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PUBLIC MANAGEMENT AND ETHNIC DIVERSITY

Matthew Holden, Jr.^a

A Personal Retrospective on Wayne State and Public Management

It is the greatest of pleasures to be here in the McGregor Center. Wayne State is where I truly began the more academic part of my progression. I started to teach here in 1961, when a remarkable man called Norman Wengert was Chairman of the

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Department of Political Science. I shall say a bit more about Norm Wengert directly. I greatly enjoyed my time here, and Wayne then fit one of my beliefs, an institution tht provided a democratic higher education, available to people of all classes.

When I was here I had the greatest intellectual latitude, and came to know a wide variety of people, e.g. Alfred H. Kelly and Winfred Harbison (known to his peers, but not me, as AJens≡ Harbison), who then was a Vice President. I also had some intellectual exchange with Ross Stagner, an industrial psychologist who was interested in the theory and the practice of politics, with Wilbur Thompson, an urban economist, and with Mark Kahn, a labor economist, with the soon-to-be famous John Harsanyi; with the somewhat acidulous Lee Benson, who was then becoming famous as a scientific historian of the Jackson period; with the brilliant and difficult Bertram Gross who came here to be director of the Center for Urban Studies; with Roberta Sigel, my dear friend, who gave me more guidance into political science than she remembers; to a very interesting group of students who included Charles Cnudde, Kenneth Cockrel, William J. Beckham, Francis P. Smolinski and Priscilla Lutz (whom I never heard of after they went off to the Peace Corps).

Broadus Butler, later a dean and a university president in the South, was then Assistant to the Dean in the College of Liberal Arts. He was very much the active agent, connecting a

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new black faculty member to the vibrant black middle class in Detroit. Arthur Johnson, later a senior University administrator, was at that time Executive Secretary of the Detroit Branch of the NAACP, and I am gratified to see him here today. Similarly, Murray Jackson, now a member of the Board of Governors, was a good friend and colleague. I am also grateful for his presence.

I saw, but did not know, President Clarence Hilberry. Just as I arrived he was embattled with the faculty elders in his desire to move to a trimester system. I believe the idea was to save capital by using buildings more intently all year around. It seemed likely to impose heavy burdens on the faculty, and Wengert, Ross Stagner, Martin Stearns of Physics, who later became Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, and other department chairs fought it to a standstill.

Wayne State=s Political Science Department never coerced me into anything. The greatest help was that it encouraged ambition. Perhaps this is the moment to return to Norman Wengert. His little book, Natural Resources and the Political Struggle, was far ahead of its time, and contains much of value to students of interest group politics and to students of natural resources and environmental policy (though the latter had not emerged when Wengert wrote). Wengert was a bold and challenging chairman.

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He could be very far-sighted, even visionary, in a way that goes beyond what political scientists normally do. For example, he said that we should not emphasize studying French and German so much. The need was to study Russian and Chinese, given the vast number of speakers of those languages, and the political and strategic importance that the countries would have. He stressed that automobile gridlock was of fundamental importance, and not merely a nuisance. He emphasized the political importance of aging, for which reason he was active in supporting a joint program on aging with the University of Michigan.

Some people found him difficult as chairman. But his ambitions for the department perhaps are not yet realized and commemorated. And he was supportive of the faculty whom he thought ambitious. We had good relations over most of the period. He could be hard to deal with, if you were timid. He would shout at you in department meetings, and that scared some people. Never scared me. Sometimes we had open fights. He would shout. I would shout back. Once he brought me a letter of resignation to sign. I signed it. I already had accepted another job, and had told him so. He was mad because I had pushed him hard to send a black intern out to Dearborn.

But he was protective when I, as a junior faculty member needed protected, and encouraged my ambitions. Someone wrote him a letter saying something nice about me. I do not know why they were in contact, although it may be that it was because they each

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wrote on natural resources. Wengert as a department chairman did not have to show me tell me about the letterBbut he did. (I did not have the brains to ask for a photocopy.) Wengert quoted a part of it to me. The writer said Holden was a capable fellow, Aat least the equal of Wildavsky.≡ He was wrong. Nobody in our generation was the *equal* of Wildavsky, nor has anyone in the younger cohorts yet established a role equal to that of Wildavsky at a comparable stage.¹

But such a letter it raised my stock, and did my ego wonders. Wengert was very supportive about showing me how to apply for summer money. (One of my projects, which I never finished, was to have been a study of decision-making in the Detroit water board.)

¹. I have my own private estimate of whom the candidate(s) may be, but I am not yet sure.

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For most of my professional life, I have done a good deal of political science that some would call Atheoretical.[≡] The strongest theoretical political scientists might accept that designation of what I have done. But, quite often, what I have worked on does not have an immediate and direct application. I am, quite honestly, very proud of a paper of many years ago on conflict and accommodation between administrative agencies. Borrowing language from Gordon Tullock,² I used the term Abureaucratic imperialism.^{≡3} But the ideas there, highly relevant to problems of inter-organizational coordination or its opposite. They would require some simplification and operationalization in order to be applied to some specific situation such as the problem of relations between the City of Detroit and other governmental entities.

wengert invited me back in 1966, with tenure and a big percentage increase in pay at the time. The Center for Urban Studies was being developed, and he tried to get me interested in being director. He left somehow in the next couple of years, before I did. But we kept in touch off and on. Years laterBwhen I was in the Federal GovernmentB he was teaching at Colorado

². Gordon Tullock, The Politics of Bureaucracy, Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1966.

³. Matthew Holden, Jr., A>Imperialism= in Bureaucracy,≡ American Political Science Review 50?:4 (December 1966), 943-951?

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State University, and recommended me for the presidency there. The authorities in that state looked elsewhere. He had a powerful intellectual influence on me, in encouraging me to be interested in public affairs, though that really was preaching to the choir. However, if the choir is outnumbered by the scoffers, a little preaching can be supportive. He could be very about social phenomenaBstressing the importance of learning Russian and Chinese in order to understand better.

Maurice Ramsey was another Wayne faculty member whom I knew in a relationship specifically related to today=s program. Somewhere in one of these buildings Xperhaps here in McGregorBthere was an executive development program for city employees. This class met periodically in the evening, under Ramsey=s guidance, along with the cooperation of another faculty member. I believe the other man came from the speech department. I participated as the note taker, though I do not remember what I did with the notes. Ramsey was realistic, but he also had the overt moral rectitude that reminds me of Woodrow Wilson, with whom he shared the cultural orientation of the Presbyterian.⁴

⁴. Ramsey has disappeared from view. I do not believe that he and his wife, Evelyn, had children, though I may be in error. He was a good and encouraging colleague, as were all the people who were my seniors when I first arrived here in 1961. I was a little closer to him than to some, perhaps because of the city executive development program that I mentioned.

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Ramsey was the first person to recommend to me the letters that Lent D. Upson had written to students.⁵ The program included menBI remember no women and, to tell the truth, I remember no men of colorB who were likely to move up to the top of the city departments and agencies.

In the nature of life, not everything works well. One or two of them stumbled and became the subject of various ethics inquiries into their modes of supplementing civil service income.

Some attained very high responsibility, especially during the Mayoralty of Jerome P. Cavanagh, which was the time I was here, and acquitted themselves well.

Perhaps that is enough to tell you that I identified strongly with Wayne in those days. I enjoyed the university, and enjoyed the entry into the city BB though I did remain here that long. Thus I connect myself to the main tradition of public administration, to the way that it has been present at Wayne State in the past, and to its manifestation in the sponsorship of

⁵. Lent D. Upson, Letters on Public AdministrationBfrom a Dean to his Graduates, Detroit: Citizens Research Council of Michigan, 1954.

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this Lent D. Upson Lecture.

A Departure from the Tradition

At the same time, as my chosen subject, A Ethnic Diversity and Public Management, ≅ may indicate I am going to depart somewhat from the main tradition of public administration. I will not speak directly about the conventional bread and butter of public administration, namely budgeting and personnel. Those questions arose when A public administration ≅ was mainly a means of protecting A the taxpayers, ≅ and A taxpayers ≅ really meant the payers of real estate taxes and other taxes on property. More than anything else, this meant large business property tax payers. It also meant finding standards for decision that could be used, sometimes in law suits and sometimes in publicity, to prevent the owners of large taxable properties from being shaken down.

Public management has evolved very far from that element, but that is still not irrelevant. It is very important to know the variety of budgetary procedures, how public personnel is handled, how audits are intelligently conducted, how programs can be evaluated and so on. This is notably important in the time of the A New Public Management. ≅ The hard questions in public management that concern me here are not primarily technical, as important as the technical questions are.

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I am out on a search for a political theory of administration or public management.⁶ The people who focus on the important technical questions assume a commonality of interest. But I assume conflicting interests. The questions that concern me are political. In that respect, I depart from the tradition. (I shall, however, say a few words on Apersonnel≅ relation to the discussion below of Aarmed bureaucracies.≅) I should say explicitly that I work with the desire to know how a process will work, more than with a desire to say how it should work.

I work with the supposition that the central problem in human groupings, including but not limited to AGovernment≅, is the organization of power. Public managers are critical. What are the resources with which they work? For all time and all space, there are ultimately but three resources that humans engage in the organization of power: information, money and its surrogates, and force. The way these resources are used gives us the the never-ending record of the social transactions involving governments and those subject to governmental jurisdiction.

⁶. The first major step in this search is expressed in Continuity & Disruption: Essays in Public Administration, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996.

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These three resources are used in varying combinations to regulate or control what people and institutions do, to assist or facilitate purposes, and to provide some facilities and services that basically are entrepreneurial and could, in theory, be provided in a private market. (Many of these entrepreneurial activities may be what municipal law has sometimes referred to as proprietary functions of local government, rather than inherently governmental functions.)

Administration is the key. Law, said Oliver Wendell Holmes, is what a court will enforce. But strictly speaking, courts enforce nothing. Courts pronounce and public managers (or public administrators, or executives at various levels) enforce. Public management (or administrative action) displays the rules, as more or less consistently applied by people who exercise actual discretion, rather than those that are merely expressed verbally.

In a practical sense the constitution is what is realized in the practice of public managers and those over whom they exercise authority.

Let me offer an example. In 1962 or 1963, I walked from Cass to Woodward Avenue, on the side street just beyond the public library. It was in the early evening, just after dark. I was headed to the bus line (not owning or driving a car) to visit my girl friend, who has remained so now for almost thirty seven years as she has for nearly all that period also been my wife. I

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was stopped, questioned as to where I was going, and searched, quickly and to my astonishment. Some AID≅ was demanded. The officers took a look, and made a quick judgment that the guy with the Wayne State assistant professor card probably was not their suspect. I said, as calmly as I knew how, Awhat the problem, officer?≅ A suspicion of robbery, armed.≅ Almost the next inquiry to me was, A do you think your civil rights have been violated?≅

I wish I could tell you that courage rose up high and that I answered Ayes.≅ wisdom rose up, arm in arm with cowardice, and I lied. I said Ano.≅ The constitution on a darkened side street was what the two officers said it was. It was embodied in administrative practice.

I also work, let me emphasize, with a theory that rests upon interest as a better estimator of human action than ideals, norms, or philosophies. Finally, I think of group competition, conflict, and adjustment as more significant than the aggregation of individual action.⁷ David B. Truman, whose writing gave us

⁷. David B. Truman, The Governmental Process, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951 is, in my opinion, still the best book on this subject, although it is analytically imperfect and based upon experience up to the late 1940s. Since this position will be controversial, I owe to present day students to cite other material, based sometimes upon more advanced methodological Jack L. Walker, Mobilization of Interest Groups in America, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997; John P. Heinz, Edward O.

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the term Ainterest groups≅ that now is in common speech, wrote, "The power [such] groups dispose is involved at every point in the institutions of government, and the efforts of these [groups] are in various ways aided by, restricted by, and identified with institutionalized government."

Since I take Truman seriously, it is obvious that I am compelled logically to conclude that public administration is

Laumann, Robert H. Salisbury, The Hollow Core: Private Interests in National Policymaking, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993. Kay Schlozman and John P. Tierney, Organized Interests and American Democracy, New York: Harper and Row, 1986, was more up to date as to data, but there is no more recent edition. Mark P. Petracca (Ed.), The Politics of Interests: Interest Groups Transformed, Boulder: Westview Press, 1992 is a helpful compendium of papers as well. Thus, while there is need for a new treatment, Truman=s remains, in my opinion, conceptually the strongest.

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intertwined with the activities of interest groups.

As students at various levels, we should know how little overt and systematic examination there has been of interest groups in the administrative process. Truman himself had written a Ph. D. dissertation on public administration, dealing with the Chicago field office of the United States Department of Agriculture. His book on groups has a conceptual chapter on the web of relationships in the administrative process. But there are few other succeeding works that put his ideas to test, correct what seems wrong, verify what is right, and suggest extensions into new ground.

Ethnic Groups and Public Management

What moves me today is the question of ethnicity and public management. Where group difference exists in reality, it exists in administrative practice. Public managers will make their decisions about information, money, and force partly in ethnic terms, and other people acting partly in ethnic terms will try to alter, influence or impede their decisions. Ethnic groups—groups that exist over several generations, sometimes defined by language, by religion, or by a presumption of biological ancestry or race. Ethnic groups cut across class lines, cut across generations, are more or less defined by commonly accepted social

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rules about marriage and descent.⁸

⁸. I do not have time and space to develop this point here. I simply find it necessary to stipulate what I am assuming.

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I am not here to take a moral stance and preach that you ****should take ethnic diversity into account. Such group relationships may be bilateral (two groups facing each other). In general, bilateral relationships have been common in the United States. Just about everyone knows that there was a bitter conflict between Anglo-Protestant (Yankee, as some would say, and notably Boston Brahmins) and Irish Catholic in Boston. (You have to read between the lines, but one of the most interesting accounts in Beatty=s biography of James Michael Curley, the sometime mayor of Boston and Member of Congress.)⁹ There were similar, though not so intense, battles elsewhere in the Northeast and Middle Atlantic states. In many local governments other battles then were fought with the Irish in the dominant position, vis-a-vis Italians, Jews, Slovaks, Poles, etc. (The similar relationship within the Catholic Church should not be omitted by anyone who wants to understand the United States.)

It is obvious that we must refer to white vs. black all across the United States (surely in Detroit), white vs. Latino/a

⁹. Jack Beatty, The Rascal King: The Life and Times of James Michael Curley, 1874-1958, (A William Patrick Book), Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1992.

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in the West, white vs. Asian in the West, white vs. Native American in the West. Groups may also be trilateral (as is now emerging where there are whites, blacks, and Latinos/as in places such as Chicago, and if one looks at the emerging service labor force at Detroit Metro Airport there will be something in this area as well.). The ethnic structure could be multilateral. Ethnicity is all around us and is politically and administratively important.

Most of the scholars and commentators who have constituted the elder statesmanship of public administration thought have ignored the social facts of life. Ironically, the young Woodrow Wilson whose later Presidential administration would be the most racist of the 20th century - was an exception. Wilson gave a lecture at Cornell University in 1887 and talked about public opinion as a variable in administrative reform. He said that "[t]o know the public mind of this country, one must know the mind, not of Americans of the older stocks only, but also of Irishmen, of Germans, of Negroes."¹⁰ 1 Wilson thereafter had no

¹⁰. Woodrow Wilson, "The Study of Administration, " as

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more to say on the subject.

reprinted in Jay M. Shafritz and Albert C. Hyde (eds.), Classics in Public Administration, Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1987, 2nd ed., rev. and exp., 17.

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His contemporaries or immediate successors were as silent as could be. Frank J. Goodnow, whom Dwight Waldo has described as "the Father of Public Administration," practiced law a little, and taught law and political science in New York City, and wrote about the Tweed Ring. Later, he moved into the different atmosphere of Baltimore. W.F. Willoughby moved up from the Eastern Shore in Virginia to teach in Baltimore. Leonard D. White moved from New England, to settle in the Hyde Park neighborhood around the University of Chicago, and had some occasional forays to the downtown of Chicago. Louis Brownlow, the chair of the famous Brownlow Committee, was many things, including newspaper reporter, Commissioner of the District of Columbia Government, and public administration leader in the 1930s and 1940s. Lent D. Upson lived in this city of the where Dr. Ossian Sweet and his brother were indicted for murder, in the defense of his new home in a white neighborhood,¹¹ the city of the struggle between the auto companies and the unions for the allegiance of the city's black leaders,¹² the city of Joe Lewis, the Acredit to his race—an appellation that tells its own story,

¹¹. Walter F. White, A Man Called White, New York: Viking, 1948, 73-79 .

¹². Ibid., 210-219.

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and the city of the 1943 riots.

It was physically impossible for these intellectual and practical leaders of thought not to have known the social realities. But the realities do not enter into what they said. I do not say in order to pronounce moral judgments. Doubtless, there are other important factors that we now know, but do not discuss. Although a wholly detached observer could see their relevance.

The fact is that these people, our predecessors, missed what they could not have failed to see, but that leaves us with some need for deeper knowledge.

1. The Simplifying Assumption

For the sake of this lecture, I will proceed more or less on the simplifying assumption of dominance and subordination. The simplifying assumption leaves out much that could be taken into account. But I think we will find it works pretty well. I proceed *as if* the dominant-subordinate white-black relationship is the only thing. This is an analytic assumption. But it is important, when trying to understand our own situation, not to focus narrowly in terms of our time and place only.

2. Richard Hooker's Biblical Illustration of Ethnic Diversity

Ethnic diversity is seldom, if ever, absent from public management practice, as manifest in schools, jails, parks department, armies, hospitals, and so on. We can see this from

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a long time ago. The public as we know it now did not exist in the time that Elizabeth I was Queen of England (1558-1603). Richard Hooker, an Anglican theorist, lived in time of Elizabeth, dying in 1600 three years ahead of the Queen. Hooker wrote an influential book is called Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity in which he refers to the early Christian period.¹³

Look what was happening. In political science terms, there was an emerging multi-ethnic community, composed of the Jewish believers in Jesus and the Greek believers in Jesus, and this became the Church. Hooker then says ". . . It was the ancient custom of the Church to yield the poor much relief, especially widows . . . [and] there were [those] which grudged that others had too much and they too little, the Grecian widows shorter commons than the Hebrews."¹⁴ ² Those who are familiar with the New Testament know that Hooker got it from the Acts of the Apostles, Chapter 6, verse 1: A. . . when the number of the disciplines was multiplied, there arose a murmuring of the

¹³. Richard Hooker, Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, London: J. M. Dent Sons, 1954 printing, II, 436.

¹⁴.

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Grecians against the Hebrews, because their widows were neglected in the daily ministrations.¹⁵

In political science terms, the apostles, the leaders of this emergent Christian community, deemed it their duty daily in the temple, and in every house, [...] to teach and preach Jesus Christ.¹⁵ In these human and political science terms, these leaders (the apostles) did not wish to deal with the details.¹⁵ This business of dealing with disputes about whether the Greek widows got less than the Hebrew widows was too much, and they sought to evade it. The apostles called a big meeting and told the whole community to find some people they could trust to take on this administrative task. Wherefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business.¹⁶ This is one account of the circumstances under which the office of deacon, subordinate to the priestly office was created.

The Constituency Basis of Public Management

¹⁵. Acts 5:42.

¹⁶. Acts 6:2.

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The predicate is that power is a requisite for public managers and, in turn, that their decisions yield power. Public managers as administrative politicians need constituencies. Constituencies are the groups or interests that provide support to sustain the administrative agencies and that have some capability to impose pains upon the agencies they are dissatisfied.¹⁷ The problem of the public manager (administrative politician) to exclude hostile constituencies, so far as possible, and to include favorable constituencies, so far as possible.¹⁸ It is to exclude or minimize clienteles that cannot be constituencies, or that can only be weak constituencies in the face of strong adversaries.

Proposition 1: Constituency needs lead, drive, or encourage public managers to to presume that ethnic differentiation, of which everyone is perfectly aware, is irrelevant.

Professional public managers, let alone students of administrative theory, should recognize that American public management for most of the twentieth century maintained the substance of white dominance.

In other words, the idea of an objective public administration, presumed that all within the body politic have the same interest ("the public interest" or "the national

¹⁷. Further discussed, Holden, "'Imperialism' in Bureaucracy," 944.

¹⁸. Ibid.

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interest" or "the general interest"). What it has often meant was that the interest of the most secure group is the interest to be served in administrative action.

Proposition 2: when public managers cannot simply maintain that ethnic differentiation is irrelevant, they find it useful to reinterpret functions so as to include better constituents than subordinate groups can be.

From time to time, agency functions may be defined to provide some service to subordinate groups. Seldom can an agency to adhere strictly to a mission associated with a weak group and achieve the power necessary for its own defense and purposes. If the public managers (administrative politicians) have any chance to redefine the mission for which they are responsible, they will do so.

For example in the atmosphere of 2000, there is much talk about affirmative action. African Americans and women are not the first beneficiaries of affirmative action. Under legislation of 1907, the Government had a form of affirmative action for European working class immigrants. It was an employment service. The service was then moved to the Department Labor in 1914.¹⁹ The Department avoided an exclusive identification with the problems of the immigrants, especially at a time when pressure to restrict immigration was itself rising.

¹⁹. Francis E. Rourke, "The Politics of Administrative Organization," Journal of Politics, 19:3, August 1957, 463-464.

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Instead, the Department was able to argue that it was looking out for everybody. "By its subsequent subordination to the Department of Labor, charged as this department is with promoting the welfare of the wage earners of the United States, that function may be regarded as having been so far inferentially enlarged [to enter] upon plans of work for improving the opportunities of the wage earners of the United States, whether citizens or aliens, for profitable employment."²⁰

Sometimes public managers cannot ignore or avoid the fact that ethnic diversity exists, the situation will be influenced by several factors (variables). In this lecture, I will next discuss some expectations based upon the belief that the kind of resource that the agency principally uses (information, money, or force) plays a major role in the way that the agency managers deal with the fact of diversity.

Turbulence, Diversity and the Handling of Information

Proposition 3: Public managers will face information demands that are shaped by the expectation of group gain or loss, and their response will be to make information decisions according to the interests (groups) that they deem it essential to favor or reject.

²⁰. Ibid., 464. Emphasis additional.-. MH.

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Sometimes public managers (administrative politicians) act to preclude information from being made available to members of some groups. Five or six years after the adoption of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, tension remained in the black-white politics of rural Mississippi, though physical violence against Black voters was no longer practiced. In 1970 or 1971, I met an elderly man who was newly elected to the school board of Wilkinson County, Mississippi.

This man was, for all practical purposes, immobilized as a school board member. The superintendent, and the previous school board members, and had failed to provide him with any of the information necessary to do his job. If there were any manual from the State attorney general or State school authorities, he did not know of it. If there were a friendly person in the United States Office of Education, he did not have the name and phone number--nor did he know how to get it. Nor did he have the relevant knowledge about school budgets. Such a case of preclusion, that entirely violates textbook images of administrators (or "public managers") aiding their "political masters." There must be a rich field of inquiry as to the preclusion of information to groups that are not favored. The Wilkinson County example merely helps to identify the problem.

Preclusion can be reversed. Public managers (administrative politicians) will occasionally find that they are precluded by the resistance or non-cooperation of some part of the population.

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The relevant case is Brussels, for which a realistic census could not be taken for at least forty years. The Flemings, who feared that they would be found too small in the national capital itself, would not cooperate.

There is still another field of potential inquiry. The ethnic difference is also engaged by questions of what is valid information for decision-making. Someone in your cohort would surely perform a service, and establish a reputation, by a deep and thoughtful study about how public managers (administrative politicians) use the idea of Aintelligence \cong as a criterion for decision-making, and on testing as the specific means of making the criterion operational.

There are other important questions, one of which is what is the scientific content and/or necessity of the racial statistics now present in biomedical research.²¹ The other concerns the origins, scientific merit, and practical usage of racial profiling.

²¹. Robert A. Hahn, AThe State of Federal Health Statistics on Racial and Ethnic Groups, \cong Journal of the American Medical Association 267:2 (January 8, 1992), 268-271.

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Turbulence and Administrative Decisions About Money or Money-Surrogates

Public management is, in some respects, about money more than it is about anything else. From the viewpoint of "the public" as some hypothetical entity, the purpose of public employment is to provide a means for getting the public's work done. But the control of the public payroll has always involved other purposes or "latent functions" as discussed in the writing of Robert K. Merton.²² The control of the payroll, like the control of any payroll, is a means by which some people are enabled to earn income.

The job front shows the result of various changes in the relations of one group to another. As an immediate illustration, we might review the twentieth-century pattern of Federal personnel policy in the United States. The largest employing units in the United States Government were the Treasury Department and the Post Office Department, which is where most African Americans worked.

²². Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, New York: Free Press, 1968.

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When Wilson became President, the two departments were permitted to alter the previous policy, to the extent of reducing employment possibilities for African Americans and introducing some measure of formal segregation within the workplace.²³ There was some change in the hiring direction, if not on the segregation policy, during the 1920s. African American civil service employment now rose again in the Republican administrations, reaching almost to 10 percent by the end of the Hoover Administration.²⁴ Discrimination and segregation -- known in the common experience of African American civil servants, and demonstrated in recent scholarly research-- was the normal practice well the 1960s.²⁵

Desmond King has studied Federal personnel policy closely, from this point of view, and says, "The civil service became a key institution through which the US Federal Government asserted and maintained segregated race relations."²⁶ In my opinion, King

²³. Desmond King, Separate and Unequal: Black Americans and the US Government, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995,

²⁴. Ibid., 22. The study in question is Laurence W. J. Hayes, The Negro Federal Government Worker: A Study of His Classification Status in the District of Columbia, 1883-1938 (Howard University Studies in the Social Sciences, III, No. 1), Washington: The Graduate School, Howard University, 1941.

²⁵. Desmond King, Separate and Unequal: Blacks and the US Federal Government, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995,

²⁶. Desmond King, Separate and Unequal: Black Americans and the US Federal Government, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995, 40.

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overstates his case, in that the challenge to segregated race relations also came through the Federal Government. Later on, as the rights of non-whites became more often advocated in the public arena, public managers chose a form of words that denied the practice, even while accepting it.

Professional public management, which penetrated to the city level, left the benefits of public employment to whites as much as did the previous systems of patronage. Professionalism has done relatively little good, compared to electoral political power. Where African American electoral political control was achieved, the proportion of Black administrators rose dramatically. Oakland was such a case of immediate gain, and so was Little Rock, Norfolk, New Orleans, and Oklahoma City.²⁷

**Proposition 12: Public managers (administrative politicians), in intensely divided social situations, defend their previous decisions intensively, as if in military combat, by various devices including the litigation as a form of filibuster.

The maintenance of systems that gave public job opportunities to whites, and withheld them from African Americans, is best dramatized by the Alabama law suit of United States v. Paradise that ran for fifteen years. In 1972, the Federal district court

²⁷. Peter K. Eisinger, Black Employment in City Government, 1973-1980, Washington: Joint Center for Political Studies, 1983, 48.

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found for the plaintiff in a law suit claiming racial discrimination by the Alabama State Police and the Alabama Department of Public Safety. It was not until February 1987 that the Supreme Court, in a closely divided decision, upheld the Federal District Court order. By this time, the national electoral situation had so far changed that the U.S. Department of Justice now opposed race-conscious remedies are unconstitutional.

Contracting and capital formation are another set of areas related to material well being where group difference may be presumed to enter public administration. The group that gets control of the contract-making authority gets the ability to let business to its allies and friends. The search for professional public administration was, in fact, an objection to the allocation of contracts through partisan alignments. But those partisan alignments also were, presumptively, ethnically connected alignments. Some groups got and some did not.

Turbulence and Decision-Making About "Armed Bureaucracies"

A. Subordinate Groups Are Sometimes Mere Personnel Resources

If force is the core of government, then the logistical problem is to have a sufficient number of persons through whose hands force is to be exercised at the command of the central authority or the representatives of the central authority. Public managers are often faced with the fact that they simply have

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insufficient resources unless they use some people from the subordinate groups. This problem runs throughout the Armed bureaucracies,≡ whether military or police.²⁸

Proposition 13: The basic strategy is draw upon a subordinate population as pure resource.

The "resource" has no reciprocal claim to participation in the political entity that draws upon the resource. Subordinate populations are drawn in because the administrative necessity is to have a sufficient number of bodies.

Proposition 15: Public managers still follow managerial practices (regarding assignment, promotion, pay, discipline, etc.) that maintain subordination in fact.

Many of the same issues present themselves in the civilian police sector, though the similarities and differences between military and police should be evaluated carefully. Police departments in most Northern cities have developed a body of African American policemen, with a self-conscious interest

²⁸. Cynthia H. Enloe, "Ethnicity in the Evolution of Asia's Armed Bureaucracies," in DeWitt C. Ellinwood and Cynthia H. Enloe, Ethnicity and the Military in Asia, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1981, 1-14.

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different from that of their white colleagues. African Americans were recruited, or admitted, to the police force more because the force needed African Americans in situations where a white officer would be exposed to more danger or hostility.

Their superiors, as these officers saw it, always saw them in racial identities, and gave them assignments and duties were race-conscious and race-specific, whether so articulated or not.

They also believed the general public saw them the same way, with many African Americans expecting special favors and many whites reacting in fear and hostility.

The subordination of African Americans was, in fact, the predominant strategy of United States military management from the Civil War until the Korean War.²⁹ The subordination began to change during World War II. Results were mixed.^{30 31} But the change that began during World War II was minimal. The old policy collapsed partly as a matter of post-war politics and under the logistical necessities of the Korean War. In Korea,

²⁹. Marvin E. Fletcher, The Black Soldier and Officer in the United States Army, 1891-1917, Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1978, Chapters VII-VIII; and, Matthew Holden, Jr. Archives, Tabulation of Bills and Proposed Resolutions Relative to Afro-Americans, the 57th Through the 806th Congresses, Charlottesville, VA (p.o.Box 5623), 1987, which details the proposed legislation by Congressman John Nance Garner and others for the purpose of excluding African American enlistments in the United States Army.

³⁰. Adam Yarmolinsky, The Military Establishment,

³¹. Dempsey J. Travis, Views From the Back of the Bus,

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there were not enough men to mount good combat forces in segregated units.³²

Chicago: Urban Research Press, Inc., 1995.

³². Bernard J. Nalty, Strength for the Fight: History of Black Americans in the Military, New York: Free Press, 1986.

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Subordinate group ("minority group") members, if they are self-conscious about group membership, will attempt to act in accord with what they believe to be the moral or psychological dictates of the group membership. This produced great stress in the Marines,³³ in the Navy,³⁴ and in the Army. Edwin Newman, a newsman of standing a few years ago, produced a dramatic commentary on the dissident blacks who Aknocked the Army out of

³³. See remarks by Congressman Augustus F. Hawkins, D., California, Congressional Record (House), September 10, 1960. E7333; House Armed Services Committee. Special Subcommittee to Probe Disturbances on Military Bases, Inquiry Into the Disturbances at Marine Corps Base, Camp Lejeune, N.C. on July 20, 1969, HASC 91-32, December 15, 1969; and the same subcommittee's report on disturbances at Camp Pendleton, California, February 15, 1970, HASC 91-43; and, Orr Kelly, "Discipline Breakdown Plagues Marines," Washington Star, August 13, 1969, A1.

³⁴. Everett R. Holles, "130 of Crew Defy Order to Join

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shape.≡ General Colin Powell produced a more optimistic account, of the same time period.³⁵

Aircraft Carrier," New York Times, Friday, November 10, 1972, 1.

³⁵. Edwin Newman, review of Ward Just, Military Men, in New York Times Book Review, Sunday, December 20, 1970, 3. General Colin Powell with Joseph L. Persico, My American Journey, New York; Random House, 1995, 189-190. General Powell produces three vignettes of a distressed soldier whom stern discipline and sympathy returned to competence, of a tough general who broke up off-base segregation by threat of force, and of the dissident black corporal whom Powell arranged summarily to have removed from his battalion and discharged from the Army.

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These uncertainties also probably explain the fact of a complex, tentative study--by a Brookings-based team-- of what the racial composition of the services does to national security.³⁶ The British Army has had some of the same problems have fairly, if public reports are correct.³⁷

Moreover, the people who control the agencies may find it convenient to incorporate them, to one degree or another, at levels somewhat higher than they would attain in organizations that did not have that group-specific function, even though the group-specific function is latent rather than manifest. Perhaps this issue is best represented at the level of the black officer who has recently been appointed to head the New Jersey State Police, in the wake of a big controversy about racial profiling.

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³⁷. Christopher Bellamy, "Army pledges to stamp out racism in ranks," The Independent, Thursday, March 28, 1996, 8. After "'intense negotiations'" the Army agreed, in 1996, to detailed monitoring of racial groups, a policy of taking disciplinary measures against racism, a tight schedule for the Army to put its affairs in order. The report also includes wider recommendations to help increase the percentage of black and Asian people entering the forces and to improve their career opportunities.

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Personnel

I think that a close look at administrative agencies will show that the role allowed to ethnic minorities depends partly upon the distinction between line functions and staff functions. Essentially, the line functions are those in which a person might arise to exercise some share of the command authority of his/her superiors. Staff functions are those in which people assist the people who exercise line authority.

If ethnic differentiation is very strong, at the earliest stage of handling the new ethnic members, the highest authority that the ethnic minority person is likely to get is that of some sort of ethnic adviser or ethnic specialist. Sometimes this kind of position is important, and sometimes it is not. Members of the subordinate ethnic group are likely to achieve command functions, at least at the earliest stages, more easily if they are to command their own kind.≡

Political scientists have often quoted the remark attributed to Martin Lomasney, that there comes a time "when a bloke needs help. None of your law and justice, but help." There may be a propensity, at times, for members of a given ethnic group to assume that their fellows, who hold administrative posts, will agree with them about values so that what is ethical and unethical behavior is something on which they can agree. This may well lead to important ethical conflicts if there are other

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values at stake at the same time.

Under most circumstances, the plural society is productive of extraordinary turbulence and disruption in public administration. Sometimes, the turbulence and disruption arise because a particular group, assuming its own membership, seeks to protect its existing prerogatives and claims. Sometimes, it is because a particular set of groups find themselves in some contention over one or another advantage. Sometimes, it is because members of a group seek to preclude entry or exit. Whether ethnicity as a basis for social action is deemed morally legitimate is a fundamental question. Societies vary in the answer given and accepted.

American society pretends to act on the premise that ethnicity is a morally illegitimate basis for public action. The formal presumption is that a high degree of integration amongst the various groups is both desirable and possible. Practice also varies, even when the social norm asserts that it is not legitimate.

Obviously, societies vary in the extent to which its ethnic differentiation is deemed a morally legitimate basis of action, and in the extent to which--when it is not--it is relied upon nonetheless. Euro-Americans, African Americans, and others have some questions to face honestly. When is it legitimate to have differential action by officials based on group identity? When is it impermissible, and not at all legitimate? When is it

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mandatory? What is the measure of conflict or agreement between the official's public function and his or her social identity?

The subordinate groups, or the less powerful groups, are likely to show some confusion about what they should want in the administrative process.

1. Do they want the administrative system changed so that their members have a greater chance--even some certainty--of occupying high positions?

2. Do they wish to emphasize changes in the policy product of the administrative agencies?

3. Or do they wish to change agency procedure?

Conclusion

Perhaps I may sum up, then. As I have said, it is a special pleasure to be here in the McGregor Center. Wayne State is where I truly began the more academic part of my progression. In the past forty years, nearly, I have done a good deal of political science that some would call Atheoretical.≡ But I also connect myself to the main tradition of public administration and to the way that it has been present at Wayne State in the past.

In this lecture,. I depart somewhat from the main tradition of public administration by emphasizing a political theory of administration, by emphasizing that public administration is intertwined with the activities of interest groups, and especially by focusing on ethnic diversity and public management.

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Ethnic diversity is seldom, if ever, absent from public management practice, and I sketch out some aspects of management practice to which we might look in trying to develop a better empirical record.

Thus, I emphasize preclusion of information, by public managers, from less favored ethnic groups. I also emphasize the ethnic implications of decisions about both personnel and the allocation of public contracts. Finally, I touch upon the ethnic implications of Armed bureaucracies,≅ both military and police.

I am grateful for your attention, and wish to repeat a thread that has been all through this lecture.

1. There is a serious need for deep study of these relationships, for I have done no more than to sketch some expectations (some working hypotheses, so to speak). This metropolitan area is surely worth study from the point of view that I set forth.

2. If you can make an entry into some of the matters I have touched, your relevance will not be limited to Detroit or to Michigan. Almost every other metropolitan area offers similar possibilities. Nor is the potentiality limited to the United States.

Thus I mention the following illustrations.

a. Canada, directly across the river from this city, does not have the white-black relationship in the United States=s

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form. But it has some form of ethnic differentiation virtually everywhere from the Atlantic to the Pacific. In the Canadian case, it is particularly remarkable since the rise of the French separatist movement did so much to disestablish older alignments in Canada. Unless my analytical principles are wrong, I cannot conceive that ethnic differentiation is not entangled with Canadian public administration.

b. Australia, which has absorbed a great volume of white, non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants since World War II, as well as Canada. Moreover, Australia's aboriginal population is also in the center of political debate and, on my principles, what is debated in parties and parliaments has already been the subject of significant action by those who regularly exercise discretion about information, money, and force.

c. Virtually all of contemporary Europe now experiences the fact of diversity. The phrase "ethnic cleansing" informs, and it frightens. Diversity has been notably important since "guest workers" came to do labor that is beneath attractiveness for the nationals of the several countries. Diversity has also come since the breakup of the French, Dutch, and British empires has displaced some former colonials to reside in the metropolitan countries. Not all come to the former metropolises. One can see West African street vendors on the Ponte Vecchio in Florence, and the Financial Times can report controversies about the presence

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of these young men. One can also men, women, and children from the Somalian warmth now going about their business in Helsinki, where the harbor is still frozen in March.

d. I need but mention Northern Ireland, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Burundi or Indonesia, and the collapse of British rule over India, nearly the pure case of administrative government, and its leaving behind an interim government that was a dual government, with 'a Congress bloc and a Muslim bloc, each attracting its own supporters from among the civil servants.³⁸

We are all students, since we are studying something, and we are colleagues in the same effort, whether we have been at it one semester or forty years. These are matters of great importance, and one may hope for intellectual progress as we study them more closely. You will make a significant contributionBBwhether you aspire to be, or are, a professional public administrator, whether you are writing a Ph. D. dissertation, a scholarly book, a master=s thesis or a term paper X - if you are able to give serious attention, free of cliches, to the subject of ethnic diversity in relation to public administration.

³⁸. Penderel Moon, Divide and Quit, Berkeley: University of California Press, 59-60.

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