Promoting Diversity and Inclusion in the U.S. Federal Workforce: Representative Bureaucracy and the Challenge of Multiculturalism

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ABSTRACT

In 2013, the United States is becoming increasingly racially and ethnically diverse. With these
demographic changes, attitudes and approaches toward representation are likewise shifting.
Public administration scholarship and practice can continue to contribute to this dynamic process
of defining representation and crafting initiatives to meet the needs of the public. To do this,
social injustices of the past must be addressed through the recognition and valuation of
historically-underrepresented groups in public organizations. Yet, much public affairs discourse
and numerous policy decisions are rooted in multiculturalism. The central question this research
explores is whether multiculturalism is detrimental to theorizing and to enacting a representative
bureaucracy, and if so, why. To answer this question, the work begins with a critical review of
the representative bureaucracy, affirmative action, and multiculturalism literatures. Then,
linking these reviews to practice, the study performs a critical discourse analysis of several
executive orders and guidance documents from the U.S. Office of Personnel Management to
trace how views of representation in U.S. national government agencies changed between 1998
and 2011. This research finds that a shift from "Affirmative Action" to "Multiculturalism"
occurred. EOs 13078, 13163, and 13171 were heavily rooted in the Affirmative Action
approach, while the 2000 OPM Agency Diversity Guide, EOs 13518 and 13583, and the
Government-Wide Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plan 2011 were anchored in the
"Multicultural" approach. Ultimately, this study concludes that multiculturalism poses
significant challenges for representative bureaucracy as a result of its lack of clear and explicit
definitions and its treatments of differences, especially group-identity classifications. Rethinking
the relationship between representative bureaucracy and multiculturalism and focusing on
historically-underrepresented groups hold the potential to contribute to the further attainment of
normative goals of bureaucratic representation.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

A fundamental reason for promoting bureaucratic representation in public organizations is that a more representative workforce more fully reflects the society it serves, making representation an intrinsic good. Additionally, representative bureaucracy can be viewed as an instrumental good, generating positive policy outcomes when active representation benefits the populations reflected. The rationales for and discourses of "diversity" and of "multiculturalism" have shaped understandings of representation in theory and practice. The purposes of this work are to explore the implications of multiculturalism for theorizing and enacting a representative bureaucracy and to articulate a new normative basis and theoretical direction for representative bureaucracy.

For representative bureaucracy to be meaningful in both scholarship and practice, serious rethinking and articulation of a clearer understanding of bureaucratic representation and its potential for fulfilling public purposes must be undertaken. As a first step, this entails developing the analytic and normative bases of representative bureaucracy theory. A deeper understanding of the value of bureaucratic representation and the means for achieving such representation would help strengthen the intrinsic and instrumental justifications for bureaucratic representation.

This research uncovers difficulties inherent in moving toward a more meaningful treatment of "representation" by presenting problematic findings of ambiguous, disparate, and competing articulations of what *is* bureaucratic representation and why advocates contend representation can achieve public purposes amidst a growing emphasis on multiculturalism. The study challenges a more expansive understanding of representation championed by many scholars and public managers that moves away from a focus on historically-underrepresented groups and stresses instead nonphysical characteristics such as skill sets, education, or past

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experiences. Instead, this work argues for greater emphasis on historically-underrepresented groups in representation theory and practice.

Discourse and Practice of Representation in Public Administration

The United States is becoming more demographically diverse (see Appendix A). From 2000 through 2010, the total U.S. population grew by 9.7 percent, from 281.4 to 308.7 million people. The Black population increased at a faster rate than the total population, while the "Asian alone" population experienced the fastest rate of growth. More than half of the growth in the total U.S. population was due to the increase in Hispanics. Conversely, the "White alone" population grew at the slowest rate; yet, the proportion of Whites who reported being of more than one race rose 37 percent (2010 Census QuickFacts on Race).

The racial and ethnic demographics of the federal workforce are not proportionally representative of the U.S. general population (see Appendix B). This disparity raises several important normative and practical issues. For public administration, the way bureaucracy passively represents (through characteristics, most often demographic traits, present among employees in an organization) and actively represents (through policy outcomes) a diverse public is of both normative and practical importance.

As the United States becomes an increasingly racially and ethnically diverse society, attitudes and approaches toward representation also are shifting. The first and most important issue to consider is the way we *think* and *talk* about representation, which in turn contributes to different actions and policies. The discourse of representation has changed over time, especially since the late 1980s, by moving away from affirmative action in favor of multiculturalism. Rice observes, "The use of the term diversity has seemingly expanded in the last decade so that more differences are embraced under its umbrella every day" (2010, pp. 24-25). Beginning in the 2000s representation has been equated with "multiculturalism" and "diversity," which have been used in a number of different ways. In some cases, "multiculturalism" and "diversity" are

employed interchangeably to refer to the representation of difference in numerous contexts. In other cases, "diversity" or "diversity management" signifies the blanket term for "multicultural" policies and practices. In still other instances "diversity" falls under the broader discourse of multiculturalism; this is how I will treat these terms throughout this work.

The discourse surrounding representation, especially the use of vague terms applied in different ways, can pose significant challenges for theorizing and enacting bureaucratic representation. Rice cautions that, "Such a broad definition has led many businesses and other organizations to create support groups that celebrate peoples' differences in marital status, animal ownership, clothing styles, and, to invoke an old cliché, just about everything but the kitchen sink" (2010, p. 25). Consistent with Rice's perspective, I argue that representative bureaucracy in both theory and practice has the potential to contribute to reversing what I see as a dangerous trend toward emphasizing "diversity," advocated under a multicultural mantra that continues to perpetuate inequalities for historically-underrepresented groups. With a diminished focus on historically-underrepresented groups, the potential impact on internal and external representation of these groups may be significant. Beyond identifying the challenges multiculturalism poses for representative bureaucracy, this study sketches the basis for critiquing attempts to make bureaucracy more representative since the shift from affirmative action to multiculturalism and proposes avenues for theoretical developments in representative bureaucracy scholarship.

Research Question and Plan for Study

The central question this research addresses is whether and why multiculturalism is detrimental to theorizing and enacting a representative bureaucracy. Critical reviews of three streams of research detail the shifts in representative bureaucracy scholarship that have occurred. These reviews in turn inform the exploration of relationships between scholarship and practice revealed by critical discourse analysis of key executive branch documents.

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Chapter Two begins by critically reviewing representative bureaucracy scholarship that focuses on the explicit or implied meaning of representation itself. I target the normative goals that underlie the definitions of representation, especially how scholars contend that representation achieves public purposes and whether they claim that bureaucratic representation is desirable. This review highlights the distinction between passive and active representation in representative bureaucracy scholarship, which has been a dominant emphasis since the work of Mosher (1968). I also take into account the way that more scientific realist scholars have identified and measured the link between passive and active representation.

Chapter Three continues the review, probing the basis for and the backlash against affirmative action. In this chapter I highlight the major legal and administrative actions taken to promote affirmative action and then describe the opposition that formed against such action.

Then, Chapter Four explores the theoretical and practical dimensions of multiculturalism. I begin by detailing the shift and key distinctions between affirmative action and multiculturalism. I next focus the theoretical basis of multiculturalism around the influential work of Kymlicka (1989, 1995), describing the two major forms of multiculturalism, the liberal and the cultural approaches. I argue for the more "culturalist" form of multiculturalism, emphasizing the value of historically-underrepresented groups. This argument is linked to practice by highlighting the impact multiculturalism has had on notions of workforce diversification, diversity management, and cultural competency.

With the critical literature reviews as the basis for more fully understanding the underlying concepts and themes of representation, I perform a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of U.S. federal government documents that present a justification and plan for enacting representation in the federal workforce (see Table 2). This CDA targeted the most recent and comprehensive attempts to promote bureaucratic representation: Executive Order 13583 (Establishing a Coordinated Government-wide Initiative to Promote Diversity and Inclusion in

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the Federal Workforce) issued August 18, 2011, the Government-Wide Diversity and Inclusion Initiative and Strategic Plan, and the OPM Guidance for Agency-specific Diversity and Inclusion Plans. To have a contextual basis for analyzing these three documents, I also analyzed earlier executive orders that targeted representation in the federal government: EOs 13078, 13163, 13171, 13518, and 13548 as well as the 2000 OPM Agency Diversity Guide.

Chapter Five presents the rationale for selecting these documents and describes the approach to critical discourse analysis. Chapter Six reports the text findings of the critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992). Finally, Chapter Seven sketches out contours of where I think representative bureaucracy scholarship should go by presenting the discursive and social discourse findings as well as exploring the implications for public administration theory and practice.

Theoretical Framework

The critical literature reviews and critical discourse analysis reflect views seen through multiple ontological and epistemological lenses (Riccucci 2010, see Appendix C). I primarily use the interpretivist framework as a basis for the assumptions about individuals, groups, and reality that inform my research design; however, I also overlap into critical and postmodern frameworks. As a theoretical construct and practice, I see representation in representative bureaucracy as inherently "political," both because it targets competing subjectivities and perspectives and because it involves policy outcomes and other benefits associated with these different identities. I do not subscribe to a bureaucratic "view from nowhere"; that is, to the idea that it is possible to make detached decisions about how the bureaucracy functions, who is qualified to work in a bureaucracy, and what qualities are rewarded in the traditional sense. I make a key assumption that one's demographic characteristics in the form of race, color, sex, ability status, and other physical characteristics that have been championed or disparaged throughout U.S. history are the most significant factors in shaping one's lived experiences as

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well as the way others perceive relative value, capability, and merit in bureaucracy. These demographic and physical factors are largely rooted in group identities. Negative social constructions of particular groups serve as markers of power differentials that shape perceptions and decision-making surrounding passive and active representation. Therefore, I hold that historically-underrepresented groups should be the most significant aspect of representative bureaucracy theory and practice. Bevir (2010) contends that such links between public administration theory and practice are shaped by broader contextual factors that influence both scholarship and practice, separately and collectively; meanwhile, he argues that scholarship has the ability to influence practice (pp. 68-72).

I utilize Fairclough's (1992) discourse model (see Figure 2) as the basis for my critical discourse analysis. Fairclough views discourse as having three dimensions: spoken or written text, discursive practice involving the production and understanding of text, and social practice or the larger impacts of discourse beyond the discursive practice (p. 136). My analysis goes beyond the language of the text itself; it evaluates the way power functions in structures and practices in a given text. My ontological assumptions are rooted in relativism: I assume that reality is found in intersubjective knowledge claims and unable to be completely removed from the subject or knower. I employ a grounded approach, which Chapter Five describes in greater detail.

Perspective on Multiculturalism and Group Representation

I consider multiculturalism to be detrimental to both the concept and the practice of representative bureaucracy if multiculturalism proposes expansive or unclear definitions and models of representation that do not take historically-underrepresented groups into account as central dimensions of representation. Members of such groups experience ongoing inequality, and multiculturalism can serve as a guise for perpetuating inequality. This leads me to conclude that representation should focus on historically-underrepresented groups in order for

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representative bureaucracy to go beyond its instrumental function and address larger social justice concerns. The justification for a greater focus on historically-underrepresented groups includes discussions of individual and group identity, difference, diversity, the challenge of intersectionality and essentialism in Chapters Six and Seven.

Multiculturalism refocuses the basic understandings, rationale, and aims of representation. Kymlicka (1996) contends, "It is unlikely that majorities will accept their obligations of justice towards national minorities without a belief that they gain something in the process. The diversity argument works best, therefore, when it is combined with arguments of justice" (p. 123). From this perspective, focusing less on age, color, ability status, national origin, race, religion, sex, or sexual orientation and more on ways in which all individuals can contribute to organizational goals is an effort to ignore demographic characteristics that shape individuals' life experiences. I argue, like Young (1996), that "diversity" as difference should be rooted in identities that have been (de)valued based on historical and current social constructs that are linked to power in social, political, and economic arenas. To create a more just system of bureaucratic representation, Young suggests *differentiated* citizenship as the best way to achieve the inclusion and participation of all members in society (p. 251). Yet, multiculturalism moves away from historically-underrepresented group recognition (Alkadry 2007, p. 150).

As an alternative position, Alkadry argues that multiculturalism provides a vehicle for public administration to be more responsive in promoting equality and justice by guarding against a "homogenizing hegemony that oppresses intra-group differences" (2007, pp. 151-152). Alkadry and others who support a shift toward multiculturalism point out the flaws with group representation and the pitfalls of essentialized and intersectional identities. He advocates "Multiculturalism that emphasizes the individuality of public administrators and the individuality of the citizens they serve" (2007, p. 165). Yet, I believe that this emphasis on individual over group identities is detrimental to achieving the goals of equality and justice, because the focus

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shifts to individualism without acknowledging the historically-underrepresented group identities that individuals hold. Ignoring these identities continues to mask the legacy and ongoing persistence of attitudes and outcomes that disadvantage such groups.

Chapter 2: Critical Review of Representative Bureaucracy Literature

The traditional understanding of bureaucracy and subsequent departures from this tradition aimed at more representative concerns need to be examined for two primary reasons: first, to consider the potential intrinsic and instrumental benefits of a representative bureaucracy and second, to more fully understand the empirical and normative implications of a representative bureaucracy. This chapter overviews scholarship on traditional bureaucracy and foundational works on representative bureaucracy. Then, by focusing on more contemporary representative bureaucracy scholarship, the discussion highlights key areas ripe for attention and revision, which Chapter 7 addresses in greater detail. The review of the scholarly treatment of representative bureaucracy underscores the ambiguous, disparate, and competing articulations of what bureaucratic representation *is* and why it is purported to achieve public purposes.

Traditional Bureaucracy

By the late 20th century many scholars believed that the tenets of traditional bureaucracy-- hierarchy, division of labor, and span of control-- that underlie Weberian bureaucracy and Taylorism were outdated and no longer used widely in practice. Yet, Olsen (2005) "questions the fashionable ideas that bureaucratic organization is an obsolescent, undesirable, and non-viable form of administration and that there is an inevitable and irreversible paradigmatic shift towards market- or network-organization" (p. 1). He advocated reconsideration and rediscovery of bureaucracy "as an administrative form, an analytical concept, and a set of ideas and observations about public administration and formally organized institutions" (2005, p. 2). This research agenda is significant for the way bureaucratic representation is understood and enacted, because the basic form, underlying assumptions, and ongoing operation of a bureaucratic system influence the individual bureaucrat operating within such a system. In turn, the bureaucrat's representative role is shaped by the bureaucratic form and function.

Olsen argues that a complete departure from Weber's articulation of the value and necessity of bureaucracy is not possible. Weber's ideal-type bureaucracy is the basis of the traditional bureaucratic form (Shafritz and Hyde Ed., 1997, p. 37). According to Hatch and Cunliffe, "The ideal bureaucracy that Weber imagined was a means for turning employees of average ability into rational decision makers serving their clients and constituencies with impartiality and efficiency" (2006, p. 103). The instrumental logic underlying this organizational form is rooted in a rationalist tradition with shared bureaucratic practices and managerial principles. Ideal-typical bureaucracy aimed to create "reliable decision making, merit-based selection and promotion and the impersonal and, therefore, fair application of rules" (Hatch and Cunliffe, 2006, p. 103). The traditional Weberian bureaucracy leaves little room for focus on the individual bureaucrat, bureaucratic autonomy, or representative components of administrative practice.

Principles of hierarchy are central to the traditional bureaucratic form, because this structural configuration is consistent with the overarching goals of making bureaucracy more formalized, fair (in terms of sameness), and systematic. The traditional bureaucratic form is routinely coupled with management principles that are "scientific," originating with Taylor (1911) who believed, "the application of these principles would lead managers and workers to one best way" (cited in Frederickson and Smith 2003, p. 99). Gulick applied and refined scientific management to the division of labor and bureaucratic role definition: "It is not possible to determine how an activity is to be organized without, at the same time, considering how the work in question is to be divided. Work division is the foundation of organization; indeed, the reason for organization" (1937, p. 149). To create organizational divisions, Gulick (1937) proposed that "Each worker in each position must be characterized by: purpose, process, persons, and place" (p. 157) to devise an "effective network of communication and control" (p. 153). He provides numerous principles, including the span of control and the unity of command (pp. 153-

4), with his most famous articulation of managerial ("executive") tasks, "POSDCORB" (p. 156).[1]

The traditional model of bureaucracy recognizes individual decision-making as central to the operation of the bureaucratic form (Gulick 1937; Taylor 1911). Simon (1946) identified the need for a theory of administration to focus on the process of bureaucratic decision-making as well as action, arguing that a practical, value-free science of administration was both desirable and necessary. Discontent with what he believed to be unsatisfactory management principles, Simon called for examination of all "relevant diagnostic criteria," or focusing on the decision-making context in light of potential alternatives (1946, p. 62). He concluded, "It may be objected that administration cannot aspire to be a 'science': that by the nature of its subject it cannot be more than an 'art' . . . the question of how 'exact' the principles of administration can be made is one that only experience can answer" (1946, p. 67). Contemporary scholars, even those who operate from a different paradigm and disagree with Simon's premises of administrative behavior, recognize the importance and influence of his perspective. Spicer (2010) emphasizes the impact of Simon's ideas: "Simon's instrumental rationalist vision of governance and administration has had a significant and continuing influence on our field" (p. 56).

The discourse surrounding bureaucratic forms has changed over time; yet, the fundamental ideas have not been completely abandoned. The key tenets of hierarchy, division of labor, and span of control illustrate what Kettl (2006) calls "boundaries."[2] Harkening back to the

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[1] POSDCORB is planning, organizing, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting, and budgeting (Gulick 1937, pp. 156-7).

[2] Bridging the structural and human components of public organizations, Kettl (2006) states, "Boundaries have long played a central role in American public administration . . . Five boundaries have historically been important in the American administrative system: mission, resources, capacity, responsibility, and accountability" (p. 10). He observes, "Wilson's classic article, 'The Study of Administration' (1887) fundamentally focused on the role of boundaries in American public administration. He asked, among other things, what Americans could learn from other administrative systems while preserving democratic values" (Kettle, 2006, p. 11). Wilson (1887) famously claimed that administration and politics were separate and that there is a

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Weberian bureaucratic form, "Within administrative agencies, the most important boundaries have always been vertical. Hierarchical authority defines the responsibilities of managers" (Kettl, 2006, p. 12). Even today, "The fundamental bureaucratic task, therefore, is determining how and where to draw these vertical lines. Hierarchy and authority are, in the traditional thinking and practice of complex organizations, the key building blocks of coordination" (Kettl, 2006, p. 12).

Challenges to Traditional Bureaucracy

The traditional bureaucratic form, then, often guides administrative behavior in contemporary bureaucratic contexts. Beginning in the 1980s, New Public Management's business-like approach and renewed emphasis on systematic (often quantitative) measures and results have been influential in (re)shaping bureaucracy.[3] Blaming government, specifically bureaucracy, for many of the social, political, and economic problems became common, even among government officials. In response, NPM began to take hold at the national level in the United States in 1993, with Vice President Al Gore's National Performance Review and the Government Performance and Results Act (Page, 2006, p. 173).

For example, Page (2006) details the way in which NPM sought to change practices within bureaucracy: by shifting hierarchal and legal accountability expectations away from compliance with procedures toward the measurement of outcomes, altering the traditional approach to legislative oversight and hierarchal supervision, making public managers more accountable for complying with mandated procedures, and increasing the discretion of managers and staff to devise creative (or contextually specific) responses to the particular needs of individual clients and communities (p. 172). On the surface, NPM appears to be a significant

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need for scientific, or methodical approaches to administrative practice (cited in Shafritz and Hyde 1997, p. 20). Although most scholars recognize this politics-administration boundary as outdated, there are numerous, ongoing attempts to rethink and redraw bureaucratic boundaries, using Kettl's terminology.

[3] Fesler and Kettl (1991) described the impetus behind NPM: "Since the 1960s, Americans have tended to think that 'the system is good, but it is not performing well because the people in charge are inept and untrustworthy'" (p. 23).

change from traditional bureaucracy, but NPM's approach to bureaucratic form and function is not a dramatic departure. Indeed, Rosenbloom (1983) recognized NPM as being quite consistent with traditional bureaucratic principles: "The idea of 'businesslike' public administration was most self-consciously and influentially discussed by Woodrow Wilson in his essay on 'The Study of Administration'" (p. 219). Rosenbloom argued that Frederick Taylor, Leonard White, and Luther Gulick also were major contributors to the NPM approach (1983, p. 220). Whether through explicit adherence or implicit acceptance of the traditional bureaucratic principles, the influence and pervasiveness of these bureaucratic ideals remain.

Despite the persistence of these values, not all scholars believe traditional bureaucracy to be the ideal means of running a bureaucracy. Like Weber, but operating within "interpretivist" and "postmodern" paradigms, some scholars take issue with the basic tenets of the traditional bureaucratic form. Miller and Fox (2007, p. 3) describe the "orthodoxy" of bureaucracy: "Orthodoxy (Waldo 1948) was that enduring prescription of neutral public administration ascribed in the literature to Wilson (separation of politics and administration), Taylor (scientific management), and Weber (hierarchical control)." The two rely on Giddens to explain the continuation of this bureaucratic tradition: "Bureaucracy . . . is a structuration of repeated practices, a conglomeration of habits, patterns of social practices that recur in rule-like fashion. Bureaucracies are but social habits and social constructions, or to use Giddens's term, 'recursive practices'" (Fox & Miller, 2007, p. 127). This process is captured in a "representative democratic accountability feedback loop model," which Fox and Miller believe prevents the conception and adoption of alternative democratic formulations of an administrative state (2007, p. 4).

Countering traditional bureaucracy in order to deconstruct this feedback loop, Farmer's (2005) ideas of imaginative administration beginning from the bottom-up are important. He believes the ultimate aim for public administration to be: "Let's create a post-traditional

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consciousness that can revitalize governance and bureaucracy" (Farmer, 2005, p. ix).   Farmer contends that "Practitioners should be artists. Practice as art should include thinking as playing and justice as seeking . . . The art of governance should seek to kill the king. One face of the kind is the view of governance as a matter of machine systems and technicism" (2005, p. 129). This form of administration involves an individual consciousness and responsibility that is not a central component of the traditional bureaucratic form: "The post-traditional practitioner should engage her day-to-day activities with the consciousness of opposition to an ethic of power-down . . . The cult is so ingrained psychologically and socially that most cannot imagine a society without hierarchy" (Farmer, 2005, p. 145).

Farmer does not think it is necessary to arrive at an alternative model and prescriptive method for the functioning of bureaucracy. Instead, "The post-traditional practitioner should be motivated as a regulative ideal by love rather than by mere efficiency. It should embrace unengineering as a symbol" (p. 177). The most fundamental elements of moving away from the strictures of the traditional bureaucratic form involve rethinking what we "know" about administration and changing language and practice to allow for more democratic possibilities to take form. This means of self-directed change is not systematic or prescriptive in the sense that it provides a checklist for more efficient practices; rather, it opens the door for greater awareness and responsibility of each bureaucrat's identity, role, behavior, and potential for positively shaping bureaucratic practice. Table 1 provides examples of representative bureaucracy scholarship from multiple research approaches.

Table 1: A Comparison of Research Approaches to Studies of Representative Bureaucracy

	Rationalism	Positivism	Postpositivism	Interpretivism (Antipositivism)	Postmodernism / Critical Theory
Research pointing to evidence, attained through the senses, of the existence of representative bureaucracy	Studies where the attainment of knowledge about representative bureaucracy is based upon reasoning, not experience or sense perception	Research empirically testing and verifying the existence of a link between passive and active representation	Research examining the existence of representative bureaucracy through mixed methods	Legal studies on affirmative action, the primary means for achieving representative bureaucracies; case studies on hiring and promotion practices	Research challenging the mainstream tenets and suppositions of representative bureaucracy as the chief tool for achieving multiculturalism
Example: Cayer and Sigelman 1980	Example: Mosher 1968	Example: Meier, Wrinkle, and Polinard 1999	Example: Naff 2001	Example: Kellough 2006	Example: Hutchinson and Mann 2004
Provides descriptive statistics on the existence of passive representativeness overall in state and local government jobs, and by job level or function	Provides reasoning for the various conceptions of representative bureaucracy (e.g., passive and active)	Regression results indicate that students of color as well as white students benefit from representative bureaucracy at the street level	Through the use of qualitative and quantitative methods, illustrates the degree to which the federal government has achieved representativeness, and the various barriers that prevent representativeness	Exhaustive review of statutory, constitutional, and case law governing affirmative action programs and policies	Fosters acceptance of diversity in ontologies and methodologies in order to deconstruct male hegemony and promote nongendered organizational structures

Adapted from: Riccucci, 2010, p. 52

Whether operating from a rationalist, interpretivist, or a postmodern perspective, in my view the individual bureaucrat and their representative role should be a key element of bureaucratic theory and practice. The next section explains why this should be the central focus and highlights the foundational works that contribute to theory building in the representative bureaucracy literature.

The Need for Representative Bureaucracy: Foundational Works

After highlighting the traditional bureaucratic form and associated defenses and criticisms, I will now situate representative bureaucracy within this scholarly tradition. Representative bureaucracy scholarship has changed over time, but early works addressed the

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need for paying greater attention to individual bureaucrats and their connection to the public. Beginning with Kingsley's (1944) original articulation of a normative framework for understanding changing demographics in the British Civil Service, discussions of representative bureaucracy over the subsequent several decades have fluctuated from a set of normative arguments and recommendations for how bureaucrats could or should represent the populations they serve to empirical investigations of passive and active representation and bureaucratic role perceptions. Most early scholarship on representative bureaucracy focused on the intraorganizational characteristics of representation (Kingsley 1944; Long 1952; Van Riper 1958). By the 1970s, scholars began to acknowledge the impact of socialization and organizational culture on understanding representative bureaucracy (Meier 1975, 1993; Meier and Stewart 1992; Meier & Nigro 1976; Saidel & Loscocco 2005; Selden 1997, 2006; Sowa & Selden 2003; Selden, Brudney & Kellough 1998).

The term "representative bureaucracy" originated with J. Donald Kingsley (1944). He examined how the British Civil Service was becoming more consistent with changing socioeconomic trends to more fully reflect the "dominant forces" of society. It is important to emphasize that Kingsley (1944) did not advocate a bureaucracy that reflected *all* of society, but only the most prominent groups in terms of socioeconomic status (i.e. those of higher SES). Like later scholars (Long 1952; Van Riper 1958; Mosher 1968; Meier 1975; Sowa & Selden 2003), Kingsley (1944) believed representative bureaucracy served as a stabilizing source of discretionary control: "The degree to which all democratic institutions are representative is a matter of prime significance. No group can safely be entrusted with power who do not themselves mirror the dominant forces in society; for they will then act in an irresponsible manner or will be liable to corruption" (1944, pp. 282-283). Kingsley's initial analysis laid the groundwork for generating different normative approaches to understanding and analyzing

representative bureaucracy that built upon his initial treatment of representation within a bureaucratic system.

Norton Long, in "Bureaucracy and Constitutionalism" (1952), expanded on Kingsley's initial analysis, claiming that representative bureaucracy is desirable to promote important interests that elected office holders such as members of Congress and the president of the United States do not embody. Long states: "given the seemingly inevitable growth in the power of bureaucracy through administrative discretion and administrative law, it is of critical importance that the bureaucracy be both representative and democratic in composition and ethos" (1952, p. 813). Paul Van Riper (1958) took the understanding of representative bureaucracy even further in a normative direction by identifying different characteristics in his framework for a representative bureaucracy that were meant to reflect the citizenry, including occupation, class, geography, ethos, and attitudes (p. 527). He argued, "There is a minimal distinction between the bureaucrats as a group and their administrative behavior and practices on the one hand, and the community or societal membership and its administrative behavior, practices, and expectations of government on the other" (Van Riper 1958, p. 552).

In what Meier (1975) called "the most comprehensive analysis of representative bureaucracy," Mosher (1968) made a fundamental distinction that has dominated representative bureaucracy scholarship, identifying two types of representation, "active" and "passive." Mosher argued, "administrative decisions are a function of administrative capabilities, orientations, and values, which in turn depend on bureaucrats' backgrounds, training, education, and current association" (as cited in Meier, 1975, p. 527). Here, Mosher identified the importance of an individual bureaucrat's characteristics prior to entering an organization as well as the influence of organizational factors that contribute to a bureaucrat's representative role.

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Active and Passive Representation

Mosher (1968) questioned how to create a bureaucratic system that is consistent with democratic principles, and in doing so he formulated the two distinct types of representation. Passive representation takes place when the demographics of a bureaucracy are similar to those of the citizens it serves. Alternatively, active representation occurs when bureaucrats act on behalf of the interests of the members of groups who share the bureaucrats' own demographic characteristics. Mosher (1968) originally thought of active representation as a possible negative consequence if a representative advocated for agency actions solely based on their own passive representation characteristics.

Over time, views of the desirability of active representation have shifted, with more recent works proposing that passive representation in the form of a demographically diverse bureaucracy *should* and often does lead to active representation, that is, to policy outcomes reflecting the interests of a diverse group of citizens served (Krislov 1974; Meier and Stewart 1992; Meier 1993; Selden & Selden 2001). Samuel Krislov (1974) was the first scholar to emphasize the value of active representation: "Human potentialities brought by bureaucrats to their jobs are inevitable and advantageous . . . The qualities of judgment, information, and fervor that bureaucrats do bring as they aid decision-makers are in fact resources of immense social advantage" (p. 81).

Representative Bureaucracy in the Contemporary Context: Ongoing Challenges for Scholarship

Different scholars refer at various times to representative bureaucracy as a concept, model, framework, and theory, but the greatest challenge is the lack of an explicit definition of what representative bureaucracy *is*. The first step to adding clarity, both analytically and normatively, is to be more explicit about what representative bureaucracy refers to as an analytic construct and then to explore the ultimate purposes it ***should*** serve in public administration

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scholarship and in practice. The passive-active forms of representation have been the central focus of this line of research. Figure 1 depicts the process of achieving passive and active representation in public agencies that representative bureaucracy scholarship has described since the 1970s.

Figure 1: Processes of Achieving Passive and Active Representation
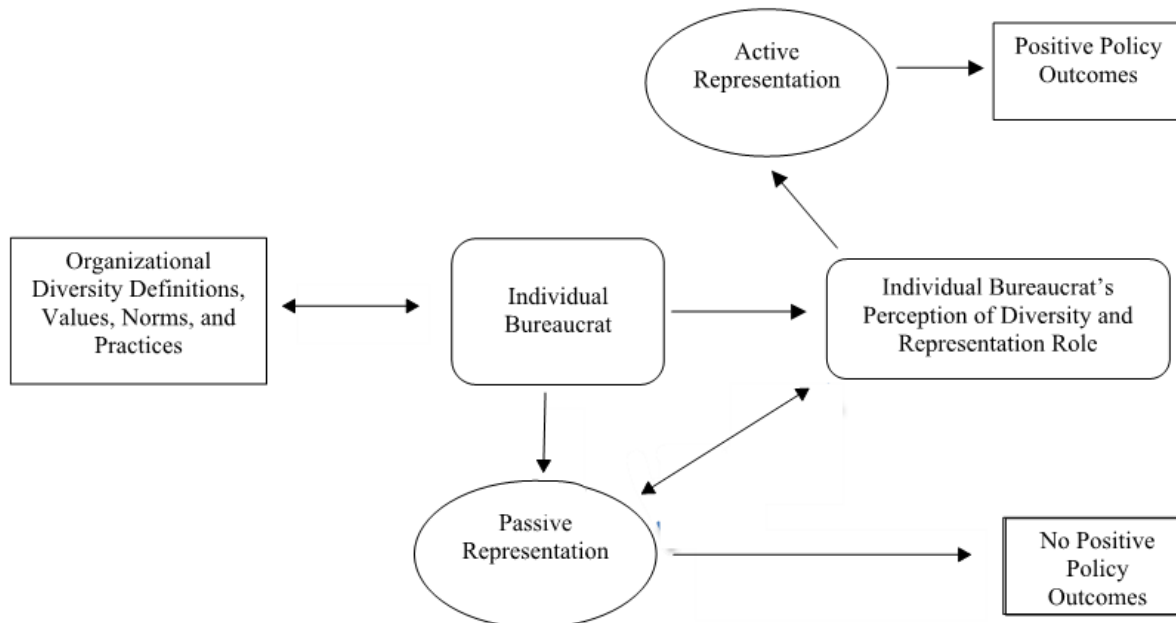
Theorists informed by the changing political climate in the United States in the 1970s began to focus on dimensions of passive representation beyond socioeconomic status with the hope that these characteristics also would translate to active representation. From the 1970s into the 21st century, representative bureaucracy scholarship turned to race, sex, and ethnicity as more pertinent measures of "just" representation and positive contributors of new forms of passive representation in public agencies (Krislov 1974; Meier 1975; Meier and Nigro 1976; Kranz 1976). Centered around such demographic indicators of representation, promoting active

representation by emphasizing "bureaucratic role perception" became a desirable goal for theorists as well as managers in public organizations when understandings of passive representation became more expansive, beginning in the 1990s. Selden, Brudney, and Kellough (1998) articulated the importance of bureaucratic role perception for active representation:

> Administrators who focus primarily on the efficient operation of agency processes—this is, those who observe what we call a traditional bureaucratic role perception—will be less inclined to influence agency outputs in response to the interests of distinct segments of the population. They will be less likely to conceive of their job as representative of any particular group and will, therefore, be less likely to assume the minority representative role (Selden, et al. cited in Dolan & Rosenbloom 2003, 139).

This insight implies that it is possible to have active representation of traits and values in the absence of passive representation. For example, scholars such as Selden, et al. (1998) have argued that "positive policy outcomes" on the right side of Figure 1 are possible for minority groups that are not passively represented within the organization. That is, a non-minority bureaucrat, in Selden et al.'s terms, could adopt a minority representative role and actually represent a minority population if the organizational conditions socialized the bureaucrat to so perceive their representative role through the influence of "Organizational Diversity Definitions, Values, Norms, and Practices" (on the left side of the figure). This line of empirical research has dominated representative bureaucracy scholarship, and it has produced many studies, relying on both quantitative and qualitative evidence.

The logic linking passive and active representation sparked a wide range of scholarship testing when and how passive representation might translate into active representation (moving from "the Individual Bureaucrat" to either passive or active representation in Figure 1). Numerous scholars explored the factors that contribute to the reciprocal relationship between "Organizational Diversity Definitions, Values, Norms, and Practices" and "the Individual Bureaucrat" (Bradbury & Kellough 2008; Lim 2006; Meier, Wrinkle, & Polinard 1999; Smith & Fernandez 2010; Wilkins & Keiser 2004) and the organizational conditions under which active

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representation is most likely to occur (Bradbury, Hebert, & Wright 2000; Groeneveld & Van de Walle 2010; Huber & Shipan 2002; Keiser, Wilkins, Meier, & Holland 2002; Meier & Bohte 2001; Naff 1998; Pitts 2005; Roch, Pitts, & Navarro 2010; Sowa & Selden 2003).

To more fully understand how in Figure 1 might work in practice, it can be compared to other approaches. For example, Selden, Brudney, and Kellough (1998) focused specifically on the way a racial minority role is fostered and translated into positive policy outcomes as a result of background factors. Figure 1, however, places the organizational factors that influence bureaucratic role perception, which in turn impact individual bureaucrats' internal role perceptions in the middle of the diagram. In this conception, one's perception of their representative role then can translate into active representation. Selden, et al., on the other hand, argue that "personal factors" are fixed elements that constitute background factors on the left side of the figure and are reciprocally related to the organizational factors that can impact active representation. They contended that in doing so they strengthened the theory of representative bureaucracy by adding the concept of "minority representative role": "The goal of this research is to specify the theoretical underpinnings of representative bureaucracy by examining a comprehensive model that includes attitude formation" (Selden et al., 1998, p. 719).

Similarly, for Meier (1975) "the values of bureaucrats must be considered," arguing that this "requires some attempt, however crude, to draw some preliminary inferences about the values held by civil servants compared to those held by the American public" (p. 540). Connecting agency values developed through organizational socialization is important to understanding the relationship between passive and active representation. Meier (1993) saw such socialization as playing a key role in linking passive and active representation: "Socialization is a learning process, and, as such, it does not cease when a bureaucrat accepts employment by the government . . . Since the agency cannot control all behavior, it seeks to influence that behavior by influencing the values held by the employee" (p. 14).

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In some cases, depending upon the particulars of an organization's definition and promotion of diversity, the individual bureaucrat may recognize herself as a representative of the population she serves (perhaps leading to the possibility of becoming an "active representative"). If this self-perception takes place, the bureaucrat may make decisions that benefit the population she represents, resulting in "active representation." If the organizational culture does not socialize bureaucrats to be agents of active representation, the result is passive representation.

For some scholars, particularly Coleman, et al. (1998) and Meier (1975 and 1993), empirically examining the dimensions of bureaucratic socialization is of central importance, particularly for analyzing passive and active representation in relation to one another. In earlier work, Meier (1975) argued that a weak link exists between passive and active representation: "Even if the U.S. federal bureaucracy were demonstrably representative in terms of social characteristics, the possibility still exists that it might be unresponsive to the people it represents" (p. 542).

Central Concerns for Contemporary Representative Bureaucracy

In grounding contemporary research in efforts to link the foundational works with normative goals, several challenges arise. Yet, these challenges are not rooted solely in the contemporary literature. Tracking representative bureaucracy scholarship from Kingsley's first use of the term, I found ambiguous, disparate, and competing articulations of what constitutes bureaucratic representation and of normative justifications for a representative bureaucracy.

I see these inconsistencies in the representative bureaucracy scholarship to be problematic for two key reasons. First, such scholarship increasingly has emphasized describing the *process* of active representation, while losing focus on the normative justifications for and the consequences of conceptualizing representativeness in different ways. In other words, much scholarship targets the right side of the model in Figure 2, particularly analyzing passive-active representation and policy outcomes linked to individual bureaucrats performing representative

roles. In doing so, the research does not provide an adequate theoretical foundation for representative bureaucracy. Developing a stronger theoretical basis for a framework of representative bureaucracy, outlined in Chapter 7, can contribute to a better understanding of its normative aspects and offer more persuasive justifications for the intrinsic and instrumental dimensions of representative bureaucracy.

A second problem is that representative bureaucracy offers a logic, justification, and model for implementing a more representative system in practice. The practical dimension of representative bureaucracy scholarship is inherently linked to policies, programs, and practices in public organizations that aim to promote a more representative bureaucracy. In considering this link between scholarship and practice, greater clarity and consistency are required to actually achieve a more just or more representative bureaucracy.

The lack of clarity surrounding "representation" in representative bureaucracy scholarship began with Kingsley (1944), who, although he coined the term, did not provide an explicit definition if what he meant by "representation" in the British civil service. Kingsley divided his work into two major sections: on the evolution of the British middle class and on how British bureaucracy mirrored dominant trends in society. Through his historical analysis Kingsley implied that the British civil service passively represented social class patterns. Yet as Meier (1975) argued, "The proponents [of representative bureaucracy] lack consensus concerning the definition of 'representative.' . . . Instead of measuring representation directly we are forced to use secondary variables with unknown linkages" (529). Without straying too far from the contention that representative bureaucracy lacks a precise definition of "representative," Meier's insight is consistent with the criticism of many discourse theorists when they argue that all definitions and language are problematic because there is a disconnect between the signifier and the signified. Here, I think Meier is being more pragmatic; he sees the disconnect as being

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between definitions and administrative behaviors that can be termed "representation." His focus is empirical and concerned with developing operational definitions.

A need remains to explicitly address the analytic dimensions of representative bureaucracy theory, because ambiguity contributes to confusion surrounding representation as well as the analytic purpose of "representative bureaucracy" as a concept, model, framework, or theory. Representative bureaucracy literature offers descriptions of how representation should be defined by scholars, or at least it proposes characteristics of representation that provide general ideas of how scholars have used representation. Yet, this is often unclear when attempting to parse out understandings of representation analytically. A general definition of representative bureaucracy that is used frequently is:

> If the personnel in the bureaucracy reflect, in characteristics such as race, ethnicity, and gender, the public served. This idea forms the rationale for the theory of "representative bureaucracy." The argument is premised on the belief that such attributes lead to certain early socialization experiences that in turn give rise to attitudes and values that ultimately help to shape the behavior and decisions of individual bureaucrats (Krislov 1974; Saltzstein 1979; in Coleman, Brudney, and Kellough 1998, pp. 718-719).

As in this example, elements of demographics, socialization, and action were present in most definitions of representative bureaucracy.

Kranz (1976) devoted significant attention to tracing the evolution of the way "representative bureaucracy" has been defined over three previous decades. He reported the shift in focus from socioeconomic identities to racial, ethnic, and sexual groups to be "a significant issue" (p. 71). He takes the definition a step further than most by adding an element of citizen participation. Kranz's central idea is that: "the concept of a 'participatory' public service has evolved from earlier discussions of a 'representative' bureaucracy, [which] is more appropriate to distinguish a particular concept of 'representation' in which public servants are an accurate reflection of the public served" (1976, p. 67). Writing in the mid-1970s, Kranz's insights into the ambiguity and controversy surrounding representative bureaucracy hold in 2013:

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"Representative bureaucracy—the idea that the bureaucracy should in various ways reflect the society of which it is a part—has already accumulated a variety of meanings and measures, probably more naysayers than advocates, much normative jousting, and little empirical testing" (p. 68).

Insights into analyzing definitions of representative bureaucracy also can be gained from examining the way the same scholar defined this concept over a span of approximately two decades. In 1975, for example, Meier defined representative bureaucracy in a footnote as "a national bureaucracy in which the bureaucrats resemble the general public in terms of social origins and general values" (p. 526). Then, in 1993, he stated, "The theory of representative bureaucracy concerns the ability of bureaucrats to translate values linked to demographic origins into decisions that benefit individuals of similar origins" (p. 1). The key concepts underlying the definitions are quite different-- social origins and general values compared to demographic origins and policy outcomes. Although the distinctions may seem rather subtle, they shape the underlying meaning of representation and take the theory in different research directions.

 Importantly, clarifying the definition of bureaucratic representation involves providing a theoretical basis for the normative goals of such representation. Long (1952), unlike most others, did this in great detail, grounding his argument in favor of a representative bureaucracy in administrative discretion and administrative law (p. 813). Yet, he does not go beyond a defense of constitutionalism in arguing for a more representative bureaucracy, particularly when juxtaposing the practice of such a system with that of Nazi Germany:

> It is no neutral instrument like the German bureaucracy, available to Nazi and democrat alike, pleading its orders from "die hohe Tiere" as an excuse for criminal acts. Be it noted that this plea of duty to carryout orders neutrally met short shrift at Nuremberg. Facing the facts should lead to some interesting changes in the theory of the desirability of administrative neutrality. It is the balance of social forces in the bureaucracy that enables it both to perform an important part in the process of representation and to serve as a needed addition to a functioning division of power in government. Were the administrative branch ever to become a neutral instrument, it would, as a compact and homogeneous power group, either set up shop on its own account or provide the weapon

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for some other group bent on subverting the constitution (p. 817).

When neutrality and objectivity are not the central focus of bureaucracy, the question becomes what qualities or who should be granted preference. The next subsection explores how scholars have treated representing group interests in bureaucracy.

Actively Representing Group Interests

Some scholars, like Selden (1997), have focused on practical concerns rather than abstract qualities of representation in offering definitions. For her, a representative bureaucracy is: "A bureaucracy that employs a cross section of American society [and that] will produce policy outcomes and outputs that reflect the interests and needs of all groups" (1997, p. 136). Selden identifies a central tenet of representative bureaucracy: "passive representation, or the extent to which a bureaucracy employs people of diverse demographic backgrounds, leads to active representation, or the pursuit of policies reflecting the interests and desires of those people" (p. 5). Linking passive and active representation is the primary goal of her research.

My review of the representative bureaucracy literature also pointed to a need to address in explicit terms the normative dimensions of representative bureaucracy theoretically. As a foundational scholar in the representative bureaucracy literature, Mosher (1968) made a key contribution, arguing "There is a confusion of at least two quite different meanings of representativeness, as there s confusion in the meaning of responsibility" (p. 14). To provide greater clarity, he elaborates, "There is an *active* (or functional) *representativeness* wherein individuals or administrators are expected to press for the interest and desires of those whom they are presumed to represent, whether they be the whole people or segment of the people" (p. 14). Passive representation is descriptive: "the origin of individuals and the degree to which, collectively, they mirror the whole society" (p. 15). Mosher (1968) identifies benefits of passive representation in and of itself: "While passive representativeness is no guarantor of democratic

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decision-making, it carries some independent and symbolic values that are significant for democratic society" (p. 17).

As another important scholar contributing to the foundational works, Kranz (1976), has gone into even greater detail than Mosher in presenting and justifying arguments for a representative bureaucracy. Kranz contends that increased minority participation would benefit (1) the underrepresented groups, not as employees and citizens; (2) those who receive or need public services, particularly racial-ethnic minorities and women; (3) bureaucratic organizations; and (4) the U.S. governmental system (1976, p. 89). This rationale for greater representation by those who typically have been excluded from public activity, including public employment, is a central focus of Kranz's work. Of all the normative arguments for a more representative bureaucracy, Kranz relies heavily on social justice themes in the most explicit way.

What earlier representative bureaucracy scholars generally did not address explicitly is *who* can act on behalf of a representative group and individual interests. The ability to produce active representation through agency socialization in the absence of passive representation is a ripe area for clarification, further research, and debate. Selden (1997) and Sowa and Selden (2003) proposed the concept of a "minority representative role," but they did not examine whether this role must be undertaken held by an individual of the group being represented.

Coleman, at al. (1998) describe vaguely who is, or who has the potential to be, a representative. They observe that Kingsley's understanding of representative bureaucracy was grounded in the notion that the representativeness of the public bureaucracy should be measured in terms of social class. What Coleman, et al. (1998) believed to be salient factors in bureaucratic representation are race and ethnicity, because these characteristics "exert a strong influence on an administrator's view of his or her role" (p. 737). In later work, Meier (1993) contends: "Race, class, gender, ethnicity, education, religion, and other factors under the right conditions can influence the decisions made by bureaucrats" (p. 1). Interestingly, Selden's

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(1997) model linking passive and active representation "implies that nonminorities can perceive their role as actively representing the interests of minorities, and take congruent decisions and actions" (p. 116). Here, the key word is "implies"; although she does not elaborate, one can infer the possibility of a minority representative role.

The question becomes at both an organizational level and an individual level the conditions under which representation may be enacted. Selden argued that "having a passive representative agency does not necessarily guarantee that it will make decisions reflecting the interests of those represented. To determine conditions under which passive representation is linked to active representation, scholars empirically explore the correspondence between agency employment characteristics and agency outputs" (1997, p. 80). I think there is a need to explore this dynamic at the individual level as well. More scholarship should target the behavior of individual bureaucrats and their propensity to actively represent rather than focusing solely on aggregate statistics at the organizational level in order to better understand the organizational dynamics that have the potential to contribute to greater active representation.

Normative Goals for a More Representative Bureaucracy

A final theme that emerged from the literature that needs further development is the link between a more representative bureaucracy and democratic theory. Understanding how and why representation achieves public purposes was a focus that explicitly addressed dimensions of democracy related to bureaucratic representation. Pitkin (1967) observes: "Questions about what representation is, or is like, are not fully separable from the question of what 'representation' means" (p. 2). Bureaucracy should mirror dominant social forces in society to be more democratic, according to Kingsley (1944). Kingsley was not seeking greater representation for numerical minorities; instead in his view with greater dominant group representation, bureaucracy and society would become more stable. He contended, "One need not be surprised, therefore, to discover that the Civil Service also reflects the basic inequalities of the social

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structure and the prevailing temper of the nation. For the Civil Service is only in the loosest

sense democratic" (p. 141). In supporting a very different form of representation that Kingsley

advocated, Kranz argued, "The desirability of a more representative bureaucracy was established

by showing how increased minority employment would have beneficial effects on minorities as

citizens and potential public employees, on consumers and potential recipients of public service

outputs, on members and leaders of bureaucratic organizations, and on the entire U.S.

governmental system" (1976, p. 230). Kingsley (1944) and Kranz (1976) saw these different

outcomes as being more "democratic."

Several other elements make bureaucracy more representative, or more democratic, and

representative bureaucracy scholarship targets these. The first is the practical question of whose

interests are being represented in a representative bureaucracy. For Kranz (1976), a central

question surrounding bureaucracy in the U.S. was: "How can decision-making by nonelected

bureaucrats be reconciled with 'democratic' or 'representative' government?" (p. 31). Likewise,

Selden (1997) identified the challenge surrounding this paradox: "Little consensus has been

reached over how the public's wishes should be incorporated into the process" (p. 33).

Similarly, Meier (1993) noted a central assumption of representative bureaucracy: "The theory

assumes that bureaucracies should be representatives just as legislators, elected chief executives,

and judges are representatives. This assumption is controversial," because this is a departure

from traditional bureaucracy in the Weberian "ideal bureaucracy" sense (p. 28). A Weberian

bureaucracy leaves little room for focus on the individual bureaucrat, bureaucratic autonomy, or

the representation of particular interests or perspectives.

Representative bureaucracy, particularly the role of minority representative, contradicts

traditional bureaucratic theory. Coleman, et al. (1998) highlighted the tension that exists between

democratic theory and bureaucratic policy-making authority (p. 718). They traced this tension

back to Mosher's original articulation (1982). Relevant as well is Krislov's observation that "to

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test the theory of representative bureaucracy, scholars would need to examine relationships between demographic characteristics and work attitudes and between those attitudes and administrative behaviors" (p. 737). Kranz (1976) was highly critical of the traditional bureaucratic merit principle, arguing that it is inconsistent with greater minority representation (pp. 203-204). "After showing how the 'merit principle' has been bent and broken over the past century," he examined political, economic, and social data as well as normative rationales to make a case for increased minority employment (p. 230).

Focusing on the traditional bureaucratic form, Selden (1997) argued for the need to revisit whether active representation and bureaucratic neutrality pose normative challenges for representative bureaucracy (p. 142). Conceiving of neutrality as sameness in the treatment of all public employees and citizens, she noted, "Diversity, by definition implies differences. With a nation comprised of citizens from such a wide scope of backgrounds, perspectives, and experiences, how do we create a community and a political environment that values and promotes uniqueness and diversity in its practices?" (Selden, 1997, p. 136). Recognizing and valuing differences in organizational context is another area ripe for representative bureaucracy research, especially given the more recent emphasis on diversity management that values individual over group differences.

Many scholars and public managers champion newer understandings of representation that point to a more expansive definition of representation, one that moves away from a focus on historically-underrepresented classifications and emphasizes nonphysical characteristics such as skills, education, or past experiences. Selden and Selden's (2001) model, for example, recognizes the "diverse" contributions that every individual can make in an organization. This shift in focus from group representation to particular individuals' "diverse" perspectives is critical to understanding individual bureaucrats' perceptions of themselves, their roles as representatives of the populations they serve, and their capacity to make decisions and produce

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policy outcomes based on these understandings. With diminished stress on historically-underrepresented classifications, the potential impact of this shift in emphasis on internal and external representation of these groups is significant. The next chapter reviews affirmative action policy and its potential impact on bureaucratic representation.

Conclusion

A major obstacle in thinking about representative bureaucracy in different ways and addressing the changing makeup of the U.S. population and the public workforce is that it frequently has been difficult to define and understand what representation means. This challenge is compounded by the lack of clear, consistent theoretical guidance in the representative bureaucracy scholarship. The literature this chapter examined did not yield a precise or coherent definition of representation or of representative bureaucracy. The goal of this review was to highlight major scholarly contributions; examine the ambiguous, disparate, and competing articulations of bureaucratic representation and normative justifications for a representative bureaucracy; and suggest avenues toward developing a more meaningful theoretical basis for representative bureaucracy scholarship.

In responding to these challenges, scholars evidently need to explicitly address the analytic dimensions of representative bureaucracy theory, because such ambiguity contributes to confusion surrounding representation as well as the analytic purpose of "representative bureaucracy."[4] This likely involves rethinking and articulating a conceptual basis for the analytical and normative dimensions of representative bureaucracy. A fundamental question that remains is who is or can be a bureaucratic representative. The representative role at the individual level must be developed, determining who can act on behalf of a group and what

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[4] Determining the theoretical aim of "representative bureaucracy" will allow for greater conceptual clarity with more specific goals in building upon representative bureaucracy scholarship. Beyond this, the application of representative bureaucracy to organizational programs and policies would benefit from greater analytic clarity.

interests or characteristics are of prime importance. The place of organizational socialization and bureaucrats' individual perceptions of their roles as representatives require greater attention, with particular stress placed on the question of who is capable and appropriate to be a representative of whom.   Whether individual or group interests are being represented should be of central concern, perhaps especially as the United States becomes ever more demographically diverse and policies and practices tend to focus less on group representation and more on individual interests. Linking representative bureaucracy scholarship to democratic and traditional bureaucratic theories sparks several controversies: whether representation in bureaucracy is fair and to whom; how to interpret and respond to difference in identity and outcomes; and whether bureaucratic policies and practices based on "merit" are fair and equitable. One theoretical and practical response to such concerns has been multiculturalism, which Chapter 4 will critically review.

Chapter 3: Affirmative Action

The range of individuals who work in the federal executive branch and whether and how an individual's demographic background shapes administrative decision-making are issues that public administration has explored, analyzed, and debated extensively. Pragmatic and normative arguments have been made both for and against various forms of representation. The means by which demographic and merit-based bureaucratic representation is or should be achieved spur much controversy, with affirmative action policy at the heart of much of this debate. Kellough (2006) observes, "Affirmative action has been one of the most controversial issues ever placed on the national agenda in the United States. People disagree on whether affirmative action should be permitted or, if it is judged to be necessary, on the specific types of efforts that should be included" (p. 3). Few issues have captured the national stage as affirmative action has: "With the exception of the abortion issue, this morphing from equal employment opportunity to an affirmative action approach to representation has ignited the most heated and divisive controversies over social policy that this nation has endured in the 20th century" (Coleman Selden, 2006, p. 911).

In the U.S., affirmative action policy has resulted from a struggle between two very different approaches to addressing bureaucratic representation. Although these views target problems that have arisen from the history of racial discrimination, each presents a competing solution. The first view is that the U.S. Constitution is "colorblind." Proponents believe that racial discrimination should be remedied by discontinuing all practices that treat racial groups differently without reasonable basis and by providing equal employment opportunity to all persons (Hickey, Reid, and Derr, 1996, pp. 24-25). On the other side of the debate, the second view holds that in order to remedy the "consequences of a long history of slavery and discrimination, employers must take positive steps to assist the victims of these practices. Thus,

only an 'affirmative' employment program, which gives preferential treatment to historically disadvantaged groups, guarantees genuinely equal employment opportunities for all persons" (Hickey, Reid, and Derr, 1996, p. 25). Some scholars (e.g., Kellough 2006; Raza, Anderson, and Custred, 1999; Rice 2010) claim that affirmative action is so controversial because it forces one to define what is fair and just for individuals and groups. Others, however, argue that the source of contention surrounding affirmative action is the portrayal of a racialized past and ongoing demographic differences (see Anderson 2004; Bergmann 1997; Lopez 2006; Menchaca 2001; Omi and Winant 1994; Shingles 2007). Anderson (2004), for example, acknowledges multiple elements of this controversy: "Affirmative action is a national policy that concerns the way Americans feel about race, past discrimination, preferences, merit—and about themselves. That is why it is an American dilemma, and that is why we must understand how it developed and how its rationale and definition have changed since the 1960s" (pp. 283-4).

This debate began with the initial recognition of the importance of inclusion in public organizations and continues to be discussed as a practical means of creating and managing diverse organizations. According to Dolan and Rosenbloom (2003), "Tension exists between those camps who prize neutral competence and merit principles as guiding values for public personnel administration and those who uphold equal opportunity and representation of diverse social groups as the most essential values" (p. 31). Many scholars (Anderson 2004; Hickey, Reid, and Derr, 1996; Kellough 2006; Riccucci 1997, 2006; Rice 2010; Selden 2006) have traced the history of discrimination and representation in public organizations since the 1960s, highlighting the pursuit of a more representative workforce, first through an emphasis on equal opportunity and later through affirmative action policies.

Since government organizations enacted affirmative action policies, much progress has been achieved in increasing the representation of minorities based on age, color, disability, national origin, race, religion, sex, and sexual orientation in government agencies. However, the

current discursive and practical approaches to representation are shifting away from historically-underrepresented group policies, focusing instead on merit-based or organization-based goals that can be achieved with a mix of certain "diverse" individual's characteristics represented in the workplace.

Much of the backlash against affirmative action has been channeled through the courts. In 2013, the U.S. Supreme Court decided *Fisher v. University of Texas at Austin*, a case filed by a Caucasian female applicant, Abigail Fisher, who sought undergraduate admission to the University of Texas in 2008. Fisher claimed that the University's use of race as a consideration in admission decisions violated the equal protection cause of the Fourteenth Amendment and 42 U.S.C. Section 1983 (Oyez Project at IIT Chicago-Kent College of Law). Before addressing the potential consequences of the *Fisher* ruling and the future of affirmative action policy, it is necessary first to describe affirmative action and then to review its legislative and legal history.

Defining Affirmative Action

Kellough (2006) describes the basic purpose and lack of clarity surrounding affirmative action:

> "Affirmative action" is a term familiar to most Americans, but this term is not always well understood. Over time, affirmative action has signified a variety of strategies with the intent of promoting employment, educational, or business opportunities for groups, such as racial or ethnic minorities and women, who have suffered past or ongoing discrimination. How different forms of affirmative action are implemented, the types of action needed, and the broader implications society may differ from one program to another (p. 3).

Ultimately, the goal of affirmative action is to serve as a proactive intervention to create a nondiscriminatory environment in the paid labor force or to promote policies to increase the representativeness in public committees, political parties, and educational institutions (Bacchi 1996). Sowell (1982) states, "The central idea behind 'affirmative action' is that it is often not enough to 'cease and desist' from some harmful or prescribed activity. Sometimes the future consequences of the past activity must also be proscribed or mitigated" (p. 38). This approach to

increasing representativeness targets historically-underrepresented classes and has social justice and equality ramifications beyond demographic representation in public organizations.

Bergmann (1996) argues that "Government has taken the lead in pushing affirmative action. The employers and schools with affirmative action plans may be public or private, but all have been mandated or encouraged by government regulations to achieve diversity" (p. 8). Looking at the historical context and events that led to early official affirmative action policy, scholars date the first attempt by the federal government to enact equal opportunity and civil rights policies to the period following the Civil War with President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 and the Civil Rights Act of 1866 (Raza, Anderson, and Custred, 1999). The 1866 Civil Rights Act provided "full and legal benefit of all laws" to all American citizens.

The Fourteenth Amendment, ratified in 1868, guarantees due process and equal protection to all citizens against action by state governments, and the Fifteenth Amendment (ratified in 1870) provides these same protections against infringement by the federal government. The Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment states:

> No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the Unites States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

At the time of its ratification, the purpose of the Equal Protection Clause was to prevent state and local governments from disenfranchising newly-freed slaves; "in essence, state are banned from treating their citizens differently based upon an individual citizen's race" (Robinson, McClure Franklin, Epermanis, 2007, p. 36). The Fifteenth Amendment guarantees the right to vote regardless of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude" (Raza, Anderson, and Custred, 1999, p. 7). From these constitutional protections, legislative and executive efforts emerged.

The term "affirmative action" first appeared in the 1935 National Labor Relations Act (29 USC section 160(c), Bacchi 1996). Raza, Anderson, and Custred (1999) note that the Act

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gave the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) authority to provide "affirmative action"
remedies, such as reinstatement of employees in cases of management's unfair labor practices.
Kellough, Coleman Selden, and Legge (1997) state that early efforts to limit discrimination were
very minimal in scope and implementation power. For example, "the Hatch Act of 1939
prohibited employment discrimination on the basis of race, creed, national origin, or color under
federally assisted work-relief programs" (Joseph and Coleman, 1997, p. 260). Formal statements
against discriminatory practices were common, including the Ramspeck Act of 1940 and
Executive Order 8587 issued by President Roosevelt in 1940: "Both of those policy statements
were designed to prohibit racial discrimination in federal employment and contracting, but no
meaningful administrative mechanism to enforce the law was established" (p. 2).

FDR established the first substantive administrative program to combat racial
discrimination in Executive Order 8802. This order created the Fair Employment Practices
Committee (FEPC), which was charged to hear discrimination complaints from individuals
working or applying for positions with the federal government or federal government contractors.
The basic function of the FEPC was to evaluate complaints, document discriminatory practice,
and provide recommendations.

Legal and Administrative History of Affirmative Action

The legal and administrative history of affirmative action demonstrates how different
approaches to representation were promoted and challenged at different periods in U.S. history.
The courts were a key means for challenging affirmative action policy enacted through
legislation or executive orders. Likewise, later presidents altered the objectives and activities of
the FEPC, but the investigation of discrimination complaints continued to be the central focus of
overcoming employment discrimination through the rest of the twentieth century (Kellough,

Coleman Selden, and Legge, 1997, p. 2). Starting in the 1940s, executive orders became the primary vehicle for enacting policy targeting discrimination.

Executive Orders and Legal Basis of Affirmative Action

President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued executive orders in 1941 to expand employment opportunities for African Americans, especially in the area of business contracts with the federal government (Raza, Anderson, and Custred, 1999). Executive Order 8802 pronounced that there should be no discrimination on the basis of race, creed, color, or national origin for employees in defense industries or government. After two years, President Roosevelt expanded this coverage to all federal contracts and subcontracts (Joseph & Coleman, 1997, p. 260). In 1961 President Kennedy issued Executive Order 10925, calling for federal government contractors to "take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin." Scholars (Anderson 2004; Raza, Anderson, and Custred, 1999; Kellough 2006; Lapenson 2009; Sowell 1982) cite this executive order as the first to use the term "affirmative action" in the context of racial discrimination in employment. Executive order 10925 also established the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity (Kellough, 2006, p. 29).

Lapenson 2009 believes that the Kennedy administration's "reasons for initiating affirmative action, which in 1961 meant attempting to diversify the applicant pool, especially in federal government jobs, and to hire more blacks in such positions . . . were a result of blacks using their electoral power and the great civil rights marches, protests, and boycotts of the 1950s and 1960s" (p. 2). Later, in 1965, President Johnson issued Executive Order 11246, reemphasizing Kennedy's affirmative action requirements set forth in 10925 (Kellough, 2006, pp.6-7, 29). Executive Order 11246 was instrumental in articulating a more proactive affirmative action policy agenda. President Johnson, in 1965, gave a speech at Howard

University, stating: "You don't take a person, who for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him to the starting line of a race and then just say, 'You are free to compete with all others' and still justly believe you have been completely fair" (Lopez and Pantoja, 2004, p. 633).

Executive Order 11246 "remains in effect and is the epicenter of national debate as to the appropriateness of government's pressuring businesses and public entities in instituting programs of preferences that obviously result in reverse discrimination" (Raza, Anderson, and Custred, 1999, p. 12). Yet, as Sowell (1982) describes, the meaning and implementation of this order have changed over time:

> While the general principle of "affirmative action" was announced in a series of executive orders of the Presidents, in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, the specific content of the term evolved in the implementing activities of administrative agencies. Tendencies toward shifting the emphasis of "affirmative action" from equality of prospective opportunity to statistical parity of retrospective results were already observed, at both state and federal levels, by the time that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was under consideration in Congress (p. 39).

In October 1967, President Johnson signed Executive Order 11375, which amended the 1965 order on affirmative action. The latter order added sex discrimination and charged the Labor Department with enforcement (Anderson, 2004, pp. 102-3). Kellough (2006) emphasizes the significance of this order: "women were for the first time also targeted for similar equal employment opportunity policy requirements. Data on federal employment of women were collected and published, along with data on minority employment, so that progress could be monitored" (p. 33). The shift that took place from the years of Roosevelt's executive orders to Johnson's marks a critical period for both the actual policy and the perceptions surrounding policy, namely moving from equal opportunity to affirmative action.

According to Kellough (2006), "Equal opportunity programs generally rest on a foundation of policy statements prohibiting discrimination. However, a policy prohibiting discrimination alone may be little more than an expression of sentiment" (p. 9). Even when

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administrative channels were in place to address equal opportunity violations, several challenges

remained. Equal opportunity claims placed significant responsibility on the individual(s)

experiencing discrimination: "Because the burden for initiating an equal opportunity complaint

rests on the individual who has faced discrimination, affirmative action was developed to take

more positive steps on the part of institutions in responding to discriminatory practices"

(Kellough, 2006, p. 10). Kellough discusses this transition:

> By the end of the 1960s, a process was firmly in place that would dramatically transform
> affirmative action from an orientation grounded squarely on the principle of
> nondiscrimination in a literal sense to an approach that transcended a strict interpretation
> of the meaning of nondiscrimination. This transformation was accomplished largely
> through the use of numerical goals or targets for minority (and eventually female)
> employment and the limited preferences associated with those goals (2006, p. 37).

Numerical goals and targets became the next means of achieving greater representation.

This approach of identifying specific numerical goals, targets, and/or timetables appeared in

affirmative action plans beginning in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Kelloush, 2006, p. 7).

Sowell (1982) argues that this shift from equal opportunity to of "representation (or 'correction'

or 'imbalance')" occurred in several stages, beginning with Executive Order 11246, which

created an Office of Federal Contract Compliance in the U.S. Department of Labor charged with

issuing guidelines to federal contractors. In May 1968, this office provided standards containing

the following language: "'goals and timetables' and 'representation,' but in a context which did

not yet make it clear that employers were to have specific numbers and percentages set forth as

measures of their hiring practices" (Sowell 1982, p. 41). The guidelines issued in 1970 targeted

"'results-oriented procedures,'" suggesting a shift from the still prospective 1968 language of:

> goals and timetables for the prompt achievement of full and equal employment
> opportunity" to a retrospective "results" criterion. The guidelines issued in December
> 1971 made it clear that "goals and timetables" were meant to "materially increase the
> utilization of minorities and women," with "under-utilization" being spelled out as
> "having fewer minorities or women in a particular job classification than would be
> reasonably be expected by their availability" (Sowell 1982, p. 41).

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Since the 1970s, numerous executive orders have been issued consistent with the shift Sowell (1982) describes. In 1998 for example, President Bill Clinton signed Executive Order 13078 amending previous executive orders by adding "sexual orientation"; this was the first time a presidential mandate barred "'discrimination based on sexual orientation' in the federal civilian workforce" (Anderson, 2004, p. 258). Later, my critical discourse analysis will focus on several executive orders (13078, 13163, 13171, 13518, 13548, and 13583) as well as on relevant guiding documents. Below I contextualize the key pieces of legislation and executive orders in light of the central events taking place during each time period (see timeline, Appendix D).

New Deal Era

Major legislative efforts directed at providing equal opportunity and later affirmative action began during the New Deal era. It is questionable whether these efforts aided or harmed minority citizens in the United States. Rubio (2001) highlights this tension in historical interpretations of the New Deal period: "Some who offer critical examinations of Roosevelt's policies toward African Americans still believe that New Deal-era federal intervention 'aided blacks to an unprecedented extent.' Others maintain that despite the morale boost of intervention, 'most blacks were ignored by the New Deal programs.' Most agree that black protest was responsible for whatever gains were made" (p. 93).

During this time, demands for equal opportunity included African Americans seeking greater representation and preferential hiring in government; these were somewhat successful, resulting in federal oversight boards (Rubio, 2001, p. 95). In response to a threatened mass mobilization by African Americans in Washington at a time when their labor was vital to war mobilization, President Franklin D. Roosevelt established a Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) and issued an executive order banning job discrimination on the basis of race (Kryder 200).

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The two pieces of national legislation that passed during this time contained limited provisions prohibiting discriminatory actions: the Hatch Act and extension of the Classification Act. The central purpose of the Hatch Act of 1939 was to limit federal workers' partisan political activity, "provided that it would be unlawful to 'deprive . . . any person of any employment made possible by any Act of Congress appropriating funds for work relief or relief purposes, on account of race, creed [or] color" (Kellough, 2006, p. 23). According to Kellough (2006), "Similarly, legislation from 1940, designed to extend merit system coverage to several newly created federal agencies and to extend coverage of the Classification Act of 1923, also prohibited discrimination in the federal service" (p. 23). Prior to these legislative efforts, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8587, prohibiting racial discrimination in the federal service; yet, minimal efforts were taken to enforce the legislative provisions or the executive order, making the policy of nondiscrimination "more a sentiment than a reality" (p. 23). According to King, "The FEPC proved to be a forum whose proceedings unmasked profound and systematic discrimination against African Americans in most public and private sector employment sources. Its members heard complaints from discriminated workers and issued injunctions to employers to desist discriminatory behavior; it was temporary and its instructions were often ignored" (p. 117).

Civil Rights Era: 1940s-1960s

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed in the midst of controversy and unrest, including segregation protests and demonstrations; the March on Washington on August 28, 1963; the assassination of President Kennedy on November 22, 1963; and the swearing in of Lyndon B. Johnson (Raza, Anderson, and Custred, 1999). Among other features, the 1964 Civil Rights Act established the Equal Employment Commission (EEOC), which consisted of five members, no more than three of whom were to be members of the same political party. These members were appointed by the president and conferred by the Senate; they worked with a

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General Counsel of the Commission who was responsible for litigation under the Act (Raza, Anderson, and Custred, 1999, p. 9). The EEOC was charged with hearing complaints of discrimination. If complaints were found to have merit, but a settlement was unable to be agreed upon through informal methods of conciliation and persuasion, the complainant could then bring a civil action (pp. 9-10). Overall, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was

> an omnibus statute that prohibits employers, unions, and employment agencies in interstate commerce from discriminating in employment, public accommodation, public facilities, and in programs and activities receiving federal financial assistance, provides assistance to public schools in implementing desegregation plans; and includes safeguards for fair voting practice (Raza, Anderson, and Custred, 1999, pp. 8-9).

Through the early 1960s intense civil unrest persisted throughout the United States, especially in the South. Anderson (2004) describes the context in 1965:

> Violence erupted in Selma, Alabama. Selma was a typical town in the Deep South. Although the Civil Rights Act guaranteed integration of public facilities, all remained strictly segregated. Although the Fifteenth Amendment guaranteed the right to vote, only 2 percent of local blacks had been allowed to register. To protest that situation, activists in March 1965 began a 54-mile walk from Selma to the state capital in Montgomery. As 600 walked across the Edmund Pettus Bridge, some 200 state troopers charged: a cloud of tear gas, nightsticks swinging, bullwhips cracking. The officers knocked John Lewis to the ground and beat five women unconscious (p. 84).

After this incident, known as "Bloody Sunday," the nation became increasingly focused on the civil rights movement. Activists rushed to Selma and President Johnson addressed a joint session of Congress, calling for a voting rights law. Congress did pass the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and federal intervention insured dramatic increases in African American voting rates in the South (p. 84).

The early 1970s brought more legislative action to bolster the impact of the EEOC in remedying inequality and unequal representation. With the passage of four amendments to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in 1972 that allowed for the EEOC to bring suits in federal district courts, President Richard Nixon strengthened and expanded the previously limited scope of power of the EEOC; this included state and local governments in the jurisdiction of the EEOC,

lowered the minimum number of employees to bring a complaint, created an EEOC Council, and

put protections in place for federal contracts (Raza, Anderson, and Custred, 1999, p. 10).

Kellough (2006) describes the significance of another piece of legislation passed in 1972, the

1972 Equal Employment Opportunity Act:

> With respect to government employment, the need to base equal employment opportunity policy regarding the federal civil service on presidential orders finally ended with passage of the 1972 Equal Employment Opportunity Act. This law amended the 1964 Civil Rights Act by expanding restrictions on discrimination in the private sector and prohibiting discrimination by state and local governments and in federal departments and agencies (p. 43).

President Jimmy Carter, who was a strong supporter affirmative action, transferred

federal equal employment opportunity responsibility to the Equal Employment Opportunity

Commission (EEOC) under a reorganization order issued in conjunction with the 1978 Civil

Service Reform Act (Kellough, 2006, p. 43). Kellough argues, "The 1978 Act itself enforced the

idea of a representative bureaucracy (calling for a 'workforce reflective of the Nation's

diversity')" by creating an equal employment opportunity recruitment program for the federal

civil service, and requiring that attainment of affirmative action goals would be part of

evaluating the performance of members of the Senior Executive Service (2006, p. 43).

During this period of transition to stronger requirements and enforcement power for

affirmative action policy, significant opposition began to take shape. Efforts to curtail

affirmative action navigated through the judiciary. Riccucci states, "By 1989, the Supreme

Court had issued a number of decisions that were not only unfavorable to affirmative action

programs, but that also sought to reshape equal employment opportunity (EEO) and employment

discrimination law" (1997, p. 2). One of the 1989 U.S. Supreme Court's decisions was *Martin v.*

Wilks. The continued existence of affirmative action programs was at stake in *Wilkes*, because it

involved White male firefighters challenging the affirmative action consent degrees of the city of

Birmingham, Alabama, the NAACP and seven African Americans in the early 1980s. These

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decrees presented a remedial affirmative action plan seeking to increase the presence of African American firefighters in the department. A group of White firefighters claimed that they suffered reverse discrimination as a result of the remedial plan (Riccucci, 1997, p. 2). This case and other claims of "reverse discrimination" prompted many in Congress to push for an updated civil rights bill. In 1990, President George H. W. Bush vetoed civil rights legislation, calling it a "quota bill" (Kellough, 2006, p. 9). Then in 1991 he signed, another version of the Civil Rights Act into law (Cayer, 1996). Raza, Anderson, and Custred (1999) comment:

> The Civil Rights Act of 1991 was the outcome of prolonged negotiations among Senate liberal Democrats, their counterpart Republicans, and the Bush Administration. The negotiations, lasting for almost two years, led to a compromise bill signed by President George Bush on November 21, 1991. . . The Act was largely designed to repair what its proponents felt was the "damage" done to the law of employment discrimination by the Supreme Court in a series of decisions handed down in 1989 and 1991 [including *Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins, Patterson v. McLean Credit Union, Martin v. Wilks, Lorance v. AT&T Technologies, Incorporated,* and *Equal Employment Opportunity Commission v. Arabian American Oil Company*] (p. 12).

The Civil Rights Act of 1991 overturned several U.S. Supreme Court decisions on affirmative action. In Riccucci's view, "There are several additional features of the Civil Rights Act, including the barriers to the advancement of women and persons of color in the workplace; extends coverage of anti-discrimination laws to political employees in the executive branch and to employees of the Senate" (1997, p. 5).

Continuing into the 1990s, hostility toward affirmative action grew. Yet, another pattern simultaneously took shape: the willingness to accept and even promote "diversity" in the absence of affirming preference for particular groups. For example, as Bill Clinton campaigned for the presidency in 1992, "he promised to appoint a cabinet that 'looked like America.' At the time Clinton exercised his rather poetic promise, nobody, including his potential enemies, spoke out against it. Nobody said that attempting to fulfill that promise would be a bad idea" (Raza, Anderson, and Custred, 1999, p. 1).

Backlash against Affirmative Action

Beginning in the 1970s, Americans debated affirmative action with greater sophistication and increased discontent. As the school busing crisis faded, "reverse discrimination" protests grew in significance (Deslippe, 2012, p. 79). Affirmative action supporters and opponents made arguments rooted in the meaning of "equality, merit, compensatory justice, and diversity" (Deslippe, 2012, p. 79). Kellough (2006) articulates the basic source of contention: "The controversy over affirmative action is understood most clearly with the realization that such policies are intended to redistribute opportunity from those who have been historically advantaged (e.g. primarily white men) to those who have suffered disadvantages because of race, ethnicity, sex, or other traits or circumstances" (p. 12). Many who argue against affirmative action believe that fairness is the central issue. They hold that a "fair system is one that puts the candidate judged most qualified into each vacancy . . . Given the possible bias in the process of judging (which in the past had allowed the segregation to persist), that might never come to pass" (Bergmann, 1996, pp. 23-4). The "bootstraps" approach to increasing representation, or the view that individuals should be able to overcome systematic racialized stigmas by demonstrating their merit through hard work and self reliance, dominated the opposition to affirmative action for the next several decades.

The discourse of affirmative action policy itself also contributed to tensions surrounding the meaning of fairness. Bacchi (1996) claims that **"**Because antidiscrimination legislation is couched in race- and sex-neutral language, it has been possible to argue that legislation like affirmative action which targets 'women' and 'Blacks' is a kind of discrimination, albeit 'reverse discrimination'"" (p. 20). Raza, Anderson, and Custred (1999) identify a common perspective on neutrality:

> Many asked the question: "If people should be treated equally regardless of their color, sex, or ethnic background, then why is it that I am passed over for employment, promotion, admission to a prestigious university, or a public

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contract when people less qualified, or with a higher bid on the contract than mine, are advanced over me because they are black or Hispanic or female" (p. 139).

Critics of affirmative action generally argue that discrimination can be overcome by basing preference on more neutral notions of "competency" while ignoring demographic characteristics. Alternatively, Holzer and Neumark (2006) contend, "Some critics of affirmative action in its current form (for instance, Kahlenberg, 1996) have therefore suggested that fairness would be better served by affirming action based on family background or income, rather than race and gender, so that disadvantaged individuals from all groups would benefit" (p. 476). This latter approach poses significant questions about implementation, because family background is much more complicated to measure than an individual's race or sex (Holzer and Neumark, 2006, p. 476). Harmon (2003) argues from a pragmatist standpoint that the way principles are applied to the debate surrounding affirmative action is misguided and does little to resolve the inherent tensions of affirmative action policy (pp. 92-3). Central to Harmon's argument is what he believes to be competing understandings of merit and deservedness applied in different ways to argue both for or against affirmative action policy; ultimately, Harmon claims that drastically different starting points do not push the conversation about affirmative action further. Instead, principles applied in very different ways muddy the water by adding layers of contention and dispute to the affirmative action debate.

During the "Reagan Revolution," conservatives who had taken over the G.O.P "criticized bureaucratic regulations and decisions which rely on quotas, ratios, and numerical requirements to exclude some individuals in favor of others" (Anderson, 2004, p. 164). Ronald Reagan himself argued, "We must not allow the noble concept of equal opportunity to be distorted into federal guidelines or quotas which require race, ethnicity, or sex—rather than ability and qualifications—to be the primal factor in hiring or education" (Anderson, 2004, p. 164). This attack on affirmative action continued on the national stage as well as in state and local arenas.

In March 1998, the Institute for Justice, a public interest organization in Washington, D.C., began a national campaign to prompt state attorneys general "to examine all race-conscious statutes, policies, and practices under their jurisdiction and to comply with U.S. Supreme Court decisions 'that limit the use of racial classifications in all but the most extreme and exceptional circumstances" (Raza, Anderson, and Custred, 1999, p. 186). One of the most visible examples of state action against affirmative action policy was California's Proposition 209.

California: Proposition 209

According to Raza, Anderson, and Custred (1999), during the early 1990s, intimidation, disdain for "political correctness," and guilt stifled debate on important issues surrounding affirmative action policy in California, resulting in the California Civil Rights Initiative, later known as Proposition 209 (p. 7). Pete Wilson, the Republican governor of California, campaigned strongly against affirmative action and was reelected to a second term in 1994 (Kellough, Coleman Selden, and Legge, 1997, p. 2). In 1995, the Regents of the University System of California passed a prohibition on the consideration of race or gender as a factor in admission decisions at all state universities with the efforts of policy entrepreneur, Ward Connerly (p. 2).

More important, though, California voters passed Proposition 209 in 1996 (p. 2). Raza, Anderson, and Custred (1999) state, "[Proposition 209] only rent the veil of political correctness and opened the issue to rational debate, but also succeeded in reasserting in the Constitution of the State of California the core principles of individual rights and equality before the law for all Californians, regardless of race, ethnicity, or sex" (p. 7). Proposition 209 was approved 54% to 46%. Raza, Anderson, and Custred (1999) noted, "The Chancellor of the California State University (CSU) system said that the CSU campuses were already in full compliance with the Proposition, implying that all programs of race and gender preferences in faculty and staff employment, student education, and contracting had stopped" (pp. 159-160). Within hours of

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the passage of Proposition 209, the proponents of affirmative action filed a lawsuit in U.S. district court, challenging the initiative's constitutionality and seeking to prevent its implementation (Raza, Anderson, and Custred, 1999, p. 162). Both the Court of Appeals and the U.S. Supreme Court refused to delay the implementation of Proposition 209 and "the other shoe fell on November 3, 1997, when the Supreme Court denied certiorari and let Proposition 209 stand" (Raza, Anderson, and Custred, 1999, p. 166). Although Proposition 209 is perhaps one of the most well known challenges to affirmative action, numerous other efforts have sought to restrict affirmative action through legal challenges and spawned similar ballot measures around the United States.

Legal Challenges to Affirmative Action

Synthesizing judicial opinions regarding the legality of affirmative action programs is difficult, because "court decisions on the issue are disjointed and inconsistent . . . the courts have at times upheld the legality of affirmative action and at other times they have struck it down." Complicating the matter further is that affirmative action comes in different forms and must meet an array of legal standards; therefore, "divergent rulings on its legality hardly constitute doctrinal inconsistency" (Kellough, 2006, p. 13). For example, *Griggs v. Duke Power* (1971) held that employers are prohibited from using tests and educational requirements not shown to be job related, or as discriminatory instruments against African American employees (Joseph and Coleman, 1997, p. 260). Yet, "In the *United Steelworkers of America v. Weber* (1979), the Court upheld the voluntarily adopted plan that gave Blacks preference over Whites with more seniority in a special training program. In *Fullilove v. Klutznick* (1980) the Court upheld a congressionally enacted 10% set-aside for minority business enterprise" (Joseph and Coleman, 1997, p. 260). The contrasts between *Griggs,* on the one hand, and *United Steelworkers of America v. Weber* (1979) and *Fullilove v. Klutznick* (1980), on the other, demonstrate that some policies and practices taking race into account were struck down, while others were upheld.

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Despite this seeming inconsistency in the way federal courts handled affirmative action, particular aspects of affirmative action have garnered greater opposition than others. Deslippe (2012) underscores the significance of quotas in legal challenges to affirmative action: "No part of affirmative action met with more resistance than the requirement that colleges and universities meet numerical goals in their admissions, hiring, and promotion. To opponents, 'goals' were simply a euphemism or 'quotas'" (p. 82). Quotas, or standardized benchmarks for achieving greater representation, would likely appeal to many administrators; however, as King (2007) points out, opponents of the quota system believe "that [the] very measurability is crude, which produces distorted outcomes harmful not only to those passed over despite qualifications, but also to those given the advantages of preferential treatment" (p.123). This was especially significant for higher education in the Northeast, particularly Ivy League schools that historically had been resistant to Jewish applicants. In what follows, I highlight some of the major legal challenges to affirmative action in the areas of employment and education, but for a more comprehensive list of cases, see Appendix E.

In 1989, *City of Richmond v. J.A. Croson Co.* established that "strict scrutiny," or the most stringent level of scrutiny for compelling state interests to employ suspect classifications, must be met by state programs under the 14th Amendment (Holzer and Neumark, 2006, p. 464). In this case, Richmond's minority set-aside program for assigning preference in awarding municipal contracts to minority contractors was challenged. In this decision, the Rehnquist Court reviewed Executive Order 11246, holding that an employment practice with discriminatory effect can be justified only if it "serves in a significant way, the legitimate goals of the employer (Lemann, 1995, p. 43)" (Joseph and Coleman, 1997, p. 261).

Then, in the landmark case, *Adarand Contractors Incorporation v. Pena, Secretary of Transportation et al.* (1995), the Supreme Court found that the standard of strict scrutiny also could apply to programs at the federal level, under the 5th Amendment rather than the 14[th,] which

only applies to states (p. 464). A White contractor who claimed he suffered from "reverse discrimination" when he lost a bid for a subcontract to do work on a federal highway to a Latino-owned company brought this case. The federal program in question gave primary contractors bonuses if they subcontracted some of the work to minority-owned businesses (Riccucci, 1997, p. 5). *Adarand* was narrowly decided, with a 5-to-4 majority of the Court holding that "All racial classifications, imposed by whatever deferral, state, or local government actor, must be analyzed by a reviewing court under strict scrutiny" (Naylor and Rosenbloom, 2004, p. 151). Following the *Adarand* decision, the Clinton administration concluded that most federal agencies' use of goals and timetables in the areas of hiring and promotion was not narrowly tailored and did not comport with the *Adarand* ruling; it took steps to ensure agencies complied with the decision (Naylor and Rosenbloom, 2004, p. 152). Naylor and Rosenbloom argue that the Clinton administration's response to *Adarand* by changing federal human resource management practices was significant; "Technically, *Adarand's* thin majority spoke only to federal contracting, not employment. The Clinton administration could have 'nonacquiesced' (stonewalled) by continuing to use affirmative action in federal HRM until the Court spoke directly to it. Instead, the administration sought to 'mend, not end' affirmative action, though it never developed a clear strategy for doing so" (Naylor and Rosenbloom, 2004, p. 152). Riccucci (1997) describes the immediate implications of the *Adarand*:

> Although the *Adarand* Court fell short of ruling that affirmative action in general can never be constitutionally justified, the ruling may have virtually the same effect because it creates extraordinarily tough standard that even state and local governments have been hard pressed to meet . . . It should further be noted that the question of the constitutionality of federal set-asides may be moot for the time being, because President Clinton, in 1996, suspended the use of all federal set-asides for three years (p. 6).

At the same time that legal challenges to human resource management policy and practice began making their way through the judicial system, claims of "reverse discrimination" in higher education also began to appear. An early affirmative action case, *Regents of the*

University of California v. Bakke (1978) involved the admissions policy of the medical school of the University of California at Davis. In this challenge, 16 out of 100 admission slots were reserved for "disadvantaged" students of color (Riccucci, 1997, pp. 1-2). The Court found that the program violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; yet, the Court "ruled race could be taken into account in admissions decisions if it could be shown that diversity in student ranks added to the quality of education" (Riccucci, 1997, pp. 1-2).

Since *Bakke*, educational institutions have struggled to follow this precedent and simultaneously recruit and retain minority students. Long (2007) argues, "Despite the many alternative strategies implemented at public universities in these states, schools have not been able to maintain minority enrollments absent affirmative action" (p.315). Some alternative strategies employed include top X percent programs, class-based affirmative action, and targeted recruitment; yet, these have been mostly ineffective in promoting minority matriculation (Long, 2007, p. 326).

In June 2003, marking the 25th anniversary of the *Bakke* (1978) decision, the Supreme Court handed down a landmark ruling that upheld the use of affirmative action in admissions (Riccucci 2006, p. 123). In *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003), a case involving the University of Michigan Law School, the Court ruled that "the racial diversity of a student body can be a sufficiently compelling interest on the part of a state university to warrant the use of a race-conscious admissions program under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution" (p. 123). Yet, in another challenge to affirmative action in undergraduate admissions at the University of Michigan, the Court struck down the policy in *Gratz v. Bollinger*. In *Grutter* (2003), the Court applied strict scrutiny in a way that differed from the way it had in the past. It did not explicitly determine whether diversity met the first prong of the strict scrutiny test; instead, it deferred to the Law School's "educational judgment"

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(Riccucci, 2006, p.132). The Court ruled that the program was narrowly tailored; "the program is flexible enough to ensure that each applicant is evaluated as an individual and not in a way that makes race or ethnicity the defining feature of the application" (*Grutter*, 2003, p.309). The Court also found that the program took into account all "pertinent elements" of an applicant and placed "them on the same footing for consideration, although not necessarily according them the same weight" (*Grutter*, 2003, p.309).

The Court also appeared to apply this logic to *Gratz v. Bollinger* (2003). In *Gratz,* the Court held that achieving diversity was a compelling government interest, which satisfied the first prong of the strict scrutiny test; however, the Court found that the rating system that allocated points for numerous factors including "underrepresented" racial and ethnic status did not pass the second prong of the strict scrutiny test and was unconstitutional under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment (Riccucci, 2006, p.132). This case is significant, because it emphasizes the value of diversity and uses specific language to suggest policy should move from affirmative action toward "diversity." The Court highlighted the "substantial, important, and laudable educational benefits that diversity is designed to produce, including cross-racial understanding and the breaking down of racial stereotypes" (2003, p. 308). In its majority opinion the Court emphasized:

> diversity promotes learning outcomes and better prepares students for an increasingly diverse workforce, for society, and for the legal profession. Major American businesses have made clear that the skills needed in today's increasingly global marketplace can only be developed through exposure to widely diverse people, cultures, ideas, and viewpoints. High-ranking retired officers and civilian military leaders assert that a highly qualified, racially diverse officer corps is essential to national security. Moreover, because universities, and in particular, law schools, represent the training ground for a large number of the Nation's leaders…the path to leadership must be visibly open to talented and qualified individuals of every race and ethnicity (*Grutter*, 2003, p. 308, in Riccucci, 2006, p. 137).

The language of *Grutter* set the tone for what was to come in affirmative action cases and policy. Especially worth noting is the inclusiveness of "*every* race and ethnicity" (emphasis added).

The most recent affirmative action case the Court has decided is *Fisher v. University of Texas at Austin* (2012). The central question in *Fisher* was whether the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment permitted the University of Texas at Austin's use of race in undergraduate admissions decisions, directly calling into question its adherence to *Grutter* (Howe 2012 SCOTUSblog). In 1997, the University of Texas began a policy that admits all high school seniors ranking in the top ten percent of their classes; however, differences between the racial and ethnic makeup of the University's undergraduate population and the state's overall population were found (http://www.oyez.org/cases/2010-2019/2012/2012_11_345). The policy was altered to bridge this gap by continuing to admit all in-state students in the top ten percent of their high school classes, but for the remainder of the in-state entering class, the University would take race into account as a factor in admissions.

Abigail Fisher was not in the top ten percent of her high school class; therefore, she was considered for admission against other non-top ten percent in-state applicants. The University of Texas denied Fisher's application (http://www.oyez.org/cases/2010-2019/2012/2012_11_345). In her suit, Fisher claimed that the University's use of race as a consideration in admission decisions violates the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and 42 U.S.C. Section 1983. The University argued that its use of race was a narrowly tailored means of pursuing greater diversity consistent with *Grutter*. The U.S. district court decided in favor of the University of Texas, and the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit affirmed the district court's decision. Fisher appealed, and the U.S. Supreme Court heard oral arguments on October 10, 2012 (http://www.oyez.org/cases/2010-2019/2012/2012_11_345).

A majority of the Court joined Justice Kennedy's opinion holding that affirmative action would not be outlawed; however, the Court ruled that lower courts should no longer

"rubberstamp" the use of race in admissions policies. This case was remanded,[5] and the lower courts were directed to apply strict scrutiny to the use of race in University of Texas admissions.[6] The Court held that the appellate court should have confirmed that the use of race was necessary, rather than assuming the University had narrowly tailored its race-conscious policies and that they were in fact necessary. What perhaps are more interesting than the majority opinion in *Fisher* are the separate concurring opinions of Justices Scalia and Thomas, who both indicated that had the petitioner asked the Court to overrule *Gutter*, they would have voted to do so. *Fisher* and the two concurring opinions follow the trend of moving away from affirmative action toward a more amorphous treatment of difference under "diversity" or even "multicultural" policy by constraining the use of "race" and preferences for historically-underrepresented groups. In response, Justice Ginsburg authored a lone dissent in which she counters supposedly race-blind approaches to "diversity." *Fisher* did not shape affirmative action policy significantly, because *Grutter* was not "gutted" as Justice Sonia Sotomayor put it in oral arguments (http://www.oyez.org/cases/2010-2019/2012/2012_11_345). Yet, the outcome of this case should not be classified as a "win" for affirmative action supporters either.

Conclusion

Multicultural approaches to representation began to replace affirmative action approaches, starting in the 1980s (see the timeline in Appendix D). The major distinction between affirmative action and multiculturalism is the target of representation efforts. For affirmative action, the target is historically-underrepresented groups. Alternatively, for multiculturalism, the target is much more expansive, vague, and largely contextual, judged on an individual basis. A major aim of the multicultural approach has been to emphasize individual differences and to

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[5] With remand no new precedent was set, leaving *Grutter* as precedent for now.

[6] Recall that to satisfy strict scrutiny, a practice "must further a 'compelling governmental interest,' and must be narrowly tailored to achieve that interest" (http://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/strict_scrutiny).

increase the "diversity" of organizations. Since the early 2000s, a multiculturalism focus has become "inclusive" of *all* diverse individuals. This trend toward emphasizing multiculturalism may have been prompted mostly by the strong backlash against affirmative action this chapter outlined. The next chapter provides a detailed description of these shifts from affirmative action to multiculturalism in representation discourses as well as in organizational programs and practices.

Chapter 4: Moving from Affirmative Action to Multiculturalism

An alternative to affirmative action that has gained popularity among government agencies and scholars is a more encompassing or expansive treatment of representation in public organizations: multiculturalism. In response to the intense backlash against affirmative action policies, particularly in the courts, new discourses of representation emerged. The most significant discursive shift occurred when moving from "affirmative action" to "multiculturalism." Numerous scholars cite this change as beginning between the 1980s and 1990s and continuing into the 21st century (Alkadry 2007, Anderson 2004; Deslippe 2012; Hewitt 2005; Kellough 2006; King 2007; Riccucci 1997, 2006). Many scholars and practitioners use the terms "multiculturalism," "diversity, and "workforce diversification" interchangeably. I understand multiculturalism to be the larger umbrella term encompassing diversity, diversification, and other means of promoting or managing the compositions of individuals and values surrounding representation take place, (e.g., cultural competency).

I will elaborate on these distinctions in the latter sections of this chapter, but first I provide a basis for understanding multiculturalism in the context of the early 21st century and describe how the current use of multiculturalism came to fruition in public organizations. Then, I present the theoretical foundation that has impacted policies aimed at increasing representation, largely focusing on the work of Will Kymlicka and major responses to and departures from his theorizing multiculturalism in the late 1980s through the early 2000s. A major focus of the theoretical approaches to multiculturalism that have informed policy and practice in public administration involves the liberalism-culturalism divide; I devote significant attention to highlighting the need for greater culturalism in public administration, especially in order to foster a more representative bureaucracy. Finally, this chapter explores more specific manifestations of

multiculturalism in the forms of workforce diversity, diversity management, and cultural competency.

The Multiculturalism Shift

Dobbin and Sutton (1998) observe that during the 1980s, "in human resources parlance, 'diversity' came to replace 'affirmative action' as the code word for efforts to integrate the workforce. Proponents argued that diversity offers design, production, and marketing advantages because it brings people with varied skills and backgrounds together" (p. 456). This observation speaks to the larger issue of the way representation has come to be valued in public agencies and in the public more generally. Several larger social, political, and legal trends contributed to the shift from affirmative action to multiculturalism.

Scholars articulated competing perspectives that highlighted the divide that exists between affirmative action and multiculturalism approaches to increasing representation. These tensions centered on what characteristics would be valued and represented within organizations, but more importantly who benefits would from such approaches: historically-underrepresented groups or individuals. This is significant, because these basic assumptions and values underlying different understandings of representation have important practical consequences for organizational dynamics, behavior, and outcomes for those represented.

One scholarly work that highlights these patterns is Slack's article that argues in favor of "the need to enhance both group diversity and individualism in the workplace by shifting attention away from affirmative action principles and strategies, as they are commonly implemented, and by focusing more on securing a comprehensive, or full spectrum, diversity in the workplace" (1997, p. 1). For Slack, a fundamental tension exists between the basic structure of the affirmative action approach and the form of representation itself:

> there is the omnipresent possibility that, throughout the hiring and promotion processes within each workplace, an artificial tension will be created between the value of merit and the value of diversity. The artificial tension tends to send misleading and confusion

signals to well intentioned workplace managers. This phenomenon, too, is the result of externally driven forces because it is the seemingly contradictory nature of federal guidelines and court decisions which permits the tension to emerge in the first place. On the one hand, equal employment opportunity (EEO) guidelines require employers to remain color and gender blind in making hiring and promotion decisions. Managers are supposed to take into consideration only the issues of merit and performance. Yet current affirmative action guidelines call for color and gender consciousness. Employers are required to take into consideration the oversimplified categories of human characteristics, or ethnic and cultural stereotypes, as discussed above. The dilemma is that workplace managers must comply simultaneously with both sets of guidelines, representing two distinct sets of values (p. 3).

Slack wants to move away from what he sees as the strictures of affirmative action to a broadly defined and distinctively implemented approach to representation based on the particular needs of each organization. He argues for "a focus on full spectrum diversity [that] ensures that contributions of members of all groups, however they define themselves, are viewed as having important value in the human resource equation" (Slack, p. 4).

Expanding the definition of "diversity" and focusing more on individual merit are the two most pervasive themes that have come to dominate the representation discourse. Like Slack, Jones (2010) argues for a very limited understanding of multiculturalism, one that does not involve group differentiation in terms of rights and privileges: "As long as the society's citizens enjoy equal freedoms and fair opportunities to live whatever way of life they wish, cultural differences will receive their due. There is no reason to single them out for special or privileged treatment. Nor should we withhold the description 'multicultural' from a society just because its political and legal arrangements fail to privilege or to make special provisions for cultural differences" (p. 38). The approach that Slack (1997) and Jones (2010) support differs radically from other theorists (e.g. Kymlicka 1989, 1995; Modood 2007; Young 1990) who also could be placed under the broad term "multiculturalists"; the former are comfortable in completely abandoning policy that takes into account historically-underrepresented group identities in favor of subjectively-defined individualism. Even so, most scholars who consider themselves

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multiculturalists retain at least some minimal recognition for historically-underrepresented groups.

This variation in the treatment of multiculturalism is seen not only among scholars; practitioners, policymakers, and political figures also employ very different understandings of multiculturalism. In a televised debate, then-candidate Barack Obama, for example, gave his perception of affirmative action: "'as a means of overcoming both historic and potentially current discrimination.' He denounced, however, 'the quota system' and wondered if his daughters, who had 'a pretty good deal,' should not be eligible for such programs'" (Deslippe, 2012, p. 209). Here, Obama's willingness to cite the value of affirmative action policy, contrasted with his questioning of its applicability. The terms Obama used are consistent with (neo)liberal themes of merit, fairness, and individual versus group identity that appear in the discourse analysis in Chapter 6. Several factors evidently contribute to this perspective. Hewitt (2005), for example, observes: "Another movement important to establishing the shape of the backlash in the 1980s and 1990s was the coming of fruition of a long-germinating international neo-liberal economic agenda that was hostile to government interventions in social matters" (p. 19). Beyond these larger factors and ideological perspectives, individual racialized attitudes in addition to understandings of self and merit were at work (Kuklinski 1998), Caucasian Americans were most opposed to affirmative action: "white opposition to affirmative action stems less from negative view of blacks or a lack of concern with racial equality than from a commitment to individual effort and achievement" (p. 162). As Chapter 3 noted, the backlash against affirmative action began largely in the 1980s after significant progress was being made in educational and employment gains for historically-underrepresented groups.

King (2007) argues, "Affirmative action is not something designed and implemented in a historical vacuum – it has been a social engineering initiative responsive to the persistence and entrenchment of historical inequalities and racist legacies" (p.123). With changing

representation in education and employment, "racial legacies" were not in line with the progress being made in U.S. institutions. Because "The current and ongoing debate about the future of affirmative action, itself highly conflictual and controversial, can only be advanced by an enhancement of the awareness of all the issues. Affirmative action is about access—jobs, promotions, training, and government contract," it is unlikely that these racialized legacies would simply disappear (Newman, 1997, p. 305). Anderson points to strategic use of the term "diversity" in place of explicitly citing historically-underrepresented groups and emphasizing "affirmative action" parlance:

> During the 1990s diversity was the winner. Democrats understood that, as a political tactic, supporting diversity was less risky than endorsing affirmative action—it redefined the issue not as a preference for minorities or women but as a public good that supposedly utilized the potential of all citizens. While affirmative action drew heat, diversity drew praise, which made it popular on campus and in business (p. 221).

Once U.S. policy took an affirmative action approach, the likelihood of returning to wholly ignoring group difference was slim; yet, the attempt to retain the substance of increasing representation for historically-underrepresented groups while not using the discourse of affirmative action can be seen as a tactical move. As Robinson (2007) observes, "The extension of special rights and privileges to ethnocultural minorities is almost universally practiced in liberal-democratic societies, yet it has not been satisfactorily reconciled with liberal principles, either in theory or in the popular imagination" (p. 3).

In his first campaign for president, Bill Clinton pledged to make his cabinet "look more like America," promising more diverse demographic representation (Anderson, 2004, p. 219). Anderson contends that "during his inaugural address it was clear that the decade was becoming the age of diversity, sometimes called multiculturalism, which conservative critics charged was led by a movement they mockingly called 'the political correctness' or PC" (p. 219). The shift away from more explicit articulations of affirmative action and discourses that used "race," "gender," or "ethnicity" did not end the criticism of attempts to increase representation; in fact

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some scholars believe it may have exacerbated such criticism. Anderson "PC had been emerging in the late 1980s. Conservatives coined political correctness as a label for a broad range of liberals who generally supported expanded rights for women, gays, minorities, along with affirmative action" (p. 219). From this negative reaction, Hewitt (2005) sees multiculturalism as an attempt to avoid criticisms by being even more inclusive of differences: "By the late 1980s and early 1990s the idea of multiculturalism had increased in volume dramatically, taking on a far broader meaning than in any other national setting, including sexual and gender identities alongside religious, ethnic and 'racial ones" (p. 106).

These trends are a double-edged sword: Not only has the definition of representation become more and more expansive (and in many cases less clear), but the means to discredit these attempts to move toward greater representation and equality also have been dismissed altogether with the "PC" charge. Kellough (2006) highlights this move away from affirmative action:

> As affirmative action came increasingly under attack in the mid-1990s, new programs emphasizing "diversity" or "diversity management" began to emerge. To a considerable extent, the popularity of diversity programs was a reaction to, or a response to, the rise in opposition to affirmative action. Diversity programs, on the other hand, were presumably less controversial. Diversity management was based on notions of inclusiveness and the need to recognize the value of all individuals. The rhetoric of diversity was that differences should be valued, and that organizations should be managed in a way that allows people from *all* backgrounds to succeed (emphasis added, p. 68).

Diversity efforts, promises of greater inclusiveness came with concerns about policy outcomes. Riccucci (1997, 2006) raised these issues by drawing attention to the potential consequences of the lack of legal structure that scholars like Slack (1997) favor: "Without a legal catalyst, public and private sector organizations will have the power to promote diversity in their workplaces when it suits them, but completely disregard it when it doesn't. By way of illustration, those jurisdictions around the country will have experienced fewer demographic changes will have no incentive to promote diversity of any sort" (p. 10). Not only can moving

away from affirmative action impact organizational practice and policy outcomes, but it also can shape the legal interpretation and force of affirmative action:

> To the extent that governments and public universities develop and implement "diversity" programs, the courts may begin to move away from the application of strict scrutiny. Affirmative action is and will always remain an important legal tool for redressing past discrimination and achieving gender and racial balance in the workplace and educational institutions. (Riccucci, 2006, p.138).

Riccucci (2006) sees the divorce of legal and organizational elements of representation from one another as detrimental to positive policy outcomes for historically-underrepresented groups: "Emphasis on the broader concept of diversity or diversity management, however, is more behavioral, where the goal is to build specific skills in *all* workers and to create productive work environments with a diverse, rich mix of human resources" (p.138). To probe the possible consequences of a multicultural approach to representation, the next section explores the theoretical basis and rationale for such an approach.

Theoretical Foundations of Multiculturalism

As Kelly (2002) observes, multiculturalism is a relatively new and rather confusing theoretical construct: "Multiculturalism is a recent phenomenon in political and social theory: the standard works are no more than twenty years old (see Kymlicka 1989; Young 1990)" (p. 1). Attempting to identify a precise meaning of multiculturalism, let alone establish the theoretical basis for such an amorphous concept is difficult. Alkadry (2007) presents the following definition: "Ella Shohat and Robert Stam (1994) argue that multiculturalism 'means seeing world history and contemporary social life from the perspective of the radical equality of peoples in status, potential and rights'" (p. 165). Parsing out the theoretical basis and the practical implications for public administration from Shohat and Stam's view of multiculturalism is difficult given the ambiguity of the terms "seeing the world" and "radical equality." Modood (2007) introduces an analogy to describe the difficulty of situating multiculturalism in a

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theoretical tradition: "Multiculturalism is a child of liberal egalitarianism but, like any child, it is not simply a faithful reproduction of its parents" (p. 9). For Modood, "Multiculturalism is not an abstract ideology but is grounded in a specific set of socio-political realities and is developed out of broadly accepted framework of norms, policies and politics" (p. 123). Kelly (2002) asks, "But what does multiculturalism mean? If we stick to the 'circumstances of multiculturalism', it seems to mean little more that the fact of societies with more that one culture in the public realm. The claims of these cultures may conflict and the holders of one may find themselves subordinated to another culture, but the point is merely that there is more than one. In the sense, multiculturalism is largely uncontroversial, as it is a fact; but clearly that is not what is at stake" (p. 4). Murphy believes that multiculturalism suffers from an "identity crisis"

> There are now so many multiculturalists, and so many different theories of
> multiculturalism on the market, that many are finding it difficult to say what exactly
> multiculturalism is and what it stands for. Stanley Fish for one has argued that
> …'multiculturalism is an incoherent concept, which cannot be meaningfully either
> affirmed or rejected' (Fish 1998: 78)" (2012, p. 12).

Many scholars have recognized the challenges of articulating a clear or consistent meaning of multiculturalism (e.g., Alkadry 2007, Dimova-Cookson 2010, Eriksen & Stjernfelt 2012, Fish 1998, Kelly 2002, Modood 2007, Murphy 2012, Steinberg 2009). According to Watson, "The current voguishness of the term 'multiculturalism' and the frequency of its use not only in academic but also in popular writing should be enough to alert us to the likelihood that the word has come to mean different things to different people" (2000, p. 1). Eriksen and Stjernfelt (2012) believe that multiculturalism is "confusing and imprecise" (p. 1). For Steinberg (2009), "The most apparent facet of diversity and multiculturalism is – there isn't one. There isn't one paradigm, nor one taxonomy, nor one way of diversifying and multiculturalizing citizens and school curricula. It became important for us to look at different manifestations of diversity and multiculturalism; by doing this, we are able to determine how the work was created,

why, and by whom" (p. 3). Murphy (2012) summarizes the major difficulties that

multiculturalism as a theoretic construct and a practical approach to representation faces:

> There is no set of core normative principles that all multiculturalists agree upon, either as a means of justifying multicultural accommodation or as a means of placing principled limits on those forms of accommodation that can be justified. The recent shift in the literature towards a more case and context sensitive formulation of multicultural principles has further contributed to this process of theoretical fragmentation. Multiculturalists also disagree about which kinds of minorities belong inside the multicultural tent (p. 12).

Despite these challenges, Modood (2007) identifies the early theoretical foundation of

multiculturalism:

> At the very same moment that the related ideas of humanism, human rights and equal citizenship had reached a new ascendancy, claim of group difference as embodied in the ideas of Afrocentricity, ethnicity, femaleness, gay rights and so on became central to a new progressive politics. It was a politics of identity: being true to one's nature or heritage and seeking with others of the same kind public recognition for one's collectivity. One term which came to describe this politics, especially in the United States, is "multiculturalism" (pp. 1-2).[7]

This fundamental tension between the sameness of equal rights and treatment and the difference

of different treatment for particular groups is the most controversial aspect of multiculturalism

that has gained the most scholarly attention.

A Liberal Case for Multiculturalism: Kymlicka

One of, if not the most, influential scholars of multicultural theory is Canadian political

philosopher, Will Kymlicka. In his seminal work, *Multicultural Citizenship*, he describes the

purpose of his writing: "My aim is to step back and present a more general view of the landscape

– to identify some key concepts and principles that need to be taken into account, and so to

clarify the basic building blocks for a liberal approach to minority rights" (Kymlicka, 1995, pp.

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[7] Dimova-Cookson (2010) offers the following definition of multiculturalism: "Multiculturalism is a political and philosophical disposition that accords serious consideration to minority groups based on culture, ethnicity or religion. Multicultural policies aim to promote the status of these groups by finding legitimate ways of doing so – for example, by giving them special group rights" (p. 1).

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1-2). It is within the liberal tradition in which Kymlicka operates; he distinguishes himself from most scholars who posit multiculturalism by carving out "a middle road between culturalism and liberalism" (Eriksen & Stjernfelt, 2012, p. 171). Eriksen and Stjernfelt articulate how Kymlicka is able to reconcile these two seemingly incompatible traditions:

> Kymlicka's trick is now to connect this hard culturalism (appearing in much multiculturalism) with a basic liberalism, with its emphasis on individual autonomy and liberty. His key idea here is that it is culture which provides the individual with the series of options which makes him or her free – a liberalized version of AA's idea that the freedom of the individual depends on which concept of freedom is maintained by his culture (p. 172).

Kymlicka (1995) contends that group-differential rights are necessary: "A comprehensive theory of justice in a multicultural state will include both universal rights, assigned to individuals regardless of group membership, and certain group-differentiated rights or 'special status' for minority cultures" (p. 6). Kymlicka's liberal theory of minority rights seeks to "explain how minority rights coexist with human rights, and how minority rights are limited by principles of individual liberty, democracy, and social justice" (p. 6). With this aim, he does not argue against historically-underrepresented groups being afforded different rights and having distinctive claims to equality; rather, he asserts that:

> The idea responding to cultural differences with "benign neglect" makes no sense. Government decisions on languages, internal boundaries, public holidays, and state symbols unavoidably involve recognizing, accommodating, and supporting the needs and identities of particular ethnic and national groups. The state unavoidably promotes certain cultural identities, and thereby disadvantages others (p. 108).

Kymlicka contends that "benefits and opportunities should be given to national minorities" (p. 113), but the question of how to determine whether distinctive rights are warranted remains.

Kymlicka cites Iris Marion Young as an example of a scholar who has made the case that special representation should be afforded to "oppressed groups" (p. 141). For Kymlicka, "Groups have a claim to representation if they meet one of two criteria: (1) are the members of the group subject to systemic disadvantage in the political process? Or (2) do the members of the

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group have a claim to self-government?" (pp. 144-145). These two standards remain vague, and the same historically-underrepresented group can be interpreted as appropriately making these claims or not depending upon the interpretation of the two qualifications.

Reactions to and Departures from Kymlicka's Multiculturalism

Scholars have reacted to Kymlicka in a number of ways, with both praise and criticism. Two forms of criticism come from two competing strands of multiculturalism: the liberal approach and the cultural approach. Liberal scholars present arguments against the "culturalism" aspect of multiculturalism, or the emphasis on the unique cultural characteristics of groups. Scholars operating from the liberal tradition present challenges to what they believe to be essentialized identities and group rights inherent in "Culturalism." On the other hand, scholars who operate from the cultural tradition emphasize the importance of group membership over individual autonomy. Kymlicka has received far greater attention in the scholarship on multiculturalism than any other theorist. Murphy (2012) believes that "It is difficult to disagree with Kymlicka that, as a general term, one would be hard-pressed to find a superior alternative [to Kymlicka's multiculturalism] . . . There is certainly no shortage of candidates, including pluriculturalism, the politics of difference, interculturalism and identity politics. . . " (p. 13). Modood (2007) contends that "A better normative starting point [than the cultural membership, or loosely defined group rights of Kymlicka's theory] is the politics of recognition of difference or respect for identities that are important to people, as identified in minority assertiveness, and should not be disregarded in the name of integration or citizenship (Young 1990; Parekh 1991; Taylor 1992)" (p. 37). For Modood, the major difficulty with the "cultural membership" that Kymlicka supports is "There is a sense of groupness in play, a mode of being, but also subordination or marginality, a mode of oppression, and the two interact in creating an unequal 'us-them' relationship" (p. 37-38). Modood argues, "To speak of 'difference' rather than 'culture' as the sociological starting point is to recognize that the difference in question is not

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just constituted from the 'inside', from the side of a minority culture, but also from the outside, from the representations and treatment of the minorities in question" (p. 39).

Moving away from the theoretical basis that Kymlicka provides, Murphy (2012) describes a key development in recent multiculturalism scholarship:

> the shift towards more empirically informed or contextual analyses of multicultural questions. What precipitated this shift was a growing sense that the first wave of multicultural political philosophy, led by theorists like Kymlicka (1989), Young (1990) and Taylor (1992), suffered from an excessive degree of theoretical abstraction, a problem that had also plagued some of the earlier debates between liberals and communitarians. (Murphy 2012, p. 129)

A new school of multiculturalist thought has emerged, precipitated by a closer focus on the content of a representative system (see Rice 2004; Selden & Selden 2001; Yanow 2000, 2002). This contextualist approach advances a theory of multiculturalism that is more "sensitive to the specific claims, characteristics and circumstances of different cultural minorities, that [pays] attention to the different ways in which those demands could be justified and accommodated in policy terms, and that [has] something to say about the practical feasibility of adopting those policies in concrete political settings" (Murphy, 2012, p. 129).

The contextual turn in multicultural theory is significant and beneficial in that it provides a more grounded approach for translating theory into the practical application of multicultural principles. One point of caution I note about contextualist multiculturalism is the possibility of losing sight of the "cultural" element of multiculturalism, or of the particulars that comprise and distinguish significant group identities. Yet just as affirmative action has received staunch opposition, this contextual acknowledgement may well succumb to the same systemic sources of resistance.

Arguments in Favor of More Culturalism

I argue that for multiculturalism to be meaningful in both an analytical and a practical

sense, a culturalism tradition rather than a liberal tradition should be employed. In his work

presenting a culturalist position, "The Politics of Recognition," Taylor (1994) asserts:

> With the politics of equal dignity, what is established is meant to be universally the same, an identical basket of rights and immunities; with the politics of difference, what we are asked to recognize is the unique identity of this individual or group, their distinctness from everyone else. The idea is that it is precisely this distinctness that has been ignored, glossed over, assimilated to a dominant or majority identity. And this assimilation is the cardinal sin against the ideal of authenticity (p. 38).

Young (1998) views Taylor's work as a broad philosophical justification for recognizing

difference and enacting cultural competency initiatives in the public sector because it targets

injustices "rooted in social patterns of representation, interpretation and communication (e.g.,

cultural domination, nonrecognition, and disrespect)" (p. 52). Taylor's culturalist argument

holds that liberal democracy may claim to be "colorblind" to the specific subjectivities of

citizens, but it is not really colorblind. Rather, liberal democracy perpetually "promotes its own

cultural forms as if they were universal, partly because of their imperial past, and partly because

of their marginalization of ethnic minorities and immigrant groups in the present day" (Eriksen

& Stjernfelt, 2012, p. 166).

Emerging from this tradition are contextualists and egalitarians who keep the "cultural"

portion of multicultural theory central to theorizing and enacting outcomes, especially for

historically-underrepresented populations. This is the closest a multicultural articulation of

group-based rights and privileges comes to the affirmative action approach and to the means by

which progress can be made in remedying the disparities that exist for historically-

underrepresented groups. Kelly (2002) identifies this "cultural turn" and distinguishes it from

Kymlicka's approach:

> Another central concern of thinkers who can loosely be described as multiculturalists, most notably but not exclusively Iris Marion Young, is the nature and scope of equality. For these multiculturalist thinkers the idea of group recognition is a result of taking equality seriously. For Young and Nancy Fraser, the "cultural turn" is driven by a desire

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to broaden and extend the scope of egalitarianism beyond the confines of liberal accounts of equality of opportunity. It is in this sense that they differ from liberal egalitarian multiculturalists such as Will Kymlicka and not simply in their account of cultural groups. It is also for this reason that multiculturalism is not a single school of thought but, rather, a loose confederation of thinkers, some of whom are more properly "culturalists" and others egalitarians (p. 62).

Iris Marion Young (1990) presents one of the most influential accounts of multiculturalism that champions recognizing difference by providing rights and privileges to account for oppressed, socially constructed identities. Kelly (2002) notes that unlike Kymlicka (1995),

> Young endorses the primacy of the social over the individual, and she is keen to distance herself from those who wish to assert an "essential" identity for women or members of other social groups based on race or ethnicity. Her argument is that identity is a wholly social construction and that in modern pluralistic societies that construction takes place in complex overlapping contexts. People do not simply inhabit single homogeneous social groups, but are constituted by membership of overlapping groups, no one of which has an automatic precedence over any other (2002, p. 6-7).

I address Young's understanding of justice in a group-differentiated society in greater detail and offer arguments against essentialism impeding group recognition in Chapter 7.

Understanding Multiculturalism in the Context of Public Administration

According to Winn and Taylor-Grover (2010), "Themes of social equity have long been undertones in the field of public administration," citing H. George Frederickson (2005); they identify Henri Fayol (1949) and Woodrow Wilson (1887) as two significant contributors to "themes of social equity in both the role in public administration in society and the role of bureaucratic manager in the workplace" (p. 146). Beyond undertones and themes, the explicit treatment of representation in public administration scholarship can be traced back to 1968 when emerging public administration scholars met in Minnowbrook, New York, and

> called essentially for a representative public administration relevant to social problems. The Minnowbrook conference came after decades of theorizing a neutral public administration that is technically driven and separated from politics and policy making. At the conference, invited young public administration scholars were responding to new social and political realities arising from the civil rights movement (Alkadry, 2007, p. 157).

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From this recognition that governance could positively contribute to addressing pressing social and political needs of society, scholars began targeting the goals of representation-- equality, equity, fairness, recognition, and justice-- in public administration. Affirmative action, especially during the Minnowbrook period, became the primary means of responding to these social and political concerns. Affirmative action was intended to achieve a more representative public workforce (through passive representation) and provide positive policy outcomes for those represented (through active representation).

A central tenet of the affirmative action approach, and appealing to multicultural theorists on the "cultural" end of the theoretical spectrum, is accepting and positively valuing difference (Anderson 2004, Riccucci 2007). Young (1990) believes that this treatment can be an equalizing factor in public organizations and decision-making. She argues, "by asserting a positive meaning for their own identity, oppressed groups seek to seize the power of naming difference itself, and explode the implicit definition of difference as deviance in relation to a norm" (1990, p. 171). From this conceptualization, it is imperative that organizations seek to recognize historically-underrepresented group differences benefitting both individuals in organizations and the targets of policy that active representation benefits outside of organizations.

Writing in the late 1970s, Kranz (1976) notes that representation had a significant intrinsic value linking to changing political and social attitudes consistent with Young's (1990) assertion:

> Since the mid-sixties, not only religious affiliation, but most other previous measures of a representative bureaucracy have become as insignificant as social class in determining whether the office-holders mirror the country's diversity . . . With the 1970s the "politically relevant" characteristics have changed. The adequacy of representation in the bureaucracy of all major racial, ethnic, and sexual groups is the significant issue today (p. 71).

About the time Kranz (1976) highlighted the need for greater emphasis to be paid to historically-underrepresented groups, the focus began to shift from affirmative action to

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multicultural models of workforce diversification. That is, public organizations started to move from emphasizing the intrinsic, deontological significance of representing historically-underrepresented groups in public organizations to stressing its instrumental significance.

This change from affirmative action to multiculturalism in public organizations largely paralleled the increasingly negative partisan attitudes toward and legal repeals of protected classifications and affirmative action programs. The new understanding of "representation" as "diversity" that took hold in organizational practice provided a more expansive definition rooted in the liberal multiculturalism discourse, one that moves away from a focus on historically-underrepresented classifications and emphasizes nonphysical characteristics such as skills, education, or past experiences of the individual bureaucrat. Baily (2010) summarizes this change in representation and identifies the consequence of such a change:

> Historically, the goal of passive representation in government workforces has been pursued through affirmative action and equal employment opportunities to increase the number and percentages of employees from the legally protected classes of gender, race, ethnicity, and disability. More recently, managing diversity initiatives have been used to mitigate the controversial aspects of affirmative action and equal employment opportunity practices by expanding the scope of who is viewed as 'different' among employees (p. 172).

Alkadry (2007) states, "Historically, multiculturalism and diversity were used interchangeably to refer to ethnic and racial heterogeneity within society. However, multiculturalism extends beyond racial, ethnic, and gender diversity" (p. 151). A multicultural model recognizes the "diverse" contributions that every individual can make an organization. Generally, multiculturalism seeks to embrace the rich ethnic and cultural variety of all people (Embrick & Rice, 2010, p. 31).

Not all scholars view the expansion and shift in focus that multiculturalism brought about as problematic. Alkadry (2007) points to "two challenges to multiculturalism in public administration. The first involves doubts about the ability of bureaucracy, an organization dominated by norms and habits, to allow multicultural pluralism within its borders. The second

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challenge relates to the fact that representative bureaucracy has been essentially a form of group-based multiculturalism, and could be problematic" (p. 159). He sees multiculturalism to be a desirable goal of public organizations, while representative bureaucracy and group-based programs and policies are detrimental for achieving a more positive form of representation. In his view, "Past and current approaches to diversity and representative bureaucracy might help our organizations appear more diverse, but they do little to help us achieve multiculturalism. Multiculturalism is a good everyday strategy not only to yield equity and justice for employees and citizens, but also to enhance the responsiveness and democratic principles of public administration" (p. 151).[8]

According to Baily (2010), "Representative bureaucracy is the primary lens through which the field of public administration has examined the impact of diversity upon public sector organizations" (p. 184). Active and passive representation is rooted in the representation of groups, either internal to the organization's representation as employees or external to the organization as "customers/consumers/clients/citizens" (Alkadry 2007, p. 158). The connection between passive and active representation outlined in Chapter 2 is especially important when considering the internal factors at work in organizations. Organizational dynamics have the capacity to impact the likelihood of producing active representation; yet, this context (i.e. organizations) traditionally has been geared toward stifling active representation:

> The environment that administrators enter as they join organizations to create diversity is governed by a commitment to bureaucratic values: efficiency, efficacy, expertise, loyalty, and accountability. These are established values that public administrators use to judge conduct and performance. As administrators enter organizations, they are socialized to accept these bureaucratic values. Minority administrators experience this expectation of commitment to values in the form of role determinants (Winn and Taylor-Grover 2010, p. 146).

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[8] In Chapter 7, I argue against Alkadry's understanding of what he believes to be the challenges to a representative public administration. I maintain that historically-underrepresented group identities should continue to be the center of representative bureaucracy, especially in intraorganizational aims and policies.

The values surrounding diversity promoted in an organizational setting can influence individual bureaucrats' perceptions of their representative roles, and as a result, potentially the larger representative outcomes for historically-underrepresented groups. Alkadry (2007) argues against a multiculturalism rooted in group identities: "[This] would be counterproductive because group culture masks differences within groups. In doing so, states would also be encouraging a form of cultural and heritage preservation – preserving the attributes that are essential to the group's identity" (p. 153). The arguments against group-based approaches to representation, including essentialism and intersectionality, will be examined in greater detail in Chapter 7. Such challenges to group-based identities, combined with the challenges waged at affirmative action programs, arguably have been detrimental to keeping historically-underrepresented groups central in enacting a representative bureaucracy.

Workforce Diversification, Diversity Management, Cultural Competency

Under the broad umbrella of "multiculturalism," "diversity management" and "cultural competency" have come to replace affirmative action in practice. White and Rice (2010) observe, "Many terms have been used to express the need for a diverse workforce in the public sector. *Multiculturalism, affirmative action*, and *equal opportunity* are the most recent. Implicit in each of these concepts is the premise that enhanced efficiency can be derived through a more diverse workforce" (p. 5). Embrick and Rice (2010) argue that the term "diversity" was "made famous in the 1978 Supreme Court case *Bakke v. Board of Regents*, the word *diversity* became co-opted by major corporations and other organizations shortly after" (p. 35). Departing from the discourse and practice of affirmative action, the language of diversity management "stood in sharp contrast to the preferential approaches to affirmative action" (Kellough, 2006, p. 68). This shift in practice involved a belief that multiculturalism programs and policy in the form of diversity initiatives provided a competitive advantage that would bolster an organization's performance: "self-conscious, programmatic approach affecting the policies, culture, and

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structure of an organization that incorporates a diverse workforce as a way to enhance organizational efficiency and effectiveness" (Wise and Tschirhart, 2000, p. 387). Yet, "fundamental ambiguity exists as to what diversity management actually means. On the other hand, it may be quite different from affirmative action and may be seen as a successor to those programs" (Kellough, 2006, p. 69).

Klingner and Nalbandian (2003) define a workforce diversity approach (or workforce diversification) as emphasizing "differences in employee and applicant characteristics (race, gender, ethnicity, national origin, language, religion, age, education, intelligence, and disabilities) that constitute the range of variation among human beings in the workforce," with the fundamental focus on the contributions these "diverse" characteristics make to enhancing the functioning of the organization (p. 168). Central to this definition is the "range of variation" aspect of workforce diversification, which captures numerous types of diversity that past definitions of diversity did not consider. Stark differences emerge: "affirmative action is based on organizational efforts to achieve proportional representation of selected groups. But workforce diversification programs originate from managers' objective of increasing productivity and effectiveness" (Klingner & Nalbandian 2003, p. 171).

This dramatic shift in focus from group representation to the instrumental benefits of particular individuals' "diverse" perspectives benefitting public agencies arguably is critical to understanding individual bureaucrats' perceptions of themselves, their roles as representatives of the populations they serve, and their ability to make decisions and produce policy outputs based on these understandings. As affirmative action has become less acceptable politically, workforce diversification through multiculturalism models has become more prominent. Essentially, public organizations are designing programs "based on recognition not only of these protected groups but also of the entire spectrum of characteristics (knowledge, skills, and abilities)" (Klingner & Nalbandian, 2003, p. 171). With a diminished focus on historically protected classifications, the

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potential impact on internal and external representation of such protected groups is significant. Embrick and Rice (2010) highlight possible difficulties with such a shift: "The notion of diversity, especially as it relates to equality and equal opportunity, is not problematic. What is problematic, however, is how gender and racial inequalities continue to be overlooked in many organizations as a result of the broadening of the term *diversity*" (p. 25).

Selden and Selden's (2001) "multiculturalism model" remains a key example of this move to adopt a multicultural treatment of workforce diversity to promote a more representative bureaucratic system. The shift from valuing demographic representation itself to valuing it for the purpose of increased organizational productivity is of prime importance. In explicating their multiculturalism model, Selden and Selden (2001) explore the changing demographic trends of public organizations in the 21st century and provide a prescriptive model for public management based upon these changes. The main objective of their work is to "propose an approach for managing diversity that facilitates the development of a multicultural organization" (p. 306). After reviewing relevant policies, practices, and theories, and criticizing three models of diversity management, they present their own normative ideas for managing diversity and promoting multiculturalism as a "representative lens" in public organizations. Selden and Selden's (2001) management practices emphasize the distinctive, complex diversity of *every* individual within an organization.

The consequences of this shift in focus from group representation to particular individuals' "diverse" perspectives is critical to understanding individual bureaucrats' perceptions of themselves outlined in Chapter 2 (see Figure 1). From this understanding, bureaucrats' perceptions of their roles as representatives of the populations they serve, and their capacity to make decisions and produce policy outcomes based on these understandings will likely be shaped by such models. With the diminished emphasis on historically-underrepresented classifications, the potential impact on internal and external representation of these groups as a

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result of this shift is significant. The traditional bureaucratic role perception targeting organizational objectives is promoted by the multicultural model; yet, Selden and Selden contend, "[multiculturalism] is about satisfying constituent demands and meeting the needs of all citizens without making employees from nondominant cultures or groups feel like their primary role in the agency is to serve constituents with apparently similar backgrounds" (2001, p. 324). Even so, this emphasis on *all* citizens rather than those from historically protected classifications creates space to diminish active representation, as the description of the traditional bureaucratic role perception outlined earlier indicates. According to Embrick and Rice (2010), "As diversity comes to represent more of the differences between people in society, less attention is paid to historical and persistent racial, ethnic, and gender discrimination in organizations" (p. 25).

One possible response to this expansive treatment of representation in public organizations is to foster organizational environments that pay attention to the historically-underrepresented groups that Embrick and Rice identify as being neglected by current models of workforce diversity, and in turn, socialize bureaucrats to act on behalf of historically-underrepresented groups.

Cultural Competency

Cultural competency is a loose set of organizational practices and values that serve as a response to two larger trends: first, changing demographics in the U.S., and second, less explicit emphasis on historically-underrepresented groups and greater stress on multiculturalism. Baily (2010) elaborates on the need for cultural competency:

> The growing demographic changes and ethnic and cultural diversity in the Unites States is increasing the demand for culturally competent public servants. At its most basic level, *culturally competent public administration* is a "respect for and understanding of, diverse ethnic and cultural groups, their histories, traditions, beliefs, and value systems" in the provision and delivery of services (Bush 2000 cited in Baily 2010, p. 171).

As affirmative action policies became less central to efforts to increase representation, cultural competency allows for *any* individual to actively represent group interests, even if passive

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representation is largely absent. According to Baily, "the presumed direct link between passive and active representation that is based upon shared demographic characteristics may become less important as more agency employees are required to increase their cultural competency" (Baily 2010, p. 184). As Peffer (2012) observes, cultural competency is a rather new concept for public administrators and scholars that is at times incorrectly conflated with diversity management; the key distinction is that "Cultural competency is not an issue of access, or even equity; it is an issue of understanding" (p. 32). In many ways, the scope of cultural competency is even more expansive than a multicultural approach to diversity management: "The framework of cultural competency is much more inclusive than traditional diversity programs. Cultural competency not only cuts across the lines of race, gender, and ethnicity, but also encompasses, for example, religion, sexual and gender orientation, language, ability, education, class, and income levels" (Riccucci 2012, p. vii).

Rice (2010) provides two examples of the way scholars have defined cultural competency: "Cultural competency is also defined as an 'ongoing commitment or institutionalization of appropriate practices and policies for diverse population' (Brach and Fraser 2000, 182), while Bush defines cultural competency as a 'respect for, and understanding of, diverse ethnic and cultural groups, their histories, traditions, beliefs, and value systems' in the provision and delivery of services (2000, 177)" (pp. 192-193). Such definitions, however, continue to add to the ambiguity surrounding the term and practice. The second definition is more substantive and refers to "ethnic and cultural groups." Yet, which groups are included and what form of inclusion falls under the directive of "respect" and "understanding" remain unclear. These vague understandings as substitutes for affirmative action policies and practices are dangerous, because the identities that are considered valuable will likely be championed in attempts to increase diversity and cultural competency. This understanding leaves room for historically-underrepresented groups to lose.

That is not to say, however, that cultural competency does not add value to the

organization as a supplement to affirmative action. This practical approach to encouraging

active representation in public organizations can be both positive and innovative: "cultural

competency in public administration and public service delivery will require thinking outside the

box to examining and incorporating different nontraditional and non-mainstream sources and

approaches, including assessment tools and performance measures" (Rice, 2006, p. 51). Rice

illustrates how cultural competency can benefit populations served by the U.S. Department of

Health and Human Services. In the Department's "Culturally and Linguistically Appropriate

Standards":

> The federal government has become a critical actor in the quest for cultural competency
> in public programs and public service delivery through administrative and congressional
> actions. The Office of Minority Health, in the U.S. Department of Health and Human
> Services in December 2000, issued "Culturally and Linguistically Appropriate Standards"
> (CLAS) for health care organizations that receive federal funds. These standards require
> that health care organizations offer and provide language-assistance services, including
> bilingual staff members and interpreter services, as not cost to each patient with limited
> English proficiency at all points of contact in a timely manner during all hours of
> operation; provide to patients and consumers in their preferred language both verbal
> offers and written notices informing them of their right to receive language assistance
> services, ensure the competence of language assistance provided to limited-English-
> proficient patients and consumers by interpreters and bilingual staff; family and friends
> should not be used to provide interpretation services except upon request by the patient or
> consumer; and make available easily understood patient-related materials and post signs
> in the language of the commonly encountered groups and groups represented in the
> services area (U.S.DHHS, 2001b) (Rice, 2006, pp. 44-45).

This suggests that from a practical perspective, encouraging public administrators to think

beyond the traditional approaches to representation can produce positive policy outcomes.

Yet, replacing affirmative action approaches to representation with cultural competency

alone may be detrimental for several reasons, especially in providing clear guidance for

administrators, placing a significant burden on individual bureaucrats rather than altering the

organizational structures to be more representative, and diminishing legal safeguards to ensure

representation.[9] Brown (2012) argues, "The first challenge to the cultural competency framework is the lack of a clear and operationalized definition of the term *culture*. From a philosophical perspective, the great philosopher Wittgenstein informs us that words are best understood by the work that they are asked to perform" (p. 332). Again, this challenge targets the latitude organizations would be afforded in defining and enacting "cultural" representation or sensitivity in the context of their particular organizational goals. As Brown contends through Wittgenstein's ontological directive, "culture" can be enacted and ascribed meaning in vastly different ways given the organizational values and context surrounding the representation of "culture." Norman-Major and Gooden (2012) contend: "While some attention has been paid to the need to recognize difference, traditionally discussions of diversity have focused on issues of race, ethnicity, or gender. However, if the public sector is to serve the community as whole, public administrators must recognize that differences go much deeper than these three categories" (p. 4). From this perspective, not only is the practice of cultural competency broadened, but the groups being represented should be expanded as well.

Another challenge for adopting cultural competency in lieu of affirmative action is that "EEO and cultural competency share similar expected outcomes for ending discrimination in organizational practices . . . the organizational and behavioral strategies for achieving cultural competence must consider employees' experiences with structural changes that resulted from implementing EEO, affirmative action, and managing diversity policies" (Baily 2010, p. 178). These similarities between EEOC and cultural competency are significant in that they place increased responsibility on individual bureaucrats to act as representatives in the organization, rather than targeting larger organizational structures that could be altered to increase representation.

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[9] Chapter 7 details the potential consequences of moving so far away from affirmative action.

Maintaining legal safeguards is another pressing concern for cultural competency. Affirmative action was controversial in part because it was legally mandated. If cultural competency is not legally mandated, each organization has greater latitude in choosing whether and how to enact a cultural competency program. Wyatt-Nichol and Naylor (2012) contend that in the absence of a legal mandate, "it is unlikely that federal agencies will operate in a culturally competent way . . . [also] without a legal mandate and corresponding funding, it is unlikely that federal agencies will achieve consistent, uniform cultural competency and diversity training" (p. 64). Ultimately, what cultural competency cannot do on its own is to alter structural disparities or shape policy outcomes that continue to reflect disparities for historically-underrepresented groups: "While cultural competency can play an important role in bringing equity to public services, it does not in and of itself solve issues of social inequality. While an important factor in building social equality, cultural competence is a distinct concept in the larger goal of bringing social equity to public administration" (Norman-Major and Gooden, 2012, p. 9).

Conclusion

For public administration to achieve these larger goals in both scholarship and practice, a serious rethinking and articulation of a more explicit understanding of bureaucratic representation and its potential for fulfilling public purposes must be undertaken. A deeper understanding of the value of bureaucratic representation would shape both its intrinsic and the instrumental justifications. Kymlicka (1995) notes, "political theorists have had a lot to say about 'the language of politics' – that is, the symbols, metaphors, and rhetorical devices of political discourse – but have had virtually nothing to say about 'the politics of language' – that is, the decisions about which languages to use in political, legal, and educational forums (Weinstein 1983: 7-13)" (p. 111). The discourse surrounding representation is the starting point for achieving these goals. Steinberg (2009) emphasizes the importance of language for public administration:

Language that we, as social scientists, researchers and policy makers create and use in our studies of society, its institutions, its populations, economic and social behavior, becomes codified and used to categorize, stigmatize, denigrate and separate its citizens over time. Those of us who conduct research, teach and write, need to take responsibility for that which is stated and unstated, and the ways in which we describe, subscribe, and relegate groups and individuals to categories – either majority or minority. Looking back over the last century there has been an apparent shift in the way terms are used to categorize, label, define, defile and denigrate people of color, specifically African American individuals (p. 123).

I agree that the implications of discursive terms surrounding representation are significant for both theory and practice. The next chapter provides more details about how discourse analysis was used in the empirical research here.

Chapter 5: Research Design

The purpose of the textual research that I did was in part to produce a critical discourse analysis of selected texts that guide understanding of bureaucratic representation and in turn shape the practice of governance. I first provide here the conceptual framework for the analysis. Next, I describe the documents that were analyzed and how the data strategies were applied. Finally, the limitations of this work are detailed.

The critical literature reviews in the previous three chapters provide the basic normative direction and the concepts that underlie this analysis of representative bureaucracy. The texts analyzed here function as "practice" in that they serve as the discursive building blocks that lay the groundwork for future U.S. federal government personnel policy, its implementation, and the related social norms that emerge from these texts. This arguably is a fundamental means of capturing the normative and practical goals of diverse representation in practice. In the analysis, I treat the text as the public face of the document and focus on the power dynamics and implications for representation produced *by* the text. Analyzing discourse in this way targets the underlying power dynamics in isolation from organizational contexts, events, and individuals that muddy the stated goals and purpose of policy and practice, allowing a clearer picture of meaning to be identified. Although the relations of power that went into the production and response to these texts are significant, these phases of text production are better analyzed in interviews and are beyond the scope of this research.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) serves as the primary methodology for examining texts. In this section, I describe the theoretical basis and basic propositions that guided my use of CDA and how I applied these ideas. This critical discourse analysis operates with multiple ontological

and epistemological lenses (Riccucci 2010, see Appendix C), but I primarily use the interpretivist framework as a basis for assumptions about individuals, groups, and reality more generally that inform my research design. Riccucci (2010) describes this type of analysis: "Public administration scholars who examine government texts and related documents . . . are one example of the interpretivist approach with a reliance on, for instance, hermeneutics. Hermeneutics entails textual interpretation or analysis to discover the meaning behind the written word" (p. 66). My critical discourse analysis takes such an approach by going beyond the literal meaning of language used in texts; instead, it evaluates the power dynamics at work in a given text. My ontological assumptions are rooted in relativism: I assume that reality is found in intersubjective knowledge claims and unable to be completely removed from the subject or knower. The basis of my methodology is a grounded approach, which is described in greater detail in the "data strategies" section below.

According to Wetherell and Potter (1992), "Interpretive repertoires are pre-eminently a way of understanding the content of discourse and how that content is organized. Although stylistic and grammatical elements are sometimes closely associated with this organization, our analytic focus is not a linguistic one; it is concerned with language use, what is achieved by that use and the nature of the interpretive resources that allow that achievement" (pp. 90-1). This analysis is critical in the sense that it challenges assumptions and questions the underlying power structures at work by targeting language use that seeks to promote greater representation in the federal government. This is not simply a linguistic analysis or investigation of the text itself; rather, it investigates the language use and evaluates the language itself for its implications in a larger context.

Critical discourse analysis serves as a theory and formal methodological practice (Philips and Hardy, 2002) that employs a social constructivist epistemology (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). More generally, discourse analysis seeks to discover, explore, and understand the

relationship between texts and reality, but most importantly it attempts to uncover how meaning is made (Philips and Hardy, 2002; Van Dijk, 1993). Returning to my research question, CDA is able to provide insight into the meaning-making resulting from the discourses of affirmative action and multiculturalism. This discourse analysis targets meaning-making and is particularly important for understanding the bureaucratic role perception outlined in Chapter 2, which has the potential to yield active representation. Understanding discourse as social action that is constitutive and involves active construction is applicable for the way individual bureaucrats, government agencies, and organizational policies reciprocally reinforce the basic understanding of representative bureaucracy in practice.

In my CDA, interpretation and meaning-making surrounding group identity categories are central. When exploring questions of representation and defining representation, CDA is most pertinent in addressing oppression of different subjectivities among "structural groupings" (Mills 2008, p. 129). Van Dijk (1993) articulates the emphasis of the social group: "while focusing on *social* power, we ignore purely personal power, unless enacted as an individual realization of group power, that is, by individuals as group members" (p. 254). Group identity plays a major role in access to discourse as well as access to larger social structures. The relationship between identity and knowledge consumption is complex, but undeniably present. Like other theories of social construction, Hansen (2006) details the poststructuralist elements underlying CDA: "Poststructuralism's discursive ontology is . . . deeply intertwined with its understanding of language as constitutive for what is brought into being. Language is social and political, an inherently unstable system of signs that generate meaning through a simultaneous construction of identity and difference" (p. 17).[10] I apply these basic ontological assumptions by

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[10] Many public administration scholars have been quite hostile to poststructuralist theory. Lynn (1999) argues: "Postpositivist critics have brought new stridency to the ongoing discourse about the nature, application, and usefulness of policy analysis. Regrettably, their critique is based on a decontextualized caricature, virtually a parody, of policy analysis training and practice. Their

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focusing on the way text defines and values identities through discursive terms and practices associated with such definitions.

CDA's primary focus is on the relationship between language use and the wider social and cultural structures and the reproduction and challenge of dominance, or the exercise of social power that results in social inequalities (Titshcer, Meyer, Wodak & Vetter, 2000). I believe this is the most appropriate type of discourse analysis for uncovering how government promotes a particular power dynamic based on socially constructed reality and identity with the goal of greater representation. Ultimately, the purpose of CDA is to better understand the nature of social power and dominance and how discourse contributes to reproduction of hegemonic social structures (Van Dijk, 2001). Here, the analysis targets the power dynamic central to defining representation and exploring how different conceptions of representation can benefit or harm social groups, particularly historically-underrepresented groups.

Code (1993) recognizes the importance of subjects and subjectivity for the analysis of discourse and truth claims while keeping context and power in mind. In the context of public administration, these same themes are evident in O'Leary's (2006) work on dissent and challenging the bureaucratic structures at work from one's own subjective ethic. My CDA applied these ideas to the way discursive terms and parameters impact individuals' understanding of themselves in a given organizational context. Some examples of this include the way groups and individual characteristics are valued through the discursive terms and scripts set forth by the texts. Those who make knowledge claims based on propositional knowledge of individuals and groups are able to manipulate the non-knowers with their "objective" knowledge claims about the value of individual trait-based representation over group representation, for example. A

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assertions are chilling but false, ideological rather than analytical, and detached from the inconvenient realities of policymaking and argument. Far from being narrowly technocratic and scientific, policy analysis is dedicated to improving the craft of governance" (p. 411).

knower's ability to craft knowledge affects the power structure, advantaging the knower over the non-knower, especially if the non-knower is made an object of the knower's knowledge. This relationship among those who define discursive terms and those who are shaped by the discursive terms themselves grant bureaucratic representatives the ability to make propositional claims about the represented, and more importantly, shape the discursive terms that promote or limit understanding representative roles.

Because CDA emerges from the work of Foucault that uncovers relationships of power, social structures, and subjects, this form of analysis is particularly helpful in evaluating key texts that present the federal government's perspective on and approach to representation, diversity, and inclusion. These dynamics are at the heart of my understanding of representation and the normative goals of a representative bureaucracy, particularly in terms of "othering" certain groups. Howarth (2000) states, "What emerges from Foucault's alternative picture of discourse is the enmeshing of power, truth, and practices, and the positioning of human beings within these historical configurations" (p. 79). The connections between the discursive subject and political questions of identity, voice, power, and representation are of central importance to my research, especially in understanding an individual bureaucrat's representative role perception stemming from basic terms and definitions set forth by the texts analyzed.

Analyzing the element of power at work in discursive construction, interpretation, and promotion is central. Foucault claims that every power dynamic is reciprocal, because there cannot be dominance without resistance. Mills (2008) states that "Foucault argues that resistance is already contained within the notion of power: 'Where there is power there is resistance . . . No power relation is simply one of total domination. Entailed within that relation is the force which may challenge or overthrow it'" (p. 37). For example, in the context of a federal agency, an individual bureaucrat may attempt to thwart a representative role expectation if they believe it is be unjust, or as Rosemary O'Leary (2006) puts it, "inevitable tensions between bureaucracy and

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democracy that will never go away" call for some bureaucrats to act as "guerillas" when they act on their own subjective beliefs of what is right as opposed to what the bureaucratic context has socialized them to believe is right (p. 3). This observation is critical for evaluating how discourse impacts the knowledge claims and behaviors of bureaucrats in their representative roles. In this view, subjectivity, or the inescapable particulars that cause an individual to have situated knowledge, must be accounted for. An individual's subjectivity can include such factors as race, sex, socioeconomic background, or any other characteristic that may impact one's perspective in arriving at knowledge. The Foucauldian question for organizational practices rooted in discourses of representation becomes *if* and *how* is it possible to react against repressive contextual factors that oppress particular subjects?

Documents Analyzed

The critical discourse analysis employed here focused on the most recent and comprehensive efforts dealing with bureaucratic representation: EO 13583: Establishing a Coordinated Government-wide Initiative to Promote Diversity and Inclusion in the Federal Workforce (August 18, 2011), the Government-Wide Diversity and Inclusion Initiative and Strategic Plan, and the OPM Guidance for Agency-specific Diversity and Inclusion Plans. The primary aim of these texts is to "promote equal employment opportunity, diversity and inclusion in the federal workforce, making federal workplaces models that tap talents from all segments of society" (EEOC Press Release 2012). The Strategic Plan identifies strategies to remove barriers to equal opportunity in federal government recruitment, hiring, promotion, retention, professional development and training. Then, as EO 13583 mandated, within 120 days of the release of the government-wide plan, each federal agency issued its own agency-specific Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plan, making this a coordinated and concerted effort (EEOC Press Release). OPM Director John Berry and Deputy Director for Management of OMB Jeff Zients, in coordination with EEOC Chair Jacqueline A. Berrien and the President's Management

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Council (PMC), were charged with creating a government-wide initiative to promote diversity and inclusion in the federal workforce; developing a government-wide strategic plan and guidance for agency-specific plans within 90 days; identifying best practices to improve agency efforts; and establishing a system for reporting on agency progress (EEOC Press Release 2012).

Each of these documents was included in the critical discourse analysis using Fairclough's (1992) model to organize and evaluate the discourses at work. These texts were selected for two primary reasons. First, the U.S. federal government, through mandate or informal practice, is often looked to as the leader in defining and promoting diversity by state and local governments. EEOC Chair Berrien described the central role of the federal government: "President Obama's Executive Order reinforces the leadership that federal agencies can play in ensuring that every qualified worker has an equal opportunity to succeed and advance in the workplace . . . The Executive Order will help the nation fulfill the promise of equal employment opportunity, in every workplace, beginning with the federal government" (EEOC Press Release 2012). This document yields the most fundamental definitions and treatments of diversity in the federal government, providing leadership in promoting such understandings of diversity. The goal of EO 13583 is to promote "the Federal workplace as a model of equal opportunity, diversity, and inclusion" (52847). Analyzing such documents demonstrated whether and how the themes and categories I found in the texts comport with the normative goals of representative bureaucracy.

In order to provide a contextual basis for analyzing EO 13583, the Strategic Plan, and the Agency-Specific Guide, I also examined five executive orders that sought specifically to increase representation in the federal government, EOs 13078, 13163, 13171, 13518, and 13548 as well as the 2000 OPM Agency Diversity Guide. The "text" dimension of these documents was analyzed to serve as a point of comparison against the 2011 documents. However, these earlier documents were not analyzed in terms of the discursive or social practice of Fairclough's model,

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because these two phases of this model deal primarily with the implications of the text for practice and with the hegemonic power relations—neither of these elements were significant for the analysis of the earlier documents, because the 2011 documents now served as the guiding documents for practice and the earlier documents did not negatively construct group identities and promote the hegemonic relationship resulting from a multicultural approach to representation as the later documents did. Additional George W. Bush and Obama orders seeking to promote representation from the beginning in 2001 through the issuance of Executive Order 13583 are listed in Appendix F; they were not included in this analysis because they did not target representation in federal employment.

The second reason for selecting the texts analyzed here was that these documents provide insight into some of the most recent approaches to representation to date. This analysis evaluated the understanding of "diversity" and the basic aims of diversity in U.S. federal employment. This captures the novelty of representation efforts and also provides an analysis of multiculturalism, which itself is a trend that has gained prominence in the early 21st century and is ripe for critique.

Data Strategies

Crabtree and Miller (1992) present a continuum of ideal-type analysis strategies, ranging from objectivist to immersion strategies (p. 155). My analysis falls somewhere between the "immersion strategies, in which categories are not prefigured and which rely heavily on the researcher's intuitive and interpretive capacities" and the 'template' and "editing" strategies, with the "template process more prefigured and stipulative than the editing process" (Crabtree and Miller, 1992, pp. 17-18, cited in Marshall and Rossman, 2006, p. 155). I employed Fairclough's (1992) model of discourse as a guide for my analysis. (See Figure 2.) Fairclough (1993) states that when operating from a CDA perspective, "Each discursive event has three

dimensions or facets: it is a spoken or written text, it is an instance of discursive practice

involving the production and interpretation of text, and it is a piece of social practice" (p. 136).

Figure 2: Model for Critical Discourse Analysis

Social Practice

Discursive
Practice
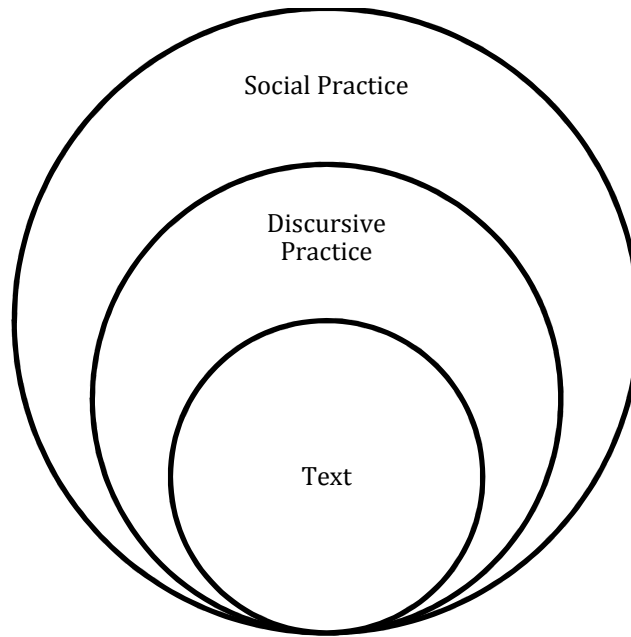
Text

Adapted from Fairclough (1992, p. 73)

I began with Fairclough's (1992) conception of discourse. He identifies the language of

the documents as the written or spoken textual language, or simply the "text" (p. 73). The

critical discourse analysis began with the language, or "text" of Executive Orders 13078, 13163,

13171, 13518, and 13548 to provide context of the previous attempts to promote representation

in the federal government. Similarly, I analyzed the previous guiding document issued in 2000,

"Building and Maintaining a Diverse, High-Quality Workforce: A Guide for Federal Agencies,"

to provide context for the Strategic Plan and Guidance for Agency-specific Plans issued in 2011.

I began with an initial reading of these texts, paying attention to their larger purpose and

to their implications for intra-agency practices. Then, I narrowed my focus and targeted sections

and paragraphs to gain a better sense of the discursive structures and language at work in each of

these texts. Next, I did several close readings of the texts, focusing on the content sentence-by-

sentence and phrase-by-phrase to "uncover new concepts and novel relationships and to

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systematically develop categories in terms of their properties and dimensions" (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p. 71).

In the next phase, I used an open coding technique. Consistent with Berg's (2007) understanding of discourse, I sought to "open inquiry" widely in this stage (p. 317). The research questions outlined in Chapter 1 were the foundation of my analysis. From these questions, categories and themes were constructed using Fairclough's components as a guide. According to Marshall and Rossman (2006), "For editing and immersion strategies, [the researcher] generates the categories through prolonged engagement with the data—the text. These categories then become buckets or baskets into which segments of the text are placed" (p. 159). As I conducted the analysis, further refinement of these categories was necessary. Marshall and Rossman (2006) emphasize that generating categories and themes is important: "For researchers relying on editing or immersion strategies, this phase of data analysis is the most difficult, complex, ambiguous, creative, and fun. Although there are few description of this process in the literature, it remains the most amenable to display through example" (p. 158).

From the initial readings of the texts, I constructed general themes, or "categories," in which to code the text. In the next phase of the analysis, I began to refine these categories by distilling more precise descriptions of the discourse at work. For example, in my earlier reading of the texts, the category "Nondemographic Identity" was placed under the larger theme of "Multiculturalism." As I continued to read and code the text, I broke the former category into two more refined themes: "Nondemographic Identity Traits and Definitions of Diversity" and "Emphasis on Individual or Merit-based representation" in order to capture more specific meanings and purposes of the texts. Finally, I arrived at two main categories (Affirmative Action and Multiculturalism) and nine subcategories. The Affirmative Action category included three subcategories: Historically-underrepresented Identities, Demographic Representation Goals or Targets, and Emphasis on the Value of Group Representation. Multiculturalism had six

subcategories: Non-demographic Identity Traits and Definitions of Diversity, Non-demographic Identity Representation Goals or Targets, Emphasis on Individual or Merit-based Representation, Value of Diversity and Diversity for Larger Organizational Goals, NPM approach to and the Business-case for Diversity, and Inclusiveness. (See Table 2.)

Table 2: Discourse Analysis Category Scheme

Categories	Subcategories	Examples
Affirmative Action: articulation and positive treatment of historically-underrepresented and historically-disadvantaged groups	Historically-underrepresented Identities: specific group(s) of individuals facing disparity and disadvantage due to systemic factors indicated by name or by policy category`	"Affirmative Action," "women and minorities," "demographic representation," "Americans with disabilities"
	Demographic Representation Goals or Targets: goals or measures to promote specific group(s) of individuals facing disparity and disadvantage due to systemic factors by name or by policy category	"increase representation of women and minorities" "improve programs for Americans with disabilities"
	Emphasis on the Value of Group Representation: positively affirmations or means of value of Historically-underrepresented, demographic groups	"To ensure that the Federal Government is a model employer of adults with disabilities"
Multiculturalism: general or implicit treatment of historically-underrepresented, historically-disadvantaged individuals as well as historically-overrepresented and historically-advantaged individuals, with much less emphasis on group-based identity than the Affirmative Action approach.	Non-demographic Identity Traits and Definitions of Diversity: traits, skills, or nonspecific attributes that fall under the definition of "diversity" or "difference" as articulated by organizations and contribute to this understanding of diversity	"achieve a workforce drawn from all segments of society," "possess a wide variety of skills and experiences, as well as the motivation for public service, that will help fulfill Federal agencies' staffing needs"
	Non-demographic Identity Representation Goals or Targets: organizational aims that seek to bolster the traits, skills, or nonspecific attributes that fall under the definition of "diversity" or "difference" as articulated by organizations and related to this understanding of diversity	"Identify helpful tools and strategies to obtain, retain, strengthen, and fully utilize a diverse, high-quality workforce," "Recognizing the multiple frameworks underpinning diversity is important to shape and pursue the missions and goals of individual agencies and the Federal Government as a whole"

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Emphasis on Individual or Merit-based Representation: traits, skills, or specific attributes that target individuals and merit or performance of individuals under the definition of "diversity" or "difference" as articulated by organizations and related to this understanding of diversity	"achieve a workforce drawn from all segments of society," "possess a wide variety of skills and experiences, as well as the motivation for public service, that will help fulfill Federal agencies' staffing needs"
Value of Diversity and Diversity for Larger Organizational Goals: positively affirming the contribution and utility of traits, skills, or nonspecific attributes that fall under the definition of "diversity" or "difference" for organizations	"Proactively Seek New Hires from All Segments of Society. Where can organizations go to recruit individuals who can advance the organization's mission and business? What areas of talent have not been located and how might the organization deploy resources to achieve this goal?"
NPM approach to and the Business-case for Diversity: justifying the contribution and utility of traits, skills, or nonspecific attributes under the definition of "diversity" or "difference" as they relate to the efficient, effective, result-oriented, performance-measurement function of the organization	"(i) reflect a continuing priority for eliminating Hispanic underrepresentation in the Federal workforce and incorporate actions under this order as strategies for achieving workforce diversity goals in the agency's Government Performance and Results Act (GPRA) Annual Performance Plan."
Inclusiveness: the collectivity and community of traits, skills, or nonspecific attributes that fall under the definition of "diversity" or "difference" as articulated by organizations and contribute to this understanding of diversity	"We define inclusion as a culture that connects each employee to the organization; encourages collaboration, flexibility, and fairness; and leverages diversity throughout the organization so that all individuals are able to participate and contribute to their full potential."

The CDA focused on language that specifically targeted those represented in and by federal agencies as well as justifications for particular definitions of representation in single words, phrases, entire sentences, and whole passage. I also considered the specificity or vagueness of the language to reflect different approaches to representation. For example, the Affirmative Action category used much more precise terms, where the Multicultural category was much less specific. Textual omissions or silences that failed to address systemic difficulties

surrounding representation also were noted, particularly in the 2011 documents that replaced targeted historically-underrepresented groups with vague language surrounding "diversity."

I examined the discursive practice dimension of these key documents, including how and why the texts were produced and the types of discourses at work within the texts. Fairclough describes discursive practice as "processes of text production, distribution, and consumption, and the nature of these processes" (p. 78). This layer of the analysis targeted the policies and practices set forth and the rationale behind them, uncovering the normative dimensions of practice.

I expanded my analysis to the third, social practice dimension, which targets the contextual variable of a "discursive event," particularly the ideology and hegemony of power relations that underlie a discursive event (p. 86). For example, the social dimension encompassed the discursive event of text production and knowledge creation by "expert knowers." This stage of the analysis speaks to the consequences and power differentials that result from certain representation practices. Context and discourse are mutually reinforcing, according to Fairclough (p. 41); therefore, I paid careful attention to organizational factors that could (or, would likely not) contribute to the active representation of historically-underrepresented groups.

Limitations

This research design afforded a high degree of interpretive power to the researcher. To be sure, the goal of my analysis was not generalizability or even replicability in the scientific realist tradition. As Jensen and Allen (1996) observe, the interpretive paradigm is unlikely to yield generalizable, replicable analyses: "Given the same qualitative task, no two researchers will produce the same result; there are inevitable differences in perspective and style" (p. 554). Yet, this research remains valid in a descriptive and theoretical sense. These forms of validity center

on the conceptual description and justification of categorizing and analyzing Executive Order 13583 and the associated plan.

Marshall and Rossman (2006) see the "span of inferential reasoning" available to the researcher as an area of the research design that must be detailed carefully: "the analysis of the content of written materials or film, for example, entails interpretation by the researcher . . . Care should be taken, therefore, in displaying the logic of interpretation used in inferring meaning from the artifacts" (p. 108). This does not mean that the "result" of my analysis has no rigorous logic constructed by the research; it is clear, however, when conducting such an analysis, questions, categories, and rationales may vary significantly among different researchers. I am aware that careful consideration and comprehensive explanations of how categories I formed and why the text I categorized and interpreted in the way I did are essential to making my critical discourse analysis methodologically sound.

Mills (2008) highlights the major criticisms waged at this form of discourse analysis; the most damaging, in my estimation, is the assumed stability and consistency of discursive meaning (p. 140). For example, "race" or "sex" may not have the same meaning for particular subjects within a given context, but I think it is important to keep the applicability of CDA in mind. How would a less "essentialist" and more Foucauldian approach be applied to systemic oppression? I cannot imagine a form of analysis that is able to avoid the essentializing nature of language, while at the same time being able to say *something*. Here, CDA arguably is valuable in pragmatically recognizing and assessing the treatment of discourses that are explicitly or implicitly targeting social groups in defining and promoting representation.

Chapter 6: Discourse Analysis of "Text" Findings

As the previous chapter discussed, Fairclough conceptualizes discourse as having three central components: text, discursive practice, and social practice. In addressing the language or textual component of Fairclough's model, I focus on the language with explicit definitions, goals, and strategies aimed at increasing diversity in federal government agencies. In doing so, I read and analyzed several documents (see Table 3) in exploring whether and why multiculturalism was detrimental to theorizing and enacting a representative bureaucracy. This chapter presents the findings of Fairclough's (1992) first dimension of discourse analysis of the text by identifying specific themes and examples in EOs 13078, 13163, 13171; the 2000 OPM Agency Diversity Guide; the later EOs (13518, 13548, 13583), the Government-Wide Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plan 2011, and the Guidance for Agency-Specific Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plans.[11] I highlight major patterns that are evident when comparing the pre-Obama administration materials (EOs 13078, 13163, and 13171 and the 2000 OPM Diversity Guide) with those issued after 2009 (EOs 13518, 13548, 13583, the 2011 Strategic Plan, and the Guidance for Agency-Specific Plans).

Table 3: Focal Documents

Documents	Document Title	Date	Issued	Coded
Earlier Documents	Executive Order 13078: Increasing Employment of Adults with Disabilities	March 18, 1998	President Bill Clinton	Affirmative Action
	Executive Order 13163: Increasing the Opportunity for Individuals with Disabilities to be Employed in the Federal Government	July 28, 2000	President Bill Clinton	Affirmative Action
	Executive Order 13171: Hispanic Employment in the Federal Government	October 16, 2000	President Bill Clinton	Affirmative Action

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[11] Bureaucrats may view these different types of texts differently; however, parsing out the nuance of how a bureaucrat interprets an executive order verses a guding document is beyond the scope of this research and would be better explored through interviews rather than discourse analysis.

	The 2000 OPM Agency Diversity Guide	June 1, 2000	United States Office of Personnel Management	Affirmative Action Shift to Multiculturalism
Later Documents	Executive Order 13518: Employment of Veterans in the Federal Government	November 13, 2009	President Barack Obama	Multiculturalism
	Executive Order 13548: Increasing Federal Employment of Individuals with Disabilities	July 30, 2010	President Barack Obama	Affirmative Action Outlier
	Executive Order 13583: Establishing a Coordinated Government-Wide Initiative to Promote Diversity and Inclusion in the Federal Workforce	August 18, 2011	President Barack Obama	Multiculturalism
	The Government-Wide Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plan 2011	2011		Multiculturalism
	The Guidance for Agency-Specific Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plans 2011	November, 2011	United States Office of Personnel Management	Multiculturalism

Earlier Documents: EOs 13078, 13163, and 13171; 2000 OPM Agency Diversity Guide

These three executive orders and the 2000 OPM Guide focused on very specific terms and target groups of historically-underrepresented populations, as evident from the titles themselves. The text of the executive orders emphasizes increasing representation among individuals with disabilities and those of Hispanic decent. The documents stress individual membership in these collective identities.

The goal of Executive Order 13078, for example, is to "increase the employment of adults with disabilities to a rate that is as close as possible to the employment rate of the general adult population" (p. 13111). This order provided the following definition and was clear that this goal includes: "An adult with a disability is a person with a physical or mental impairment that substantially limits at least one major life activity" (p. 13112).

Executive Order 13163 (2000) targets individuals with disabilities, citing specific needs and the intrinsic value of having individuals with disabilities represented in the Federal

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workforce. [12] Beyond these values, EO 13163 emphasizes the failing of the federal government to increase representation of ability status:

> (a) Recent evidence demonstrates that, throughout the United States, qualified persons with disabilities have been refused employment despite their availability and qualifications, and many qualified persons with disabilities are never made aware of available employment opportunities. Evidence also suggests that increased efforts at outreach, and increased understanding of the reasonable accommodations available for persons with disabilities, will permit persons with disabilities to compete for employment on a more level playing field (p. 46563).

The language and substantive aims of Executive Order 13171 likewise cites disparities between the general population and Federal employment, this time focusing on Hispanics.

> This Administration notes that Hispanics remain underrepresented in the Federal workforce: they make up only 6.4 percent of the Federal civilian workforce, roughly half of their total representation in the civilian labor force. This Executive Order, therefore, affirms ongoing policies and recommends additional policies to eliminate the underrepresentation of Hispanics in the Federal workforce (Executive Order 13171, p. 61251).

From the language and values expressed in these three executive orders, it is evident that they explicitly targeted historically-underrepresented groups for increased representation in federal employment. They also include quantitative measures of success, making the implementation of these orders easier in terms of measuring and assessing specific goals set forth.

The descriptions of disparities, claims for the value of diverse representation, and targeted goals raise important issues surrounding personnel policy. These three executive orders raise the normative question of what representation means for a diverse public and a workforce that "represents" a diverse public. Examining the consequences and power differentials that result from certain representation practices suggests that these three executive orders made a concerted effort to value rhetorically diverse historically-underrepresented group representation

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[12] A document that builds on EO 13163, EO 13548 (2010) also targeted individuals with disabilities. Executive Order 13548 states: "Americans with disabilities have an employment rate far lower than that of Americans without disabilities, and they are underrepresented in the Federal workforce. Individuals with disabilities currently represent just over 5 percent of the nearly 2.5 million people in the Federal workforce, and individuals with targeted disabilities currently represent less than 1 percent of that workforce" (p. 45039).

and outlined a clear set of policies to achieve greater representation in the Federal workforce.[13] Promoting specific forms of representation as these orders outlined did not entail policy enforcing the *same* treatment for all groups; indeed most would agree that this is not feasible in the short run given the negative constructions and systemic power dynamics affecting historically underrepresented groups in the United States.

Interestingly, the 2000 OPM Agency Diversity Guide departs from the three executive orders in several significant ways and demonstrates a shift toward a multicultural approach that will be described later. With this overview of these four documents in mind, the next subsection provides a more detailed account of the textual analysis.

Executive Order 13078 and Executive Order 13163: Ability Status

President Bill Clinton issued Executive Orders 13078 and 13163, both focusing on employment of individuals with disabilities, on March 18, 1998 and July 28, 2000, respectively. All text coded from these executive orders fell under the broad category of "Affirmative Action," with none categorized as "Multiculturalism." Relatively few statements appeared in the "Historically-underrepresented Identities" or "Emphasis on the Value of Group Representation" categories. The subcategory of "Demographic Representation Goals or Targets" had the most text by far.

An example from 13078 of text in the "Demographic Representation Goals or Targets" category is: "The purpose of the Task Force is to create a coordinated and aggressive national policy to bring adults with disabilities into gainful employment at a rate that is as close as possible to that of the general adult population. The Task Force shall develop and recommend to the President, through the Chair of the Task Force, a coordinated Federal policy to reduce employment barriers for persons with disabilities" (p. 13111). This passage illustrates several

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[13] The next chapter examines this theme in greater detail in terms of its discursive and social practice.

features common to 13078 and 13163. First, the text explicitly targets a population that has been historically-underrepresented in the federal workforce. Second, these Orders use quantifiable measures of representation disparities to make the case for increased representation of the target group, "individuals with disabilities." Similarly, 13163 noted: "*Implementation.* Each Federal agency shall prepare a plan to increase the opportunities for individuals with disabilities to be employed in the agency. Each agency shall submit that plan to the Office of Personnel Management within 60 days from the date of this order" (p. 46563). In both of these examples, the goals to promote greater group representation in the Federal Government were explicit and targeted the historically-underrepresented group of "individuals with disabilities" by citing specific measures and timeframes for taking initiatives to achieve these goals. The targets and level of specificity are significant, contrasting with later documents with fewer specific details about how much representation is needed and when these representation goals must be met.

In addition, other text from these orders appeared in the subcategory, "Emphasis on the Value of Group Representation." For example, Executive Order 13163 states:

> (a) Recent evidence demonstrates that, throughout the United States, qualified persons with disabilities have been refused employment despite their availability and qualifications, and many qualified persons with disabilities are never made aware of available employment opportunities . . . (c) As a model employer, the Federal Government will take the lead in educating the public about employment opportunities available for individuals with disabilities (p. 46563).

This passage highlights the unfairness resulting from the lack of representation of "individuals with disabilities" as a group and the need for federal agencies to remedy this problem by taking a more active role in increasing this group's representation among their employees.[14]

Executive Order 13163 includes other examples from the "Affirmative Action"

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[14] This text falls under the subcategory of "Emphasis on the Value of Group Representation," because these normative statements and directives inherently value greater representation of "individuals with disabilities."

category.[15] Indeed, the subcategory, "Historically-underrepresented Identities," is part of the order's expressed purpose: "to promote an increase in the opportunities for individuals with disabilities to be employed at all levels and occupations of the Federal Government, and to support the goals articulated in section 501 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (29 U.S.C. 791)" (p. 46563). This text explicitly targets "individuals with disabilities" as an historically-underrepresented group and aims to fulfill the legislative purpose to address the disparities this group experiences. This theme of focusing on group identities also is prevalent in another Clinton executive order, 13171.

Executive Order 13171: Hispanic Employment

EO 13171: Hispanic Employment in the Federal Government was issued October 16, 2000. Most coded text fell under the broad category "Affirmative Action," with only a few statements in the "Emphasis on the Value of Group Representation" category. The subcategories of "Historically-underrepresented Identities" and "Demographic Representation Goals or Targets" had the most text by far. Within the "Historically-underrepresented Identities" subcategory, for example, text emphasized the need for increased passive representation: "Pursuant to this policy, this Administration notes that Hispanics remain underrepresented in the Federal workforce: they make up only 6.4 percent of the Federal civilian workforce, roughly half of their total representation in the civilian labor force" (p. 61251). Notably, to remedy this disparity, this order goes on to use the terms "affirm" and "underrepresentation of Hispanics" in the same sentence, sounding much like previous affirmative action policies: "This Executive Order, therefore, affirms ongoing policies and recommends additional policies to eliminate the underrepresentation of Hispanics in the Federal workforce" (p. 61251). This is significant,

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[15] This text falls under the subcategories of "Historically-underrepresented Identities" and "Demographic Representation Goals or Targets."

because this order falls overwhelmingly in the "Affirmative Action" category, while at the same time incorporating the theme of multiculturalism (detailed below).

An example of text within the subcategory of "Demographic Representation Goals or Targets" describes the requirements for increasing Hispanic representation through organizational practices: "Responsibilities of Executive Departments and Agencies. The head of each executive department and agency (agency) shall establish and maintain a program for the recruitment and career development of Hispanics in Federal employment" (p. 61251). Each agency is then charged with instituting a program for recruitment and development of Hispanic employees; yet, the order does not detail the type of program or the *specific* goals of the program. The responsibility for establishing and ensuring the ongoing maintenance of such a program lies with the head of each agency. Creating such a clear line of accountability and delegation is telling of the enforcement efforts this Order seeks to ensure.

Some parts of the order were coded in three distinct subcategories: "Demographic Representation Goals or Targets," "Value of Diversity and Diversity for Larger Organizational Goals" and "NPM approach to and the Business-case for Diversity"

> (i) reflect a continuing priority for eliminating Hispanic underrepresentation in the Federal workforce and incorporate actions under this order as strategies for achieving workforce diversity goals in the agency's Government Performance and Results Act (GPRA) Annual Performance Plan (p. 61252).

This exemplifies the shift from the intrinsic valuing and justification of passive representation to the more instrumental case for representation in "diversity" serving larger organizational goals and remaining consistent with larger government-wide reform efforts.

This executive order also included material falling into the "Multiculturalism Category." This category had about half as much text as the "Affirmative Action" Category and was rather evenly distributed across the six subcategories. For example: "It is the policy of the executive branch to recruit qualified individuals from appropriate sources in an effort to achieve a

workforce drawn from all segments of society" (p. 61251). This text highlights the shift that was beginning to take place away from affirmative action, even though the order largely focuses on affirmative action in tone and substance.[16] The terms "individuals" and "all" contrast starkly with the majority of the language and the tone used to highlight the need for greater Hispanic representation in the federal workforce in the "Affirmative Action" category. The multicultural theme appeared even more visibly in the 2000 OPM Agency Diversity Guide.

2000 OPM Agency Diversity Guide

The U.S. Office of Personnel Management issued the Agency Diversity Guide in June 2000. This document captures the shift away from affirmative action to multiculturalism with four times as much coded text in the "Multiculturalism" category as in the "Affirmative Action" category. Within the Affirmative Action Category, most coded text appeared in the subcategory of "Historically-underrepresented Identities"; the subcategory, "Demographic Representation Goals or Targets," had little text. Finally, no text appeared in the subcategory "Emphasis on the Value of Group Representation."

The Guide presented Affirmative Action themes in an interesting way: it continued to cite quantified demographic shifts in disparities in representation, but it no longer included specific directives for addressing these disparities. Table 4 contains three examples of the "Historically-underrepresented Identities" subcategory with disparities presented in quantitative terms language.

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[16] This text was placed in the subcategories of "Multiculturalism": "Non-demographic Identity Traits and Definitions of Diversity," "Non-demographic Identity Representation Goals or Targets," "Emphasis on Individual or Merit-based Representation," "Value of Diversity and Diversity for Larger Organizational Goals," "NPM approach to and the Business-case for Diversity," and "Inclusiveness."

Table 4: Textual Examples of Quantitative Statements

Type of "Affirmative Action" Text	Statement
Changing Demographics	When the Hudson Institute published Workforce 2001 in 1987, the subject of diversity emerged as a topic of national interest. This publication outlined impending demographic changes that would alter the image of the typical American worker. The report predicted that minorities would increasingly constitute a larger percentage of the net new entrants into the workforce. It also noted that the labor force participation of women would continue to rise and that the median age of workers would increase due to the aging baby boom generation. In essence, the American workforce was changing on a par with America's demographics. The Hudson Institute's 1997 follow-up report, Workforce 2020, discussed many of these same trends and affirmed the need to plan proactively for workforce changes (p. 3).
Representation Disparities	A 1996 U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board (MSPB) study 6 found disparities in the perceptions of minority and White employees

	with respect to how minority employees are treated in the Federal workplace. Although the MSPB study found no evidence of widespread, pervasive discrimination, it found that minorities and non-minorities have significantly different perceptions about the degree to which discrimination may still be present in the workplace. Further, these differences in perception are so large that they suggest many minority and non-minority employees have great difficulty in understanding or accepting the others' perspective (p. 5).
Workplace Discrimination	Many minority employees believe they are not treated fairly in the Federal civil service. Substantial numbers of minorities report that they are subjected to both blatant and subtle discriminatory practices in the Government's workplace. For instance, 55 percent of Black survey respondents believe that Blacks are subjected to "flagrant or obviously discriminatory practices" in the Federal workplace (p. 5).

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These three passages highlight the two major challenges in creating a representative workforce: providing avenues for both passive and active representation. The first speaks to the passive dimension, with disparities in matching demographic identity with the U.S. and federal workforce, while the second and third passages identify problems that call for better intraorganizational practices to foster active representation. Passages two and three emphasize how much work needs to be done to achieve active representation, especially if employees continue to experience discrimination in the workplace. Moving toward a more positive valuation of historically-underrepresented groups in order to achieve active representation is quite different than merely ensuring discriminatory practices are not at work within the federal workforce.

In the subcategory, "Demographic Representation Goals or Targets," the goals and targets that the previous executive orders handled very specifically the policy guide now treats vaguely, coupled with additional rationales and targets and a more legalistic tone. The first example, "Increase awareness of the business, cultural, demographic, and legal frameworks for understanding and managing diversity" (p. 1), simply outlines the goal of raising awareness, using several ways of understanding diversity. This contrasts starkly with the specific goals and targets for increasing representation in the previous executive orders. Another illustration, also in the Multicultural category, "Non-demographic Identity Representation Goals or Targets" and "Inclusiveness" states:

> The Federal Government must now broaden its view of diversity. It must embrace the business, cultural, and demographic dimensions of diversity as well as the legal dimension. Recognizing the multiple frameworks underpinning diversity is important to shape and pursue the missions and goals of individual agencies and the Federal Government as a whole (p. 3).

This example again couples the demographic and legal (i.e., the Affirmative Action approach) with business and cultural dimensions of representation, moving away from an intrinsic

valuation of representation alone. The final example, from the Diversity Guide, appears under the Affirmative Action category:

> In general, an agency's diversity program must include elements that build diversity, through recruitment, outreach and hiring, and elements that maintain diversity, through the agency's use of learning and development, rewards and recognition, and a supportive work environment. A successful diversity program needs close, continuing partnerships between human resources and EEO/civil rights and special emphasis staff. In other words, each agency should have in place a comprehensive process to build and maintain a diverse, high-quality workforce (p. 15).

This is the most specific articulation of Affirmative Action in the Guide, with its reference to "EEO/civil rights and special emphasis staff." Yet, this text still refers to a number of approaches to increased "diversity," employing multiculturalism language with no specific mention of Affirmative Action itself. The "comprehensive process" only allows for Affirmative Action to be on the periphery through "partnerships," rather than playing a central role in increasing representation.

The Diversity Guide had text in all six subcategories of "Multiculturalism." The most prevalent subcategories were "Non-demographic Identity Representation Goals or Targets" and "NPM approach to and the Business-case for Diversity." Several passages in the "Inclusiveness" subcategory highlight the shift in understanding of who is able to contribute to the diversity of an organization. The following statement distinguishes between past and present treatments of representation: "Diversity means different things to different agencies, organizations, and people. Federal diversity initiatives have historically focused on equal employment opportunity (EEO) and affirmative employment" (p. 3).

The remainder of the Guide presented additional elements and justifications for expanded understandings of diversity. For example, another text in this subcategory has subtler undertones of "Non-demographic Identity Representation Goals or Targets" and "Inclusiveness," and a more explicit emphasis on the "NPM approach to and the Business-case for Diversity:"

> Diversity has evolved from sound public policy to a strategic business imperative. It is an issue that requires more attention and support within the Federal workplace, and the U.S. Office of Personnel Management (OPM) is committed to bringing this about. This guide reflects OPM's commitment to diversity and to providing the best possible workplace for all Federal employees (p. 1).

The focus on "all" Federal employees could be read two ways— as a call either to increase the employment of members of historically-underrepresented groups in federal agencies or to include every individual in diversity efforts in order to reach larger organizational goals. Interpreting this statement in light of the tone and other language in the document, I believe the purpose of this statement is consistent with the latter goal of utilizing diversity efforts for larger organizational goals, targeting individuals and emphasizing performance measures to assess diversity efforts.

Consistent with this broader purpose, a statement like the following was categorized as "Emphasis on Individual or Merit-based Representation": "Candidates must feel there is a match between their personal goals and the agency's goals. To create and foster a positive image, state the agency's mission and goals clearly and include an inspiring vision. Develop a theme for the recruiting message and craft it to fit each audience" (p. 16). Diversity efforts couched as individual and larger agency goals contrast sharply with the original diversity "problem" presented at the beginning of the document (see pages 10-11 on demographic and organizational environment disparities and discrimination). Addressing demographic disparities and ongoing discrimination in the federal government by creating different messages tailored to individual preferences arguably is inconsistent with larger structural and systemic difficulties.

Treating representation as a means to achieving larger goals was prevalent throughout this document, including the subcategory, "NPM Approach." The first statement in the Diversity Guide's introduction reads: "'Quality and diversity can go hand in hand, and they must.' — President Bill Clinton" (p. 1). I coded this in the "NPM approach" subcategory because of the necessity it conveys of linking "diversity" with "quality," or the work that the federal

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government does. It is telling that this is the opening sentence used to introduce the issue of

diversity, and it is made by the formal head of the executive branch. Requiring that diversity be

conjoined with quality is important for two central reasons: First, it contributes to the

instrumental shift in valuing the utility of representation rather than representation itself. Second,

allowing "diversity" to become a business imperative skirts the critical social justice issues of

discrimination and inequality. The business approach to diversity does not address these latter

concerns; perhaps especially important is the way representative roles are avoided by addressing

larger organizational goals and performance measures in an NPM tradition. The following

concisely summarizes the rationale for the "NPM approach":

> Support managers, supervisors, human resource professionals, and other staff in their
> efforts to respect, appreciate, and value individual differences. Increase agencies'
> understanding of how diverse perspectives can: improve organizational performance,
> help prevent unlawful discrimination or harassment incidents, improve workplace
> relations, build more effective work teams, improve organizational problem solving, and
> improve customer service (pp. 1-2).[17]

As another example, "The Federal Government must now broaden its view of diversity. It

must embrace the business, cultural, and demographic dimensions of diversity as well as the

legal dimension. Recognizing the multiple frameworks underpinning diversity is important to

shape and pursue the missions and goals of individual agencies and the Federal Government as a

whole" (p. 3). In addition to a call for an expansive definition of diversity, the inclusion of

individual agencies and the entire national executive as actors able to craft their own distinctive

definitions of diversity make this move toward greater inclusion significant. Including more in a

definition of diversity (i.e., difference) may allow that definition to become so broad that it does

not capture diversity, but rather the sameness of the collection of individuals in the Federal

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[17] Important for the way this approach to a business-oriented model of fostering representation is
viewed as operating in federal agencies is generating "Inclusiveness," a new theme that emerged
in the document. The text also falls under the subcategories "Demographic Representation Goals
or Targets" and "Non-demographic Identity Representation Goals or Targets."

service.

Later Documents: EOs 13518, 13548, 13583; Government-Wide Strategic Plan 2011, and Agency-Specific Guide 2011

The next five subsections provide detailed descriptions and interpretations of the discursive practice and social practice in the "later" documents. EOs 13518, 13548, 13583; the Government-Wide Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plan 2011; and the Guidance for Agency-Specific Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plans 2011 highlight key themes and changes in understanding representation that are evident when comparing the pre-Obama administration materials (EO 13078, 13163, 13171 and the 2000 OPM Diversity Guide) to these later documents.

Executive Order 13518: Veterans

The emphasis on inclusion and other subcategories in the larger category of Multiculturalism is prevalent in the documents of this section. Executive Order 13518: Employment of Veterans in the Federal Government was issued nine years after the 2000 OPM Agency Diversity Guide and EO 13171. President Barack Obama issued EO 13518 on November 13, 2009. No coded text from this order appeared in the "Affirmative Action" category. This is primarily because the classification of "Veteran" is not a demographic or historically-underrepresented identity; this status is achieved through military service, not inherent characteristics of an individual's identity. All coded text fell under the "Multiculturalism" category, with relatively few statements in the "Emphasis on the Value of Group Representation" and "Inclusiveness" subcategories. The subcategories of "Non-demographic Identity Representation Goals or Target" and "Value of Diversity and Diversity for Larger Organizational Goals" had the most text by far.

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An illustration of a typical statement coded as both "Non-demographic Identity Representation Goals or Target" and "NPM approach to and the Business-case for Diversity" is:

> (a) develop a Government-wide Veterans Recruitment and Employment Strategic Plan, to be updated at least every 3 years, addressing barriers to the employment of veterans in the executive branch and focusing on: (i) identifying actions that agency leaders should take to improve employment opportunities for veterans; (ii) developing the skills of transitioning military service members and veterans; iii) marketing the Federal Government as an employer of choice to transitioning service members and veterans; (iv) marketing the talent, experience, and dedication of transitioning service members and veterans to Federal agencies; and (v) disseminating Federal employment information to veterans and hiring officials (p. 58534).

This text provides examples of veteran recruitment and employment goals and general means for federal agencies to meet these goals. This text was placed in the NPM subcategory because of the specific language "marketing the talent, experience, and dedication of transitioning service members and veterans; this text prompts efforts geared towards presenting the "results" of ongoing veteran recruitment and employment practices while highlighting the positive aspects of federal employment for these individuals. This particular phrase also refers to the goal of increasing the number of veterans in the federal government without explaining *why* this is a strategic goal. The value of veteran representation was not explicitly stated; instead, the emphasis on bolstering passive representation and demonstrating results of veteran recruitment and employment practices dominated this text.

Similarly, the following passage does not explain why or how veteran representation is valued:

> Our veterans, who have benefited from training and development during their military service, possess a wide variety of skills and experiences, as well as the motivation for public service, that will help fulfill Federal agencies' staffing needs. It is therefore the policy of my Administration to enhance recruitment of and promote employment opportunities for veterans within the executive branch, consistent with merit system principles and veterans' preferences prescribed by law. The Federal Government will thereby help lead by example in promoting veterans' employment (p. 58533).[18]

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[18] This text falls under the subcategories of "Multiculturalism": "NPM approach to and the Business-case for Diversity" and "Value of Diversity and Diversity for Larger Organizational Goals."

The text does not emphasize the intrinsic value of representing veterans in federal agencies; nor does it describe the benefits of federal employment to veterans themselves in increasing veteran representation. Rather, this executive order made a strong case for the utility of veterans in improving organizational environments, skills, and diversity of employees in federal agencies.

A more specific example, of how these efforts are to be implemented and who is to be accountable for the implementation, also coded as "Value of Diversity and Diversity for Larger Organizational Goals," appeared later in the order:

> (a) The Secretaries of Defense, Labor, Veterans Affairs, and Homeland Security shall, in consultation with OPM, develop and implement counseling and training programs to align veterans' and transitioning service members' skills and career aspirations to Federal employment opportunities, targeting Federal occupations that are projected to have heavy recruitment needs (p. 58535).

These avenues for transitioning veterans to federal employment help socialize veterans into federal organizational structures and culture, but ultimately respond to "heavy recruitment needs" more than to increasing the representative roles of veterans as a group.

Executive Order 13548: Ability Status

One year later, on July 30, 2010, President Obama issued Executive Order 13548: Increasing Federal Employment of Individuals with Disabilities. This is an interesting outlier when considering the other documents issued after the late 1990s: this order is connected to another from 2000. EO 13548 is a renewed effort to ensure President Clinton's original 2000 13163 was being implemented throughout the federal executive. In Executive Order 13548, President Obama emphasized the need for greater representation while highlighting the lack of implementation efforts that had occurred after 2000: "On July 26, 2000, in the final year of his administration, President Clinton signed Executive Order 13163, calling for an additional 100,000 individuals with disabilities to be employed by the Federal Government over 5 years. Yet few steps were taken to implement that Executive Order in subsequent years" (p. 45039).

The new order establishes an ongoing commitment to achieving this goal and adds new objectives. All text from 13548 fell under the "Affirmative Action" category, but with few statements in the "Emphasis on the Value of Group Representation." Most text appeared in the subcategories "Historically-underrepresented Identities" and "Demographic Representation Goals or Targets." No text appeared in the "Multiculturalism Category," which was surprising considering the context and tone of President Obama's other executive orders on representation.

An example of text from EO 13548 that takes a very different approach to the target population than did the earlier order on veterans: "The Federal Government has an important interest in reducing discrimination against Americans living with a disability, in eliminating the stigma associated with disability, and in encouraging Americans with disabilities to seek employment in the Federal workforce" (p. 45039).[19] The Obama order explicitly values individuals with disabilities, and it focuses on benefits to this historically-underrepresented group rather than on their utility in the federal government. The tone of this statement and its substantive nature, particularly the goal of "eliminating the stigma associated with disability," are challenging. Yet, they arguably contribute to the positive valuation of individuals with disabilities as a group identity.

Executive Order 13548 refers explicitly to individuals with disabilities as members of a historically-underrepresented group:

> Yet Americans with disabilities have an employment rate far lower than that of Americans without disabilities, and they are underrepresented in the Federal workforce. Individuals with disabilities currently represent just over 5 percent of the nearly 2.5 million people in the Federal workforce, and individuals with targeted disabilities (as defined below) currently represent less than 1 percent of that workforce (p. 45039).

This statement highlights historically-underrepresented group identities in the federal government and stands in stark contrast to the frequently vague and elusive language of

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[19] This text was coded in the subcategories of "Historically-underrepresented Identities," "Demographic Representation Goals or Targets," and "Emphasis on the Value of Group Representation."

multiculturalism. The text clearly states the disparity in passive representation that exists within the federal government, and the order later presents goals and targets to remedy this problem.

Moreover, the order specifies who is responsible for meeting the goals of increasing the retention and return to work rates of individuals with disabilities:

> (a) The Director of the Office of Personnel Management, in consultation with the Secretary of Labor and the Chair of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, shall identify and assist agencies in implementing strategies for retaining Federal workers with disabilities in Federal employment including, but not limited to, training, the use of centralized funds to provide reasonable accommodations, increasing access to appropriate accessible technologies, and ensuring the accessibility of physical and virtual workspaces (p. 45040).

This passage provides some of the most explicit language in any of the executive orders considered here describing how goals are to be met and what funding sources can be used to meet these goals.

By comparison, the content of most other executive orders is vague or fails to specify how or why the targets are important for historically-underrepresented groups *and* for the federal government. Executive Order 13548, with its clear and specific Affirmative Action language, is an exception in the shift to a more multicultural approach to representation in the federal government.

Executive Order 13583: Diversity and Inclusion

On August 18, 2011, President Obama issued Executive Order 13583, establishing a Coordinated Government-Wide Initiative to Promote Diversity and Inclusion in the Federal Workforce. Although this is the third executive order Obama issued that is considered here, it is the first to place "diversity" efforts under the broad category of creating a more diverse workforce, rather than increasing a specific type of passive or active representation (e.g., for veterans, individuals with disabilities). Very little text in EO 13583 was classified under the "Affirmative Action" category. In this category, all text appeared in the "Historically-underrepresented Identities" subcategory and largely was rooted in the context of past executive

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orders and legal mandates. No text was categorized as "Emphasis on the Value of Group

Representation" or "Demographic Representation Goals or Targets."

Only two sections of the order's text fell solely in the "Affirmative Action" category,

both in the "Historically-underrepresented Identities" subcategory:

> Prior Executive Orders, including but not limited to those listed below, have taken a
> number of steps to address the leadership role and obligations of the Federal Government
> as an employer. For example, Executive Order 13171 of October 12, 2000 (Hispanic
> Employment in the Federal Government), directed executive departments and agencies to
> implement programs for recruitment and career development of Hispanic employees and
> established a mechanism for identifying best practices in doing so. Executive Order
> 13518 of November 9, 2009 (Employment of Veterans in the Federal Government),
> required the establishment of a Veterans Employment Initiative. Executive Order 13548
> of July 26, 2010 (Increasing Federal Employment of Individuals with Disabilities), and
> its related predecessors, Executive Order 13163 of July 26, 2000 (Increasing the
> Opportunity for Individuals With Disabilities to be Employed in the Federal
> Government), and Executive Order 13078 of March 13, 1998 (Increasing Employment of
> Adults With Disabilities), sought to tap the skills of the millions of Americans living with
> disabilities (p. 52847).

This passage refers to previous executive orders that targeted historically-underrepresented

groups; however, the substantive aim of Executive Order 13583 does not target these groups in

the same way. For example, the following text does not refer to particular historically-

underrepresented groups, but does mention "equal employment opportunity" and legal

requirements for ensuring representation: "This approach should include a continuing effort to

identify and adopt best practices, implemented in an integrated manner, to promote diversity and

remove barriers to equal employment opportunity, consistent with merit system principles and

applicable law" (p. 52847). It is significant that EO 13583 is the first of all executive orders not

to target a specific historically-underrepresented identity or to make a case for the value of such

historically-underrepresented groups within the federal government, despite its overarching goal

of "promoting diversity and inclusion."

The closest the Executive Order comes to targeting historically-underrepresented groups

is stating: "A commitment to equal opportunity, diversity, and inclusion is critical for the Federal

Government as an employer. By law, the Federal Government's recruitment policies should 'endeavor to achieve a work force from all segments of society' (5 U.S.C. 2301(b)(1))" (p. 52847). I coded this text under the category "Multiculturalism," and in the subcategories of "Non-demographic Identity Traits and Definitions of Diversity," "Non-demographic Identity Representation Goals or Targets," and "Inclusiveness." The terms "diversity," "inclusion," and "all segments of society" illustrate the move away from historically-underrepresented identities to a broader, multicultural approach to representation. For this executive order, the "Multicultural" category has about seven times as much text as the "Affirmative Action" category, with text in all six of the "Multiculturalism" subcategories distributed evenly.

For example, the EO highlights the role of the federal government not only as a provider of services to citizens, but also as an employer setting the example for other places of employment to follow: "As the Nation's largest employer, the Federal Government has a special obligation to lead by example. Attaining a diverse, qualified workforce is one of the cornerstones of the merit-based civil service" (p. 52847).[20] Interestingly, this goal is tied to the "merit-based civil service" by emphasizing that diversity does not take primacy over "qualified" individuals making up the federal workforce. The tone of this text connected to the larger goals of enacting diversity initiatives has an inclusive emphasis; any individual who is qualified is able to contribute to these larger goals in making the federal government a leader in diversity.

The order's overarching goal is: "To realize more fully the goal of using the talents of all segments of society, the Federal Government must continue to challenge itself to enhance its ability to recruit, hire, promote, and retain a more diverse workforce" (p. 52847).[21] Terms "using

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[20] This text falls under the subcategories of "Multiculturalism": "Non-demographic Identity Representation Goals or Targets," "Emphasis on Individual or Merit-based Representation," "Value of Diversity and Diversity for Larger Organizational Goals," and "Inclusiveness."

[21] This text was placed in the subcategories: "Non-demographic Identity Traits and Definitions of Diversity," "Non-demographic Identity Representation Goals or Targets," "Value of Diversity and Diversity for Larger Organizational Goals," and "Inclusiveness."

the talents" and "all segments of society" stand out in evidently emphasizing the inclusiveness goal at the expense of diversity.

The theme most apparent in Executive Order 13583 that was not apparent in past executive orders is its emphasis on "Inclusiveness." Here, the theme "Inclusiveness" begins to dominate the discourse, being linked to or being itself a central goal. The order continued: "Further, the Federal Government must create a culture that encourages collaboration, flexibility, and fairness to enable individuals to participate to their full potential" (p. 52847).[22] The passage clearly targets individuals and their abilities to contribute to an undefined "diversity" of federal agencies.

It is significant as well that this order highlights the role organizational culture plays in (dis)encouraging representation. The goal of fostering a culture with "collaboration, flexibility, and fairness" to produce greater representation at the individual level can be interpreted in a number of ways, many of which run counter to past goals of representing historically-underrepresented groups. Such departures from affirmative action approaches are even more apparent in the 2011 Government-Wide Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plan.

Government-Wide Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plan 2011

Like Executive Order 13583, the Government-Wide Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plan 2011 ("2011 Strategic Plan") has very little text classified under the "Affirmative Action" category. The only text coded in this category appeared in the subcategory "Historically-underrepresented Identities"; it focused on legal mandates or made references to moving beyond defining representation as "legally protected classifications." In contrast, the "Multiculturalism"

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[22] This text was categorized as "Non-demographic Identity Representation Goals or Targets," "Emphasis on Individual or Merit-based Representation," "Value of Diversity and Diversity for Larger Organizational Goals," "NPM approach to and the Business-case for Diversity," and "Inclusiveness."

category had about twenty times more text entries than Affirmative Action. The coded text in this category was distributed relatively evenly across the six subcategories, with slightly less in the "Emphasis on Individual or Merit-based Representation" subcategory. As in EO 13583, "Inclusiveness" dominated the discourse and was tied to the major goal of achieving representation.

More than in EO 13583, the text of the 2011 Strategic Plan includes specific definitions, goals, and strategies surrounding diversity to convey its meaning. The Plan also places greater emphasis on inclusion. It presents a blueprint for the collective effort to pursue a more diverse federal workforce and a more unified approach across agencies. Even the text coded as "Affirmative Action" has elements of inclusion. For example, the 2011 Strategic Plan opens:

> Our Nation derives strength from the diversity of its population and from its commitment to equal opportunity for all. We are at our best when we draw on the talents of all parts of our society, and our greatest accomplishments are achieved when diverse perspectives are brought to bear to overcome our greatest challenges.   — President Obama, Executive Order 13583 (p. 1).[23]

The President's quotation introduces the major themes of the subcategories and employs diversity as one input in organizations that ultimately value diversity for the sake of inclusion and innovation. He refers to "equal opportunity" and "our," "all," "all parts of our society," and "diverse perspectives." The Plan then sets forth a new logic of representation.

The question becomes: what constitutes a "diverse" federal organization? Neither the 2011 Strategic Plan nor EO 13583 provides an exact definition of "diversity," yet the Plan offers a definition of "workforce diversity":

> We define workforce diversity as a collection of individual attributes that together help agencies pursue organizational objectives efficient and effectively. These include, but are not limited to, characteristics such as nation origin, language, race, color, disability, ethnicity, gender, age, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, socioeconomic status,

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[23] This text was coded as "Historically-underrepresented Identities," and Multiculturalism subcategories of: "Non-demographic Identity Traits and Definitions of Diversity," "Non-demographic Identity Representation Goals or Targets," "Emphasis on Individual or Merit-based Representation," and "Inclusiveness."

veteran status and family structures. The concept also encompasses differences among people concerning where they are from and where they have lived and their differences of thought and life experiences (p. 5).[24]

This passage makes it evident that the meaning of diverse representation is much broader than its previous usage. The major themes of multiculturalism dominate this definition, especially in the first sentence that narrows the focus to "individual attributes" that can help attain organizational purposes.

The 2011 Strategic Plan highlights that this broader, more encompassing notion of "workforce diversification" is intentional: "We define diversity broadly, including, but not limited to the legally protected categories. Diversity encompasses all that makes us unique, including diversity of thought and perspective that accompanies our identity" (p. 3). The Plan justifies this type of representation and the values that underlie the approach.

The final two examples of text from the "Affirmative Action" category demonstrate how far away from the Affirmative Action perspective this document moves, particularly in its references to "legally protected categories" without further detail and its avoidance of the term, "affirmative action": "In order to cultivate high performing organizations for the 21st century, the Federal government must tap into the rich resources of our global community and ensure fairness and justice in the workplace. To accomplish this, we define diversity broadly, including, but not limited to, the legally protected categories" (p. 3). Beyond this justification of an expansive understanding of diverse representation based upon the utility of "tapping" resources in "our global community," the passage neither identifies nor describes "fair and just" workplace practices.

The final example from the "Affirmative Action" category also has elements of multiculturalism:

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[24] This text was coded in the "Affirmative Action" subcategory of "Historically-underrepresented Identities," and all six of the "Multiculturalism" subcategories, with the exception of "Non-demographic Identity Representation Goals or Targets."

Priority 1.1: Design and perform strategic outreach and recruitment to reach all segments of society. Actions: 1. Collect and analyze applicant flow data. 2. Coordinate outreach and recruitment strategies to maximize ability to recruit from a diverse, broad spectrum of potential applicants, including a variety of geographic regions, academic sources, and professional disciplines. 3. Ensure that outreach and recruitment strategies designed to draw from all segments of society, including those who are underrepresented, are employed when using staffing flexibilities and alternative hiring authorities. 4. Develop strategic partnerships with a diverse range of colleges and universities, trade schools, apprentice programs, and affinity organizations from across the country. 5. Involve managers and supervisors in recruitment activities and take appropriate action to ensure that outreach efforts are effective in addressing barriers. 6. Review and ensure that student internship and fellowship programs have diverse pipelines to draw candidates from all segments of society (p. 6).[25]

Action items 3 and 4 offer constructive strategies for targeting historically-underrepresented groups in light of the multicultural language surrounding these items. The Plan's call for "outreach and recruitment strategies designed to draw from all segments of society, including those who are underrepresented" is the document's sole use of the term "underrepresented." In other cases, "all segments of society" appears as a stand-alone phrase to cover both historically-underrepresented and historically-represented groups. Likewise, action item 4 prescribes a more concerted effort to target "affinity organizations," evidently alluding to historically-underrepresented groups. Yet, one should be cautious in how "affinity organizations" is read—many such organizations are not demographic in nature and are rooted in selective identity groupings such as political affiliations, hobbies, or interests.

Because the 2011 Strategic Plan's rationale, imperatives, and goals were interwoven so consistently, several examples of coded text fell under most or all of the subcategories of Multiculturalism. For example, the following passage outlines a more targeted approach to diversity under the broad definition of "workforce diversity" presented above: "Diversity encompasses all that makes us unique, including the diversity of thought and perspective that accompanies our identity. Only then can we realize the full performance potential and harness

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[25] This text was coded in all Multiculturalism subcategories with the exception of "Value of Diversity and Diversity for Larger Organizational Goals."

the innovation that diversity offers. This is more than a legal or moral imperative, it is a business imperative for public service" (p.3). It is important to note that "thought and perspective" are distinguished from "our identity." In this context, I took "identity" to mean physical or demographic identity. The Plan's use of identity here is striking; most interpretivists argue either that physical and mental identity is so intertwined that these elements of existence cannot be separated in a meaningful sense or that physical and mental identity inform one another and are not as distinct as this text implies. Another significant aspect of this quotation is the articulation of rationales beyond "legal and moral" (i.e., Affirmative Action); here, business innovation is used to justify greater diversity efforts, even if such efforts are rooted solely in business terms (e.g., diversity of thought or skill set).

The "NPM approach to and the Business-case for Diversity" was a dominant theme throughout the 2011 Plan. Terms such as "efficiency," "effectiveness," "performance measures," "best practices," "budget environment" and "innovation" appeared in this document as well as in Executive Order 13585. For example: "The difficult budget environment and the increased demand for innovation and efficiency present challenges to projecting and meeting future Federal human resources needs. Agencies can address these challenges with a diverse and inclusive workforce built by casting a broad net in the search for top talent, wherever it may be found" (pp. 3-4). This excerpt presents a "challenge" of increasing representation while balancing the values of "innovation" and "efficiency." Diverse representation is treated as a valued input that could enhance the capabilities of the organization, but does not focus on the value that individuals from historically-underrepresented groups might contribute. The solution to the "challenge" seems to be heavily geared toward benefitting the organization by increasing the pool of available "diverse" resources, rather than exploring the barriers to increasing representation of individuals from historically-underrepresented groups.

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The 2011 Strategic Plan goes on to describe how an expansive definition of diversity will benefit organizations: "Beyond traditional measures of diversity, seeking individuals with varying degree types; Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) backgrounds; and professional experience will also benefit agencies and offices Government-Wide" (p. 4). This moves the definition of diversity considerably beyond what has been utilized in the past, including skill sets and educational background. The logic of linking diversity to business imperatives and innovation, including skill sets, education, and professional experiences makes good sense; yet, the looming normative question remains whether this means of increasing "representation" in the federal government will be detrimental to historically-underrepresented groups.

The subcategories of "Inclusiveness" and "NPM approach" are linked to each other and the text in these two subcategories prompts additional analytical and normative challenges for parsing out how to enact both a diverse and an inclusive federal executive branch. The terms "all," "our," "we," "shared," and "collective" appeared throughout both EO 13583 and the 2011 Strategic Plan. "Inclusion" on the surface seems to be positive: "We define inclusion as a culture that connects each employee to the organization; encourages collaboration, flexibility, and fairness; and leverages diversity throughout the organization so that all individuals are able to participate and contribute to their full potential" (p. 5). The values of "collaboration, flexibility, and fairness" evidently also are positive additions; however, when "*all* individuals" (emphasis added) become the focus of diversity and inclusion efforts, this statement may not seem quite so benign. The implications of this type of language and the presence of such characteristics are important for thinking about one's individual representative role. An example of text that spans several subcategories of Multiculturalism, but places particularly strong emphasis on inclusion at the individual level may be relevant for probing concerns about individual representatives: "Moreover, research has demonstrated that, while organizations may have diversity in their midst,

employees may not perceive that their social identities are appreciated and included in the workplace. For this reason, building inclusive workplaces ensures that all employees feel included, connected, and engaged" (p. 4). If "all" employees contribute to the diversity of an organization, it can be possible that difference, by definition, is lost. In turn, an overemphasis on inclusion could impact an individual bureaucrat's perception of their "diverse" contribution. Counter to the claim this passage makes, historically-underrepresented group identities being included or valued in the same way that someone with a STEM background is valued, may well shape the way passive representation translates into active representation. The next chapter explores the possible detrimental consequences in greater detail.

The 2011 Strategic Plan was rooted heavily in a multicultural discourse. The following vision and mission statements capture the expansiveness and new directions that representation took on:

> Federal Government-Wide Diversity and Inclusion Vision Statement: Be the Nation's model employer by leveraging diversity and fostering inclusion to deliver the best public service" (p. 5).

> "Federal Government-Wide Diversity and Inclusion Mission Statement: Recruit, retain, and develop a diverse, high-performing Federal workforce that draws from all segments of society and values fairness, diversity and inclusion (p. 5).[26]

These two statements exemplify a significant shift in using representation as "diversity and inclusion initiatives" for the larger benefit of the organization.

Guidance for Agency-Specific Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plans

Building upon the "Inclusiveness" subcategory that was the prevalent discursive turn in the 2011 Strategic Plan, in November 2011 Office of Personnel Management (OPM) issued the Guidance for Agency-Specific Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plans (or, Guidance for Agency-Specific Plans). Like Executive Order 13583 and the 2011 Strategic Plan, the Guidance for

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[26] The subcategories of "Emphasis on Individual or Merit-based Representation," "Value of Multiculturalism and Diversity for Larger Organizational Goals," "NPM approach to and the Business-case for Diversity," and "Inclusiveness" were evident in these statements.

Agency-Specific Plans contained very little text classified in the "Affirmative Action" category. Much of this material referred to "Historically-underrepresented Identities." The subcategory "Demographic Representation Goals or Targets" also had some text, but like EO 13583 and the 2011 Strategic Plan, no text was categorized as "Emphasis on the Value of Group Representation." By comparison, the "Multiculturalism" category contained significantly more text, including material in all six subcategories.

One illustration of the type of language used in "Affirmative Action" text appeared in the discussion of workforce diversity:

> Workforce diversity is the first goal in the Government-Wide Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plan and is grounded in the merit principle that: "Recruitment should be from qualified individuals from appropriate sources in an endeavor to achieve a workforce from all segments of society" while avoiding discrimination for or against any employee or applicant on the basis of race, color, religion, sex (including pregnancy or gender identity), national origin, age, disability, sexual orientation or any other prohibited basis. (5 U.S.C. 2301(b)(1), 2302(b)) (p. 8).[27]

Most text in the "Affirmative Action" category has a similar legalistic tone and appeared designed to satisfy the mandates required for equal employment opportunity or other HR practices. This example is the most explicit in naming forms of discrimination; however, no language in the Guidance is as specific in naming positive forms of representation.

The Guidance for Agency-Specific plans maintains the same definition of "workforce diversity" as Executive Order 13583 and the 2011 Strategic Plan:

> Throughout this document, we define workforce diversity as a collection of individual attributes that together help agencies pursue organizational objectives efficiently and effectively. These include, but are not limited to, characteristics such as national origin, language, race, color, disability, ethnicity, gender, age, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, socioeconomic status, veteran status, and family structures. The concept also encompasses differences among people concerning where they are from and where they have lived and their differences of thought and life experiences. [Footnote 1] . . .

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[27] This text was categorized under the "Historically-underrepresented Identities" subcategory of "Affirmative Action" along with the following "Multiculturalism" subcategories: "Non-demographic Identity Traits and Definitions of Diversity," "Non-demographic Identity Representation Goals or Targets," "Emphasis on Individual or Merit-based Representation".

> Data on all the characteristics listed in this definition of diversity is [sic] not collected. However, OPM, in coordination with OMB, EEOC, and DOJ, will continue to refine existing measurements and provide additional guidance for agencies in subsequent issuances (pp. 3-4).

However, Footnote 1 above highlights the newness of this expansive treatment of representation, indicating that relatively few data have been collected on many of the newer measures of "diversity." Not only does this pose organizational challenges in how to treat current "workforce diversity" assessments, but it also raises concerns about how forthcoming individuals may or may not be in representing their own diversity if new, more amorphous indicators will be used.

Nonetheless, one sample of text from the "Demographic Representation Goals or Targets" subcategory of "Affirmative Action" does use the term "underrepresentation": "Where underrepresentation exists, conduct analyses of leadership development selection processes to identify barriers to equal opportunity in the process" (p. 18). This appears to be a proactive approach to ensuring representation at all levels of federal agencies and to holding the decision-makers who are responsible for ensuring such representation accountable. Even so, returning to the basic understanding of representation, or what this document terms "workforce diversity," the vague definition and lack of data to tap levels of representation could create challenges for enforcing accountability and ultimately for maintaining a representative federal workforce.

Text from the Guidance document highlights the challenges of the previous aim of remedying underrepresentation:

> Effective and efficient human capital management enables agencies to have a greater alignment of policies and programs with mission objectives. Workforce planning is a systematic approach to understanding the environment and the challenges in the people issues of an agency which impact mission achievement. To develop strategies to attract and retain high performers to accomplish organizational mission, agencies must: 1) understand their current Federal workforce, 2) project the number and competencies

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required for the future, and 3) understand the current and future composition of the civilian labor force and/or relevant civilian labor force (p. 8).[28]

"Understanding the environment" did not refer to the U.S. population or seek to have federal agencies represent the general public, but rather the "civilian labor force and/or relevant civilian labor force." Most interestingly, though, is the way this text describes the "challenges in the people issues" of achieving the larger mission of an agency. This illustrates how far the language of this text moves away from even the vague term "workforce diversity." Had one not known the title of this document, this discourse would seem to provide a plan for creating a more efficient and effective federal agency in the absence of any representation objectives. Language consistent with the subcategories of "Value of Diversity and Diversity for Larger Organizational Goals" and "NPM approach to and the Business-case for Diversity" follows: "Meeting and projecting future Federal workforce needs in a difficult budget environment presents challenges. However, demands for ever increasing innovation and greater efficiency provide agencies with an opportunity to make a strong case for building a diverse workforce" (p. 9). Again, the goal of diversity is lost in the document's discourse.

The most noteworthy theme in the Guidance for Agency-Specific Plans is the new logic of diversity that emerges in the "Inclusiveness" subcategory. The NPM and business case for diversity is made and connected to inclusion, but with an increasing emphasis on "innovation." The discourse of this document, particularly in the second half, was dominated by inclusion being necessary for innovation as a "business imperative."

To better understand this document's direction of diversity management, I will detail the logic of these connections. First, the following text maintains that without greater inclusiveness, diversity will not benefit the organization:

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[28] This text was coded in the following "Multiculturalism" subcategories: "Non-demographic Identity Representation Goals or Targets," "Value of Diversity and Diversity for Larger Organizational Goals," "Emphasis on Individual or Merit-based Representation," and "NPM approach to and the Business-case for Diversity."

The workplace inclusion goal focuses on the reality that a diverse workforce alone is no guarantee to organizational productivity or to employees reaching their full potential. Inclusion strategies are the necessary link to harness and leverage the potential inherent in all diverse workforces. Studies have shown that, absent the facilitating conditions in the workplace (i.e., inclusion strategies), workforce diversity will not yield the promised performance benefits. The inclusion emphasis is also an important component of the employee lifecycle stages of retaining, developing, and promoting (p. 15).

This "necessary link" between diversity and inclusion benefits both employees and the agency. The Guidance for Agency-Specific Plans then describes in greater detail, second, how individual employees are positively influenced by inclusion efforts along with indicating several strategies for promoting an inclusive work environment:

When employees feel included, perceive they have a voice, and are given the opportunity to develop and maximize their potential, the employer creates an organization of choice and becomes a model employer. To accomplish this transformation, agencies should review and analyze programs, policies, and procedures to ensure that they are inclusive, transparent, and fair to all employees, and that employees perceive them as so. Data can also be gathered from exit interviews, new employee follow-up, and focus group meetings with affinity groups and employee resource groups (p. 16).

Third, this text targets employee perception as being critical to achieving to goal of the federal government becoming a "model employer," suggesting strategies for promoting the *perception* of employee inclusion and employee "voice." It may be questioned, however, how transformative and empowering such suggested changes in organizational context are likely to be, and for whom.

The document also emphasizes the benefits for organizations of the reciprocal relationships among diversity, inclusion, and innovation:

Ensuring that diversity and inclusion permeates an organization helps drive performance, productivity and mission success. Performance – D&I drives innovation and creativity. In studies and research, diverse teams are better at problem solving, better at critical analysis, and more innovative as they introduce new perspectives and ideas and learn how to be flexible and adaptable in working with one another (p. 15).

From this argument connecting diversity and inclusion to creativity and innovation, promoting innovative thinking and "diverse thought" is the clear path forward for representation in the federal government. Such an approach evidently promotes constructive intraorganizational

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dynamics. In this line of reasoning diversity now encompasses different ways of thinking: "An agency that emphasizes connecting different minds, in different ways to achieve common goals is an agency that understands the functional importance of diversity. It is diversity of thought that is the engine that drives innovation. And it is innovation that ultimately determines the long term success of Federal agencies" (p. 28).

This shift from representing historically-underrepresented groups to "diversity of thought" is possible based on underlying inclusion and business-case rationales. "Diversity of thought" or "cognitive diversity" is desirable for federal agencies, according to the Guidance for Agency-Specific Plans:

> The primary key to innovation is diversity of thought. Diversity of thought in the social sciences is referred to as cognitive diversity. Cognitive diversity is comprised of primarily two components - "seeing" and "thinking." In other words, people have different perspectives and different heuristics or "rules of thumb" which are a product of their unique upbringing, culture, and unique experiences. Perspectives are responsible for innovative breakthroughs. They are the game-changers. Once a breakthrough has been established then subsequent innovations and improvements are made through the "thinking" part of the innovation equation. This type of constant innovation can only take place through an environment where people feel included, connected, and engaged. Connecting different minds is the key to moving innovation forward for Federal agencies (pp. 27-28).

This passage nicely summarizes the new logic of the cognitive approach to diversity. Rooted in more abstract definitions of diversity, this view stands in stark contrast to the Affirmative Action approach targeting historically-underrepresented groups. Figure 3 is adapted from the Agency-Specific Guide and highlights this logic, indicating that the end goal of diverse representation is innovation.

Figure 3: "The Path Forward: Diversity, Inclusion, and the Innovation Connection"

"Connecting Different Minds in Different Ways to Achieve Common Goals..."

Adapted from the Guidance for Agency-Specific Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plans (2011, p. 27).

Conclusion: General Findings and Larger Trends in Comparing Earlier and Later Documents

Based on analyzing the individual documents through the lens of Fairclough's "text" dimension, I turn now to identifying the larger trends they suggest. First, as I have suggested, a shift from "Affirmative Action" to "Multiculturalism" occurred. EOs 13078, 13163, and 13171 were heavily rooted in the Affirmative Action approach, while the 2000 OPM Agency Diversity Guide, EOs 13518 and 13583, and the Government-Wide Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plan 2011 were anchored in the "Multicultural" approach. The Guidance for Agency-Specific Plans was the only document considered here to present a detailed logic linking diversity and inclusion to innovation. Executive Order 13548 was an outlier in the analysis.

A first set of executive orders (13078, 13163, and 13171) took an Affirmative Action approach to representation, citing specific historically-underrepresented groups and aiming to remedy disparities in intraorganizational representation as well as underscore agencies' active role as representing the general public. Because of its "Veteran" classification, Executive Order 13518 did not follow the same pattern; despite this identity being classified and targeted, the status of "veteran" reflects merit-based activity, not an inherent characteristic of a person. The

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exception in this study, 13548 (Increasing Federal Employment of Individuals with Disabilities), was the only document issued after the late 1990s that employed language coded primarily as "Affirmative Action." Even more surprising is its aggressive agenda; the order addresses not only intraorganizational disparities in representing individuals with disabilities, but also the social justice goals of eliminating stigma and creating more equitable outcomes for individuals with disabilities, both inside and outside of the federal government. One potential explanation of President Obama setting forth such a concerted initiative for this historically-underrepresented group could be trying to resurrect President Clinton's failed efforts to increase representation of individuals with disabilities in the federal government. Second, the stigma surrounding individuals with disabilities had changed since this earlier period, and the group now is viewed in more positive and less controversial ways based upon the growing movements and increased viability of "ability" efforts (J. F. Dovidio, et al. 2011; H. Livneh, 2012).

Comparing these earlier executive orders with the 2000 OPM Agency Diversity Guide; EOs 13518, 13548, and 13583; the Government-Wide Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plan 2011; and the Guidance for Agency-Specific Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plans reveals not only a shift from an affirmative action to a multicultural approach to increasing representation, but also a broadening expansiveness in understanding representation *as* diversity and a less clear and ever-changing meaning of "diversity." The earlier documents pointed to explicit policy problems supported by clear definitions and policy goals. The language and substantive nature of those documents targeted specific groups of historically-underrepresented groups. As has been noted, discourse surrounding representation, especially that employing vague and amorphous terms, can pose significant challenges for management. This can become a dangerous pattern that continues to perpetuate inequalities if *all* forms of differences are valued, as the next chapter details.

Valuing representation for intrinsic reasons diminished after the late 1990s. The intrinsic value of representation was replaced with a more instrumental rationale beginning with the 2000 OPM Agency Diversity Guide. The Guide values diversity for other organizational purposes including pursuing goals specific to an organization's mission; it also focuses more on a business case for diversity. Representation as "diversity" came to be treated as a valued input that could enhance the capabilities of organizations, particularly in the 2011 Strategic Plan. This instrumental approach can objectify the "diverse" contributors in organizations, but it also may risk the common pitfalls of identity politics, including tokenism and essentialized identities, as the next chapter elaborates.

The instrumental rationale for representation can be problematic for management in fostering active representative roles. A "business case" for diversity appears only in the later documents examined. Prior to analyzing these documents I had expected a "business case" for diversity would be evident in Executive Orders 13078 and 13163, because Clinton issued these at the height of the New Public Management era. Instead, these orders made strong arguments in support of the intrinsic value of individuals with disabilities in federal agencies.

The third major finding from this analysis is the emergence of "Inclusiveness" in dominating the discourse and being cast as a central goal for achieving representation in its own right. This began with Executive Order 13583, the 2011 Strategic Plan, and the Guidance for Agency-Specific Plans. The last document provides the most detailed rationale for greater inclusion and innovation as part of the new diversity agenda in the federal government: "The primary goal of Federal agencies is to serve the American people. Because the world is becoming more complex, social, and interconnected, agencies must be poised to harness diversity of thought and leverage it to generate innovative ideas to solve the tough problems they face" (p. 28). The Guidance for Agency-Specific Plans demonstrates a culmination of

"Multiculturalism" in this analysis, particularly with its increased emphasis on diverse thought and innovation:

> However, to ensure sustainability of diversity and inclusion progress in this era of budget constraints, demographic shifts, and emerging technologies, there is a core requirement for agencies to focus on nurturing and harnessing the rich and critical benefits of innovation. The ultimate benefit of a diverse and inclusive workplace is the resulting innovation that is produced when different minds are connected in different ways to achieve common goals (p. 27).

The next chapter probes the implications of the shift from an Affirmation Action to a Multicultural approach, focusing on the "Discursive Practices" and "Social Practices" of Fairclough's model that resulted from these major discursive changes.

Chapter 7: Implications and Conclusions

Chapter 6 presented the findings of the critical discourse analysis on the first dimension of Fairclough's model, the "text." This chapter examines the second and third dimensions, which are closely linked to the implications and conclusions of the analysis. The second dimension, "discursive practice," targets the specific policies, practices, and the rationale underlying policy. The third dimension, "social practice," highlights the ideology and hegemony of power relations that underlie discursive events (Fairclough, 2003 p. 86). I conclude by highlighting the larger implications of the study for strengthening the analytic and normative basis of representative bureaucracy theory and practice.

The 2000 OPM Agency Diversity Guide issued in June 2000 demonstrates the shift from "Affirmative Action" to "Multiculturalism." Since the Guide was issued, all documents with the exception of EO 13548 (which focused on the disabled) were categorized primarily under "Multiculturalism." Because my research question centers on multiculturalism, I applied the second and third dimensions of Fairclough's model to the "Multiculturalism" texts beginning with EO 13583: Establishing a Coordinated Government-Wide Initiative to Promote Diversity and Inclusion. The subsequent documents -- the 2011 Strategic Plan and the Guidance for Agency-Specific Plans -- are the most important for considering the impact of multiculturalism beyond the initial shift in discourse from affirmative action to multiculturalism that occurred in the early 21st century.

Discursive Practice Findings: 2011 Documents

The discursive practice dimension of Fairclough's model targets text production, distribution, and consumption (1992, p. 78). Returning to the stated purpose of these three texts, a 2012 EEOC Press release discusses their goal: "promote equal employment opportunity, diversity and inclusion in the federal workforce, making federal workplaces models that tap

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talents from all segments of society". The Strategic Plan explicitly refers to its reliance on expert

knowledge in producing the document: "This document incorporates recommendations from

stakeholders with expertise in the areas of diversity and inclusion, equal employment opportunity,

and organizational change" (p. 3). The key contributors, "stakeholders with expertise," are not

named, but organizations that helped provide the strategic plan are named; however: OPM, the

President's Management Council and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Not

only was "expert knowledge" utilized in the creation of these documents, but the implementation,

guidance, and mandated reporting schedule are consistent with a hierarchical model of traditional

bureaucracy. In the passage below, the 2011 Strategic Plan acknowledges the traditional

bureaucracy of executive branch agencies:

> Priority 3.1: Demonstrate leadership accountability, commitment, and involvement
> regarding diversity and inclusion in the workplace. Actions: 1. Affirm the value of
> workforce diversity and inclusion in each agency's strategic plan and include them in
> workforce planning activities. 2. Develop an agency-specific diversity and inclusion
> strategic plan, and implement that plan, through the collaboration and coordination of the
> Chief Human Capital Officer, the EEO Director, and the Director of Diversity (if any). 3.
> Ensure that all SES members, managers, supervisors and employees throughout the
> agency have performance measures in place to ensure the proper execution of the
> agency's strategic plan, which includes diversity and inclusion, and that all are trained
> regarding relevant legal requirements. 4. Develop and widely distribute a set of diversity
> and inclusion measures to track agency efforts and provide a mechanism for refining
> plans (p. 8).

Although the passage emphasizes shared direction and commitment to the traditional

values, definitions, and practices surrounding bureaucratic representation, it refers to an

overwhelmingly hierarchical process. Another example from the Government-Wide Plan that

highlights the expertise and "leadership" needed to promote and maintain a traditional hierarchy

is:

> Priority 3.3: Involve employees as participants and responsible agents of diversity,
> mutual respect and inclusion. Actions: 1. Create a formal diversity and inclusion council
> at each agency with visible leadership involvement. 2. Participate in, and contribute to,
> OPM's Diversity and Inclusion Best Practice Program, pursuant to Executive Order
> 13583. 3. Ensure all employees have access to diversity and inclusion training and

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education, including the proper implementation of the Agency-Specific Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plan as well as relevant legal requirements (p. 9).

The text production, distribution, and consumption are centered on expert knowers as "leaders" and then disseminated throughout the organization rather than focusing on representation of individuals from historically-underrepresented groups. This arguably creates difficulties from an epistemological as well as a practical standpoint. The traditional "*S* knows that *p*" epistemologies[29] emphasize objectivity through observational experience that gives the appearance of "neutral spectators." Claims surrounding representation and the need for expansive understandings of diversity in EO 13585, the Strategic Plan, and the Agency-specific Guide followed the "*S* knows that *p*" format and were couched in neutral spectator terms. Another passage from the Government-Wide Plan makes objective knowledge claims about the benefits of including *all* segments of society in what constitutes "diverse" representation; it also understands fairness as being rooted in competition on a "level playing field":

> Creating a diverse Federal workforce that draws from all segments of society requires sustained commitment to ensuring a level playing field upon which applicants and employees may compete for opportunities within government. Sustaining the highest levels of integrity and professionalism through new outreach and recruiting efforts is paramount to achieving the strategic vision set out in this Plan (p. 4).

By ascribing objectivity to observed propositional knowledge, the texts create a potentially dangerous power relationship between knowers and non-knowers, especially given the political, economic, and social structures that ascribe a single, dominant conception of truth to historically-underrepresented groups. These truth claims diminish the need for group-based representation by arguing for the utility of individual-based representation. Code (1993) argues, for example, "Knowers are detached, neutral spectators, and the objects of knowledge are separate from them . . . [the objects are] propositions" (p. 17). Defining "diversity" and

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[29] "*S* knows that *p*" epistemologies, or a subject making a propositional knowledge claim, assumes objectivity or a "view from nowhere." This traditional approach to knowledge claims suggests that any knower is able to experience the same set of circumstances that result in a knowledge claim based on these experiences.

constructing policy to include historically-underrepresented groups in a way that recreates ongoing disparities, has significant consequences for individuals from those groups that become objects of knowledge claims without, or with little any agency to particulate in the meaning-making process. Knowledge claims based on propositional knowledge like those presented above are able to manipulate non-knowers with "objective" knowledge claims and, in this case, "inputs" in the form of diversity characteristics that become a part of larger organizational goals. This means of producing and distributing what grants decision-makers in the OPM, OMB, the PMC, and the EEO the ability to make propositional claims about the represented and oversee the way this information is "consumed" by individuals within organizations, yielding representation decision-making power. If one agrees with Wetherell (2001) that discourse is a "social action" (it is constitutive, involves active construction, and creates meaning through joint production), then concentrating the creators of discursive terms and practices in positions of power sets the discursive terms and power dynamic hierarchically.

This dramatic shift in focus from representation of historically-underrepresented groups to the instrumental benefits of particular individuals' "diverse" perspectives benefitting public agencies is critical to understanding individual bureaucrats' "consumption" of new representation discourses. Bureaucrats' perceptions of themselves, their roles as representatives of the populations they serve, and their ability to make decisions and produce policy outputs based on these understandings are shaped by these basic discursive terms set forth in the 2011 documents. For example, as affirmative action has become less politically accepted, discourses of workforce diversification and now innovation have grown more prominent. Public organizations are designing programs to increase representation "based on recognition not only of these protected groups but also of the entire spectrum of characteristics (knowledge, skills, and abilities)" (Klingner & Nalbandian, 2003, p. 171).

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Intraorganizational consumption of these discourses is unclear and may in fact be left up to the individual bureaucrats in a given context to interpret the meaning of statements like the following: The Government-Wide Plan defines its first goal as: "Workforce Diversity. Recruit from a diverse, qualified group of potential applicants to secure a high-performing workforce drawn from all segments of American society" (p. 6). Reference to a "diverse, qualified" group of applicants from all segments of society is ambiguous, especially when returning to the way this document defines diversity: "Beyond traditional measures of diversity, seeking individuals with varying degree types; Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) backgrounds; and professional experience will also benefit agencies and offices Government-Wide" (p. 4). This describes what diversity is not—it is not only the "traditional measures" (historically-underrepresented groups); it does not describe what diversity is beyond referring to individuals of "varying degree types." Given this vague guidance, the individual bureaucrat has latitude to create her or his own understanding of "diversity." With the diminished focus on historically-underrepresented groups, the potential impact of this shift on internal and external representation of such protected groups is likely to be determined largely by individuals within specific representative contexts and not enforced by clear, consistent policy statements and directives.

Social Practice Findings: 2011 Documents

The "social practice" dimension of Fairclough's (1992) model recognizes the ideology and hegemony of power relations that underlie discourses (p. 86). For Executive Order 13583, the Strategic Plan, and Agency-Specific Guide, representation is the ultimate aim of social practice. Determining exactly how to conceptualize and enact the form of representation these documents set forth is necessary for evaluating this social practice. The vague language outlined in the "text" dimension of Chapter 6 skirts the most systemic inequalities of power dynamics surrounding historically-underrepresented groups. The benefits of active representation in the

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form of positive policy outcomes have the potential to positively affect historically-underrepresented groups; however, it is evident throughout these three documents that the discursive terms do not seek such an objective. For example, the following passage from the "Analysis of Diversity & Inclusion Institutionalization" recommendations of the Agency-specific Guide highlights the value of representation for larger *agency* benefits, including "diversity of thought" and "innovation":

> 7. Generate a New Idea Factory to Engage Diverse Thinking. How might a new idea generating system contribute to diversity of thought? What would the system look like? Who would manage it and how would it ensure the great ideas become a reality with significant impact on the business enterprise? (p. 22)

This text illustrates the business approach toward representation and suggests that the social practice is not free of hegemonic ideals. The goal of this recommendation is not to produce representation to serve a larger social justice end or even to eliminate inequality or disparities within the organization. Rather, this passage uses diversity to maintain the current power structure and provide instrumental value in operating more efficiently and effectively.

Ultimately, the means of achieving representation through "diversity," "inclusion," and "innovation" that Executive Order 13583, the Strategic Plan, and the Agency-specific Guide outline are not new ways of thinking about diversity; rather they reflect a colorblind ideology of the past cloaked in "diversity" parlance. These efforts to promote a more efficient and strategic means of engraining New Public Management attitudes and practices within the culture of the federal bureaucracy are a radical departure from those targeting historically-underrepresented groups in the past. By these examples, a representative bureaucracy could consist of an organization whose members have "diverse" educational backgrounds and skill sets that contribute to the agency mission and to innovation in different ways, while at the same time sharing the similar demographic or cultural attributes.

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I argue that this more expansive approach to representation presents a dominant ideology rooted in the hegemonic power structure. For Van Dijk (1993), "Power and dominance of groups are measured by their control over (access to) discourse. The crucial implication of this correlation is not merely that discourse control is a form of social action control, but also and primarily that it implies the conditions of control over the minds of other people, that is, the management of social representations" (p. 257).

With EO 13585, the Strategic Plan, and the Agency Guide focusing less on historically-underrepresented group identities and presenting a more expansive treatment of representation as "diversity and inclusion," the question becomes how this will impact historically-underrepresented groups in the Federal workforce. When the emphasis is on more and more *individuals*, the demographic group-identity markers that impact so much of the individual, lived experience is lost. This point is particularly important when considering how to address the challenges that new approaches to representation that diversity management may pose for individual bureaucrats; namely, how a bureaucrat can make decisions as an active representative. The next section probes this concern and additional challenges.

Theorizing Representative Bureaucracy

These findings pose significant challenges for theorizing a representative bureaucracy. The shift from "Affirmative Action" to "Multiculturalism" resulted in a more expansive understanding of representation *as* diversity. In turn, as the CDA of the 2011 documents highlighted, "diversity" can be unclear or vague. In contrast, the earlier documents provided more explicit policy directives with clearer definitions and representation policy goals, especially for historically-underrepresented groups. The following subsections highlight the challenges of employing an unclear and vague notion of representation for understanding representative bureaucracy.

Multiculturalism and Analytic Clarity

To address the implications of the shift from affirmative action to multiculturalism for theorizing about representative bureaucracy, the key analytic dimensions of representative bureaucracy theory first need to be clarified. Ambiguity about the contours of the theory contributes to confusion surrounding representation as well as about the basic purpose of "representative bureaucracy." Rethinking and articulating the conceptual basis for the analytical and normative dimensions of representative bureaucracy should be undertaken. As Chapter 5 stressed, discursive terms play a significant role in shaping individuals' understandings and perceptions of reality. As such, representative bureaucracy theory since the 1970s has sought to provide a means to building the capacity of government agencies for active representation. The problem of social inequality has been addressed through seeking opportunities for active representation (see Figure 1); however, for representative bureaucracy to continue to be a useful way of understanding how to remedy problems of underrepresentation, a clearer problem definition and goal must be articulated.

The way scholars and practitioners define underrepresentation as a problem, or alternatively view active representation as a positive goal, is crucial for identifying epistemological and ontological assumptions surrounding the basic meanings and definitions that undergird various approaches to achieving the goal of greater representation. Underrepresentation of individuals with differing ("diverse") ideas and members of historically-underrepresented groups are two distinct issues that would result in two different prescriptions for addressing. As a first step, the fundamental questions to be asked are who is or who can be a bureaucratic representative, and who has the capacity to define representation. These questions must be answered in order to further develop representative bureaucracy scholarship. The need for greater analytic clarity in defining representation becomes even more important when representation as diversity is linked to inclusion.

Diversity-Inclusion Continuum

The goal of achieving "Inclusiveness" by linking diversity to inclusion began with EO 13583, the Government-Wide Plan, and the Agency-Specific Guide. As Chapter 6 detailed, the Agency-Specific Guide provided a logic for including greater inclusion and innovation as part of this new representation agenda. Arguably, such a shift is detrimental to theorizing a representative bureaucracy, because the goal of achieving greater inclusion dilutes the goal of achieving diversity. If at its most basic form "diversity" is understood to mean "difference," inclusion is the antithesis of diversity in that it necessarily requires a *sameness* of treatment, because inclusion emphasizes the community of individuals in organizations. For example, much of the language in the later documents used terms like "all" and "every" when referring to the segments of society that would be represented and valued in federal government organizations. Coupling this observation with the way these later documents defined diversity could lead to organizations with individuals of "diverse" perspectives who were members of historically-overrepresented populations.

Heisler (2005), Lister (1997), and Young (1989) focus on sketching a balance between diversity and inclusion. Lister (1997), for example, believes that "our goal should be a universalism which stands in creative tension to diversity and difference and which challenges the divisions and exclusionary inequalities which can stem from diversity. We might call this 'differentiated universalism'" (p. 39). It is difficult to achieve what Lister calls "differentiated universalism" by treating all individuals with the same set of basic rights while recognizing and accounting for circumstances that contribute to group-based inequality. Young (1989) highlights the need for greater emphasis on recognizing historically-underrepresented group than on inclusion, or ignoring group differences: "the inclusion and participation of everyone in social and political institutions therefore sometimes requires the articulation of special rights that attend to group differences in order to undermine oppression and disadvantage" (p. 251). I argue that

Young's (1989) articulation of group recognition is needed for representative bureaucracy: "The political claim for special rights emerges not from a need to compensate for an inferiority, as some would interpret it, but from a positive assertion of specificity in different forms of life" (p. 271). The later documents analyzed here go too far in the direction of universalism, while lacking acknowledgement of and responses to group-based inequalities.

Returning to the individual bureaucrat's role perceptions outlined in Chapter 2, diversity *and* inclusion raise the question of who can represent certain characteristics in an organization passively and produce positive policy outcomes in the form of active representation. The role of organizational socialization and bureaucrats' individual perceptions of their role as representatives likely will be shaped by the discursive terms and values the organization promotes. Whether individual or group interests are represented should be of central concern as the United States becomes more demographically diverse; yet the policies and practices these documents outline focus less on group representation and more on individual interests.

Representation of Historically-underrepresented Groups

The intrinsic value of representation with an emphasis placed on historically-underrepresented groups shifted beginning with the 2000 OPM Agency Diversity Guide. Prior to this document, the executive orders in this analysis targeted historically-underrepresented groups and emphasized the intrinsic value of group representation. Beginning with the 2000 Guide, arguments for representation in the form of "diversity" appeared as part of a "business case" for diversity. The understanding of representation that this and later documents promoted is detrimental to theorizing representative bureaucracy, because it moves too far away from targeting historically-underrepresented groups and achieving the goal of social justice articulated by representative bureaucracy scholarship beginning in the 1970s

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Justice in a group-differentiated society requires progress toward social equality of all groups and a mutual understanding and affirmation of group differences, especially within public organizations. Scholars of the politics of difference (e.g., Cruikshank 1999, Phillips 1993, Yuval-Davis 1997, Young 1989) recognize the significance of such a stance. Iris Marion Young (1990), for example, states, "attending to group-specific needs and providing for group representation both promote that social equality and provides the recognition that undermines cultural imperialism" (p. 191). Attempts to deny, mask, or eliminate difference as the later documents in this analysis do will result in unfair and unrepresentative practices within and beyond the public organization itself. From this perspective, focusing less on age, color, disability, national origin, race, religion, sex, or sexual orientation and more on ways in which all individuals can contribute to organizational goals is an effort to ignore key characteristics that shape individuals' life experiences. Furthermore, this ignores the key role the state can play in shaping the discourse and outcomes for historically-underrepresented groups within public organizations and they represent.

Targeting race as a specific historically-underrepresented category, Omi and Winant (1994) present a new paradigm for understanding race as central to the analysis of societal beliefs, practices, and public policy, which have often been explained by allegedly race-neutral theories that devalue race as an explanatory variable. The scholars believe that demographic characteristics are central to the way identity is formed. Omi and Winant use the concepts of "racial formation," "racial projects," and "racial trajectory" in developing a theoretical approach with race as an autonomous and vital variable to fill gaps in the current literature explaining racial phenomena; they trace the fluctuating meaning of race and ethnicity promoted by individuals, groups, and the state. According to Omi and Winant, "racial formation" is "the sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed" (p. 55). The implications of racial formation can be seen in what they call a "racial

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project," or "simultaneously an interpretation, representation, or explanation of racial dynamics, and an effort to recognize and redistribute resources along particular racial lines" (p. 56). A racial project is a highly political act that involves the role of the state in racial formulation. Finally, a "racial trajectory" is the "pattern of conflict and accommodation which takes shape over time between racially based social movements and the policies and programs of the state" (p. 78). Using these key concepts, Omi and Winant are able to explain the consequences of racial formation for target populations when particular racial projects are advanced and how racial projects fit into the larger relationship of racialized groups and the state. In their understanding, the later documents in this analysis would be considered evidence of multiculturalism as a "racial trajectory" that attempts to deny the differences of historically-underrepresented groups, particularly among racial categories.

The National Urban League introduced the 2010 Equality Index derived from comparing jobs, education, healthcare, broadband access, and environmentalism among racial groups. Two findings that are significant for representative bureaucracy are the education statistics and the incarceration data, because these two measures impact the likelihood of obtaining federal employment and in turn the ability to serve as a federal bureaucratic representative. In the category of education, for the population over the age of 25, Caucasians "are more than one and a half times as likely as blacks and two and a half times likely as Hispanics to hold a bachelor's degree. Relative to the 2009 Equality Index, ground has been lost on the college enrollment rates for 18-24 year old high school completers (from 90% to 84%)" (p. 1). As a measure of "Social Justice" in this analysis, the National Urban League found that "Closing the incarceration gap is the critical issue here – no new data were available for this year's index, but the 2008 data indicates that blacks are six times more likely and Hispanics are three times more likely than whites to be incarcerated" (p. 2). These two factors of education and incarceration rates shape

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the social construction of groups based on common perceptions of those with varying education level and histories of incarceration.

The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), of the U.S. Department of Education, is the major federal entity that reports data on the status of education in the United States. Its 2010 report, "Status and Trends in the Education of Racial and Ethnic Groups" supports the National Urban League's findings and is helpful in considering group representation in bureaucracy.

> Overall, Hispanic adults in the United States had lower rates of high school attainment than adults of other racial/ethnic groups. In 2008, about 62 percent of Hispanic adults over the age of 25 had completed at least high school or the equivalent, while 92 percent of Whites, 89 percent of Asians/ Pacific Islanders, 83 percent of Blacks, and 78 percent of American Indians/Alaska Natives had done so. Between 1996 and 2008, the percentage of adults who had completed at least high school increased for each race/ethnicity, and some gaps between racial/ ethnic groups decreased. For example, the percentage of adults who had completed at least high school increased by 9 percentage points each for Blacks and Hispanics, compared with an increase of 5 percentage points each for Whites and Asians/Pacific Islanders. (p. 140).

Similarly, "in the United States, 11 percent of Hispanic adults between the ages of 25 and 29 had at least a bachelor's degree (compared with 27 percent of the total population, 33 percent of Whites, and 17 percent of Blacks in that age group) in 2008" (p. 142).

Such disparities are likely to contribute to what Schneider and Ingram have defined as social constructions of target populations, with assumptions about which groups are more or less intelligent or educationally qualified for positions. Schneider and Ingram observe that "Social constructions are stereotypes about particular groups of people that have been created by politics, culture, socialization, history, the media, literature, religion, and the like" (335). Based on a group's positive or negative construction and strong or weak access to power, they identify four types of target populations: advantaged, contenders, dependents, and deviants. The construction of different target populations can translate into very different policy outcomes. Bureaucrats representing these target populations are in turn likely to act in different ways based upon these

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social constructions (Bradbury & Kellough 2008; Daley 1984; Selden, 1997; Wilkins, & Williams 2008). Having representatives from these target populations in organizations not only to help dispel negative assumptions about these group identities, but also to provide active representation on their behalf is critical to achieving a more representative and equal system.

Examining how a group's race is articulated through the discourse of racial formation exemplifies that defining race is an inherently political act, a concerted project. Beginning in the 1970s, spotlighting themes of "hard work" and "traditional" American values and expressing disdain for "reverse discrimination," the neoconservative racial project capitalized on the fears and animosity of privileged groups losing their monopoly of power, as Chapters 2 and 3 describe (see Appendix D). Omi and Winant argue that neoconservatives scrutinized the legality of affirmative action programs for their "preferential treatment" of groups (opposed to individual citizens) and strategically used the guise of a "color blind society" in favor of equality to promote their "reactionary" racist agenda (p. 116-8). The CDA here supports this claim of moving toward a color- sex- age- ability-blind society.

Like Omi and Winant (1994), Haney Lopez (2006) explores how the state acts as a central institution in articulating and promoting definitions of race. His central premise is that race is an artificial construction formed and promoted by legal and social structures, but he acknowledges that race becomes real when the abstract identity produces unequal legal, economic, and social outcomes. According to Haney Lopez, "race" is an abstract term that is defined, promoted, and legitimized by legal and social structures resulting in concrete differences in the inequality of rights, resources, and societal perceptions of different races. For representative bureaucracy, this insight is critical in the promotion of active representation. If active representation is valued in terms of historically-underrepresented identities, representative bureaucracy then has the potential to fulfill a social justice aim in remedying systemic inequality. The instrumental approach to representation and inclusion articulated in the later documents

examine here is far removed from what Omi and Winant (1994) and Haney Lopez (2006) call for in terms of state actors serving as an equalizing factor.

Responses to Critiques of Essentialism and Intersectionality

Some scholars take a very different approach in championing the value of historically-underrepresented identities over multicultural approaches to representation, arguing that individuals from historically-underrepresented groups can become objectified for their "diverse" contributions in organizations as a result of fixed and often stigmatizing group-identity categories. These organizations succumb to the common pitfalls of identity politics by essentializing identities and not adequately addressing intersectionality.

Richard Box (2006) and Mohammad Alkadry (2006) argue for a broader definition of representation to avoid what they believe to be the hegemonic pitfalls of representation rooted in group identities. These scholars and others claim that group-identity is essentialized, or becomes a script of perceived characteristics ascribed to members that does not however match any member's lived experience accurately. Another argument against group-based representation is that no individual is able to identify solely as a member of any single group with that particular identity capturing the complexity of their lived experience. For example, a 70-year-old lesbian Latina's life experience may not fully be captured by the traditional group categories of "age," "sexual orientation," and "sex." Nevertheless, a shift toward a more expansive definition highlights the diminishing recognition of historically-underrepresented groups that Omi and Winant (1994) and Haney Lopez (2006) criticized as being dangerous. Despite the efforts of Box (2006) and Alkadry (2006) to strengthen the analytical basis of representation, they may actually be harmful. Moving away from historically-underrepresented groups as the primary target of representative bureaucracy may address the challenges of essentialized identities and intersectionality, yet doing so arguably places too much focus on individuals as the unit of

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analysis, and in turn fails to address the systemic inequalities at work for historically-underrepresented groups.

Iris Marion Young (1989, 1996) provides a strong response to critics of group-based representation that is consistent with the need for group-based representation efforts that I have advocated. She contends that any public policy conceiving of equality as sameness is suspect (1989, p. 250). The conceptual and practical tensions of universals or "inclusive" practices are problematic for achieving social justice, because differences among groups in the U.S. exist and typically impact members of different groups in different ways. Young does not understand difference to represent arbitrary distinction, but instead sees difference as being rooted in identities that have been (de)valued based on historical and current social constructs that are linked to power in social, political, and economic arenas. To create a just political system, Young suggests *differentiated* treatment as the best way to achieve the inclusion and participation of all members (1989, p. 251). In a representative bureaucracy this would necessarily involve making historically-underrepresented groups the focus of both passive and active representation efforts.

Other feminist theorists also have waged strong critiques when challenged with the potential pitfalls of intersectionality and essentialism for group-based policy. For example, Yuval-Davis (1997a, 1997b) and Glenn (1998) makes similar claims about the value of group difference and need to maintain groups rather than individuals as the unit of analysis. Collins (2002) believes that intersectionality is a part of any group dynamic and should be incorporated into analysis: "When examining structural power relations, Intersectionality functions better as a conceptual framework or heuristic device describing what kinds of things to consider than one describing any actual patterns of social organization" (p. 208).

In my view, intersectional categories such as gender and race, for example, should be examined simultaneously and in relation to one another, whether studying identity at the

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individual or the group level. From such a theoretical standpoint, race and gender both have the

same applicability in explaining oppression and inequality. Glenn argues that "race and gender

share three key features as analytic concepts: they are *relational* concepts whose construction

involves both r*epresentational and social structural processes* in which *power* is a constitutive

element" (1998, p. 9). Given the critical theoretical ontology, the relational aspect of these

concepts involves a hierarchical categorization: there must be "man" to have "woman" or "black"

to have "white."[30] One group must be privileged and hold power to have an underprivileged or

oppressed group. Overlapping group categories capture the complex reality of theorizing

identity; this dynamic does not entail that group-based policy be eliminated due to the

complexity. Instead, as Collins (2002) and Glenn (1998) contend in their treatment of

intersectionality, this aspect of group-based theory must be analyzed whether the unit of analysis

is an individual or a group.

Recognizing Difference: Individual and Group Identities

The question becomes how to recognize group difference, while at the same time

accounting for individual subjectivity. Returning to the theoretical basis of multiculturalism

presented in Chapter 4, underlying competing conceptions of representation is how one

understands and treats identity differences of individuals and groups. The liberal tradition

prioritizes the individual, while communitarians champion groups. Although initially, the

communitarian approach appears to be the most consistent with recognition of historically-

underrepresented group differences, it also poses potential difficulties in recognizing too much,

or being over-inclusive of too many forms of difference (as seen in the later documents, e.g.

differences of thought or educational background).

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[30] Class could also be considered a significant identity category; however, for the purposes of
this research I treat class as an identity category largely shaped by demographics, and therefore,
not a central focus on this work

As an alternative, Kymlicka made the case for a liberal theory of groups-rights. This emphasis also becomes dangerous, because as Yuval-Davis (1997a) asserts: "The liberal definition of citizenship constructs all citizens as basically the same and considers the differences of class, ethnicity, gender and so on as irrelevant to their status as citizens" (p. 74). Moving too far in the liberal direction constitutes what Omi and Winant (1994) call "a neo-conservative state racial project," limiting representation for historically-underrepresented groups by focusing on individual forms of representation at the expense of historically-underrepresented group identities.

Like Young (1990), I argue that the focus of representation must be on historically-underrepresented groups in order to alleviate some of the systemic disparities through more representative practices. Theorizing along these lines is necessary to produce the practical goals that difference scholars call for: "Attending to group-specific needs and providing for group representation both promotes that social equality and provides the recognition that undermines cultural imperialism" (Young 1990, p. 191). Attempts to deny, mask, or eliminate difference will result in unfair and unrepresentative practices of representation. For representative bureaucracy to be valuable as a theory, a serious rethinking is needed of the idea of bureaucratic representation and its potential for fulfilling these public purposes is necessary. Beyond this, similar approaches to synthesizing the practice of representative bureaucracy in diversity management scholarship as well as the way representation is defined and tested in empirical studies should be undertaken. The dynamic relationship between scholarship and practice deserves greater attention in future research.

Significance of Findings for Enacting Representative Bureaucracy

As the critical discourse analysis highlights, among the major obstacles in enacting representation to address the changing makeup of the U.S. population and the public workforce are that it is difficult to define what representation means in an authentically collective sense and

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to enact such a definition in practice. A lack of clear, consistent theoretical guidance in the representative bureaucracy scholarship and top-down efforts in the federal bureaucracy compound these challenges. The "business case" for representation in the form of diversity, inclusion, and innovation was a dominant discourse in the later documents. In terms of discursive practice, expert-knowledge and hierarchical structures were evident for decision-making and implementation. The traditional language of the past combined with a business-like approach toward representation underscore that the social practice is not free of hegemonic ideals.

Individual Representatives: Bureaucratic Role Perception

The approaches to representation in the post-2000 documents analyzed prompt questions such as what does "diversity" management look like in the wake of changing practices, and how does this shape representative bureaucracy? Selden, Brudney, and Kellough (1998) describe several factors influencing decision-making and policy outcomes in public organizations, including personal characteristics, organizational socialization, perceived role expectations, and minority representative role acceptance (p. 136). These factors are crucial; yet an expansive approach to diversity management does not address them. The central difficulties of the approach to representation articulated in EO 13585, the 2011 Strategic Plan, and the Agency-Specific Guide are the broad definitions of diversity based on individualism, the neglect of the potential implications of workforce diversification for active representation, and a de-emphasis of organizational influences in bureaucratic socialization.

A major difficulty for diversity management guided by the later documents is understanding and defining exactly what "diversity" (i.e., representation) means in a given public organization. Ospina and O'Sullivan (2003) observed that each employee of an organization fits into several potential diversity categories. Parts of individuals' identities occur simultaneously, so that a "typical" black employee may be a member of a certain religion, be gay or straight, or

have a disability not readily apparent to the naked eye. Like Selden and Selden (2001), Ospina and O'Sullivan see a more expansive definition of diversity as a solution to this problem, claiming a narrow definition based solely upon recognizable traits ("phenotypes") is insufficient. Although the acknowledgment and inclusion of diversity that is not physically apparent is important and should be promoted, formulating a broader definition of representation based on unclear conceptions of diversity and understanding diversity in relation to organizational functions is problematic. The greatest difficulty is that expanding what counts as contributing to diversity places less emphasis on historically-underrepresented groups, which in turn has serious implications for the way members of these groups perceive their representational roles. Bureaucratic role perception then influences decision-making and active representation that has the potential to fulfill larger social justice goals by benefitting members from these same groups.

In my view, the later documents' articulation of "diversity" creates a fundamental weakness for practice. The focus on each *individual* means that *all* members of a public agency with their distinctive perspectives contribute to the organization's diversity. A public organization can consist of members with identical demographic characteristics, but be consistent with the vague requirements of "diversity" by possessing knowledge, skills, and other competencies that contribute to the organization in varying ways. Yet, such an agency arguably should not be considered "diverse" or "representative" of the populations it serves.

The shift toward greater inclusion creates a slippery slope for members of underrepresented groups in an organization. The danger lies in the organization becoming so individually skill-centered that members of underrepresented groups may not be taken seriously or considered relevant in fostering diversity.   Nor do the documents offer guidance for exactly how much weight should be given to certain individual attributes rather than others. The organizational culture or subcultures envisioned by the multicultural model can easily become a

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guise for age-blind, color-blind, disability-blind, race-blind, or sex-blind treatment that advantages dominant group members.

Clearly, it is beneficial for a multitude of perspectives to be included in an open and accepting organizational culture that stresses a form of cultural competency that Bailey (2010) argues for. Yet an emphasis on each individual's "diverse" contribution to the workplace may threaten historically-underrepresented groups and policy outcomes benefitting members of such groups. This approach can become a guise for discriminatory attitudes toward and treatment of individuals in an organization. Without continued formal policy and procedural emphases on underrepresented groups, an organization may remain or evolve into a homogeneous majority that contributes to the organization's goals through "diverse" characteristics that promote greater efficiency and effectiveness. The emphasis on "diverse voices" and an expansive definition of diversity, may result in an organization seeking individuals who exemplify what are socially and culturally understood qualities of "acceptable" bureaucrats.

Socializing Representative Roles

Defining diversity and creating a culture of diversity around a specific definition have clear implications for structures and socialization in public agencies, both of which are crucial for active representation. Many scholars have sought to conceptualize organizational culture and why it is significant; however, it remains unquestionably complex (Jaques, 1952; Pettigrew, 1979; Reis Louis, 1983; Schein, 1985; Van Maanen, 1988; Martin 1992, 2002; Trice & Beyer 1993). For the purposes here, Van Maanen's definition is most relevant: "culture refers to the knowledge members of a given group are thought to more or less share; knowledge of the sort that is said to inform, embed, shape, and account for the routine and not-so-routine activities of the members of the culture" (1998, p. 3). Given this understanding, the perceptions and behaviors of bureaucrats become central in promoting passive and active representation.

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Of particular importance is the connection between shared knowledge and behavior, which is key for connecting passive and active representation. Meier (1993) elaborates: "the theory of representative bureaucracy concerns the ability of bureaucrats to translate values linked to demographic origins into decisions that benefit individuals of similar origins" (p. 1). Meier's analysis is fundamental to understanding how passive representation is linked to active representation. Through his empirical and theoretical work, he demonstrates why the link between passive and active representation is important for producing "representative" policy outcomes: "While passive representation is a characteristic, active representation is a process. Person A is said to represent person B, if A pursues the interest of B . . . The definition implies that a representative exercises some choice on behalf of the represented" (1993, p. 7).

The logic behind this linkage is rooted in theories of organizational acculturation and socialization processes within public agencies. Weeks (2004) describes the significance of organizational culture: "to say that changing a practice or a strategy will require the organization to change its culture, then, is to imply that the organization has a deeper commitment than usual to this practice or strategy" (pp. 43-4). Organizational cultures send signals of what is important and accepted in the organization. When considering the cultures of public organizations in diversity management terms, such fundamental understandings are communicated and promoted by individual bureaucrats, who also enact them, in some cases, through active representation.

Organizational cultures frequently are quite nuanced; Martin (2002) emphasizes the possibilities of multiple and at times competing cultures and scripts within a given organization (pp. 71-77). The potential for numerous cultures is particularly relevant for representative bureaucracy when linked with Meier's expectation that individuals with different demographic backgrounds may respond in different ways to organizational socialization (1993, p. 8). Such differences can lead to dissimilar bureaucratic perceptions that would reflect and reinforce

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multiple cultures and subcultures in an organization operating under a single form of diversity management, such as a multicultural model.

Agency socialization occurs when organizational values, norms, cultures, missions, and initiatives shape bureaucratic behavior. Representative bureaucracy scholarship suggests that socialization is filtered through demographic characteristics; a representative bureaucracy, then, is designed to inform or reinforce the representation of and benefit to populations with similar demographics. In a fully representative bureaucracy, the social origins of the population served should be mirrored within the public organization in order to produce active representation, or policy outcomes benefitting those groups (Meier and Nigro 1976; Meier and Stewart 1992).

Beyond this demographic representativeness, elaborating on factors that link passive and active representation, Frank Thompson (1976) argues that the "linkage is more likely when institutions and groups in society articulate an ideology of minority pride and press for the advancement of minority interest . . . the growing presence of racial pride has probably increased the link between passive and active representation" (p. 120). Thompson's (1976) insight is consistent with my criticism of the workforce diversification approach in that less emphasis on underrepresented groups may well lead to less active representation based on these characteristics. Ironically, the shift away from emphasis on demographic diversity was taking place at the same time Thompson (1976) and Kranz (1976) advocated for more forms of representation for excluded groups. Thompson (1976) contends that active representation is more likely to be practiced when bureaucrats work in close proximity to and interact with members of minority groups; such close connections may produce cultures of comfort and confidence toward benefitting minority interests, that is, greater active representation.

Conclusion

This work has sought to challenge ambiguous and unquestioned propositions of bureaucratic representation, with the ultimate goal of producing stronger analytical, normative,

and practical direction for representative bureaucracy scholarship that will be fruitful in public administration research and practice. Bevir (2010) observes that "theories also encourage policy makers to respond to the crisis of the state by introducing reforms that reflected theories" (p. 11). The connection between the shift in both the scholarship and the practice of representative bureaucracy toward a multicultural understanding of representation is ripe for ongoing examination. This line of research may take the form of interviews or participant-observation that uncovers the drivers moving from affirmative action to multiculturalism.

The most significant issue that this analysis has raised is how new conceptions of representation as diversity, inclusion, and innovation have influenced representative roles at the individual level. That is, who can act on behalf of diverse group and individual interests and what interests or characteristics are of prime importance under broadened understandings of representation. Whether individual or group interests are being valued by "diverse" definitions, practices, and measures should be of central concern as the United States becomes more demographically heterogeneous, and policies and practices tend to focus less on group representation and more on individual interests. Beyond identifying key normative concerns for management and governance, this work provides the basis for further interrogating the meaning and practice of representation in public organizations. Ultimately, it proposes that representation theory and practice should target historically-underrepresented groups.

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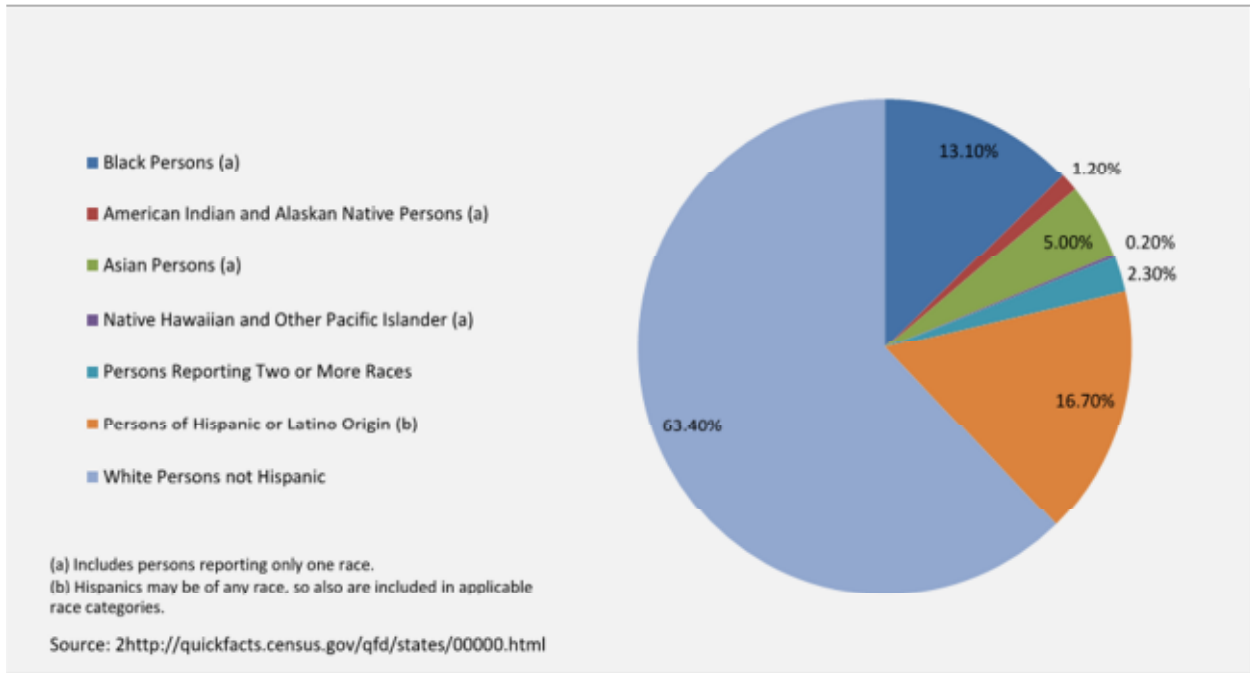
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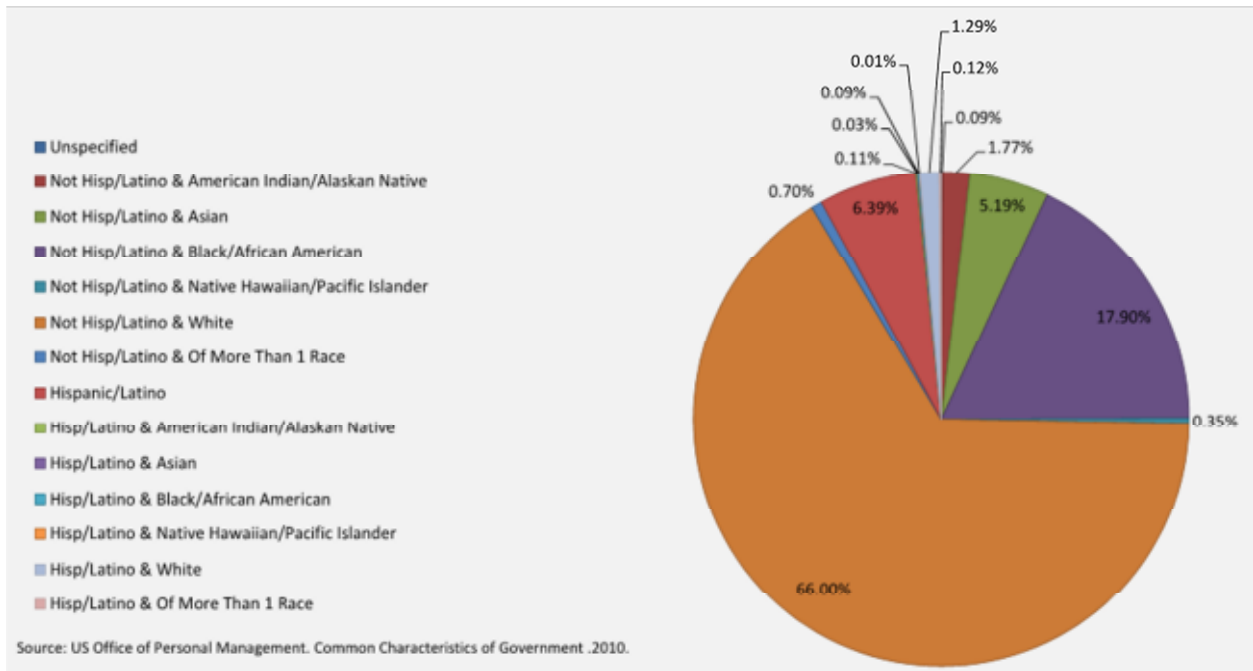Tauscher, S., Jenner, B., Meyer, M., Wodak, R., & Vetter, E. (2000). *Methods of text and*

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Appendix A: United States Census 2011: QuickFacts

- ■ Black Persons (a)
- ■ American Indian and Alaskan Native Persons (a)
- ■ Asian Persons (a)
- ■ Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander (a)
- ■ Persons Reporting Two or More Races
- ■ Persons of Hispanic or Latino Origin (b)
- ■ White Persons not Hispanic

13.10%
1.20%
5.00%
0.20%
2.30%
16.70%
63.40%

(a) Includes persons reporting only one race.
(b) Hispanics may be of any race. so also are included in applicable race categories.

Source: 2http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/00000.html

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Appendix B: Race of Federal Employees 2010

Source: US Office of Personal Management. Common Characteristics of Government .2010.

Legend:
- Unspecified
- Not Hisp/Latino & American Indian/Alaskan Native
- Not Hisp/Latino & Asian
- Not Hisp/Latino & Black/African American
- Not Hisp/Latino & Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander
- Not Hisp/Latino & White
- Not Hisp/Latino & Of More Than 1 Race
- Hispanic/Latino
- Hisp/Latino & American Indian/Alaskan Native
- Hisp/Latino & Asian
- Hisp/Latino & Black/African American
- Hisp/Latino & Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander
- Hisp/Latino & White
- Hisp/Latino & Of More Than 1 Race

Pie chart values: 1.29%, 0.01%, 0.12%, 0.09%, 0.09%, 0.03%, 0.11%, 1.77%, 5.19%, 6.39%, 17.90%, 0.70%, 0.35%, 66.00%
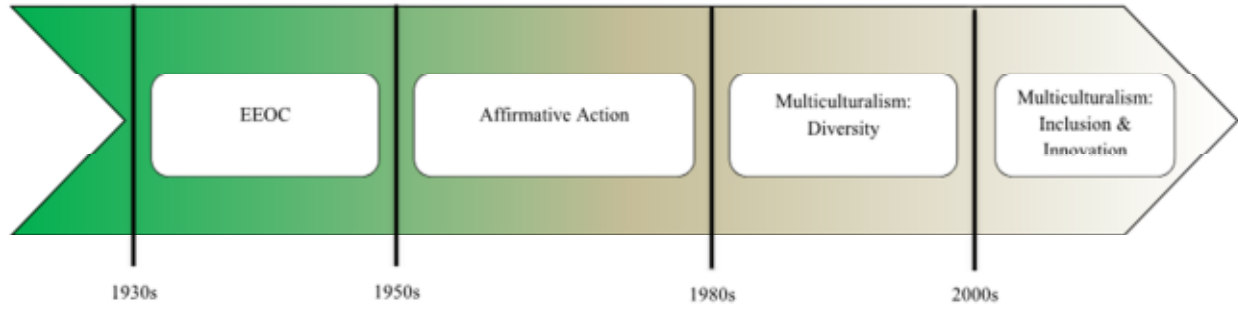
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Appendix C: Ontological and Epistemological Lenses

	Empiricism	Rationalism	Positivism	Postpositivism	Interpretivism (Antipositivism)	Postmodern/ Critical Theory
Ontology	Researcher and reality are separate	Researcher's mind is reality; mind comes from God	Realism; researcher and reality are separate; universals exist and are real	Critical realism; researcher and reality are one and the same	Relativism; knowledge and meaning are acts of interpretation; researcher and reality are inseparable, as are life and the world	Relativism; anti-realism; skepticism; collectivism; egalitarianism; pragmatism
Epistemology	Objective reality arises from introspective awareness, sense, and past experiences; a posteriori knowledge	Reason is the chief source of knowledge; induction; knowledge is innate; mind experience; intuition; a priori knowledge	Objective reality exists beyond the human mind; value neutrality; deduction	Qualified objectivity; reality exists, but is too complex to be fully understood or explained; empirical falsification	Knowledge is relative; objectivity does not exist; al; truth is a social construction and is culture bound	Knowledge depends on removal of ideological biases; attainment of universal truth is impossible; truth is culturally or socially constructed
Methodology	Observation; hypothesis testing; triangulation; mixed methods	Inductive; speculation; commonsense reasoning; mathematical reasoning; critical reasoning	Nomothetic; deductive; logically derived hypotheses; empirical testing of hypotheses; verification	Triangulation; mixed methods; modified experimental	Hermeneutics; grounded theory; phenomenology; interpretation; ideographic	Marxism; critical theory; radical perspectives; deconstructionism; semiotics; feminist criticism
Recording Technique	Qualitative; Quantitative	Qualitative	Quantitative	Qualitative; Quantitative	Qualitative	Qualitative
Methods	Case studies; field studies; storytelling; narratives; best practices	Conceptual analyses; normative discourse; metaethical inquiry	Regression analysis (ordinary least squares; probit); structural equation modeling; experimental research	Ethnography; narratives; storytelling; case studies of Participatory Policy Analysis; Q methodology; QCA (qualitative comparative analysis)	Ethnography; action research; descriptive case studies; content and narrative analysis	Literary criticism; historical essays; dialectical analysis, field research; discourse analysis; case studies

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| Philosophers and Thinkers | Aristotle, Epicurus, Francis Bacon, John Locke, George Berkeley, David Hume, Mary Astell, Damaris Masham | Plato, Descartes, Leibniz, Princess Elisabeth of Bohemia, Anne Conway | Auguste Comte, Rudolf Carnap, Otto Neurath, John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer | Karl Popper, John Dewey, Nicholas Rescher | Goffman, Garfinkel, Schutz, Van Maanen, Silverman, Max Weber | Jean-Francois Lyotard, Karl Marx, Jaques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Nancy Scheper-Hughes, Simone de Beauvoir |

Adapted from: Riccucci 2010, p. 47

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Appendix D: Approaches to Representation over Time

| EEOC | Affirmative Action | Multiculturalism: Diversity | Multiculturalism: Inclusion & Innovation |

1930s   1950s   1980s   2000s

Appendix E: Landmark Affirmative Action Decisions, U.S. Supreme Court

Jones v. Alfred H. Mayer Co. (1968)

Regents of the University of California v. Bakke (1978)

Fullilove v. Klutznick (1980)

Wygant v. Jackson Board of Education (1986)

United States v. Paradise (1987)

City of Richmond v. Croson (1989)

Adarand Constructors, Inc. v. Peña (1995)

Hopwood v. University of Texas Law School (1996)

Gratz v. Bollinger (2000)

Grutter v. Bollinger (2001)

Ricci v. DeStefano (2009)

Fisher s. University of Texas at Austin (2013)

Sources: Anderson 2004; Bacchi 1996; Deslippe 2012; Kellough 2006; Riccucci 1997, 2002, 2010; Rubio 2001.

Appendix F: Executive Orders Promoting Representation, 2001-2011

Executive Order No.	Title	Date Issued	President
13216	Amendment to Executive Order 13125, Increasing Participation of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in Federal Programs	June 6, 2001	George W. Bush
13217	Community-Based Alternatives for Individuals With Disabilities	June 18, 2001	George W. Bush
13225	Continuance of Certain Federal Advisory Committees	September 28, 2001	George W. Bush
13227	President's Commission on Excellence in Special Education	October 2, 2001	George W. Bush
13230	President's Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans	October 12, 2001	George W. Bush
13256	President's Board of Advisors on Historically Black Colleges and Universities	February 12, 2002	George W. Bush
13270	Tribal Colleges and Universities	July 3, 2002	George W. Bush
13309	Amendments to Executive Order 12994, and Renaming the President's Committee on Mental Retardation as the President's Committee for People with Intellectual Disabilities	July 25, 2003	George W. Bush
13336	American Indian and Alaska Native Education	April 30, 2004	George W. Bush
13339	Increasing Economic Opportunity and Business Participation of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders	May 13, 2004	George W. Bush
13347	Individuals With Disabilities in Emergency Preparedness	July 22, 2004	George W. Bush
13360	Providing Opportunities for Service-Disabled Veteran Businesses To increase Their Federal Contracting and Subcontracting	October 20, 2004	George W. Bush
13426	Establishing a Commission on Care for America's Returning Wounded Warriors and a Task Force on Returning Global War on Terror Heroes	March 6, 2007	George W. Bush
13515	Increasing Participation of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in Federal Programs	October 14, 2009	Barack Obama
13532	Promoting Excellence, Innovation, and Sustainability at Historically Black Colleges and Universities	February 26, 2010	Barack Obama

Source: The Federal Register