Social Equity in the New 21st-Century America: A Case for Transgender Competence Within Public Affairs Graduate Programs

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Abstract
This paper focuses on the importance of transgender education in public affairs programs, particularly as its students prepare to enter an increasingly diverse workforce in the 21st century. The paper first connects transgender awareness and education to the social equity literature. To date, attention within the social equity literature has primarily focused on race/ethnicity and, to a lesser extent, on women. However, issues of gender identity and sexual orientation have largely been missing from the social equity dialogue. This paper aims to fill the void. Next, the paper examines the transgender movement as a means to eliminate transgender oppression from the workplace. The paper also includes a survey conducted with 26 University of Vermont public affairs graduate students and 68 undergraduate students across disciplines also enrolled at the university. The surveys revealed attitudes about transgender citizens and their rights. The paper concludes with tangible strategies for working with transgender organizations and infusing transgender education into the public affairs curriculum.

In 2006, Oldfield, Candler, and R. G. Johnson published “Social Class, Sexual Orientation, and Toward Proactive Social Equity Scholarship” in the American Review of Public Administration (pp. 156–172). Here the authors augured that the field of public affairs has been woefully amiss in not addressing issues relating to social equity, specifically social class and sexual orientation. This effort was subsequently followed in 2009 with a special symposium issue published by Administrative Theory and Praxis, in which the symposium guest editors addressed a lack of attention paid to social equity in public affairs as well. Many of the topics submitted for the symposium according to Candler, Johnson, and Anderson did not address social equity issues within the field and were devoid of topics

This paper attempts to fill the gap on the missing social equity scholarship suggested by Oldfield, Candler, R. G. Johnson, and Anderson by suggesting that transgender awareness be addressed in public affairs education. As the training grounds for future public servants, these graduate programs have a responsibility to expose their students to people of diverse races, genders, social classes, sexual orientations, and gender identities. Public affairs faculty ought to be doing this without exception. The four foci of this paper are as follows: (a) using social equity theory to broaden the definition of cultural competence inclusive of gender identity; (b) transgender oppression and discrimination in the workplace; (c) the transgender movement and its impact on bringing awareness and problem solving to the community; and (d) three tangible recommendations for how public affairs faculty and students gain a better understanding of transgender issues.

Transgender is used as an umbrella term describing people who do not conform to traditional binary norms of gender identity (Currah, Juang, & Minter, 2006; Taylor, 2007).

Public Affairs Literature Review

The public affairs social equity literature on cultural competence is slowly growing; over the past 10 years, symposiums have been published in the field’s leading journals. Such journals include Public Administration Review (PAR), Journal of Public Affairs Education (JPAE), and Administrative Theory and Praxis (ATP). Each of these special journals has sought to engage readers on issues such as race, gender, and to a lesser extent social class and sexual orientation. Very few public affairs scholars have published on the topic of gender identity. Therefore, this section seeks to ground the issue of transgender awareness in the cultural competence literature and thereby broaden its existing scholarship.

Broadening the Scope of Cultural Competence Beyond Race and Ethnicity

Much of the research done on social equity and cultural competence has been centered on the issues of race and ethnicity. It remains true that the United States will appear very different in the current and future centuries; the 21st-century outlook for public organizations is one comprised of an increasingly diverse workforce (Rice, 2007; White & Rice, 2005). Immigration and high birthrates of minorities are changing the demographic landscape and increasing the demand for culturally competent public managers (Bailey, 2005; Johnson & Borrego, 2009). R. G. Johnson and Rivera (2007) also see a need for cultural competence in human resource management (HRM). Organizations that have inadequate diversity initiatives are likely to experience problems with employee relations, employee attitudes, increased employee turnover, and lower employee retention (Rice & Arekere, 2005). Further, the absence of cultural competencies
can create various degrees of “racialized workplaces,” which can generate feelings of anger, depression, and demoralization (McClelland, 2006).

The initial concern was the underrepresentation of racial/ethnic minorities in organizations. Dolan and Rosenbloom (2003) see many scholars concerned with the extent to which women and racial minorities were integrated into the public bureaucracies. Frederickson (2005), in discussing the state of social equity in American public affairs, sees the early development of social equity as focused on race and gender in employment, democratic representation, and service delivery. He also describes multiculturalism and diversity as suggesting a broader definition of social equity. Diversity has many aspects, such as race, differences in ethnic norms and behavior, gender identity, sexual orientation, and technology; and that diversity brings its own challenges (R. G. Johnson, Reyes, & Smith, 2009; White & Rice, 2005). Being culturally competent assumes an understanding and respect of different ethnic and cultural systems (Bush, 2000). S. Sue (2006) sees cultural competence as being the knowledge and skills of a particular culture and describes the conceptual framework of D. W. Sue, Ivey, and Petersen (1996), which included cultural awareness and beliefs, cultural knowledge, and cultural skills. The Tilford Group (2004) at Kansas State University developed a model of diversity competencies to prepare students to live and work in a diverse world.

Most of the research literature on cultural competence is on delivering services to minority and immigrant communities, (Assemi, Mutha, & Hudmon, 2007; Carpenter-Song, Schwallie, & Longhofer, 2007; Dana & Allen, 2008; Lecca, 1998; Pope-Davis & Coleman, 1997; Reimann, Talavera, Salmon, Nunez, & Velasquez, 2004; Rouson, Applegate, Asakura, Moss, St. Onge, & Vergara-Lobo, 2009). The National Association of Social Workers has developed standards for cultural competence in social work practice (2001). The Georgetown Center for Child and Human Development contains the National Center for Cultural Competence, which has conceptual frameworks, models, guiding values, and principles for cultural competence.

In the business community, cultural competence is also framed as cultural intelligence and is associated with international business (J. Johnson, Lenartowicz, & Apud, 2006). The impetus for developing cultural competence or cultural intelligence in international business was the failure of U.S. expatriates working overseas and of headquarters managers not understanding the challenges of working with other cultures (Farley & Ang, 2003; J. Johnson et al., 2006, Thomas & Inkson, 2004). These are the same underlying dynamics as those in the public sector—effectively, working with people of other cultures. The authors just cited see globalization as increasing international business opportunities and collaborations. The definitions are similar to those in public affairs (Cross, Bazron, Dennis, & Isaccs, 1989; Hofstede, 1980; Tan & Chua, 2003). Black and Mendenhall (1990) also found positive correlations for performance and cross-cultural training. J. Johnson et al. also found broad coverage in the literature on
workplace diversity in the United States that they see as being triggered by U.S. federal regulations for delivering public health and educational services to minority communities. As in public affairs education, this literature broadly defines cultural competence as “the respect for and understanding of other cultures as well as other diversity factors.”

S. Sue (2006, p. 38) raises at least three questions about cultural competence:

1. What characteristics constitute cultural competency?
2. If cultural knowledge is important, is it possible to “know” all cultures?
3. How much knowledge is necessary, and what are the contents of this knowledge?

Sue raises important questions. In the United States, race and ethnicity are broadly classified. African Americans include people who have been in the United States for many years as well as recent immigrants from many different countries in Africa. Asian and Pacific Islanders come from countries as diverse as China, Korea, Japan, Thailand, the Philippines, India, and many others. Hispanics or Latinos/as, who can be of any race, have origins in countries from the Caribbean, Central America, and South America. Whites also come from many different countries. These groupings mask the many different countries, each with its own and different culture, that are included within each broad classification. This issue is further complicated when gender, social class, and sexual orientation are included as part of cultural competence. Can we really understand all cultures and diversity in contemporary public organizations, or do we need to develop cultural competencies that do not require an in-depth knowledge of each culture and diversity?

Much of the scholarship on cultural competence has specifically been written around race and ethnicity. Though these topics continue to be important in public affairs. Frederickson, as noted earlier, indicates that cultural competence must be broadened to include other issues of inequity not yet even on the public affairs radar. Though it is difficult to determine if Frederickson included transgender individuals in his assertion, transgenderism is one of those topics. Public affairs graduates will need to understand more than simply race and ethnicity. Indeed, the 21st-century public servant will need to understand gender differences as well.

Transgender Citizens and Local, State, and Federal Protections

Colvin (2007) notes that more and more transgender individuals are coming out of the proverbial closet for equal rights. This fact is important, for many public affairs graduates will be employed in public organizations. Therefore, assisting in the creation of a discrimination-free workplace can be critical for all individuals. In the United States, workplace rights have not been afforded to all employees merely because their managers have had good hearts or a need for
fairness. Therefore, federal policies have been implemented for such fairness to occur in many workplaces. The Equal Employment Commission has had the responsibility for ensuring that employers uphold fairness in the workplace (R. G. Johnson & Rivera, 2007). However, currently no federal employment policy protects transgender employees. Local and state municipalities may enact their own policies to protect transgender employees from discrimination in the workplace. As shown in Figure 1, a growing number of states and local municipalities (within the last 10 years) have implemented nondiscrimination policies that prohibit workplace termination based on gender expression/identity.

In 2007, Vermont—along with Iowa, Colorado, and Oregon—joined a growing list of states passing gender expression/identity bills (Human Rights Campaign, 2007-2008). In 2006, Vermont Senators Jeffords (I) and Leahy (D) and Representative (now Senator) Sanders signed a diversity statement with the Gender Public Advocacy Coalition (GenderPAC) and the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) indicating that Vermont legislators do not discriminate in their hiring regarding sexual orientation and gender identity and expression. Still, to date GenderPAC and HRC report only anecdotal evidence suggesting that increased activity from the transgender movement will be able to substantially further the gender expression/identity agenda in the remaining states that lack gender protection bills. Existing diversity statements, state gender expression/identity bills, and increased transgender movement (national and local) visibility hopefully will establish workplace discrimination as a clear and consistent agenda item at the federal and state levels. The next section indicates a need for such protections due to the loss that transgender individuals suffer.

Transgender Employment Terminations

Several high-profile terminations of transgender employees have occurred in the past few decades. Some of these cases were in private industry, some were in state and local government, some were in higher education, and all present a case for social equity policy. One of the most visible and egregious human rights violations occurred in 2007. The city manager of Largo, Florida, was terminated when he disclosed his plans for a sex-change operation (Waddell & Goodnough, 2007). Despite being married (to a woman) and being a father, Steven Stanton had struggled with Gender Identity Disorder since childhood. At the risk of losing everything, Stanton decided at age 48 to stop living with the torment of being biologically assigned to the wrong gender. (Stanton’s inability to live as a man when he felt female goes to the heart of Dr. Harry Benjamin’s groundbreaking research on transgender individuals in 1966; see Benjamin’s Transsexual Phenomenon.)

Other well-publicized transgender employment cases include the following: Elizabeth Redden (2007) writes that Professor Nemecek, a tenured faculty member and associate dean at Spring Arbor University, was terminated because “he was becoming a she,” even though she was a celebrated scholar, accomplished
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Figure 1.
State and Municipality Protections

Note. From GenderPAC (2009).

administrator, and was well liked by her students and colleagues. Redden also points out that Spring Arbor is a religious institution and holds the belief that any faculty or staff may be terminated if they go against Christian theology. Professor Nemecek was terminated from her job as a professor and administrator
because she started her gender transition at work. She wore makeup to faculty meetings in addition to what would be considered feminine attire. Professor Nemecek explained her Gender Identity Disorder diagnosis to the university president. Many people at her university (workplace) became uncomfortable with her behavior. She was not given support, even though she planned to remain married to a woman and would not have sex reassignment surgery (SRS) but would be treated with hormones instead (Redden, 2007). SRS is the process by which the original sexual organs of a transgender person are surgically replaced with their intended organs. Transgender organizations around the country have mobilized on Professor Nemecek’s behalf (Redden, 2007).

According to Armour (2005), David Rosen was celebrated at his pharmaceutical company. He was part of the football pool and was well liked by the guys. During her gender transition, she was treated with hormones in addition to undergoing breast augmentation and facial cosmetic surgery. Donna Rosen did not lose her job. However, her coworkers did not respond favorably to her as a woman, and the workplace environment became increasingly uncomfortable for her. Part of the challenge for Rosen’s coworkers was that they were afforded no education or information regarding transgender individuals, thus resulting in a tension-filled environment.

In 1989, Anne Hopkins filed suit against Price Waterhouse because the firm denied her bid for partnership (Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins, 1989). The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Ann Hopkins was discriminated against because she was denied partnership in her law firm based on the fact that she was “not feminine enough.” The Supreme Court cited Title VII as the basis for its decision and argued that Hopkins’ employer was guilty of gender discrimination. It must be noted that Hopkins never claimed to be transgender, and her case was also settled out of court.

Judith Butler (1990) argues that earlier feminist scholarship might have been wrong to consider women as merely objects struggling for legal representation by the courts. According to Butler, the image of a woman should transcend gender, race, social class, and political affiliation. In other words, women should not be seen as finite objects whose being can be determined by court ruling. Butler’s point makes the Hopkins case even more important and relevant to the transgender movement and future public servants.

Transgender Employees and the Courts

To date, transgender employees have had moderate success with the legal system, due in part to assistance from transgender organizations such as GenderPAC and the Andre Lorde Project. Jillian Todd Weiss (2005) argues that international, national, state, and local rights have been evolving since 1997, though progress has been slow. The issue is based on how the courts interpret the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII. Currah, Juang, and Minter (2006) report that in 2004, a Federal
Court of Appeals judge ruled for the first time that transgender employees are protected under the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Title VII (p. xiii). In some cases, transgender activists have had to be creative to gain a favorable judgment:

On the other hand some transgender litigants have recently succeeded in challenging sex-differentiated dress requirements. This success is due in part to their incorporation of disability claims based on the health condition associated with each litigant’s transgender identity. Such an approach has allowed transgender litigants to introduce evidence of the essentialism of gender identity and its inelasticity for a specific individual. In combining disability claims with sex discrimination claims, transgender litigants have advanced a broader agenda of challenging normative beliefs about gender for all persons, transgender and non-transgender alike. (Levi, 2006)

Many lower courts routinely dismiss transgender cases based on two antiquated premises: firstly, that sex discrimination laws were not intended to protect transgender people; and secondly, that interpretation of law continues to rest on the notion that sex refers only to biological men and women, not to gender (Levi, 2006). Such interpretation by the courts can prove insurmountable—especially in such states as Florida, which offers no protection at all for transgender individuals.

**Transgender Movement Impact**

The transgender movement has helped eliminate oppression for transgender individuals in the workplace, the courts, and private life. Perhaps the most significant impact of the transgender movement to date is the effort to reform transgender language. According to Jennifer Nye (1998), the transgender movement has rejected oppressive language, such as *hermaphrodite*, in favor of self-generated terms like *cross-dresser* and *intersexual*. The ability for the movement to create such changes is slow, but it is a worthwhile mission to shed the oppressive language and claim their own. This stance is like that of other movements that set about to reclaim or eliminate oppressive language, such as the “N word” for African Americans and *girl* for adult women. The evolution of oppressive language does not occur overnight, but this is where many social movements struggling for social equity must stand fast.

A study of activists around the country, along with movement brochures and newspaper and journal articles, suggests the movement has built momentum due to increased use of Internet and home computers. As a mobilizing tool, the Internet can help reduce obstacles and barriers to carrying out the work of the movement on a national and global basis (Shapiro, 2004). The Internet has also provided a safe space and refuge for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people living in rural communities and states to connect with other people in the movement.
This connection has provided increased knowledge of health and legal resources and opportunities for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) people living in isolated environments as well as a chance to reach out and feel a part of the larger community, albeit perhaps thousands of miles away (Shapiro, 2004).

The Human Rights Campaign (HRC) has made the transgender movement part of its central mission. HRC is America’s largest human rights organization working to achieve LGBT equality. By inspiring and engaging all Americans, HRC strives to end discrimination against LGBT citizens and realize a nation that achieves fundamental fairness and equality for all.

HRC Mission Statement:
HRC seeks to improve the lives of LGBT Americans by advocating for equal rights and benefits in the workplace, ensuring families are treated equally under the law and increasing public support among all Americans through innovative advocacy, education and outreach programs. HRC works to secure equal rights for LGBT individuals and families at the federal and state levels by lobbying elected officials, mobilizing grassroots supporters, educating Americans, investing strategically to elect fair-minded officials and partnering with other LGBT organizations. (www.hrc.org/about_us/2528.htm)

In 2004, the HRC authored a comprehensive report that focused on transgender rights in the workplace and was aimed specifically at training managers. The report calls on organizations to have enforceable nondiscrimination policies of transgender employees. Such policies would protect employees who are transitioning, who hold management positions, and/or request bathroom accommodations. Education is at the core of the HRC’s recommendations and can be used as a powerful tool to change an organization’s culture to become more inclusive of transgender issues and awareness. Attention to these issues would mitigate or prevent many of the lawsuits that come before the courts (HRC, 2004).

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

In January 2009, blind surveys (without identification) with eight open-ended and multiple-choice questions were administered between four different elective classes at the University of Vermont. Twenty-six public affairs graduate students were enrolled in Leadership for Social Equity, Democracy and Diversity (EDLP 380) or Organization Development and Human Resources Management (EDLP 386). Surveys were also administered to 68 undergraduate students enrolled in Race and Culture (EDRC 001) and Race Relations in the United States (SOC 019) (total undergraduate and graduate respondents; N = 94). The methodology created a focus group situation, providing rich and significant data that added to the purpose of the study.
The undergraduate students came from across disciplines such as sociology, political science, engineering, and mathematics. All of the undergraduate students were traditional college-age students as defined by the University of Vermont (ages 17–24). All undergraduate students in the survey were Caucasian. The graduate students ranged in age from mid-twenties to mid-fifties, were enrolled in masters or doctoral programs, and were full-time employees except for one student. Only one graduate student identified as a person of color.

The purpose of the survey was to determine perceptions of transgender employees and people by university students. The surveys also sought to determine how students felt about having a transgender coworker or manager and whether transgender people should have rights in the workplace. Finally, the survey sought to determine whether there was a difference in attitudes across generational lines. The survey tool did not seek to inquire about a student’s own gender identity/expression or sexual orientation, because University of Vermont institutional review board (IRB) policies prohibit such probing questions of students.

This research design was used because the same instructor had been teaching the same courses for 5 years and was interested in determining student’s knowledge and perceptions about transgender at the beginning of the semester. The instructor taught about transgender issues in each of theses courses during the semester. Therefore, having knowledge of student’s awareness at the beginning of the semester was useful. The survey findings represent a 5-year process that was finally captured in print during spring 2009. The survey results were small (at N = 94) and for the most part descriptive. Still, they provide a lens for viewing the thought process and thinking of both the undergraduate and graduate students participating in the survey.

A subsequent replication of this study might include surveying students from required courses over multiple semesters. Another limitation to the study may be that students surveyed are inherently prone to have favorable attitudes on social equity issues. Vermont has a reputation for having a generally liberal and progressive profile. Still, it was useful to survey these classes because 70% of the students attending the University of Vermont originate from various parts of the United States and may represent thinking for the broader United States population, thus affording the reader an opportunity to understand transgender workplace issues on both a macro and micro level.

Findings

The first part of the survey was an open-ended question that asked students to indicate their perceptions of transgender people. This question was critical to an understanding of the study, and it served as a starting point for the rest of the survey. Approximately 40% of all students reported being aware of or friendly with someone identified as transgender (i.e., a relative, friend, or roommate). This statistic does not support the findings of Beemyn and Rankin, whose 2008
research indicated a much higher percentage: 71% of respondents aged 16 to 19 and 63% of respondents aged 20 to 25 knew a transgender person.

Thirty percent of respondents reported having no knowledge of transgender issues, and approximately 55% of both populations had only a cursory knowledge of transgender issues. This finding is alarming, considering that 28% of undergraduate respondents reported having experiences as managers already in retail shops and restaurants. Approximately 75% of the graduate students reported being employed in a supervisory capacity. Interestingly, when students were surveyed about the rights of transgender people in the workplace, 91% of undergraduate students and 96% of graduate students reported that transgender workers should be afforded the same rights as all employees (locally). A percentage of both populations surveyed knew a transgender person and supported their rights in the workplace. But juxtaposed with this seemingly progressive response are the facts that less than 40% of undergraduate students reported feeling comfortable with transgender managers and that less than 50% of the graduate students reported feeling comfortable. The aforementioned questions to which students answered were framed as hypothetical. Approximately 60% of undergraduate students and only 25% of graduate students reported to support overall statewide antidiscrimination bills for states that do not already have such protections in place. This percentage represents the largest margin of difference between the two populations surveyed and may represent ambivalence or intolerance for transgender antidiscrimination state policies across the country.

Implications

The surveys revealed very little difference between generations regarding the rights of transgender persons in the workplace. Responses of both undergraduate and graduate students were almost evenly distributed. The survey does indicate a strong need for transgender education based on the findings. This is apparent in the high percentage of both populations feeling uncomfortable having a transgender manager or supervisor. The survey also reveals an attitude of “Be who you are, as long as it is not around me.” This implication is acute across both undergraduate and graduate respondent surveys. The question representing the largest difference in responses between the two groups may reflect the broader U.S. thinking that groups such as transgender people should not be protected legally, due to religious beliefs or other moral convictions.

Perhaps one of the more looming implications addresses the critical need for education about transgender issues. If this self-selected focused group overwhelmingly feels uncomfortable with transgender managers and is unaware of transgender issues, the need for transgender education at the college and university levels is critical. Transgender education, how it is taught, and who will teach it are topics discussed in the following section. These recommendations are important for public affairs students because they will be graduating from Master
of Public Affairs (MPA) programs and working in public service. The biases that these new professionals bring to their field should be teased out and discussed during their graduate program—not after they graduate from the program and go into public service or a doctoral program.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The four foci of this paper were (a) to increase the literature on cultural competence to include gender identity; (b) to explore transgender oppression in the workplace; (c) to determine how the transgender movement is addressing this oppression; and (d) to access the need for education in public affairs programs. The literature on cultural competence is written primarily about race and ethnicity. Many employment terminations have occurred because the person was transgender. The transgender movement, including such groups as GenderPAC, the Andre Lorde Project, and Gender Spectrum, has helped to represent these individuals in court and lobbied for protections in the workplace. The survey findings of undergraduate and graduate students enrolled in public affairs courses at the University of Vermont also indicate a need for education and awareness regarding transgender issues.

Recommendations for Transgender Education and Research

The following are three tangible ways that public affairs can refocus its commitment to social equity by imbuing students with the knowledge and sensitivity to work with or be managed by transgender people. These recommendations are also aimed at public affairs educators concerned with preparing students for inclusive work environments in the 21st century. First, both undergraduate and graduate students should be afforded opportunities to learn about transgender people from faculty. Certainly, not every faculty in every public affairs department will have expertise on every transgender issue. In this case, faculty may elect to bring in community leaders to discuss transgender issues with students, to host panels, and/or to show films that address the complexities of life as a transgender person. For example, in 2002, the TV newsmagazine 20/20 produced a transgender documentary that demonstrated the history, challenges, and victories of the community. (Although this film is several years old, I use it each semester.) All of the above-mentioned outlets will provide a meaningful foundation for the responsible faculty to equip their students with knowledge and information leading to improved transgender awareness.

Second, internships or field placements are commonplace for public affairs programs. Like classroom instruction, the internship can be fruitful and meaningful for both the student and host organization. R. G. Johnson and Rivera's 2007 research indicates that 63% of NASPAA and 74% of non-NASPAA accredited MPA programs require an internship or field placement as part of graduation
requirements (R. G. Johnson & Rivera, 2007). Such internships or field experiences could be linked to transgender organizations, which would further the work of the movement as well as the student’s awareness and understanding of transgender concerns. Though not all faculty would obliviously buy into this agenda, it is still a worthwhile goal. The Human Rights Campaign addressed earlier in this paper is an organization that public affairs students would benefit from, and the organization would benefit from employing talented and capable students. Consider the following text from the HRC website internship statement:

While HRC is primarily regarded as a political organization, we offer internships in nearly all of our departments and programs, every one of which will provide you with training that can help start your career in the non-profit world.

HRC Internships:

Finally, a challenging aspect of research for this paper was finding scholarly and peer-reviewed public affairs articles by other social-equity-minded colleagues who have written about transgender workplace issues. This fact is largely observable in the literature review section of this paper. Few articles were found for connecting social equity and transgender issues. Public affairs faculty may be wise to consider adding transgender issues to their research agenda. Linda Tillman (2002) argues that faculty not involved in a community can still provide an important voice for that community via their research. She does caution, however, that researchers must proceed with sensitivity when endeavoring to gain knowledge outside of their own community. Still, the knowledge gained can be a powerful tool for instruction and development of students’ understanding of critical topics and issues.
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References


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