

Curriculum and Case Notes

David Reingold
Editor

Submissions to Curriculum and Case Notes should be sent to David Reingold, Indiana University, School of Public & Environmental Affairs, 1315 E. 10th Street, Bloomington, IN 47405-1701.

THE 2006 PARK CITY APPAM SPRING CONFERENCE

Michael O'Hare, Guest Editor

In 1986, a small group of public policy faculty gathered at Hilton Head Island, South Carolina, for a conference on what was then a novel enterprise in professional education for public service. The enterprise grew into the dozens of masters programs in policy analysis and management that now cover not only the United States but the globe, and on the 20th anniversary of that influential meeting, APPAM organized a conference at Park City, Utah, where a much larger group of faculty gathered to reflect backwards on how policy analysis education had evolved, and forwards on where it should be going.

The Park City conference was organized around a set of commissioned papers, each providing a starting point and common ground for discussion sessions that were in turn recorded by rapporteurs. Rapporteurs were asked to write essays capturing the most important themes of their sessions, not to merely transcribe the conversation, and they did so admirably.

The Curriculum and Case Notes section of JPAM will publish, over the next few issues, a selection of the papers and discussion reports, beginning here with a historic overview provided in the opening plenary address by John Ellwood, and a look at the newest development in policy education, namely, the growth of such programs outside the United States, from a group of authors in this international context. The latter paper is followed by Scott Fritzen's report on the discussion in that session.

MICHAEL O'HARE, Richard & Rhoda Goldman School of Public Policy University of California, Berkeley.

CHALLENGES TO PUBLIC POLICY AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT EDUCATION**John W. Ellwood**

This paper has two main goals: to provide an overview of APPAM programs, especially master's programs; and to provide a series of hypotheses and challenges as starting points for the more in-depth discussions that will take place over the next few days.

Over two decades ago, I assisted Don Stokes in a project that sought to explore innovations in graduate education for public service. One of my duties in that effort was to produce a description (or in Don Stokes' words, a morphology) of the field. In so doing, I was given access to the first round of the self-studies that were part of the National Association of Schools of Public Administration and Analysis (NASPAA) budding accreditation process.¹ The essay provides a fairly good baseline of what the world looked like in 1985 and as such should help any discussion of things that have changed and things that have remained fairly constant in our business.

If I have a qualification for achieving the second goal, it is that I have spent the last decade and a half teaching in one of the "original" policy programs—the Goldman School of Public Policy at Berkeley. I believe that one of the assumptions that has driven this conference is that we have seen a convergence between the pure public policy program and the various schools and departments of public administration and/or affairs—with the public policy programs incorporating many management components of the PA programs, while many of the public administration programs have incorporated an increasing amount of the policy school curriculum.

I would argue that the Berkeley policy school (GSPP) is a canonical policy school.² It can be argued that GSPP has changed the least among the original eight programs funded by the Ford Foundation in the late 1960s. My view is that before I got there the Berkeley faculty sat around for two decades imbibing Chinese food and deciding what public policy was all about and what a policy school should be and look like. Having done so and being pleased with their work, the faculty adopted the approach of John Randolph of Roanoke by coming out against all change.

As such, it represents an ideal type—one that bounds one end of a continuum. At the other end of the continuum (I would argue) would be the ideal type of public administration program that I set out in the Morphology. My goal for you is to set out these ideal types as a framing device for your more in-depth discussions.

Finally, I see one of my tasks as raising a series of issues/challenges that hopefully will provoke discussions. Since its founding 35 years ago, the Goldman School has had more than its share of curmudgeons on its faculty. Just think of what it was like dealing with Arnold Meltsner, Alan Sindler, Percy Tannenbaum, Martin Trow, as well as Wildavsky. As someone who at times has been accused of being a curmudgeon, I want to say that I am but following in the footsteps of giants in the field. So you might want to discount what follows by the fact that although I have

¹ For a copy of this email, contact John Ellwood: jellwood@berkeley.edu

² GSPP remains the school of its founder—Aaron Wildavsky. Wildavsky's notions of what a policy school should look like are to be found in his essay, "Principles for a Graduate School of Public Policy," in Aaron Wildavsky, *Speaking Truth to Power: The Art and Craft of Policy Analysis* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1979), pp. 407–419.

Table 1. Comparisons of five models by numbers of faculty and students, types of students, and student placements as of 1983.

	Subfield Political Science	Public Administration	Comprehensive Schools	Public Policy	Generic Management
<i>Mean Number Per Program</i>					
Total faculty	21	23	85	36	28
Unit faculty	10	10	39	19	14
Practitioner faculty	3	7	38	6	5
Master's students	67	132	559	86	162
Courses offered	29	31	67	36	28
Courses in core	6	8	7	10	11
Specializations	4	5	11	1	2
<i>Percent Per Program</i>					
Full-time students	40	31	55	96	66
On-campus students	82	87	93	100	100
Pre-service students	43	30	58	83	71
<i>Percent of 1978 Graduates Placed With:</i>					
Federal government	15	23	17	20	4
State government	29	28	25	13	6
Local government	28	22	13	15	9
Non-profit	12	15	15	15	8
Private sector	7	9	25	23	67
Further schooling	9	3	5	14	6
<i>Number of Programs</i>	72	91	5	9	3

(a) Data drawn from 1983 NASPAA questionnaire.

taught at two other policy schools (the Humphrey Institute and Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School) as well as the business school at Dartmouth (the Tuck School), my ideas will be greatly driven by my Berkeley experience and the relationship between budget policy and politics at the national level and in California. So feel free to discount to your hearts' content.

THE FIELD THEN

When I looked at the 183 master's programs and schools that made up the NASPAA data base in the early 1980s, I decided that they could be grouped into five categories: (1) public administration programs located in political science departments, (2) separate schools and/or programs of public administration, (3) comprehensive schools of public administration that offered degrees at two or more levels, (4) generic management programs located in business schools, and (5) public policy programs.³ Table 1 contains data on faculty and students for these five types of programs as of 1983.

³ One can identify at least three more categories of programs providing graduate education for public service: (a) programs joint to or part of a "substantive" field of public endeavor (such as public health programs or planning programs), (b) schools or programs of public affairs (such as Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School), and (c) continuing education programs. For purposes of my original analysis, I excluded programs in sustentative field and continuing education programs. Public Affairs programs were merged into my public policy category.

It is important to remember that all these programs derive from the progressive era. As such, they represent various flavors of the reliance on expertise, the rise and reliance on the professions, and an effort to create interdisciplinary programs that sought to impart the latest techniques to make public sector programs more efficient.

While it is true that the first generation of the public policy movement looked down on public administration as a brain-dead endeavor that taught facts rather than analytics, it is also the case that the early public administration programs such as the New York Training School, which later became the Institute of Public Administration, adopted an interdisciplinary curriculum that taught what at the time were cutting edge research and management skills. The curricula of these programs and the scholarly output of their faculty reflected most of the educational assumptions—and internal conflicts—that continue to shape the field of public administration/public affairs/public policy education.⁴

Of course, there were several key differences between then and now. I believe that the most important was the acceptance of Woodrow Wilson's notion that one could separate politics and administration. This meant these early programs were more about administrative or x-efficiency than economic efficiency. In theory, at least, a well-trained public administrator could improve the efficiency of Calvin Coolidge's or Franklin Roosevelt's programs. And she would/should feel fulfilled in doing so.

On the positive side, the myth of the existence of a politics-administration dichotomy solved many problems for the progressive era civil servant. And when it collapsed in the 1940s, these programs were faced with the governance problem of asking what right did a non-elected civil servant have to make policy—thus leading to many capstone courses and New Public Administration movements that attempted to work the field out of this box.

Moreover, the field did not keep up with the new analytic/optimizing techniques. It increasingly moved away from the analytic frontier. In this it followed the path of business administration. By the early 1950s, critiques and resulting revolutions were underway in MBA education, with stories and how-to education being replaced by a new analytic curriculum that represented an alliance of microeconomics, quantitative methods, and the behavioral sciences (particularly sociology and social psychology). This led to what came to be called the Carnegie revolution in MBA education of the 1950s.

It took a decade before an equivalent revolution occurred in public sector programs in the second half of the 1960s. The result was an initiative by the Ford Foundation that led to the creation (or in some cases, rebirth) of eight public policy schools (those at Berkeley, Carnegie-Mellon, Duke, Harvard, Michigan, Texas, the Stanford Business School, and RAND). Each of these schools had a unique flavor—for example, Duke's program emphasized ethics and law, the Texas program retained the largest component of the public administration curriculum, the Carnegie-Mellon program from the start came closest to an operations research program, and Berkeley emphasized implementation.

Yet they all differed from existing programs in several key ways.

- (1) **Program Length:** They were two-year programs at a time when the modal public administration program was half that length.
- (2) **Analytic Tool Kit:** The policy schools emphasized that what they were providing the student was a tool kit that could be used to analyze almost any policy or program.
- (3) **Concentrations:** Because they were in the analytic tool-kit business the policy schools did not require concentrations or specializations. In contrast, two-thirds

⁴ See the Morphology for a fuller explication of this point.

of non-public policy programs that I analyzed in the early 1980s offered one or more concentration.⁵

- (4) **Workshops:** All the original policy schools (with the possible exception of the program at the Stanford School of Business) required at least one workshop in which students undertook an analysis for an actual (real) client. Many of these workshops lasted for more than one semester or quarter and many of the programs required two workshops.
- (5) **Lock-Step Curricula:** In almost all cases, the policy school curriculum was lock-step. Thus the students took the required classes in the same order (at least during the first year of study). Consequently, faculty in course B could assume that all the students in the class had taken course A.
- (6) **Full-Time Student Body:** All the public policy programs were full-time, in contrast to the public administration case, where many students pursued their master's degree while continuing to hold a full-time job, in many cases with a government, since their agency often paid the tuition.
- (7) **Bigger, More Intensive Analytic Core:** Finally, the analytic courses of the policy schools were taught at greater length and in greater depth. The initial policy programs required a full year of economics (sometimes a macro-micro sequence, sometimes two micro courses), a full year of quantitative methods, and at least one course in politics and/or management.
- (8) **Primarily a Domestic Policy-Oriented Curriculum:** One of the goals of the founders of the public policy movement was to improve urban policy. The curriculum, therefore, was primarily directed at U.S. domestic policy. Although an argument was made that the policy tool kit could be used to analyze public policies in other countries (with the exception of RAND, Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School, and later, of the new policy school of the University of Maryland), analysis of international affairs was largely absent.
- (9) **A Setting Aside or Rejection of the Politics-Administration Dichotomy:** The fundamental goal of the policy schools was to help in the design, creation, adoption, and implementation of better, as against worse, public policies. As such, they sought to train analysts who would be advocates for economic as well as administrative efficiency.⁶

So what did the classic-canonical public administration school or program look like in the 1980s? They had a smaller set of core required courses than the new policy schools. The core tended to be dominated by POSDCORB⁷ courses in budgeting, organizational behavior, public administration, statistics and quantitative methods, and personnel management. This smaller core was supplemented with a requirement that the student take courses in several concentrations. Only a minority of the student body were full-time students. As a result, the core required courses

⁵ The 107 NASPAA programs completing self-studies offered an average of four specializations. No concentrations were offered by 32 percent of the programs. One to three concentrations were offered by 16 percent of the programs, four to five by 24 percent of the programs, and six to nine by 20 percent of the programs. Eight percent of the programs offered ten or more specializations.

⁶ Obviously this is the ultimate goal. At a lower level one can argue that policy analysts were also trained to analyze the effects and consequences—often unintended—of various policy options. Thus, at a minimum, a well trained policy analyst should be able to tell decision makers whether the anticipated effects of a policy option will really occur. And an analyst should be able to tell policy advocates which of *N* options, none of which pass a benefit cost test, does the best in cost-effectiveness terms.

⁷ In 1937, Luther Gulick and Lyndall Urwick first used the acronym POSDCORB—planning, organizing, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting, and budgeting—to outline the tasks of generic management. See Luther Gulick and L. Urwick (Eds.), *Papers on the Science of Administration* (New York: Institute of Public Administration, Columbia University, 1937). See also Dwight Waldo, "Education for Public Administration in the Seventies," in Mosher (Ed.), *American Public Administration* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1975), p. 183.

rarely followed a lock-step pattern. A majority of the master's students were already employed in government service. And upon graduation just under three-quarters either returned to or took jobs in the public sector.

THE FIELD NOW

How has the field changed since the mid 1980s? If one compares the data from the survey administered for this conference to the NASPAA data that I used for my morphology, the following points jump out.

We are observing two very different samples.

- (1) **No Political Science Programs in Our Sample:** The 1981 NASPAA data contained information on 72 master's programs located in political science departments. They are still there but are not in the data collected for this conference. Although these programs were small (averaging 67 students compared to 132 students for the average public administration program), they did—and still do—train many public administrators.
- (2) **Generic Management Programs Have Largely Disappeared:** In the 1970s, there was a revival of the belief in generic management—that it was a universal activity that could be taught. In the American context, this meant that students of management looked to the private sector for leadership in the teaching of management. If the goal was to manage public programs more efficiently, it was assumed that the obvious thing to do was to look to the private sector for the tools of management to bring about this efficiency.

One result of this pattern was the growth of generic management programs in business schools. The original Ford Foundation initiative included a public policy program at Stanford's Graduate School of Business. The Cornell business school had public and private sector tracks. In the 1970s, Yale set up a school of management rather than a business school. Similar programs were initiated at several business schools in the University of California system (Irvine and Riverside) and at the business school at Rice.

These programs have atrophied and/or disappeared. Cornell got rid of its public sector track. Yale has changed its school of management to a school of business administration (previous graduates can now exchange their diplomas for a new MBA diploma). Stanford rarely sends a graduate of its business school to the public sector.

In my view, three interconnected factors have led to this pattern—the rise of the prestige of the private sector; the decline in the prestige of the public sector; and the growing gap in the starting salaries offered in the two sectors. Supposedly, as the Great Depression took hold Joseph Kennedy decided that his sons would go into public service since, in his view, the New Deal meant that power had shifted from New York to Washington. Over the past decades, the pattern has reversed.

If you believe that dollars create incentives then it is worth noting that while entry level jobs at the Federal Office of Management and Budget start in the mid \$40,000 range, the mean starting salaries of top business schools now exceed \$100,000.

Not only does this pose a great challenge to our schools and programs, it also undermines any program that tries to put private and public oriented students in the same class cohort.

- (3) **The Programs in the 2006 APPAM Survey Have Converged—But Not Totally:** A general hypothesis that many of us hold is that public administration

programs have adopted many of the curriculum innovations of the policy schools while policy programs have adopted much of the content of the management curriculum of the public administration programs.

To see whether this is the case, I arbitrarily grouped the 42 master's programs in the 2006 APPAM survey into three categories: (1) six original public policy programs, (2) a group of 16 programs made up of public policy programs founded or recast over the past 25 years plus the very large public administration programs that contain public policy concentrations, and (3) the remaining public administration and public affairs programs.

You might disagree with this categorization—but here it is in Table 2.

Based on the data in Table 3, it appears that in terms of their size and required curricula, 42 master's programs in the 2006 APPAM survey are more homogeneous than was the case with the programs in the 1981 NASPAA survey. This is particularly true for the first two categories—the original public policy schools and later policy schools and comprehensive programs. It is the case, however, that the overall pattern still prevails. The original policy programs are larger, have larger cores, and are more likely to require more courses in economics, political analysis, and organizational behavior than the schools and programs in the other two categories. They are especially more likely to incorporate workshops—especially multiple

Table 2. The 42 master's programs in the 2006 APPAM survey grouped into three categories.

<i>I. Six of the Original Public Policy Programs</i>	
Carnegie Mellon	
Duke University	
University of Texas at Austin	
University of California, Berkeley	
University of Maryland	
University of Michigan	
<i>II. Sixteen New Policy Programs Plus Comprehensive PA Programs</i>	
Columbia University	University of Wisconsin, Madison
Cornell University	Texas A&M University
Georgetown University	The Ohio State University
Georgia Institute of Technology	University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Indiana University	University of Pennsylvania
Maxwell School of Syracuse University	University of Pittsburgh
New York University	University of Southern California
Pepperdine University	University of Washington
<i>III. Twenty Other Programs</i>	
American University	University of Arkansas
Arizona State University	University of Kentucky
Baruch College, City University of New York	University of Massachusetts Amherst
California State University, Sacramento	University of Massachusetts, Boston
College of William and Mary	University of Missouri-Columbia
George Mason University	University of Missouri-St. Louis
George Washington University	University of Nebraska at Omaha
Georgia State University	University of North Carolina-Charlotte
National University of Singapore	University of Southern Maine
Rutgers University	Virginia Commonwealth University

Table 3. Measures of program size and required courses for three categories of programs based on 2006 APPAM survey.

	Original Public Policy	Later Public Policy and Comprehensive Programs	Other Programs
Measures of Program Size: Average Number			
Full-time faculty	25	24	18
Part-time faculty	23	30	5
MA student enrollment	282	250	209
Credit hours required for MA	81	52	63
Core credit hours required	47	26	39
Measures of Core Required Courses: Percent Requiring			
Microeconomics	100	82	70
Macroeconomics	33	29	21
Political analysis	100	71	65
Organizational behavior	83	59	52
Human resources	17	24	39
Finished product for client	75	77	64
Product for client in more than one semester/quarter	75	42	15

workshops—for actual (as against theoretical) clients. This pattern is especially strong if one compares the original policy schools to the 20 schools and programs that I have labeled “Other Programs.”

Of course, the data in Table 3 are but crude counts. What is left out is the manner and depth that the various materials are taught. For example, is the material in the required microeconomics course aimed at building a capability for the master’s student to understand microeconomics articles and reports, or is the aim to build a capacity to actually undertake microeconomic analysis? In short, is the goal to train a consumer or a producer?

CHALLENGES TO THE FIELD

As I said at the beginning of this paper, I have been asked to set out a series of hypotheses in order to start the discussion of the conference. In doing so, I plan to start small and technical and build up to what I believe are the big challenges facing our field.

(1) **Building a Faculty for Policy Relevant Research Versus a Faculty for Policy Analysis.** Before one turns to the creation of a curriculum, one should first decide what type of faculty will be hired to teach that curriculum. In our schools and programs, we start with a basic choice—will we assemble the best group of researchers, or will we assemble a group that might not be the best but is committed to the creation of a field—be it policy analysis or public management?

In the area of policy analysis, the decision is frequently over those who create policy relevant research versus those who create analysis for a client. Of course, although we force our students to “confront the tradeoffs,” we like to deny them ourselves. We say we can have it all.

But it might be useful to start with a discussion under the assumption that we were creating a new school of policy analysis and management that was blessed with a very large endowment from Bill Gates. Who would you hire? What skills are needed—for analysis and for management?

(2) The Management Problem, or Why Don't We Have a First Class School of Public Management? When I was working with Donald Stokes we commissioned an essay from Colin Diver on public management. Diver had just spent a year at the Kennedy School in their search for a professor of public management. Although he went on to be dean of the University of Pennsylvania's Law School, at the time he was also a faculty member at Boston University's Business School.

In his essay, Colin pointed out that our problem is that while the entire MBA curriculum is about management, in public policy schools we try to add on one, two, or three courses in management so that our graduates will not be managed by MBAs.

Colin and I also lamented on and speculated as to why the United States has no first-class, prestigious school of public management. One can easily design a first-year curriculum for such a school. It would contain the core analytic courses that we already offer—courses that would teach analytic skills that are required in every public management position—economic analysis, data analysis, communications skills, skills in dealing with people (macro and micro organizational behavior), and especially political analysis. These generic skills would then be supplemented by a series of functional courses—accounting, financial management, marketing, and operations. A strategy course would act as a capstone. There is a significant body of research for each of these courses so as to provide an intellectual foundation.

I have just listed 12 courses—enough for three semesters' work. Throw in four electives and you have your first-class MPM—master's in public management.

Why does such a program not exist?

(3) The Other Management Problem, or What Do We Do When The Hot Areas Do Not Involve Managing Public Bureaus? Let's face it, who wants to spend their life managing a public bureaucracy? That is what one would think if one were to read what we write about public management. We love markets, and in our hearts we think of government bureaus as monopolies—so increasingly, we are enamored with management innovations that seek to build in market incentives into management actions (the New Public Management). Because of our inherent disapproval of the public provision of goods and services, we approve of shifting more and more public activities to the private and nonprofit sectors. This has led to what a number of us have labeled the hollow state, in which government provides almost no goods or services directly, but is mostly in the business of creating and monitoring contracts with those that do provide such goods and services.

This poses some interesting questions:

- Do we do a good job in building skills needed for the monitors and meterers of this hollow state?
- What are the skills needed for nonprofit management and do we do a good job of teaching those skills?
- Wouldn't it be nice if we could ignite a second progressive era in which significant improvements were made in attracting, keeping, and providing incentives for career public managers so as to improve the delivery of goods and services by public organizations?

If one believes the critiques of John DiIulio (politics over analysis), Brent Milward (the hollow state), and Paul Light (the decline in the civil service), public sector management of public programs is likely to decline in the future. Should our management offering accept this decline as inevitable and therefore redirect our efforts to train nonprofit managers and consultants who will do the business of government under contract, or is there a way to reinvigorate the public service?

(4) **What Should We Teach in the Management Curricula?** Three decades ago, Robert Katz published an article in the *Harvard Business Review* that posited that different managerial skills were required at different levels of the organizational pyramid.⁸ At lower levels, managers needed specific function skills in accounting, finance, operations, etc. But as she rose up in the organization, the manager needed to devote more of her time to skills involving strategy and leadership.

Given that we only require one or two management courses, which set of management skills should we teach? Should our goal be to train the entry-level (or just above the entry level) managers, or upper-level managers? I know we assume that our students will all soon be deputy assistant secretaries, if not assistant secretaries, but they might have to show some skill to be appointed to these positions. Should we not assume that managers will continue their education after we give them their degrees? It has been my experience that all too often the pattern is reversed—we teach high-level managerial skills and then upon graduation our students start taking short courses in business schools to learn the necessary lower-level skills.

(5) **Can We Be All Things to All Students or Should We Stick to Our Knitting?** Public policy schools were created to produce a particular group of staff—for a particular purpose—what James Sundquist labeled “research brokers.”⁹ This was a neat and noble endeavor, but one unlikely to train those who would run the organization—or those who really would be the final creators of policy.

Over time, therefore, we have expanded our goals, to provide training for a wide variety of career paths—not only policy analysts, but also policy advocates, political consultants, and elected officials. Our programs have become, in the Kennedy School model, schools of governance. Sometimes this has been accomplished by creating multiple degrees or concentrations within degrees. Sometimes, as with the Kennedy School, we have created multiple tracks within a degree.

The original public policy model was the provision of an analytic tool kit that we believed could be applied to almost any policy arena. Thus, the absence of concentrations in the canonical public policy program.

As we have sought to achieve multiple goals, concentrations have sprouted in our curricula. Is this a good thing or are we on the slippery slope of devaluing the depth of our tool kit in order to prove relevance?

(6) **The Effects of Degree Creep on the MPP.** The Congressional Budget Office has two types of units—those that are responsible for budget estimates and those responsible for policy analysis. When I was first hired at CBO, the junior staff of the budget estimate units were drawn from public administration programs, while entry-level staff in the policy divisions were a mix of MPPs and PhDs. This followed one of the original rationales for the creation of policy schools—to staff the various analytic units that grew up with the implementation of the Planning Programming Budgeting System (PPBS) of the mid-1960s.

Today MPPs populate CBO’s budget estimates units while the policy divisions are almost totally populated with PhDs.

Is this simply another example of American degree creep or are the skills we impart to our master’s students not good enough to produce a practicing policy analyst in a first class analytic shop such as CBO? It is certainly the case that only PhDs can be principal investigators at RAND and its state level progeny, the Public Policy Institute of California (PPIC).

⁸ Robert L. Katz, “Skills of An Effective Manager,” *Harvard Business Review* (September/October 1974).

⁹ James L. Sundquist, “Research Brokerage: The Weak Link,” in Laurence E. Lynn, Jr., *Knowledge and Policy: The Uncertain Connection*, Vol. 5, in the National Academy of Sciences’ Study Project on Social Research and Development (Washington, DC: National Academy of Sciences, 1978), pp. 126–144.

What does this mean for our PhD programs? At the PhD level, do we restrict our efforts to training researchers (creating either pure or policy relevant research)? If so, will we hire our graduates? Or should we focus on training policy consultants?

(7) **Yes, We Do Have a Diversity Problem—No Conservatives and No Republicans.** From its inception the public policy movement ignored, if not rejected, the Wilsonian dichotomy between politics and administration and its modern equivalent—the dichotomy between politics and policy. In theory at least, the classically trained public administrator could serve conservatives or liberals, Republicans or Democrats. The job of the politician was to establish the policy. Then the job of the public administrator was to efficiently administer those policies.

Although these dichotomies were myths, they were useful in that the same administrator could in theory serve Calvin Coolidge as well as Franklin Roosevelt. We know that this myth broke down with the work of Herbert Simon and others as well as the government experience of a generation of public administration scholars during the Second World War.

Yet the post-war ideological consensus largely masked the potential problem of an educational agenda that believed that there was a correct answer. As the post-war ideological consensus broke down, as American elites increasingly became polarized in their policy beliefs, the problems of how to serve a very different political master have become increasingly relevant.

Since the mid-1970s, though the American electorate has become slightly more conservative, most voters still cluster toward the middle of the ideological spectrum. But political elites—especially members of the U.S. Congress—have become increasingly polarized and, according to Van Houweling, by 1999–2001 the voting overlap of the two parties had totally disappeared.¹⁰ In such an environment, the nonpartisan analyst is forced to choose—ideologically and politically.

The decline in the prestige of the public sector and the increasing gap between private and public sector salaries have exacerbated the problem in our student bodies. Take two students with equivalent standardized tests and undergraduate GPAs. Why would one choose to go to business school while the other gets an MPP? The business school graduate will enter a field that even after ENRON is held in great esteem. The MPP will have to listen to one anti-public sector joke after another. The business school graduate on average will earn in excess of \$100,000. If the MPP takes a job at the type of analytic institution that we as faculty admire—say the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), the Congressional Budget Office (CBO), or California's Legislative Analyst Office—they will be offered a starting job that pays less than \$50,000.

Why would anyone take the public sector job and put up with crap and earn half of what she would get in the private sector? Two motivations jump to mind: making the world a better place and power. I leave the power dimension to the Kennedy School. In my world, MPPs are motivated by ideology—particularly the ideology of the left. For the past four years I have administered a questionnaire to entering GSPP MPPs that asks them to place themselves on the Michigan National Election Study (NES) seven point liberalism-conservatism scale and the seven-point party identification scale. The wording of each question is the same as that used in the NES.

The next two Figures (1 and 2) compare the 2004 Berkeley MPPs to the 2004 NES sample of the voting age population.

Clearly, Berkeley is the extreme case (on the seven point scale, the Berkeley student mean is 6.2, while Carol Chetkovich has found that the Kennedy School

¹⁰ The polarization has also affected congressional staffs. The Republican and Democratic staffs of the Joint Economic Committee no longer communicate. Personal communication from a staff member.

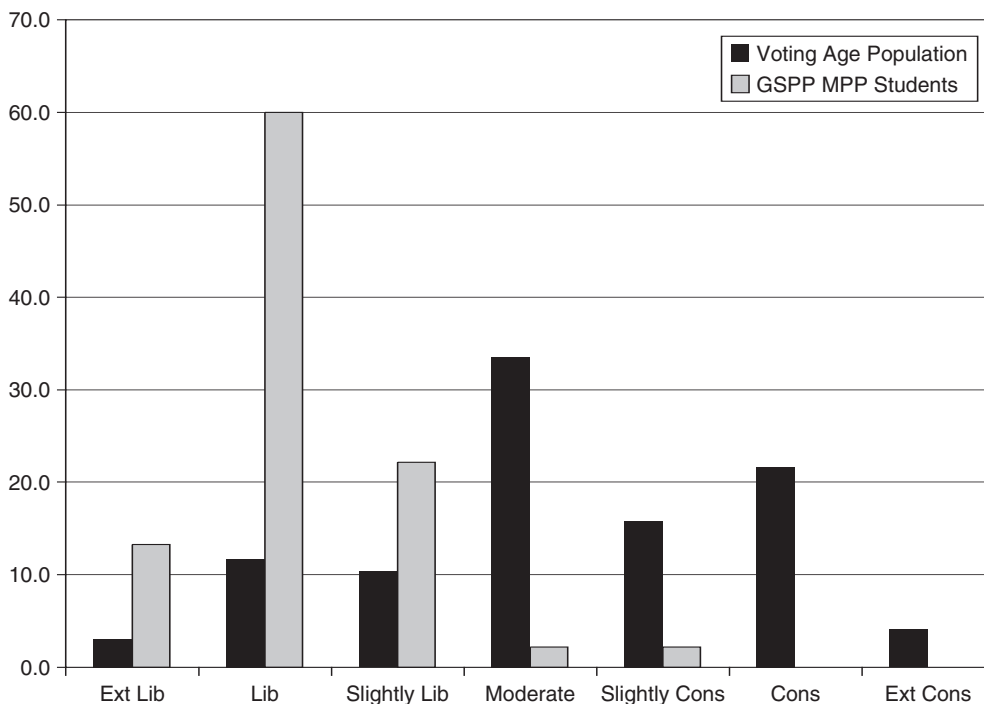


Figure 1. 2004 voting age population compared to 2004 Berkeley MPP students on NES 7-point liberalism-conservatism scale (NES data for population).

mean is 5.4).¹¹ But the general pattern is there—with the exception of a few programs (Pepperdine?), we lack conservatives and Republicans in our student body.

One could posit that this lack of ideological and partisan diversity inflicts a greater harm to the average MPP student than the lack of gender, ethnic, or racial diversity.

(8) **The Decline of Analysis and the Dominance of Politics.** At the heart of the public policy school movement was the notion that the central object of this type of graduate education for public service was to design, enact, and implement better public policies—with better most often defined as those policies that meet the Kaldor-Hicks criteria. In short, the goal of the public policy movement was to train those at the table who argue for economic efficiency.

John Dilulio and others have posited that ideology and partisan advantage have increasingly dominated analysis.¹² For Dilulio the tipping point came in the Clinton Administration with the defeat of the Clinton health care initiative and the subsequent design of the crime bill that promised 100,000 new cops on the street, when everyone with expertise knew that this goal, while politically popular, was unachievable. Others would point to the role of faith over science, and ideology over analysis, in foreign policy in the Bush Administration.

¹¹ See Carol Chetkovich, “What’s in a Sector? The Shifting Career Plans of Public Policy Students,” *Public Administration Review*, 63(6), 660–674, November/December 2003. And Carol Chetkovich, “Winning the Best and Brightest: Increasing the Attractiveness of Public Service,” in *Human Capital*, edited by Mark A. Abramson and Nicole Willenz Gardner (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002).

¹² Dilulio’s full argument will appear in his upcoming book, *The Post Modern Presidency*.

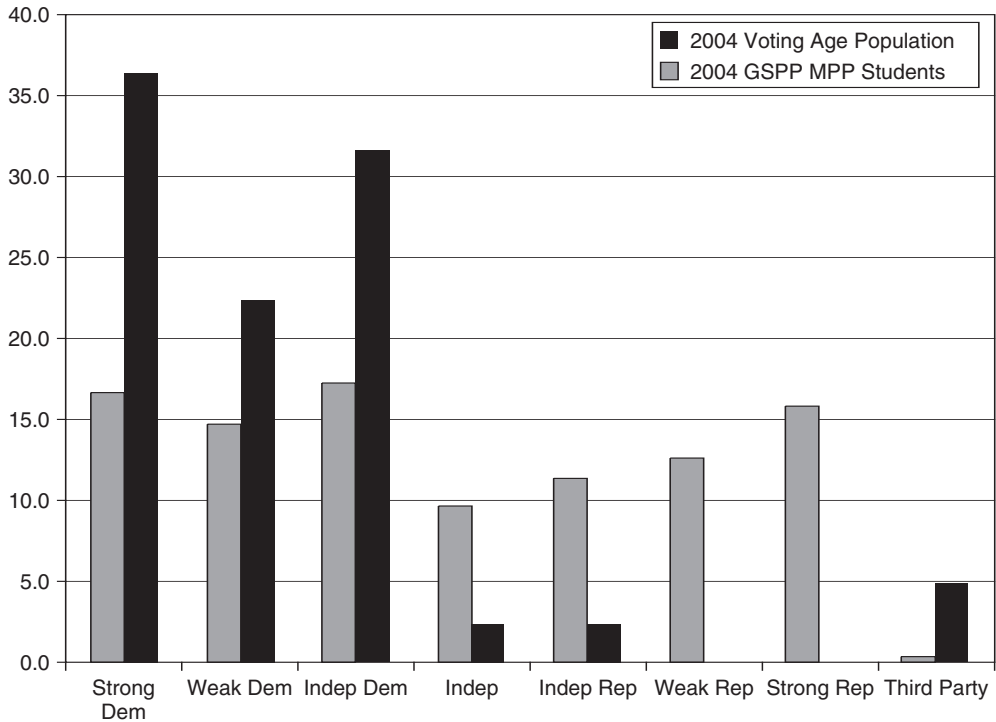


Figure 2. Political party identification in 2004: Voting age population versus GSPP MPP students (NES data for population).

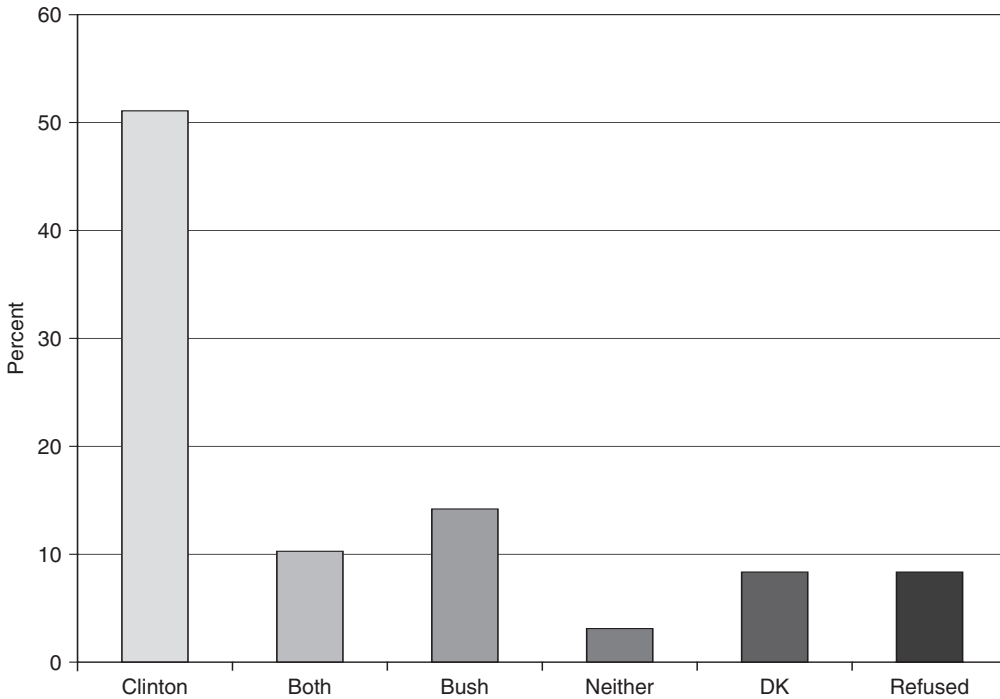
Figures 3 and 4 set out survey results from high-level civil servants as to whether analysis or ideological principles drove decisions in the Clinton and Bush Administrations. Although the data is suspect, given the failure to control for the beliefs of the civil servants, the notion of decision-making in the Bush Administration being driven by ideology is clearly evident.

What has made the situation more dire for the liberal MPP graduate is the conservative dominance of all three branches of the federal government. One result is the decline in the number (and percentage) of graduates willing to work for the federal government—if not any branch or level of government.

Paradoxically, a return to the public administration dichotomy poses a way out of this dilemma, since the Wilsonian dichotomy was all about administrative, rather than economic, efficiency. The good bureaucrat can always seek to improve the efficiency of programs, even if those programs lead to a loss of Pareto efficiency.

(9) The Absence of Analysis of Foreign Policy and International Affairs. I have saved my most controversial topic and challenge to last—namely, APPAM's failure to improve the analysis of foreign affairs and defense policy. This is a difficult area to discuss since, given the policies of the Bush Administration, I at least find it difficult to separate fact from value. As my colleagues can tell you, I am in a constant state of rage—and what else can you expect from someone from the same town as MoveOn.org?

At the height of the Vietnam War, a group of Berkeley biologists arrived at a conference at Cold Spring Harbor and announced that they had no research to report on, since they had decided to turn their attention to fighting American foreign



Data from Annenberg Institutions of American Democracy Surveys—2004–2005. Data provided by professor Mark Peterson of UCLA.

Figure 3. “Which administration was more likely to make its decisions based on a comprehensive review of relevant information?”

policy in Southeast Asia. Their goal was to get everybody to drop their research and fight the war.

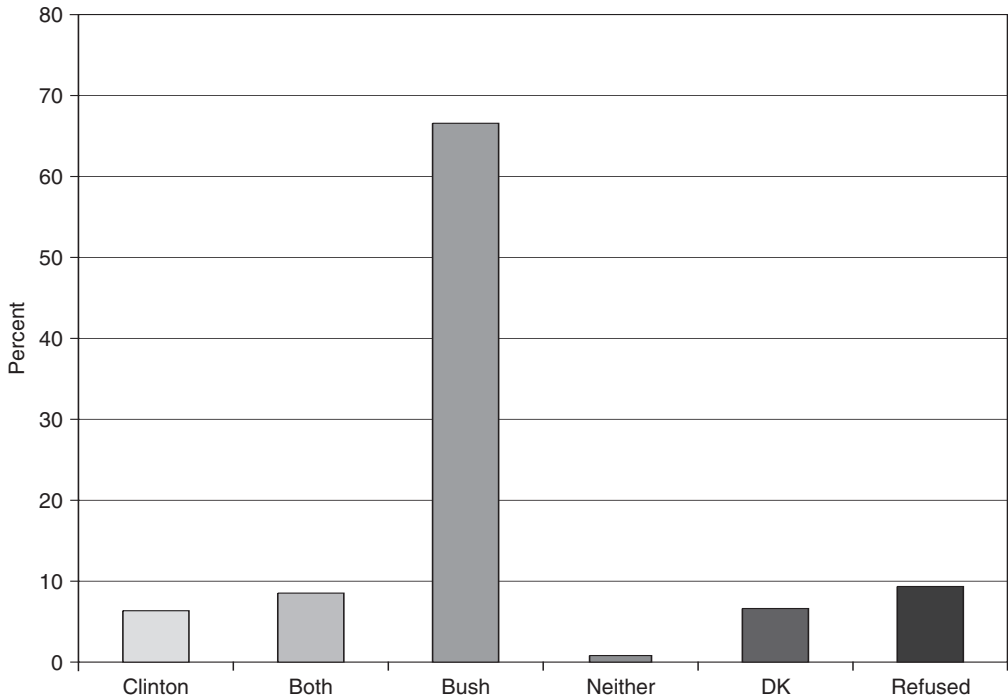
I do not propose to do that today—but given that I am from Berkeley, you might want to up your discount function now.

My point is that, although the public policy field was born around policy options for national defense, it is strange that we do not have a session at this conference on what and how to teach policy analysis in this area.

Moreover, I would argue that the events of the last five years have clearly shown that the capacity of the U.S. government to undertake analysis in the area of national defense has clearly atrophied. By this I do not mean what might be called micro-analysis—the determination of the appropriate incentives to create the proper manpower structure for the services, the determination of which weapons system will best achieve a policy goal, etc. We all have friends in the business who have made and continue to make very positive contributions in these micro areas.

Rather, where I believe we have let our country down is what might be called macro defense analysis. Or grant strategy. I am supported in this belief by the testimony of Richard Clarke—certainly no friend of the Administration—who in a talk at Berkeley looked back fondly to the Kissinger years when, in his view, rigorous analysis was required and produced.

I am supported by the lack of analysis before the Iraq War. In this I go beyond the usual claim that the war planning was great but the planning for peace was a mess,



Data from Annenberg Institutions of American Democracy Surveys—2004–2005. Data provided by Professor Mark Peterson of UCLA.

Figure 4. “Which administration was less likely to make its decisions based on a comprehensive review of relevant information?”

or non-existent. Rather, I would point to the almost total lack of knowledge—other than from Iraqi exiles who saw a U.S. invasion as their way back to power.

How many of you know of Gertrude Bell? If not I suggest that you look her up.¹³ In addition to being an intrepid explorer, during the First World War, she became Liaison Officer Correspondent to Cairo. She was later named Oriental Secretary and was a major advisor to Churchill. In this position, she was a main figure—if not the lead figure—in the creation of Iraq. She drew the lines on the map. It is she who decided to found a country that merged three ethnic groups. She is chiefly responsible for the British making the Sunnis the dominant ethnic group. And along the way, she founded Baghdad Archaeological Museum, of recent looting (and mess happens) fame. As one writer has said:

Her influence led to the creation of a nation inhabited by a Shi’ite majority in the southern part of the country and Sunni and Kurdish minorities in the centre and the north. By denying the Kurds a separate state, the British tried to keep control of the oilfields in their territory. The Sunnis should lead the Iraqi nation, because the Shi’ite majority was regarded to be religiously fanatic. “I don’t for a moment doubt that the final authority must be in the hands of the Sunnis, in spite of their numerical inferiority; otherwise you will have a . . . theocratic state, which is the very devil,” Bell once said.¹⁴

¹³ On Gertrude Bell see Janet Wallach, *Desert Queen: The Extraordinary Life of Gertrude Bell: Adventurer, Adviser to Kings, Ally of Lawrence of Arabia* (1999).

¹⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gertrude_Bell.

Now I realize that history rarely repeats itself, but it would have been nice if our leaders had some knowledge of the history of the British experience in Iraq, of the failure of the local people to accept their appointed King (who, although a direct descendent of Mohammed, had spent his life in Mecca and could not speak the local language), and of the various uprisings and rebellions that made the final years of the British stay fairly miserable.

Now maybe history is too soft an analytic technique for policy analysts.¹⁵ So how about the work and legacy of Sherman Kent—the Yale academic who built the CIA's analytic capability in the 1950s and '60s. According to David Brooks—who hates what Kent stood for—the Yale professor “argued that social science and intelligence analysis needed a systematic method, much like the method of the physical sciences.”¹⁶

Sort of sounds like what we teach in the policy school curricula. Or maybe an application of Gene Bardach's Eight-Fold Path analysis to international affairs.

In recent days I have become enamored with Peter Beinart's new book—*The Good Fight: Why Liberals—and Only Liberals—Can Win the War on Terror and Make America Great Again* (I know, with that title, just what you would expect from a Berkeley left-winger).¹⁷ Most of all, I was impressed with his essay in the June 5, 2006, issue of *Time*.

For those of us who mistakenly supported the war in Iraq, it is tempting to say we were betrayed by the facts. After all, we backed a war to rid Saddam Hussein of weapons he didn't have.

But, in truth, it was not merely our information that proved faulty; it was also our state of mind. In the run-up to war, the Bush Administration repeated one message again and again: Time was running out. “We have every reason to assume the worst,” declared President Bush. “Time is not on our side,” insisted Dick Cheney.

James Burnham, the most important conservative foreign-policy thinker of the early cold war, called this “the catastrophic point of view.” And a half-century before George W. Bush took office, Burnham urged the Truman Administration to embrace it. In the years following World War II, the U.S. already had a nuclear bomb, and the Soviets were getting closer. So Burnham proposed preventive (what Bush would have called “pre-emptive”) war to protect America before it was too late.

Burnham wasn't the only one. The idea that America must act proactively against its enemies, or else grow inexorably weaker, was a staple of the cold war right. “Like the boxer who refuses to throw a punch,” warned Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater, “the defense-bound nation will be cut down sooner or later.” In the 1960s, with China rushing toward the Bomb, preventive war was proposed again.

And once again, American leaders refused. They hewed to containment, a policy premised on a very different mind-set. “The advocates of preventive war with Russia assume that Russia will grow stronger and we will get weaker,” argued theologian Reinhold

¹⁵ Although Richard E. Neustadt and Ernest R. May would likely disagree. See their *Thinking in Time: The Uses of History for Decision-Makers* (New York: Free Press, 1986).

¹⁶ David Brooks, “The Art of Intelligence,” *New York Times*, published April 2, 2005. In this op-ed Brooks argues that Kent's legacy is pseudo-science and that instead we should rely on “old generalists.” He summarizes his argument thus:

“The capping irony is that Sherman Kent and the other pseudoscientists thought they were replacing the fuzzy old generalists with something modern and rigorous. But, in reality, intuitive generalists like Jane Jacobs and Donald Zagoria were more modern and rigorous than the pseudoscientific technicians who replaced them.

“I'll believe the intelligence community has really changed when I see analysts being sent to training academies where they study Thucydides, Tolstoy, and Churchill to get a broad understanding of the full range of human behavior. I'll believe the system has been reformed when policy makers are presented with competing reports, signed by individual thinkers, and are no longer presented with anonymous, bureaucratically homogenized, bulleted points that pretend to be the product of scientific consensus.

“I'll believe it's been reformed when there's a big sign in front of C.I.A. headquarters that reads: Individuals think better than groups.”

¹⁷ Peter Beinart, *The Good Fight: Why Liberals—and Only Liberals—Can Win the War on Terror and Make America Great Again* (New York: HarperCollins, 2006).

Niebuhr, whose writing influenced the Truman Administration. “Their calculations are not only strategically mistaken but morally wrong.” NSC-68, which outlined the Truman Administration’s cold war strategy, predicted it was Moscow that would eventually falter, because the “idea of freedom” is “peculiarly and intolerably subversive of slavery.”

Critics attacked containment as passive. But its architects did not propose that America sit back and await victory. They said America could be patient if it strengthened its democratic allies so their desperation did not push them into arms of the communists. From that came the Marshall Plan. They said America could be patient if it nurtured alliances based on consent, because such alliances would outlast the Soviet block, which was held together by brute force. Thus, NATO. And they said America could be patient abroad if it democratically solved problems at home, something the Soviet Union could not do.¹⁸

If you accept Beinart’s analysis, our failure has not been primarily one of intelligence—although hopefully we teach all our students to factor uncertainty of the quality of our information into their analyses. Rather, where we, and the Bush Administration, have failed is to undertake the type of grand analysis that Truman, Marshall, and Kennan undertook when faced with the Soviet threat.

We are probably entering a long-term struggle against a fanatic religious ideology. When this has happened in the past—think the wars of religion in 16th and 17th century Europe—hundreds of thousands died. If you want to classify Nazism and Soviet Communism as religious ideologies, we can raise the death toll to the millions.

This struggle is too important to leave to the ideologues and those of faith. We have to go beyond stories and building interpersonal contacts so that we can “look into their eyes and know that this is a man who we can deal with.” What is needed is what we teach—hardheaded systematic analysis.

JOHN W. ELLWOOD is Professor of Public Policy at the Goldman School of Public Policy, University of California, Berkeley.

MPP PROGRAMS EMERGING AROUND THE WORLD¹⁹

Iris Geva-May, Greta Nasi, Alex Turrini, and Claudia Scott

Abstract

This paper examines public policy and management programs in Canada, Europe, Australia, and New Zealand, and makes comparisons with similar programs in the United States. Our study of public policy programs shows that there are many challenges ahead in terms of making good decisions on the form and content of programs that will add value to governments and citizens. Appropriate choices in terms of program design and pedagogy will reflect different economic, social,

¹⁸ Peter Beinart, “Let Your Enemies Crumble: The U.S. Forgot the Lessons of the Cold War When it Came to Iraq,” *Time*, June 5, 2006.

¹⁹ This article was commissioned and its findings have been discussed at a special session at the 2006 APPAM Spring Conference, “Charting the Next Twenty Years of Public Policy and Management Education,” June 15–17, Park City, Utah. We thank the *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis* and the International Comparative Policy Analysis Forum (ICPA-Forum) <http://www.jcpa.ca> for supporting this comparative collaborative study and for the sponsorship of the session, around this paper, at the APPAM Conference.

environmental, and cultural influences and will be shaped by history, values, and the roles of public policy and management professionals within a particular governmental context.

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines public policy and management programs in Canada, in Europe, and in Australia and New Zealand and compares them with similar programs in the United States.

Comparing programs raises important questions as to whether developments within countries and across countries have been successful in creating education and training offerings that are “fit for purpose.”

Not surprisingly, there is much diversity among countries and within countries at different points in time. Policy advisory services draw information and inspiration from many different disciplines and traditions. Such practices vary within and across countries and change over time, in response to modifications to the external and internal environment and context.

A large international literature outlines taxonomies and frameworks for policy work as an activity and process, the role and values of policy analysts and advisors, and associated policy styles (Bardach, 2000; Colebatch, 2002; Considine, 1994; Geva-May, 2005; Howlett & Ramesh, 2005; Mayer, van Daalen, & Bots, 2004; Radin, 2000; Weimer & Vining, 2005).

On the other side, a brief literature survey points to the fact that the development of programs of policy analysis studies all over the world has been highly dependent on the governance context and its individual prevailing cultural background (Hanjal, 2003; Geva-May & Maslove, 2006, 2007; Luger, 2005). Many of the differences among programs relate also to the characteristics of the participants in the policy programs. In particular, this relates to whether they are aspiring analysts learning how to become trusted public servants or, alternatively, whether they already are experienced practitioners looking for frameworks, theories, and insights to enhance their current performance in the public sector.

Despite these differences, the key issue that emerges when discussing public policy and public policy instruction is, to cite Derek Bok, Harvard president (1988), “What kind of people do we want to entrust with official power over our lives?” or, in Robert Cleary’s words (1989), “How do we provide graduates, i.e., future public policy analysts and decision makers, with competence, ethical sensitivity and enthusiasm for the public service?”²⁰

The importance of this issue is well known among educators in the fields of public policy and public administration/management. For many decades, especially in the United States, they have in fact debated about what Denhardt (2001) has summarized as the four big questions of public administration education: Should educators educate students with respect to theory or practice? Should MPA and MPP programs prepare students for their first jobs or for those to which they might aspire later? What are the appropriate delivery mechanisms for MPA and MPP courses and curricula? What personal commitments do public administration educators make? (Denhardt, 2001).

These questions are even more important if we look at a growing literature that attempts to look more closely at the concept of creating value as a way of clarifying the particular skills and competencies needed to perform well in public policy and

²⁰ Aaron Wildavsky famously charged policy analysts to “speak truth to power,” though Richard Neustadt wryly once observed “. . . the idea that anyone has The Truth, let alone *them!* [meaning recent policy school graduates]” (O’Hare comment, 2007).

management roles. One important contribution is Moore's *Creating Public Value: Strategic Management in Government*, which offers a useful framework to guide decisions that enhance public value. Moore describes this "as an alternative to public administration" that is predicated on the development of judgment and technical skills for public managers, which are no less than those required by private sector managers (Moore, 1995, p. 21). Moore describes his model as a strategic triangle in which public managers deliver value to citizens as long they integrate and align (1) substantive judgments about what would be valuable and effective; (2) judgment about the authorizing environment—meaning whether the actions are politically and legally supported; and (3) judgment that they are consistent with operational capability to deliver. These actions require an outward vision of public value, an ability to manage upward to gain legitimacy and support; and an ability to manage downward to ensure the organization has the capabilities to delivery the desired result.

The literature on the concept of value-adding policy analysis and advising is less developed but growing (Behm et al., 2000; Moore, 1995; Scott, 2005; Scott & Baehler, 2005, 2006; UK Cabinet Office, 1999). It takes place on both small and large scales. It relates to providing advice that is able to enhance public value by doing the right things (in terms of roles of government and other actors) and doing things right (in terms of delivering advice that draws on good practices and good principles).

Setting future priorities for public policy education requires, therefore, a vision of what attributes of policy analysis and advising are "value-enhancing" to decision makers and society. With this information in hand, it becomes much easier to resolve long-standing disputes about the appropriate kinds of courses to include in a professional public policy program and in particular, the knowledge, skills, and competencies required.

So what are the implications of these issues for the design of public policy and administration programs?

To provide an information base to inform this paper, we conducted an online survey adapted from the U.S. survey version developed by Hank C. Jenkins-Smith²¹ to capture the characteristics of programs, and a content analysis based mainly on information provided by our target institutions on their Web sites, and benchmarking analysis of these programs.

We wanted to include only English speaking programs but we realized that the MPP programs are much more widespread and public administration is often more common than policy-focused offerings. We also realized that public sector policy and management programs are often delivered in other institutional settings. We should finally note that the target institutions surveyed were not randomly chosen. Owing to the limitations imposed by the relatively small number of countries included and time constraints, the institutions approached were those known to us (in Canada, in Australia and New Zealand, and in Europe—most of the schools), in Central and Eastern Europe, South East Asia, and South America—according to connections. Despite the fact that we altered the survey designed for U.S. schools somewhat to better reflect international programs, there were still several problems encountered in obtaining comparable data across different country contexts.

We sent the questionnaire to all the APPAM institutional representatives and to the International Comparative Policy Analysis Forum (ICPA-Forum) associates. Nineteen schools responded: six from Australia/New Zealand, three from Asia, two from

²¹ This survey was conducted for a special session on policy analysis instruction in the United States, for the APPAM Spring Conference, "Charting the Next Twenty Years of Public Policy and Management Education," June 15–17, 2006, Park City, Utah.

Canada, seven schools from Europe, one from Israel, and one school from Singapore.²² Given the low number of respondents, we decided to expand the analysis based on the authors' experience, studies, and linkage with the different geographical areas represented. Therefore, this paper presents a focus on European, Australia/New Zealand, and Canada's respective experiences, which we were also able to analyze in depth.

EMERGING PROGRAMS IN PUBLIC POLICY AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

Our survey shows tremendous diversity within and across countries and many findings are consistent with the literature. In Europe, for example, we might identify three different types of programs in policy studies that parallel different stages in development in the study of public administration in European public policy schools (Hanjal, 2003). In some continental European countries public policy programs are, in fact, characterized by a broad and significant political science component; the Nordic countries put a stronger emphasis on business administration, while most south European countries and a number of post-communist countries are distinguished by the predominance of law in program curricula. In Europe, therefore, public policy is part of public management programs in business schools, political science departments, and public administration schools. Some, though relatively few, provide core courses in policy analysis.

In Australia and New Zealand, the impetus for developing public administration and later public policy programs developed from the public service itself, through professional organizations of public servants. These Institutes of Public Administration, modeled on similar UK professional organizations, were motivated by a desire to enhance the professional development of practicing public servants, making them similar to post-graduate mid-career programs rather than MPP programs designed for individuals with a recent first degree who are seeking advising roles in the public or not-for-profit sectors.

In the United States, on the other hand, we observe a slight swing characterized by re-examination of a more holistic approach, which recognizes the symbiosis between the fields of management, public administration, and policy analysis (Geva-May & Maslove, 2007).

The debates about public policy and public administration education vary from country to country, reflecting the different contexts and the impetus and historical development of such programs. At the same time, several interesting general trends and common patterns emerge. As one example, we detect throughout different countries the attempts to adopt "normative" policy analysis as developed in the United States, or to use normative American policy analysis methods as benchmarks for systematic policy analysis (Geva-May & Maslove, 2006; 2007).

Our study examined the development of public policy and management programs in selected countries and made comparisons across countries, including with U.S. programs. Attention was given to the context in which these programs have developed, as well as to the clients and customers involved. The paper will present these findings, concluding with some thoughts on the features of programs that add value to governments and citizens. We will also emphasize the implications of these issues for the design of future public policy programs.

²² The responding institutions are listed in each section respectively. We thank two anonymous Asian Schools of Public Policy; The Public Policy Program, Shih Hsin University, Taiwan; The Federmann School of Public Policy and Government, Hebrew University, Jerusalem; and the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore. Their valuable feedback has assisted in formulating the conclusions reached in this paper.

POLICY PROGRAMS IN CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES

The international survey was forwarded to 14 Canadian institutions known to have included policy studies in their curricula or that undertake “policy analysis” research.²³ Nevertheless, only two of them responded to the survey. From informal discussions and e-mails received, the main reasons lie with the fact that these are not actual programs or schools of public policy and they include sporadic public policy oriented courses; or, because the programs were only recently initiated, and it was felt that answers might not adequately reflect circumstances.

Despite the geopolitical proximity to the United States, it seems that a lag time of almost 40 years was necessary between the U.S. and Canadian sectors for the policy analysis field and policy studies to develop within Canadian higher education institutions. The shift towards adopting policy analytic methods in the curriculum has only started to be increasingly visible in recent years, mainly, for instance, with changes of perspective adopted by Carleton University in the early 2000s and Simon Fraser’s distinctive Program of Public Policy in 2003. These are the only two programs known to explicitly offer introductory courses in policy analysis.

In Canada, the training of policy analysts occurs mostly in graduate and undergraduate university programs with labels such as “Public Policy,” “Public Administration,” and “Policy Studies.” In the last 5 years, some Canadian institutions have developed programs in public policy and have added the label of policy studies to their existing programs. One example is the School of Public Policy and Administration at Carleton University (“public policy” added in 2001). Simon Fraser University initiated a Public Policy Program in 2003. The Guelph-McMaster and Regina programs combine Public Administration or Management with Public Policy. Concordia includes Public Policy in its Political Science Department. The Political Science Department and the Sauder School of Business share the University of British Columbia’s policy group—but its faculty are in various other schools and programs at UBC. The University of Toronto is in the process of initiating a School of Public Policy.

Generally speaking, there are three types of programs. In the first group are those programs that are wholly or largely within departments of political science (Concordia, Manitoba/Winnipeg, Guelph/McMaster, Laval). This is the oldest model, though there are such programs in some universities that are relatively recent. In this model, public administration is regarded as one of the subfields of the discipline. This is very similar to what happens in Europe in most known schools. The study of public policy and public administration—what governments do, and how they make and carry out their decisions—is deemed an inherent part of political science. These programs are essentially multidisciplinary, though some—especially new or newly revised ones—draw on other fields to a limited extent. They are sometimes offered alongside programs in international studies or international relations, at graduate level²⁴ being identified, in effect, as two professionally oriented subfields of the discipline. Such programs tend to study the institutions and

²³ The institutions are: Queens School of Policy Studies; Ryerson Department of Politics and Public Administration; University of British Columbia (UBC) Political Science Department; University of Regina Graduate School of Public Policy; University of Manitoba Department of Political Studies; Concordia Department of Political Science; Dalhousie Department of Political Science; University of Ottawa Department of Political Studies; Western Department of Political Science; University of Toronto Institute for Policy Analysis; Carleton School of Public Policy and Administration; Calgary Institute for Advanced Public Administration; Simon Fraser University Department of Political Science; University of Victoria School of Public Administration. Of these, two institutions responded to the survey anonymously. The information provided in this paper has been gathered through discussions, website information, published documents, and other studies.

²⁴ The Canadian model is like in the United States: 4 years liberal arts non-professional, undergraduate education starting about age 18; then, graduate professional school.

processes of governing and decision making, intra- and inter-organization relations, values and ethics, the history of policy fields, and politics. Increasingly, these programs have come to include analytical methods courses such as quantitative and qualitative analysis and survey techniques. The second model is the (small) group of programs (Regina, York) that are located within schools or faculties of business, as are a similar sub-group in European institutions of higher education.

While the discipline of political science dominates the first group, it is all but absent in the second. These programs tend to reflect the perspective that management is generic, and that all organizations—public and private—undertake similar activities such as financial management, human resource management, planning, and budgeting. These programs tend to share a common core with Master of Business Administration programs, which dominate these schools in terms of enrollments and curricular design. It is usually only in the latter part of these programs that “the public sector” is explicitly introduced through specialized and/or elective courses for students in that particular stream of management studies.

The third model—and the one that constitutes the mainstream approach—is the group of stand-alone schools of public administration or public policy (Carleton, Dalhousie, École nationale d’administration publique [ENAP]-Quebec, Moncton, Queen’s, Simon Fraser, Victoria). These schools, for the most part, offer comprehensive programs. All offer degrees at the master’s level and some at the doctoral level. These programs are all based on a view that public policy analysis must necessarily draw on methodologies and techniques from several of the traditional disciplines, with economics and political science being the core foundation disciplines, but with significant contributions from at least some or all of law, sociology/organization studies, accounting and finance, and quantitative analysis.

Ideally, these programs are interdisciplinary, in that students are taught in a way that more or less simultaneously integrates the insights and techniques of the underlying disciplines—such as is the case for instance in Europe, where a special emphasis is given to health care policy studies. In practice, some turn out to be multidisciplinary, teaching the disciplinary contributions separately and leaving it to the students to discover the integration themselves. Some allow for “practice” oriented activities, although exposure to real-life experiences within internships or capstones, as compared to U.S. programs’ requirements, is rather limited. Although this trend is similar to parallel European programs, the newly emerging MPP graduate professional programs offer increased opportunities for involvement in “co-ops” over summer term periods in actual public policy units or agencies.

Gow and Sutherland (2004) note that Canadian programs of public administration tend to include more on public policy than do public administration programs in the United States, and are lighter on management material than their National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA)-accredited counterparts. We note that Canadian programs are also much more likely to include a course on the theory of public policy and/or public administration, and in recent years similar to trends in Europe, on comparative policy studies.²⁵ Note that only the Carleton School of Public Administration and Policy offers a PhD in Policy Studies per se. Other PhD degrees (such as at the University of Victoria, or Queen’s University) are in conjunction with the Political Science Department.

Overall, it is fair to say that the schools and programs attending to policy studies view themselves primarily as professional programs, preparing the great majority of their graduates for careers in government or other organizations that participate in some fashion in the public policy arena. The focus is on providing immediate value added to the public service and governance.

²⁵ We note, for instance, the new Canada Research Chair in Comparative Public Policy at Concordia University, Montreal, and a new position distinctively initiated at the University of Toronto in 2005.

This orientation is perhaps best expressed by certain properties that are often (though not universally) associated with these programs. First, these programs are likely to include a co-op or internship placement component (for example, Carleton, Dalhousie, Queen's, Simon Fraser, Victoria), required of all students except those already having professional experience. Second, many of these programs have executive programs or specialized certificate or diploma programs alongside their regular master's degrees. These programs are designed to accommodate "mid-career" public servants and enhance their prospects for promotion or other employment opportunities. The executive and certificate programs, in recognition of their clients' constraints, are often offered in special timetables and formats (for example, intensive weekends once per month, summer sessions, evening classes, and online teaching or distance education).

In addition to their teaching programs, some universities also house units that conduct policy analyses. They are often structured as research units with links to their respective academic programs in policy analysis (for example, the Centre for Policy and Program Assessment at Carleton, the Centre of Public Policy Research at Simon Fraser, the Local Government Institute at Victoria). They undertake and publish research on a wide range of public policy issues, depending on their respective mandates, and host or participate in seminars, conferences, public consultations, and public forums. Such units function, in part, like think-tanks, insofar as they undertake and publish self-initiated research, and partly as consulting firms when they undertake research on a contract basis for governments or other clients.

Some are quite broad in the range of issues they investigate; others specialize in a particular policy area or sector. The activities of these units constitute another avenue of university participation in the policy analysis community, usually in the public domain. Canadian university research units also provide a laboratory for the institutions' students of policy analysis, providing them direct participation in policy analysis activities.²⁶ In this way, universities provide a bridge between the academic training of future analysts and the "real world" analysis that occurs in governments and elsewhere among policy communities. Nevertheless, the proportional number of think-tanks or policy centers is much more limited than in the United States, and in this respect comparable to the "speaking truth to power" situation in New Zealand/Australia.

A current issue for professional training is the accreditation of schools and programs (Gow & Sutherland, 2004; Geva-May & Maslove, 2007). The public administration and public affairs schools in the United States have established NASPAA as a national accreditation program, but though most policy analysis programs are members of NASPAA, they have not sought accreditation. At this writing, professional accreditation is under active consideration in Canada, led by the Canadian Association of Programs in Public Administration (CAPPA).²⁷ A model for the accreditation of master's level programs in public administration and public policy has been developed by a working group of CAPPA.

This model does not explicitly refer to public policy programs, but is a step forward in acknowledging and including programs promoting policy analysis and policy studies. The Canadian template does not contemplate a standard model to which all accredited institutions should adhere that would deliver a recognized body of knowledge, and a measurable set of core competencies and mastery of skills. Rather, it would evaluate whether institutions achieve the objectives established for each program, as well as the appropriateness of the stated objectives.

²⁶ As do a number of policy research centers such as the C. D. Howe Institute, the Institute for Research on Public Policy, the Fraser Institute, the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, and the Caledon Institute.

²⁷ It is important to note that, at this stage, CAPPA is a much looser and less established body (for example, CAPPA has no secretariat) than its American counterpart.

Note that these policy analysis-related developments in Canada have certainly been influenced by developments elsewhere, especially the United States (for example, the advent of Planning Programming Budgeting Systems), but they were also strongly affected by the particular context of Canadian parliamentary government and federalism, and the highly heterogeneous nature of the country (linguistically, culturally, and economically regionalized) (Howlett & Lindquist, 2007). In fact, one could speculate that, despite the geopolitical proximity to the United States, this may be the reason why it took so long for the policy analysis field and policy studies to develop within Canadian higher education institutions.

In fact, a first major impetus for policy analysis training in Canada came in the late 1960s, when Pierre Trudeau became the prime minister and expressed dissatisfaction with the process of policy formation in Ottawa. He was determined to make policy formation in the federal government more analysis-driven, more scientific, and more rational.²⁸

The demands of the federal government, and later on, of provincial and municipal governments, spurred the universities to become more involved with both policy analysis teaching and research. Trudeau's demands created a market for more analytically trained civil servants to staff the new branches of policy analysis and program evaluation that were established in virtually every government department and agency, led by the Treasury Board. Nevertheless, the earliest cohorts of staff and consultants were drawn primarily from university economics departments, and it is still the case today that economics methodology plays a major role in policy analysis (reflected in a continuing high demand for people with economics training and the strong representation of microeconomics in public policy programs). But a demand was also created for graduates who possessed a broader background than the economists typically offered (especially as many economics departments became increasingly more mathematical and theoretical). This was another key impetus for the new public policy programs and for the older, traditional public administration programs, to become more policy analysis oriented.

POLICY PROGRAMS IN EUROPEAN UNIVERSITIES

The international survey was sent to most European institutions that offer some courses and programs in the field of public policies. As mentioned, seven schools responded, making it necessary to integrate the results of the questionnaire with an informal benchmarking analysis that the Italian authors carried out to position their university's programs.²⁹

In Europe, the development of public policy programs was emphasized in the late '80s, when the new public management paradigm was established. Lately, European institutions have been undertaking a major higher education reform process aimed at harmonizing European higher education degree systems. The document, called the Bologna Declaration, was signed by the education ministers of 29 European countries in Bologna, in June 1999. The main objectives of the reform aim at achieving easily readable and comparable degrees and at introducing uniform degree structures.

The degree structure is mainly based on a two-cycle model. The first cycle, lasting a minimum of three years, ends in a bachelor-level degree. The second cycle

²⁸ See Brooks in Howlett & Lindquist (2007); see also McArthur in the same volume, with the focus on the Trudeau period.

²⁹ The schools surveyed were: Bocconi University, Institute of Public Administration, Healthcare and Non-Profit Organizations (Italy); University of Manchester (UK); University of Edinburgh (UK); University of Tartu (Sweden); Corvinus University of Budapest (Hungary); University of Murcia (Spain); Hertie School of Governance (Germany). Information about other schools was gathered directly by the authors either through personal knowledge or Web site information.

consists of master's and subsequent doctoral degrees, both of which are postgraduate degrees.

Another main goal of the reform is to increase and stimulate mobility. This is leading to the development of new continental programs taught partly or entirely in English. The length of graduate programs in public policy, due to reform, is either one year or two years. The decision is usually taken at country level, defining the length of the undergraduate and the graduate program. However, by combining the two cycles, the overall length of professional higher education in Europe is five years.³⁰

Most of the European institutions currently offer graduate level programs in public policy and, in some cases, executive masters. The more frequent label of these programs is "Master of Public Affairs" or "Master of Public Management." In fewer cases the label is "public policy." Furthermore, it is interesting to point out that some universities are introducing "public sector" specialization tracks in their MBAs, like the one at the School of Management of the Royal Holloway–University of London. The University of Genève, at the School of Hautes Etudes Commerciales, offers an MBA in international organizations, where management tools and techniques are applied to international non-governmental organizations, the UN system, and other international organizations.

Generally speaking there are four main streams of programs. In the first group are those largely within universities, schools, or departments of management (or public management). These programs have been developed primarily at graduate and executive levels to train current and potential public managers with skills and competencies to support public sector reforms. This has affected allocation between undergraduate and graduate programs; for example, as part of Bocconi University's strategic plan to introduce the Bologna declaration, the BSc degree in economics and management degree will not be offered anymore. At the undergraduate level, the university wants to offer only more general programs in the field of management and economics.

In contrast, Corvinus University of Budapest was just granted accreditation to offer an undergraduate program in public administration, and eventually a graduate program. This first group of programs usually offers courses in the field of management (financial management, accounting, information technology, organization design, and human resource management) applied to the public sector. Courses in the discipline of public policy are also offered, primarily in the area of urban and regional planning. Similar to the master of business administration, these programs usually require a capstone project or an internship. As in Australia and New Zealand, these programs support the need of public administrations to introduce innovations in service provision and delivery rather than in policy formulation.

The second group of programs are managed within departments of political science. They offer primarily courses that draw concepts from the field of political science and international relations. These programs are offered primarily at the graduate level and often include some courses in public policy and quantitative analysis. However, some of them are also introducing majors with management courses.

The third group of programs combines the disciplines of political science, administrative law, and management. For example, at Erasmus University, the Faculty of Social Science offers a Master of Science in International Public Management and Public Policy. Furthermore, there are programs that combine these disciplines specifically designed to support the public managers and are often tailored to the international needs of the European Union system. At Sciences Po Institute for Political Studies in Paris, there is a Master in Métiers de l'Europe. At the University of Edinburgh there is Master of Science in European and Comparative Public Policy.

³⁰ The European bachelor's degree is more professional and less liberal arts than in the United States.

The fourth group of programs focuses on public policy. The courses offered by these programs often draw especially on economics. The new Hertie School of Governance in Germany also offers its students courses in history of governance, mediation, and international relations. It is interesting that mid-career executive programs tend to develop within schools or departments whose faculty specialize in public management, while graduate programs preparing graduates for careers in governments, public agencies, and consultancy firms vary in terms of school affiliation and core discipline.

An interesting phenomenon that is stimulated by students' mobility and higher education reform is the development of the concept of double degree allocation among universities and schools, where a student can take part of his degree in one program (typically the first year of courses) and the other part in another, sometimes being able to receive a joint degree. This is not only enhancing the formation of stable partnerships among European universities but it also stimulates the number of courses offered in English, regardless of the home language of the university. Trans-Atlantic partnerships are appearing as well, like the one between London School of Economics and Political Science, the MPA at Sciences Po and the School of International Public Affairs at Columbia University, and the double degree between the MPP of Georgetown University and the MBA in International Organization at the University of Genève.

In addition to their teaching programs, as in the Canadian experience, most universities also house research centers and units that conduct research in the field of public management, public policy, and policy analysis. Furthermore, some universities also host groups of researchers whose studies focus on sector management, such as arts and, especially commonly, health care. This is common in Italy and in the UK. They undertake research activities that are often meant for the development of international and national bodies of literature but also to develop practical models that support governmental needs. As in Canada, their role is also to translate the theoretical models into practical tools and techniques applicable to real case studies.

The accreditation of schools and programs is also a very important concern in the EU. The European Association for Public Administration Accreditation (EAPAA) is the equivalent of the U.S. NASPAA. This association has developed a model for accreditation of bachelor's, graduate, executive, and combined (undergraduate and graduate) programs. Many programs have already been accredited in Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, the Slovak Republic, Ukraine, Italy, Sweden, and Switzerland.

As a final remark, in the redesign of programs to comply with the criteria of the Bologna declaration, some universities looked at the U.S. MPPs for inspiration. Most schools carried out benchmarking analyses to better understand their positioning, especially when offering programs partially or totally taught in English. They noticed that international enrollees in U.S. public policy programs were interested in their domestic focus either because they wanted to compare their national experience with the U.S. approach or because they were interested in working in the U.S. public sector. On the other hand, their potential international students were interested in a comparative approach to public policy studies (which led to the development of international MPPs) or because of interests in a specific European country. In some cases, the determinant of the students' choice was tuition, which is still much lower in most programs in Europe than in the United States.

As mentioned above, European public policy and public management masters programs have known a wide diffusion throughout Europe since the late '80s. This acceleration in the supply of curricular and executive courses fulfils EU member states' expressed need for more professionalized competencies in these

organizations. In particular, two main elements functioned as triggers of this development.

First, the New Public Management wave has strongly pushed EU public administrations towards the challenging task of transforming themselves and their workings. Since the beginning of the '80s, disappointing public administration, economic, and social performance have in fact pressed many governments towards reforms seeking increased efficiency in the delivery of public services and goods. New Public Management reforms (Hood, 1991) have imported, in the inner workings of public administrations, techniques and tools widely used in private businesses: large public bureaucracies, viewed as machines dominated by rules, regulations, and standards of various kinds, have been split into "businesses" that have been assigned performance targets for which their managers have been held accountable (Mintzberg, 1996).

Hands-on professional management in the public sector, explicit standards and measures of performance, greater emphasis on output controls, a shift to desegregation of units in the public sector, a shift to greater competition, stress on private sector styles of management practices, and emphasis on greater discipline and parsimony in the use of resources have represented milestones and desiderata in the NPM reform programs (Hood, 1991; Hughes, 1998).

Although reforms have been different in the countries in which they have been implemented, seen as a whole, the "new" interest in "management" in the public field has been motivated especially by a neoconservative appraisal of the market, which urged a withdrawal of governmental bodies that should have been run as companies (Kooiman, 1993). It is not difficult to understand that this approach shortly showed its limitations: as Metcalfe puts it, public management reform cannot meet the needs of government if it comprises little more than a collection of second-hand business management methods (Metcalfe, 1993). In other words, the search for economy and efficiency in the inner workings of governments can be easily performed thanks to business-like techniques, but they are not enough to render good performance of public bodies: effectiveness should be taken into consideration when operating in the public sphere. (Moore, 1995).

In any case, as regards the focus of this paper, NPM reforms have revitalized the supply and demand for programs in public policy and management. It is interesting to note that the need for managerial techniques, tools, and competencies to be adopted in EU public administrations caused not only the generation of new programs but also a convergence towards similar curricula within the programs. This side effect can be seen also when we refer to the second element that caused the MPP European revival in the late '80s: the increasing importance assigned to European institutions and European integrated programs.

Furthermore, similar to what happened with the upsurge of NPM reforms, with the unification of Europe, EU states have expressed an increasing need for harmonization of varied styles of policymaking, traditionally influenced by a range of traditions and cultures. As Geva-May and Maslove have recently noted, "the main challenge has been to move from largely diverse, culturally driven analytic traditions to a more uniform common-core method of policy analytic work" (2006, p. 222). Thus, the demand for policy for public administration and public policy training programs with common core curricula in policy studies and policy analysis has been steadily increasing.

Finally, the European Union institutions are playing a more active and important role in the European Union public policy. This and the enlargement of the Union to 25 countries is leading to the development of an interesting job market for MPPs students and it is stimulating the demand for programs focusing both on public policy and public management.

POLICY PROGRAMS IN AUSTRALIAN AND NEW ZEALAND UNIVERSITIES

The international survey was sent to 12 universities that offer programs with significant content in public policy and public administration, and six responded. The different streams of programs identified in Europe and Canada also exist in Australia and New Zealand. There is greater emphasis on public policy programs in New Zealand relative to Australia, and in both countries public policy and public administration studies are combined at some universities with the study of political science.

The MPP degree is offered at universities in Canberra, Wellington, and Auckland. The curriculums at the Australian National University (ANU) and at Victoria have a strong multidisciplinary focus, with courses in economics, policy methods and techniques, and law, as well as offerings in public administration and management. The ANU offers a Master of Public Administration and Victoria offers a Master of Public Management degree. Victoria's newest program addition is a Master of Strategic Studies, which aims to develop strategic thinking and analytical skills and recruits participants from both defense and mainstream government agencies. An undergraduate major in Public Policy exists at Victoria, and both universities have a PhD program (by thesis), with ANU also offering a professional doctorate in Policy Administration.

The fields of public policy and public management are growing closer within programs. Public sector reforms at national and state/local levels have raised interest in public management as a subject. Public sector managers at federal/central, state, and local government levels also undertake studies in management and business schools, often through an MBA. Such programs rarely give adequate attention to the distinctive context of managing in a public sector environment. Programs in public administration vary in the degree to which they bring in disciplines such as economics and quantitative and qualitative methods.

The design and pedagogy of public sector programs in capital cities has always been influenced by senior public servants. Many participants are working public servants, and sector endorsement and support is critical and sometimes facilitated by the use of advisory bodies. When teaching seasoned practitioners, it is important to be able to tailor programs of study to meet the professional development requirements of individuals and organizations. It is essential to make explicit linkages from practice to theory, rather than teaching theory and assuming that students can link theory to practice on their own.

A challenge of running MPP-type programs is to make them interdisciplinary rather than multidisciplinary and to ensure that one particular discipline does not dominate over the others. At Victoria University, this has been achieved by the active recruitment of staff trained in U.S.-based public policy schools, working alongside staff trained in a single discipline such as economics or politics.

Getting a complement of staff with appropriate diversity in terms of backgrounds and disciplinary affiliations can be difficult in a university setting because of the dominance of discipline-based schools, including problems of getting heads of schools or deans to support linkages to multidisciplinary programs in other schools and faculties. Establishing special units can provide more program coherence and customer focus, but does not eliminate the need for expertise from other academics, as well as practitioners.

With the exception of the MPP (established at the Australian National University in Canberra, which also offers a Master's in Public Administration), Australian programs, including public policy and public management, have developed alongside departments of politics and/or through schools of business or management. With growing interest in the area of public policy, several departments of politics in both Australia and New Zealand have expanded offerings in this area, including

setting up separate programs or even renaming themselves as departments of politics and policy. In Australia, the term *public administration* has survived, though it is sometimes used to identify the end user, rather than the fact that the program has a focus on public administration as a discipline.

In New Zealand, a separate school of government was created to bring together teaching and research units in public policy and public administration and management and to provide a one-stop-shop for government agencies seeking the expertise of the university. The Victoria University School of Government, established in 2002, has a strategic alliance with the public service and provides a gateway for agencies to access expertise from universities and research institutes throughout New Zealand and beyond.

Australian public service concerns about the quality of existing university programs and the desire to invest further in the education and training of public servants led to the commissioning of a report by the Boston Consulting Group, which recommended collaboration by the governments to establish a single school of international standing. The Australia and New Zealand School of Government (ANZSOG) was established in 2002 to promote excellence in public service. It was created under a trust deed, involving five governments (Commonwealth, New Zealand, the states of Victoria, Queensland, and New South Wales) and 11 partnering academic institutions.

Core programs offered by ANZSOG include a two-year part-time Executive Master of Public Administration (EMPA) program and also a three-week intensive Executive Fellows Program for senior managers. The latter draws its presenters from leading U.S. and UK policy and management schools. The title Executive Master of Public Administration was seen by the Victoria State Government, which spearheaded the development, as a complement to the Executive Master of Business Administration at the University of Melbourne. The EMPA curriculum has a balance of public management and public policy subjects, and related disciplines.

The 120 students, all of whom are sponsored full-time working public servants, complete a program of study over three years part-time. A high value is placed on networking among students and group syndicate work is used for purposes of assessment in all subjects. Different subject formats include: (a) all 120 students together; (b) local delivery in jurisdictions; and (c) intensives involving cohorts of 40 to 60 students. The location of courses changes to allow students to study in all of the jurisdictions over the course of completing the degree. A significant investment has been made in the development of a case study program and the school has been actively forming strategic alliances with similar schools in other parts of the world.

The development of the ANZSOG curriculum raises many issues currently under discussion in U.S. public policy schools. Debate surrounds the role and relationships of different disciplines and techniques, learning outcomes, and key skills and capabilities. In particular, the Westminster tradition that governs the public sector expects (or hopes) that public servants remain “apolitical” and give “free and frank” advice, surviving changes in government. One distinguishing feature in Australasia is that public servants continue to dominate the provision of public policy advice more than they do in the United States, though this is changing.

Programs in public policy in Australia and New Zealand require teachers to reframe policy analysis to make it more suited to the Westminster tradition. This tradition means that career public servants remain in their roles through changes of government and have considerable influence on design as well as on the implementation of policy. Legislation and regulation are among the wide range of policy tools and instruments that can be used, and the more positive attitude to government means that some of the traditional “market failure” and “government failure”

lenses for analyzing policy problems benefit from being expanded to include other grounds for public intervention. Increasingly, policy solutions are being perceived as involving public and private sector partnerships, rather than interventions by a government on its own.

The Australasian policy environments contrast with those in the United States, where many senior positions are filled by political appointments, with major staffing changes after elections. The role of NGO research organizations, universities, think tanks, and consultants in providing policy analysis and advice is much more prominent in the United States than in Australia and New Zealand. This means those studying public policy in the United States are more likely to be aspiring policy advisors. In contrast, programs in Australia and New Zealand were developed in response to the training requirements of practitioners.

Policy development processes in Australia and New Zealand have traditionally been centralized and rather top-down, supported by a parliamentary system in that there is a strong executive wing (particularly in New Zealand, which has a unicameral legislature). New Zealand's change to a proportional representation system, which has been producing minority governments, and the need to form coalitions, has led to the negotiation of policy decisions across party lines. There has been a growth of political advisors in ministerial offices—a phenomenon described as a morphing of Westminster to Washminster. The growing complexity of, and number of, players in policy circles has led the apolitical public service to reflect on the comparative advantage that public sector advisors can bring to their role. The changing policy environment has major implications for the design of education and training programs for public sector management and policy competencies.

Public sector advisors in Australia and New Zealand commonly serve several clients: one or more ministers, various branches of the government of the day, citizens, and, it could be argued, future governments. This suggests that public sector advisors need to have strategic policy and management capabilities and the skills and savvy to tailor advice to meet the requirements of governments with a range of different values and priorities.

Public management and policy reforms in Australia and New Zealand have had the effect of shifting attention from service delivery to governance and from the delivery of services and other public sector outputs to the achievement of outcomes. "Wicked issues" here as elsewhere have proved obstinately intractable. Complex social and environmental problems are raising the bar in terms of the knowledge, skills, and competencies required by public sector analysts and advisors.

An issue of debate in many policy programs is the relative emphasis that should be placed on "positive" or "normative" aspects of policy development. Policy analysis is essentially normative, whereas analysis of policy is positive, the outcome being context and experience specific. U.S.-based programs are often providing knowledge and skills to advisors and analysts, several of whom will provide public policy expertise outside the public sector. In contrast, programs designed in Australia and New Zealand for public servants have a strong normative emphasis.

In Westminster systems, the prevailing emphasis is on maintaining the confidence of ministers and growing policy capacity and capability. This has led to a system whereby ministers in both Australia and New Zealand provide regular feedback to heads of departments about the quality of the advice they are receiving. While traditionally the capability debate placed focused on the quality of information and analysis and other attributes of the advice, the changing environment has raised issues about whether policy analysis and advice can demonstrate that their advice contributes to desired policy outcomes.

The New Zealand Review of the Centre called for more integrated service delivery and the enhancement of policy and management capability in the public sector.

In Australia, similar debates take place, and included the practice of auditing the quality of policy advisory processes (ANAO, 2001).

In both countries, there is a growing literature on defining the attributes of value-creating policy services. One framework, designed by a former senior public advisor, places considerable emphasis on the client relationship between the advisor and the individual ministerial decision maker (Behm et al., 2000). The Behm et al. framework is based on interviews with ministers and follows the leadership literature in identifying both the transactional and transformational qualities of value-adding policy analysis and advice. The research reported, not without some controversy among their colleagues, that the public service was good at offering transactional skills, but lacked the transformational qualities that were required to make policy advising in the Westminster system value-adding. The model captures the concepts of both transactional and transformational values and skills, drawing from the capabilities often associated with the literature on leadership (Kakabadse & Kakabadse, 1999).

Behm and colleagues' model of good practice advising is useful in helping to clarify the need for analysts to keep aware of the needs of their clients. It does not provide a comprehensive approach to value-adding policy analysis and advice, however, because it reflects a single Copernican model—the client-centered model in which the policy advisor revolves around the decision maker—and therefore neglects the insights provided by other perspectives on policy analysis and advice as being problem-centered, democracy-centered, or network-centered. Increasingly, departments are involved in advising several ministers on different topics and coalition governments mean that ministers may be from opposition parties and not be part of the cabinet.

The model also begs the question as to where a policy advisor's visionary leadership should come from. On what grounds should a decision maker privilege the creative policy ideas generated by policy advisors and public servants? If advisors are to provide advice that is informed by extensive consultation, but not be expected to serve as the mouthpiece for public opinion and stakeholder groups, there is a need for value-adding advisors to digest and analyze information, to synthesize it, and to interpret it through their own inescapably subjective lenses. Even if advisors strive to be objective in their advice, it is widely agreed that this is impossible. Thus, the same criticism that post-positivist critics apply to rationalist processes of policy analysis (that is, false claims of objectivity) also applies to advisors' treatment of consultation material.

CONCLUSIONS

Ultimately, a blend of various models, suited to different contexts, will provide a path to greater added value in policy advising. Each system must find a balance between public sector leadership in policy development and opportunities for citizen engagement and ownership of policy developments. While system features and the roles of policy analysts and advisors may differ between Canada, Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States, there are useful lessons to be learned from reflecting on practices in different jurisdictions. Furthermore, although the time and other constraints of our survey do not allow for a statistical analysis and comparison of data in this paper, the institutions established in other locations around the world, and included in the survey—Israel (Hebrew University), Taiwan (Shih Hsin University), and Singapore (National University of Singapore)—reinforce the conclusions that we present below.

Similarities and differences across countries in academic program developments reflect various factors. Particularly important is whether students are making a

transition to public policy and management or are already practicing professionals. When programs are designed for experienced practitioners, the learning experience must offer frameworks, tools, and opportunities for reflection that can enhance capability and performance. Teaching experienced practitioners requires academics to take on the roles of guide and coach. The resulting knowledge, scholarship, and insights are created by students and teachers through processes best described as co-production.

Our study of public policy programs shows that there are many challenges ahead in terms of making good decisions on the form and shape of programs that will add value to governments and citizens. The development of a value-adding approach to the education of public policy and management professionals is a work in progress. It is clear, however, that existing approaches may need to be revisited with a view to dealing with uncertainty about the precise knowledge, skills, and competencies that are required to ensure that public professionals “do things right” and “do the right things.”

Some areas of government policy simply do not fit the traditional categories that provide the rationale for government interventions—such as market failure and government failure. Some governments are becoming more proactive and undertaking activities that are better described as opportunity creation than problem solving. Many are facilitating and mediating policy outcomes, and working with others on policy design and implementation.

The limitations of existing systems provide insights into the need for more integrated and future-focused approaches to education and training programs for policy professionals. Certain features that should probably have a bigger role in shaping public policy programs in the future include:

- Context: Better grounding of analysis in present contextual realities, including a deep understanding of key trends in the environment in which policies are being designed and implemented;
- History: An understanding of how each policy problem arrived on the official agenda at a particular time, and how it has been addressed in this jurisdiction. An approach to policy development works well when it reinforces a sense of place and culture among the people being served;
- The international scene and comparative studies: An appreciation of comparable issues and responses elsewhere in the world, while recognizing that something that works in one country may be inspirational but will not necessarily work in another;
- Role of government: Public policy analysts must show a willingness and capacity to explore the potential for government to add value relative to interventions by others, including the private for-profit and not-for-profit sector;
- Dynamics: Awareness of structure and agency trends, generating forces for stability and change;
- Systems: A systems approach, including cognitive maps, to free up analysts to explore a range of different options for policy interventions;
- Theories of effectiveness: Use of intervention logic and other approaches for linking outputs and outcomes of policy interventions;
- Whole-of-government: A perspective that focuses on the horizontal and vertical linkages across levels of government and among different public sector organizations.

Appropriate choices in terms of program design and pedagogy will reflect differences in economic, social, environmental, and cultural factors. They will also

be shaped by history, values, and the roles of public policy and management professionals within a particular governmental context. Policy programs should give priority to developing analysts who can bring a strategic focus to policy work that will address these challenges.

The greater complexity of policy environments has major implications for the design and delivery of education and training programs in policy analysis. Combining a systems outlook on policy analysis with a focus on institutions and on human/organizational networks should foster a value-adding approach to policy analysis and advice. The reason lies in the fact that at this time and age, these elements are key tools for integrating the kinds of information used to explain the policymaking process with the kinds of information used to inform policy choice. The result will be a greater capacity for strategic leadership among policy analysts as advisors, and the promotion of a style of leadership that emphasizes listening and conversation.

IRIS GEVA-MAY is Professor of Policy Studies at Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, Canada. She has a large number of publications, in recent years with the focus on comparative policy analysis, developments, and instruction in J-PAE, JPS, Policy Analysis in Canada (2007). She is the editor and founder of the Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis, Routledge, and Chair of the International Comparative Policy Analysis Forum. Her most recent book is Policy Analysis as a Clinical Profession (NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). E-mail: igevamay@sfu.ca

GRETA NASI is Assistant Professor of Public Management. She is the Managing Director of the Master of Science in Economics and Management of Public Administration and International Organizations, Bocconi University, Milan, Italy. Her teaching and research interests are in innovation in the public sector and digital government. E-mail: greta.nasi@unibocconi.it

ALEX TURRINI is Assistant Professor of Public Management in the Faculty of Public Administration and International Organizations, Bocconi University, Milan, Italy. His teaching and research interests are in public management reform in arts, education, and social care. E-mail: alex.turrini@unibocconi.it

CLAUDIA SCOTT is Professor of Public Policy at the School of Government, Victoria University, New Zealand, and Professor at the Australia and New Zealand School of Government. Her teaching and research interests are in policy analysis, strategic planning and management, and health policy. She has published widely in books and journals and is author of Public and Private Roles in Health Care Systems: Experiences from Seven OECD Countries (UK, Open University Press, 2001). E-mail: Claudia.Scott@vuw.ac.nz

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PUBLIC POLICY EDUCATION GOES GLOBAL: A MULTI-DIMENSIONAL CHALLENGE

Scott A. Fritzen

There is little doubt that globalization, however defined, has hit the field of professional policy education in the 20 years since APPAM's Hilton Head Island conference on the future of policy education first took stock of a largely American landscape. Despite the title of this session, the relevant development is not merely the increase in public policy schools and programs around the world, but also the recognition of international dimensions of the policy education enterprise that, if taken seriously (and participants in this discussion argued that it must), promises to change the way we conduct business on multiple levels. This report of the lively discussion generated in the wake of Iris Geva-May and her co-authors' stimulating conference paper³¹ explores why and how.

EMERGING PROGRAMS AT THE CENTER OF THE DISCUSSION

Discussion during the session revolved around six emerging programs that had representatives present, including four that usefully supplemented the conference paper's survey of broad trends in Canada, Europe, Australia, and New Zealand. Some key information about these six programs is captured in the table below. Though diverse, it is worth noting that these are hardly small programs, with all reporting continued growth—quite rapid for some. Clearly, international programs will be increasingly visible on the scene. With that in mind, we turn to the discussion of the similarities, differences, and wider significance of these programs. Areas explored by the group fell broadly into two categories: the relationship of the emerging programs to their political and governance contexts; and the process by which the programs produce their graduates.

HOW HIGH IS THE DEMAND FOR POLICY EDUCATION INTERNATIONALLY

The seven programs examined have complex relationships with the demand side of policy education. One way of dividing these programs is into those that primarily cater to civil servants from their home country setting (Victoria and Monterrey) and those with a broad international makeup (the rest). The former group has the advantage of a well-defined market for their graduates. The proximity of public service employers and funders of these enterprises means "that practitioners are in your face and provide frequent and powerful feedback," as Claudia Scott put it, speaking of the Wellington capital city context. Practitioner input on program and curriculum matters is even stronger at the Australia and New Zealand School of Government (ANZSOG), a partnership between six governments and participating universities in Australia and New Zealand. Governments finance the ANZSOG program for their staff and both government and university representatives serve on the governing board.

³¹Iris Geva-May, Greta Nasi, Alex Turrini, and Claudia Scott, "MPP Programs Emerging Around the World," available at http://www.appam.org/conferences/spring/parkcity2006/2006Spring_paper_session6B.pdf.

Public management changes can also serve to spur new curriculum developments; for example, New Zealand's experimentation with New Public Management (NPM) reforms created a demand for increasing product differentiation; a Master in Public Management program was launched with the hope that it might provide a focus on management issues to complement the existing MPP—and supplant the MBA alternative, which had a poor reputation for giving adequate attention to the public sector context. Another example is the same institution's Master in Strategic Studies program, intended to cater to "the entire public sector—customs, social welfare, etc.," rather than following other programs with a focus on agencies concerned primarily with defense and security issues.

The second category of programs caters to a highly diverse set of students from a wide international catchment area—as in the case of the LKY School, the Hertie School, Bocconi, and KDI. Demand for the graduates of these programs is not necessarily weaker than those in the first category—no severe unemployment problems are noted among graduates (knock on wood)—but it may well be more amorphous or diffuse. Countries in both Asia and, perhaps to a lesser extent, Europe, are in the early stages of defining the identity and professional roles of public policy school-trained graduates; in several Asian languages, the very term public policy does not convey a well-defined image, and calls for (at times annoying) elaboration, even for some obviously relevant potential employers. In this second category, programs enjoy greater freedom and flexibility in developing curricula while drawing on a range of potential models. This comes at the cost of some existential *angst*, since there is only erratic feedback from the environment about whether the chosen model bears more than a passing relation to actual needs.

The issue of the political environment in which the policy schools are emerging bears mention. One of those perennial philosophical questions about the business of professional school education in public policy was raised at the plenary session of the conference. To what extent do technocrats who are well trained in policy analysis serve or impede democracy and public participation? Peter deLeon was referring to the American context, but his question may have an even greater poignancy in some international settings. Europe is developing supra-national institutions not reputed for the warmth they generate in the hearts of the proverbial man on the street; European political science journals are filled with anguished talk of a democracy deficit in the European Union. The growth of schools of governance and public policy, and their graduates seeking to staff the halls of the European project, is in a sense part and parcel of this historical moment. The relevance of the democracy question to Asia, where pre-financial crisis theories of the development state emphasized technocratic elites insulated from popular pressures, also stands out.

John Ellwood's opening address prodded the audience to consider the increasing political marginalization of policy analysis (properly construed) in the United States. The question of how firmly institutionalized professional policy analysis in what David Weimer and Aidan Vining call the "objective technician" mode is also relevant to the global policy programs, but shows a different face. Not for the first time, one could read this as Americans lamenting the decline of something for which actors in several other corners of the globe are struggling to gain a toehold; many countries—not least, where schools of public policy themselves are not firmly institutionalized—are grappling with the issue of how to boost the capacity and influence of professional analysts within a politically neutral civil service. Like the question of the democracy–policy analyst interface, such questions will be with us for some time to come, and the emerging program contexts cast them in a stimulating new light that invites comparative analysis.

HOW SIMILAR IS THE "PRODUCTION PROCESS" OF GRADUATES? (1) CURRICULUM

A second set of questions concerned the educational process experienced by graduates. Given that international programs are emerging in a diverse set of countries, what do their curricula look like? How similar are they to American programs, and—since there would seem to be no obvious reason why they *should* be similar—what accounts for the way they look? What is the relationship of their curriculum to different national cultures, whether writ small (administrative traditions) or large (foibles large as continents)?

On first blush, the programs fit within the typical range of program configurations found in the United States. This is not very surprising, since all were established in the past 20 years, in at least two cases (Monterrey and Singapore) with initial technical assistance from the Kennedy School. They offer the same broad range of degrees, and in fact report sharing the growing American problem of "product over-differentiation" as they strive to define a market niche in the somewhat uncertain environments noted above. Program duration ranges from one to two years, dictated as much by local custom and context as a clear pedagogical rationale. In some cases, as in the Singaporean MPP, programs have been lengthened to two years in order to synchronize with partner institutions in an international network. Most of the programs are housed in autonomous schools reporting directly to the university administrations—a trend noted also for the U.S. setting. The core curricula also appear broadly similar, with the same (and equally interminable) debates about the proper mix on the margins of economics, quantitative analysis, politics, and management courses.

Just behind the surface lurks greater, and more interesting, variety. The curriculum at the Victoria University of Wellington has already been noted. The Australia and New Zealand School of Government (ANZSOG) has developed a curriculum that puts focus on management and public policy, but also topic areas including decision making under uncertainty, leadership, and governing by the rules. The program gives emphasis to the use of cases for teaching and also cross-jurisdictional group syndicate work, which facilitates discussion and learning among its mid-career civil servants from New Zealand and Australia. In a country that vaulted its way to first-world status with probably the fastest growth in the number of engineers in human history, the Korea Development Institute has a strongly economics-focused curriculum and two perhaps unique degrees among schools of public policy: Master in Asset Management and Master in Foreign Direct Investment.

Faculty in Singapore and Mexico have adopted a set of core courses that, in terms of their titles, might be delivered anywhere in North America, but they have since focused much attention onto developing Asian/Latin American content for these curricula. Both programs market themselves as heavy users of the case method, and both are rapidly building up their case catalogues to supplement the rather slim international offerings available in that department. One syllabus in public management in the LKY School has incorporated a number of Asian case studies alongside U.S. cases—often in the same session, explicitly designed to facilitate comparative analysis.

Yet the marriage of curriculum structure and pedagogical delivery, set against the backdrop of diverse governance contexts, remains uneasy. Sometimes this expresses itself in the kind of philosophical questions that often leave discussions hanging, not least because the significance of the question remains unclear. In Singapore, faculty have asked each other for years: Are we an Asian school of public policy, or simply a school of public policy in Asia? What would make the difference? Sometimes the uneasiness boils down to the frequently expressed dissatisfaction heard among faculty (and sometimes students) with available textbooks, case studies,

Descriptive overview of some of the programs discussed during session.³²

(1) Institution/City/ Country/Web site	(2) Programs Offered/Duration	(3) Average Number of Students per Intake	(4) Faculty	(5) Student Composition	(6) Key Partnerships	(7) Curriculum Emphasis (Self- Described) or Other Features
Public Administration & Healthcare Division / SDA Bocconi School of Management / Bocconi University / Milan, Italy / www.sdaibocconi.it/home/en/index.php	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 MPM-1 year 1 MIHMEP-Master of Int. Healthcare Management Econ. and Policy 1 CLAPILS-MSc in Econ. and Management of Public Administration and Int. Organization-2 years 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 MPM-30 students 1 MIHMEP-30 students 1 CLAPILS-100 students 1 About 150 students in Italian language programs 	12 professors, 30 teaching fellows, 20 practitioners, and 30 short-term visiting professors	International Programs: 20% Europe; 25% Eastern European; 30% USA and Canada; 10% Latin America; 10% Asia; 5% Africa. Domestic programs: 90% Italian; 10% Europe	CLAPILS has a double degree with Sciences Po (Paris) and with the MBA at the University of Geneva. Exchanges with 13 European; 5 US; 5 Latin American; 1 Japanese; and 3 Australian universities.	Curriculum emphasis is on public and healthcare management in all programs. Pedagogy is similar to U.S. schools with extensive use of case studies and field research activities. Extensive use of guest speakers.
Escuela de Graduados en Administración Pública y Política Pública, Tecnológico de Monterrey / Monterrey, Mexico www.itesm.mx/egap	MPA/MPP: Part time: 2.5 years; Full Time 1.5 years	40 of both every year	20 (from 6 countries)	80% Mexican, 10% Central America, 5% North America, and 5% Europe	Exchanges with KSG (Harvard), Georgetown and UA Barcelona	Mexican and Latin American Studies. Similar to KSG program with ample use of cases
Hertie School of Governance / Berlin, Germany / www.hertie-school.org	MPP-2 years	currently 50, from 2007 on: 80 per year.	12 core faculty + 10 adjunct and visiting	45% German, 20% Eastern Europe and CIS, 15% Western Europe and North America, the rest: Latin America and Africa	Exchanges with SIPA (Columbia), LSE (London), Sciences Po (Paris), GPPI (Washington), Maxwell (Syracuse)	Similar to U.S. programs but with focus on EU politics and European politics, strong integration of law, emphasis on the historical dimension of governance and the European welfare state

KDI School of Public Policy & Management/Seoul, Korea http://www.kdischool.ac.kr	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. MPP 1. MBA 1. Master in Asset Management 1. Master in Foreign Direct Investment 1. PhD 	MPP-50, MBA-75; both two years	32 resident faculty (of which 29 Korean) 7 adjunct and visiting faculty (all from overseas)	60% domestic 40% various countries from overseas	Exchange programs with SPEA (Illinois), Truman (Missouri), Sanford Institute (Duke), among others	Similar to MPP programs in the U.S., perhaps biased toward economic policy courses
LKY School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore / Singapore / www.lkyspp.nus.edu.sg	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Master in Public Administration-1 year Master in Public Policy -2 years Master in Public Management-1 year (executive masters) 	MPA-60 full time, 20 part time MPP-60 full time MPM-25 full time PhD-just being launched this year	25 (from 12 countries)	20% India, 20% China, 15% Singaporean, 35% other Southeast Asia, 10% other	Exchanges with Kennedy School (Harvard) and SIPA (Columbia) for MPM and MPP students	Similar to U.S. programs, but with extensive use of Asian examples and case studies
Victoria University of Wellington / www.vuw.ac.nz/sog/	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. BCA/BA in Public Policy 1. MPM, MPP, Master in Strategic Studies 1. PhD 	MPP/MPM, MSS 120 mostly part-time PhD 15	12 core staff plus several adjunct staff including practitioners	Primarily domestic	Alliances with ANZSOG and other universities	Similar to U.S. programs; comparative focus and some focus on policy in Westminster systems
Australia and New Zealand School of Government (ANZSOG) / www.anzsog.edu.au	Executive Master of Public Administration (EMPA)	120 part-time Employed public servants	10 core staff plus other adjunct staff including practitioners	Students drawn from federal/central and state governments in Australia and New Zealand	Several alliances with overseas and local universities	Course includes core papers in public policy and public management, leadership and related disciplines

³²With thanks to Greta Nasi, Vidal Garza Cantú, Gregor Walter, Taejong Kim, and Claudia Scott for contributing information on their respective institutions.

and syllabi. It is a situation likely to fuel continued experimentation, even innovation, in curriculum matters.

One example of an innovative process and outcome in curriculum design is found in the Hertie School, launched in 2005. It went through an actual application of that usually hypothetical question, “What if we could start over and redesign this enterprise from first premises?” Its initiators held extensive consultations with presumed employers of future graduates to examine what skill sets they would be looking for. They systematically reviewed curricula around the world. They took stock of emerging trends and needs in the region. The outcome was a curriculum that is far from a carbon copy: it builds in core courses in administrative law and extensively covers international, intergovernmental affairs. “How could we *not* have done so in the European context?” asked Gregor Walter. Its courses also reflect a substantive emphasis on Europe’s politics and welfare state model.

Curricula in the emerging programs thus have strong structural similarities with those in North America. But national administrative cultures exert an important influence on them, as does the comparative freedom from path dependence afforded designers in emerging environments. This makes the programs important sites of curriculum innovation with broader relevance to the field, a point picked up below.

HOW SIMILAR IS THE “PRODUCTION PROCESS” OF GRADUATES?

(2) PARTNERSHIPS AND NETWORKS

A second set of issues actively discussed in the session concerned the way partnerships and, more broadly, a process of harmonization is influencing the educational experience offered in these schools. All of the programs noted have some important cross-national dimension to their degree programs—something that, in itself, would be more remarkable if it were not so obviously needed in the contemporary world. These partnerships take several, sometimes overlapping, forms.

One type of partnership is of a contractual nature: an international program seeks in an established North American counterpart advice, validation, and a ready host to whom students may be sent for international exposure. This type of cooperation, if successful, is presumably no longer needed within a few years, and morphs into some other form below.

A second type is a range of more equal partnerships involving reciprocal exchanges of students and sometimes faculty. These bilateral exchanges can be highly popular with both administrators eager to demonstrate they are on board the globalization express and students seeking, literally, to go places with their education. Hence, they have proliferated in recent years—at least on paper. The problem is that a fair number *remain* paper (or rather promotional) rather than truly operational partnerships, with little value realized for students or the institutions involved. Real partnerships—all agreed in the discussion—are capacity intensive, demanding both the negotiation skills of an entrepreneur and the accountant’s attention to detail; no wonder they have spawned a growth industry in academic diplomacy. This can be a costly affair. One discussant noted that perennial problems of semester cycles and transfer credits had led his university to shut down some of its partnerships. More substantively, some question whether programs are not losing something valuable in these exchanges: namely, the ability to create a coherent, sustained sequence of courses that lead to a skill set justifying the title “master in [anything].” So if support for the theory of partnerships is unmistakable, challenges do remain on both the mission and the capacity sides of the fabled strategic triangle.

The third type of partnership poses even greater challenges while promising greater potential benefits. We might call them multilateral networks: multiple

institutions working together to harmonize procedures, curricula, and academic cycles, and to build what Eugene Bardach terms interagency collaborative capacity. They do so to increase the frequency, reduce the (long-run) frustrations and transaction costs, and add to the value of all types of student and faculty exchanges (while in some cases adding even more to the promotional value of the partnership). These complex partnerships bear some examination. Europe is the contemporary world's undisputed heavyweight champion in the area of developing supra-national institutions (not that it is incapable of tripping on its own shoestrings). This movement has created opportunities for university (and public policy school) harmonization as well. The 1999 Bologna Declaration, described in the companion paper to this session, harmonized standards, transfer credit rules, and semester cycles across 29 countries in Europe in a way that should fundamentally change the landscape of inter-university exchanges and integration. Faculty from schools in the thick of these developments—Bocconi and the Hertie School—were animated as they conveyed the possibilities to the others; most important, any student should be able to complete a semester or year at any of the universities in Europe.

Similar multilateral partnerships have gone intercontinental as well, with the only difference being that the schools themselves must do more of the legwork of harmonization. One such partnership is the Global Public Policy Network, currently with four members in Sciences Po (Paris), the London School of Economics, Columbia University, and the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy (National University of Singapore). The network links several policy and international affairs programs in a network enabling students to earn a double degree by attending any of the partner schools in the second year. It is also laying the groundwork carefully for more regular faculty exchanges and research collaborations. Some networks are probably also springing up more informally between schools that have long exchanged students.

No prizes for this prediction: The frequency and intensity of exchanges will have significantly increased in 10 years' time. More than ever, these partnerships will demand much work and creativity in order to realize promised gains. But beyond practical challenges, they raise questions: How will partnerships change the experience of studying public policy compared, say, with the situation 20 years ago? Where, given the rapid pace of their development, are these programs and partnerships taking the field?

NOT JUST EXOTIC DOTS ON THE MAP: THE BROADER QUESTIONS POSED BY EMERGING PROGRAMS

On the theme of partnerships, one faculty member of an emerging program posed a few intriguing questions, which were followed by a few seconds of uncomfortable silence:

How do programs in the United States view their international partners? What do they want out of us? Are we just exotic dots on the map for them . . . ?

Evidently not. One of the strongest conclusions one can draw from this discussion is that international programs are challenging the field of professional policy education as a whole, in at least three ways.

Need to Reorient Pedagogical Models

The growing prominence of international programs is occurring at the same time that many (perhaps most?) U.S.-based programs are seeing continued rises in the

percentage of students from foreign countries. In some programs, as much as half of each cohort is taken up by international programs, and a figure of one-third is not at all uncommon.

One might wonder how well this fact is being taken on board in our classrooms and pedagogical strategies. I am aware of one prominent American program in which the core course in the politics of policy analysis is taught with literally all featured examples and case studies drawn from the U.S. context, despite the fact that at this school over 45% of each cohort is non-American. Undeniably, foreign students will have an interest and a need to learn about the U.S. setting. Still, one wonders if this degree of near exclusive focus represents a well thought-out, satisfying answer to our shifting spectrum of customers, not to mention—and here John Ellwood’s plea for more international affairs content rings true—the challenges of the 21st century.

It is intriguing that international programs face the same challenge of coping with diversity in the classroom. The form the challenge takes can vary, but as noted above, most international programs are even more “de-centered” from any one national context and student body than the American programs. Far from muting the problem of pedagogical delivery, this fact can bring it to a fever pitch, as we are confronted by the issue every time we walk into a classroom with (as in a recent LKY School case) 21 nationalities represented, none comprising more than 15 percent of the class. Essentially, we in the emerging programs are drawing from the same (often too well-worn) bag of pedagogical tricks—academic cultures are surprisingly isomorphic around the world—and the bag often doesn’t seem to offer a solid solution to some of the practical problems of classroom management and course structure faced in this changing landscape. As Jeffrey Straussman noted in his conference paper,³³ “[p]rograms that draw students from around the world first acknowledge that the presence of, say, 20 to 30 percent of students from other countries, changes something—but we are not sure exactly what.” We might look for implications of this diversity in at least two places: delivery and content.

In terms of delivery, one of the difficulties that may be accentuated in such a setting is the diversity of academic preparedness and English ability. Almost all programs, in the United States and abroad, are selective, claiming to admit only well-prepared students, with a high degree of quality control. But the truth is that the higher the international content, the more difficult it is to evaluate student qualifications,³⁴ including (despite standardized testing) English proficiency. The question of where to draw a line in the sand on TOEFL scores, for instance, can be much harder than one might think, given that English ability and the relevance of a student to the professional program setting do not always correlate, and because TOEFL results can themselves sometimes be misleading, as acknowledged by a number of faculty and administrators at the conference. Thus, the problem of diverse levels of academic preparedness in the same classroom cannot be totally solved on the recruitment side; whether heeded or not, it calls for a re-think of what works in terms of course structure and classroom management as well—again, even in the most selective programs.

Part of its answer in America and beyond may well lie in new approaches to delivering content in the classroom. Michael O’Hare’s conference paper³⁵ made a case for

³³“Public Management, Politics and the Policy Process in the Public Affairs Curriculum,” available at http://www.appam.org/conferences/spring/parkcity2006/2006Spring_paper_session6B.pdf. Quote is from page 7.

³⁴Not that assessing U.S. students’ true aptitudes and learning before *or* after attending university is very easy, as argued by Professor James Wilkinson in a controversial talk recently; see www.unimelb.edu.au/speeches/menziesoration.html.

³⁵“Pedagogy for Policy Analysis and Management,” available at http://www.appam.org/conferences/spring/parkcity2006/2006Spring_paper_session3A.pdf.

a coaching (Theory C) over a telling (Theory T) approach to teaching; and Robert Frank³⁶ suggested that we may be trying to teach too much in many classes, cramming in frameworks, readings, methods, and tools, with little thought to what skills can be successfully mastered or shifts in perspective sustained. The emerging programs are, of course, not creating this delivery challenge. But they will likely serve as important proving grounds for different solutions to common challenges, given that they are on the sharp end of the diversity issue.

Another part of the response to the diversity issue may lie on the content side—on what we think we should be teaching.

Need for a Comparative Approach in Theory

If part of the diversity described above is national, this has an interesting effect. What happens to a class when there is no national center at all (as will be the case in a number of the programs noted)? Assume we had the perfect approach to teaching these highly diverse cohorts. Still, what would we teach?

This question is just beginning to dawn on many of the practitioners who shared views at the conference, and was mentioned only briefly during the session discussion. My own sense is that this issue, if taken seriously, has great implications for both emerging and U.S.-based programs, and that answers will be sought in at least two areas.

First, the growing diversity of students and relevant country contexts encompassed by our course material suggest the need for an enhanced focus on comparative analysis and lesson drawing across policy contexts and time. Not by chance, one of the main textbooks in a colleague's political and organizational analysis core course in the LKY school's MPP program was Richard Rose's *Learning from Comparative Public Policy: A Practical Guide* (Routledge, 2005). Another publication promoting the comparative dialogue is the *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice* (Routledge) and the network around it, the International Comparative Policy Analysis Forum, sponsored by over 30 international schools and programs of public policy.³⁷ To give another anecdote from Singapore, the MPM degree program for relatively senior civil servants from around Asia has an attachment program within Singaporean ministries, following which students write an analytical paper. For five years, faculty have struggled with the question, what learning is this paper aimed at facilitating? The main answer that emerged is that it should help train students to think systematically about the opportunities and difficulties of policy transfer across institutional contexts. But clearly this answer is a beginning, not an end point, for searching out—even creating and synthesizing—relevant theories and frameworks that will come back to inform our work in the classroom.

Another area of content-based experimentation that follows from this challenge is harder to define. It relates more broadly to the ever-increasing relevance and importance of theoretical development in public policy and management within a comparative, cross-country frame. In my own public management courses, I often employ the strategic management framework elaborated in Mark Moore's contemporary classic *Creating Public Value* (1995, Harvard University Press). But as relevant and useful as this framework is as a diagnostic tool for a broad range of management settings, the more substantive analysis and case studies offered in

³⁶“Do We Try to Teach Our Students Too Much?” Available at http://www.appam.org/conferences/spring/parkcity2006/2006Spring_paper_session4A.pdf.

³⁷This session has been, in fact, sponsored by the *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis* (JCPA) and the ICPA-Forum (International Comparative Policy Analysis Forum) founded around the journal's mission statement. <http://www.jcpa.ca>.

Moore's book end up being difficult to deploy in the diverse classrooms mentioned above—so grounded are his examples in the political context and traditions of bureaucratic accountability of the United States. What does it mean for public managers to act strategically within governance contexts that confront practitioners—whether theoretically, ideologically, or very practically—with claims of a significantly different relationship between bureaucrats and politicians, for instance? The demand for different answers to this and similar questions—including answers that translate well into classroom and executive program settings—probably outstrips the current rate of comparative work in the field, and this itself is bound to fuel both dissatisfaction and innovative production. Stay tuned: some of the most interesting developments in comparative theory may well emerge in the coming years from the international schools.

The Institutional Challenge

That leads to a final issue, perhaps also going back to the original exotic dot question. How will emergence of programs around the world be reflected in the institutional arrangements and professional associations that are meant to facilitate our joint learning, including APPAM itself? Some observers have questioned, at least anecdotally and in private, how effectively the field's professional associations have served as forums for addressing the issues and research that have great salience for the emerging programs. This may be inaccurate, or it may be changing; certainly, such relatively new journals as the *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis*, a number of informal comments during this conference, and the international partnerships described above, all gave a clear sense that the demand for all things international in the field is growing. But the very awkwardness of the terms used in this curriculum note—with all programs collectively outside of the United States variously described as emerging or international, for instance (both of which fail to serve as very satisfying labels)—underlines the “collective hand wringing” the field is experiencing, to use Jeffrey Straussman's description. How and to what extent we will need to develop different capacities or discourses to adapt to the internationalization of the field is an open question that went beyond the session's discussion. But the overall conclusion seems clear: Rather than being a specialty topic—what's happening in public policy education outside the United States?—the emergence of international programs may have just begun to shape the contours of the field of professional policy education as a whole.

SCOTT FRITZEN is Assistant Professor at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore, where he serves as academic coordinator of the Master in Public Administration degree program. He researches and consults in the areas of strategic management and public sector reform in developing countries, with a focus on capacity building for anti-corruption and decentralization initiatives across Southeast Asia. E-mail: fritzen@nus.edu.sg