

Citizen-Driven Governance in Utah:

Strengthening Hispanic Engagement

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Abstract

Hispanics are the fastest growing minority population in the United States and most of this growth has occurred in less traditional areas of the country, such as the South, Mid-West, and Intermountain West. Governments in these areas are faced with the challenges of understanding and being responsive to the needs of a culturally and linguistically diverse group of citizens. Citizen-Driven Governance has long been advocated as a best practice for effective and responsive citizen inclusion in the governance process. Through key opinion leader interviews in Utah, we examine the policy areas where Hispanics have traditionally been engaged by government, the modes used to engage them, the barriers to engaging the Hispanic community, and the policy areas that need greater attention.

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I. Introduction

Hispanics are the fastest growing minority population in the United States. As of 2000 they have become the nation's largest minority group, just edging out the African American population (Suro, 2002). Remarkably, much of the recent Hispanic population growth has occurred in less traditional areas of the country with a historically smaller and more homogenous population-base, such as the South, Mid-West, and Intermountain West (Kandel & Kromartie, 2004; Guzman, 2001). Governments in these areas are faced with the new challenge of understanding and being responsive to the needs of a culturally and linguistically diverse group of citizens.

One way of addressing this challenge, long advocated by scholars and administrators, is through citizen-driven governance, the inclusion of citizens in the policy development and decision making process (Schachter, 1995). Citizen-driven governance facilitates a dialogue between citizens and administrators, which can lead to an increase in government responsiveness to citizen needs. Extensive research has been conducted on citizen-driven governance, but little work, if any, has been done to examine the role Hispanics are playing in the governance process.

This research begins to address this gap in the literature by assessing the efforts that government in Utah has made to engage the Hispanic community in citizen-driven governance, which can have a significant impact on practice. Specifically, we examine the policy areas where government has sought to engage Hispanics, the modes of engagement used, the barriers to engaging the Hispanic community, the result of government engagement efforts, and the policy areas needing attention.

This is done through key opinion leader interviews in the state of Utah. Utah provides insight into the activities of a state that is experiencing tremendous Hispanic population growth in a less traditional growth region like the Intermountain West.

The first section of this paper provides a theoretical framework for the inclusion of Hispanics in citizen-driven governance efforts by reviewing the existing academic literature and identifying issues that are relevant to the engagement of Hispanics. The second section covers the methodology used to conducting this research. We then turn to the presentation of our findings, which are combined with a brief analysis. Finally we provide a discussion on the implications of our findings for administrative practice.

II. Literature Review

Much of the original push for citizen-driven government came in the 1960s in an effort to include groups of citizens that were excluded or oppressed from traditional forms of engagement. These groups tended to be low income and ethnically diverse (Arnstein, 1969). Federal legislation in the 1960s attempted to provide a voice to these citizens, but their involvement was short lived due to changing government mandates (Roberts, 2004).¹

More recently citizen-driven governance has largely been a reaction to growing cynicism and mistrust of government amongst citizens (Holzer, 2005; Berg, 2005; Wang, 2001). According to Berman (1997), citizen mistrust and cynicism are primarily functions of the following perceptions: (1) government is using its power against citizens (taxing and fining) while providing benefits to special interests, (2) citizens feel disconnected from government, and (3) citizens find that government services are ineffective or inadequate. Government at all levels

¹ Legislation includes: The Housing Act, 1949; The Housing Act, 1954; The Urban Renewal Act, 1954; The Economic Opportunity Act, 1964; Demonstrations Cities and Metropolitan Development Act, 1966; The National Environmental Policy Act, 1969; The Federal Advisory Committee Act, 1972.

have sought to address these concerns by making the policy process more democratic through greater citizen involvement, and producing results that matter most to citizens (Leighninger, 2005).

In a 2003 policy brief, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) states, “engaging citizens in policy making is a sound investment in the design and delivery of better public policies and a core element of good governance” (p.2). As implied in the OECD’s statement, agencies that involve citizens have a better chance of developing strategies for implementing services that address those needs that are of most value to citizens.

An important distinction in citizen-driven governance is the difference between *citizen participation* and *citizen engagement*. According to the Geoenvironmental Research Centre, *participation* refers to citizens communicating their positions to decision makers at the proper time to influence policy outcomes.² Aslin and Brown (2004), however, suggest that citizen inclusion in governance must go beyond participation to *engagement*, which is a deliberative process that captures citizen attention on a specific matter of policy. Engagement suggests commitment to a process where decisions are made and eventually are able to influence decisions that result in action. According to this understanding, it is possible to be consulted by government or even participate and not to be engaged.

As Aslin and Brown have suggested, engagement of citizens goes beyond simple participation, but what level of participation constitutes engagement and thus leads to increased citizen trust, institutional legitimacy, and acceptance of decisions? Numerous conceptual schemes and typologies define and assess levels of participation. The International Association for Public Participation (IAPP) has developed a spectrum of participation that provides some

² The Geoenvironmental Research Centre can be found online: <http://www.grc.cf.ac.uk/>

insight to our question.³ The IAPP's spectrum goes from the lowest level, or least involved form of participation—informing citizens; to the highest: citizen empowerment. The five participatory levels identified by IAPP are:

1. **Inform:** To provide the public with balanced and objective information to assist them in understanding the problems, alternatives, opportunities, and or solutions.
2. **Consult:** To obtain public feedback on analysis, alternatives and or decisions.
3. **Involve:** To work directly with the public throughout the process to ensure that public concerns and aspirations are consistently understood and considered.
4. **Collaborate:** To partner with the public in each aspect of the decision including the development of alternatives and the identification of the preferred solution.
5. **Empower:** To place final decision-making in the hands of the public.

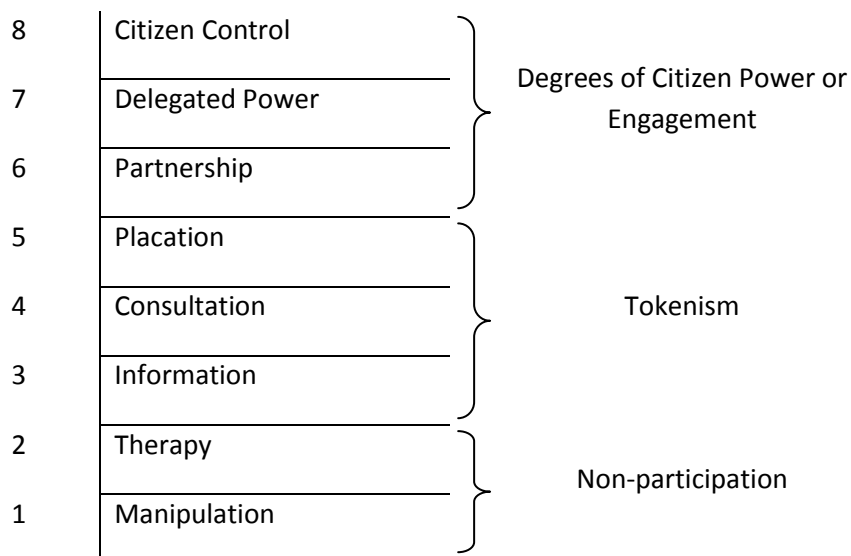
Aslin and Brown's concept of engagement would fall into IAPP's levels four and five: collaboration and empowerment.

Perhaps the most widely cited conceptualization of participation is Arnstein's ladder of participation (Bovaird, 2007).⁴ Her typology, which corresponds with the IAPP's spectrum, distinguishes between eight levels of participation. Each consecutive rung of the ladder represents a higher level of citizen influence in decision making processes. Figure 2.1 illustrates Arnstein's ladder.⁵

³ The IAPP seeks to promote and improve the practice of public participation in governments and institutions. The IAPP Spectrum of Participation can be accessed at: www.iap2.org.

⁴ Originally published as Arnstein, Sherry R. "A Ladder of Citizen Participation," JAIP, Vol. 35, No.4, July 1969 pp.216-224. Now available online at: <http://lithgow-schmidt.dk/sherry-arnstein/ladder-of-citizen-participation.html>

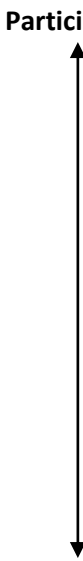
⁵ Figure 2.1 adapted from website: http://ntru.aiatsis.gov.au/ifamp/practice/pdfs/Arnstein_1971.pdf

Figure 2.1: Ladder of Participation

The bottom rungs of the ladder, (1) manipulation and (2) therapy, are classified as non-participation. Arnstein states that “their real objective is not to enable people to participate, but to enable power holders to ‘educate’ or ‘cure’ participants” (p.2) Rungs three, four, and five coincide with tokenism, which allows participants to hear and be heard, but affords them no decision making ability. At rungs six, seven, and eight, citizens obtain varying degrees of engagement and are able to negotiate and work with power holders; in some cases they are the final decision maker.

Many methods are used by government to encourage citizen-driven governance. The literature suggests that certain activities are more likely than others to facilitate engagement and citizen-driven governance (Roberts, 2004). Table 2.1 shows the IAPP’s spectrum along with Arnstein’s broad categorizations of participation and the methods of involvement that are likely to facilitate each level of participation and engagement.

Table 2.1: Modes of Engagement

Levels of Engagement		Mode of Engagement	
IAPP	Arnstein's Ladder		
Inform	Non-Participation	- Fact Sheets - Websites - Open Houses	Participation  Engagement
Consult	Tokenism	- Public Comment - Focus Groups - Surveys - Public Hearing	
Involve		- Workshops - Deliberative Polling - Advisory Councils	
Collaborative	Degrees Of Citizen Power	- Consensus Building - Participatory decision	
Empower		- Citizen Jury - Referendum - Delegated Decision - Policy Boards	

According to the IAPP and Arnstein, citizen engagement takes place at the collaborative and empowerment stages of inclusion where citizens are afforded varying degrees of influence and decision making ability. The activities that are most likely to facilitate engagement are: citizen policy councils, consensus building, participatory decision making, citizen juries, referendum, and delegated decision making.⁶

For these activities to facilitate meaningful citizen engagement government must recognize and overcome certain barriers to engagement. King, Feltey, and Susel (1998) categorized three major barriers to citizen-driven governance: the nature of life in contemporary society, administrative processes, and techniques of participation. Barriers stemming from the nature of life in contemporary society are a function of social class. Class issues, such as, transportation, time constraints, family structure, child care, and economic disadvantage all act as

⁶ See Appendix A for a brief explanation of these modes of engagement and the perceived strengths and weaknesses of each.

barriers to engagement. Marshall and Jones (2005) found that citizens participating in natural resource engagement efforts were mostly older males, with higher levels of education and income, and whose trust in government was higher than the general citizenry. This lack of diversity is typical of many government attempts at engagement. These findings suggest that when engaging citizens, a systematic, holistic strategy should be employed to ensure representativeness and diversity.

Administrative process barriers can also be thought of as government barriers. Most administrators identify citizen engagement as beneficial and desirable, but any participation that is perceived as threatening or challenging the administrative status quo is blocked by these same administrators (King, Feltey, & Susel, 1998). King and Stivers (1998) state that a mutual distrust exists between citizens and administrators and that “for every citizen cry against the bureaucracy, there is a matching administrative response that disparages a lazy, apathetic, and uncommitted citizenry” (p.49). Yang (2005) suggests administrators must trust citizen judgment for meaningful engagement to occur, but trust in citizen judgment may be difficult to build due to the nature of government. According to de Lancer Julnes (2005) traditional bureaucratic arrangements do not support the fundamental values of citizen-driven governance. Hierarchical organizations, typically found in government, are based on order, routine, expertise, and impersonality, which separate administrators from citizens.

In addition to administrators, elected officials can act as a barrier to engagement. Citizen engagement requires public officials, who have traditionally been sole decision makers, to share decision making responsibilities. Officials may find it difficult to transition from their role as informers to partners with citizens (Petts, 2001; Barnes, 1999).

Research (Crosby, Kelly, & Schafer, 1986; Kathlene & Martin, 1991; Parsons, 1990) has found that many participation techniques are inadequate for facilitating engagement. Public hearings, perhaps the most commonly used method, have been shown to be inadequate at including citizens in a meaningful way (King, Feltey, & Susel, 1998). Kathlene and Martin (1991) found that low attendance at public hearings is often confused by public officials as silent approval of the status quo or as citizen apathy. In reality, low attendance is likely a function of the structure of public hearings, which offer no space for public deliberation (Lando, 2003).

Other methods of participation, such as citizen advisory councils and public surveys can also fall short of engagement. Often the composition of citizen councils is not representative of the population, especially in regard to social class (Verba, Schlozman, Brady, & Nie, 1993). Finally, although surveys may provide a representative sample, they only provide a snapshot of public opinion and lack an interactive component (Kathlene & Martin, 1991).

As direct citizen participation, or engagement, becomes the norm in many government settings, it is important to ensure that diverse groups and the disadvantaged are included in engagement efforts. Marshall and Jones (2005) found that citizens participating in environmental engagement efforts were predominantly males with high levels of income and education. These findings are supported by evaluation research by Fagotto and Fung (2005) on the Minneapolis Neighborhood Revitalization Program (NRP), which found that NRP citizen boards, commissions, and committees were dominated by white homeowners, and that renters and minorities participated much less.⁷

⁷ Secondary research on the Minneapolis Neighborhood Revitalization Program by Fainstein and Hirst (1996) uncovered similar results. Fainstein, Susan S. and Clifford Hirst. "Neighborhood Organizations and Community Planning: The Minneapolis Neighborhood Revitalization Program", in *Revitalizing Urban Neighborhoods*, edited by W. Dennis Keating, Norman Krumholz, and Philip Star, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1996, pp. 96-111.

To boost minority participation the NRP suggests that more affirmative engagement efforts are needed to offer layers of engagement. By employing a variety of engagement methods and increasing the opportunities for engagement, minorities and citizens from varying income levels are able to participate. The idea of providing layers of engagement follows Berry, Portney, and Thomson's (1993) engagement criteria of *breadth* and *depth*.⁸ By using various modes of engagement, government can receive information and the priorities of all citizens (breadth), and allow citizens to participate with varying degrees of intensity (depth).

The State of Maryland, in a report on its Task Force on Minority Participation in the Environmental Community (Gladden & Oaks, 2007), found that there was a lack of minorities in key policy positions throughout the state, as well as a lack of minority involvement in environmental protection issues. Maryland has taken the first step in assessing the current level of minority engagement. The Task Force suggested that considerable resources be devoted to enhancing minority participation in environmental issues.

Minority engagement has also become a priority for public health organizations attempting to address ethnic health disparities. Minkler, Blackwell, Thompson, and Tamir (2003) found that engaging in community-based participatory research has brought considerable benefits to minority communities. By partnering with minority communities, researchers are able to provide culturally sensitive solutions to ethnic health disparities, while allowing minorities to shape research questions. The Institute of Medicine has suggested that the involvement of minority communities be included in the curriculum of public health schools throughout the country.⁹

⁸ The distinction between the *breadth* and *depth* of participation originates from Dahl's "A Preface to Democratic Theory."

⁹ See: Gebbie K, Rosenstock L, Hernandez LM. *Who Will Keep the Public Healthy? Educating Public Health Professionals for the 21st Century*. Washington, DC: Institute of Medicine, National Academy of Sciences; 2002.

While there have been successful attempts at minority engagement, it is clear from the lack of literature in this area that much work is still needed. Little research has been conducted on the engagement of specific minority groups.

III. Methodology

The research reported here is based on a series of interviews with key opinion leaders in Utah's Hispanic advocacy and service organizations, and policy makers such as: elected officials, public administrators, and agency personnel within Utah.¹⁰ Due to the exploratory nature of this study, qualitative research techniques were chosen to provide depth and specificity in addressing the questions of Hispanic engagement in Utah.

The Utah Case

The State of Utah provides key insight into government engagement efforts regarding the Hispanic community. The term Hispanic refers to individuals who trace their origin or ancestry to the Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. Utah has experienced unprecedented Hispanic population growth. From 1990 to 2000, Utah's Hispanic population grew twice as fast as the national average.¹¹ According to census data, the Hispanic population in Salt Lake City alone has more than tripled from 44,720 in 1980 to 144,600 in 2000. Suro (2000) reports that Hispanic population growth is no longer only found in central cities. In the suburbs of the Salt Lake Metro area, the Hispanic population grew faster than in the central city. Population growth in suburbs provides a window into how smaller municipalities are working to include Hispanics in citizen-driven governance efforts.

¹⁰ See Appendix B for a complete list of participants

¹¹ Census Brief: "Race and Ethnicity in Utah". www.governor.utah.gov/DEA/Minorities.pdf

Data Collection

Interview questions were designed to elicit responses to the following areas of interest:¹²

- In what policy areas has government made attempts to engage the Hispanic community?
- In what ways has government engaged Hispanics?
- What are the barriers to engaging the Hispanic community?
- What engagement strategies seem to have worked?
- What policy areas need greater attention?

Interviews were conducted within a flexible framework to allow issues to emerge that may not have been considered. Interviews were conducted in person and by telephone and generally lasted one hour.

Participants were identified using a type of snowball sampling technique. The first participants were identified through professional networks and the Utah State Office of Ethnic Affairs. Each participant was asked to recommend additional participants. This approach provided a diverse group of respondents in regard to their experiences with and perspectives on the Hispanic community in Utah. In total, twenty-seven interviews were conducted. Interviews were stopped when participants were no longer able to provide new names of additional participants.

Data Analysis

Interviews were recorded, transcribed, and analyzed using both qualitative and quantitative forms of content analysis. The qualitative analysis follows a grounded theory approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) that was informed by existing theory and was used to identify general patterns, themes, and common categories in the data.

The quantitative content analysis provided frequencies based on number of comments and respondents related to a particular interview area or question. A numerical control was used

¹² See Appendix C for a complete list of interview themes and questions

to ensure that only one comment was recorded when used multiple times by the same respondent in regard to the same question. For example, if a respondent identified fear of government to be a barrier to government engagement of Hispanics multiple times, only one comment would be counted. This was done to control for inflation of comment frequency and to provide data on the total number of respondents making comments in a specific area. It also provided information on how cohesive particular responses were among research participants. In addition, comments were disaggregated into one of three groups based on each respondents' role with the Hispanic community. The groups are:

- Government: respondents working for either state, county, or local government
- Advocacy: respondents working in a nongovernment advocacy or service role for the Hispanic community
- Advisory: respondents who represent Hispanics on a Citizen Advisory Council

Disaggregation by role highlighted differences of opinion between government and those representing the Hispanic community.

IV. Findings and Analysis

Attempts at Engagement by Policy Area

In Utah, attempts to engage the Hispanic community have traditionally focused on education, health care and language service policies. More recently state agencies and local governments have put considerable effort into workforce diversification efforts.

When asked to identify the policy areas where government has attempted to involve Hispanic citizens, respondents most commonly identified: education (18.8%), health care (17.2%), and workforce diversification (12.5%). Table 4.1 shows the policy areas where government has attempted engaging the Hispanic community.

Table 4.1: Attempts at Engagement by Policy Area

Policy Area	Percent of Comments (n=64)	Percent of Respondents (n=27)*
Education	18.8	44.4
Healthcare	17.2	40.7
Workforce Diversification	12.5	29.6
Language Services	10.9	25.9
Public Safety	9.4	22.2
Law Enforcement	6.3	14.8
Cultural Competency Training	6.3	14.8
Other**	18.8	44.4

*Because each respondent identified several Policy Areas, this does not add up to 100
**Comments included in this category were so diverse that no clear pattern emerged

Education policy effecting Hispanics in Utah has largely been aimed at reducing the achievement gap between white and Hispanic students. In 2005 the percent of Hispanic 8th graders proficient in reading was below white students by 20% and in math by 24% (Sanderson, 2005). These numbers varied little from national averages. Efforts to reduce the gap in Utah have been relatively unsuccessful.

According to one respondent, the reason for this failure is that, “Systematic change [in education] is taking place at the micro level and is piecemeal...it is informal and inconsistent.” Policy efforts vary from district to district, from school to school, and there is no cohesiveness or consistency.

Many of our respondents questioned the commitment of the Utah State Office of Education (USOE) to serve Hispanic students. “The State Office of Education is not paving the way or setting the standard to serve Latino students” said one respondent. Another respondent stated “that there is a lack of openness and transparency in the USOE.”

A possible explanation for the lack of transparency at the State Office of Education, provided by another respondent is that “they are very guarded because they seem to always be

under attack.” The self protecting attitude of the USOE may only serve to perpetuate their problems. Unfortunately in spite of multiple attempts, we were not able to interview anyone from the USOE.

In addition to education policy, Utah has put considerable effort into engaging minorities in health care policy. Engagement in health care has primarily focused on addressing minority health disparities. The Utah Center for Multicultural Health has been working through community organizations and local health departments to improve Hispanic access to health care providers and to reduce health disparities between white and Hispanic citizens. Respondents seemed optimistic about health care efforts in the State. Efforts by the State to include Hispanics in addressing health disparities are in line with the recent recommendation by the Institute of Medicine, to include minorities in public health efforts (Minkler et al, 2003). This has been done through Utah’s Minority Health Network, comprised of health care providers, non profits, community based organizations, and the State.

Workforce diversification efforts are being implemented by many State agencies to better serve Utah’s ethnic communities. Researchers have long felt that government bureaucracies would be more responsive to public interests if agency personnel reflected the population they serve in demographic areas of religion, gender, and ethnicity (Selden & Selden, 2001; Meier, 1993; Rourke, 1978; Selden S. C., 1997). The Utah Department of Human Services (DHS) has found it can better serve minority populations in the state by having an ethnically diverse staff. To promote this goal DHS has modified hiring practices, begun active recruitment, and now provides differential pay to bilingual employees. One agency director in the DHS system said that, “[DHS] lacks folks who are bilingual and bicultural...If I could have at least one person at

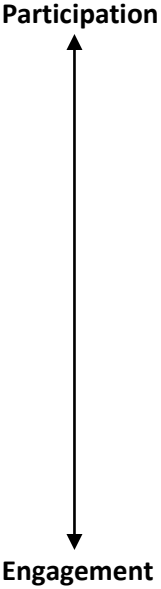
every office that could really reach out and understand the community, it would make a big difference.”

Modes of Engagement in Utah

A variety of methods are used to engage Hispanics in citizen-driven governance in Utah. The most common modes of engagement identified in our analysis were informational conferences, surveys, town hall forums, citizen advisory councils, and partnerships with community based organizations. Table 4.2 shows Utah’s engagement efforts and the level of engagement each mode is likely to facilitate according to the IAPPs typology and Arnstein’s ladder of participation.

Table 4.2: Modes of Engagement in Utah

Levels of Engagement		Traditional Mode of Engagement	Modes of Engagement in Utah
IAPP	Arnstein’s Ladder		
Inform	Non-Participation	- Fact Sheets - Websites - Open Houses	- Conferences
Consult	Tokenism	- Public Comment - Focus Groups - Surveys - Public Hearing	- Surveys
Involve		- Workshops - Deliberative Polling - Advisory Councils	- Advisory Councils - Deliberative Town Hall
Collaborative	Degrees Of Citizen Power	- Consensus Building - Participatory decision	- CBO Partnerships
Empower		- Citizen Jury - Referendum - Delegated Decision - Policy Boards	



Engagement activities, such as conferences, play an important educational role but do little to include citizens in governance. Educational activities fall into the IAPPs “inform” level

and Arnstein's "non-participation" level. Nevertheless, these educational activities can play an important role in informing citizens.

For example, The Utah State Office of Ethnic Affairs holds multiple education conferences each year on topics such as economic development, health disparities, civic participation, and education. Community leaders and service providers are invited to attend in hopes that they will take information back to their communities. However, because conferences are usually held during the day while most people are working, there is little direct participation with the average Hispanic citizen. In addition, conferences are most often held in the Salt Lake area, which limits attendance of Hispanics living outside the area.

Town hall forums and citizen advisory councils (CAC) have also been used to facilitate deliberation between government and Hispanic community representatives. Deliberative town hall forums and CAC in Utah would be considered "tokenism" according to Arnstein's Ladder of Participation because citizens are able to hear and be heard by policy makers, but are not provided any decision making ability. Although these modes of citizen-driven governance fall short of the highest levels of engagement they have involved Hispanics in a meaningful way.

DHS has successfully used town hall forums to assess performance and responsiveness to minority needs. According to one respondent, the town hall forums came about because DHS "recognized that there was a huge shift in [state] demographics and they really weren't meeting their needs." The information received from forum participants was operationalized and implemented. For example, most of the DHS's workforce diversification policies came out of these meetings. DHS then went back to forum participants to receive additional feedback on their plan and its implementation. This system allowed service providers and advocacy groups in the Hispanic community to provide valuable feedback in DHS policy priorities. However, the

use successful use of town hall forums by DHS is the exception rather than the rule in Utah Governance.

CACs are one of the most commonly used modes of engagement in the state of Utah. They are employed by the Governor¹³, State agencies¹⁴, and in county government¹⁵ to address the needs of the Hispanic community in Utah. Advisory councils are comprised of representatives selected by government to consult on specific issues or policy areas. Aside from the Governor's Hispanic Advisory council, which is comprised of only Hispanics, most CACs, working on Hispanic issues in Utah, are comprised of members from each of Utah's ethnically diverse communities.¹⁶

Interviews with respondents revealed that members of Utah's Hispanic community see CACs as an inadequate form of citizen engagement. Advisory councils allow participants to hear and be heard, but they do not provide a seat at the decision-making table. According to one respondent, "if [Hispanics] have a problem in a particular area, they are told to take it to their advisory council, but the council can't do anything...they are too removed from power." Another respondent illustrated this dichotomy by saying, "The Governor has given us the ability to provide him with input, but that's not the same as participating in the policy making process." Members of the Hispanic community are looking for more meaningful modes of engagement.

Community leaders would like to see more Hispanics appointed to the State's various policy boards and commissions, such as the State Board of Education. "The policy making boards don't have enough ethnic minorities on them, and that's where the power is" said one respondent. Many Hispanics recognize they are being involved, but not at the right level.

¹³ The Governor has four ethnic advisory councils: Asian, Hispanic, Black, and Pacific Islander.

¹⁴ Agencies with minority citizen advisory councils in Utah are: State Office of Education, Utah Department of Health, and Western Region of the Department of Child and Family Services.

¹⁵ Salt Lake County uses its Council on Diversity Affairs to address Hispanic and minority needs in the County.

¹⁶ Utah has five recognized ethnic groups: Asian, Hispanic, Black, Pacific Islander, and Native American.

The single activity that has had the most impact in the Hispanic community is government partnerships with community based organizations (CBO).¹⁷ CBOs have proven to be a valuable tool for government when working with the Hispanic community. Work with Hispanics through CBOs has provided government legitimacy within the community and can facilitate enduring relationships. However, government works with CBOs to mostly transfer information between itself and the Hispanic community. This type of engagement is taking place at all levels of government.

Who is being engaged?

Traditionally, citizen-driven government efforts have inadvertently excluded individuals with lower levels of income, education, and time (Marshall and Jones, 2005; King et al, 1998). Our findings show that these same issues are taking place within the Hispanic community as well.

According to respondents, the Hispanics who are being engaged by government are highly educated, well employed, and have the time to participate in government. In addition, some respondents may feel government has been calling upon the same, select group of citizens to participate—the usual suspects in the engagement process. According to one respondent, “[government] calls the people they know.” Another respondent admits he has been asked to serve on every council and committee possible.

Hispanics in Utah are being represented by a small group of Hispanic elites. Some members of the broader community question how well these “elites” really represent the community, understand their needs, and assist government in being responsive to them. More

¹⁷ Community Based Organizations are nonprofits that provide social services to the public. CBOs are often reliant on government funds and can operate as a subcontractor to provide government functions (Fredericksen & London, 2000).

economically and educationally diverse leaders need to be identified and engaged in order to provide new insights and more meaningful representation to the Hispanic community.

Citizen-Driven Government for Results

Unfortunately, when asked about current measurement of outcomes or successes of engagement efforts, respondents were unable to provide this information and were generally unsure how this was going to be done. Most respondents spoke of how new specific Hispanic engagement efforts were and that a formal measurement plan was not in place. The measurement that is taking place seems to be anecdotal and informal. If government and community based organizations are going to know what engagement efforts work, serious steps need to be taken to implement a culture of measurement.

Barriers to Engagement

Common barriers to citizen-driven governance have been related to social class, administrative process, and modes of engagement (King et al, 1998). While these barriers certainly affect the Hispanic population, they do not fully explain the lack of Hispanic participation in governance. Our analysis shows that Hispanics possess a unique set of barriers that must be addressed by government and the community itself for meaningful engagement to occur. Interview respondents identified numerous barriers to engaging Hispanics. Three categories emerged from our analysis: Hispanic community characteristics, the structure of government, and the culture of government. Table 4.3, identifies the specific barriers within each category identified and provides the percent of comments and percent of total respondents identifying each barrier.

Table 4.3: Barriers to Engagement

Category	Barriers	% of Comments (n=69)	% of Respondents (n=27)*	Category % of Comments
Hispanic Community Characteristics	Trust/fear of government	24.6	62.9	75.3%
	Factions within Community	11.7	29.6	
	Level of Education	7.24	18.5	
	Time Limitations	10.1	25.9	
	Language	8.7	22.2	
	Cultural Differences	8.7	22.2	
	Other	4.3	11.1	
Culture of Government	Not Welcoming	7.2	18.5	18.8%
	Agency Culture	1.4	3.7	
	Attitude of Tokenism	4.3	11.1	
	Racism/Discrimination	5.8	14.8	
Structure of Government	Intimidating	1.4	3.7	5.8%
	Lack of Transparency	1.4	3.7	
	Legislature	1.4	3.7	
	Lack of Competent Personnel	1.4	3.7	

*Because each respondent identified several barriers, this does not add up to 100

Hispanic Community Characteristics

Community characteristics unique to the Hispanic community include: low levels of education, time constraints, factions within the community, language barriers, and lack of trust in/or fear of government. Comments identifying Hispanic community characteristics as a barrier to engagement accounted for 75.4 percent of total comments.

The largest factors leading to community characteristic barriers were lack of trust in government (32.7%) and factions within the community (15.4%). Respondents attributed Hispanic fear and lack of trust to the perceived two-faced nature of government. The Hispanic community believes government will tell them one thing and then do another. One respondent stated, “Government wants us to trust it, but what we experience is the opposite of trust.” For example, the State tells Hispanics it wants them involved, but outlaws their language by passing

an English only statute.¹⁸ Another respondent, however, felt that a lack of trust was inherently Hispanic, he said, “We don’t trust each other and we don’t trust government...it’s our culture.”

According to our analysis, intra-ethnic factions appear to create the largest divisions within the community. One respondent said, “[Hispanics] are such a diverse population...we have new arrivals, multigenerational folks, those who have acculturated, and those who have not. It is difficult to come together with a consolidated voice.” Factions appear to be centered on national identity, which manifests itself in the conflict between Chicano¹⁹ and other immigrant populations in Latin America.

The perception in the immigrant population is that Chicanos are over represented in government engagement efforts, while other groups are underrepresented. This can be problematic because of the perception that the needs of multigenerational Chicanos are different from the needs of recent immigrant families. In addition, when immigrants are asked by government to represent Hispanics they are often met with Chicano resentment. Chicanos have been fighting for Hispanic/minority rights in Utah since the 1960s and have developed a sense of ownership in Hispanic policy and civil rights.

Culture of Government

The next set of barriers to Hispanic engagement identified by respondents is the culture of government, which is a product of the assumptions, values, and norms that an organization functions under. The *Culture of government* accounts for the informal rules and values of an organization, as opposed to formal rules, institutions, and organization that are the *structure of government*.

¹⁸ Utah Code Annotated § 63-13-1.5

¹⁹ *Chicano* is a self-identifying term used by Americans of Mexican descent.

According to respondents, factors included in this barrier are attitudes of racism, tokenism, and the lack of an inclusive or welcoming environment within government. Cultural barriers are a product of government's attitude towards Hispanics, which shapes governments approach to policy or service issues. This was illustrated by one respondent, speaking on the State Office of Education, she said, "They work from a deficit based model, meaning that there is something *wrong* with the [Hispanic] kids and they need to be fixed." The USOE's perception of ESL students has shaped their policy response to the achievement gap.

The barriers created by the culture of government are not overt, but often latent or unintended. They are a product of government operated by a homogeneous society that is now responsible for the needs of a rapidly growing diverse population. For example, when awarding grants to local health providers, a statement of how minority health needs were to be addressed was not part of the Utah Department of Health's award criteria. Now employees are asked to take this into account after working the same way for fifteen years.

Structure of Government

The last set of barriers, the structure of government, accounts for only 5.8 percent of barriers identified by respondents. Structure of government includes factors such as lack of transparency, untrained personnel, and the intimidating nature of government. From our analysis it appears there is little inherent in the structure or formal institution of government that creates barriers to engaging Hispanics specifically. The structural barriers to engagement identified by respondents are largely a product of the size of government. One respondent said that when dealing with government, "[Hispanics] don't know where to go or who to talk to [in government]...I think that's a big obstacle." Hispanics are less likely to respond to government when they lack an understanding of its basic institutions.

Engagement Strategies that Have Worked in Practice: The Midvale Case

A variety of engagement methods have found differing levels of success in Utah, but the efforts of Midvale City have found particular success in facilitating positive change within the Hispanic community. Midvale City is a suburb of Salt Lake City. Hispanics account for 20 percent of the city's general population, while some sections of the city are 62 percent Hispanic.

In the mid 1990s Midvale, in partnership with the University of Utah, conducted a citizen needs assessment using two survey instruments. Survey data identified five prioritized areas of concern amongst citizens: health, education, safety, stable families, and youth programs. Within the area of health, City officials found that the infant mortality rate was alarmingly high amongst Hispanics (11%) compared to whites (~5%).²⁰

To address infant mortality, Midvale created its Community Building Community Coalition (CBC), which consists of citizen panels for each area of concern identified by the needs assessment surveys. In partnership with universities, community based organization, and the citizen committees, the CBC put together a comprehensive plan for addressing infant mortality in the Hispanic community.

Using a neighbor-to-neighbor or door-to-door model, the city of Midvale identified citizens that were in need of prenatal care. Assistance was provided using nursing students and other educational activities. Because of Midvale's efforts, Hispanic infant mortality dropped almost 9 percent. The city continues to support Hispanics through partnerships with community based organizations and CBC citizen committees.

Midvale found success by using a variety of citizen-driven governance tools. Surveys were used to identify citizen needs. Citizen committees were used to plan a course of action to

²⁰ For information on Midvale City see:
health.utah.gov/phhsbg/docs/pbg%202004%20report%20Success%20Stories.rtf

address these needs, and partnerships with community based organizations and institutes of higher education were used to carryout the plan. Besides utilizing numerous modes of citizen-driven governance, the Mayor of Midvale was committed to a process that involves deliberation and shared decision making with citizens. The mayor and the citizens were focused and committed to a solution that would provide results. Citizen-driven governance in Midvale falls into the IAPP's "collaborative" level and low levels of Arnstein's "Degrees of Citizen Power." This is largely due to their combination of engagement efforts, which provided what Berry et al (1993) refer to as *breadth* and *depth* of engagement. Citizens were provided with many opportunities to participate that varied in degree of intensity. The use of surveys or CACs separately would not have reached such a high level of engagement (see table 4.2).

The citizen-driven governance activities of Midvale are almost entirely funded through grants and other outside resources. Due to lack of interest by the city council, these programs rely almost entirely upon the mayor to secure outside funding and ensure their existence.

The Executive as an Agent of Change

Much like Midvale, where change is coming about through the executive rather than the legislative body of government, Hispanic engagement in Utah is being driven by the executive branch of government. Over 40 percent of respondents identified the executive branch as creating positive change for Hispanic citizens in the State. Most of the engagement activities identified by respondents coincide with Utah's current governor taking office in 2005. In contrast to the Governor, the Legislature seemed disconnected, unaware, and uninvolved in engagement efforts in the State.

De Lancer Julnes and Mixcoatl (2006), in a comparative case study of Utah and Campeche, Mexico, identified performance measurement initiatives or reforms were more likely

to succeed when supported by the governor. Because public administrators at state agencies have the most direct contact with citizens and have been given the mandate to provide service to the public, it should not be surprising that most of the positive change for Hispanics is being facilitated by the executive branch.

In addition, both respondents and legislators attribute the lack of legislative action to the reactive nature of legislative bodies. According to one legislator, “we are a reactive body...I really believe that if an issue was brought before us we would respond.” It is also possible that Hispanics receive so little attention from legislators because they represent such a small portion of the electorate. This corresponds with respondents’ comments about the need for the Hispanic community to become more involved in the political process.

Policy Areas that Need Greater Attention

Policy areas that need greater attention from government, according to respondents are displayed in Table 4.4. Respondents identified education (24.2%), the appointment of Hispanics to Policy boards and commissions (21.2%), and healthcare (18.2%) as the most important policy issues for Hispanics needing attention from government. As mentioned earlier, education and healthcare policy were also two of the policy areas that have had the most attempts at engagement (Table 4.1).

Table 4.4: Policy Areas that Need Attention

Policy Area	Percent of Comments (n=33)	Percent of Respondents (n=27)*
Healthcare	18.1	22.2
Education	24.2	29.6
Appointment of Hispanics to policy boards and commissions	21.2	25.9
Immigration Reform	12.2	14.8
Providing a welcoming government environment	9	11.1
Updated demographic data	9	11.1
Other	6	7.4

*Because each respondent identified several barriers, this does not add up to 100

The high number of comments received for appointing Hispanics to policy boards and commissions highlights the lack of faith that our respondents have in advisory councils and the importance of having decision making power.

V. Implications for Practice

At the outset of this paper we posed that the main challenge facing government in non-traditional areas of the country experiencing Hispanic population growth, is being responsive to the needs of a culturally and linguistically diverse group of citizens. The findings in this research take the first steps in providing understanding to these governments. Knowing which Hispanic citizens are being engaged in citizen-driven governance, what modes of engagement work, and understanding the community's unique barriers to engagement provides government with information vital for meaningful action.

From our data, the implications for administrative practice are clear. Government should put considerable attention into human capacity building activities, such as eliminating the achievement gap between white and Hispanic students. Capacity building activities will increase

the pool of capable Hispanic citizens and provide government with fresh leaders, rather than the usual suspects, to call upon to serve in various engagement roles.

In addition to capacity building, governments in Utah need to ensure that a representative group of Hispanic citizens are being engaged by provided both a *breadth* and *depth* of engagement opportunities (Barry et al, 1993). Not all citizens are able to participate in governance in the same way or with the same intensity. Because of this, government should provide citizens with a variety of engagement opportunities (breadth) that require varying levels of intensity (depth). By using informational activities, town hall forums, CAC, and CBO partnerships, Utah is engaging the Hispanic community in a variety of ways (breadth), but lacks depth in its citizen-driven governance efforts. According to our analysis, only one of the modes of engagement currently used in Utah provides a level of engagement beyond Arnstein's "tokenism" to the IAPP's "collaborate" level (see table 4.2). Members of Utah's Hispanic community suggest the solution to lack of depth is to increase the number of Hispanics appointed to policy boards and commissions. By doing this government provides Hispanics a seat at the policy decision table.

Beyond efforts requiring government action, our findings suggest that the Hispanic community believes they could facilitate positive change by increasing its participation in the political process. Many respondents felt that until Hispanics become a significant demographic for determining electoral outcomes at the state and local level, they would continue to play a minor role in the policy process. One respondent also stated that Hispanics need to resist the urge to engage in radical political actions, such as protests and strikes, and "learn to work through the system not against it."

In addition to providing implications for administrative practice, this research lays an important foundation for understanding Hispanic's citizen-driven governance. Future research should focus on expanding the area of study beyond Utah. Survey research could provide additional insight and increase the generalizability of these findings through expanding the number of respondents, and by providing a systematic assessment through quantitative modeling.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A
Modes of Participation

Appendix B
Interview Participants

Appendix C
Interview Questions

Appendix A

Modes of Participation²¹

Technique	Description of Use	Advantages	Disadvantages
Level of Participation			
Inform			
Website	The Internet can be used to provide information or invite feedback. Care should be taken to keep the information up to date.	Global audience. Costs are reduced - no printing or postage costs are incurred.	Not all parties have access to the Internet. Less appropriate where issues are local
Open House	Interested parties are encouraged to visit a designated location on an informal basis to find out about a proposal and provide feedback.	People can visit at a convenient time, view materials and ask questions at their leisure	Preparation for and staffing of the open house may require considerable time and money.
Consult			
Public Hearing	A formal gathering of interested and affected parties to present and exchange information and views on a proposal.	If run well, can provide a useful way of meeting other stakeholders. Demonstrates that the proponent is willing to meet with other interested parties.	Public meetings can be intimidating and may be hijacked by interest groups or vocal individuals. May result in no consultation only information provision.
Survey	Encompasses a range of techniques for obtaining information and opinions. May be self-administered, conducted face-to-face, by post or over the telephone.	Can gather information from people who would not attend public meetings or other activities. Surveys may result in more candid responses. Can identify existing knowledge and concerns.	Responses may not be representative and only reflect opinion at that time. Opinions may change. Designing and administering a good survey/questionnaire can be costly and time consuming.
Involve			
Deliberative Polls	A form of opinion poll but examines views after people have had an opportunity to consider the issue being discussed. Randomly selected members of the public come together to listen to experts and their own views.	Tells decision-makers what people would think if they had the time and information to consider their views carefully.	Requires commitment by participants. Potentially costly as several hundred people may participate.
Workshops	Meetings for a limited number of participants which can be used to provide background information and discuss issues in detail and solve problems.	Can provide an open exchange of ideas and facilitate mutual understanding. Useful for dealing with complex issues and allowing more in-depth consideration. Can be targeted at particular stakeholder groups.	To be most effective, only a small number of individuals can participate, therefore, a full range of interests are not represented.
Collaborate			
Citizen Advisory Council	Small groups of people representing particular interests or areas of expertise, e.g. community leaders, meet to discuss issues of concern and provide an informed input	Can consider issues in detail and highlight the decision-making process and the complexities involved.	Not all interests may be represented. Requires commitment from participants. A longer-term process that can require more resources than other methods.
Empower			
Citizen Jury	A group of citizens selected to be representative of the community brought together to consider a particular issue. Evidence is received from expert witnesses and cross-questioning can occur. At the end of the process a report is produced, setting out the views of the jury, including differences in opinion.	Can consider issues in detail and in a relatively short period of time. Some decision making authority.	Not all interests may be represented. Limited timescale may limit time available for participants to fully consider information received.

²¹ Table adapted from Petts and Leach (2000) "Evaluating Methods for Public Participation: Literature Review".

Appendix B

Interview Log

Interviewee	Title/Position	Date Interviewed
Luz Robles	Director, Utah Office of Ethnic Affairs	8/14/2007
Jesse Soriano	Director, Utah Office of Hispanic/Latino Affairs	8/14/2007
Frank Cordova	Executive Director, Utah Coalition of La Raza	8/14/2007
Leo Bravo	Director, Cache Hispanic/Multicultural Center	8/15/2007
Craig Petersen	Member, Cache County Council	8/15/2007
Hector Mendiola	Member, Hispanic Advisory Council	8/17/2007
J.C.	Member, Utah Hispanic Advisory Council	9/11/2007
Sabrina Morales	Executive Director, Comunidades Unidas	9/14/2007
Mauricio Agramont	Community Developer, Midvale City	9/14/2007
Diane Lovell	Community Liaison, Utah Department of Workforce Services	9/14/2007
Manuel Romero	Community Program Relations Manager, DHS	9/14/2007
Rebecca Chavez	Director, Community Affairs, Centro de la Familia de Utah	9/28/2007
Mark Wheatley	Utah State Representative, District 35	9/28/2007
Rebecca Sanchez	Director of Diversity Affairs, Salt Lake County	9/28/2007
Owen Quinonez	Director, Center Multicultural Health, UDH	9/28/2007
Brent Platt	Director, Western Region, Department of Child and Family Services	10/3/2007
Lee Martinez	Utah Labor Commission	10/3/2007
Josie Valdez	Administrator, Salt Lake City Office of Diversity	10/3/2007
Archie	Utah Coalition of La Raza, Retired Teacher	10/16/2007
JoAnne Seghini	Mayor, Midvale City	10/16/2007
Rose Romero	Utah State Senator, District 7	10/19/2007
Marco Diaz	Central Committee Member, Utah Republican Party	11/9/2007
Tony Yapias	former director of OEA	11/16/2007
Fred Fieff	Utah State Senator, District 1	11/16/2007
Carl Hernandez	Associate Dean, J. Ruben Clark School of Law, Brigham Young University	11/19/2007
Rosa Martinez	United Hispanics, St. George, UT	12/4/2007
Grace Huerta	Associate Professor Utah State University, College of Education	12/11/2007

Appendix C

Interview Questions

1. In what policy areas have there been attempts at engagement?
2. In what ways has this been done?
3. How are the outcomes or success of these attempts being measured?
4. Do you have any specific benchmarks?
5. What are the barriers to engaging the Hispanic community?
6. What seems to work?
7. What areas need greater attention?
8. Who are governments engaging? What are their characteristics?
9. How are the programs being funded?
10. Are engagement undertakings being done in partnership with other groups or organizations?
11. What are the plans for long-term operation of engagement program?