded by individuals who are passionate about and committed to the ideals of public service. The leaders emerging in our organization are interested in understanding the long-term needs of the community and ways they can create solutions to get there. They naturally focus on engaging the public and meeting citizens’ needs. They want to be part of something larger than themselves and contribute to the greater good.

I am particularly heartened by the young women I see rising up around me to positions of leadership. They are confident, articulate and grounded in the work in which they are engaged. It does not occur to them that they may have to fight for a seat at the table; they assume that the seat is available to them based on their own achievements and ability to contribute. They are a positive force to be reckoned with in the best possible way.

What advice would you give to those considering a career in public service?

Cultivate strategic patience. There is a lot of criticism aimed at government agencies and suggestions that government should operate more nimbly, or more like the private sector. I understand the critique and agree to some extent. As public servants, we should maximize public trust by spending our resources in ways that are efficient and we should look for every opportunity to minimize or eliminate unneeded bureaucracy.

At the same time, there are very real, very critical differences between the public and private sectors that should be acknowledged and valued. Government exists to serve the public good. Public policy issues are often complex with multiple competing points of view. It takes time, patience and strategy to navigate to a successful outcome. Be passionate and assertive about seeking an appropriate outcome. Be patient and strategic about surfacing differing perspectives, bringing opposition along and understanding when an issue is ripe for action and when it needs more time to come to resolution. Understand when to push and when to pull back. Believe that there is a time for all good ideas and help create the pathways for those ideas to develop into action.
Ken Weaver

Ken Weaver is policy analyst for the Department of Legislative Services, part of the Maryland House and Senate. He works with state agencies and legislators to vet legislation, audit costs and make recommendations for a balanced budget that is fiscally and legally sound. He previously worked in Congress and at the Schaefer Center for Public Policy, one of Baltimore/Washington, DC’s preeminent policy centers.

Weaver has worked on projects for agency clients dealing with health care, housing, public safety and criminal justice. He studied finance at Georgetown University and public policy at the University of Baltimore, where he was president of the MPA Student Association, sole student member on the state accreditation board and recipient of the prestigious William D. Schaefer Fellowship. Most recently, Weaver was named to the staff of the governor’s Commission to Restore Trust in Policing. He can be reached at kennyweaver@gmail.com.

What does a strong public servant look like? Where does public service stand today in modeling or reflecting that definition?

The definition of a strong public servant is simple: It is one who serves. I live in Washington, DC so I cannot help but think about the thousands of government workers who clock in and out every single day, with little special recognition. We saw them in the spotlight during the government shutdown. They are the people who make the trains run on time—air traffic controllers, health workers, agency functionaries, bureaucrats, secretaries, soldiers, park rangers. We saw how important these public servants are once everything came to a grinding halt. They do their work without considering party or politics, and they make the United States unique and strong. It is not too bold or dramatic to say that our strong civil servant corps inoculates us from tyranny and corruption on a mass scale. Regular people, doing their jobs and playing by the rules. They are a testimony to the strength of service.

Thinking about the next generation of public service leaders, including those with whom you work, what gives you cause for optimism and hope?

The next generation is going to be more optimistic and hopeful. We live in a time of unprecedented peace, but the media and Internet focus on what sells: partisanship and the constant back-and-forth. Our perspective has become a bit skewed. There’s certainly nothing right now that is comparable to Kent State, the Vietnam War, the Civil Rights Movement or, even further, World War II and literal nuclear brinksmanship in the 1960s. As things calm down, the next generation will rise. The next generation already is more representative; there are younger people, and there are more women. This is key to our future. I have never worked with a more collegial, openminded group of people than my colleagues at the Department of Legislative Services. Several hundred people literally keep the State rolling, from bill drafting to bill printing, analysis to discussion—everything you need government to do and affecting every aspect of the average citizen’s life. They truly keep me optimistic.

What personal experiences attracted you toward a public service career? What factors influenced your decision?

After a degree in finance and a career in marketing, I felt that something was missing. As a news and political junkie, I remember hearing the word “policy” over and over on the news one day. It stayed with me, as I was considering a master’s in public policy. It became a sort of imaginary drinking game over the course of a week or two; you hear the word “policy” and take an imaginary shot. I was struck that it was all around me. I knew it was the right field for me. Other factors involved looking at public servants I tracked, as well as policy initiatives focused on health care, criminal justice and economic issues. Everyone always talks about “changing the world.” What career is more in tune with that desire than public policy? Following ASPA leaders and events helped me take a closer look at what was going on in the field and to whom I could reach out.

What skills do public servants need to be more effective in their roles that are more important now than a decade ago? What skills will they need 10 years from now?

It is not about technology, but data. It is my job to analyze data, and I am always surprised about the new developments in technology that enable us to analyze more data, in different ways, and uncover solutions we did not know we had. The ability to find the right—and interesting—data, the ability to analyze it and the skills to present it effectively are absolutely key. If you have these three pieces, you are of immense value to the public sector because...
What personal experiences drew you toward a public service career? What factors influenced your decision?

One fundamental experience took place in September 1977 when I was a Media Center page and service girl watching the crosswalk for students traveling to Jamieson Elementary School in Detroit. I proudly wore the bright orange safety vest to ensure that they did not get harmed crossing the street. In high school, I participated in the Youth in City Government program sponsored by my school. On May 25, 1983, I was honored to shadow in the City of Detroit Mayor's Office for the day. I will never forget how proud I was to receive my certificate that read, Certificate of Appointment for a Day – By the authority of the citizens of Detroit, I, Mayor Coleman A. Young, do herby appoint Scena Bernard, Northwestern High School, to the Employment & Training Department. I must have looked at the certificate for weeks! I have traveled with my scrapbook collecting snapshots of a life of service to others. While most children and teenagers hung out after school, I tutored in math and competed in youth events. Upon my high school graduation, I knew I had to make a decision where to take my life. I just knew I was going to become the mayor of Detroit when I grew up. I set a plan to achieve necessary skills. A natural fit for me was a life of service and I decided to join the military. I was not recruited; I walked into the recruiting station.

I joined the military at 17 because I wanted to serve my country. Being in it for more than 21 years gave me a sense of pride in country and, most important, to my fellow Americans. I received my first Navy Achievement Medal in 1991 for exceptional service as a department head for leading people. Helping shape leadership styles became my passion. I would reflect on my exposure to the Mayor’s Office in Detroit and was motivated to do my best. I had a plan to go to school at night, work hard during the day and then go back home to Detroit to run for mayor. I set out by taking classes off-base in the evenings, earning my Associate of Arts degree from Saint Leo University and later my Bachelor of Arts in human resources administration. Deployments took me away from academics but I enrolled upon my return to the United States and earned my MPA from Troy State University in 1998. Through it all, I loved service because I knew I was a part of something bigger than myself.

Thinking about the next generation of public service leaders, including those with whom you work, what gives you cause for optimism and hope?

As I think about the next generation, I can feel a smile across my face. I have had the great pleasure to lead multiple generations with success. Reflecting on the men and women who served under my leadership in the military across a variety of cultural backgrounds, many cared about the greater good of humanity. Since retiring from the military in 2005, I returned to Detroit, working as a teacher in the public school system. From 2005 to 2008, I was exposed to the needs of America’s youth in the education system. The young people I influenced were future doctors, lawyers, politicians, musicians, parents and neighbors. I had a profound sense of duty to them. They gave me hope they would make it out of the inner city to become somebody; all they needed was someone to believe in them.

I was recruited for ATF through its diversity and inclusion program in April 2008. One of the senior industry operations investigators in the Detroit field division insisted I join ATF. I have had the pleasure to lead and study ways that multi-generational workers think about their leaders. I understand expectations from the perspective of workers, peers and seniors. I returned to my academics during evenings and weekends to obtain my Doctor of Management specializing in organizational leadership from the University of Phoenix. I earned a post-doctoral Master of Science in psychology from Capella University.

The next generation of public service leaders really care about the human condition. I wanted to lead them by example combined with theoretical

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Thinking about the next generation of public service leaders, including those with whom you work, what gives you cause for optimism and hope?

I have been impressed by the dogged determination of the Gen-X leaders I have known to do good work, develop expertise through long practice and work hard to be ready for positions of formal authority. The millennials I have known are equally impressive in their ability to solve problems by gathering people, influencing them to collaborate and following through to produce a satisfactory output together. What has given me cause for optimism and hope since 2005, when I began partnering with Young Government Leaders on after-work professional development programs, is that more young employees seem to channel Rear Admiral Grace Hopper. Lynn Gilbert’s biography of Hopper quotes her: “The most important thing I’ve accomplished, other than building the compiler, is training young people. They come to me, you know, and say, ‘Do you think we can do this?’ I say, ‘Try it.’ And, I back ‘em up. They need that. I keep track of them as they get older and I stir ‘em up at intervals so they don’t forget to take chances.” Since many older leaders prefer the status quo, it is a really good thing that the next generation takes some risks and engages other employees by including them.

Who are the public servants—present or past—you most admire? Why?

There are many—living and dead—so here is my provisional answer for today: John Gardner and Michelle Obama. Gardner had a statesman’s mind and heart for the people of this country, and his essay on self-renewal has inspired me again and again. In 1965, he made two visionary statements: “What we have before us are some breathtaking opportunities disguised as insoluble problems.” And, “We don’t even know what skills may be needed in the years ahead. That is why we must train our young people in the fundamental fields of knowledge and equip them to understand and cope with change.”

As first lady, Michelle Obama visited the LBJ Building to meet with Education Secretary Duncan. He wisely arranged for her to make a short detour through the auditorium, which was filled to overflowing with employees. As Mrs. Obama and her security detail walked through, I had a chance to observe her sparkling, focused presence and genuine encounters with staff. Subsequent observation and reading about her dedicated work with children over the next few years were consistent with that first, impressive encounter.

Kitty Wooley worked for 19 years at the U.S. Department of Education, retiring in 2013. Her first position in San Francisco involved the transition from college financial aid director to institutional review specialist. Subsequent positions in Washington, DC ranged from risk management and data analysis to stakeholder outreach to creation of interagency flash mentoring sessions for executive branch budget staff. Through the Senior Fellows and Friends network established in 2003, she initiates conversations and experimental projects that encourage public servants to jumpstart new potential by spanning organizational boundaries. Wooley is the author of “Four New Models of Networked Leadership Development” in Innovations in Human Resource Management: Getting the Public’s Work Done in the 21st Century. She can be reached at kittywooley5@gmail.com
phenomenal work to enhance where you live, work and play. The important thing is to find something you are interested in and use it as a means to do good in your neighborhood, community, state and country.

What skills do public servants need to be more effective in their roles that are more important now than a decade ago? Which ones will they need 10 years from now?

We live in an age where volumes of information are easily accessible but also easily manipulated. Being effective in a public service career involves absorbing and distilling information in a manner that enhances the policymaking process. Whenever I confront policy issues, I research best practices, recommend and implement new courses of action and monitor and evaluate results. This requires the ability to conduct sound research and analysis and effectively communicate findings or recommendations. These skills always have been relevant to public administration, but they are more critical than before. Future challenges include countering erroneous or inaccurate information in our public discourse, navigating a highly charged political environment and cultivating creativity and innovation. Public administration programs have an important role to play in equipping leaders to confront these challenges; public service benefits greatly from individuals who can bring the worlds of research and practice together.

Communication and technology are evolving rapidly; public servants need to keep pace now and in the future. The speed and volume of information communicated have increased exponentially with the variety of information channels available and the degree to which the public ties into them. News once was disseminated at specific times—when the newspaper hit the streets or at the evening news hour. Now, it unfolds instantaneously from multiple, unfiltered sources. Unless one actively seeks a broader perspective, the voice through which news comes to us is "helpfully" filtered, effectively creating echo chambers of public perception. Public servants must understand this dynamic and respond in a timely and transparent fashion, creating communication channels that proactively frame the conversation. This will be even more critical in the future.

The same is true with technology. Increases in the number and sophistication of technology platforms provide unparalleled access to data, which can be used to enhance services and predict future needs. There is an ever increasing demand to make data public and use it to streamline and enhance services and predict future needs. Public servants must understand how to collect and analyze data and communicate results of the analysis in a way that translates to the general public.

What can public or private organizations can do to encourage public service and ensure people remain in it?

The government is us; WE are the government, you and I, Theodore Roosevelt said. The problem with today’s frustrated pronouncements that link “government” and “swamp” is that we are talking about ourselves. Since the number of public servants is huge, multi-generational and distributed across every region of the country, such language is wildly inaccurate. No matter the sector, every workplace has its share of blockheads. However, if your neighbor’s daughter or nephew has just gone off to begin a Presidential Management Fellow appointment, would you really say he or she has become part of the “swamp?” What about the analyst who is figuring out what it will take to motivate practitioners in different disciplines to work together across silos to solve a hard problem that threatens American health, safety or prosperity?

Good work is quietly happening all the time. Organizations whose people want to make a difference could drill down to discover value and common ground in an aspect of public work that intersects with their mission and vision. Like other people, public servants can be encouraged by being included in mutually respectful conversation. They may even become key resources during emergencies or in future collaborations that create new value.
we constant look for solutions to improve people’s lives. Again, it is not about being “marketable” or having a killer resume. The public servants who have all of that are leading the pack because they constantly search for what works and eloquently present their research to the world.

Ten years from now, it is going to be about cross-discipline capability. If you are an expert in health care or criminal justice data, can you jump into genetics or green issues and apply your data capture and presentation skills there? An example: Discoveries in genetics and robotics are overlooked right now. In 10 years, as a public servant, will you be able to keep up with the ethical ramifications of those issues and understand them to research or write on them?

application. Those under my leadership have shown me how to use technology, pushing the boundaries of communication. Their innovative intellect gives me great cause for optimism because most of them focus on service to others.

What advice would you give to those considering a career in public service?
Understand the “why” behind joining. Recently, I spoke with a phenomenal woman about leadership and she asked why I stay with the federal service as opposed to private industry. It was a great question. She told me she could easily see me as a rising star in a private company earning more money. I did not hesitate to share my answer with her: I work for the public because I want to be of service to the public. I know my “why”; I developed it in elementary school as a service girl. Anyone considering a public service career must understand the “why” for doing so. The very nature of public service demands a person who can collaborate across an organizational structure. There are so many moving parts to government systems that a future careerist should understand government’s vastness.

As I ponder this question, I am reminded of why I published my book, Leadership Her Way, which shared some of my perspectives of leadership. It reflects different voices of women who work in large organizations, some private and some government. They get to the “why” for what they do. A healthy and robust public service should not begin and end at the organization. Here are other ways I enrich my public career: I served as a volunteer for youth education programs; I have held seats voluntarily on public organizations; I have been a member of Toastmasters International since 1995 and help others with public speaking while sharpening my own communication skills. Again, a career in public service is not limited to a job title but reaches into other areas of service. Anyone who wants to enrich the lives of many has the potential to be successful in our field as long as they have a firm understanding of their “why.”
Inspiring the Next Generation of Public Servants

By Shawn Skelly

One of the many privileges of being a public servant is the chance to see firsthand public service’s value and impact in our communities, country and world. A commitment to service maximizes Americans’ spirit of engagement; in doing so, it embeds civic engagement into our national identity while uniting us in pursuit of the common good.

The federal government recently came out of the longest shutdown in American history. Despite not receiving paychecks, more than 420,000 public servants continued to work through it.

Many public servants perform work that preserves lives every day, in roles that the American public rarely sees or even knows exist. As a former Naval flight officer and senior official in the U.S. Department of Transportation, I know how critical many of these positions are to preserving safety and advancing commerce. Some work for the Federal Aviation Administration as aircraft inspectors, ensuring airlines maintain their aircraft and keeping them safe for the flying public. Others make sure the nation’s passenger and freight railways operate free of accidents and seaways free of potential hazards.

Public servants come in many different packages. They work in health services, inspect the food supply chain and forecast severe weather and assess the often dangerous after effects. They work every day to make sure we are prepared for what is coming and deal with what has happened, all while serving our nation. About 2 million people serve in federal civilian jobs, 5 million in state government and 14 million in local and tribal government.

There was a rock song in the late 1980s: “You Don’t Know What You Got (Till It’s Gone).” If there is a slight silver lining to be found on the other side of this unfortunate shutdown, perhaps it will be increased public understanding that these people do real things for the country, all the time. They help make our society and economy run for all of us. As a commissioner of the National Commission on Military, National and Public Service, a top priority is ensuring that awareness about public servants becomes part of a larger narrative on service.

The bipartisan, 11-member congressional commission is working to find ways to increase participation in military, national and public service and review the military selective service process. Our goal is to ignite a national conversation about the importance of service as we develop recommendations for Congress and the president by March 2020.

Throughout 2018, we listened and learned from Americans, including public servants from across the nation. We met with Jay, who in 2014 participated in the Presidential Management Fellows program, which actively recruited people with science, technology, engineering and mathematics backgrounds. For him, it was a great way to serve his country while leveraging his skills. He worked with the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), whose mission of protecting human health and the environment proved appealing. Last year, he became a full-time EPA employee and continues to be inspired by his coworkers’ motivation to the mission.

There are more stories out there like Jay’s, and we know there are individuals who want to be in his shoes. In a country of more than 329 million people, the potential for service is largely untapped. Americans under the age of 35 make up 35 percent of the nation’s workforce but only 17 percent of federal civilian employees. Ready or not, generational change will come to federal agencies, because 30 percent of civil servants, including a majority of senior agency executives, will be eligible to retire in five years. This begs the question: How can we create a cultural expectation of service, and increase access, awareness and aspiration for more young people to pursue a rewarding career in public service?

Start a National Conversation

The commission is considering ways to reduce barriers for those who want to serve or become public servants. Some of the options outlined in our January 2019 interim report include:

- Giving agencies better tools to recruit and hire interns or fellows and transition them to permanent positions.
- Testing new approaches to hiring, classifying and

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Social Security is the single largest program in the federal budget with outlays of $1 trillion, 25 percent of the total. The program is a vital component of the American safety net. Without it, many retired and disabled workers—as well as survivors and dependents—would not have an adequate income; in many cases, they would have none.

Social Security spending recently attracted headlines because Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell suggested that obligations now exceed current revenue; that unfunded liabilities totaled $14 trillion and reductions were necessary to maintain the integrity of the program; and that Social Security was contributing to the overall federal deficit and our nation’s mounting debt.

It is true that the 2018 Report of the Trustees of the Social Security Trust Fund indicated that Social Security began drawing down its fund reserves in 2018 to help pay for benefits, and that resources will not be sufficient to make full payments to recipients by 2034. Yet in my judgment, the funding problem can be addressed by making several logical adjustments.

First, a few facts about the program itself:

- 175 million people pay into Social Security at a payroll rate of 6.2 percent of salary; employers pay a matching rate.

- 62,600 people receive payments, comprising the elderly, survivors and people with disabilities. By 2050, 85 million will be eligible.

- Currently, the Social Security Trust Fund has a surplus, which it has loaned to the Treasury’s general fund for many years, with a commitment to retrieve these loans with interest when expenditures exceed current revenues. Repayments will begin this year.

- The Trust Fund will not be bankrupted as some suggest. According to the trustee report, the fund will be depleted, including using all loan repayments, by 2034. Thereafter, it will collect sufficient revenues so that recipients will receive 79 percent of scheduled payments.

- The fund’s insolvency is a function of an increase in life expectancy, decline in fertility rates and a lower ratio of workers to retirees. In 1950, it was 16 to 1; in 1960, 5 to 1; today 3 to 1; and, by 2025, 2.3 to 1.

- 48 percent of older couples and 70 percent of unmarried individuals depend on Social Security for more than 50 percent of their income. Benefits are modest; the average payment is $1,413 monthly.

For an extensive list of options to address the Social Security problem, the Congressional Budget office issued Options for Social Security Reform, a report offering 37 options and the dollar impact for each. No individual option would create long-term stability for the program. Some would affect all workers or beneficiaries similarly; others would have wide and disparate effects, depending on a beneficiary’s year of birth or lifetime earnings. The effects of many options would change if implemented on a larger or smaller scale or phased in slowly or quickly.

In short, there are three options: Increase taxes, reduce benefits or privatize the system. Each is worthy of extensive analysis and debate. For our purposes, a few brief comments are appropriate.

Some argue for gradually increasing the tax rate by two to three percent over a 20-year period and reducing the annual cost of living adjustment (COLA). Others suggest increasing the retirement age to 70 or higher. Still others would cut monthly payments.

Another option is to privatize the system by moving from the current “defined benefit” model to a system that moves new beneficiaries and those over a certain age (perhaps 50) into private accounts (think a 401(k)). There are several variations of this approach; President George W. Bush proposed one in 2005. Urban Institute analysis at the time suggested the approach could be favorable, but was very dependent on the status of the individual (single, married, male or female), salary earned and
willingness to assume risk. The option is not without merit, but it was ultimately abandoned and I suggest it has little chance of reappearing.

If lawmakers choose to cut benefits to solve the problem, dramatic reductions would be necessary, something in the area of a reduction of up to 20 percent to current and future participants. This option is not desirable given the very negative impact it would have on the vast majority who already receive only $1,413 a month.

I suggest a combination of the following:

- Eliminate the taxable maximum. Rather than tax only the first $132,900 (the level in 2019), individuals would pay Social Security on their full salary. For example, an individual earning $1 million would pay on full salary, not $132,900. However, this approach would not be sufficient as it would impact only six percent of the working population.

- Gradually increase the age to qualify for full benefits from 67 to 68.5 over a 10-year period.

- Increase the payroll tax rate one to two percent over the same timeframe.

The exact combination deserves more analysis and number crunching, but such an approach would remove Social Security from the national agenda, with all its negative implications, and make federal budgetary decisionmaking simpler. More important, it would allow the focus to be where it is most critical: Containing health care costs and developing a better national tax policy.

Richard Keevey is former budget director for New Jersey, having been appointed by two governors from each political party. He held two presidential appointments as deputy undersecretary of defense and chief financial officer at the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Keevey is senior policy fellow at the Bloustein School of Planning and Policy, Rutgers University and lecturer at the Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University. He can be reached at rkeevey@princeton.edu.

Inspirng the Next Generation

compensating science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) personnel throughout the government.

The commission's considerations do not end with these ideas. Throughout 2019, we will host public hearings to further explore considerations. In May, the commission will discuss potential public service reform during hearings located at the Partnership for Public Service in Washington, DC.

Join the Discussion

I invite you to join us in this important conversation. Our hope is to spark a movement, one where every American is inspired and eager to serve.

Share your ideas with the commission at www.inspire2serve.gov. Offer your thoughts on any aspect of our mission, including these questions:

- How can the United States increase the desire of Americans, particularly young Americans, to serve in federal, state, local and tribal government?
- How can the United States increase participation in public service by individuals with critical skills to address national security and other public service needs of the nation?
- What would a new, optional federal benefits package that allows for greater flexibility in career progression look like?

Visit our website to stay up to date on the commission’s activities and download the interim report. We also invite you to follow us on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram via @Inspire2ServeUS and join the digital conversation on service using the hashtag #Inspire2Serve.

Shawn Skelly is a commissioner on the National Commission on Military, National and Public Service. A retired Naval flight officer, she was director of the Office of the Executive Secretariat at the U.S. Department of Transportation from June 2016 to January 2017. She served more than two years as special assistant to the undersecretary of defense for acquisition, technology and logistics. As coordinator of DoD’s Warfighter Senior Integration Group, Kelly was responsible for facilitating the department’s response to the most urgent support requirements of Combatant Commanders, including the Counter ISIL Campaign and operations in Afghanistan. She can be reached at info@inspire2serve.gov.
Phrases like “changing the world” and “making the world a better place” are the norm on many of today’s college campuses. Admissions and university communications offices flaunt the community service hours committed by their incoming classes and reward resumes chock-full with Habitat for Humanity builds and Special Olympics volunteer experience. University administrations ensure that once students matriculate, there is a steady diet of classes, activities and internships to satisfy the “service bug.” Some students buckle down and study hard en route to becoming a physician or public interest lawyer. Others find their service home in campus institutions—student government, debate, the campus newspaper. Still others choose to organize, stand and march. With all of this service, it is no surprise that Deloitte’s 2018 Human Capital Survey found that 84 percent of Millennials consider it their duty to make the world a better place.

But, the careers these students begin after graduation tell a different story. At Harvard, 51 percent of the Class of 2017 who joined the workforce after graduation took jobs in consulting, finance and technology. These graduates, recruited from all 50 states, increasingly are concentrated in a dwindling number of regions. Within that same graduating class, more than half moved to just one of four cities. Among my own class of more than 40 Morehead-Cain scholars at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill (a scholarship designed to recruit the best students and enlist them in the service of North Carolina and the nation), I was the only one to remain in North Carolina and pursue public service. None of my classmates work in government.

Of course, I am not the first to draw attention to this trend and why it matters; nor will I be the last. We all know the story. Our nation’s public sector is graying—quickly. Just seven percent of our nation’s federal workforce is under the age of 30, compared with nearly 30 percent of the private sector. A full 30 to 40 percent of the state and local government workforce is eligible to retire today. The figures are even starker among leadership.

Perhaps more startling have been misconceptions about why this is happening and how we might turn the tide. At state and local government association conferences, in private conversations and in journals and reports of research groups, I have heard and read the same tired solutions: higher pay, flexible hours, financial literacy training. In a few rare cases, I have heard more sweeping and philosophical diagnoses, claiming that if we are to turn things around, our media outlets and politicians running for office must stop vilifying government. These all are factors, to be sure, but they fail to understand and account for the structural and psychological barriers that aspiring public servants face.

From limited funding for public service internships to the glaring lack of an accessible, centralized resource for public sector jobs, to the delayed, unstructured, unpredictable and often impersonal application process, pursuing a public service job after graduation requires grit, tenacity and at least a handful of carefully networked relationships. Contrast it with the highly streamlined, personalized and high-touch efforts of corporate recruiters that trumpet promises of skills, mentorship, smart peers and two more years to defer deciding what you really want to do with your life. It is not hard to understand why so many young people relent on even their strongest civic convictions. Some service-minded students opt for corporate jobs out of financial necessity. As the burdens of student loan debt continue to rise, it is unlikely the trend will reverse but, for most, it really is not about the money.

At Lead for America, where I am the chief executive officer, our Fellows earn just a fraction—sometimes less than a fraction—of what they could command in the private sector. Yet in this year alone—our inaugural year of operations—we have attracted more than 1,200 registered applicants for just 50 local government fellowships. Among the applicants...
are Marine Corps veterans, Truman and Udall scholars, Division I athletes and nearly one dozen student body presidents.

Lead for America is an organization dedicated to building faith in, and the effectiveness of, America’s public institutions by connecting government with outstanding talent. Our core programs include a two-year fellowship program for recent college graduates, summer fellowship program for current undergraduates and case competition series where students research and present potential solutions to real challenges facing their own local government.

Our recipe for recruiting our first year of fellows was not especially complicated or expensive. In fact, with just $3,000 and one full-time staff member dedicated to the cause, it was fairly basic.

- **We exposed candidates to the amazing work that local governments perform every day.** In the first stage of the application, candidates research and respond to questions about the needs their community faces, how local leaders work to address them and how they might contribute in the years to come.

- **We were proactive.** Last Fall, we reached out to key contacts—faculty, staff and student leaders at more than 200 colleges and universities nationwide—to conduct our search, simply asking them to forward on the opportunity to their relevant listserv.

- **We were human.** Our first ask is not for a submitted application, but for the prospective candidate to simply schedule a phone call to learn more. Last fall alone, we had more than 500 one-on-one phone calls with prospective applicants.

- **We set clear expectations.** Students know whom to email and call if they have any questions. Deadlines are clear and posted for the entire process. E-mail communication is consistent and friendly.

To be clear, we do not dramatize the work they or other public servants will be doing day-to-day. Students fully understand that when tackling tough problems and building consensus, doing so also means being patient and doing the little things without complaint. We do not ask our partner host governments to change in any significant way, only that they actively mentor, provide challenging work and connect the fellows with opportunities to further connect with the community. When students see an accessible way to dive into public service, they choose it.

There is nothing stopping any government entity, at any level, from adopting some of these same practices. Many governments and departments may not have the need or capacity for a recruitment apparatus quite so wide, but the same principles apply to a simple, targeted approach of soon-to-be graduates at your regional college or university.

Government institutions still have a corner on the market that matters most: the ability to do work that changes lives. Assurances of a respectful, organized recruitment process, skills training, mentorship and community of bright peers do not have be the exclusive domain of the McKinseys, Googles or Goldmans of the world; nor does the incoming “silver tsunami” have to spell crisis. But, we do have to start listening to, learning from and serving those we most hope will join the profession. The problems that our nation and communities’ public institutions face are many. Our nation’s youth are up for the challenge—we just have to reach them.

Joe Nail is an experienced social entrepreneur, having co-founded a micro-finance fund for single mothers in West Africa and two 501(c)(3) education nonprofits that have helped more than 4,000 underserved students navigate the college admissions process, learn about global issues and find their place in the world. He served previously as a Congress Bundestag Scholar, working on initiatives at the local, state and federal levels of the German government. He received his bachelor’s degree at UNC-Chapel. He can be reached at joe.nail@lead4america.org.
A Constitutional Standard to End Gerrymandering

By Alton Frye

To cure the corruption of gerrymandering, take the profit out of it. The Constitution provides the standard for doing so by specifying that representatives are to be chosen “by the People of the several States.” That provision followed debate in the convention of 1787 that, according to James Madison’s notes, explicitly rejected the option of empowering state legislatures to choose members of the federal house of representatives. In practice, by asserting authority to draw congressional district lines on a partisan basis, state legislatures have usurped the power vested by the Constitution in the people of the states.

Analysis demonstrates that allocating seats in the House according to the statewide vote of the people would produce a national legislature comparable in partisan balance to the current House, but with much greater equity among the parties at the state level. Applying that constitutional mechanism would rob parties of the advantage sought from gerrymandering and create incentives for the fair redistricting procedures that courts and citizens have long sought. This study illustrates the outcomes that would result, increasing competitiveness in 39 states.

The commotion over gerrymandering forces fresh thinking on how to define congressional districts. One promising start on the issue, proposed by former Democratic Congressman Stephen Neal of North Carolina, invokes the spirit of the late Justice Antonin Scalia: Look to the Constitution for the original distinction between the method for electing senators and the one for choosing representatives.

The standard was clear: Senators were to be chosen by state legislatures but members of the House of Representatives were to be chosen “by the People of the several States.” The 17th amendment changed election of Senators to popular vote but the standard for electing representatives has remained unchanged.

Vesting the power to choose members of the lower house in the people of each state was not uncontested in the constitutional convention. Interestingly, James Madison’s notes on the convention debates report that Elbridge Gerry was one of those wary of that provision; experience in Massachusetts had shown him the danger of popular elections. Madison recorded Gerry as saying that “the people do not want virtue but are the dupes of pretended patriots...they are daily misled into the most baleful measures and opinions, by the false reports of designing men.” George Mason and others argued powerfully that the House was to be “the grand depository of the democratic principle” and should be drawn immediately from the people.

The debate moved Gerry and his Massachusetts delegation to join in the majority approval of that position, with only New Jersey and South Carolina opposing it.

Somewhat ironically, in practice state legislatures gained control over election of House members through asserting power to define congressional districts. That power enables the gerrymandering that distorts elections. In the political vernacular, by composing partisan districts for both state and federal offices, representatives have come to choose their voters instead of voters choosing their representatives.

Several states are struggling to overcome this corruption of representative democracy by removing redistricting authority from state legislatures and placing it with independent commissions. A commission proposal now rising in Virginia is a notably lucid one that could go far toward eliminating the evil, but it faces a long and uncertain road to enactment. Whatever methods are chosen to define congressional districts, is there a way to apply the pristine constitutional standard—election by the people of each state—to govern the process? Yes.

The statewide electorate is the relevant population unit under the Constitution. How might that broad category be applied to determine the results of House district elections? One option is to allocate...
the number of House seats in each state according to the percentages of each party’s vote for House seats on a statewide basis. Parties would continue to present individual candidates in each district, but those districts would be drawn without regard to partisan considerations. In keeping with general requirements set by law and the courts, all districts would have approximately equal populations, reasonable compactness and, as far as possible, take account of existing county and other jurisdictional lines.

Following the American tradition of single-member districts, a crucial objective would be to anchor each representative in a specific district. A straightforward process could mesh the statewide electoral outcome with the results in each district. Take a hypothetical state with 10 congressional districts. Imagine that party A wins a statewide total of 60 percent of the votes cast for the House, and party B attracts 40 percent. Those results would entitle party A to six of the state’s 10 congressional seats, with party B earning four seats.

Beyond the issue of allocation of seats, one must consider the distribution of them. Which party would get which district? The state could assign a seat to each of party A’s six top vote gatherers by district. By definition, some would have exceeded the statewide percentage their party achieved; others would have fallen below that number. Yet each would have campaigned in the district they would represent. Similarly, the remaining districts would go to party B’s four best performing candidates at the district level, some of whom might not have attracted a majority of votes in that district. As with any electoral design, there are likely to be anomalies, especially as the statewide disparity in votes grows wider. Still, they certainly would decline if districts were no longer gerrymandered to amplify or diminish partisan concentrations.

Moving beyond this hypothetical illustration, how might the alternative constitutional standard actually affect today’s alignments in the House? Seven states already meet the standard since they have single representatives chosen at large. Broadly speaking, by curbing gerrymandering, it appears the plan would engender greater competition in 39 states—for example, it would have shifted 33 seats to Republicans and 36 seats to Democrats in 2018. The following table outlines the profile of the House as elected in 2016 and 2018 compared to how it would look if seats were allocated on the basis of statewide results.

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U.S. House Of Representatives: Alternative Allocation Of Seats
## U.S. House Of Representatives: Alternative Allocation Of Seats

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*Totals taken from Wikipedia, except for columns showing nominal 2018 statewide seat allocations and net change from 2018 results under statewide allocations by popular vote percentage. Because of third-party votes, there are some debatable allocations, e.g. in Missouri, New York, Texas and Utah. In Texas, the two leading parties clearly won 18 and 17 seats, respectively. With such a close statewide vote, the table arbitrarily favors the trailing party and allocates the 36th and final seat to produce an even 18/18 split in the delegation. One seat in North Carolina is contested and currently empty; statewide allocation would produce a 7/6 split.

### Notes

1. To account for third party votes, an equitable formula might assign seats to any party that earns $1/N$ fraction of the statewide vote where $N = \#seats$ in state, e.g. in Virginia $1/13$. No party except Republicans and Democrats met that standard on a statewide basis in the 2018 House elections. In Texas, the Libertarian party came close, winning 2.3 percent statewide, less than 50,000 votes short of what would have earned a seat if this rule were in force. Alternatively, to avoid excessive fragmentation of its congressional delegation, it might be prudent for a state to establish a threshold of five or 10 percent of the statewide vote for a party to qualify for a seat.

2. As an arbitrary rule to account for all votes cast when only two parties qualify for one or more seats on a statewide basis, votes for third parties could be allocated equally to the top two parties that qualify for seats. (Arguably, that allocation should best be in proportion to the percentages earned by the parties receiving the votes assigned from third parties.) That calculation has not been done for this table so vote numbers and percentages do not total 100 percent. A preferential voting system would solve the problem democratically by allowing each voter to designate a second choice to receive his/her vote if that voter’s favored candidate did not win.

3. In calculating the allocation of seats, percentages are rounded up or down. Where neither party’s number rounds up—often because of the effect of third-party votes on the total tabulations—this rounding is done to favor the trailing party. That arbitrary choice could better be done thorough calculation and assignment of third-party votes, which were significant in some states.

4. With the 9th district in North Carolina still in dispute, only 434 members have been seated as of this writing.
In reviewing the chart, a few observations are appropriate.

1. The overall national impact looks comparable to the results under the current districting system. The partisan balance would not shift much, but it would change geographically.

2. There are significant consequences for the parties in many states; the effects go in different directions in different states. Therefore, state level parties are likely to favor or oppose such a change depending on their local calculations.

3. Generally, the trailing party—that is, the party with the second rank in a state—stands to benefit (at the expense, of course, of the party that now has the advantage).

4. A hard task comes after allocation of seats on a statewide basis. How are the seats to be distributed district by district? One idea is to use the rank order of each party’s candidates by percentage won in each district. If one party was entitled to six of 10 seats, for example, that party’s six top vote getters would claim a seat in their district; the highest ranking six candidates by district percentages would earn their seats.

5. This approach would not preclude results in which a candidate winning most votes in a district would be denied a seat. Again, in a nominal 6:4 allocation in a state with 10 seats, the same principle would apply to assigning seats to the second party, with candidates claiming the four allocated districts in order of the percentages they won. Some candidates may have earned a majority in the district, but that result is not guaranteed, so anomalies are likely. Obviously, these are probable in a system gerrymandered to concentrate or dilute partisans. They should be less likely in districts redrawn without geographic and demographic contortions straining for partisan advantage.

A key conclusion is that allocating seats this way would make states with more than one congressional seat more competitive. Major parties already offer candidates in most districts, but it would behoove them to nominate a candidate in every district to maximize their statewide totals even if they did not win the specific district. Candidates themselves should find non-gerrymandered districts more appealing if for no other reason that it would be less fatiguing to run in districts more compact than those contorted by gerrymandering.

It is doubtful that parties or state legislatures would embrace this initiative of their own accord. The constitutional standard is most likely to be applied by the Supreme Court, which may be reassured that the national calculations do not appear disruptive, but still perplexed by the differing impacts on individual state delegations. One cannot accurately gauge the effect on particular districts until gerrymandering is prohibited and more rational districts are drawn.

Who would have incentive and standing to present the question to the courts? Based on these calculations, Republicans in California and Democrats in Texas could find their interests served by seeking court action to establish the statewide standard as constitutionally required. Litigation is already moving forward to challenge gerrymandering in several states, notably in North Carolina and Maryland. The Supreme Court heard arguments recently on cases from those states. Plaintiffs in one or more of those cases might find the Court sympathetic to this analysis.

Prior to retiring from the Court, Justice Anthony Kennedy was disturbed by gerrymandering and seemed to search for an objective rule the Court could apply to govern the abuse, instead of treating it as non-justiciable. This concept satisfies that requirement. (One wonders whether his former clerks, Neil Gorsuch and Brett Kavanagh, would share similar inclinations.) Nevertheless, one should not expect the proposal to reduce the Court’s reticence on this issue without protracted deliberation. The Court should find the argument for applying the standard fortified by Madison’s notes on the debates in the constitutional convention. Invoking this founding provision would highlight the fact that legislatures over time have effectively frustrated the founding fathers’ intention. It is the corruption of the legislature’s districting power through gerrymandering that argues for applying the original constitutional guidance to assign seats based on the statewide votes of the people themselves.

The constitutional standard has the virtue of forcing candidates to compete in each district but with an eye on the statewide outcome. It guarantees fair distribution of seats and assures that a runner-up party cannot be denied representation proportionate to its performance in the state as a whole. Using the category specified in the Constitution meets the one person-one vote requirement prescribed by the Supreme Court (taking the state, not the district, as the category to measure).

This plan certainly would alter the dynamics of competition in most states, but it is less clear whether it would diminish the polarization that afflicts the country. One can speculate—and hope—that forcing candidates in each district to take into account broader interests of the entire state would move them toward more centrist stances and open space for bipartisan cooperation once in office.

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CULTIVATING LEADERSHIP:
Leadership and the Front Lines
By Sidney Gardner and Larisa Owen

When providing services to children and families, agency leaders are only as good as their followers. For many organizations, the most important followers are the front-line workers (FLWs) who see clients first and typically have more direct impact on their lives than anyone else in an organization. Leaders may set direction, but FLWs do the real work and have direct contact with and best understanding of the children and families they serve. Leadership’s changes in a project’s policy and operations can only be effective when the leaders invite and listen to the sound advice that FLWs can provide.

Leadership demands an acute understanding of what services and support clients may need from other agencies. FLWs may have the best-grounded knowledge and judgment on what outside, collaborating partner agencies can provide. The responsibility of leaders, then, is to establish and sustain the closest possible connection between themselves and the knowledge of what clients really need. An operational question guiding leaders may be, “Who do we need to succeed?” Front-line workers may have the answer, and leaders need to seek it from them.

Data flow in an organization is another crucial component of leadership. Data tell a story about what an agency is doing in serving its clients. Yet if FLWs are not clear about the uses of the data collected, leaders may be unable to interpret and understand who is being served. Absent that understanding, neither leaders nor FLWs may determine whether they are achieving their mission. This can happen when leaders fail to communicate to FLWs why data collection matters. They need to pay attention to complaints when collection appears to interfere with the ability to respond to clients. Evaluation based on pre- and post-outcomes is increasingly important in an era of results-based accountability. At the same time, it does not automatically mean FLW within a collaborative will value evaluation as much as leadership does.

This is how we get refunding. This is how we determine whether we are helping people. As obvious as those messages are, it is our experience that they are not always communicated to FLWs—that is, those who see their roles as working with clients, not feeding data into client information systems. It is up to the leader to monitor data quality while sharing lessons about what is working—or not—from a strong information system. Leaders who leave evaluation to the evaluators may risk having both weak evaluations and stressed FLWs.

FLWs also have a strong sense of the issues of scale that affect agency operating projects. Too often, the goal is getting funding for a project and then getting it refunded, without leaders considering agency capacity, dosage of services and alternative funding from other partners. FLWs inherently know more about the agency’s capacity because their caseloads and time spent with clients determine it.

Barrier-busting begins and ends with FLWs if leaders connect with them. A productive dialogue means FLWs are comfortable telling leaders, “We keep running into this. Can you ask the policymakers to look at the real obstacles?” If leaders respond well, the dialogue moves to FLWs telling leaders, “Thanks; it’s helping” or “They said they changed it, but we don’t see much difference.” This requires a leader who is comfortable asking staff about barriers, not only celebrating successes. Explicit barrier analysis can feel overly negative to some staff and partners; yet without it, the collaborative risks a “happy talk” atmosphere where only good news is shared and problems are disguised, ignored or not recognized.

FLWs can tell leaders who listen:

- what the real numbers are and how to interpret them
- who does not stay engaged and drops out and why, using systems walk-throughs and drop-off analysis to see what is really happening to clients
- which agencies are responsive to referrals and which put people on waiting lists or screen them out for ineligibility
- which outside agencies are willing and able to share resources and data and which are not
- how much time it takes to fill out forms and develop rapport with clients whose trauma may affect the information they would share
- when training and staff development activities are ineffective because basic policy at the top of the agency or among its funders has not changed, leaving FLW with more skills but no incentives or supervision to use what they have learned

Using Eugene Bardach’s invaluable distinction between the objective and subjective skills required for collaborative leadership, leaders working with
Armenia’s Amazing 2018 “Velvet Revolution” Against Political Corruption

By Dan Feldman

Courtesy of the U.S. Department of State and National Academy of Public Administration, I traveled to Armenia in July 2018 to confer with judges, prosecutors and investigators combating corruption. Three months earlier, the streets of Armenia filled with furious protests against years of systemic corruption. On May 8, those protests forced the National Assembly to install Nikol Pashinian as the country’s new acting prime minister, a former journalist who spent two years in prison for leading unsuccessful protests a decade earlier. Elections in December gave Pashinian’s coalition more than 70 percent of the vote, allowing him the formal title of Prime Minister.

Corruption in Armenia...and Hope
Under the Republican Party, closely allied with Russia and dominant since 1999, corruption was rampant. Apparently designed to enable the president to bypass term limits, the Republican Party in 2015 engineered a referendum giving Armenia a parliamentary system, with the prime minister replacing the president as the real head of government. Armen Sarkisian, who had been president, became prime minister. Widely perceived as fraudulent, the maneuver generated anger which Pashinian later harnessed.

The previous Armenian government had claimed to fight corruption. In 2004, a presidential decree established an Anti-Corruption Council chaired by the prime minister. Minutes of its meetings, with several score participants, featured reports on “plans” for action over which its committees had labored yet which still were subject to another government body’s approval. In the face of rampant corruption, the minutes reflected not one word of criticism of anyone or anything.

A longtime outspoken critic of the Armenian administration’s subservience to Russia, Pashinian nonetheless felt he had to mollify Vladimir Putin shortly after taking office. While Russia appears likely too overstretched in Ukraine and Syria to intervene in Armenia, it seemed prudent for Pashinian to reduce the risk of a Russia-facilitated reversal of his peaceful “Velvet Revolution.” At the same time, it is clear that a Pashinian administration will not continue its predecessors’ acquiescence to Russia’s exploitation.

In June 2018, the Republic of Georgia followed Armenia’s example to some extent, replacing its prime minister. Prospects for that nation are less clear as the replacement is a former finance minister backed by a billionaire power broker. Still, these developments could presage similar uprisings in nations that can see now that corrupt regimes can be uprooted.

Anti-Corruption Challenges, Strategies and Tactics
My Academy colleague, Larry Novey, and I were surprised by the first issue raised in our conferences. Although they were holdovers who had acceded to their positions under the previous, corrupt administration, rather than manifesting any hesitation about exposing and prosecuting corruption, the Armenian judges, prosecutors and investigators instead shared their worries about maintaining legitimacy as they honored due process—that is, the public and media called for swift punishment of those who had enriched themselves at public expense. The public may “know” the culprits, but actual evidence may be lacking. The judges were especially concerned that their commitment to due process could erode public support for their role and for rule of law generally.

Close relatives of the former president are being prosecuted for enrichment “exceeding legitimate returns” under Article 310.1 of the Armenian Criminal Code. To clear themselves, they must “reasonably justify” their gains. The judges sought...
our opinion: Was the statute’s shift of the burden of proof to the defendants consistent with the presumption of innocence? We thought the answer depended on the nature of proof required of the prosecutor to initially show gains above and beyond legitimate income. Even so, a defendant hiding income that was not exactly legitimate but not illegal might face conviction, reflecting the harsh public mood. Similarly, prominent defendants now face prosecution for tax evasion when a civil penalty, perhaps a surcharge, would have been considered sufficient in less fraught times.

Our discussions were not limited to short-term issues. We talked about ways to protect anti-corruption work down the road, when tempers have cooled—and when appointees of the new administration may fall prey to temptation. In contrast to the Anti-Corruption Council, we described the U.S. inspector general system, where individual IGs compile records of success in combating corruption (or not), therefore being held accountable. Further, their dual reporting to the executive and Congress gives them a measure of independence. As a parliamentary system does not provide comparable institutional space between the branches, we suggested a fixed term, with high but not insurmountable barriers against removal; that way, an “anti-corruption monitor” treading on sensitive political toes cannot easily be removed. Though important to be made difficult, removal must remain a possibility as a check against an abusive or incompetent monitor. We pointed to the official structure of the Armenian human rights defender as a possible model: With a six-year term, he or she can only be removed by a three-fifths vote of the assembly.

“Success” means containing corruption at levels at which the public is not significantly deprived of effective government systems. Armenia’s Velvet Revolution, a peaceful rejection of a corrupt government, is an extraordinary development. It inspired Georgia’s prompt imitation. Perhaps it will inspire other nations to stop viewing corruption as inevitable. If so, it will have worked a historical change of immense proportions.

Dan Feldman is professor of public management at John Jay College of Criminal Justice of the City University of New York. He led significant investigations resulting in programmatic reforms and criminal convictions as executive assistant to a member of Congress, investigative counsel to a committee of the New York State legislature, senior staff member to the New York State attorney general and special counsel for law and policy to the New York State comptroller. Feldman wrote more than 140 laws as a member of the state legislature for 18 years, during most of which he investigated and corrected prison abuses and led the effort to repeal the Rockefeller drug laws as chair of the Assembly Committee on Correction. He can be reached at dfeldman@jjay.cuny.edu

GERRYMANDERING

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Reviving the original standard chosen by the convention would take the profit out of gerrymandering. The Court’s decision would put an end to the grotesque cartographies that current practices encourage and point the way to shaping districts that would facilitate fair elections.

There are other approaches to regulating gerrymandering. In some circumstances there may be reasons to prefer one or another of them. As a constitutional matter, however, there is a sound argument for pristine application of the principle outlined here: The total number of votes cast for congressional representatives in each state should define the allocation of House seats in that state.

Alton Frye is the presidential senior fellow emeritus of the Council on Foreign Relations. In more than 30 years at the Council, he has served in many roles, including president, senior vice president and national director. Frye founded both the Council’s Washington program and its national program, leading the organization’s development into a national institution. The author of A Responsible Congress: The Politics of National Security and fellow of the National Academy of Public Administration, he can be reached at AFrye@cfr.org.

LEADERSHIP AND THE FRONT LINES

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FLW can demonstrate both critical data-based knowledge about an agency’s front end and empathy with tasks of workers at that place in an organization.

Sidney Gardner, president of Children and Family Futures, specializes in the development of tools and strategies to facilitate and enhance communication and collaboration across agencies. His efforts focus on policies, funding streams, mandates and barriers that challenge collaborative practice. Gardner has more than 50 years of experience working in and with local, state and national government agencies, educational institutions and public policy organizations. He can be reached at sgardner@cffutures.org.

Larisa Owen is veterans and special projects program director with the Center for Children and Family Futures, where she leads the organization’s Veterans and Military Families projects. She also is responsible for assistance in the planning and implementation of veterans treatment courts evaluation and technical assistance involving families in the VTC. She can be reached at lowen@cffutures.org.
Is the U.S. Government at Risk of Failing?

By Molly Jahn, Gregory Treverton and David Bray

The longest government shutdown in U.S. history got most of the media’s attention. But, something worse and more fundamental is happening. Over decades, the federal government’s workforce has been both burdened and demeaned, putting government at risk of simply failing in the face of a national crisis—or multiple domestic or foreign emergencies occurring at the same time.

These findings—which we detail in a study published by the nonpartisan Senior Executives Association after analyzing 20 years of federal personnel data and conducting interviews and focus groups with senior federal civil servants—should be cause for serious concern to all Americans. Regardless of whether you think the federal government should be smaller or larger, we all want it to be effective during emergencies. Yet it is not difficult to foresee a situation in which massive wildfires in California are followed by floods with landslides with a devastating hurricane hitting the Gulf Coast at the same time. Similarly, it is not difficult to imagine U.S. diplomats facing nuclear crises in North Korea and Iran simultaneously. In 2019, the current federal workforce is ill equipped to address either scenario.

The deterioration of the federal workforce did not happen overnight. In nearly 60 years, the country’s population increased 81 percent and federal government spending quintupled—far more citizens for civil servants to serve, assist and protect. Yet the federal workforce has not kept pace—from 1.8 million civilian employees in 1960 to 2.1 million in 2017. Contractors and productivity increases could only take up so much of the slack. Government services are harder to automate than manufacturing; they typically span several departments and require coordination with local and state partners in ways that cannot easily be streamlined the way business pipelines can, especially when responding to emergent events or crises.

As the staff-to-citizen ratio has shrunk, budgets and programs have expanded. Consider Congress. Recent workforce studies indicate that each appropriations staffer in the House is now responsible for 52 percent more federal dollars than he or she was just 16 years ago; the workload of Senate appropriations staff has increased 30 percent during the same period. The failure to adequately staff the federal government is creating exactly the kind of waste politicians hoped to avoid. Since Congress is now unable to properly oversee the more than $4 trillion it appropriates each fiscal year, its expenditures have become less efficient and effective.

Nor did this shift occur under a single political party’s rule. The promise to restrain what some perceive as overreach by government has long been evident in Republican administrations, but it is also consistent with Clinton-era efforts. The problem has worsened in the current administration, with unprecedented rates of staff departures at senior ranks. More than twice as many Cabinet-level employees quit in 2017 as in 2009, the first year of President Obama’s tenure. This has been compounded by widespread vacancies in senior executive branch positions.

Federal employees described to us an environment where they are penalized for action, hampered by outdated processes and not rewarded for innovation. Workplaces are more and more toxic, especially but not only for women. Complaint channels are turned into weapons, threatening careers, often unfairly. Mistrust of senior career civil servants by incoming political appointees, always present to some degree, has become endemic. Career employees serving their country under one administration are often marginalized by the next. The result is “paralysis by analysis,” with civil servants reluctant to take a decision lest it be deemed wrong by political superiors, ending a career.

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A Tribute to Bruce McDowell
By Lisa Warnecke

The public administration community lost one of its most knowledgeable and dedicated pracademics in late 2017 with the passing of Bruce McDowell. The modest title of Bruce’s unpublished memoir, Crossing Boundaries: A Half Century of Public Service, understates his vast contribution to—and early groundbreaking work in—the design, development and practice of what he called the “interlocking system” of American government, particularly intergovernmental relations (IGR) and planning.

Working in the field since 1959—the year Congress created the U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR) with a mission that epitomized his interests—Bruce dovetailed practical experience, meticulous research and firm and sustained dedication to substate regionalism, IGR and planning to accomplish better governing within the United States and beyond.

Carl Stenberg, ACIR assistant director in the 1970s, remembered Bruce “as a dedicated regionalist and passionate advocate for intergovernmental cooperation and consultation who skillfully navigated the worlds of research and practice.” For more than 50 years, Bruce applied his IGR, planning and regionalism expertise—and his advocacy—to many topics. Transportation and other public works, infrastructure, housing, wildland fire, emergency management, intergovernmental representation and voting are a few of the many issues that benefited from his expertise. His ability to apply his wisdom on many subjects of study was amazing across decades of service.

Bruce received a BA (1957) and PhD in Public Administration (1965) from American University and a Master’s in City Planning (1959) from Georgia Tech. Lee Schoenecker, who later worked for Bruce, said “Quite remarkably, the essence of his dissertation became statutory federal law, first under Section 204 of the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, and then the Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1968.”

Bruce was elected as a National Academy of Public Administration fellow in 1998, and as an American Institute of Certified Planners fellow in 2001. He chaired several American Planning Association (APA) and Transportation Research Board committees. In the 1970s and 1980s, he created the APA Intergovernmental Affairs Division and helped develop other divisions. As chair of the APA Division Council, he served as an ex officio member of APA’s board of directors. He maintained active, long-term affiliations with these organizations, as well as with ASPA, the American Political Science Association, the American Association for Budget and Program Analysis, and other professional societies.

Though Bruce lived and worked his entire life in the Washington, DC area (except while getting his master’s degree at Georgia Tech), he had an extensive understanding of the entire nation. His work ethic, output, memory and attention to detail were known and admired throughout his long career. He was a devoted husband, father and grandfather, active in his community and church, and assisted many colleagues in their work. He inspired many in public administration, planning and beyond.

I met Bruce while serving as a young town manager in Colorado more than 35 years ago. I needed help beyond my public administration degree, and state and local government experience in New York, to meet this challenge. He provided perspective and encouragement to learn the missions, roles, authorities, responsibilities and functions of nearby localities, county, state, federal and other service providers to acquire needed help for my town and develop partnerships to govern most effectively. It was excellent advice that remains relevant today.

Later, Bruce helped me be a better state government budget analyst and statewide technology coordinator. However, the vast depth and value of Bruce’s knowledge truly became apparent during my master’s research on local governments nationwide, my PhD dissertation on the 50 states and research for several projects, including at the Academy where I learned even more while working with and for him. Bruce’s knowledge of the American governing system was indeed vast, particularly about IGR and the often differing authorities, responsibilities and functions of the nation’s counties and municipalities, regional councils, metropolitan planning
organizations, states and many individual federal agencies. Randy Johnson, former Commissioner for Hennepin County, Minnesota, and a past president of the National Association of Counties, said Bruce “always fully knew and promoted the importance of the federal government working with states and localities. He had a particularly keen understanding of the role of counties, which differs in each state.”

The quality and volume of Bruce’s work is quite remarkable across his 24 years with ACIR, 13 years at the Academy, 12 years as a practitioner in regional organizations and miscellaneous time with other projects. In total, Bruce authored or led more than 85 major publications, including government reports, journal and magazine articles and contributions to eight published books. He thoroughly analyzed his subjects, both in detail and in a broader context, and always had practical recommendations.

Bruce also drafted portions of federal bills dealing with IGR, regional planning coordination, federal aid simplification and regulatory relief for state and local governments; he influenced others. This work led him to similarly investigate and develop model state legislation on many topics, requiring his deep understanding of the varying authorities and other differences among the 50 states.

Bruce was known for his strong work ethic, output, memory and dedication, but also for his willingness to help others. He presented at various conferences and professional events, and at more than 12 academic institutions in the United States and abroad. He taught courses at his local community college and served on accreditation review teams for Master’s degree programs in planning at several universities.

Former ACIR Executive Director John Kincaid remarked that Bruce “was a hardworking, competent and meticulous director who ensured quality and timeliness in contract performance.” Sharon Lawrence, a former staff member, said it was “an honor to work with him. His knowledge base was immense, his dedication to the cause tremendous and his kind and gentle nature made him the sort of person you considered yourself lucky to know.”

Pat Atkins, former staffer at the National Association of Regional Councils remembered that her PhD dissertation committee could include an external member. “There was only one outside expert that was qualified and needed, and that was Bruce. He was professional, thoughtful, generous and facilitative. Bruce’s place in my life as a colleague and a friend was beyond what most are blessed in this way to have.”

Bruce was a unique “go to” person for so many in public administration, planning and other disciplines about IGR, states, regions and localities nationwide, as well as federal agencies. He provided details, citations, history, insight, contacts and other resources to understand the complexities and nuances of American government that was hard to find elsewhere. As former Academy Vice President Bill Gadsby said, “Bruce was a credit to himself, his profession and the country. Godspeed.”

You can find the full version of this piece online at https://patimes.org/a-tribute-to-bruce-mcdowell/.

GOVERNMENT AT RISK OF FAILING

All of this is happening as public servants face new challenges. Cyberattacks can disable or abuse substantial parts of the government—from voting machines during elections to the electrical grid to even National Security Agency tools discovered and used for widespread hacking, as we saw with the WannaCry ransomware attack in 2017. Couple these with targeted misinformation campaigns by foreign governments, like Russia’s intervention in our 2016 elections, that discredit democratic processes and seed conflict.

It is past time for the adults in Congress—in both parties—to address these federal workforce issues for the sake of our Republic. An effective, stable government is essential to maintain the economy, safeguard public resources and keep citizens safe. We hope Americans in the 21st century do not have to learn that lesson the hard way.

The ultimate question from this study is one for the American people: What do they want from their government? Is the current government—one that finds it hard to attract and retain talent, demeans nonpartisan civil servants, prevents its workforce from making decisions, discourages a culture of adapting and risks failing when stressed by foreseeable contingencies—good enough for us, for our hopes and aspirations as a people?

Molly Jahn served as deputy and acting under secretary of Agriculture. Greg Treverton served as chair of the U.S. National Intelligence Council. David Bray served as senior National Intelligence Service executive. You can reach the authors through Treverton at gregtrever@gmail.com. To read their study, visit https://seniorexecs.org/1132-sea-federal-workforce-study

GOVERNMENT AT RISK OF FAILING

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For more than 20 years, the College of Charleston’s Master of Public Administration program has engaged its students in research, projects and applied learning experiences serving the greater Charleston community. For more than a decade, it has been home to the Community Assistance Program (CAP), an applied learning incubator that builds the capacity of local community organizations and government agencies through project-based work at little to no cost to community partners. CAP’s team of four graduate assistants and a staff director has conducted program evaluations, needs assessments and marketing plans; facilitated meetings and retreats; and raised awareness about critical community issues.

Nicholas Mercer, a second-year MPA student and CAP graduate assistant, manages the Tri-County LGBTQ Community Needs Assessment for the Alliance for Full Acceptance (AFFA), a social justice organization working to secure equality and acceptance for LGBTQ people in South Carolina’s Charleston, Dorchester and Berkeley counties. He recently joined AFFA’s executive director and a partner from The Morten Group, a Chicago consulting firm, to facilitate a needs assessment workshop at Creating Change, a National LGBTQ Task Force conference. “My favorite thing about working with CAP is that I am able to add another dimension to my learning through partnering with organizations leading incredible work in my area,” Mercer said. “Working with the community—with people—means taking the human element into consideration, something books and lectures can overlook. The education I have received in the classroom has given me the confidence and knowledge to produce solid work for our partners. The application of that knowledge in the community has given me an appreciation for the challenges our residents face and the strength it takes to serve them.”

A unique feature of the MPA program is its partnership with the Environmental Studies program. Through a concurrent degree program, students can earn both an MPA and Master of Environmental Studies. Concurrent student Sean Dove’s thesis internship provides important data on the state of the agricultural value chain to the SC Food Policy Council and agricultural-related entities statewide. Using geographic information systems (GIS), he will identify infrastructure and markets to improve decisionmaking and increase the power of policymakers, businesses owners and farmers to plan and work together and expand one of South Carolina’s largest economic drivers. “Through my field work and research, I have gained tools and skills that extend beyond what I was capable of before my time in the concurrent program,” Dove said. “I am able to see through daunting issues and provide solutions with the use of GIS that have the ability to make an impact on our local communities.”

The most historic and significant MPA on-campus partnership is with The Joseph P. Riley Center for Livable Communities, a strategic initiative that, under Kendra Stewart’s leadership, leverages the college’s intellectual resources to support economic and cultural vibrancy in the City of Charleston and other communities. Chelsea Diedrich, a graduate student at the Riley Center, has provided strategic planning capacity for four food banks and food bank associations across North and South Carolina. Thanks in part to her efforts, the center has helped the organizations more effectively serve people, especially children and seniors, who depend on them for survival. Working on strategic plans has

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What was your first interaction with the South Florida Chapter? How did you become its president?

I was first introduced to the Chapter by a professor at St. Thomas University, where I worked on my master’s degree. I became involved in 1999 or 2000 when I joined ASPA, and she encouraged me to attend a board meeting. I was not impressed. Only four or five people were there and it seemed more like a private club than a professional organization. My professor continued to encourage me and I decided to make sure the organization lived up to its potential. I attended board meetings regularly and took a role in making change happen, joining the board and encouraging my friends and co-workers to participate, as well.

Programming was the next step for the Chapter. We started modestly with brown bag luncheons and professional development workshops and started a Women’s History Month reception, honoring prominent women in our community. Since then, we have hosted two SECoPA conferences and an ASPA Annual Conference. This winter and spring, we are hosting our 13th annual Best Practices Conference, the 15th annual Women’s History Month Reception and our 14th annual Awards Reception.

I have served in many Chapter capacities, including recording secretary, corresponding secretary, program chair, newsletter editor and co-chair for the Best Practices Conference, as well as president (twice) and my current role of immediate past president.

Tell us about your Chapter’s level of member engagement and its most popular activities.

Our Chapter is very active. We host eight luncheons each year; a President’s reception to swear in new board members and officers; a holiday reception, where we collect toys to donate to a local nonprofit; and the annual Best Practices Conference, Women’s History Month Reception and Awards Reception. We gear events toward students, as well, including networking receptions and professional development workshops.

We make sure our programs reach all our members—luncheons in the middle of the day, networking receptions after work, professional development on Saturdays and so forth. The Chapter also has a board retreat, held after elections and before the president’s reception, which gives the new board an opportunity to meet and plan for the upcoming year.

Talk a bit about the Best Practices Conference. What is its goal and what do members value most about it?

The conference started as a way for local professionals to get involved, showcase what they are doing and share best practices with the community. Further, we wanted to allow those who could not always attend the bigger conferences to have a conference experience and engage directly with ASPA.

February 8, 2019 was our 13th conference. When the conference was created, we partnered with local universities, but we recently have partnered successfully with municipalities to host it in their facilities, including Miami-Dade County, the City of North Miami Beach and the Town of Cutler Bay. The conference rotates to different venues throughout South Florida among the university and government partners the Chapter has cultivated.

Our members enjoy the conference because they can meet a diverse set of practitioners, academics and students discussing various topics related to public service and administration. Also, it is an opportunity for them to meet and network with individuals from the nonprofit sector, public sector and academia simultaneously. We draw panelists from all levels of government, academia and nonprofits to highlight what is working, share knowledge and strengthen ties.
The Chapter also sponsors three scholarships for our students: the Dewey Knight scholarship, named in honor of the first African-American assistant county manager in Miami-Dade County; the Natasha Seijas Women in Public Service Scholarship, named for a former female Miami-Dade County commissioner; and the Dr. Ray DeArrignaga Scholarship, in memory of a lifelong ASPA member, practitioner, instructor and past president of the South Florida Chapter.

How does your Chapter engage with civil servants? Do you have a specific focus for outreach—for example, types of city managers or others?

The Chapter engages with them through all of this programming, as well as through an extensive advertising program including social media. We have a quarterly Chapter newsletter; advertise upcoming events in the Miami-Dade County weekly online newsletter and on local radio stations; and have an extensive email list that includes Miami-Dade and Broward County municipalities, plus local colleges and universities. We also collaborate with other local organizations like the Greater Miami NIGP, League of Women Voters of Miami-Dade County and Conference of Minority Transportation Officials (COMTO). Many of our members belong these organizations, too.

The Chapter maintains good relationships with both appointed and elected leadership in the municipalities and invite them to be panelists at the Best Practices Conferences, speak at our student receptions and honor them at our awards reception.

What should ASPA members in the South Florida area know about your Chapter? And, what is the most important ASPA benefit you receive?

I want our members to know how hard our board members work to provide the best programming for them. The most important benefit I receive are the friendships I have developed over the years and the ability to provide programming from which so many can benefit. I really enjoy helping people; knowing that I can make a difference through our Chapter gives me a special feeling.

How does your position with Miami-Dade County intersect with your Chapter work?

My work for the county involves a lot of planning, setting up training for employees, interacting with the public and making in-person presentations. Within Dade County government, the largest public servant employer in the county, there are many opportunities to interact with other public servants; as my work facilitates that outreach, I consistently espouse the benefits of associating with ASPA. I am fortunate that the parallel path of my day-to-day responsibilities merges seamlessly with my advocacy on ASPA’s behalf and allows me to experience maximum benefit from both my professional and private life.

This issue of PA TIMES focuses on public service. How is that theme integrated into your Chapter’s work?

Public service is the genesis of everything the Chapter does. Our luncheon discussions are about timely topics affecting public servants and provide them with a platform to present on important community issues. Our awards honor outstanding public servants in our community, including Public Organization of the Year, Non-Profit Organization of the Year, Public Administrator of the Year, Elected Official of the Year, Educator of the Year, Chapter Member of the Year and Student Member of the Year. Our Women’s History Month receptions recognize outstanding women public servants from various professions and fields and our Best Practices Conference themes have focused on promoting public service.

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exposed Diedrich to real-world nonprofit goal setting, collaboration and budget management processes. It also has given her “the privilege to participate in top-tier decisionmaking for some massive operations in our region.” Her work has resulted in a recommendation to be included in a new National Institute of Standards and Technology research project.

In her role as the MPA program’s departmental graduate assistant, Danielle Bloom worked with former faculty member LaTasha Chaffin-DeHaan on a research project with the Turning Leaf Project, an organization serving formerly incarcerated men by fighting recidivism through evidence-based therapy, vocational training and job placements that can lead to permanent employment. She presented their research at the Southeastern Conference of Public Administration (SECoPA) and is working with DeHaan to publish the findings. Bloom remarked, “Through this community collaboration, Turning Leaf can better understand participant and community outcomes. Also, I was able to develop my program evaluation and presentation skills by presenting our research and learning from the greater public administration community.”

A College of Charleston Master of Public Administration alumna, Ali returned to her alma mater in 2017 as MPA program coordinator and director of the Community Assistance Program, a team of MPA graduate assistants who provide project-based capacity to local nonprofit and governmental entities. In the fall of 2018, Ali taught her first MPA course in Program Evaluation as an adjunct professor. She can be reached at abtitus@cofc.edu.
Members in the News

ASPA Evergreen Chapter Fosters International Public Administration

For 15 years, the ASPA Evergreen Chapter has had an international agreement with the Hyogo Administrative Policy Studies Association (HAPSA). The Chapter’s sustained and beneficial relationship with their Japanese partner was the cause for celebration during Summer 2018.

Last July, Evergreen Chapter leadership welcomed a delegation of the Hyogo Legislative Assembly at the Washington State Emergency Operations Center, where they received a presentation on Washington State’s disaster preparedness protocols from Robert Ezelle, director of the emergency management division. A rich lunch discussion followed with Chapter leadership engaging the citizens delegation from Hyogo, the majority of whom work in social services for older adults.

During a formal signing ceremony that afternoon at the Washington State Capitol, the Evergreen Chapter and HAPSA highlighted the 15th anniversary of their relationship. During an evening reception in the governor’s mansion, the Chapter presented a letter to Governor Toshizo Ido, addressed to HAPSA’s leadership, which the governor brought back to Kobe.

Cal State Professor Honored with Named Auditorium

Entrepreneur High School in Highland, California recently honored longtime ASPA member and COMPA past president Audrey Mathews, professor emerita at California State University, by naming its grand atrium in her honor. REAL Journey Academies and their students recognized Mathews for her lifetime of public service as an activist, mentor, and educator and for the special role she has played in growing the school.

Park University Professor Awarded for Vision and Stewardship

Kay Barnes, senior director for university engagement at Park University, recently received the Downtown Council of Kansas City’s 2018 J. Philip Kirk, Jr. Award for her “Downtown vision and stewardship.” Barnes was the first woman mayor in Kansas City’s history and played an instrumental role in its downtown renaissance. She was honored for her accomplishments during the city’s January awards ceremony.

ASPA Past President Honored by YWCA Richmond

Susan T. Gooden, interim dean of the Wilder School at Virginia Commonwealth University, is one of eight recipients of the YWCA Richmond’s 2019 Outstanding Women Awards. She is being honored in the education category for her many accomplishments, including service as a NAPA fellow and ASPA past president. “I am deeply honored to receive this award,” Gooden said. “This accolade recognizes the commitment of the Wilder School and VCU to social equity and making our region a better place to live.”

LBJ School Appoints Director of Civic Engagement

The LBJ School of Public Affairs at The University of Texas at Austin has appointed Victoria DeFrancesco Soto as director of civic engagement. In her new position, DeFrancesco Soto will work closely with the school’s leadership team, lead efforts to build on the LBJ School’s existing strengths and expand opportunities for faculty, students and community partners to participate in high quality civic engagement projects and diversity and inclusion initiatives. The appointment is effective through 2022.
ADVERTISE IN PA TIMES

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World-Class Faculty   Rutgers SPAA’s faculty generates knowledge and best practices in public and nonprofit management and administration, and collaborates with public and nonprofit organizations and professionals throughout the U.S. and worldwide. Our faculty publish in the top journals, serve on key editorial boards and as editors, and participate in the leading academic conferences and associations.

Leading Research   Rutgers SPAA faculty and students conduct cutting-edge research in the fields of public and nonprofit management and administration through SPAA research centers and projects in areas such as public performance measurement; human resource management; nonprofit organizations and philanthropy; technology and information management; public finance and budgeting; experimental and behavioral public administration; transparency and ethics; and legal foundations of public administration.

Exemplary Students   Rutgers SPAA educates and motivates students to choose careers in public service and administration through its innovative and highly ranked degree and certificate programs that are nationally and internationally accredited. SPAA graduates are teaching and gaining tenure at dozens of universities and holding executive-level positions in the nonprofit and public sectors in the U.S. and around the globe.