



PA

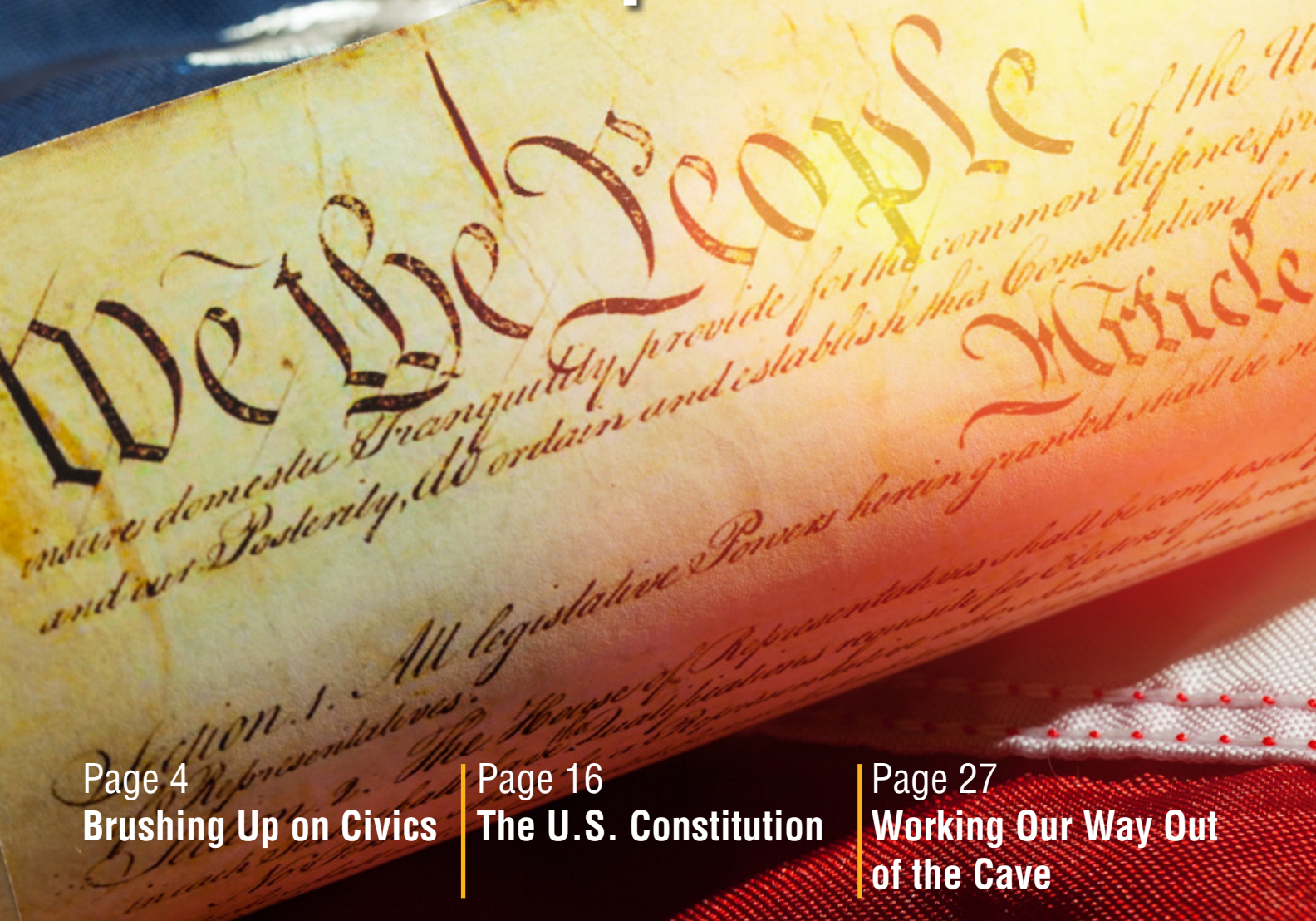
Winter 2021 | Vol 7 | Issue 1

Times

A powerful voice for public service...

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

American Civics: Room for Improvement



Page 4
Brushing Up on Civics

Page 16
The U.S. Constitution

Page 27
Working Our Way Out
of the Cave

RUTGERS

UNIVERSITY | NEWARK

School of Public Affairs
and Administration

Where
Service
Meets
Leadership



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.

Rutgers SPAA | spaa.newark.rutgers.edu

The American Society for Public Administration was established in 1939 to promote the advancement, teaching and practice of public and nonprofit administration. It is the largest and most respected association for professionals in the field.

1730 Rhode Island Ave., NW, Suite 500
Washington, DC 20036

202-393-7878 main | 202-638-4952 fax
Online: <http://patimes.org>

Editor-in-Chief

William Shields, Executive Director

Managing Editor

Karen E. T. Garrett, Chief of Membership, Marketing and Communications

SUBSCRIBE TODAY

PA TIMES is a publication of the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA), a not-for-profit corporation. An online version is distributed twice a week and posted to patimes.org. Subscriptions are available.

Domestic subscriptions are \$50 per year, first class delivery. Foreign subscriptions are \$75 per year, international air delivery. Subscriptions must be prepaid in U.S. dollars. Contact membership@aspanet.org for a subscription.

Single Copies

Individual issues of PA TIMES are available for \$3.50 and \$2.50 per issue for orders of 10 or more.

Reprint Requests

To reprint an article from PA TIMES, contact patimes@aspanet.org.

Article Submission/Author Guidelines

Deadlines for editions and author guidelines are available at www.aspanet.org under PA TIMES.

Letters to the Editor

Feedback on any article published in the print edition is welcome. Letters must be no more than 350 words and must include author's name and address. They can be submitted to patimes@aspanet.org or to PA TIMES Editor, 1730 Rhode Island Ave., NW, Suite 500, Washington, DC 20036.

CIVICS

- 2 Civic Engagement through Committee Participation**
Learn about how the City of Falls Church, Virginia has established a Use of Force Committee to explore reviewing and reforming police use of force policies in its community.
- 3 The New Big Questions of Public Administration Education: A Community-Based Approach**
We need to rethink the “big questions” facing those who study, practice and teach public administration, including how to teach public affairs when government is always “in crisis.”
- 4 Columns**
 - 4 President's Column
 - 5 The Civic Education of Youth: Creating Democratic Citizens
 - 6 Creating a Culture of Civic Engagement
 - 7 The Upcoming Methamphetamine Epidemic
 - 8 Ethics Column
- 11 Inspired to Serve**
An overview of a webinar ASPA hosted in April 2020 with the Commission on Military, National and Public Service, looking at the importance of service and how civics education is intrinsic to it.
- 14 Developing Civic Leadership for the Next Generation**
To build trust in our political institutions, we must instill the values and norms that are critical to those institutions' viability. How many of our schools of public service conspicuously work to do so?
- 16 The Constitution of The United States**
- 22 Teaching Civic Engagement in Wichita**
A profile of Wichita, Kansas' efforts to review and revise how it teaches residents about the inner workings of their city government.
- 24 Better Arguments Means Better Civics**
The Aspen Institute, in partnership with Allstate, is teaching people to argue *better* as a civic exercise.
- 26 Civics 101: Poems About America's Cities**
A book review of a new release from Roger Kemp featuring poems based on his experiences as a city manager.

PERSPECTIVES

- 27 Working Our Way Out of the Cave**
A new way to think about Plato's Allegory of the Cave
- 28 Justice Alito's Lesson for Public Administrators**
Balancing the First and 14th Amendments as public administrators.
- 29 Police Brutality Bonds: The Cost of the Status Quo**
The cost of police brutality is not paid by the guilty parties, but by all citizens of a city or county, including citizen protestors.

SOCIETY NEWS

- 31 Members in the News**

Civic Engagement through Committee Participation

By Nancy Vincent



Those in local government are greeting each day with new challenges. Police departments have come under widespread scrutiny. COVID-19 has disrupted service delivery across every department. We all have a sense of fragility and uneasiness. In this new environment, community involvement and outreach are key.

Responding to nationwide outcry and the Obama Foundation’s Mayors pledge challenging cities “to review and reform use of force policies, redefine public safety and combat systemic racism within law enforcement,” the City of Falls Church, Virginia has established a Use of Force Review Committee. The 13-member committee—comprising seven community members (one of whom serves as chair), five city staff members and one school staff—is charged with accomplishing the pledge’s four actions:

1. Review your police use of force policies.
2. Engage your communities by including a diverse range of input, experiences and stories in your review.
3. Report the findings of your review to your community and seek feedback.
4. Reform your community’s police use of force policies.

The City’s engagement began with member recruitment. Seventy people responded, the largest response “The Little City” has received to a request for public participation on a committee. City Council members interviewed 20 individuals, asking questions, eliciting reactions to such phrases as “use of force”—reactions ranged from “measured” to “out of control”—and learning about their experiences when interacting with the police or City sheriff. The seven community members come from a variety of ethnic and professional backgrounds; they also have a variety of perceptions about the use of force. Committee Chair Janis Johnson describes herself as a Black woman who saw the committee as an opportunity to work together, bring transparency to the process and be part of something that is going to effect change.

The committee reviewed the City’s internal policies and procedures, as well as those from across the United States, including all use of force incidents that resulted in complaints from 2015 to present. Its next step will be to involve the public by listening to and documenting comments, stories and experiences, including those that residents have with other jurisdictions outside Falls Church. The committee seeks to ensure that as many community members as possible have the opportunity to participate, so it will use a wide variety of engagement methods: social media, the City website, City Council members, newspapers, surveys, flyers, public forums and more.

The survey itself soon will be released broadly, following a concerted and thoughtful effort on the committee’s part. Questions will focus on demographics, specific interactions with the police, the nature of those interactions and more. Use of force will be examined, including incidents involving wildlife, such as dealing with a rabid animal. It is important to the committee that the survey be geared not solely to identifying what went wrong in community interactions, but also what went right.

Key to this effort has been the willingness of the City Council, city manager, police chief and sheriff to listen to members of the community. The organization must be committed to hearing what the community has to say and then make changes. Johnson noted that she realizes it takes a lot to hear people say, “Look what happened in Kentucky. Now, we’re going to look at you.” She and the committee have commended the willingness of the agencies and personnel at all levels to participate in the process.

Public safety cannot continue to operate in its current form. We have to make changes and provide the necessary resources to do so.

Nancy Vincent is director of the City of Falls Church’s Department of Housing and Human Services. She can be reached at nvincent@fallschurchva.gov.

THE NEW BIG QUESTIONS OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION EDUCATION: A Community-Based Approach

By William Hatcher

It has become cliché to state that public administration as a field is facing a crisis. We are facing multiple crises that will not go away any time soon. Crises are today's norm and not atypical periods that wax and wane.

We are in a global pandemic that is causing untold pain and death, and straining our already overly stressed economic systems and public budgets.

We are in a crisis of democracy and governance in the United States. For the first time in modern history, a president tried to overturn an election he lost and stirred doubt about the overall political system. For decades, our field has worried about the public's declining trust in government. In the future, this will be an even larger problem due to concerning rhetoric from our political leaders.

We are in a crisis of constrained revenues and a disregard for public goods. Our revenue systems at the federal, state and local levels do not give us the needed funds for a modern functioning democracy. Compared to other industrial democracies, we do not take care of our citizens' education, health care or other general welfare concerns. Our revenue systems reward the rich, harm the middle class and disregard the poor; they reinforce economic inequity. Tax policies and practices, in turn, have led governments to not have appropriate resources to provide for civilization. As Oliver Wendell Holmes described it, taxes are the price we pay for civilization. We are not paying that price today.

The most existential crisis is the oncoming destruction of the environment, personal safety, national security and economies caused by global warming. In a world where this and related issues are not addressed, we live in ongoing crises. It is the new norm.

We need to rethink the "big questions" facing those who study, practice and teach public administration. In a 2001 *Public Administration Review* article, Robert Denhardt identified the "big questions" of public administration education. They focused on linking theory with practice, delivery mechanisms for education and career preparation. These are essential. Yet to address our ongoing crises, those questions need to be updated to promote a community-based approach to public administration education.



As a field, we must focus on the following "big questions:"

- How do we teach our students to convince the public about the virtues of democracy?
- How do we teach fairness and social equity?
- How do we teach the importance of evidence in making decisions?
- How do we teach the dangers of emphasizing individualism at the expense of the community when we face crises?

To answer these questions, we first must adjust to the norm of constant crises. So, a fifth question: How do we teach public affairs when government is always in crisis?

It would take many articles, books, polemics and other ramblings to fully answer *that* question. For now, I have a straightforward reply: We need to stress the importance of democracy, evidence and science, and collective benefits and costs.

As nations, subnational governments, communities and organizations, we must address crises collectively. The COVID-19 pandemic highlights the damage caused when a large part of a nation's

continued on page 10

PRESIDENT'S COLUMN: Brushing Up on Civics

Goodbye 2020 and *hello* 2021! What a year 2020 was for all of us, especially those working in public service and higher education. Public servants worked harder than ever to keep people healthy and safe, dismantle unjust systems, educate children, feed the hungry and more. Yet public trust in government remains abysmally low. According to the Pew Research Center, just 20 percent of American adults say they trust the federal government “to do the right thing just about always or most of the time.” Partisanship plays a role in how people feel, but this number has remained below 30 percent throughout the last three presidencies. Gallup has found trust to be much higher in both state and local governments—63 and 72 percent, respectively—though much remains to be done in raising public confidence in the public sector. The good news: Americans believe there is hope. Eighty-four percent say it is possible to improve people’s level of confidence in government. So, the big question: How?

I believe the best place to start is by helping people understand what we do in government—that is, civic education. In this issue of *PA TIMES*, you will find articles related to this theme and the significance of ensuring Americans *know* about their government. Study after study demonstrate how little most people know about how our government works. In 2018, less than one-quarter of eighth graders performed at or above the proficient level on the National Assessment of Educational Progress civics exam. In 2016, the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania found that only one in four adults could name all three branches of the federal government. The good news is that events of the past year have focused people to pay greater attention; one in two Americans now can accurately name all three branches. This number is moving in the right direction, but it still means that half of U.S. adults do not have a rudimentary knowledge of our system’s structure. How can we expect people to trust a government when they lack a basic understanding of how it operates?

Most Americans take only one semester of U.S. government/civics education during their four years of high school. Very few colleges or universities require such a course. So, it is not surprising that we do not know more about how government works—and there is no easy way to fix it since each state

determines educational standards and curriculum. When I began my work in higher education in Kentucky 20 years ago, our secretary of state was committed to improving students’ civic education (thank you, Trey Grayson!); he believed it was key to ensuring a future of greater citizen engagement. Fortunate to be a part of this process, I worked with schools in rural areas to develop curriculum to help young people better understand how their government worked. It was exciting and eye opening to watch middle schoolers from Appalachia develop a basic grasp on their potential to impact a system they had been taught to despise or ignore. This experience shored up my commitment to improve civic education in my community.

Dozens of organizations like ASPA share this commitment. We know the more you understand civics, the higher your likelihood to be engaged. This leads to a government that is both more responsive and trusted. Further, civic education connects directly to ASPA’s Code of Ethics and several of its tenets: Promote democratic participation, uphold the Constitution and law and advance the public interest. ASPA’s National Council is committed to delving deeper into the question of what our organization can do to improve the state of civic education in the United States at all levels of government. Through partnerships with organizations like the National Academy of Public Administration, the International City/County Management Association, the National Civic League and others, we are working to further this commitment. Join us in these efforts. I hope you find this edition of *PA TIMES* an opportunity to brush up on the latest research, programs and challenges surrounding civics. This will be the year!

Kendra Stewart is professor of political science and public administration and director of the Joseph P. Riley, Jr., Center for Livable Communities at the College of Charleston. Her research interests include nonprofit management, government public relations, state and local government and food policy. Prior to her current position at the College of Charleston, where she also has served as MPA program director, she was a faculty member and MPA director at Eastern Kentucky University and worked for the State of South Carolina Budget and Control Board. Stewart can be reached at StewartK@cofc.edu.





THE CIVIC EDUCATION OF YOUTH: Creating Democratic Citizens

The 2020 elections raised questions about what citizens know about how our democracy works, especially its rules, procedures and practices. Under particular scrutiny have been the role, authority and powers of the Electoral College, state legislatures and governors in determining voting processes, sending many scurrying to reread their civics books. This is not surprising given the amount of misinformation reported and circulated in the media, coupled with the fact that the civics class many of us took in high school did not prepare us with the foundational knowledge to fully comprehend the nuances and distinctions among law, policy and practice. Following a presidential election in which the incumbent did not concede the outcome but directly—or through surrogates—challenged voting results, many are calling for a comprehensive civics education program so young people can better understand the mechanics of our democratic governance system and ways to be democratic citizens.

To the extent my civics education reflects that of my generation, the course primarily focused on how to be a good citizen, defined as voting. It also included information about governmental structure, especially at the state level. What I learned intrigued me and furthered my interest in politics and political systems. And, I agree that it is critical for citizens to understand the mechanics of how our government works. Yet it is just as important for young people to understand that citizenship is more than voting. It is about how we work together to solve shared problems in our communities and have some control over our collective destinies.

While we debate the merits and opportunities of a broadened civics education program, all of us must take responsibility for how we orient young people to civic life. This is not just a responsibility for educators and schools. We must ask ourselves: How can we create opportunities for educators and communities to collaborate on an unrecognized aspect of civic education—that is, teaching young people how to become good citizens through practice? What opportunities exist in the classroom? How can they better align with the work that citizens perform in communities, especially in their role as educators?

When most of us think about our responsibilities as a citizen, it is usually rules based: voting, jury duty and following the law. When I refer to being a “citizen,” I am talking about people who share a common civic

identity. This is the “self” in self government. A civic identity also means participation in the creation and receipt of public goods. If our democracy is to work as designed, citizens must work in complementary ways with local government officials to name, frame, deliberate and act together on shared problems. When citizens, through public deliberation, wrestle with the tensions and tradeoffs inherent in bringing together people from different backgrounds, experiences, races, gender, religions and cultures to address a “wicked” community problem—a problem without an easy answer or quick fix—democracy is working as it should.

It is through deliberation that we find common ground and reach public judgment to make informed choices about the complementary work local government officials and citizens must perform to coproduce public goods. There is opportunity for schools and communities to collaborate in bringing young people into civic life by practicing deliberation—both in the classroom as something they learn and with which they experiment, and in the community as something they *experience*. After all, the community is the laboratory where democratic practices and citizenship reside.

Schools must teach the facts about how governance works and infuse democratic practices into what they teach; this includes teaching students how to deliberate with others. Young people then can practice these skills in the classroom and the community. In this context, civic learning becomes the vehicle we use to teach young people the skills, knowledge and abilities they will need to work in democratic and complementary ways with others to address shared problems.

I recognize there are many pedagogical practices that can improve civic learning. Deliberation is only one of them, but I have focused on it because it provides us a tool that connects schools with their communities, making both responsible for the civic education of young people and helping make them democratic citizens.

To summarize my understanding of John Dewey’s philosophy: Education is most effective when young people are able to integrate what they learn in the classroom with lived experiences. He believed that democratic citizenship was more than just voting; it is about working together to solve shared problems. Our challenge is to align what young people learn

continued on page 10

Creating a Culture of Civic Engagement

The health of a democratic society may be measured by the quality of functions performed by private citizens.

—Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*

Communities with a culture of engagement get things done. A strong culture of engagement means that involvement by residents, businesses, nonprofits and other stakeholders in every aspect of civic affairs is an expectation, not an afterthought.

Many challenges that communities face are too complex for local government to solve on its own. “Wicked” issues like homelessness and poverty not only require collaborative efforts by nonprofit organizations and other stakeholders, but also call for ongoing attention, rather than one-time resolution. Complex issues like these often need participation from those affected. Health and education, for example, require the cooperation of those whose lives we seek to improve.

Involvement in civic affairs is a way of life in Rancho Cordova, California, a city of more than 70,000 residents twice designated as a National League of Cities “All-America City.” The Cordova Community Council works with the City and the chamber of commerce organizes activities throughout the year, including holiday celebrations and parades, an annual community volunteer awards event, annual kids day in the park and the Rancho Cordova Fest, which celebrates the different cultures represented in the city. The council also holds community meetings regarding issues it faces and sponsors the mayor’s State of the City address, an evening event typically drawing more than 300 people. Community council members volunteer in a variety of capacities, from working on city committees and neighborhood beautification efforts to cleaning debris from storm gutters.

Engaged Residents

Communities are more likely to thrive when residents, businesses and other stakeholders play active roles in shaping decisions and taking action. The notion that “government cannot do it alone” is increasingly evident in times of limited resources. Most important, this involvement needs to represent all parts of the community.

El Paso, Texas, always has enjoyed significant resident involvement in neighborhood associations and civic affairs. For the past two decades, it has worked to encourage greater diversity in that participation through the Neighborhood Leadership

Academy, a 20-week educational program to develop non-traditional community leaders. The City also sponsors a small grants program for neighborhood associations and has adopted a policy requiring boards and commissions to include as members residents who will be impacted by those entities’ decisions, particularly low income residents, people over the age of 55, people with disabilities and the homeless.

Inclusive Community Leadership

Communities with a culture of engagement have leaders who represent all segments of the population; they also provide abundant opportunities for leadership development. They often have formal leadership programs and a variety of boards, commissions and community positions in which rising leaders can play a role. Most important, it should be possible for anyone to rise to a leadership position. As Martin Luther King, Jr. said, “Everybody can be great because everybody can serve. You don’t have to have a college degree to serve...You don’t have to know about Plato and Aristotle to serve.”

Faced with a boom in newcomers from other countries, Beaverton, Oregon, has gone to extra lengths to ensure that immigrants, refugees and communities of color are involved in decisionmaking. The Beaverton Organizing and Leadership Development (BOLD) program identifies, engages and trains emerging leaders from these communities, providing an in-depth orientation to city government and opportunities for engagement. BOLD has trained more than 100 participants to date. More than half have engaged in supplemental activities following graduation; a significant percentage takes on volunteer roles ranging from short-term to multi-year commitments.

Collaborative Institutions

Collaboration strengthens the ability of communities to solve problems. As Bruce Katz and Jeremy Nowak discuss in *The New Localism*, local communities have become more powerful players in solving national issues because they have rediscovered the power of community collaboration. “Leadership by the public, the private or the civic sector alone is often not sufficient to tackle the multidimensional nature of challenges today,” Katz and Nowak write.

In Fall River, Massachusetts, leaders recognized that no single agency could tackle the myriad issues that

continued on page 10





The Upcoming Methamphetamine Epidemic

COVID-19 has raised our awareness about social, cultural and racial ills that have plagued our country since its founding. One such concern is substance abuse among citizens. Our COVID-imposed social isolation has given many the reason to drink and drug away our sorrows, giving rise to issues that co-occur with increased use of mind-altering substances: decreased work performance, rising medical needs and costs, increased rates of domestic violence and suicide, evidence of underlying mental health issues, plus increased risk of addiction. As a nation, as humans, we have been here before. COVID-19 has heightened public awareness. Like other medical and psychological diseases, alcoholism and drug addiction has been addressed, but historically treated unequally.

I wrote my dissertation, *Democracy, Drugs and War: A Theoretical Analysis of American Drug Control Policy from 1900 to 2011*, and published it as a book, *Drugs and Alcohol in the 21st Century* through Jones and Bartlett (I met the publisher at an ASPA conference!). My second book focused on the first community-panel drug court program founded in Woodbury County, Iowa. I served as director of substance abuse treatment and prevention programs in Lubbock, Texas and volunteered at local detoxification in Mesa and treatment centers in Chicago. I completed many client intakes. And, I served as advisor to university committees dealing with this issue. Given my research and program evaluation experience, students often contacted me for help. They considered me a faculty member who cared. I know many people who have between one and 35 years of recovery.

Here is what I know, based on my experiences: Addiction is ever present. What changes over time are the intoxicants we demand. What do we do about the newly discovered old concerns and what options exist that we as public administrators can implement to address the issue?

Historically, drug and alcohol consumption spikes following the end of a war. Opium epidemics occurred following the War of 1812, the Civil War, the Spanish-American War and Vietnam. Alcohol consumption increased following World War I and the Spanish Flu, World War II and Korea. Intoxicants were used by many in our military to deal with post-traumatic stress disorder or wartime injuries. Drugs were most demanded by middle- and working-class White women and their children at the turn of the

20th century. Unable to afford physicians, women self diagnosed their and their children's ailments, treating themselves with drugs purchased from mail order companies. Because of the Afghan and Iraqi wars, COVID-19 and the almost insurmountable demands placed upon frontline workers and collective social isolation, we are experiencing similar situations to those our ancestors faced.

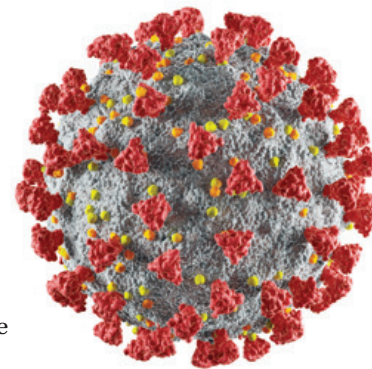
While substance abuse remains constant, the intoxicants we demand tend to have a 10-year life cycle. During the 1970s and 1980s, we saw a rise in drugs that gave us cocaine and crack. Slowly replaced, the 1990s brought a heroin epidemic, followed by a demand for methamphetamines in the 2000s. Most recently, we witnessed an increase for opium-based drugs like hydrocodone. In short, we have swung, on average every 10 years, between a cocaine high and an opium low that was mellowed by a joint, drink or medically prescribed pill. While volatile, if history proves to be a consistent predictor, our nation and public administrators should prepare for an increased demand for uppers. Anecdotal evidence from friends working in the field indicates the shift toward methamphetamines and increased alcohol consumption has already begun.

Despite our efforts to control addiction, one in 10 Americans can expect to be addicted to mood-altering substances in their lifetime. Seventy percent are functional users who remain employed, in contact with family and friends, work and pay their bills. But, dysfunction can exist within the family structure and workplace as a result of alcohol or drug use. Alcoholics and addicts do not live in isolation; their use impacts families, friends and colleagues. Most of us know someone with a substance abuse problem and our opinions are based more upon our experiences with the person than addiction science.

The Bio-Psycho-Social Addiction Model dominates the addiction studies field, categorizing substance abuse as both a disease and a dis-ease: Addiction is a biological illness that impacts all organs and has a genetic component. When my colleagues or I conduct an intake on a client, we always ask if there is a family member who is or was addicted to alcohol or drugs so we can determine if there is a genetic component for addiction. On average, if one has a grandparent who was an alcoholic or addict, a person has a 25 percent increased chance of becoming addicted. If two grandparents or

continued on page 9

Ethics and Empathy in Pandemic Times



If we are to end the COVID-19 pandemic, it will take all of us working together to support each other's safety and health. This includes a moral and ethical obligation to ensure everyone has health care.

As of this writing, the pandemic has killed 439,955 Americans and infected another 26 million people, according to the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, numbers that will continue to increase until the vaccine is widely disseminated. Meanwhile, the U.S. health care system is overwhelmed and on the brink of collapse. Our front-line emergency staff—nurses, physicians, emergency medical technicians, police officers—are being exposed, contracting the virus, left exhausted and, in some cases, dying. Hospitalizations associated with COVID-19 are estimated to cost between \$10 and \$17 billion. Even worse, more than 14.6 million people have lost their employer-sponsored health insurance.

Beyond emergency staff, people of color and women have been disproportionately impacted by the pandemic: The former are four times more likely to be hospitalized with COVID-19 than White people. Black and Latino people are 3.2 times more likely to die from it than White people. Indigenous people are 3.1 times more likely.

These data reveal stark racial disparities in America. In addition to the public health crisis, the pandemic has caused the greatest economic crisis since the Great Depression. The Gross Domestic Product dropped by more than 30 percent in one quarter and the unemployment rate went from a low of 3.5 percent to a high of 10 percent. The majority of jobs lost due to the pandemic were held by women, with women of color hit the hardest. The unemployment rate for Latina women reached a high of 20.2 percent; the rate for Black women increased to 16.5 percent. Job losses were amplified by increased exposure, lack of child care and virtual schooling.

Working parents with young children are forced to choose among safety, jobs and parenting; they have left the workforce in droves. It is estimated that the majority of these jobs—retail, restaurant, hospitality and domestic—will never return, making it more difficult for the unemployed to find work.

The confluence of these two crises magnify the economic, racial and gender inequalities in our country and reveal the extraordinary need for health

care, which people hit the hardest by the pandemic cannot afford. In fact, our country faced its greatest need for health care at a time when the Affordable Care Act, which extends health benefits to more than 20 million poor women and people of color, was threatened. Front line workers in low wage jobs need health care now; our ability to end the pandemic and financial crisis depends on it.

The pandemic also has illustrated how intricately linked our 328 million lives are across this vast country. Despite heavy reliance on technology and cell phones, we remain physically connected and highly mobile. Contact tracing, which traces individuals' exposure to COVID-19, has highlighted our physical interconnectedness—for front line emergency staff, grocery clerks, restaurant workers and the entire food chain supply. The truck driver who transports food across the country to stores is essential. The grocery store clerk who stocks the shelves with food is essential and touches our lives directly. Their ability to stay healthy and go to work determines whether we have access to food and our ability to feed our families. The restaurant cooks who prepare our food and the server who brings the food to our table immediately impact our lives. Our health and safety depend on *their* health and safety. Indeed, our lives depend on each other. Low income earners are essential and they need affordable health care. As a country, we have a duty and responsibility to ensure they have access to it.

We have learned that the definition of "essential employee" needs to be broadened to reflect our dependence and reliance on those caring for our children. Those working in day care centers and schools have proven to be essential employees. Without them, the rest of our economy comes to a halt as employees with young children cannot work and facilitate schooling at the same time. There are more than 1.6 million day care employees across the country, serving 12 million children, ages birth to five years. In 2016, their centers generated revenue of more than \$47.2 billion. There are 35.3 million students in kindergarten through eighth grade, taught by more than 3.2 million teachers. When day care centers are shut or schools disrupted, it impacts millions of workers and their families, and hurts the economy. Whether a family has only one parent and breadwinner, or both parents work and contribute to

household finances, they need day care centers and schools to be open so they can keep working.

This information is all the more critical as we contemplate vaccine distribution. Not only should essential workers of all kinds be given priority once a vaccine is widely available, but also access to it should be as open as possible. Those without health care—the very populations this column has discussed—will not be able to afford inoculation otherwise, continuing the pandemic’s downward spiral and our country’s overall decline due to COVID-19.

Lorenda Naylor is associate professor in the School of Public and International Affairs and program director for the undergraduate degree in politics, policy and international affairs at the University of Baltimore. Her research focuses on ensuring that public policy outcomes reflect democratic values, equality, justice and representation. She earned her Ph.D. in public administration from American University, master of public health from the University of Kansas Medical School and MPA from Kansas State University. Naylor can be reached at lnaylor@ubalt.edu.

METHAMPHETAMINE EPIDEMIC

continued from page 7

one parent has a substance abuse problem, the likelihood increases by 50 percent. If both parents do, the chances increase to 85 percent.

The disease is psychological, too. Persons suffering from mental illness often use substances to control their undiagnosed diseases. These mental health issues may be organic, like bipolar disorder, clinical depression or schizophrenia. Or it may be a response to a behavioral or conditional situation brought on by PTSD as a result of wartime experiences, domestic violence, rape or molestation. The *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual, 5th Edition*, published by the American Psychiatric Association, recognizes that neurological pathways are influenced by other addictive behaviors that go beyond consuming mood-altering substances, including compulsive gambling, sex, buying, stealing or Internet use, all of which have a major impact on families and employees.

Addiction has social components, too. Marginalized persons—racial minorities, LGBTQ+, women, individuals with disabilities, the homeless—are at greater risk of alcoholism or drug addiction. Socially, addiction is more likely to occur in families where abuse takes place or in professions where high stress levels exist or alcohol or substance use is encouraged. Our frontline workers are at greater risk simply due to the conditions they face today and show no signs of relinquishing in the near future.

What can we, as public administrators do?

Actually, we do much now. Police officers and emergency responders answer 911 calls involving drunk drivers or mental health concerns, or investigate crimes where the perpetrator was under the influence or trying to find money or valuables to sell to avoid detoxication. Hospital personnel and

doctors deal with persons who are intoxicated or suffer from addiction-related ailments. Educators deal with students impacted by family members’ substance use or even their own. Counselors and social workers deal with the aftermath. Agency HR departments have policies and procedures in place to manage an employee’s issues. But, we can do more through cross-training and collaboration and relying upon Lipsky’s well-trained, street-level bureaucrat to coordinate a community response across agency lines.

Addiction or addictive behaviors must be judged on an individual basis, requiring individuals to accept their condition and the impact it has on themselves and those around them. Without cross-training public servants about addiction and its implications on our system, we bureaucrats are more likely to view addiction through a personal lens rather than a professional perspective.

If history proves correct, public administrators also must prepare ourselves for an oncoming “upper” epidemic as a result of these oft-perceived insurmountable problems and being aware of the softer addictions impacting our employees and the citizens we serve. It may seem as if this is just one more thing that public administrators need to do at a time where there is no time to do anything but react. Yet with cross-training, we can assist not just our communities, or employees, but also ourselves to prepare for the probable oncoming shift from the opiate epidemic that plagued us in our recent past to an increased demand in methamphetamine-like intoxicants.

Dwight Vick is a long-time ASPA member. An adjunct professor, he owns D.A.V.E—Dwight A. Vick Enterprises, a consulting and grant writing business. Vick can be reached at dwight12vick@msn.com.

COMMUNITY-BASED APPROACH

continued from page 3

residents place individualism above the community during a crisis. Many within the United States have shunned the guidance of social distancing, mask wearing and other community-focused practices in favor of more individualistic behavior that has increased the virus' spread.

Academic programs in public administration need to help their students understand the reasoning behind this individualistic behavior in our communities. Even more, they need to stress to public managers the importance of convincing the units that they manage, the officials to whom they are accountable and other stakeholders how important it is to face crises as communities and not individuals.

How can public administration education, especially MPA programs, accomplish these goals?

- Programs need more active, experiential learning and team-based projects to emphasize the collective over the individual in public service.
- Programs need to emphasize democratic values, social equity and fairness in particular, in encouraging a community-based approach to public administration. The University of Cincinnati's MPA program, under the leadership of Brandi Blessett, is integrating this focus on social equity in the program's curriculum, research focus and community outreach. Other MPA programs should follow suit.
- Programs need to emphasize public goods and the need for the field to make a case for the government's role.

By emphasizing the community approach to public administration education, we can improve education and training public servants to understand the need for collective decisions facing public administration in an era of ongoing crises.

William Hatcher is professor of public administration and interim chair of the Department of Social Sciences at Augusta University, and serves as co-editor-in-chief of the Journal of Public Affairs Education. His research, focused on health policy and administration, community development and public budgeting, has appeared in such journals as the American Journal of Public Health, Journal of Mental Health, Journal of Public Health and American Review of Public Administration. Hatcher received his BS and MPA from Georgia College and State University and his Ph.D. in public policy and administration from Mississippi State University. He can be reached at wihatcher@augusta.edu.

CREATING DEMOCRATIC CITIZENS

continued from page 5

in the classroom with the work of community educators to ensure the next generation learns not only how government works, but also the practices and experiences that will help them be good citizens.

Valerie Lemmie is director of exploratory research at the Charles F. Kettering Foundation. A past chair of the National Civic League and past board chair and fellow of the National Academy of Public Administration, Lemmie served as city manager for the Cities 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 Turner (Ohio's 10th District). A noted speaker on democratic civic engagement, she can be reached at vlemmie@kettering.org.

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

continued from page 6

the community's young people face. Only through collaboration and partnership could it address such intertwined and complex challenges. The School-Community Partnership was created with the collective power of more than 30 agencies to provide a variety of services to youth. The Mayor/Superintendent's Attendance Task Force educated the community about the importance of attendance, reducing truancy. The collaboration also resulted in a new Youth of the Year award program, Youth Violence Prevention Initiative and Youth Candidates Night.

A culture of engagement is one key element of strong civic capital, which we define as the community relationships that create the capacity to solve problems and thrive. The other elements are discussed in more detail in our Civic Index, a free self-assessment tool that can be downloaded at www.ncl.org. Together with a culture of engagement, these characteristics enable communities to address complex issues collectively, which is more likely to result in long-term health and prosperity for all.

National Civic League President Doug Linkhart has more than 40 years' experience in the public policy arena, including 18 years as an elected official, eight years as Denver city councilman and 10 years as a Colorado state legislator. He began his career by managing local campaigns, and then worked for a federal agency as a presidential management intern. He was appointed as executive director of Denver's Department of Environmental Health, a 300-person agency that he led for four years. Linkhart can be reached at dougl@ncl.org.

Inspired to Serve

By Karen E. T. Garrett

In April 2020, ASPA hosted former Congressman Joseph Heck, chairman of the National Commission on Military, National and Public Service, who discussed the commission's final report to Congress and its recommendations to encourage all Americans to serve their country. Central to the commission's findings and recommendations was the role that civic education and engagement play in public service. The following is an excerpt of that online program, in which Heck was joined in conversation with ASPA Executive Director Bill Shields. The entire conversation is available to ASPA members at www.aspanet.org/webinararchives



Joseph Heck

The National Commission on Military, National and Public Service, which started in 2017, was charged by Congress with something that had never been done before: Conduct a comprehensive and wholistic review of all forms of service to the nation. It originated during a discussion of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2017 in the House Armed Services Committee, when a proposed amendment would have required women to register for the Selective Service System. That was the initial charge given to the commission, but it was adjusted in the Senate when Senators John McCain and Jack Reed of the Senate Armed Services Committee saw it as an opportunity to dig into broader service-related questions. They expanded the commission's mandate to perform this comprehensive review of service across all lines and look at ways we could increase participation in military, national and public service.

We started by defining service to embrace our all-encompassing mandate and put it into a context that allowed us to answer the questions posed by Congress: *a personal commitment of time, energy and talent to a mission that contributes to the public good by protecting the nation and its citizens, strengthening communities or promoting the general social welfare.* Next, we looked at three streams of service: military service; national service, those who participate in federally supported and funded programs like AmeriCorps, Senior Corps and Peace Corps; and public service, those employed in federal, state, local or tribal government. Taken together, nearly 24 million individuals engage in sustained public service every year. That is a formidable number; but, in a country of 329 million

individuals, the potential for service is largely untapped.

We appreciated the need to talk to people about service, so we traveled around the country to all nine Census districts, 15 states and 24 cities. We hosted public meetings, forums and hearings and met with more than 300 organizations. We also met with elected officials, government employees, military members, students, state-based ministries, and business and nonprofit leaders. Public hearings provided us the opportunity to learn from experts on key topics within our mandate and vet potential policy recommendations. We solicited public comments through our website and at the public events, too.

We saw firsthand that America's extraordinary spirit of service has accomplished so much for our country. But we realized that the nation has yet to leverage the maximum potential of service. We released our final report, "Inspired to Serve," in March 2020. It lays out a bold vision of a nation in which service is a common expectation; where experience of all Americans is the norm, not the exception; and where everyone is expected to be able to answer a question: *What will you do for your service?*

One key recommendation focuses on Vision 2031, based on the commission's foundational assumption that actively building on America's centuries-long spirit of service, plus nurturing and expanding a *culture* of service, are vital to securing the nation's future. A civil society sustained in peacetime by a robust culture of service and strong sense of community can be better inoculated against myriad challenges and threats in the future. Also, service

within and across communities breaks down cultural barriers, builds respect and strengthens collaboration, understanding and dialogue. In times of crisis, participatory civil society enables people to join together naturally to contribute to their communities and defend the nation.

By 2031, our hope is that 5 million Americans will begin to serve in the military, national or public service annually. Why 2031? It is the 70th anniversary of John F. Kennedy's speech in which he stated, "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country." We hope more than enough qualified individuals will volunteer for the Armed Forces, which will minimize the need for traditional military recruiting; that one million new individuals take up federally supported national service opportunities annually; and that a modernized government personnel system will attract and enable Americans with critical skills to enter public service. Our long-term goal is to cultivate a culture of service in which individuals of all backgrounds expect, aspire and have access to opportunities to serve their communities or nation.

To elevate service as a concept, the United States must transition from today's siloed approach to service toward one that lifts all forms of service and takes full advantage of their complementary strengths. Our approach starts with infusing civic education and service learning throughout the U.S. educational system; providing a new forum to coordinate support from service across the government; and hosting a new internet-based platform to connect Americans with all kinds of service opportunities.

Our democracy depends on having informed and active citizens. Yet trends suggest we are headed in the wrong direction. We must significantly expand civic education to ensure young people have the knowledge, skills and disposition to participate in civic life and understand the importance of serving their communities to keep our democracy strong. The commission did not set out to review civics, but nearly every conversation or meeting included a passionate call to improve civics education. To participate effectively as citizens, Americans much have civic knowledge of the principles of democracy, how government works plus their rights *and* their responsibilities.

Here are some startling statistics:

- Twenty-two percent of American adults cannot name any of the three branches of government.
- Thirty-seven percent cannot name or do not know any of the rights guaranteed by the First Amendment.

- Less than 25 percent of eighth graders were rated "proficient" in the latest national civics assessment.
- Annual federal funding for civic education declined from \$150 million in 2010 to just \$5 million today. Compare that to STEM education, which has seen significant increases over the last decade. The federal government spends \$54 per student for STEM education, compared to five cents on civics.

The commission recommends several steps to strengthen and expand civic education in America. One is to create a civic education fund within the Department of Education that provides \$200 million annually in seed grants to state and local education agencies and higher education institutions to promote civic education. We want to promote the adoption of high quality programs through increasing federal incentives and pilot programs. We also want to require progress measurement through a mandatory, nationwide civics assessment test, plus recognition and awards programs for outstanding states, school districts, teachers, schools and students engaged in civic education.

In addition, we need to expand service learning in our schools and higher education institutions to strengthen the ethic of service in our youth. Research shows that students participating in service learning demonstrate better academic performance, deeper understanding of civic responsibility and a stronger ethic of service. Despite these benefits, service learning is not practiced widely across the country and federal support has dried up in recent years. To reinvigorate it, we recommend a new service learning fund housed in the Corporation for National and Community Service, providing \$250 million annually in grants to state and local education agencies, state service commissions, higher education institutions and nonprofits to carry out service learning programs for K-12 and post-secondary students. This investment would help state and local authorities pilot programs for summers of service, semesters of service and service-learning programs in their schools.

We also talk about establishing an internet-based service platform to increase awareness and access, a one-stop shop for individuals to explore service opportunities. Low awareness and lack of access are obstacles preventing more Americans from actively serving the nation. Currently, unless a family member or close friend has served, many Americans lack knowledge of military, national and public service opportunities or the benefits of them. This platform can help Americans explore available opportunities by promoting awareness and access, and then connecting them to service organizations.

Bill Shields

I commend this report to every policymaker and public administrator. Not only do you provide the recommendations; you also lay out the “how.” You give 45 pages of implementation guidance that walks policymakers step-by-step through what it takes to implement your recommendations. What about the “who?” In an environment where partisan gridlock seems to be the only thing on which political parties agree—and given economic and other constraints—who are the political champions? Who will carry this ball forward to advance many of these recommendations?

Heck

If our recommendations already had been instituted, we would have been better prepared to respond to the COVID-19 pandemic. If they are implemented going forward, we will be a much more resilient nation that can respond to a similar crisis in the future. Across the nation, public servants are engaged and responding to the COVID-19 crisis; they are our unsung heroes. It is unfortunate to see and hear how often public servants are disparaged by the general public and, unfortunately, by elected leaders. We hope one takeaway of this expansive view of public service is the need to change the paradigm of how public servants are viewed.

That said, service is a nonpartisan issue. Wherever we went, people of all strengths, colors, creeds and religions said this is a great idea. If you look at the experience of the military, taking individuals from far-flung locales and bringing them together during basic training, they leave calling each other brother and sister. That is the type of experience we want for all Americans without necessarily going into the military. You get it by participating in service programs.

Shields

You highlighted the commission’s extensive public and stakeholder engagement. Were there specific or common themes that took your work in a direction you had not anticipated?

Heck

Civic education. It was not one of our charges, but people talked about it everywhere we went. If you want to get today’s youth interested in service, you cannot wait until they graduate high school. They have to learn what it means to be an American, not simply their rights under the Constitution but their responsibilities as a citizen. The way to do it is by reinvigorating civic education. We took it upon ourselves to do a deep dive into the state of civic education and crafted related recommendations.

Our goal is not to require you to take one semester of U.S. history or U.S. government and then check the box. We want civics education to be the thread woven through *all* classes and *all* curricula during the K-12 years. From there, you incorporate service learning because we know those who participate in a meaningful service project will go on and look for additional opportunities. We talk about a focused service project during the middle school years, or a semester-long service opportunity during high school, that will inculcate the idea of service in individuals.

Dr. Joseph Heck holds the rank of brigadier general in the U.S. Army and is assigned as commanding general of the 807th medical command. From 2011-17, he represented Nevada’s third congressional district in the U.S. House of Representatives, where he was a member of the Armed Services Committee and chair of its Subcommittee on Military Personnel. He also served on the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and Committee on Education and the Workforce. A graduate of Pennsylvania State University, Heck received his medical degree from the Philadelphia College of Osteopathic Medicine and graduated from the U.S. Army War College, where he earned a Master’s in Strategic Studies.

To read “Inspired to Serve,” the National Commission on Military, National and Public Service’s full report, go to <https://inspire2serve.gov/reports>

Developing Civic Leadership for the Next Generation

By William Resh

It is not a mystery that trust in our governing institutions in the United States has diminished over the last 40 years. Americans are more likely to *distrust* their democratically representative institutions than to trust them. Perhaps most surprising to observers of American political culture is the propensity of Americans to put trust in *unelected institutions*, whether public agencies or the private sector. Agencies and other bureaucratic arms of the government populated by career civil servants consistently rank higher in trust than the democratic institutions of Congress or the presidency.

Perhaps citizens trust the relative expertise or professionalism. Or, it could be the nonpartisan reputation of many of the most prominent agencies. But, now is not the time to take comfort in this relative comparison. Trust in the civil service is diminishing, as well. The issue for many *PA TIMES* readers is what schools of public affairs—policy or administration—can do to reverse the trend or, at the very least, reduce further distrust. How do we, leaders in producing future public servants, build trustworthiness through our curricula and programs? My argument is that we largely have forsaken such a concern for far too long.

Trust is a multidimensional construct that requires attention to all dimensions by those responsible for cultivating it. One can look to the most rational aspect of trust: “encapsulated interest,” or the extent to which the trustor’s interests are encapsulated in the trustee’s. Seldom are citizens interested in making themselves vulnerable to the state or any other entity without some indication that their interests are adequately represented within that institution. Of course, how interests are articulated becomes critical to signaling encapsulated interest, from descriptive to substantive representation.

Yet encapsulated policy interest is not enough to establish credibility. Any calculation of trustworthiness in government considers both the teleological (*what we want* from government) and the deontological (*how we are governed*). Both integrity and benevolence become as critical to the trust equation as the extent to which policy goals are shared. Integrity has been defined as, “(1) the consistency of the trustee’s past actions, (2) belief that the trustee has a strong sense of justice, and (3) the extent to which the trustee’s

actions and words are consistent (with principles of justice).” Implications abound for the concepts of due process, social justice, transparency and ways that governments evidence consistent and clear commitments to human and individual rights.

Benevolence has been defined as, “the extent to which a trustee (let’s say, a civil servant) is believed to want to do good (for) the trustor (the public), aside from an egocentric motive.” A political institution’s benevolence is determined by public expectations that the institution will provide help “according to what the other needs, as soon as those needs become apparent, rather than treat the other as a partner in an exchange relationship.” This dimension of building trust depends on our capacity to teach public ethics, comity, sacrifice, citizenship and the fundamental notion of public service to the next generation of leaders.

To build trust in our political institutions, we must instill the values and norms that are critical to those institutions’ viability. We must embrace our history. We must embrace the philosophy of ethics. We must embrace comparative administrative and constitutional law. In schools of public affairs, our focus has drifted to overt attention to technical competence and an implicit understanding of public service careers as exchange relationships. We rely too heavily on the canard of “neutral competence” that implies public servants are empty vessels of substantive expertise, willingly providing information needed to make fully informed policy decisions. We implicitly push the myth that neutral competence can be provided across sectors as long as individual-centered motivations are checked in some way. We emphasize developing distinct policy and analytical expertise but, to our detriment, tend to ignore developing competencies related to institution building and stewardship. We need to rethink the ways we introduce and teach students in these underexamined dimensions of trust. Yet if we look to our curricula, how many of our schools conspicuously work toward these aptitudes?

Doing so requires a value base that is clear and consistent, that goes beyond maximizing reputational capacities in a single policy area, whether housing, health, education or trade. Our principles of accreditation must be more solidly rooted in these broader values if we seek to rebuild



trust in the institutions to which we provide expertise. We also need to consider whether our students can be the only, or even the primary, source for talent that can engender the people's trust. I propose that schools of public affairs need to become centers for *facilitating* these talents to blossom across disciplinary orientations and our universities generally.

At the University of Southern California, we are developing the Civic Leadership Education and Research (CLEAR) Initiative based in the Sol Price School of Public Policy. It is intended to exhibit a research and education profile focused exclusively on the concept of developing broad civic leadership. We are dedicated to understanding and developing the public sector labor market's talent needs for the 21st century.

The CLEAR Initiative's mission is to aggregate data, knowledge and expertise from a multidisciplinary perspective to produce rigorous and systemic research that aids governments, universities, leaders and citizens in *developing* civic leadership for the next generation. This research will be disseminated into rich and cutting-edge professional development programs focused on providing the "best and the brightest" an avenue toward careers in civic leadership in local, state, national and global institutions that contribute to the public interest. We want to complement the activities and competencies that already exist within our school—and across our schools of public affairs generally—by developing civic leaders in other disciplines.

Our hope is to develop and deliver a cohort model civic leadership program following students from freshman year to graduation across majors, employing an "academy" archetype that houses a distinct set of elective curriculum and extra-curricular offerings intended to develop an early interest in civic leadership. Several models and best practices have emerged, but they are not as explicitly tied to research incentives that might compel partnerships across faculty from other universities and schools of public affairs. We want to match talents to the task of reestablishing the trust necessary to run our democracy.

This communal and multidisciplinary effort makes better coordination of these capacities across our schools necessary. To do so, we must rethink how we collaborate across schools and disseminate our knowledge to the service of our democratic institutions in a more coordinated, but broad, fashion. As recent history shows us, there is a desperate need for rebuilding our core institutions to encourage community. In turn, this requires that we think and teach as more of a community ourselves.

William Resh is associate professor and the C.C. Crawford professor of management and performance at the University of Southern California's Sol Price School of Public Policy. He is director of the Civic Leadership Education and Research (CLEAR) Initiative (<https://priceschool.usc.edu/clear/>). Resh can be reached at wresch@price.usc.edu.

The Constitution of The United States

PREAMBLE

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

Section 1

All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section 2

The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

Section 3

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

Section 4

The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

Section 5

Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section 6

The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil

Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been encreased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

Section 7

All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States: If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

Section 8

The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;—
And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing

Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

Section 9

The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another; nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

Section 10

No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

Section 1

The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representatives from each State having one Vote; a quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice-President.

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the Same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Section 2

The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to Grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the

Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

Section 3

He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information on the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

Section 4

The President, Vice President and all Civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

Section 1

The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

Section 2

The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to Controversies between two or more States;—between a State and Citizens of another State;—between Citizens of different States;—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall

be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

Section 3

Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

Section 1

Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

Section 2

The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

Section 3

New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

ARTICLE V

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any state to the Contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

Done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth In Witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names.

From the website of the National Archives:
<https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/constitution-transcript>

Teaching Civic Engagement in Wichita

By Rebecca Trout

ASPA thanks the National Civic League for permission to reprint this profile, originally printed in the National Civic Review, the League's journal, as part of the League's work to showcase local programs that promote civic engagement.



Like many cities, Wichita, Kansas had a Citizens' Academy, designed to teach residents about the inner workings of their city government, with intentions of creating resident leaders who would become engaged in advisory boards and community-driven projects. Unfortunately, City leaders began to realize that while the program provided in-depth information about city departments and services, its graduates did not necessarily become more civically engaged. The program also proved to be labor intensive—too much so for the already-taxed city department directors.

In 2018, it created a Civic Engagement Academy that is less taxing to city departments, more interactive for participants and has resulted in more engaged community leaders. But, first it needed some help with funding, so it applied to the Kansas Health Foundation for a grant.

While health and civic engagement may not be linked in the minds of most people, the Kansas Health Foundation realized the connection between poorer health outcomes and lack of engagement. In fact, the 2016 Kansas Civic Health Index found, "Kansas groups that are the least politically engaged also experience the poorest health outcomes." Wichita administrators argued that if underrepresented populations suffering from poor health outcomes were to become more engaged

in their local government processes, they would be able to participate and advocate for themselves better in the future. The grant proposal also included diversity elements—focusing on diverse participants and a diverse location (housing the academy in a Wichita neighborhood that is largely Hispanic), and emphasized personal interactions and hands-on learning, to ensure participants gained as much as possible out of the experience.

All arguments proved persuasive: The Kansas Health Foundation awarded the City a \$25,000 grant to develop its new academy, primarily because the foundation believes engaged residents lead to stronger communities and improved health outcomes:

Regular voting habits in local elections are directly correlated to an individual's health. This determination is attributable to the fact that those who do not regularly vote in their local elections are not likely to vote for elected officials who would create policies that lead to their best health outcomes. Increasing the understanding of how to participate in the civic process for individuals who hold either an ethnic, racial or socio-demographic minority status leads to those individuals being better prepared to vote for their own best health outcomes. This type of education also increases the capabilities of persons in minority categories to collaborate with local government in order to make progress on civic matters they are passionate about.

The new Civic Engagement Academy held its inaugural class in February 2018 with four program objectives: invite, inspire and empower individuals to engage with their municipal government; teach individuals how and why to become civically engaged; provide hands-on experience with specific civic engagement activities; and inspire regular voting habits.

With support from the Kansas Leadership Center, a nonprofit organization that focuses on developing Kansans into leaders in their communities, the



curriculum informs citizens about the composition and operations of local government departments and helps them develop skills to engage in work with local government officials and their fellow citizens. The program now features classroom instruction, field trips, simulations, group work, case study discussions and community engagement exercises.

As of this writing, the Civic Engagement Academy has hosted four classes, each consisting of eight, three-hour sessions attended by 25-30 participants. Sixty-four percent of participants were female, 60 percent live in older, less-affluent neighborhoods and 29 percent self identified as a minority. Sessions are interactive and include exercises to help participants' put their skills to use right away:

Session 1: Participants review the program expectations and structure and are given an overview of the city council and budget. Participants also participate in an exercise aimed at explaining what the city does versus what the county does. Their "try it" exercise is to explore the city website and/or sign-up for the newsletter.

Session 2: Participants are given a tour of the city's website and an overview of economic development. Their "try it" exercise is to apply for a public library card and/or explore an unknown park or library.

Session 3: Participants are provided with an overview of the advanced learning library, housing and community services and transit operations. Their "try it" exercise is to ride a public transit bus and/or identify a housing or community service provider to learn more about.

Session 4: The city council attends and participates in a panel discussion. Participants also are given a public works overview and are taken through Access Wichita, the City's knowledge base and complaint reporting system. Finally, they take part in a capital improvement plan decisionmaking exercise. Their "try it" exercise is to report something in their neighborhood using Access Wichita.

Session 5: Participants are given a planning and zoning department overview and participate in a planning activity simulation. They also are given three pages of ideas on ways to be civically engaged. Their "try it" exercise is to attend an advisory board meeting or watch one online. Alternatively, they are asked to educate someone on Access Wichita.

Session 6: Participants are given a tour of the law enforcement training center and an overview of the police and fire departments. Their "try it" exercise is to identify a community police officer and ask him/her how they can help deter crime in their neighborhood, email the fire department or explore the Nextdoor app.

Session 7: Participants are given a tour of City council chambers and council offices. An overview of the importance of the census is also provided. Civic Engagement Academy alumni sit on a panel and interact with current students. Their "try it" exercise is to accomplish any "try it" exercises they have missed.



Session 8: The city holds a graduation ceremony and graduates tell stories about the impact of the academy on their lives. A discussion about the vision for the future of Wichita is also facilitated.

The City of Wichita has successfully transformed its Citizens' Academy into a more interactive and results-oriented Civic Engagement Academy. It has reduced City staff time, engaged traditionally excluded segments of the population and created more engaged residents, as evidenced by alumni from the academy applying and being selected for boards, community task forces and steering committees.

continued on page 25

Better Arguments Means Better Civics

By Aaron Kaufman

I remember watching my father pace across a sand dune, cell phone pressed to his ear and his bathing suit still dripping with ocean water. Our carefree afternoon spent wading in the Florida surf had been interrupted by an urgent work call.

On the line was the CIA's briefer for President George W. Bush. He and the vice president had questions about an intelligence report my father had finalized just days earlier. There my dad stood, on vacation in his swim trunks, offering his professional analysis to the authorities sitting in the Oval Office.

It was a moment that helped to shape my understanding of what it means to be a public servant. My father did not vote for President Bush. That did not matter. He was ready to answer the call when called upon. In his 19 years as a CIA analyst, he served Democratic and Republican administrations in the same manner that all of his colleagues did—apolitically and with equal dedication.

Raised in the suburbs of Washington, DC, I grew up with a close-up view of the administrative state. Seemingly everyone in my community worked for the federal government. The technocracy was our economy. National politics was our local news. My youth was an immersive civics education that most Americans do not experience.

We were embedded in a community of civil servants who did their jobs and did them well. They were normal people who had personal beliefs and political ideologies. But, those things took a backseat to their civic missions.

I wish the broader public knew their public administrators as I do: As neighbors, friends and kids' soccer coaches. I wish they knew them as the regular people they are, toiling away at work both extraordinary and mundane, without fanfare or hopes of achieving personal glory, but in pursuit of nobly serving the nation.

Yet most people did not grow up the way I did. In some cases, people's perceptions of public officials might be shaped by one frustrating experience at the DMV or a spurious conflation of politics and public service they see in the media. Unfortunately, this means most citizens do not share my same admiration for our public institutions.

The Pew Research Center found that public trust in the federal government has been careening toward historic lows for more than 20 years. That diminished faith colors perceptions of other public institutions, too. Many Americans believe their fellow citizens' ebbing trust in government—and in each other—makes it harder to solve our most important problems. In the aftermath of one of the most contentious political periods in our history, that collective trust quotient seems especially low.

At the same time, Pew also found that most Americans, more than eight in 10, believe it is possible to improve the level of confidence people have in the government and each other. Even now, when partisanship and antigovernment zeal appear to be reaching a zenith, it still is possible to restore the public's faith in democratic institutions and public administrations. To do so, we must engage each other differently. We need to have more *and* better arguments.

Suggesting that the best way to restore faith in America's government is for its citizens to argue more might sound unexpected, but argument is a civic exercise that has been a cornerstone of our republic since its founding. Exploring divergent views is how we charted pathways to compromise and achieved positive societal outcomes throughout our history. *E Pluribus Unum. Out of many, one.*

Admittedly, arguments playing out in America's public square today feel toxic and conducted in bad faith. Most people do not seem particularly interested in building consensus or achieving helpful outcomes. They do not strive to better understand others' motivations or worldviews. Rather, they appear singularly focused on winning... and diminishing their perceived adversaries.

The status quo cannot continue if we hope to rebuild trust in each other and our institutions. We need a framework that allows us to honestly, transparently and constructively confront the issues that divide us. The Better Arguments Project—a national civic initiative launched by Allstate, The Aspen Institute and Facing History and Ourselves—provides one. It relies on five key principles: Take winning off the table; prioritize relationships and listen passionately; pay attention to context; embrace vulnerability; and make room to transform.



At its core, Better Arguments is a framework to address our issues head-on and bring people together. Over the past three years, the project has hosted a series of events in communities grappling with sometimes wildly diverging perspectives. When folks come together to hash out differences under the auspices of a Better Argument, they are able to explore each other's humanity. They have demonstrated that when the aim of an argument is not winning, space is made to constructively reckon with difference and transformation is achievable.

This is the type of civic engagement that America needs. We must seek to understand each other as people, not tropes. It is especially important for those in the public sector. We need to see the civil servants who shepherd our government as our neighbors and concerned citizens. We need to see that those who dedicate themselves to the public good are hardworking folks like my father, who can do their jobs without prejudice or bias and participate in civic discourse.

Rather than shying away from the public square, embrace it. Enter the fray and express your ideas and beliefs in an environment where you know you will be heard and your words will not be contorted. Help lead by example and demonstrate the good that can come from arguing better.

America needs to meet you. We need to hear your arguments to get to know you as friends and families know you: as civically devoted, professionally and privately, and dedicated to keeping the nation churning.

For more information about the Better Arguments Project or to host/participate in a Better Argument, visit www.BetterArguments.org or email betterarguments@aspeninstitute.org.

Aaron Kaufman is a lead consultant at Allstate, where he works as a corporate storyteller and strategic communications expert. His career has spanned the fields of business, journalism, public relations, domestic politics and international affairs, with a focus on the Middle East and North Africa region. He holds a BS from Kent State University. Kaufman can be reached at AaronKaufman21@gmail.com.

TEACHING CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

continued from page 23

Only time and study will show if the original hypothesis is true and increased civic engagement will lead to better health outcomes. Until then, the community is pleased with the results so far and is excited to see what the future holds.

Rebecca Trout is program director for the All-America City (AAC) Award & Communications at the National Civic League. In this role she connects the 500+ AAC communities with resources around local good governance practices and civic engagement strategies through research, a mentorship program and monthly webinars. She coaches potential applicant communities on what makes an All-America City and oversees all event management for the annual three-day award and peer-learning conference. She has more than eight years of project management experience and served with the Peace Corp from 2015-2017. She received her BA from William Jewell College. Trout can be reached at rebeccat@ncl.org.

CIVICS 101: Poems About America's Cities

By Roger Kemp

It may be surprising, but people want to know about the cities and municipalities where they live and work—how they operate, who their leaders are and more. After 25-plus years of working in a variety of diverse city governments, I have assembled a collection of poems in *Civics 101: Poems About America's Cities*, a volume that reflects my time as a politically appointed city manager.



These poems reflect insights on America's cities, political environment and politicians; details about the urban environment; aspects of their government and governance; lessons from the trenches; and closing thoughts about our nation's municipalities.

I wrote this book for many reasons. Two are very important. First, as I noted above, citizens really want to learn more about their cities, including their municipal government. They spend most of their lives living, working, raising children and paying municipal taxes to the government where they live, but they know little about how that government operates. Even more, they want to know *everything*: how their local governments operate; what the roles of elected officials are; how advisory boards and commissions function; how the chief administrative officer and other functional managers make government work.

Second, most U.S. high school civics classes only examine our nation's federal and state governments. The semester is over before local governments—the level of government *closest* to the people—can be properly examined and discussed.

My poems are based on my personal experiences, especially my relationships with citizens, elected officials and department managers—those whom I managed to operate those cities properly. The places where I spent my career were politically, socially, economically and racially diverse, making my reflections even more timely. Grouped into seven categories, the volume touches on America's Cities; Politics and Politicians; The Urban Scene; The Government; From the Trenches; Personal Reflections; and Closing Thoughts. Here is a sample:

Perspectives

*You can observe planet earth from a satellite
Different countries can be viewed from an airplane
One can see various states from their automobile
You can even see a city from your car
But you must walk in a city to experience it
You must live in a city to know its neighborhoods
To become friends with its people
There is no short-cut, no other way
To truly experience a city*

Roger Kemp, a career city manager, is distinguished adjunct professor in the Public Administration Department at Golden Gate University, San Francisco. He has written and edited more than 50 books during his public service career. A speaker and consultant, Kemp can be reached at rogerlkemp46@gmail.com.

Civics 101: Poems About America's Cities is available online via [Amazon.com](https://www.amazon.com).

Working Our Way Out of the Cave

By James Nordin

As depicted in his book *Rage*, journalist Bob Woodward asked President Trump, “Do you have any sense that (White) privilege has isolated you and put you in a cave...and that we have to work our way out of it to understand the anger and the pain, particularly Black people, feel in the country?”

Trump responded emphatically in the negative and said Woodward “really drank the Kool-Aid.” (I wonder if Trump realized he was referring to the evangelist Jim Jones when he said this.) What cave would Trump—and the rest of us with White privilege—be in? Could it be the cave Plato describes in his allegory?

If you are not familiar with Plato’s “Allegory of the Cave,” it is the story of a group of people imprisoned in a cave, unable to see in any direction but straight ahead. In front of them is a blank wall. Behind them, but unknown to them, is a fire that gives off light. Between the fire and the prisoners is a walkway over which people from the outside world pass. These people carry objects from the outside world above their heads, so the shadows of the objects appear on the blank wall in front of the prisoners, but the shadows of the people do not because there is a light barrier along the walkway. The prisoners have always been in the cave, so they have no knowledge of the outside world. The prisoners believe the shadows are reality and when they hear the voices of the people carrying the objects, they believe they are hearing the sounds of the shadows.



In Plato’s allegory, one prisoner is hauled out of the cave against her/his will, and exposed to the “light” of the sun. The light makes the prisoner blind, but gradually the prisoner’s eyes adjust and begin to see the real world. When the prisoner is returned to the cave and tells the other prisoners about the real world, they do not believe the claim and, in fact, want to kill the prisoner for disrupting their “real world.” They believe the returned prisoner has “drunk the Kool-Aid.”

There is some debate among philosophers about what Plato is trying to depict. The most widely held view is epistemological. Plato is trying to tell us that what we perceive is not necessarily reality. Alternatively, the political view, which is less widely held, is that Plato is describing what happens when the “state” controls what we see and therefore controls what we perceive as reality.

White privilege and White supremacists are real and have put us in the darkness of a cave. Whether we want to believe they are the shadow reality caused by misperception, or the result of a state controlled view of social “reality,” the fact remains that we have to work our way out of the cave. Plato makes clear that this will be a difficult, even dangerous, task. Perhaps this is what we see in the mass rallies of Black and Indigenous People of Color with their White brothers and sisters across the country...and the repressive response by government agents. But the “light” has started to brighten the cave. More and more are seeing it. Some still are blinded by it but slowly, perhaps painfully slowly, our social eyes will adjust. As they do, we will continue to go back to the cave and free the rest of the prisoners.

James Nordin is an adjunct professor in the MPA program at Sonoma State University. He has taught at San Francisco State University, the University of San Francisco and Golden Gate University. He retired from the federal government after more than 33 years of service as a regional grants and financial manager and program supervisor for the Department of Health and Human Services and the Department of Agriculture. He has a passion for social equity and created and endowed ASPA’s annual Gloria Hobson Nordin Social Equity Award. He received his BA from Knox College, his MPA from Roosevelt University and his DPA from the University of Southern California. Nordin can be reached at jnordin1945@gmail.com.

Justice Alito's Lesson for Public Administrators

By Michelle Buehlmann

The media reported on U.S. Supreme Court Justice Samuel Alito's November 2020 speech to the Federalist Society, but their coverage did not include three important messages for the public administration community.

First, Alito focused on the bureaucracy, at all levels of government. Second, he criticized administrative officials for disregarding religious freedom. Third, he did not discuss the 14th Amendment and its equal protection clause. That absence leaves a gap in knowledge and guidance regarding how to balance the First and 14th Amendments.

Justice Alito began his speech by declaring, "The pandemic has resulted in previously unimaginable restrictions on individual liberty." He clarified that he was not making a point regarding the severity of the pandemic itself, the legality of the restrictions or the rightness of the public policies adopted. Rather, he stated what he believed to be a fact: "We have never before seen restrictions as severe, extensive and prolonged as those experienced for most of 2020."

To advance his claim, Alito stated that the COVID-19 crisis has amplified the ongoing trend of "legislating by executive fiat." His statement did not refer to executive orders, but to administrative action based on scientific expertise. He discussed the emerging trend of curtailing individual rights, using three examples in which religious rights appear to be valued less than those of such historically oppressed groups as women and the LGBTQ+ community. He argued that the pandemic accelerated these trends against individual liberties.



During his speech, Alito claimed that religious freedom was becoming a "disfavored right," presenting three cases where it was challenged: *The Little Sisters of the Poor*, *Ralph's Pharmacy* and *The Masterpiece Cake Shop*. In his view, these cases juxtapose religious freedoms versus government bureaucracy—the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Washington State Board of Pharmacy and Colorado Civil Rights Commission, respectively. The U.S. Supreme Court ultimately decided in favor of the Little Sisters and Jack Phillip, owner of Masterpiece Cake shop. It did not grant certiorari in the *Ralph Pharmacy* case. Thus, religious freedom was upheld in two of the three cases, not a typical track record for a disfavored right. Yet this was not Alito's point. Instead, he was concerned that religious freedoms were "attacked" by administrative agencies in the first place.

To understand why bureaucratic agencies appeared to be "attacking" religious freedom, one must recognize the other side of the argument, which Alito failed to acknowledge in his speech: the 14th Amendment's equal protection clause. For some, access to contraception and abortion services centers on women's individual liberty. As women were—many argue still are—an oppressed class in this nation for whom full civil rights protections have been granted, the debate over religious freedoms does not operate in a vacuum. Similarly, *Masterpiece Cake* centered on the protection of the LGBTQ+ community as it involved a wedding cake for a gay couple.

One could attribute the contraception and abortion issue as the product of goal ambiguity, but a simple reading of 43 USC Sec.18023 of the Affordable Care Act makes obvious that Congress did not speak in a clear and deliberate manner regarding these issues. Looking at *Masterpiece Cake*, some could explain this as an agency with a clear mission: It was the Colorado Civil Rights Commission and its mission was to identify discrimination. Despite ruling in favor of *Masterpiece Cake*, though, the Supreme Court did not address the discrimination issue. Instead, it found that the commission had been hostile toward the cake shop owner's religion; on this ground, the court ruled against it. This case can be viewed as the judiciary reining in an overzealous bureaucracy.

continued on page 30

POLICE BRUTALITY BONDS: The Cost of the Status Quo

By Kallan Smith

“Police brutality” bonds are debt securities that allow U.S. cities and counties to pay for the continued rising costs of policing; specifically, they compensate for damages that citizens incur when subjected to excessive force and abuse of power by law enforcement. The bonds allow banks and investment groups to purchase public debt for profit, primarily transaction fees and interest charges. These added costs of borrowing result in a significant increase in costs to taxpayers who ultimately are responsible for paying the initial settlements and the cost of offering the bonds. In other words, the cost of police brutality is not paid by the guilty parties, but by all citizens of a city or county, including citizen protestors.

Typically, municipalities issue bonds to fund public works projects and have regular reviews and established timelines. Police brutality bonds have no such timelines, making them quite different. They do not result from projects invested in community needs, but are an alternative method to fund increased costs of police brutality.

An alarming number of these bonds often are disproportionately issued in communities of color that are heavily policed. Conflicts of interest arise when examining the motivations of city managers and police authorities. Paying restitution to citizens and their families is necessary and proper. However, these bond offerings have created a financial market for profiteering.

Taxpayers in heavily policed, low income communities have their taxable wealth chipped away through these bonds. The debt liabilities directly impact future budgets and services. They also hide the real cost of policing, damaging transparency—an essential element of democracy—especially in cases of police brutality. The Action Center on Race and the Economy describes the bonds as budgetary evidence that cities and counties invest in criminalization and divest in other services that contribute to public safety.

According to Goodwin, et al., a staggering \$877.9 million dollars have been paid in settlements and judgments using municipal bonds in just 12 cities since 2010. Municipalities have budgetary tools at their disposal to account for judgments and settlements and have accounted for these seemingly

inevitable circumstances of violence for some time. Police budgets can apportion funds for misconduct settlements, others have liability insurance, and a certain amount can be moved from discretionary accounts. These tactics may provide aid in the short term, but bonds often are seen as a better solution for deferring costs. As such, police departments have grown accustomed to exceeding budgets because of their wide availability.

Settlements/Judgments by City

City	Amount in \$
Bethlehem, PA	\$7.39 million
Canton, OH	\$1.8 million
Chicago, IL	\$709.3 million
Cleveland, OH	\$12.9 million
Fullerton, CA	\$ 1 million
Hammond, IN	\$4.8 million
Lake County, IN	\$18.1 million
Los Angeles, CA	\$71.4 million
Milwaukee, WI	\$26.1 million
Nassau County, NY	\$23 million
New Haven, CT	\$9.5 million
South Tucson, AZ	\$2.1 million
Total	\$877.9 million

The connection between private investors and public budgets has resulted in large sums of interest paid by taxpayers to investors. Although \$877.9 million is a staggering number for municipalities to borrow on the open market, it only represents the principal. Bonds require banking and broker fees, plus interest that must be paid on the debt security. Table 2 shows the amount of interest paid, and the principal is summed for five of the cities in Table 1.

In addition to the \$837.8 million borrowed, \$891 million will be paid in interest, bringing the total to \$1.73 billion in just five cities. These economic burdens will follow these communities for decades to come and very well may take priority over essential services. Even worse, communities most likely to borrow using bonds are ones already experiencing budgetary and revenue issues.

Police Brutality Bonds and Investor Profits: Five Case Studies

City/County	Total Estimated Police Brutality Bonds 2008-2017	Interest Paid to Investors	Total Cost to Taxpayers
Chicago (2010-2017)	\$709.3 million	\$860 million	\$1.57 billion
Cleveland	\$12.9 million	\$7.4 million	\$20.3 million
Lake County	\$18.1 million	\$1.8 million	\$19.9 million
Los Angeles	\$71.4 million	\$18 million	\$89.4 million
Milwaukee	\$26.1 million	\$3.7 million	\$29.8 million
TOTAL	\$837.8 million	\$891 million	\$1.73 billion

Source: Goodwin, Shepard, Sloan. "Police Brutality Bonds: How Wall Street Profits from Police Violence", *The Action Group on Race and the Economy*, June 2020.

The cost of the status quo is a driving factor for the push to reform city budgets, especially the appropriate allocation of resources to respond to community needs that preserve the peace. Often, the barriers to reform and the lack of attention given to real future costs of police brutality bonds result from personal and regional politics. It is an expression of values and the local hierarchy of power. Elected, appointed and bureaucratic officials are responsible for the tough and controversial decisions surrounding budget reform.

Restructuring revenue priorities for health and human services is a proposed solution to reducing police violence. This would happen through reducing responsibilities of police departments. Police and budget reform depend upon a broad change in understanding of human services and how they contribute to public safety. Unfortunately, most authority to reform local budgets is controlled through current policy makers, procedures, and segmented power structures. A broad sweeping federal or state policy may have some effect but would be difficult to agree upon, implement and monitor. So, budgetary reform has been slow at every level of government to increase funding for alternative health services other than police departments. The use and cost of police brutality bonds exacerbates this slowness and reduces the revenues available.

Public administration of strained budgets prioritizing law and order has caused budgetary imbalances that are being "solved" through debt securities on a large scale. These bonds are deferred taxes waiting to be restructured. Considering police violence an investment and selling these bonds on the market is the peak of public and private conflict.

Bonds are meant to balance portfolios with stable, long-term investments. If municipalities continue to offer police brutality bonds, budgetary reform will continue to be delayed.

Kallan Ryan Smith is an economic assistant with the Bureau of Labor Statistics and an MPA student at Sonoma State University. His research interests include social justice, police reform, policy outcomes and implementation strategies. Smith can be reached at smithkal@sonoma.edu.

JUSTICE ALITO'S LESSON

continued from page 28

It is important to recognize that Alito and others view these agency actions as an attack on religious freedom, protected in the First Amendment. While I have argued that some see all three cases differently and focus on the equal protection clause, I do not think the average citizen would express the debate in terms of constitutional amendments. In an age of social justice challenges, they are more likely to see these conflicts as arguments between the Christian class and other beliefs.

I am uncertain about the role of COVID-19 in this struggle, but I agree with Justice Alito on this: In the future, we will experience more of these conflicts. And, public administrators will need to find a way to balance the tension that exists between religious freedom and the equal protection clause.

Michelle Buehlmann is adjunct assistant professor at Northern Virginia Community College and a doctoral candidate at George Mason University. She can be reached at mbuehlmann@nvcc.edu.

Members in the News

Pan Suk Kim Elected to UN International Civil Service Commission

ASPA International Director Pan Suk Kim was elected to the International Civil Service Commission of the United Nations at the UN General Assembly in November 2020. An independent expert body comprising 15 members, the commission deals with the human resource policy and salary and post adjustment of the UN Common System, covering 28 organizations, including the United Nations, affiliated programs (such as UNDP and UNICEF), 13 specialized agencies and one organization with special status. The commission makes recommendations to the General Assembly, which then acts as the legislator for the rest of the common system on professional salary scales, level of dependency allowances and education grants.



Kim, a professor at Yonsei University in South Korea, has broad experience as an expert in governmental affairs. He was secretary to the president for personnel policy in the Office of the President and minister of the Ministry of Personnel Management of the Republic of Korea. He also has served as a member of the Administrative Reform Committee and several policy advisory committees in the Korean central government.

Jared Llorens Named Dean of LSU E.J. Ourso College of Business

Louisiana State University has named Jared Llorens as dean of the E.J. Ourso College of Business. Llorens was appointed interim dean in July 2020 and previously chaired the Department of Public Administration. He holds the John W. Dupuy endowed professorship and is a professor in public administration.



Llorens' research focuses on human resource management, including compensation and HRM information systems. Recently elected a fellow of the National Academy of Public Administration, he was a faculty member at the University of Kansas and worked with the U.S. Department of Labor and U.S. Office of Personnel Management.

Patricia Shields Named Regents' Professor at Texas State

Patricia Shields, professor in the Department of Political Science at Texas State University, was named regents' professor by the university system's board of regents in November 2020. The designation honors outstanding members of the system's professoriate who have achieved excellence in teaching, research, publication and community service, while demonstrating an unwavering dedication to their students and university. Shields is the 18th regents' professor to be honored at Texas State, a lifetime designation bestowed on tenured full professors acknowledged as exceptional by their peers and students.



Shields came to Texas State in 1978 after serving as a graduate research assistant at the Ohio State University. She has published four books, 45 journal articles, 27 book chapters and 17 book reviews, and served as editor of *Armed Forces and Society*, the leading journal in civil-military relations, for 19 years.

Susan Gooden's *Global Equity in Public Administration: Nervous Areas of Governments* Published

Routledge recently announced publication of *Global Equity in Public Administration: Nervous Areas of Governments*, by ASPA Past President Susan Gooden. Gooden is dean of the L. Douglas Wilder School of Government and Public Affairs at Virginia Commonwealth University. The volume discusses the discomfort that public servants, governments and government actors face—and are even debilitated by—in their considerations of equity when confronted with a record of discrimination and exclusion that makes it easy to overlook the centrality of fairness, both for the marginalized and the polity at large. It focuses on topics that historically have inspired the greatest nervousness in the administration of government services—race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religion, class and ability status—each told from varying contexts and perspectives around the world. With contributions of scholars reflecting deep knowledge of 10 countries, each chapter respects the voice and approach of myriad international perspectives, offering a robust approach toward the provision of equity and justice in government services.



Maria Aristigueta Joins Advisory Board at Volcker Alliance

The Volcker Alliance has announced that ASPA Past President Maria Aristigueta, dean of the University of Delaware's Joseph R. Biden, Jr. School of Public Policy and Administration, has joined its Public Service Education Accelerator Advisory Board. The central objectives of the Public Service Education Accelerator are to catalyze innovation to strengthen public service curricula, impart public service values to a broader group of students across all disciplines and amplify the capacity of schools of public service to inspire and prepare the next generation of public servants.



Aristigueta is the inaugural dean of the Biden School. A member of the UD faculty since 1997, she is the Charles P. Messick chair in public administration and served as director of the school since 2007. She was ASPA president in 2015-2016. Prior to joining UD, Aristigueta taught in the University of Central Florida's Department of Public Administration and was a senior management analyst for the Cities of Orlando and Miami. She started her career as an evaluator for the U.S. General Accounting Office.

Keystone State Chapter Participates in NECoPA 2020

The Keystone State Chapter continued its high level participation in the Northeast Conference on Public Administration (NECoPA), held in November, both within NECoPA leadership and leading panels. Bing Ran, associate professor at Penn State Harrisburg, is NECoPA's immediate past chair, while Joseph Hafer, assistant professor at the University of Memphis, serves as secretary/treasurer. Other NECoPA board members include Christina Sarrafian, U.S. Census Bureau and Keystone State Chapter president-elect; Elise Turner, communications manager, Delaware Valley Regional Planning Commission; and Triparna Vasavada, associate professor, Penn State Harrisburg. Eleven Chapter members authored or co-authored papers during the two-day event. Also, West Chester University sponsored sessions looking at "delivering on government's promises" and hosted a virtual networking session for attendees.

In Memoriam: Judith Kirchhoff

Former Rutgers Associate Dean Judith Kirchhoff passed away on November 19. First joining ASPA in 1990, she was a longstanding leader and member of the Section on Health and Human Services Administration, Section on Public Administration Research and Section on Public Performance and Management, as well as the New Jersey Chapter. Having attended and presented at many annual conferences, she served on conference program committees in 1996, 2003 and 2004.



Kirchhoff received her master's degree from the University of Illinois and her doctorate in political science from the University of Maryland. She was a professor throughout her career, retiring in 2014, and met her husband, Bruce, at the University of Nebraska at Omaha, where he was a professor.

In Memoriam: David Miller

David Miller, longtime professor and dean at the University of Pittsburgh's Graduate School of Public and International Affairs (GSPIA), passed away on November 17. Miller founded the Congress of Neighboring Communities (CONNECT), an intergovernmental co-op between the City of Pittsburgh and its surrounding municipalities. He also served as analyst at the Pennsylvania Economy League and budget chief in the administration of then-Pittsburgh Mayor Tom Murphy. Admired for his ability to see the big picture, Miller had continued to influence city leaders in recent years.



Miller was an active ASPA member, attending annual conferences, participating in his local Chapter (the Keystone State Chapter) and the Section on Intergovernmental Administration and Management. Miller grew up in Maine and met his wife, Marie, when they were students at Utica College of Syracuse University. After earning his bachelor's degree in political science, he received a master's degree in public administration from Kent State University and doctoral degree in public policy research and analysis at Pitt.

In Memoriam: Audrey Mathews

Audrey Mathews, professor emerita at California State University—San Bernardino, passed away on December 31, 2020. She dedicated more than 35 years of her life to public service in local and state governments as a professor, budget director, planning commissioner and consultant. She also has served as a member of the San Bernardino County’s Planning Commission and was a member of the San Bernardino Workforce Investment Board.



An ASPA member since 1977, Mathews was a life member and a long-time member of multiple Sections, including the Section for Women in Public Administration (SWPA), where she served as the first editor of SWPA’s newsletter, “Bridging the Gap”; and the Conference of Minority Public Administrators, which she chaired in the mid-1990s. Active in ASPA’s daily work, programs and governance, she served on numerous committees including award selection committees, the audit committee, a *PAR* editor search committee and the *PA TIMES* editorial board. She attended annual conferences throughout her membership in ASPA including serving as conference co-chair for the 2014 Annual Conference (ASPA’s 75th anniversary celebration). She received the Elmer B. Staats Lifetime Achievement Award for Distinguished Public Service in 2013.

Mathews’ career began at the Chicago police department, after which she moved to Beverly Hills and served as a payroll clerk. She went on to become budget director for Beverly Hills, served in Compton, California and, after earning her MPA and DPA, moved to Washington, DC to become director of budget operations under Mayor Marion Barry. She taught full-time in California State University—San Bernardino’s College of Business and Public Administration (1996-2006), developing curriculum on diversity management, economic development and budget and finance. She also was CEO of Mathews and Associates, her consulting firm based in Los Angeles.

A 2007 National Academy of Public Administration fellow, Mathews has written numerous chapters in textbooks, journal articles and technical reports on topics of diversity, mentoring and urban governance. She received her DPA from the University of Southern California and her MPA from California State University—Northridge.

Asked to describe her philosophy of service, Mathews stated, “I have dedicated my life to helping those in need in the communities where I live, work and play, never thinking my life’s dedication to the public service as something remarkable,” she said. “I’m just doing what I was born to do: mentor and provide a helping hand to those in need of my services.”



OFFICERS

President

Kendra Stewart, College of Charleston

President-Elect

Allan Rosenbaum, Florida International University

Immediate Past President

Paul Danczyk, University of Southern California

Secretary/Treasurer

William Shields, ASPA

NATIONAL COUNCIL

District I

Michael Ahn, University of Massachusetts
Maria D'Agostino, John Jay College of Criminal Justice
Josh Osowski, Rutgers University—Newark

District II

Jonathan Del Collo, Berks County, Pennsylvania
Diane Disney, Penn State University
Myung Jin, Virginia Commonwealth University

District III

Thomas Barth, University of North Carolina—Charlotte
Akhlaque Haque, University of Alabama—Birmingham
Kim Hoffman, University of Central Arkansas

District IV

J. Paul Blake
Stephen Kleinschmit, University of Illinois—Chicago
Zhirong Zhao, University of Minnesota

District V

Galia Cohen, University of Texas at Dallas
Rex Facer, Brigham Young University
Aziza Zembrani, University of Texas—Rio Grande Valley

Student Representative

Abdul Samad, Florida International University

International Director

Pan Suk Kim, Yonsei University

COMPA Representative

James Agbodzakey, University of North Texas at Dallas

NATIONAL STAFF

Executive Director

William Shields

Chief of Membership, Marketing and Communications

Karen E. T. Garrett, CAE

Strategic Development and Advancement Director

Phillip Carlisle

Professional Development and Events Manager

Karen Lam

Conference Manager and Member Services Specialist

Amy Omang

Membership Coordinator

Lexie Tyson

Editorial Assistant

Jillian Kaplan

ADVERTISE IN PA TIMES

PA TIMES features several advertising avenues. Display advertising is available to announce conferences, educational programs, publications, products, etc. The Recruiter lists employment opportunities. ASPA reserves the right to edit text to conform with layout and design of the magazine.

Display Advertising

Full Page \$975

(8.5x11.25 full-bleed, active copy area 8x10.625)

Half Page Vertical \$675

(3.87x10.36 or 8x5.1)

Quarter Page \$520

(3.87x5.1)

Premium Pages

Inside Back Cover \$1,500

(8.5x11.25 full-bleed, active copy area 8x10.625)

Inside Front Cover \$1,500

(8.5x11.25 full-bleed, active copy area 8x10.625)

Employment Advertising in The Recruiter

Online (3 months with unlimited wording)

\$250 See www.publicservicecareers.org

Print Advertising

99¢ cents per word

Additional Print Fees: \$10/logo; \$10/border

For more information or to reserve advertising space, contact Dean Mather at dmather@mrvisa.com or (856) 768-9360.

ASPANET.ORG