

Public Management Mentoring: A Three Tier Model

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Abstract

Despite the abundance of literature discussing the individual and organizational outcomes of mentoring, this ‘generic’ literature remains virtually silent on the role of mentoring in the public sector. We review and critique the generic mentoring literature, indicating its limitations for understanding mentoring in a public management context. In particular, we highlight the interdependence of organizations, the opportunity structures of the public sector, and public service motivation, which mediate the outcomes of mentoring in the public sector. We then present a three tier model which focuses on public management mentoring outcomes. Our three tier model marries the unique context of public sector work to the extensive mentoring literature and lays the ground work for a theory of public management mentoring. We employ the model to generate propositions about public management mentoring outcomes. These propositions should prove useful for theory development but also for application in public sector mentoring relationships and programs.

Public Management Mentoring: A Three-Tier Model

Introduction

More than twenty years ago, Dee Henderson, then director of the Graduate School of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, (1985, p. 857) noted “[t]he value of mentors who contribute to the development of potential talents has been well documented in the arts and in the business world, but mentoring has not been rigorously evaluated in public management.”

For the most part, the mentoring literature has not answered Henderson’s call. It is not so difficult to explain why. Mentoring seems in many respects one of those organizational and group activities that is “generic” in the sense that it is not context-specific and need not vary much according to sector or organizational type. Employees in the public sector and private sector have many similar needs; many of the organizational benefits accruing to businesses are no less valued by government agencies. Almost all the literature on mentoring is generic (for reviews see McManus and Russell, 1997; Scandura, 1992). Only a handful of research studies (e.g. Fox & Schuhmann, 2001; Kelly et al., 1991; Klauss, 1981; Smith et al., 2005; Payne & Huffman, 2005) examine the public sector context of mentoring.

Most literature has to this point focused on mentoring processes (not outcomes) in the private sector. While recognizing that at least some of the private sector work is relevant to public management and that process is an obvious determinant of outcome, we argue the need for an outcomes-oriented theory of *public* management mentoring. Even if we assume that some aspects of private sector mentoring research are applicable to the public sector context, more public sector-oriented mentoring work is required to

provide valid insights about what is and is not transferable between sectors. Moreover, even the generic research acknowledges that mentoring programs tend to reflect the particularities of the organizations that spawn them (e.g. Russell & Adams, 1997). Another rationale for public sector mentoring research and theory is simply that public agencies at all levels of government are developing mentoring programs. What is a “successful” mentoring outcome in the private sector may be very different than a successful outcome in the public sector (as we explain in a later section).

We outline three primary bases for public management mentoring theory, each of which points the way to building theory. First, *public agencies are interconnected in ways that private sector organizations are not* (interdependence). Unlike private organizations, including most nonprofit organizations, public agencies, even ones as seemingly disconnected as, say, the Department of Energy’s Pittsburgh Center and the Department of Labor’s Bureau of Labor Statistics are connected by common personnel systems and rules, common purchasing procedures, and similar budget and accounting processes. Even more important, government agencies are expected to work cooperatively toward goals rather than in competition or at odds (the fact that this does not invariably happen does not diminish the normative expectation). Second, while mentoring can play an important role in diminishing career opportunity barriers in both sectors, *government agencies have historically had a distinctive role in ensuring equal opportunity* (opportunity structure). Whether one speaks of the role of the military in advancing minorities or the increasing proportion of women in middle and higher positions in federal government, government agencies often have been in the vanguard in providing increased opportunity. Since mentoring is, among its other functions, a means

of career advance, public sector mentoring blends especially well with the need for public sector leadership in advancing opportunity. A third reason for a distinctively public sector approach to mentoring is that *public service ideals often play a central role in public management* (public service motivation). Quite likely, a public-focused mentoring can both put these motivational values to use and, at the same time; draw from them to enhance the effectiveness of mentoring. Taken together, these three points make a case for a theory of public management mentoring.

In addition to theory-based rationales for a distinctively public management approach to mentoring, contemporary developments in the public services, especially the federal government, underscore the need for more attention to public context. With the impending retirement of the baby boom generation of federal executives (Elliott, 1995; Light, 2002; Bordia & Cheesebrough, 2002), mentoring would appear to take on an even greater importance than before. Mentoring is potentially useful for imparting informal institutional and craft knowledge that resides in individuals but not personnel manuals. As “old hands” exit en masse it will be crucial to preserve institutional memories and idiosyncratic knowledge. Moreover, pay raises that continue to lag behind the private sector (Barr, 2007) may accelerate the retirement or job transitioning of senior managers, further exacerbating the problem of maintaining the knowledge vested in individuals.

First, we provide a brief overview of the role of mentoring in the public sector as well as some modest information about mentoring programs. Public sector mentoring programs are far too numerous fully to enumerate but we provide a few examples which illustrate the motivations and rationales of programs with objectives that are broader than the individual or the organization. Second, we review some of the generic literature

relevant to public management mentoring and identify limitations of this literature for public management theory and practice. Third, we develop a preliminary model of public management mentoring, one focusing on the distinctive elements of the public management context, and develop propositions about public management mentoring that should prove useful both for further development of theory and research, and perhaps also for the design of public management mentoring programs.

Public Mentoring Programs and their Implications

Since the mid-1980s federal, state, and local governments have been adopting mentoring as an organizational tool to recruit, acculturate, retain, promote, and support employees. There are multiple motivations behind these mentoring programs including benefits to mentors, protégés, and organizations. More important is the motivation of the human capital crisis facing the public sector (Liebowitz, 2003). For example, according to the Partnership for Public Service (2005a) in the next five years 44 percent of all federal workers will be eligible to retire. In addition, the federal government will require more workers with specialized training in areas such as information analysis and public health (BLS, 2006). The increasing demand and decreasing supply of skilled workers is making it more difficult for the public sector to attract and retain talented workers as a large number of potential public sector workers are choosing careers in the private and nonprofit sectors due to better compensation and opportunities for advancement (Johnston & Packer, 1987; Karl & Sutton, 1998; Liebowitz, 2003).

As government workers retire, new entrants into labor markets do not appear to be gravitating to the public service. The Panetta Institute found that only 26 percent of college students are “very” or “fairly interested” in working for the government.

Furthermore, several surveys suggest that public spirited young people are more attracted to the nonprofit sector than the public sector because they associate the nonprofit sector with public service. For example, the Brookings Institution survey of college seniors found that respondents were twice as likely to view working for a nonprofit (58%) as “a form of public service” compared to working for government (29%) (Partnership 2005b).

Many government mentoring programs aim to rebuild the public sector by articulating the necessary and honorable role that public servants play; providing informal training for federal managers; and targeting college-bound students, especially minority students, as potential public servants (Volker Commission, 1989). As evident in table 1, government mentoring programs abound, with the goals of hiring talented candidates, reducing turnover, developing leadership, and promoting public service and diversity (Barrett & Greene, 2008; GAOa, 2005; OPM, 1998).

[Insert table 1 about here]

Government mentoring programs are credited with attracting new talent to the public sector, reducing job turnover, developing leadership (Barrett & Greene, 2008), increasing productivity and satisfaction (NIST 2002), increasing morale among mentors and protégés (DOT, 2006), furthering agency mission, values, programs, and goals (NIST, 2002; DHHS, 2005; DOT, 2006), and developing a better understanding of public sector career opportunities (DHHS 2005). Mentoring within internship programs has become an increasingly important tool to attract a new generation of talent and mid-career experienced personnel to the federal work force (PPS, 2005). For example, the Presidential Management Fellowship and the Federal Career Intern Program bring talented college graduates into the federal government, enabling agencies to identify

talented potential hires and enhancing protégé exposure to organizational culture, agency mission, and acculturation into public service.

Government agencies also use mentoring to reduce turnover, increase promotions, and further professional development. The National Nuclear Security Administration mentoring program aims to retain a skilled workforce and enhance knowledge transfer between experienced workers and new hires in laboratories. Many government agencies use mentoring to develop and sustain a strong sense of public service among government employees and the Government Performance Project uses mentoring as an indicator for leadership training in state government (Barrett & Greene, 2008). Consider the case of the Oklahoma Office of Personnel Management, which offers a mentoring program to create an atmosphere of public service through state government and develop the skills of women, racial minorities, and individuals with disabilities. All levels of government use mentoring as a means of promoting diversity (GAO 2005a, p. 21). For example, about 60 percent of the participants in the D.O.E. mentoring program are women (OPM 1998, p. 15). In sum, mentoring, a term barely in use before the 1980s has become a major tool in the kitbag of public managers and government human resources officials.

Generic Mentoring Literature: Limitations for Public Management

Today, despite the interest among government agencies in mentoring, our scan of seven major journals in public administration and public management found only five mentoring articles published between 1995 and 2005.¹ By contrast, more than 150 mentoring articles were published in management and psychology journals during this same period, with very few focusing even in part on public sector employees (see Bozeman & Feeney 2007 for a review). Public sector mentoring research is a small

fraction of the mentoring literature (Fox & Schuhmann, 2001; Kelly et al., 1991) and an even smaller fraction of what we refer to as the “theory-seeking literature,” meaning that there is a concern not only with description and “best practice” but also with explanation.

Typically, those arguing for the distinctiveness of public management begin with the body of research and theory identifying and explaining the differences between public and private management. Nowadays there is a considerable literature to draw upon. Whereas a pioneering study by Rainey, Backoff and Levine (1976) uncovered only a handful of publications dealing explicitly with public-private differences, and fewer still anchored in systematic research, later overviews (Rainey, 1989; Perry & Rainey, 1988; Rainey & Bozeman, 2000) document the steady growth of research and theory comparing public and private management.

The public management literature’s answer to Fottler’s (1981) question “Is Management Generic?” has been a nuanced one. For example, some authors (e.g. Bozeman, 1987) note that “public” and “private” may be thought of in terms of *dimensions* of political and economic authority, and, thus, the “most public” private sector organization may in some respects be “as public” as some government agencies. Nevertheless, almost all public management authors, including those focusing on dimensional publicness (Bozeman, 1987; Antonsen & Jorgensen, 1997; Pesch, 2008), identify important differences between public and private organizations and their management.

Despite the proliferation of public-private comparison studies, one is hard pressed to identify studies comparing public and private mentoring. However, a far greater problem than the lack of comparative research is the lack of research on public sector

mentoring, period. The paucity of research on public sector mentoring skews the focus away from the distinctive outcomes of public sector mentoring, especially social outcomes external to small groups and the focal organization. We do not suggest that the generic research on mentoring is irrelevant. Indeed, there are many elements common to public and private management. Nor do we suggest that the public sector context is necessarily unique: only that it is often distinctive, requiring attention to that distinctiveness. A more useful theory of mentoring will strive to develop heuristics for determining when the distinctive aspects of public management require different approaches to mentoring- and those instances in which public vs. private context have little or no bearing on mentoring.

Traditional Concepts of Mentoring. Early research on careers and developmental relationships found that individuals often engage in relationships with coworkers and senior employees to form their occupational identity (Levinson et al., 1978). The generic mentoring literature finds its roots in that early work and the subsequent work of Kathy Kram. Kram (1985) conducted in-depth interviews of 18 dyadic mentoring relationships to formulate a descriptive theory of developmental relationships (including intrapersonal, interpersonal, and organizational analyses).

Kram describes mentoring as developmental relationships between younger and older managers that promote individual development through career stages. In general, Kram's description of mentoring would hold over the next 30 years of research (Eby et al., 2004; Ragins, 1997a; Ragins et al., 2000; Whitely et al., 1991; Bozeman & Feeney, 2007). Eby and Allen (2000) extend Kram's description of a mentor to include a protégé's supervisor, superior, peer, or an individual in a separate organization while

Lankau and Scandura (2002) describe mentoring as relationship "that contributes to personal growth and as an important organizational process" (780) without restricting the relationship to seniority or power.

Organizational Benefits of Mentoring. While the generic mentoring literature rarely emphasizes overall workforce issues, there are several studies examining benefits to a focal organization. Studies show that organizations benefit from higher organizational commitment (Kram, 1985); reduced turnover (Payne & Huffman, 2005); identification of future leaders (Whitely et al., 1991); increased career satisfaction among employees (Aryee & Chay, 1994); and improved networks and productivity (Scandura et al., 1996). Though the general mentoring literature recognizes benefits and costs to organizations, the methods applied in mentoring research generally focus on the individual level of analysis rather than groups of organizations. When the generic literature discusses organizational outcomes, it is typically through organizational control variables such as organizational size (Chao et al., 1992). While this is often useful, it is not a substitute for studies focusing on the organizational level of analysis. Most important, we cannot assume that mentoring resulting in individual success (i.e. social networks or promotion) translates to organizational benefits (i.e. organizational commitment).

Mentoring: A Human Resource and Diversity Enhancement Tool. The academic literature clearly recognizes the importance of mentoring as a human resource tool in organizations (Chao, 1997; Russell & Adams, 1997). However, the literature tends to focus on a limited view of human capital, that of reduced turnover and increased salaries and promotion.

An important component of human capital in the public sector is promoting diversity among workers (Klingner & Nalbandian, 1998; Riccucci, 2006). While private sector organizations, likewise, wish to promote diversity among workers it seems likely that the objective rarely transcends the context of the particular organization. In public agencies, by contrast, there is arguably a broader diversity mission since inter-connected, government wide changes can effect aggregate social change. Private sector social change “adds up” but the interconnectedness and visibility of government wide change provides more of a likelihood of the “whole is greater than the sum of its parts” social change.

Attempts to achieve representation of the populace within the bureaucracy have resulted in a strong push to maintain gender, age, race, and ethnic diversity. The mentoring literature is virtually silent on this point, but offers some insight into how one might develop an understanding of the role of mentoring in the public sector. Ragins (1997a, 1997b) offers research propositions for understanding diversified mentoring, defined as mentoring relationships between mentors and protégés from groups associated with different power for example differences in race, ethnicity, gender, class, sexual orientation, or age. Ragins speculates that diversified mentoring relationships are more likely to occur in homogenous organizations where minority protégés are more likely to enter in diversified mentoring relationships with majority mentors. Given the different goals and organizational environments in the public sector, it is not clear that generic studies focusing on diversified mentoring speak directly to public management.

The generic mentoring literature falls short of a sufficient human capital concept for the public sector, which emphasizes diversity, representation, and public service. This

is not to say that human capital is treated homogenously in either the private sector or in private sector-oriented research. But the emphases are perhaps different. We argue that mentoring outcomes such as increased job satisfaction, organizational commitment, career advancement, and salary tend to differ between the private and public sectors. For example, organizational commitment of public sector employees is conditioned not only by the mission and the nature of the work but because of civil service protections and the trade-off between accountability and red tape (Bozeman, 2000; Klingner & Nalbandian, 1998; Riccucci, 2006). In general, civil service protections restrict and slow the ability of public organizations to hire, fire, and promote employees, thus limiting lateral hiring from outside of agencies, making it critical for organizations to groom management from lower positions, using mentoring to create a larger pool of eligible applicants for upper-level public management positions (Ban, 2006; Klingner & Nalbandian, 1998; Riccucci, 2006). Mentoring in the public sector plays an important role in retaining and advancing managers who cannot be hired from external organizations. Generic mentoring research does not account for the distinctive personnel systems factors found in government, including civil service protections, public law constraints on public employees and interorganizational mobility. Public management mentoring research can and should account for such factors.

Finally, mentoring may have a distinctive role to play in planning for leadership succession. As Schall (1997) notes, the public sector has a particular challenge in ensuring leadership continuity. In an environment where high level (and, increasingly, middle level) management positions are either political appointments or influenced indirectly by political criteria, a fluid and adaptive managerial workforce is imperative.

Mentoring can be one of the tools to achieve adaptation and executive preparation. For example: will innovative programs created as a response to social problems be allowed to live out their "natural" lives, or will they be killed off before their time, independent of performance and outcomes? This issue is particularly acute in the transition between elected or appointed government officials -- especially in a highly politicized environment that limits government's capacity to continue efforts across administrations.

Mentoring Motivations. Recently, mentoring researchers have begun to focus on mentoring motivations (Bozionelos 2002; Chao 1997). These researchers tend to agree that social exchange theory offers a promising vehicle for understanding the motivations behind entering mentoring relationships, the expectations of costs and benefits, and the decisions to stay or exit relationships (Scandura & Schriesheim 1994; Young & Perrewe 2000). For example, Noe (1988) reports that the barriers to interaction between protégés and mentors and costs of mentoring included time limitations, incompatible schedules, and physical distance. Furthermore, the perceptual outcomes of mentors and protégés are determined by the perceptions of met expectations and not necessarily by the actual amount of outcomes (Young & Perrewe 2000).

The limitation of a minimal focus on motivations for mentorships is directly relevant to a theory of public sector mentoring which may require an approach distinct from protégé and mentor motivations in business organizations. Most generic studies focus on self-interested exchanges which, of course, are important in any context. The intrinsic motivations for mentoring, according to the generic literature, include generativity, the desire to develop junior managers and give something back to the organization (Levinson et al. 1978; Scandura & Viator 1994). However, there may well

be another variable worthy of attention in public sector mentoring. The public service motivation (PSM) literature widely accepts PSM as a valuable tool for understanding why certain individuals are drawn to the public sector (Brewer et al. 2000; Crewson 1997; Perry & Wise 1990; Wright 2004).

It is conceivable that public service motivation leads individuals in the public sector towards mentoring, but the generic mentoring literature remains silent on this point. In fact, existing mentoring motivation research pays no attention to public service motivation. We expect that mentoring motivations are more complicated in public organizations because public service motivation seems to have no clear-cut counterpart in business. Public management mentoring research must account for the distinctive motivational factors and differences in values one often finds among public managers.

Toward a Theory of *Public* Management Mentoring: A Three Tier Model

Here we present a “Three Tier Model of Public Management Mentoring” and elaborate on the justification for public management mentoring theory. We examine the three distinguishing features of public management mentoring, each an aspect of our model: Interdependence, Opportunity Structure, and Public Service Motivation. As we articulate these elements of the model we present propositions about public sector mentoring. These propositions flow from the model and have additional rationales including: (1) they point to areas needing additional (or in some cases initial) research attention; (2) they deal with issues unlikely to receive much attention from generic researchers; and (3) they are crucial not only for theoretical advance but also for practical applications of public sector mentoring.

Figure One presents a multi-level and multi-criteria model of public sector mentoring. We refer to this model as the “three tier model of public management mentoring outcomes” in token of its explicit focus on three levels of analysis and interactions among them.

[Insert Figure One about here]

The left and middle columns of the model represent previous research on mentoring outcomes, highlighting the outcomes which accrue to the individual and the organization. The right column, titled Public Management Outcomes, captures mentoring outcomes unique to the public sector: interdependence, opportunity structure, and public service motivation.

Interdependence. The generic mentoring literature investigates human capital outcomes of mentoring to the individual, the organization, and sometimes to both (Bozionelos 2004; Russell & Adams 1997; Ragins 1997a; Singh et al. 2002). It pays virtually no attention, and for good reason, to the interdependencies among organizations. The “good reason” is that these are typically not of concern in the private sector. By contrast, in public agencies there is a crucial and distinctive interdependence that is qualitatively different from other organizations (Antonsen & Jorgenson 1997; Bozeman 1987; Rainey & Bozeman 2000). This attribute of public agencies requires multiple effectiveness criteria. Public management is, even more so than business management, dependent on effective management of external constraints. This crucible of distributed political authority (Bozeman 1987) makes it vital to consider public management mentoring from multiple perspectives and multiple levels.

Interdependence, as we have termed it, encompasses a broad and diverse set of differences between public and private organizations and is perhaps the key aspect of publicness, requiring a theory of public management mentoring. The public manager, unlike managers in the private sector who are subject to the employing organization's private authority, is not a free agent, but is interconnected to a web of authority (political and fiscal) including not only the employing organization, but other agencies with shared missions as well as "controller" organizations (e.g. Office of Management and Budget) and, of course, legislative bodies that provide broad purposes through enabling statutes and provide resources via appropriations. There is no true private sector counterpart to these sorts of interdependencies, not even among parent firms and their subsidiaries.

In addition, public managers are interconnected by diverse networks of responsibility and accountability which spread across the employing agency and its particular personnel system, clients, and service recipients (ranging from the entire public to a subgroup of the public), other governmental bodies including courts, executives, and legislative bodies, and ultimately, voters and citizens. Public managers carry the responsibility of protecting public interests and while this is oftentimes more a vague admonition than a specific requirement, there are in some cases specific legal guidelines to manage assets or regulate in the public interest. For example, a public manager in charge of racial equality in schools is subject to civil liability. While these responsibilities are not entirely different from private firms' and agents' responsibilities under the law, they are generally both broader and more central to the public managers' mandate.

Mentoring, as discussed earlier, is generally assumed to have positive outcomes for two individuals and the organization(s) where they are employed. However, capturing

and measuring these outcomes in *interdependent* public organizations requires more than simply measuring the financial gain, promotion, or self-reported satisfaction of the dyad. Instead, one must account for the mentoring outcomes of individuals and their work unit, agency, agency clients, the public sector, and impacts on the public.

Interdependence requires a theory of public sector mentoring which can help to account for such public sector characteristics as intensive external control, multiple and cross-cutting accountability, and interlocking missions. Rules and regulations in the public sector can come from multiple sources including internal agency rules and regulations from the legislature and courts. However well-intended, these rules can increase pressures upon individuals and produce negative consequences when they become red tape, defined as “[r]ules, regulations, and procedures that remain in force and entail a compliance burden but do not advance the legitimate purposes the rules were intended to serve” (Bozeman 2000, 12). Red tape can cause managers to feel powerless, meaningless, and alienated (Dehart-Davis & Pandey 2005).

Due to accountability requirements, public organizations are, in general, more hierarchical and formalistic; thus potentially successful employees in the public sector will need to develop coping mechanisms for dealing with extensive administrative procedures and in some cases with red tape. Mentoring may play a critical role in helping public employees adjust to these personnel constraints or develop strategies for navigating around them.

Proposition 1.1: Compared to private organizations, public agencies typically have greater external control and cross-cutting accountability, oftentimes resulting in procedural complexity or red tape. Therefore, public management

mentoring research should examine the impacts of external procedural and accountability factors on mentoring processes and outcomes.

Proposition 1.2: Mentoring can be used to buffer less experienced public managers from external procedural and accountability constraints and, ultimately, to work effectively within such an environment. Therefore, public management mentoring research should examine the uses of public sector mentoring as a means of coping effectively with greater externally-imposed procedural and accountability constraints.

There is no direct private sector equivalent to certain aspects of government personnel systems, especially civil service rules. While large-scale, unionized and bureaucratized private sector personnel systems resemble public sector personnel systems in at least some respects, an important distinctive feature of government personnel systems is the interdependencies they create and reinforce. Such factors as intergovernmental transfers and generalized personnel schedules have no private sector equivalent but can have a bearing on mentoring. Most important, the majority of government personnel systems, and particularly the federal civil service, have a mandate to develop, maintain, and evaluate system capacity. There is no comparable private sector breadth of concern with system-wide human capital capacity.

Many civil service systems are designed to insulate public employees from political pressures. At the same time, these systems and their standardizations also eliminate some of the traditional promotion and financial outcomes of work performance. In many cases extrinsic rewards, such as salary and benefits are set according to job description, tenure, seniority, and pay grade instead of individual performance. Federal managers describe these personnel rules as constraining and may be one explanation for findings that public employees report weak relationships between performance and pay,

promotion, and disciplinary action (Rainey 1979, 1983; Coursey & Rainey 1990; Ban 2006). Furthermore, civil service systems can make it difficult to hire middle and upper management from outside of the organization, thus necessitating mentoring to groom internal junior managers into these positions.

The nature of public personnel rules and culture complicate the application of generic mentoring research to the public sector. For example, the generally accepted outcome of promotion and financial earnings from successful mentoring relationships in the private sector may not be significant, or have the same level of significance, in the public sector where promotion and financial rewards are controlled by personnel regulations, agency budgets, and other variables set by authorities external to the agency. On the other hand, mentoring may enable lower level employees to learn ways to navigate the personnel system and acquire increased material rewards. Rather than speculate about the relationship of mentoring on promotion and financial outcomes in the public sector based on our knowledge of mentoring in the private sector we propose that public management deserves its own theory of mentoring.

In one of the few articles yet published focusing specifically on the possibility of using mentoring to enhance public sector workforce capacity, Mary Hale (1996) suggests that mentoring is not only useful for career development but is a vital element of the 'learning organization' (as contrasted to the 'bureaucratic organization'). Hale suggests that mentoring can enhance organizations' capacity by enhancing motivation and employees' learning and by inculcating organizations' values as well as increasing opportunity. Arguably, mentoring has an additive effect inasmuch as such efforts, when

accumulated across an agency, state government, or sector workforce help improve the quality, knowledge, and network capabilities of workers.

Proposition 2.1: The capacity concerns of public personnel systems imply that mentoring can be employed as a tool of broad-based workforce management. Therefore, public sector mentoring research should focus not only on dyadic and organizational mentoring relations and outcomes, but also on systemic and multi-organizational issues pertaining to capacity.

Proposition 2.2: The meaning and pathway to advancement in most public personnel systems is distinctly different from private sector career ladders. Therefore, public sector mentoring research should focus particularly on alternative notions of achievement and on understanding the possibilities for reward in a system based more on seniority and formal credentials than open-ended reward-for-performance.

Perhaps the most important element of public sector interdependence pertains to mission and goals. Again, this is a distinguishing feature of public agencies. If Ford Motor Company accomplishes its goals at the expense of General Motors and Chrysler that is not only unproblematic, it reflects an elemental aspect of the private sector. Public agencies, of course, sometimes have conflicting goals and work at cross-purpose. However, if the Department of Energy accomplishes its goals at the expense of the Environmental Protection Agency it is viewed not as a competitive success but as a policy problem. Public agencies' missions and goals are interdependent to an extent and in ways not found in the private sector. It makes sense that mentors can play an important role in transferring the importance of these intricacies to protégés.

More as a result of interdependence than an element of it, public sector goals often have high levels of uncertainty and, in some cases, a level of generality that causes

them to be perceived as ambiguous. Goal ambiguity, including ambiguity about mission, direction, evaluation, and priorities, increases workplace stress among managers and employees and are related to decreases in managerial effectiveness (Chun & Rainey 2005). Furthermore, directive, evaluative, and priority goal ambiguities are related to financial publicness (the proportion of funding from government sources), competing demands, and regulatory status, all variables that are particular to public agencies, while evaluative and directive goal ambiguity significantly reduce customer service orientation, work quality, and productivity (Chun & Rainey 2005). It follows that having a mentor could play a role in reducing goal ambiguity for public managers.

Proposition 3.1: Research investigating public sector mentoring must aim to understand how organizational missions and goals affect mentorships for mentors, protégés, and the organization.

Opportunity Structure. Related to the discussion of interdependence in the public sector, human capital is valued not only for its economic contributions to the focal organization but also because of its significance to the broader opportunity structure of society. Government work is critical not only for providing vital services, such as national security, and ensuring the public interest, for example preserving public land and educating future generations, but also for acting as a model for workforce diversity by balancing the values of individual rights and social equity. For many years, the public sector, and especially the federal government, has taken a leadership role in workforce diversity and in the breadth of its human capital development (Ban, 2006; Riccucci, 2006).

The public sector, led by the federal government, has played a critical role in advancing the rights of women, minorities, people with disabilities, and other marginalized groups in the workforce (e.g. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) Act of 1972). Diversity has many positive outcomes for organizations such as a wider array of experiences, skills, and cultures from which to draw (Adler, 1997), increased creativity and implementation ability (O'Reilly et al., 1997), and higher performance (Watson et al., 1993). Finally, workforce diversity is important in the public sector because it adds legitimacy and credibility to agency work (Selden et al. 1998). Workforce diversification efforts have not only enabled the public sector to use diversity as a positive tool for developing human capital but ensured that employment in the public sector is more representative of the demographic composition of the US.

Representative bureaucracy is the theory that bureaucrats will perceive the world through the lens of their demographic origins and will make policy decisions on behalf of those groups (Kingsley, 1944; Van Riper, 1958). Efforts to understand and develop the outcomes of representative bureaucracy add yet another layer of complexity to public sector work as organizations face the challenge of ensuring that the composition of personnel reflects the ethnic, racial, and gender diversity of the constituent population (Meier & Nigro 1976; Selden 1997). Research indicates that representation in the public sector matters at two levels, first the overall presence of a group in an organization (penetration) and, second, the distribution of those individuals throughout the organization, in particular at higher levels of the hierarchy (stratification) (Greene et al., 2001).

Although women and nonwhites have made advancements penetrating the government service and have expanded their presence in state level government (Brudney et al., 2000), they still face the challenge of upward mobility (Cornwell & Kellough, 1994) and maintain lower proportions of representation in top-level positions. In addition, representation in government can vary by agency function. For example, women remain underrepresented in distributive and regulatory agencies (Miller et al., 1999) but not in gendered policy areas, such as child support (Wilkins & Keiser, 2006). Although women and people of color remain concentrated in lower levels of government, where they lack power, status, higher salaries, and prestige (Riccucci, 2006), many individuals report being attracted to the public sector because it is perceived as a friendly employer for women and minorities, in addition to providing better benefits than the private sector (Lewis & Frank, 2002).

Although a great deal of mentoring research focuses on the mentoring outcomes for women (Ragins & Scandura, 1997; Scandura & Ragins, 1993), there are few studies looking at gendered outcomes in the public sector (Feeney, 2006; Kelly et al., 1991). Fox and Schuhmann (2001) note that the dearth of opportunities for women to access professional mentoring may contribute to the lower representation of women in city management, compared to the private sector and federal and state administration.

We propose that understanding the role of mentoring in the advancement of women, minorities, and people with disabilities is an important component of understanding mentoring in the public sector and its role in enhancing diversity and representativeness at higher levels of the public sector. To be sure, diversity and representativeness are important in the private sector and researchers focusing on private

sector organizations have certainly not neglected these issues (e.g. Watson et al., 1993; Holloway, 2002; Kilian, Hukai & McCarty, 2005). Public sector practitioners can learn much from these studies. Yet despite the attention private sector and generic research have devoted to diversity and mentoring, the public sector context makes a difference. In the public sector, diversity issues have often been given a higher priority and public agencies in many cases are expected to *lead* in diversity, not to simply obey the law. Furthermore, it seems likely that public managers will resonate to research provided in a more familiar public sector context than to research based on organizations with which they may have less experience.

Proposition 4.1: Research must investigate how mentoring in the public sector results in the retention and promotion of women and minorities.

Proposition 4.2: Mentoring plays an important role in helping women and minorities advance in organizations. Future research should investigate how these outcomes vary for public managers.

Public Service Motivation. Public managers' attitudes and fundamental work motives have consistently been demonstrated to diverge from those of private sector managers and these differences are relevant to mentoring (Crewson, 1995, 1997; Perry & Wise, 1990). Frederickson and Hart (1985) call on public servants to be moral philosophers and activists because the primary obligation of public sector employees is benevolence to all people within the nation. Although this may seem to idealize the work of public sector bureaucrats, there is some truth to the notion that public servants are different from workers in the private sector. Though there is an entire research industry dedicated to investigating the various differences between private and public organizations, we are interested in differences in work motivation and, in particular,

public service motivation, defined by Perry and Wise (1990) as “an individual’s predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations” (p. 368).

A great deal of research investigates employee needs, desires for rewards, and motivations, across public and private sectors. This research in many cases has achieved inconsistent and mixed results (for detailed reviews of research see Perry and Rainey 1988; Rainey, 2003; Wright, 2004), which are probably the result of the difficulty defining and measuring public service motivation (Rainey, 1982; Perry, 1996). Despite these difficulties, there has been consistent indication that public sector employees place a lower value on financial and material rewards and a higher value on altruism and service-related motivations (Rainey, 2003). Intrinsic incentives such as feelings of accomplishment and impact on a community play an important role in the public sector, where financial incentives may be lacking or absent (Brewer et al., 2000; Crewson, 1995, 1997; Perry & Wise, 1990; Buelens & Van den Broeck, 2007).

Though there remains confusion about the causal direction of the relationship between motivation, values, and personal interest, and the sector in which one pursues a career (Wright 2001) there is strong support for public service motivation (Perry & Wise, 1990; Buelens & Van den Broeck, 2007). Unfortunately, despite public service motivation surveys indicate that the desire to work for the government, overall, is declining (Lewis & Frank, 2002). With a declining pool of potential workers, the public sector faces the challenge of recruiting and retaining talented, motivated workers. Since public service motivation remains an important factor in job choice and satisfaction in the public sector, it is plausible that it interacts with the relationship between mentoring and

mentoring outcomes. While no research has yet focused explicitly on the possible linkage between public service motivation and mentoring, one recent study (Bozeman & Feeney, 2008) provided evidence that a broad array of public sector commitment variables was positively related to such mentoring outcome variables as satisfaction with mentoring, career advancement, and propensity for the protégé to become a mentor.

In addition, mentoring may be a key method for fostering and supporting public service motivation among workers. While much work remains to understand fully the psycho-social processes entailed in public service motivation, there is at least some evidence (Moynihan & Pandey, 2007) that the immediate work environment and work socialization can affect public service motivation. When mentoring is an important element of the work environment, it follows that mentoring processes might well have the effect of promoting public service motivation (or perhaps in the case of ineffective mentoring, suppressing it).

Proposition 5.1: Researchers investigating mentoring in the public sector need to focus on the role of public service motivation and extrinsic and intrinsic motivation and how they mediate the relationships between mentors and protégés and the outcomes of those mentorships.

Conclusion

The distinctive context of public sector work- including interdependence among multiple stakeholders, the opportunity structure for social groups, and public service motivation- mediate the relationship of mentoring to its various outcomes. The generic literature often serves well to provide explanations of mentoring processes and outcomes when the focus is on the mentor, protégé, or their dyadic relationship and the outcome is career advancement or some concept of “getting ahead.” But the generic literature falls

short in elucidating outcomes for organizations, organizational stakeholders, groups of interdependent organizations, and society. A theory of public management mentoring must capture the public service motivation of the mentor and protégé, the mentoring dyad as it is embedded in interdependent systems, and mentoring relationships' contribution to the large opportunity structures in the public sector and society.

A theory of mentoring centered on interdependence, opportunity structure, and public service motivation will help to answer important research questions in both the mentoring and public management literatures. A contextually relevant theory might help point the way to answers for some pressing questions including:

- Is mentoring a useful tool for attracting talent to the public sector?
- What is the role of mentoring in job satisfaction and retaining talent in the public sector?
- How does mentoring affect organizational commitment among public servants?
- What is the relationship between mentoring and commitment to agency mission, social outcomes, and public service motivation?
- What is the relationship of mentoring to perceptions of red tape?
- Can mentoring help public managers transition to new demands for contract management?
- How can mentoring be used to advance workforce diversity and representative bureaucracy at all levels of government?
- Can mentoring be used as one of several tools in general capacity and workforce management?
- To what extent does mentoring enhance managerial effectiveness in an environment where pay and career advancement are sometimes divorced from performance?

In order to answer some of these questions, public management mentoring research should aim to understand the role of mentoring in attracting and retaining talent. For example, studies investigating recruitment before and after mentoring programs can investigate mentoring as a treatment effect. Research can also investigate mentoring as a treatment for organizational commitment, bureaucratic discretion, and public service motivation. Furthermore, research should investigate the design of mentoring programs across government. Collecting organizational level data such as red tape, mission, and goals in addition to mentor program characteristics and individual level data will enable us to develop a better understanding of the role of mentoring in the public sector.

Most important, a theory of public management mentoring will help to clarify the relevance of the numerous mentoring programs currently implemented in the public sector. The generic mentoring literature provides few cues useful for understanding the full range of impacts that public sector mentoring programs seek. Our three tier model can perhaps prove useful as a first-step in developing a more useful path to the design and evaluation of public management mentoring programs.

While our findings are aimed at improving public management mentoring research as antecedent to improving public sector mentoring activity, we nonetheless have some provisional suggestions pertaining to public management practice. A first, obvious suggestion: do not assume that mentoring programs are necessarily useful or effective. Programs entail at least some administrative costs and opportunity costs and the headlong rush into mentoring programs should be accompanied by a concern to evaluate the programs. This, in turn, leads to a second suggestion, one that only seems obvious. It is useful, before implementing public management mentoring programs, to identify the

particular goals of the programs. If we are correct that public management mentoring often has different implications and impacts, then public managers cannot afford to simply assume, in time-honored fashion, that “this has been useful in the private sector and will be useful (in the same ways) in the public sector context.” For example, to what extent is workforce diversity a primary value? Is it important for the mentoring activities to result in stronger network ties to managers and professionals in other organizations? If the mentoring activity improves human capital to such an extent that managers are more likely to be bid away from other agencies or by private sector contractors, is this a problem or an advantage? In sum, if public management mentoring is different, and we strongly suggest it is, and then public management mentoring programs should take these differences into account as mentoring programs are designed, implemented and evaluated.

Endnote

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Table 1: Government Mentoring Programs: Some Examples

	Program Description (Mission, Design, and Outcomes)
Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS)	The Career Mentoring Program matches lower-graded employees with senior employees who provide career guidance, help to increase organizational commitment, and an understanding of agency mission, values, and public sector career opportunities (DHHS 2005).
National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST)	NIST reports that the mentoring program results include: (1) greater understanding of the organization’s mission, (2) improved networks within the agency, and (3) greater understanding of the history, culture, politics, mission, and goals of the agency. The NIST mentoring program is a cost-effective “process for regenerating itself from within its own ranks” which ultimately reduces job turnover, increases productivity and satisfaction, and helps NIST to achieve its goals (NIST 2002).
U.S. National Nuclear Security Administration (NNSA)	The NNSA laboratories (1) Offer mentoring programs to retain a skilled workforce and enhance knowledge transfer from more experienced workers to those just hired in the laboratory. (2) Require scientists and engineers at higher levels of management to mentor newer staff as a condition of their own promotion. (3) Extended mentoring programs to include retirees to assist in the transfer of knowledge and archive knowledge that will be preserved for future workers (GAO, 2005b).
U.S. Department of Energy (DOE)	The mentoring program aims to increase career development, employee skills, diversity, and understanding of the DOE and its programs. The program hopes to address the needs of the federal workforce as it works to adapt to rapid organizational change. http://humancapital.doe.gov/pol/Bulletins/Hcmbul3.pdf
U.S. Department of Transportation (DOT)	The One DOT Mentoring Program develops a “pipeline of trained professionals who are prepared to handle organizational challenges and equipped to meet future goals of the U.S. Department of Transportation” while at the same time enhancing a sense of commitment to the DOT mission (DOT 2006). The DoT supports an online mentoring handbook: http://www.mentor.dot.gov
US Department of Interior (DOI)	Mentoring is a key component of the DOI Governmentwide Acquisition Management Intern Program, which aims to recruit, develop, and retain a group of diverse future leaders in management positions. http://www.doiu.nbc.gov/gamip.html
U.S. Department of Labor (DOL)	The U.S. Department of Labor website offers information about the importance of mentoring individuals with disabilities and offers mentoring tips. Available at http://www.dol.gov/odep/media/reports/ek00/mentoring.htm
U.S. Coast Guard	In 1990 Coast Guard established a mentoring program to increase personnel retention. The program assigns mentors and protégés with the goal of promoting diversity by pairing individuals who are different from one another and across organizational lines. The Coast Guard publishes a mentoring guide titled <i>Establishing a Local Mentoring Program</i> and a <i>Mentoring Training Guide</i> .
Maine	Maine Management Service’s Mentoring for Managers aims to: (1) Enhance leadership competencies of present and future state government managers, (2) Retain qualified and experienced state managers, and (3) Create a culture of learning, sharing, and networking in Maine State Government” (State of Maine 2006).
Oklahoma	The Oklahoma Office of Personnel Management offers a mentoring program to develop an atmosphere of public service throughout state government and develop the executive potential of employees, in particular the skills of women, racial minorities, and individuals with disabilities. The program rotates protégés to multiple state departments in order to share ideas, knowledge, and experience across all branches of state government (State of Oklahoma 1997, 2005).
Delaware	The Delaware Mentoring Council and the Governor's Mentoring Initiative encourage mentoring by offering flex time to state employees who mentor other state employees. Details at http://www.mentoring.org/mentoring_month/state_activities
Tempe, AZ	The City of Tempe Mentoring Program, developed in 2004, is open to retirees, with the hope of using retirees as mentors and increasing the pool of resources available to the city (Inchausti, 2004).

Figure One. Three -Tier Model of Mentoring Outcomes

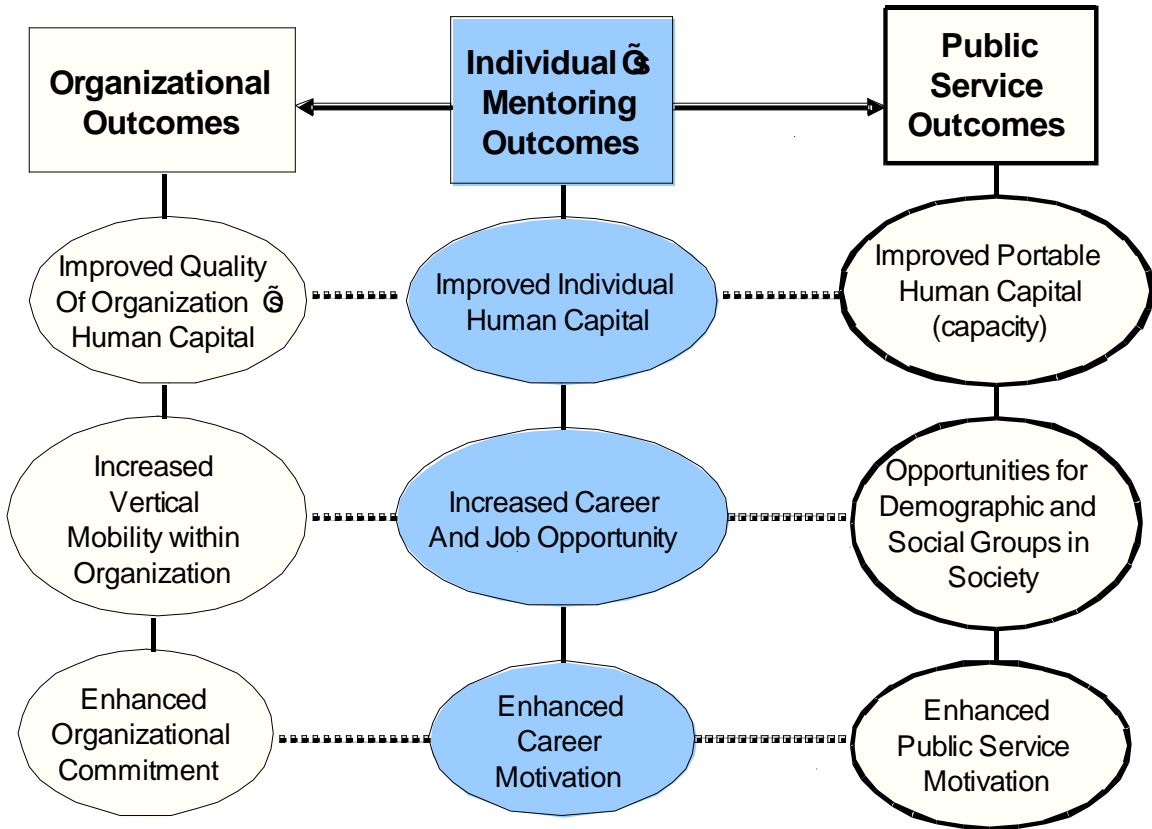
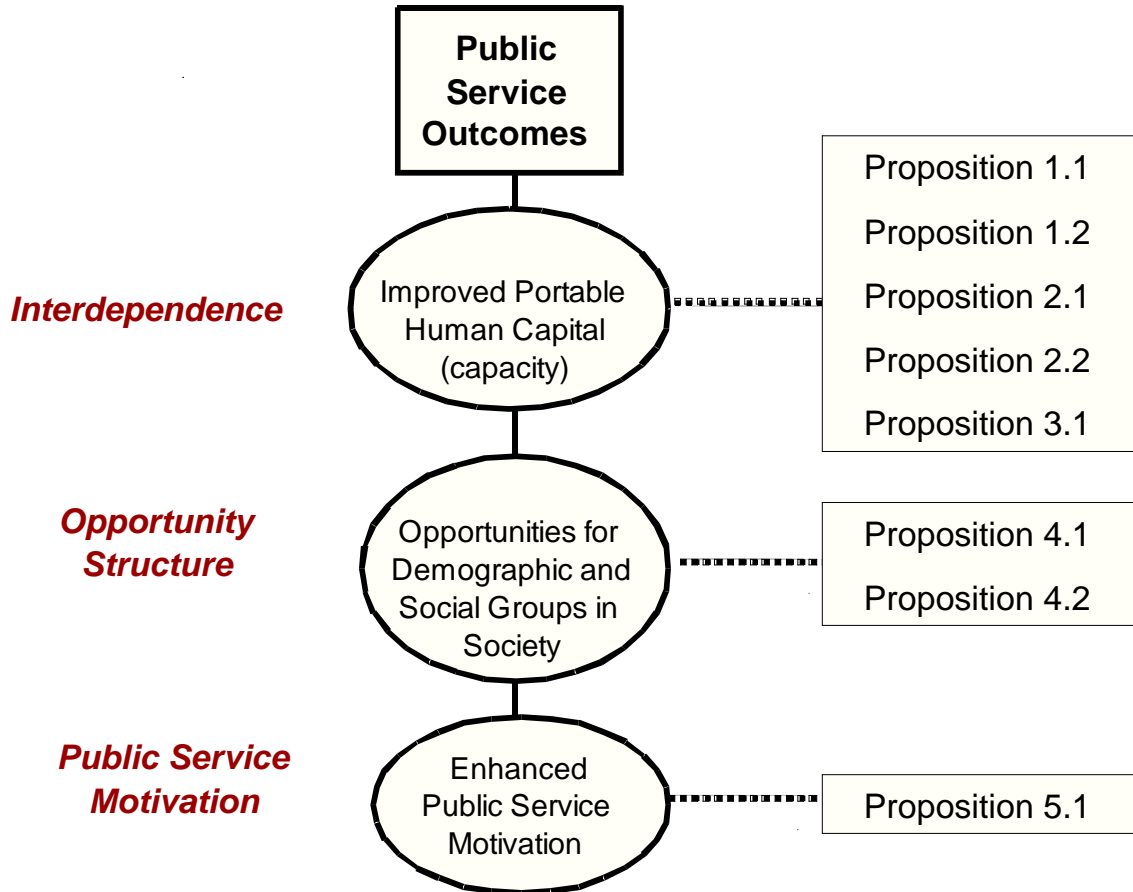


Figure Two. The Public Sector Portion of the Three-Tier Model of Mentoring Outcomes



¹ We searched for the keywords “mentor” and “mentoring” in the following journals: Public Administration Review (3 articles), Administration and Society (0), American Review of Public Administration (2 articles), Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory (0), Public Administration (0), Review of Public Personnel Administration (0), Public Performance & Management Review (0). We conducted the same search of “mentor” and “mentoring” from 1995-2005 in major business management, personnel, human resource, and psychology journals: Academy of Management Journal (23), Academy of Management Review (17), Harvard Business Review (13 in abstract; 56 in text), Journal of Management Studies (3), Human Resource Management Review (2) and Human Resource Management Journal (14), Personnel Psychology (41), Journal of Organizational Behavior (27), Journal of Vocational Behavior (31), Journal of Applied Psychology (3). We searched the following databases: Social Science Citation Index, JSTOR, EbscoHost, ProQuest, and GaleGroup Business and Company Resource.