September 2022

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Strategies for Introspection and Instruction Towards Antiracism in Public Management and Administration

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To be anti-racist is to be actively engaged in the fight against racism, as inaction only serves to reinforce racism and oppression. In teaching the next generation of public servants, educators have a responsibility to be antiracist in their classrooms. The development of this antiracist approach requires both introspective and instructional efforts. Building on knowledge from Critical Race Theory, Black Feminism, intersectionality, and public service pedagogy, this article discusses the internal work that educators must undertake to become antiracist before teaching students how to do so. Then, the article explores what steps faculty can take towards building an antiracist pedagogy and syllabus. From these efforts, educators will be better prepared to help students be antiracist and inclusive leaders by modeling these values and practicing what they teach.

Keywords: Antiracism, pedagogy, instruction, social equity, higher education

Public management and administration (PM&A) educators are tasked with teaching students to become managers and leaders who promote equity and justice for the people they serve. NASPAA (2019) competencies reinforce this aim through the goal of cultural inclusiveness; however, cultural competency alone is not sufficient. To truly promote an equitable and just public service, PM&A faculty must shift to adopting antiracist pedagogies. Doing this requires understanding and teaching the ways PM&A has created and reinforced

systemic inequities and white supremacy, engaging in critical self-reflection about educators' own identities, and a willingness to facilitate difficult conversations in the classroom (Lopez-Littleton 2016; Love et al. 2016; Starke et al. 2018).

Antiracism in PM&A is an imperative now more than at any point in recent history. As of September 2, 2021, state legislators in twenty-seven states have introduced equity gag legislation targeting public K-12 schools, universities, and colleges which seeks to curtail or eliminate teaching Critical Race Theory, racial justice, gender justice, or other "divisive concepts" (AAPF 2021). "Divisive concepts" broadly describe "ideas about race and sex that challenge the dominant narrative of America's founding and history" (NCAC 2021, para. 2). States like West Virginia and Montana have determined that teaching "divisive concepts" are grounds for human rights complaints. The pervasiveness of such bills demonstrates a concerted attack on justice-related education. These attacks further substantiate the importance of the inclusion of antiracism in the PM&A classroom.

This paper is informed by two primary conceptual frames: Kendi's (2019) definition of antiracism and Collins' (2000) matrix of domination. Kendi (2019) articulates that racists "support a racist policy through their actions or inaction or expressing a racist idea" and antiracists "support an antiracist policy through their actions or expressing an antiracist idea" (13). Therefore, to be antiracist, one must overcome what Kendi calls "assimilationist consciousness and the segregationist consciousness" (34). Being antiracist is not just a fight against racism but an active and ongoing fight against oppression (Mueller 2020). Antiracist pedagogy and curricula, within the PM&A context, are critical as they offer students access to content and needed language that actively challenge traditional PM&A curricula. Which, historically, reflects white supremacist, patriarchal, normative ideologies (Witt 2011). Thus, antiracist PM&A courses prepare students to navigate the politically charged environment in the United States.

Collins' (2000) matrix of domination refers to society's organization of hierarchical power dynamics and relations. She argues that a matrix of domination comprises both intersecting systems of oppression (racism, sexism, heteronormativity, economic oppression, etc.) and "a particular organization of its domains of power, e.g., structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, and interpersonal" (322). Collins articulates how various systems of oppression work together within and across the domains of power at a structural level, which helps us understand the intersectional identities at an individual level. We use the matrix of domination to explore the variety of ways hierarchical power dynamics and relations are present within both PM&A curricula and pedagogy. By exploring history, context, identity, positionality, and privilege, we explicate the ease with which status quo pedagogy has and can perpetuate racism in the classroom and course materials. In other words, antiracism in the classroom is constructed through both how one teaches and what they teach. As public servants can address racism in public institutions (Berry-James et al. 2021), PM&A educators can create antiracist classrooms and curricula. The development of this antiracist approach requires both introspective and instructional efforts.

Educators must first become antiracist themselves before developing antiracist students. This requires acknowledging, understanding, and addressing racism, anti-Blackness, and the matrix of domination within the field and ourselves. Thus, this article draws from scholarship on Critical Race Theory, Black Feminism, intersectionality, and pedagogy in its discussion of the internal work educators should undertake in becoming antiracist and teaching students from an antiracist lens. The article begins by offering insights into learning how, through introspection, to be antiracist. Readers are challenged to explore the role of privilege, power, and intersectionality in their personal and professional worlds.

The article then offers various steps educators can take towards building an antiracist pedagogy and syllabus, including, but not limited to, deconstructing whiteness and privilege, building an inclusive classroom, and offering counternarratives to normative theories. The efforts outlined below can prepare educators to develop in themselves and their students an antiracist approach to inclusively and equitably lead and manage in public service.

Learning Antiracism

To educate students to become change agents who work towards the antiracist reform of public service and its institutions, PM&A educators must critically assess their role in maintaining these institutions and practices (Daum 2020). Becoming antiracist requires a lifetime commitment to learning, practicing, and reflecting on the history and context of systemic oppression as well as one's own identities, positionality, and privileges. The forthcoming section reviews several key lessons educators should understand and the reflective work they should undertake before teaching students to be antiracist public managers.

History and Context Matter

Educators must understand the impacts and interdependencies of structural power dynamics in social systems and institutions over time and across contexts. One way individuals witness the importance and impacts of such power structures is by assessing how contemporary and "historical events represent, reflect, and embed the tangible realities of everyday life-- both the means of concrete oppression and the means of symbolizing and thinking about" structural injustices (Feagin 2000, 14). With honest assessments of the histories of public service, educators can begin to understand the current dynamics faced by different groups of people at the hands of public servants and institutions.

There are stark disparities in government (in)actions towards and impacts on different groups of people (Blessett 2015; Lopez Bunyasi and Watts Smith 2019; Seabrook and Wyatt-Nichol 2016; Starke et al. 2018). These interactions between the government and groups of people reflect the embeddedness of white supremacy and racism in the U.S. White supremacy is those myriad forces that work to maintain the power and privileges of whiteness, including social norms, legal structures, and public institutions and decisions (Daum 2020). To perpetuate a history free of "divisive concepts" is to reject reality and the lived experiences of those oppressed by this history, and serves only to maintain white supremacy and its role in public organizations' institutional settings (Heckler 2017).

In preparing to address systemic inequities and advance a more equitable and just public service, students must understand the government's role in oppressive systems and the legacies of these inequities (Lopez-Littleton 2016). Teaching students these lessons require educators to identify their own misperceptions of history and reteach themselves the truth about the past and present of public service. The stories told and lessons taught are constrained by an educator's understanding and interpretation of historical and current events. Educators must understand how public institutions and policies reinforce racism and strengthen white supremacy to challenge the dominant narrative and actively rewrite curricula to include the voices and stories of historically marginalized groups (Lopez-Littleton and Blessett 2015), and then instructors must teach students to do the same.

Too often, the focus in teaching PM&A is on management and administration, with less focus on the "public" and how to train students to work with, manage, lead, and serve the public equitably. To create an equitable public service, educators must teach students to

dismantle oppressive systems and policies, which requires an honest understanding of themselves and the history of institutional racism in public service.

Identity, Positionality, and Privilege Matter
Antiracist educators must recognize and understand their and their students' identities within a racialized society (Utt and Tochluk 2020). Personal identities are socially constructed labels of the characteristics that define oneself. Positionality is understanding one's identities, which are shaped by personal values, experiences, and social contexts and, thus, shift over time and place (Swan 2017; Utt and Tochluk 2020). Individuals' positionality is impacted by how they are socialized in society and normative belief systems that offer commonsense justifications for everyday injustices (Hardiman et al. 2007). Not only must antiracist educators understand their identities and positionality in social institutions and systems, but they must also acknowledge the privileges these identities bestow and the costs of such privileges.

Kimmel (2017) likens privilege to walking or running with a strong headwind at one's back where "you did not feel the wind, it feels you. You do not feel how it pushes you along; you feel only the effortlessness of your movements. You feel like you could go on forever. Only when you turn around and face that wind do you realize its strength" (1). White privileges are unearned and often ignored systemic advantages and benefits of white skin in a racist society (Lopez Bunyasi and Watts Smith 2019). Du Bois (1935) explained that even low-wage white workers are rewarded with a "public and psychological wage" strictly because they are white (700). Color-evasiveness, also referred to as color-blindness (an ableist term), perpetuates systemic racism by denying or ignoring white privilege (Love et al. 2016; Starke et al. 2018). Color-evasiveness is a privilege afforded by whiteness, as only white people can ignore racial issues (Mueller 2020). Color-evasiveness can justify white supremacy for reasons other than bigotry towards people of color; thus, making white people more likely to ignore their privilege, reinforce oppression, and maintain systemic power (Heckler 2017). Educating antiracist students requires that educators overcome tendencies towards color-evasiveness and instead analyze unearned advantages to demonstrate how privileged group members are considered to be the norm, while people outside of that group are considered atypical (Wildman and Davis 2000).

However, privilege is not only associated with white racial identity but held by any group that has systematic advantage at the expense of another group's oppression (e.g., men, cisgender, heterosexual, wealthy). These system-wide benefits are rarely acknowledged by privileged groups, as one critical type of privilege is the ability to ignore and opt-out of fighting against oppression (Wildman and Davis 2000). Privileges are only afforded to those in the dominating group at the expense of those being oppressed. White privilege, and the systemic subjugation of people of color that it necessitates, is only one example of unearned advantages conferred by oppressive systems. White privilege exists because of racism, male privilege exists because of sexism, able-bodied privilege exists because of ableism, etc. Therefore, one's social advantage is inextricably linked with another's social disadvantage, and oppressive institutions serve to embed these power dynamics such that they are rendered invisible to those who benefit from the system. Without acknowledgment that systemic privilege exists through structural oppression of other groups, there is dissonance in conversations about discrimination, privilege, and power systems (Wildman and Davis 2000). The awareness of identity, positionality, and privilege better prepares individuals to help

dismantle systems of oppression that levy such advantages. Acknowledging the privileges offered by systems of oppression is akin to turning into Kimmel's (2017) headwind and recognizing how strong and advantageous the wind is.

Intersectionality and the Matrix of Domination

Just as one's definition of self includes multiple dimensions of identity, various sets of privileges and linked inequities afforded by oppressive systems also overlap and intersect to be greater than the sum of their parts, i.e., intersectionality within the matrix of domination (Crenshaw 1989). Injustice is not produced by a fundamental type of oppression but rather by multiple oppressions working together; these "intersecting oppressions originate, develop, and are contained" via the matrix of domination (Collins 2000, 228). Intersectionality and the matrix of domination clarify that identities and power structures are not dichotomous, static, and singular, but continual, contextual, and interdependent; thus, identity may be experienced differently by people who are members of the same groups due to advantages or disadvantages that come with another part of their identity (Lopez Bunyasi and Watts Smith 2019).

One example of this unique experience is found in the first-wave feminist movement of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Despite a shared characteristic of womanhood in a misogynistic society, first-wave feminism treated identity as a single dimension and, therefore, did not fully assess and address power systems as interdependent on one another. This is now often referred to as "white feminism" due to its disregard of challenges that women face due to racism, ableism, classism, and other forms of systemic oppression (Blessett et al. 2016; Collins 2000; Swan 2017). In neglecting the intersections of identities and systems, first-wave feminism ignored how individuals with multiple marginalized identities are burdened by and must simultaneously navigate multiple systems of oppression.

Black women have long developed this oppositional knowledge. However, white feminism's disregard for how intersecting identities function within intersecting systems of oppression meant that Black women found themselves in an "outsider-within position" that ignored their reality (Collins 2000, 12). That collective wisdom and intellectual exclusion drove the creation of Black Feminism as critical theory (Collins 2000). Black Feminist scholarship on intersectionality is crucial to understanding how the matrix of domination impacts and ignores social groups, and how this subjugation benefits other groups. Vital in becoming antiracist is recognizing that identities, privileges, and power systems interact; thus, people's lived experiences may differ significantly despite shared identities.

As educators reexamine the historical experiences and modern legacies of oppressive systems and policies, they must acknowledge that systems of privilege and oppression rely on relational differences of identity and their positionality. These differences are created and maintained by the policies and practices of public administrators. Moreover, while the specific power dynamics between each group may change over time, the matrix of domination remains intact in upholding white supremacy.

From Learning to Teaching Antiracism

Once educators have reflected on the role of social construction in their lives, a first step toward action is breaking the silence around sensitive topics to reveal the oppression (Beeman 2015). This requires educators to first reflect on their own silence or racism (or their innate response to challenging topics) and then prepare to integrate topics on white supremacy, racism, and the matrix of domination in classroom materials and discussion. Reflection on

and awareness of one's privilege and identities is individual development. Action is needed as well, but action without introspection can be harmful (Sue 2017). Educators may ask themselves the following questions on their journey toward being antiracist (adapted from Williams and Conyers 2016):

> ● Am I aware of my identities (regarding race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, sexuality, gender identity, citizenship, religion, ability status, and others) and privileges linked to these identities?
> ● Am I aware of how my identities and privileges shape my interactions with different audiences and entities?
> ● Am I knowledgeable about people of other cultures and identities and their histories of oppression?
> ● Am I knowledgeable about how racism and systems of oppression are discussed and understood in other cultural contexts?
> ● Am I aware of how my identities and privileges shape my pedagogical choices (i.e., course materials, examples used, and discussion topics)?
> ● Am I aware of emotional triggers and terms during discussions of interpersonal and institutional oppression?
> ● Am I working to understand my identity, take accountability, and leverage my privileges to dismantle oppressive systems?
> ● Do I know what I don't know about racism and systems of oppression? Am I working to learn more and address my limitations?

In addition to these questions, educators should carefully consider if they are willing to do the work necessary to not only become antiracist but to train students to be the same.

Acknowledging and Deconstructing Privilege

Understanding one's positionality, how social constructions have informed their identities, and the role of one's privilege aids in learning how to be antiracist. This awareness and acknowledgment are also foundational for developing an antiracist pedagogy. There are, however, obstacles to learning about one's own privilege.

Perhaps the most pervasive challenge in acknowledging one's privilege is the need to decentralize the role of meritocracy. Wise and Case (2013) challenge the individual-as-central sensibility ingrained in the U.S. construction of meritocracy and argue that the perceived connection between advantage and meritocracy ignores privileged social groups' unearned advantages. Ignoring this association between meritocracy and advantage allows inequality to appear "justified and the economically and racially advantaged typically attribute privilege to their own hard work" (Wise and Case 2013, 18). Consequently, those who benefit from unearned advantages and rely on the "culturally accepted and politically normalized" notion of meritocracy may have difficulty attributing inequity to anything other than not working hard (Wise and Case 2013, 17). For PM&A educators, this poses a greater challenge when individuals in privileged social groups are unwilling to interrogate their own advantages and, thus, ignore how those advantages and privileges arise within their pedagogy.

In pedagogy, privilege often shows up in claims of objectivity and neutrality. White educators are rarely required to consider their racial identity and its role in teaching (Utt and Tochluk 2020). The false notion of objectivity, rooted in their pedagogical approaches, operates as racial neutrality. Like color-evasiveness, racial neutrality in a racialized politic and society is detrimental for all students, but even more so for students of color who are

forced to consider, manage, and navigate the positionality of their racial identity in the classroom and with class content. When white educators do not interrogate their privileges and how they arise within their pedagogy, they can create an environment where traditionally underrepresented students are likely marginalized and forced to navigate an academic environment that is unrepresentative of their communities, experiences, and insights in ways that their white counterparts are not required to do.

Whiteness is rarely named because there is almost never a need -- in or outside the classroom -- to name or identify one's whiteness, thus setting whiteness as the norm and "othering" racial/ethnic groups of color. To overcome this challenge, white educators will need to consider intentionally and thoughtfully what their racial identity is, what it means for the ways in which they have approached instruction, and how their arrival to the classroom (as a white person) shapes the classroom environment. There is privilege in approaching one's course content without reflecting on how one's racial identity and intersectionality impact the design and delivery of a course. Extending this privilege in the classroom, however, is detrimental to the development of an antiracist pedagogy and serves to uphold the matrix of domination.

Conversely, as racial identities outside whiteness are regularly named and othered, educators of color often consider (and many times are forced to consider) their racial identity in how they teach, how students will interact with them, and how material will be received coming from them. Educators of color may also uphold white supremacist, racist pedagogy. These educators may better understand their racial identity but have likely been indoctrinated to teach the status-quo canon which serves to center and cater to whiteness in PM&A pedagogy. Thus, educators of color teaching what they were taught perpetuates white supremacist curricula.

Developing an Antiracist Pedagogy

Traditional curricula are largely built upon white supremacist ideology. Teaching PM&A through an antiracist lens means understanding who is and is not included, whose voices are not considered worthy of hearing, and actively providing the counternarrative. Black Feminism, Critical Race Theory, and other critical theories offer counternarratives to the hegemonic stories that are deeply rooted in PM&A curricula. The first half of this article focused on the foundational, individual work required to develop an antiracist lens. The second half explores the application of this lens to PM&A education by examining various ways instructors can shift their pedagogy and syllabus towards an antiracist lens.

Kendi's (2019) definition of antiracist centers upon the actions one takes against racist policies and behaviors -- those that uphold and advance the myth of a racial hierarchy. U.S. history tells a story of white dominance and supremacy through a narrative of a racial hierarchy that is rooted in the country's systems -- education, criminal legal, healthcare, employment, housing, etc. This narrative is pervasive, but is, in fact, mythical. There is no inherent hierarchy associated with racial identity. The perception of such a hierarchy is rooted in the socially constructed identities, prejudices, and stereotypes assigned to traditionally excluded social groups. While not rooted in truth, the historical and mythical narrative of a racial hierarchy has been and continues to be perpetuated and, as a result, has created and maintained disparate and inequitable political and quality of life outcomes for those without proximity to whiteness. So, while the notion of a racial hierarchy is a myth, its effects are very real. The PM&A field plays a role in perpetuating this myth through policy/program development and implementation, decision-making strategies, narratives of worthiness, and

pedagogical and curricular design. Therefore, it is highly imperative that the field - one that is rooted in actively advancing racism and white supremacy - is redesigned as antiracist (Alkadry and Blessett 2010).

One way to move the field to center an antiracist ideology is to incorporate an antiracist pedagogy. In this regard, antiracist pedagogy requires the incorporation of antiracist ideals across the curriculum that connect to all faculty, not just those who belong to underrepresented racial and ethnic groups (Utt and Tochluk 2020). With this pedagogical approach, students understand how the myths of racial hierarchy and white supremacy have and continue to play a role in the development and application of PM&A. This discussion focuses specifically on pedagogical strategies educators can access to meaningfully and mindfully design and deliver antiracist course content.

The Counternarrative
A counternarrative offers a pedagogical approach to teaching and learning which serves to complement and contest the "traditional hegemonic discourse within" PM&A and help students understand policy impacts based on the lived experiences of those impacted (Blessett et al. 2016, 268). Critical Race Theory argues that voice and interpretation matter, where understanding and connecting with the experiences of those without proximity to whiteness is key. Exposure to the lived experiences (some of which are marginalized) of Indigenous populations, Black people, and other people of color is foundational in developing an antiracist pedagogy. PM&A, including its historical foundations, centers whiteness and the cisgender, heterosexual, male perspective developed from Greek philosophy and western (colonizing) civilization (White and McSwain 1993). Almost all scholars credited with shaping the historical roots of the field are white men. Theorists like Woodrow Wilson, Frank Goodnow, Frederick Taylor, Max Weber, Thomas Jefferson, Luther Gulick, V.O. Key Jr., Douglas McGregor, and others are lifted up and taught across programs as "fathers" of the field without a full exploration of these individuals and the context of their work. Teaching without offering a historical context prevents students from gaining a comprehensive understanding of the field's development and how this development contributed to creating and maintaining systemic racism.

A cornerstone of the field's intellectual founding is Woodrow Wilson and his *The Study of Administration*. While identified as a "founding father" of U.S. public administration, few discussions include Wilson in his totality. Wilson was a staunch segregationist (Lopez-Littleton 2016) who "saw segregation as a rational scientific policy" (O'Reilly 1997, 118) mutually benefiting both Black and white people. Wilson was an early scholar of public administration but is also responsible for efforts to institutionalize a segregated civil service (O'Reilly 1997) and uphold racist ideals. Another "father" of U.S. democracy, Thomas Jefferson, enslaved people and sexually violated Sally Hemings (an enslaved woman at Monticello) and fathered her six children. Wilson and Jefferson highlight how the field romanticizes the contributions of white men, while ignoring the contributions of women, people of color, and those at the intersections who were also generators of knowledge at that time.

Contributions to the field from individuals and groups of color, like W.E.B. Du Bois, Frederick Douglass, Frances Harriet Williams, Standing Bear, and the Black Panther Party, are ignored and excluded from foundational PM&A discussions (Gooden 2017; Mathes 2000; Ortiz 2018). Du Bois had countless writings and speeches on American democracy, social policy, and law challenging the racist norms of the day. Frederick Douglass wrote about the institution of slavery and its impact on the formation of democracy and governance in the

U.S., challenging white supremacy. Frances Harriet Williams was the mother of social equity through her long service in the federal government. Standing Bear, a Native American, fought and won habeas corpus or civil rights. While often construed as a violent Communist terrorist group, the Black Panther Party started the Free Breakfast for School Children Program, which served as a model for expanding the U.S. Department of Agriculture's School Breakfast Program. These examples illustrate the damage of excluding the voices and lived experience of all social groups. There is, thus, an imperative to shift traditional pedagogical approaches to PM&A instruction in a way that builds curricula and instructional methods using the most inclusive lens possible.

        Acknowledging and addressing this foundation of PM&A is critical in developing an antiracist approach to teaching public service. Such an acknowledgment does not undermine Wilson's or Jefferson's contributions but offers a contextualized understanding of these contributions. In adopting an antiracist lens, educators can identify and acknowledge the white supremacist structures which underlie PM&A research, practice, and study, and work to make and maintain policies that oppress or uplift groups of people (Feagin 2000; Seabrook and Wyatt-Nichol 2016; Starke et al. 2018). However, PM&A's racist history ignores the realities of the field and perpetuates administrative racism (Starke et al. 2018). In practice, an antiracist pedagogy is rooted within an understanding of one's own privilege in the academic space and actively working to leverage that privilege to foster program and classroom cultures that offer context and the counternarrative while, simultaneously, decentering the role of whiteness in instructional, program, and course design.

An Intersectional Pedagogy

Adopting an intersectional pedagogy works against marginalization in the classroom in numerous ways. Understanding intersectionality, while critical to developing one's antiracist ideology, is equally important as a pedagogical tool for building and teaching course content. Case (2016) argues, "without intersectional theory applied in the classroom, educational spaces serve to both perpetuate invisible privilege by focusing on personal oppression and construct only mythical norms as worthy of earning valuable real estate within course materials and broader curricular designs" (2). Recognizing how identities and systems of oppression intersect allows PM&A educators to help students better understand how individuals, particularly those with multiple marginalized identities, can simultaneously navigate multiple systems of oppression when interacting with government/nonprofit agencies and administrators. The inclusion of an intersectional perspective supports PM&A educators' ability to demonstrate the varied experiences navigating government agencies and the impacts of public policy. In their shift towards an intersectional pedagogy, educators can ask the questions (adopted from Case 2016):

        ● Can I be antiracist and teach [insert class topic] without addressing race
        and racism and how they intersect with sexism, heteronormativity, cissexism,
        ableism, classism, capitalism, and other systems of oppression?
        ● How do I teach PM&A to help students think about identity and systems
        of oppression beyond the default of white, male, heteronormative, cisgender,
        able-bodied, U.S. citizen, privileged perspectives?

To do this effectively, educators must first understand intersectionality and its origins. Understanding the historical evolution of intersectionality, as theory, requires instructors to

familiarize themselves with the work of Kimberle Crenshaw, Patricia Hill Collins, bell hooks, Audre Lorde, the Combahee River Collective, and other Black Feminist scholars and scholarship. Black Feminism critiques white feminism, thus elevating the importance of using an intersectional lens. With this understanding, educators can extrapolate the foundations of intersectionality to its role, importance, and relevance in PM&A. Having a firm grasp on the origins and theory of intersectionality strengthens instructors' abilities to introduce the counternarrative. With an antiracist pedagogical lens and approach to teaching, educators can then rethink how they design and deliver a course syllabus.

Diversifying the Syllabus
After educators have done the internal work and committed to an antiracist pedagogy, the first step to diversifying their syllabus and espousing an antiracist perspective is to embrace the more accurate counternarrative. As just one illustration, the book *Classics of Public Administration* by Albert Hyde and Jay M. Shafritz, first published in 1978 and now in its eighth edition, contains fifty-five readings, ranging from Confucius' observations on the origin of the state in China in 300 BCE to Bennington and Moore's 2011 work on public value. The book has sixty unique authors, of which (based on a potentially faulty visual identification technique) all but two are white (and one of those two is Confucius), and only thirteen percent are female. As previously illustrated, this book is not alone in defining public administration's early canon as white and male. Moreover, the public administration canon itself has traditionally lacked inquiry on issues of racism and race (see Alexander 1997; Starke et al. 2018; Witt 2011). Educators tend to assign what they were taught in their doctoral programs (Colgan 2017); thus, educators must work against both the predominant narrative in the field and, for many, their own training to create an antiracist, inclusive syllabus. Educators must not only consider how they define canon, but also the societal and institutional structures within which the canon developed, and how to redefine canon from antiracist and inclusive perspectives.

This type of purposeful action is, like all antiracism work, continuous and all-encompassing. Critical theories, antiracist approaches, and social equity must be part of each course's holistic approach (Lopez-Littleton and Blessett 2015). Only through such normalization can the cycle of the white, male, cisgender, heteronormative PM&A be interrupted and counteracted with an inclusive antiracist narrative. This approach is essential particularly in foundational courses because they set students' expectations of the field (Greenwood 2013; Zipp 2012); and this lets students know that people, with their identities, are welcome and integral to PM&A (Hatch 2018; White 2004).

Responding to Common Objections
An essential step in creating an antiracist classroom is to ensure the course syllabus is diverse, with authors with varied identities. There are usually three main arguments against this approach: I have to teach the classics and the classics were written by white males; I don't see color - I choose quality research regardless of who writes it, and; This is hard.

As mentioned previously, many educators were taught a PM&A canon where the overwhelming majority of authors were white males. This narrative of the field's origins is just that - one narrative. There are other equally valid origin stories. As Portillo et al. (2020, 527) explain: "To push back on the rationalized myths of our field...we must genuinely engage with the intellectual history of our field." Educators can neither accept the canon as given nor cling to a color-evasive approach in assigning materials. Pushing back against these inclinations is hard work, but it is necessary for an antiracist approach to teaching PM&A.

Even if an educator chooses to focus on the traditional "classics" of PM&A, it is possible to examine this literature from an antiracist perspective. For example, Woodrow Wilson's 1883 article is often seen as the basis of American public administration, yet Wilson has a complicated legacy, as illustrated earlier in this article. Students have a right to understand this controversy and be provided with the material necessary to make their interpretations of Wilson and the field's founding. Educators can facilitate this knowledge by having frank discussions about Wilson's segregationist and racist public service policies, how they shaped the field, and what work is needed to dismantle this foundation to create an antiracist PM&A. The argument against an antiracist curriculum that students must learn the classics, which white men wrote, fails to reflect the true development of PM&A and limits the richness of learning opportunities available when bringing in new perspectives on old readings. Modern perspectives on the classics provide nuance and greater understanding of the origins and present-day state of the field.

The second common argument against an antiracist curriculum is the aforementioned claim of color-evasiveness. Color-evasiveness is not a manifestation of equity, it is the perpetuation of white supremacy. There is nothing that functions as race-neutral in racist systems. Therefore, this argument does not hold weight. However, one further indictment of color-evasiveness is that it is analogous to the myth of the neutral bureaucrat. The idea of the neutral bureaucrat and bureaucracy pervades much of public administration; however, as Portillo et al. (2020) convincingly argue, public administration is not neutral. For example, the merit system has long been used to exclude racial and ethnic minorities. Judging academic literature by a merit system has identical nefarious outcomes in the classroom that the myth of bureaucratic neutrality has in government hiring.

The final common argument against an antiracist approach in the classroom is that it is hard. Yes, it is. And it is harder for people (especially women) of color who are often unrecognized for the work they have already done to make their courses antiracist. Challenging the status quo, the foundation of antiracist pedagogy, is not easy, and may upset those who benefit from existing inequitable systems. That does not mean it is not worth doing. Educators should work to have an antiracist approach to research, teaching, and community engagement. Of course, PM&A educators, like all of academia, have different amounts of privilege. Contingent and adjunct faculty are likely to have high teaching loads and constant pressure to receive exemplary student evaluations to maintain employment. At the other extreme are tenured faculty with lower teaching loads who have more time and freedom to design their courses the way they want without fear of repercussions. It is up to those on this latter end of the spectrum to defend and support colleagues with less privilege. Academic structures reflect the societies in which they exist. Therefore, the immediate work is more easily undertaken by more privileged educators, but the current academic hierarchy and unequal privilege must change in the long-term.

This work becomes easier as the canon of the field changes through intentional counternarratives to PM&A's origin story. However, there need to be changes to contemporary literature as well. While the gender publishing gap appears to be declining (Sabharwal 2013), there is still a racial publishing gap, with people of color publishing at lower rates than whites (Kellough and Pitts 2005). This is another manifestation of racism in academia, making it challenging to decouple the inequities in publishing and teaching. The act of creating an antiracist curriculum is a never-ending process, involving internal work and reflection, reassessments of what counts as canon, and dismantling of the inequitable structures in academia. There is no denying this work is difficult, but it is essential.

Designing an Antiracist Syllabus

Course design starts with learning objectives. Learning objectives are sometimes pre-determined by course descriptions, department policy, or accrediting bodies, but the easiest signal that antiracism and social justice are important in a course is to make them learning objectives. NASPAA, the accrediting body of public administration programs, already requires programs to embody public service values - which includes equity and fairness, and to cultivate a culture of inclusiveness (NASPAA 2019). Therefore, PM&A programs are already poised with a foundation to build an antiracist pedagogy. Adapted from work conducted by Gaynor and Lopez-Littleton (forthcoming) and the authors' own courses, PM&A learning objectives could include:

> ● Demonstrate the importance of social equity, justice, and inclusion in all aspects of public service.
> ● Describe theories that use history, culture, and lived experiences to explore traditional intellectual theories of public administration and management.
> ● Examine the histories, cultures, and lived experiences of peoples of color/ethnic communities in the U.S.
> ● Describe how race and ethnicity intersect with class, gender, religion, sexuality, ability, and/or other markers of social identity to shape life chances and social relations.
> ● Analyze the impact of social structures sustained by racism, racialization, and colonialism and their role in U.S. social, political, and economic development locally and/or nationally.

Antiracist pedagogy ensures that discussions of race, intersectionality, and social justice are not relegated to just one week in the syllabus; these counternarratives and critical narratives (Blessett et al. 2016) must be fully integrated in all topics. This is not to say (for example) representative bureaucracy is not an essential topic in introductory PM&A courses. Rather, it should not be the only time race and privilege is discussed.

Another step to an antiracist syllabus is to ensure the assigned authors are from a variety of backgrounds. Students must read diverse authors to connect personally with the field of PM&A. This is analogous to the reasoning behind the need for representative bureaucracy (Bishu and Kennedy 2020). If one cannot think of Black, Indigenous, and other authors of color to include in their syllabi, then they do not know the literature well enough, and may need to consider their own antiracism toward the literature. Non-white, non-heteronormative authors are writing in all PM&A subfields, making it possible to find high-quality work by diverse scholars for any course. That is not to say that the field is sufficiently diverse - it is not. Marginalized scholars face challenges white male scholars do not (Social Sciences Feminist Network Research Interest Group 2017; Thomas 2019). Yet, it is possible to achieve the dual goals of including high-quality research and a more diverse author list if educators put in the needed work. However, just as passive demographic representation is necessary but not sufficient for positive bureaucrat-citizen relationships (Headley et al. 2021), descriptive representation in course materials is necessary but not sufficient for creating an antiracist syllabus.

A more active representation approach is necessary as well. This means assigning readings, case studies, and videos that directly confront racism, white supremacy, and other forms of oppression in PM&A. It is possible to find articles addressing these topics within the context of all subfields. For example, Grigsby et al. (2020) discuss how the federalist

system's lack of attention to racial equity exacerbated racial disparities of the COVID-19 pandemic, while Nisar (2018) draws attention to the unique administrative burdens genderqueer individuals face in trying to obtain a legal ID in Pakistan. Blessett et al. (2016) provide a table of counterhegemonic scripts and theorists to challenge hegemonic scripts such as efficiency, politics vs. administration, and first wave feminist theory. The other articles in this issue provide a myriad of other potential concepts, readings, and theories to incorporate into an antiracist PM&A syllabus. An antiracist syllabus need not depend entirely on peer-reviewed journal articles and academic books. TedTalks, podcasts, and magazine articles offer potential sources of antiracist content, as do guest speakers from diverse backgrounds (White 2004) and/or those doing antiracist work in the community.

Educators should not hesitate to draw on other disciplines to provide descriptively and substantively representative readings. As PM&A were developed using white male perspectives and lenses, it is necessary to move outside the field to find relevant research. PM&A tends to focus on the "how-to" of administration and management and less on the "public." However, fields such as sociology and urban studies have more emphasis on people, and can provide a solution to addressing the gap in traditional PM&A literature. An interdisciplinary approach and use of outlets outside of PM&A will allow educators to include writing on critical approaches, such as Critical Race Theory and Black Feminism, as well as to overcome the racial publishing gap within mainstream PM&A journals (Kellough and Pitts 2005). Engaging with marginalized voices within and outside of disciplinary boundaries sheds light on existing inequities within PM&A while also providing alternatives to build an antiracist understanding of public affairs.

An integral part of an antiracist syllabus is the course assignments and activities. Case studies are an excellent way to challenge students to apply course concepts, social equity, and antiracism to the types of situations they will encounter in their careers. Cases focused on these topics specifically offer a problem-based approach to learning (Bushouse et al. 2011) that mimics real-life situations. Students (and educators), however, must be prepared to engage in these types of activities, which may be new and/or triggering to them. It is important to provide students with the tools mentioned in previous sections to engage in antiracist analysis. This should be coupled with an early, clear setting of expectations that conversations should be inclusive and students should approach them with an open mind. Example syllabus language (from one of the author's courses) could include:

> *This class is committed to the fundamental principles of academic freedom and human dignity. Diversity in all forms is something we welcome, we foster, and we prize. We believe that honest attempts to understand the perspectives of others facilitate learning, and we will strive to achieve this goal at all times. We strongly disavow discrimination -- including harassment -- on the basis of race, national or ethnic origin, religion, sex or gender identity, disability, age, sexual orientation, or veteran status. We expect that each of us will hold one another accountable for maintaining these ideals.*

Authors of this manuscript have begun to integrate antiracism within their MPA courses. For example, in a Foundations of Public Administration course, students read Nikole Hannah-Jones' *The Idea of America* from *The 1619 Project* and wrote about what it means for public service. While it seems risky to bring up sensitive topics in class, results were positive. In an online discussion board and a synchronous Zoom conversation, students

exceeded expectations and the exchange set the stage that social justice would be a unified theme throughout the semester.

Another author used their Introduction to Public Administration course to assign students a justice-focused final paper. The assignment requires students to identify one racial or ethnic group, as well as one additional identity characteristic other than their own, to examine the experiences of people with marginalized identities in the U.S., the justice problem affecting the group, and offer specific examples of how people of color have and continue to resist structural oppression. The assignment is crafted for students to use an asset-based, rather than a deficit, model of understanding intersectional oppression and social justice.

Educators may also choose to structure class discussions of any topic from a social justice perspective. For example, Case's (2016) aforementioned questions can be adapted for students: How does thinking about identity and systems of oppression provide nuance and greater understanding to this topic? What perspective are the authors writing from? What would change if instead, the perspective was from a non-privileged perspective? Faculty can borrow from queer theory (Lee et al. 2008) and ask: How is reality constructed? What is "normal"? Who or what is the "other"? Blessett et al. (2016) recommend that these discussions "examine who consistently benefits from or is burdened by policy decisions, explore the rationale for resource allocation in communities of color, or examine the differentiated due process and accountability structures of administrators working exclusively in low-income versus affluent neighborhoods" (268). Explicit conversations about who is othered bring structural racism, sexism, ableism, and heteronormativity to the forefront of class discussions.

Resources for Creating an Antiracist Syllabus

There are many resources available to support the creation of a diverse, inclusive, and antiracist syllabus and to prevent each instructor from starting from scratch. First, Twitter accounts such as Academic Women in Public Administration (awparocks), African American Policy Forum (AAPolicyForum), ASPA Section on Democracy and Social Justice (ASPA_DSJ), CiteBlackWomen, Institute for Gender Equity in the Public Sector (_IGEPS), NASPAA Diversity and Social Equity Committee (NASPAA_DEI), and POCalsoknow, as well as hashtags such as #CiteASista, #CiteBlackWomen, and #ScholarStrike, featuring work from a diverse group of authors.

Second, there are many diversity-focused websites such as AWPA-WPS Diversity Literature Reference Tool, Jade Berry-James' KnowledgeBase, Academic Women in Public Administration, People of Color Also Know Stuff, and Women Also Know Stuff. Instructors can use Jane Lawrence Sumner's Gender Balance Assessment Tool (GBAT) to check their syllabi's gender balance. While we are unaware of a similar tool for checking the racial balance of authors, we would celebrate the creation of one.

Third, there are PM&A pedagogy journals, such as the *Journal of Public Affairs Education* and *Teaching Public Administration*, which cover topics related to antiracism, diversity, and cultural competency. For example, *Journal of Public Affairs Education* had a 2018 symposium on cultural competency guest-edited by Brandi Blessett.

Finally, PM&A educators should support each other in this work, particularly the most vulnerable instructors. This can be done by sharing syllabi, reading lists, and assignments; publishing techniques in pedagogy journals; and discussing efforts towards an antiracist curriculum at professional conferences.

Conclusion

While being antiracist is a lifelong journey, educators must undertake the necessary internal work prior to teaching students to be antiracist public servants. In light of the rise of "divisive concepts" bills and current political trends advocating against the inclusion, teaching, and learning of justice-related topics, educators must address issues of racism and oppression adequately because failure to confront oppressive systems will only perpetuate the matrix of domination (Collins 2000; Starke et al. 2018). While the acknowledgment and interrogation of structural racism and oppression are critical to building an equitable public sector, educators must also recognize their individual roles in maintaining systems of institutionalized oppression and how they use individual power to preserve these systems and privileges in their daily lives (Daum 2020). Becoming an antiracist PM&A educator requires internal efforts and introspection, as well as working to build an inclusive and antiracist classroom environment, curriculum, and pedagogy.

When educators acknowledge their identities, positionality, and privileges, learn the history of oppression, and work towards becoming antiracist, they can better appreciate students' unique conceptualizations of their own experiences and teach students how to lead a more equitable and inclusive public sector. A successful PM&A "pedagogy should equip upcoming and emerging public servants, not only with technical skills, but also with the epistemological lenses necessary to effectively forge racial equity", rebuild public trust, and dismantle oppressive systems and barriers to social justice (Starke et al. 2018, 478). As pedagogy changes, so too will the values that define the field. Broadly, antiracist educators challenge academic systems and structures that perpetuate inequity and strengthen the matrix of domination. For example, the academic hierarchy of adjunct/tenure-track/tenured educators is an oppressive system that makes it perilous for less privileged educators to focus on antiracism. Therefore, to truly change PM&A to be antiracist, this hierarchy and its associated privileges must change so that all educators regardless of rank are able to engage in antiracist work without fear of negative repercussions. To improve the field of PM&A and reform the racism of public service, academia must be introspective and work towards antiracism to model these values, and practice what we teach.

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