

Public Voices

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Front Cover

“*Election Day at the State House.*” Painted by John Lewis Krimmel, 1815, oil, canvas. The painting depicts a festive scene in front of the Statehouse in Philadelphia, capturing the excitement of elections in the early years of American independence. Winterthur Museum of Art, Winterthur, DE.

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Where's Waldo: Revisiting the Administrative Novel

George Connor

Introduction

In 1968 Dwight Waldo published *The Novelist on Organization and Administration: An Inquiry into the Relationships Between the Two Worlds*. His very simple observation was that “one can learn much about administration from novels” (1968, 4). Inspired, in part, by Waldo, Holzer, Morris, and Ludwin suggested that for teachers and students, “[t]he use of novels has led to an awareness, often more implicit than explicit, that literature can provide a more interesting and perhaps more effective approach to administrative studies than more orthodox texts and teaching methodologies” (1979, vii). Although Waldo had hoped that the “novelist [would] address himself to the important problems of organizational life” (Waldo 1968, 79), he admitted that there was no literary response. Unlike his hopes for the novelist, his efforts among academics were more successful; where Waldo saw a “trickle” of follow-up (Brown and Stillman II 1986, 111). Unfortunately, despite assurances as to the credibility of fiction (Kroll 1965), the trickle noted by Waldo has largely dried up with only the occasional drop (Edlins 2016). After thirty years, it may be a time to re-examine both the literary and academic side of Waldo’s novel approach.

At a time when scholars are revisiting Waldo’s thoughts on the administrative state (Rosenbloom and McCurdy, 2006), the following discussion offers Kurt Vonnegut’s *Player Piano* and David Foster Wallace’s *The Pale King*, one classic and one contemporary work, as vehicles for revisiting Waldo’s pedagogy and reestablishing the linkage between administration and administrative novels. While most attention is given to Vonnegut’s later work, his first book, *Player Piano*, exemplifies the virtues of the administrative novel. And while *The Pale King* was unfinished, incomplete, and published posthumously, more than any other contemporary novel, it fulfills Waldo’s hope that a novelist would address himself to the “important problems of organizational life.” Both novels offer reflective expressions concerning public administrators and the public service.

The Administrative Novel

Kroll argued that fiction, as part of the “universe of arts,” should be “pertinent to administrative concerns” (1965, 84). Within the broader category of fiction, the administrative novel has to be grounded in some degree of realism. For Waldo, the utility of the administrative novel was found in the interplay between realism and rationality. Waldo asserted that the internal and external contexts of administration “are largely non-rational.” In response to those who seek rationality in administration, he replied that “[c]omplete rationality in human affairs is not the proper goal; a world in which *all* is orderly and predictable, with no room for spontaneity, surprise, and emotional play, is an undesirable world” (1987, 210, 241). Presaging Waldo’s comments, Vonnegut’s Ghost Shirt Society maintained that there is virtue in imperfection, frailty, inefficiency, and brilliance followed by stupidity because humans are imperfect, frail, inefficient, and alternately brilliant and stupid (262). Similarly, albeit with a bit more color, *The Pale King* was Wallace’s “effort to show the world what it was to be ‘a fucking human being’” (Max, 301). At the outset, some degree of irrationality establishes a contextual connection between Vonnegut and Wallace and a good administrative novel “represents life within the context of administrative situations” (Egger 1959, 449).

Egger also argued that a good administrative novel “will touch upon at least half of the topic headings of a general textbook, and will deal at some length with several” (450). While irrationality provides a contextual connection between Vonnegut and Wallace, Max Weber offers this “textbook,” or structural, connection that demonstrates the real utility of these novels in the classroom. Waldo suggested that “[a] proper beginning is reference to Max Weber’s ideal-typical picture of bureaucracy” because “it is the most enlightening and provocative schema for viewing administrative systems through time and across culture” (1980, 12, 118). Because both Vonnegut and Wallace illuminate Weber’s “ideal-type picture,” that is where this discussion begins.

Weber on Bureaucracy

Weber defined five characteristics of a modern bureaucracy. First, Weber identified the principle of hierarchy. Second, he noted specialization and fixed jurisdictions within this hierarchy. Third, to accompany the fixed jurisdiction of offices, Weber recognized that formal training was required. Fourth, codifying hierarchy, specialization, and training, Weber notes that bureaucracies establish and follow rules. Finally, Weber asserted that the structure and rules must be made manifest or, in modern parlance, bureaucracies establish a public record (1968, 956-959).

In addition to these five basic characteristics of bureaucracy, Weber addresses the concept of loyalty, which also has particular relevance for Vonnegut’s *Player Piano* and, perhaps to a lesser extent, *The Pale King*. In contrast to contemporary conceptions of bureaucracy, Weber argues that “modern loyalty to an office does not establish a relationship to a person.” Emphasizing that organizational loyalty is more important than personal loyalty, he states that “entrance into an office is considered an acceptance of a specific duty of fealty to the secure purpose of the office” (959). Closely akin to Weber’s concept of loyalty is his concept of charisma. Even a bureaucracy defined by hierarchy, specialization, formal training, rules, public records, and loyalty, has room for a charismatic leader who will “seize the task for which he is destined and demand that others obey and follow him by virtue of his mission” (Gerth and Mills 1946, 52; Weber 1968, 1112).

Arguing that within Weber's writings on bureaucracy there were "fragments of a terrifying reality," Ralph Hummel asked what would happen "if we started taking seriously Weber's characterization" (1994, 3). Quite obviously, both Vonnegut's and Wallace's dystopian visions do take this "terrifying reality," or at least it's potential, seriously. Illuminating the dysfunctional features of Weber's bureaucratic latticework, Vonnegut's vision is especially evident for each of six structural characteristics of bureaucracy introduced above.

Player Piano

The centrality of Weber's principle of hierarchy is established by *Player Piano*'s narrator early in the book: The "assurance of superiority, this sense of rightness about the hierarchy topped by managers and engineers - this was instilled in all college graduates, and there were no bones about it" (5). Initially, Vonnegut takes the reader to the club where the hierarchy of the *Manual* is reflected in the seating of guests (41). Characterizing the protean nature of the Ghost Shirt Society, Reverend Lasher describes the organization of the Ghost Shirt Society: "This is the headquarters group here, but the movement is largely decentralized. *We'd like to have a bigger organization, a more centralized one* [emphasis added]." Ironically, Lasher and the Ghost Shirts were rebuilding a replica of the very system they sought to destroy (258, 293).

As was the case with hierarchy, the principle of specialization is both acknowledged and lampooned. Ewing J. Halyard, the State Department's "interpreter of America," explained the elimination of "needless competition through organization" to the visiting Shah of Bratpuhr (19). The clearest indication of specialization in *Player Piano* is the numerical classification of individuals; including SS-55, chaplains, W-440, fiction journeymen, and P-225, lubrication engineers (77, 209, 63). As if the individual classification scheme wasn't enough, Vonnegut takes the theme of specialization into the general population. For example, in the National Council of Arts and Letters, there are twelve book clubs which correspond to twelve types of readers. Curious about this organization, the Shah's interpreter Miasma Khasdrahr asks, "There are twelve types of readers?" Dr. Halyard explains, "There is now talk of a thirteenth and fourteenth" but "the line has to be drawn somewhere."

This level of specialization is mirrored by degrees of formal training. Vonnegut summarizes the underlying assumption of formal training through Dr. Pond: "The modern world would grind to a halt if there weren't men with enough advanced training to keep the complicated parts of civilization working smoothly" (133). Vonnegut subsequently uses Pond to lampoon the very same characteristic. "I spent seven years in the Cornell Graduate School of Realty to qualify for a Doctor of Realty degree. I think I can say without fear of contradiction that I earned that degree. My thesis was the third longest in any field in the country that year - eight hundred and ninety-six pages, double-spaced, with narrow margins" (133). Following Weber's discussion of formal training to the letter, Vonnegut also includes "special examinations as prerequisites of employment." These examinations take the form of the National General Classification Test and the Achievement and Aptitude that were calculated in "mysterious, unnamed units of measure" (65). Skewering Weber's notion of special examinations, Vonnegut presents Bud Calhoun. After Bud loses his job to a machine of his own invention, Paul says, "You ought to be in design." Bud's response is telling: "Got no aptitude for it. Tests proved that."

The definition of positions, duties, and qualifications, as well as all of the other rules in Vonnegut's society, are detailed in the *Manual*. Of course, the most important rule states that "any man who cannot support himself by doing a job better than a machine is employed by the government, either in the Army or the Reconstruction and Reclamation Corps" (18). This is the rule that stymies Bud Calhoun. After he invents the machine that can do his job, P-128, better than he can, "personnel machines all over the country would be reset so as no longer to recognize the job as one suited for men" (63). Vonnegut's critique of rules runs the gamut from the absurd to the ironic. He has a young woman turn to prostitution because her husband's book was rejected by one of the book clubs of the National Council of Arts and Letters. Although it was "beautifully written," "it was twenty-seven pages longer than the maximum length [and] its readability quotient was 26.3." Dr. Halyard explains that "[n]o club will touch anything with an R.Q. above 17" (211). Dr. Halyard, smug bastard that he is, gets his in the end. In a letter addressed to Mr. Halyard, he is informed that because he failed to meet a P.E. requirement at Cornell, he is "officially without a college degree of any sort" (180).

As would be the case in a Weberian bureaucracy, rules and records, including test results, were public. "Everyone's IQ, as measured by the National Standard General Classification Test, was on public record in Ilium, at the police station" (77). To illustrate his critique of open records, Vonnegut takes the reader to the schoolyard in a daytime television program. Here we find the typical bully making a decidedly atypical taunt: Your I.Q.s only 59 and your dad's I.Q is only 53. Nana nana nayah! Jimmy comes home crying and his mother calmly says, "'Now, now - that's just child's talk.' 'Don't you pay it no mind'." However, Jimmy knows the truth. "'But it's true,' said the boy brokenly. 'Ma, it's true. I went down to the police station and looked it up! Fifty-nine, Ma! And poor Pop with a 53.' He turned his back, and his voice was a bitter whisper: 'And you with a 47, Ma. A 47'" (225).

More than any other character, loyalty is personified by Kroner. Displaying that charisma that can arise in a bureaucracy, Kroner had what Vonnegut labeled the "corporate personality." Kroner exhibited "the priceless quality of believing in the system, and of making others believe in it, too" (55, 38). Moreover, his own depth of loyalty to the system was used as a measure of others' loyalty. While doubting the loyalty of Paul Proteus, when discussing Dr. Fred Garth Kroner asserted that "there's never been any question that he was one of us" (113, 112). Vonnegut turns to tragedy to prove Kroner wrong.

Dr. Fred Garth had a son, Brud. Initially, the text points the reader toward a reflection on formal training and testing. Dr. Garth explains the difficulties involved in parenting to the childless Paul. "It's a trial, though, watching your kids grow up, wondering if they've got what it takes, seeing 'em just about killing themselves before the General Classification Tests, then waiting for the grades" (166). Unfortunately, after two attempts, Brud fails and "cracked up." After seeing what the system did to his son, Garth commits "treeslaughter" by stripping the bark of the Oak at the Meadows (266). Kroner referred to the Oak as "our tree, our symbol of strong roots, trunk, and branches, or symbol of courage, integrity, perseverance, beauty" (172). More than any other representation, the Oak was the symbol of the system and Garth's destruction of that symbol reflects Vonnegut's critique of the extremes of bureaucratic loyalty.

As a classic example of an administrative novel, bureaucratic structure is just the beginning. An instructor could further mine the depths of *Player Piano* to illuminate Weber's theories of authority as well as his typology of action. However, rather than to belabor this relationship, it is more valuable to introduce David Foster Wallace as an author, like Vonnegut, who exemplifies both the context and structure of bureaucracy in a contemporary administrative novel.

The Pale King

Surely when David Foster Wallace died in 2008, he joined Kurt Vonnegut as a kindred spirit in heaven (or at least one of the nicer levels in Dante's *Inferno*). Batkin asserts that "[w]hat unites Vonnegut and Wallace is not *what* they wrote about (eerily similar though it may be) but *how* they wrote it. Both writers, despite their dark biographies and fictional landscapes, succeeded in portraying the grim and bleak with humor and humanity" (2013, 2). While Batkin is discussing Vonnegut's *Cat's Cradle* and Wallace's *Infinite Jest*, similar comparisons can be made between *Player Piano* and *The Pale King*; parallel to the point where Wallace could be channeling Vonnegut. In some cases, Wallace even out-Vonneguts Vonnegut, like using seized Mr. Squishee ice cream trucks to transport IRS personnel (47-48).

Like *Player Piano*, *The Pale King* is far from subtle in making the theoretical connection between Wallace and Weber. And, like Vonnegut, Wallace dissects the structural elements of Weber's ideal-type within the Internal Revenue Service: The hierarchy of the Chalk, Team, Group, Pod, Post, and Divisions (377), the specialization of the Compliance Branch (297), the formal training of David Cusk (315-345), the rules for "deductions for spoilage" (390) or "10 Laws of IRS Personnel" (346), and loyalty in the characters of Sheehan, Rosebury, and Lehl (356, 358, 435). Getting to the heart of Weber's concept of bureaucratic charisma, even more so than Vonnegut's Kroner, Wallace writes "I'd always from early on as a child I think somehow imagined Revenue men as like those certain kind of other institutional heroes, bureaucratic, small-*h* heroes.... The kind that seemed even more heroic because nobody applauded or even thought about them. The sort of person who's on the Clean Up Committee instead of playing in the band at the dance or being there with the prom queen" (127). But the real value of *The Pale King* is not the novel's insight into Weber's bureaucratic structure so much as it is Wallace's understanding of the spirit of bureaucracy.

Both authors address technological advancement; the UNIVAC in Wallace and EPICAC in Vonnegut. Both Wallace and Vonnegut put this advancement into a human-against-machine context. For Vonnegut, the contest is played out with a game of checkers between the machine, Checker Charley, and the ultimate victor, Paul Proteus (47-52). Playing for keeps, in Wallace's IRS, "[t]he ultimate point is the question whether humans or machines can do exams better." "Lehl's System boys want a fair test, the computer and A/NADA against the very finest rote examiners" (546, 543).

As was noted above, Bud Calhoun was replaced by a machine in *Player Piano*. Wallace takes depersonalization to the level of existence:

As part of a multipronged debugging effort in 1984, a **GO TO** subroutine was inserted in all Personnel systems' **FILE** sections: In cases of what appeared to be two different employees with the same name and IRS Post code, the system was now

directed to recognize only the “John Q. Doe” of higher GS grade. This led pretty much directly to the snafu at IRS Post 047 in May 1985. In effect, David F. Wallace, GS-9, age twenty, of Philo, IL, did not exist; his file had been deleted, or absorbed into, that of David F. Wallace, GS-13, age thirty-nine, of Rome, NY’s Northeast REC...which system administrators would eventually go back through a combined 2,110,000 lines of recorded code in order to override” (411).

In much the same way as Weber identified the “irrational element” in the spirit of capitalism (1958: 78), he identified the irrational elements in the spirit of bureaucracy. The same “iron cage” that entraps the worker, confines the bureaucrat. Weber’s projected future of capitalism, “[s]pecialists without spirit, sensualists without heart” (1958, 182), could be just as easily applied to bureaucracy. Weber identified “bureaucracy with rationality, and the process of rationalization with mechanism, depersonalization, and oppressive routine.”

Within this context of oppressive routine, one of Wallace’s IRS characters, Lane Dean, most closely represents Egger’s “life within the context of administrative situation.” Dean was first introduced in the pages of the *New Yorker* in 2007 and reappeared there again in 2009. In the later story and chapter, Wallace focuses on the human dimension of Weber’s oppressive routine.” Dean claims that “[t]he underlying bureaucratic key is the ability to deal with boredom” (438). But this “was boredom beyond any boredom he’d ever felt.... *Bore*. Noun and verb, participle as adjective, whole nine yards.... *soul* murdering” (377, 384, 385; italics in the original). Speaking to this specific issue, Wallace’s editor argued that “he probably settled on the IRS for the most obvious reason: it was the dullest possible venue he could think of and he had decided to write about boredom” (Max, 256). Other scholars (Clare 2012) and many reviewers have made a similar point. I would assert, however, that a focus on boredom misses the broader context. Wallace writes that “I learned that the world of men as it exists today is a bureaucracy. This is an obvious truth, of course, though it is also one the ignorance of which causes great suffering” (437). He offers a broader administrative context in which boredom is situated. Placing boredom in this context offers a “sense of authenticity” (Egger, 450) that may be lost in the more dystopian Vonnegut.

Conclusion

Dwight Waldo’s understanding of the relationship between literature and administrative systems offered an insightful, yet increasingly overlooked, pedagogy. The administrative novel offers knowledge that is “warm” and “human;” knowledge whose “objective is to enhance, to magnify and to give dignity to the human equation” (Egger, 453). Paul Proteus, *Player Piano*’s main character, simply states that the “main business of humanity is to do a good job of being human beings” (273). For Wallace it was “as if only by passing through all the stages of bureaucratic deformation can we touch each other as human beings” (Max, 78).

Here the value of the administrative novel is most evident. Vonnegut makes Weber’s paradoxical observations more accessible to students. Rather than simply poking fun at bureaucracy, as so many authors do, Vonnegut’s dichotomous presentation of both the efficiencies and the absurdities of bureaucracy mirrors the underlying theoretical tension in Weber. Similarly, Wallace addresses bureaucratic absurdities but, in doing so, underscores the real human dimensions.

Contrary to Reed's assertion that *Player Piano* never quite coheres (1972, 52), Weber's theory of bureaucracy offers a framework for analysis and an internal structure that not only provides coherence but also does so in a way that takes Vonnegut's literary style into account. The same level, or type, of coherence is more difficult to discern in *The Pale King*. While portions of *The Pale King* were published in *The New Yorker* and *Harper's* (Max, 292-293), the novel was published posthumously after Wallace's suicide in 2008. Wallace's editor, Michael Pietsch, assembled the novel from "hundreds and hundreds of pages of his novel in progress...Hard drives, file folders, three-ring binders, spiral-bound notebooks, and floppy disks contained printed chapters, sheaves of handwritten pages, notes, and more" (Wallace 2011, vi). And yet, with the IRS, Lane Dean, Claude Sylvanshine, and David Cusk, as assembled by Pietsch, *The Pale King* represents the best features of the administrative novel as defined by Egger and offers the pedagogical value long sought by Waldo.¹

Following Waldo and others' reconsidering his work, this analysis defends and recommends the value of extending the working relationships between administration, both in substance and in pedagogy, into "every major province in the realm of human learning" (Rosenbloom and McCurdy 2006a, 28). Within the realm of fiction, Egger says it best: "The recognition of the novel as a worthy source of wisdom about administrative phenomena is an important reassertion of the fact that administration was, is, and will always remain, in considerable degree an artistic performance" (451-452). As difficult as it might be to use Wallace in the classroom, the administrative novel presents challenges regardless of the text. For the professor, tackling an administrative novel requires, like Vonnegut and Wallace, a well-defined and unwavering wampeter (Batkin, 2). For Wallace, the substitute instructor in the Advanced Tax course at DePaul was "first instructor I'd seen at any of the schools I'd drifted in and out of who seemed a hundred percent indifferent about being liked or seen as cool or likable by the students and realized what a powerful quality this sort of indifference could be in an authority figure" (226-227). That substitute instructor suggests to us that the reaccreditation of the administrative novel, to get Weber out of Vonnegut and Wallace requires, well, teaching.

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Endnote

¹ Surely Wallace deserves at least one footnote. While the kinship of Vonnegut and Wallace is clear, there is an affinity between Wallace and Weber as well. Like *The Pale King*, Weber's *Economy and Society* was published posthumously but, unlike Pietsch, "editors rearranged the manuscript according to a plan that substantially deviated from Weber's original intention" (Mommsen 2005: 71).

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Trying to Professionalize Expert Knowledge (Part I): The Short Life of the Municipal Administration Service, 1926-1933

Mordecai Lee

Introduction

One of the common goals of civic activists during the Progressive era (1890-1920) was to reform municipal government. These reformers came from both sides of the political spectrum. Some were, by contemporary standards, to the right of the political center. They were eager to reduce the impact of mass democracy (especially by recent immigrants and/or African Americans), cut taxes and, generally, run government like a business. Others, who would now be seen as left of center, sought to improve democracy by eliminating urban machine corruption in contracts and patronage, improving the quality of city services, and promoting citizen participation in government through programs such as budget exhibits (Williams and Lee 2008).

Either way, these reformers generally focused on convincing elected officials and voters to enact structural and procedural reforms through legislation and referenda. Some of the disparate goals of these goo-goos (as they were derisively called by their opponents in urban machines and courthouse regulars) included the short ballot, open primaries, autonomous civil service commissions overseeing a merit-based civil service, bureaus of efficiency, reorganization, competitive bidding, direct primaries, nonpartisan elections for municipal offices, initiative and referendum, charter reform, and proportional representation. Many of these ideas were controversial and hotly debated. This meant they were *political*, generating heated controversies and arguments and actively covered by the news media (initially print outlets, later to include radio).

A different cluster of good-government activists focused on the work of civil servants and the operations of government agencies. The focus of these reformers was on the professionalization of public administration (Plant 2015). In particular, this group emphasized that its interest was wholly nonpolitical and nonpartisan. Promoting effective and efficient government was a value-free goal, they said, completely separate from politics and controversy. This approach echoed the so-called scientific management movement founded by Frederick Winslow Taylor, namely that there was only one best way to do any and every thing.

The difference between political controversy and apolitical management was a key distinction for the grants officers of the Rockefeller philanthropic funds. The family was keen to overcome its negative reputation deriving from the predatory and monopolistic practices of its founder, John D. Rockefeller, Sr., and his business, the Standard Oil Company. Funding research and other initiatives to raise the quality and efficiency of civil servants was an appealing goal. Who could argue with that?¹ Conversely, causes that were political and partisan were to be kept at arms' length (if not farther) and never funded.

Hence Rockefeller grants provided major underwriting for efforts to professionalize and depoliticize public administration (Roberts 1994). The family's only condition was that the new field of public administration be clearly seen as a nonpartisan, nonpolitical and non-controversial profession, wholly separate from the messy world of politics. This condition was the cause of the 1914 reorganization of the seminal Bureau of Municipal Research in New York City. After that, the Bureau largely disappeared from the headlines except when it issued major, but eye-glazing and technocratic, reports identifying ways to improve the efficiency of city and state government in a specific area of bureaucratic activity such as accounting, budgeting, and contracting. By the mid-1920s, the Rockefellers' funding role was well-established and significant to the emergence of the purported science and profession of public administration.

But some of the standard elements of the new profession were still missing, such as associations for practitioners and an organization for faculty interested in the subject. Another missing component was an institutionalized framework for the creation and dissemination of knowledge to improve practice. Such a venue was viewed as an essential element to round out a true profession of public administration.

This article is an organizational history of an effort to maintain this kind of a professional vehicle for expertise, advice and information dissemination to benefit the practice of public administration. It began in 1926 with the Municipal Administration Service (MAS) which dissolved in 1933, followed immediately by the establishment of Public Administration Service (PAS) (not "the") within Louis Brownlow's Public Administration Clearing House (PACH) in Chicago. The intent here is to summarize the life cycle history of this organization and the public administration politics which led to its demise. In all, the history of MAS reflects the early efforts at the professionalization of American public administration.

There has been little published on MAS (and its quasi-successor PAS) in the academic literature, except mostly passing references and citations of their publications. Given this largely blank slate, this inquiry seeks to be an initial sketch of an organizational history. As an exploratory examination of this organization it is, by necessity, unable to include a highly-detailed focus on the content and impact of its publications. That is an extensive topic in and of itself, particularly because the range of publications cover many academic sub-literatures, including budgeting, taxation, personnel management, law enforcement, building codes, performance measurement, and public reporting.

Creation of the Municipal Administration Service, 1926

Notwithstanding the controversial character of some of the reform issues it advocated for, the National Municipal League (NML) largely succeeded in presenting itself as a nonpartisan group of well-meaning and disinterested citizens seeking governmental reform in the public interest. Reflecting the early era of the good government movement, NML (which had been founded in 1894) was an association of amateurs and do-gooders. Its members were private citizens who joined the League because they were committed to improving the governance of cities. As an advocacy group, NML was not able to attract much support from mainline foundations and businessmen. To some, contributing to NML was to be avoided because it was viewed as a “propaganda organization.”² As such, the finances of the League were always quite modest, with a small central office, a modest number of staff, and a limited budget. It was practically a shoe-string operation.

In the 1920s, NML’s agenda overlapped with a separate organization, the Governmental Research Association (GRA). Unlike NML’s membership of lay citizens, GRA membership consisted of the emerging class of professional researchers in government reform. They were largely the staff of municipal research bureaus, taxpayer leagues, nonprofit efficiency bureaus, and the stray academic who also researched how to improve government (Lee 2014).

In 1924-25, NML and GRA convened working groups to design a new initiative focusing on improving the management and professionalization of municipal government. The two organizations noted the decentralized work of their members and the information vacuum regarding the results of such research. Why keep reinventing the wheel? Given the primes of a science of municipal management, surely the creation of a kind of de facto *national* bureau of municipal research would enhance reform efforts.

As a result, in April 1926, NML – in coordination with GRA – applied to the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund for a \$15,000 annual grant to create and operate for three years a new entity called the Municipal Administration Service (MAS).³ The grant was approved and full funding of the proposed service began in October of that year. It was intended to cover expenses for three years of operations (Stewart 1972, 142). Two conditions of the grant were a generalized expectation that MAS would also raise additional funds from other sources and a request that there be no public announcement or other publicity about the Rockefeller grant to MAS. The latter condition was stated forcefully and unambiguously: “The Spelman Fund would appreciate having no public announcement made of this gift, other than that which is made as a routine matter in your regular report.”⁴

Given the strict practice by the Rockefeller family funds to approve funding only for non-controversial and nonpartisan public administration, the decision to fund an activity co-sponsored by NML appears a bit surprising. NML was a nonpartisan organization, but some of the civil goals it supported were controversial – if only with machine politicians who would be the losers from some of the reforms promoted by the good government movement. Furthermore, NML was not an organization of public administration professionals, rather of civic activists. Nonetheless, the specific goals of the grant and the co-sponsorship by GRA were likely attributes which led to the approval of the funding. In a sense, the Rockefellers had little choice because in 1926 there were

few competing organizations seeking funding specifically to improve the professional administration of municipal government through research and information dissemination.⁵

As funded, MAS was to have three missions, all related to professionalizing American city management:

1. A publishing house issuing pamphlets on improving technical practices based on others' research results at leading municipalities.
2. An inquiry service which would reply to specific queries submitted by municipal officials seeking advice on improving their city's management.
3. A central library of publications by bureaus of municipal research throughout the country to serve as an integrated collection of such reports. The library would loan its copy to requester or, if it possessed more than one copy, mail the extra to the requester (Forbes 1929, 74).

Generally, these three services were free (Forbes 1929, 75). MAS's motto was "a non-partisan clearing house of information on all phases of municipal administration ... for the betterment of city government."⁶ A newsletter issued by the New York Public Library stated that MAS "is an effort to be commended."⁷

Organizational and Operational Sketch

The two founding organizations, NML and GRA, oversaw the operations of MAS through a six-member Governing Committee (i.e., it was not the board of directors of a free-standing organization). Each organization had three appointees to the committee. The president of NML served *ex-officio* as the chairman of the committee (and had the right to cast votes).

In the retrospect of history, some of the members of the governing committee were major figures in the professionalization of public administration practice and research, including Luther Gulick (Fosler and Ink 2014), Harold W. Dodds,⁸ Richard Childs (Hirschhorn 1997; Stillman 1998), Lent Upson (Williams 2003, 652),⁹ and William C. Beyer.¹⁰ These were the leading *men* in the profession at the time. They were a combination of academics, practitioner-oriented researchers, and others committed to the professionalization of government management. As was common at the time, women – who were very active in the good government and municipal research movements (Schachter 2010) – were wholly unrepresented on the board.

However, the governing committee appeared to function fitfully. For his three-year term of service on the Committee, Gulick's files contain the minutes of only two meetings.¹¹ Some business was conducted by mail ballots or through FYI notifications from Forbes, MAS's Director.¹²

Finances for MAS were always very tight. For 1929, the auditor's report showed that MAS was ever so barely in the black (less than a dollar); "by the skin of our teeth," said Forbes.¹³ Heading into the last of the three-year Rockefeller grant, he spoke to the annual conference of the American Municipal Administration (AMA). He conveyed his realization that the funding grant was time-limited and, even if renewed, could not continue to be the sole source of MAS finances. Therefore,

“if we are to expand the way we should expand, we must get funds elsewhere” (Forbes 1929, 75). Eventually, AMA agreed to a very limited amount of financial support for MAS, as long as the benefit to its members was apparent and tangible. In response, MAS’s governing committee was expanded to include three AMA appointees. Also, given that it was the only (research) game in town, the International City Managers’ Association (ICMA) also affiliated with MAS and similarly obtained three appointees to the board.

However, when the committee expanded to include representatives of ICMA and AMA as well as those NML and GRA, it had 12 members, plus a 13th from NML as *ex officio* chair. One of Brownlow’s assistants (so something of a biased source) claimed that the 12-member board “was difficult to assemble” and therefore was neither functioning well nor fulfilling its responsibilities of overseeing the service (Paige 1933, 46).

While the records are sketchy, it appears that MAS initially had three professional staffers: a director, assistant director, and research secretary (i.e., a librarian). It also had two clerical assistants. A third clerical was added in 1931, but staffing was apparently back down to five in 1932 (Paige 1932, 81).¹⁴ MAS’s first Director in 1926 was George H. McCaffrey. However, he served for less than a year. Beginning in 1927 and for the rest of its existence, Russell Forbes (who simultaneously was NML’s secretary, akin to an executive director) was MAS’s Director. From 1928 to 1930, Welles A. Gray was the Assistant Director. Then, from 1930 to 1933, it was Frederick Bird. The librarian position was held by a woman, as was typical in those days. From 1926 to 1929, it was Esther Crandall, then E. K. Ostrow. Edna Trull was the librarian up to 1933, when MAS folded (Stewart 1972, 142-43).

When the initial Rockefeller grant expired in 1929, the Spelman Fund renewed the grant for another three years, at \$15,000 a year, through May 1932 (Stewart 1972, 143). However, this time there were stricter conditions about raising other funds. For 1930-31, MAS was required to raise \$5,000 and \$10,000 in 1931-32. Matching funds from Spelman would only be released upon confirmation of successfully obtaining such third-party revenues.¹⁵ Outside funding MAS raised included sales of publications (beyond the free distribution it traditionally did), a grant by the Haynes Foundation in Los Angeles for a specific publication, and a grant from the National Committee on Municipal Reporting to publish its final report.¹⁶

Apparently related to the renewed Rockefeller grant, MAS now added a fourth public mission to its activities, namely the publication of original research which would be helpful to municipal government and reform (Stewart 1972, 143).¹⁷ A more ambitious plan to add a fifth mission of providing low-cost consulting services to small cities was never funded.¹⁸

During the funding renewal process, the Spelman Fund softly suggested that MAS formally incorporate as an independent nonprofit corporation. The effect of incorporation would mean that, legally, MAS was accountable only to its own board and the board would be wholly independent (and self-perpetuating). The scant documentation for this suggestion provides little detail on the motivation for the suggestion. It could be that the legal advisers to the Rockefeller philanthropies generally recommended that all its recipients be formal nonprofit corporations. Such a step would place funded groups in a well-developed legal and tax environment. It is also possible that Spelman

continued to be wary of NML's activities as a public advocacy organization, especially if it promoted controversial good-government reforms. Incorporating MAS would immunize the Rockefellerers from any perceived link to political controversy.

It appears that the suggestion may also have been motivated because Spelman preferred to lessen the invisible, but strong, control that NML and GRA exercised over MAS, such as the subjects MAS focused on (or ignored), the reports it issued, and the orientation of its recommendations. Significantly, the MAS's Governing Committee voted 4-2 (with one member not voting) against incorporation. Saying no to a funder was a significant, even dangerous, act. But, at least in this case, power and control apparently trumped money.¹⁹

Disseminating Expert Knowledge

MAS's first publication was the text of a speech by Professor Charles Beard to the 1926 annual GRA conference laying out the rationale for professionalizing governmental research and advising, essentially making the case for the creation of MAS (Beard 1926). After that, most MAS publications provided templates or examples of what were best practices and ordinances in the many silos of municipal administration, such as building codes, financial planning, street signs, and enforcement of tax liens. MAS established three series of publications: monographs (#1-30), a statistical series (#1-7), and a mimeograph series (#1-14). For a complete list of the titles and publication information of all the issues in the three series', see the Appendix.

MAS's main monograph series comprised major reports usually about 25 to 100 pages long. They tended to be of new reports and research, generally with an applied "how to" orientation. Typical subjects included a working manual for assessors, a model building code, codification of ordinances, standards for issuing utility franchises, and model traffic regulations. A study of the administration of gasoline taxes was so popular it was updated and reissued in a second and then a third edition (#7, #15, #30). Several of the publications were more in the nature of resource books, such as a listing of services federal agencies offered municipalities and a summary of best practices for maintaining motor equipment.

The authorship varied. Some were written by research specialists with rising reputations, such as Clarence Ridley on measuring government performance and A. E. Buck on municipal budgeting. Others were written by leading practitioners or staff of municipal research bureaus, such as C. E. Rightor. Several were written by faculty, such as F. G. Crawford, Wylie Kilpatrick, and John F. Sly. A few were written by MAS staffers Frederick Bird, Welles Gray, and Edna Trull. Given how men dominated the field, to MAS's credit several publications were authored or co-authored by women. Besides staffer Trull, they included Dorothy I. Cline and Esther Crandall.

For one issue in the monograph series, MAS served solely as the publishing house for a work issued by another entity. This was the report of the National Committee on Municipal Reporting, a blue ribbon committee which had been jointly sponsored by ICMA, AMA, NML and GRA (#19). It presented what was considered as the definitive work on what should be contained in annual public reports issued by cities and how the information should be presented.

MAS's second series was comprised of, as indicated by its title, statistical reports that were largely tables of data collected on such subjects as salaries, basic financial information, and tax rates of selected municipalities. An exception was a bibliography of new materials in MAS's library (#4). These reports were relatively short, up to about 25 pages. Sometimes they were reprints of articles published in NML's *National Municipal Review*, MAS's mother organization. Some of the reports were authored by MAS staff. While not stated explicitly, the premise of the series appeared to be that the data collected was relatively comprehensive and therefore the results would likely to be applicable to all municipalities in the US.

The third series, called the mimeograph series, was intended mostly for dissemination of abstracts and summaries of other important research and reports in municipal administration which had been published by other sources. As they were in mimeographed format, instead of typeset, this could be issued more quickly and inexpensively than formal publications. The series served as a kind of FYI of what might be of interest to its audience of municipal administrators. It appears that the underlying theme of this series was that these reports were highly geo-centric (such as of one city or one state) and that the research results were not automatically to be assumed as generalizable to other localities. The abstracts were relatively short, usually in the 10-20-page range. These were often about published reports from GRA members, such as bureaus of municipal research, or by state-based leagues of municipalities. In one case, it was an original product, a bibliography compiled by MAS's librarian, E. K. Ostrow (#13).

Generally, the publications were descriptive and prescriptive. They were largely based on what was perceived at the time as self-evident good government advice: rationalization, standardization, uniformity, reorganizations, civil service autonomy, efficiency, and professionalization. It is difficult, even from a detached historical perspective, to render an overall and generalizable verdict on the quality of the entire run of MAS reports. Nonetheless, at a minimum, it is reasonable to conclude that MAS's publication all sought to help professionalize local administration. They provided a national readership with best practices as conducted by the more advanced municipal apparatuses and infrastructures, to circulate reliable and comparable statistics and, generally, to cohere a unified vision of city management. This may have been social science research and professional guidance at its most primitive, but it was at least *something*. The references to MAS publications in popular magazines can be interpreted as a broad endorsement of MAS's mission by editors and readers committed to the shared civic goals of good government and civil service reform.

Publicity was a central means to an end for the good government movement. MAS's publications occasionally drew newspaper coverage, reflecting the general orientation of urban newspapers to support and publicize good government reform efforts. For example, MAS reports were the subjects of articles in the *New York Times*,²⁰ *Baltimore Sun*,²¹ *Los Angeles Times*,²² and the *Syracuse (NY) Herald*.²³ Some popular magazines also referred positively to MAS's work, including *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Vanity Fair*.²⁴ MAS further sought to expand the impact of its work by publishing summaries of two data-based reports in the commercial magazine read by municipal officials, *The American City*, and then reprinting them as a separate publication in its statistical series.²⁵

Besides its publications, other missions of MAS were the development of a library of materials relevant to municipal administration and an inquiry service (with answers partly based on the library collection). There is a paucity of information about the scope and activity levels of these two missions. The usual unit of measurement in the library profession for quantifying collections is the number of cataloged items an institution holds. I was unable to locate any such statistic for the MAS library. One document described the library's collection as "extensive," but omitted any statistic (or estimate) of the number of items it had.²⁶ As for inquiries, during 18 months of operation in 1927-28, MAS answered 197 inquiries.²⁷ It is difficult to assess this statistic as demonstrating high or low utilization.

Demise, 1932-33

Some of the major promoters of the professionalization of American public administration gradually turned against MAS. One of the critiques came from ICMA (led by Clarence Ridley), which was dissatisfied with the quality of the research underlying MAS publications. Even though ICMA was now represented on MAS's board, the association was still quite public about the limitations it saw in MAS. For example, an article by a city manager in the July 1929 issue of ICMA's monthly *Public Management* said that MAS's work "is woefully incomplete and falls far short of covering the field" (Story 1929, 517). An Editorial Comment at the beginning of that issue flagged the article for readers and urged members to "give this article priority" (p. 512). This hinted at the leadership's open dissatisfaction with MAS as a vehicle for what ICMA felt its members needed and would benefit from. As a result, ICMA created its own Research Committee which became increasingly active as a separate source of research (Nolting 1931, 37). The head of the research staff was Donald Stone and in 1931-32 ICMA began releasing some publications with results produced by his small shop (Stone 1932a; 1932b).

Around the same time, Guy Moffett became the Rockefellers' point man for funding the professionalization of public administration.²⁸ He was an activist, not passively sitting in his office and reading grant requests. Stone recalled that unlike "many foundation directors who tried a long-distance approach in order to protect themselves, Moffit [*sic*] immersed himself in what was going on."²⁹ He viewed his remit as "the advancement of public administration"³⁰ and sought to use the funding he controlled to move towards that goal.

In particular, Moffett thought highly of Charles E. Merriam, political science professor at the University of Chicago and Louis Brownlow, longtime public administration practitioner. He relied on their advice and funded many of the projects they sponsored or recommended. Conversely, if they recommended against funding something, he generally deferred to their preferences (Lee 2014). For example, Moffett provided grants to create and maintain the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) and, later, its sub-entity, the Committee on Public Administration (CPA). CPA members included Merriam and Brownlow. It was based in Chicago at Brownlow's burgeoning PACH, another Moffett project, founded in 1930. The Committee promptly provided funding for University of Wisconsin Professor John Gaus to study the current state of public administration research.

His study, submitted in late 1930, included some knocks at MAS, though carefully stated in the passive tense. For example, "it has been suggested" (by whom?) that AMA increasingly desired

having a research staff and which would be located at its new headquarters office in Chicago (Gaus 1930, 54). Also, MAS “may be said” (by whom?) to merely be supplementing locally-initiated research activities, in part by summarizing “notably local studies” for other readers to know about (77). This is an obvious knock at a lack of respectability and generalizability of current research by MAS and by GRA members. Gaus’s summary chapter listed three problems he associated with MAS: “future planning of administrative services for a state or region; the location of a staff or council for this task, and the proper coordination of resources of knowledge and experience to be utilized” (141-42). A plain interpretation of his indirect phrasing was that there needed to be such a service focusing on all levels of government, not only on municipalities; it needed to be in Chicago where a public administration national capital was being developed; and it needed to undertake and disseminate higher quality research. This was tantamount to a declaration of war. MAS would just not do.

In part due to this report, Moffett had concluded that MAS did not have a broad base of financial or organizational support, its benefits were limited because it focused only on municipal government, and that its research was of low quality. Moffett decided to go shopping for a new organization to continue an improved metamorphosis of MAS. In the meantime, however, he wanted to keep MAS going while he was pursuing its future successor. So, when the second grant ran out in May 1932, the Spelman Fund gave MAS a small amount of money to keep it intact and operating on a “limited” basis (Stewart 1972, 143).

Moffett first turned to the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC. In May, 1932, he offered it \$10,000 for start-up costs and initial operations of a reorganized MAS, to be called Public Administration Service.³¹ The name change would reflect an expanded mission of public sector management at all levels of government, not just municipal. In particular, county governments were wholly unserved by MAS. Moffett also felt that Brookings would be a better venue for such research activities because of its location. For example, at that time, many state and local governments were unaware of the assistance and services that federal agencies could provide them. An information service based in Washington, DC, could fill that void by collecting the most up-to-date listings.³²

After funding the initial startup costs, Moffett suggested a long-term relationship with Rockefeller funds covering half the costs of Brookings’ PAS, about \$15,000 a year. Brookings would need to raise an equal amount of funds from publication sales, services, and other grant sources. President Harold Moulton was tempted and looked into the possibility including potential other sources for matching funds. He conferred with the in-house Leadership Council which was “strongly in favor” of the idea. Moulton prepared a detailed background paper for the Board of Trustees, concluding that Brookings “is in a logical position to carry out and administer a Public Administration Service to the greatest possible advantage.”³³ However, at the May 18, 1932 meeting of Brookings’ Board of Trustees, he recommended against accepting the grant “in view of our present income situation,” especially the potential difficulty of obtaining matching funds.³⁴ The Board agreed.

Given the failure of that idea, NML now tried again to get additional short-term funding for MAS from the Rockefellers. MAS Director Forbes suggested to Moffett that the rejected offer of \$10,000 to Brookings as start-up funding of PAS be redirected to NML to keep MAS going, at

least for the short term.³⁵ Moffett declined.³⁶ At this point, MAS was \$2,800 in debt³⁷ and with no visible path to paying it off or to attain ongoing sustainability.

Birth of Public Administration Service

Failing with Brookings, Moffett now turned to Brownlow, his partner in CPA/SSRC and PACH. As with his offer to Brookings, Moffett wanted to re-establish MAS with a broader mandate focusing on all levels of government, not just municipal. Brownlow was then in the midst of actively promoting PACH as a kind of national institutional capital for the nascent profession of public administration. ICMA had already decided to move its headquarters office to PACH. With Moffett's active underwriting, other associations of specialized public officials were being established, funded, and based at PACH.

According to the given historical version, Moffett decided to move it to the Chicago PACH "on the invitation" of Brownlow (Willoughby 1969, 539; Stewart 1972, 143). That identical and odd wording in two different sources makes it sound like Moffett was wholly passive, had never thought of such a scenario, and that the idea was bolt out of the blue from Brownlow. This strains credulity. More likely, the idea probably emerged in a round robin of conversations between Moffett and Brownlow along with others in their network after Moffett failed in his effort to move MAS to Brookings. Certainly, Brownlow would have been eager to add it to the PACH umbrella. He probably lobbied long and hard for it because it would further institutionalize the three-year old PACH as the central and still growing venue for the professionalization of public administration.³⁸

MAS became Public Administration Service³⁹ on March 1, 1933 under the umbrella of PACH in Chicago, still largely as a publishing house. Within a few months, Brownlow arranged for the ICMA research staff to merge into it, creating a service offering consulting and research assistance as well. The new and expanded PAS formally came into existence in the summer of 1933. On June 27, 1933, it registered with the Illinois Secretary of State as a formal nonprofit corporation (making it legally independent of PACH). This is precisely what Spelman had asked of MAS in 1929, but that its governing committee, controlled by NML and GRA, had refused to do. The simple act of incorporating PAS from the start was a distinct action highlighting that PAS was not MAS and that PAS would more closely hew to Rockefeller preferences.

The new corporation's board of directors held its first meeting on July 6, 1933. Brownlow was elected as chairman of the board. Other board members each represented one of the professional associations associated with PACH at the time (sometimes called "the Chicago group"): American Public Welfare Association, American Municipal Association, Municipal Finance Officers Association, International City Managers' Association, and American Legislators' Association.

As a modest nod to the legacy of the MAS board, the PAS board also included one representative each from GRA and NML. However, this was more than a symbolic gesture. Around this time, Brownlow had offered GRA free secretariat services by PACH staff. GRA accepted thus making it, somewhat tenuously, one of the organizations which was a component member of PACH. Late in 1933, NML briefly discussed with Brownlow moving its headquarters office to PACH. It never

happened, largely because NML was unlike all the other PACH members, which were associations of public administration professional practitioners.

For its staff leadership, Brownlow chose Stone, as PAS director of consulting and research. The choice of Stone, previously the research director for ICMA's research staff, amplified that ICMA was as much the progenitor of PAS than MAS was. Brownlow appointed Charles Ascher, already on the PACH staff, as PAS's publications manager, hinting that the Service's publishing house would be a more major activity than MAS's product line.

The initial transitional funding for setting up PAS came from the funds the Spelman Foundation had already provided for the general operations of PACH. A year later, Spelman granted PAS \$25,000 to serve as working capital for the new corporation. Settling into more routine operations, Brownlow expected PAS to be as a more substantial operation than MAS. He planned to start at roughly the MAS level, with an annual budget of \$20,000; with \$15,000 a year from Spelman and \$5,000 a year from income from publications.⁴⁰ From 1934 to 1941, PAS received about \$267,000 from the Spelman fund (Sitkoff 1983, 1-2). This was roughly \$30,000+ a year, nearly double the annual funding for MAS. Money talked. Clearly, Moffett was much happier with PAS than he had been with MAS. His funding decisions reflected that.

MAS in Public Administration History

Public administration histories have also glossed over the shift from MAS to PAS, vaguely conveying that NML actively co-sponsored it and supported it. Not true. In fact, this impression was constructed after the fact and meant to paper over what had been going on behind the scenes.

When PAS's establishment was first announced, it was presented as a wholly new organization and no mention was made of MAS. PAS was described as an expansion of ICMA's Research Staff activities. For example, ICMA's monthly publication declared that PAS was "a new consulting and research agency for cities, counties, states, and other governmental units" without any reference to MAS as a predecessor organization (Nolting 1933, 252). Probably relying on the same source, the *American Political Science Review* presented it that way, too (Ogg 1933, 819). Similarly, the *New York Times* described PAS as a "new group" and made no mention of MAS, even though the latter had been based in the paper's hometown.⁴¹

Even when these events were happening, NML tried to put the best face on this *fait accompli*. In March 1933, Forbes wrote Moffett that MAS's governing committee had just "voted unanimously in favor of moving this organization to Chicago to carry on hereafter as The Public Administration Service."⁴² Moffett replied graciously by hoping "you can take satisfaction from the fact that the Service, under your direction, had become an important center of information and service."⁴³

Trying to soften the blow, NML's public announcement of the news about PAS awkwardly ended with a brief addendum stating that it "will also take over" the kind of publications "formerly issued under the name of Municipal Administration Service" (Olmsted 1933, 349). That wording fell far short of any claim that PAS was a *continuation* of MAS.⁴⁴ For the newsletter of the GRA (one of MAS's two founding organizations), Paige (a PACH staffer) obliquely reported that MAS "was

reorganized” as PAS and its offices “were moved” from New York to Chicago. The passive tense permitted him to avoid any identification of who the players were and the underlying reasons for the change (Paige 1933, 46). In private, Brownlow was a bit more generous about the link between MAS and PAS, but still cautiously using the passive tense. In June 1933, he wrote to the members of PACH’s executive committee that MAS “was moved” from New York to Chicago and “its name was changed” to PAS.⁴⁵

Similarly, later NML histories stated that MAS “was moved” to Chicago as part of its reincarnation into PAS, but emphasizing that MAS was “the principal element” of the new organization (Willoughby 1969, 539). Stewart used an even more awkward construction, noting “the removal of the Service to Chicago,” making it sound like a piece of furniture (Stewart 1972, 142). The passive tense obscured who the players were and why events happened as they did. Clearly, decades after the events, the subject was still a touchy and sore one for NML supporters. This deliberate effort to create a misleading and smoother version of events has continued to influence public administration historiography, including this author. In 2009, I mistakenly described MAS as having “moved” to Chicago where it “became” PAS (Lee 2009, 535).

Once the move was a *fait accompli* and a year old, PAS briefly presented itself as “(Formerly Municipal Administration Service)” on its letterhead.⁴⁶ This acknowledgment was perhaps motivated to signal continuity and make it look like there was merely a minor name change, just one word of the title, nothing more. Some later histories of PAS also more openly gave MAS some credit for PAS’s origins than the version used when PAS came into being in 1933. A 1958 PAS circular merely conceded that PAS “took over” MAS’s assets.⁴⁷ Stone’s 1983 oral history version was quite opaque, stating simply that MAS was “running out of funds” so “logically it should be transferred” to PACH and that “the logical thing” was for PAS’s publishing program to pick up where MAS left off.⁴⁸ In the 1980s, by now an entity doing solely for-hire consulting, two histories of PAS conceded that PAS had been established “through a merger” of MAS and ICMA’s research staff (Newland 1984, 12; Sitkoff 1983, 1).

Conclusion and Future Research

The Municipal Administration Service was an initial effort to contribute to the professionalization of public administration. It was thought that publication of original research with an applied orientation toward practitioners would provide best practice information and thus raise the quality of municipal government. Using Rockefeller funds, two relatively modest organizations invented and sponsored it. The National Municipal League was the leading organization for citizens promoting good government. As such it was an advocacy organization, promoting reform projects which were sometimes controversial, whether to the beneficiaries of the status quo or advocates of alternative solutions. NML’s financing depended on individual members paying dues and it always operated on a shoe-string budget and staff. The Governmental Research Association arose largely before the appearance of university-based public administration. Its organizational members were mostly municipal research bureaus and taxpayers associations. As such, most of their research products were relatively elementary, geocentric, and often with a bias (toward economy and efficiency). GRA, too, was a minor national organization, unable even to afford a paid secretariat staff.

Given this context, it is understandable that MAS was, too, a relatively small organization with a handful of staffers and a very limited budget. Nonetheless, its efforts at professionalizing public administration were creditable, given the state of the profession at the time and the limited funding it had. It probably did about as much, or slightly more, than could be expected of it. Its publications reflected the nascent status of public administration, the level of rigorousness of research methods, and the limited generalizability of results. As such, MAS's work products were more in the nature of normative good government standards and elementary data collection.

Yet MAS was more than nothing at all. It delineated the starting line of what became public administration. At the very least, the deficiencies and criticisms of MAS by other professionalizers, led by Brownlow, Moffett et al., helped show the way towards the more exacting criteria of a discipline ideally to be based on social science research techniques. One could view MAS as the springboard to what historians now consider the golden age of classical public administration (Newland 2015).

As an exploratory summary of MAS's organizational history, there is still much researchers can do. Additional focus is needed to fill in some of the details of MAS's work, the highlights of which are only covered briefly in this article. New archival sources, such as the Gulick papers at Baruch College in New York City, which became available in 2015, and the (as yet unopened) PAS papers at University of Pittsburg are tantalizing in their potential of adding greater texture to the extant primary historical sources.

In particular, additional research could assess the quality of MAS's recommendations and publications. Such judgments would be a welcome addition to the scant literature. Public administration historians with specialized knowledge of any of the major silos of the discipline (such as budgeting, HR, public works, and regulation) would be able to explore in depth and evaluate the value of MAS's published research. For example, a retrospective review of its publications in one of these public administration subfields could assess the quality of the research they were based on and if recommendations were timely and likely contributed to best practices. Using a broader historical perspective, academic historians could present conclusions if these publications have stood the test of time as the jumping off point for the professionalization of municipal administration in general or any of its subfields of practice.

Appendix: Bibliography of MAS Publications (based on Stewart 1972, 266-67)

Monograph Series

1. Beard, Charles A. *Government Research: Past, Present, and Future*. 1926.
2. Thompson, George N. *The Preparation and Revision of Local Building Codes*. 1927.
3. Kilpatrick, Wylie. *State Administrative Review of Local Budget Making: An Examination of State Supervision of Local Taxes and Bonds in Indiana and Iowa*. 1927.
4. Ridley, Clarence E. *Measuring Municipal Government: Suggested Standards for Measuring the Results of Fire, Health, Police and Public Works Departments*. 1927.
5. Rightor, Charles E. *The Preparation of a Long-Term Financial Program*. 1927.
6. Greenman, E. D. *Codification of Ordinances*. 1928.
7. Crawford, Finla G. *The Administration of the Gasoline Tax in the United States*. 1928.

8. Post, Adolph J., and McCaffrey, George H. *Street Name Signs*. 1928.
9. Kilpatrick, Wylie. *Reporting Municipal Government*. 1928.
10. Chatters, Carl H. *The Enforcement of Real Estate Tax Liens*. 1928.
11. Reeves, Cuthbert E. *The Appraisal of Urban Land and Buildings: A Working Manual for City Assessors*. 1931.
12. Havenner, George C. *Photostat Recording*. 1928.
13. Ridley, Clarence E. *The Public Works Department in American Cities*. 1929.
14. Crosser, Callender A., and Gray, Welles. A. *Municipal Motor Equipment*. 1929.
15. Crawford, Finla G. *The Administration of the Gasoline Tax in the United States*, rev. ed. 1930.
16. McClintock, Miller, and Williams, Sidney J. *Municipal Organization for Street Traffic Control*. 1930.
17. Bauer, John. *Standards for Modern Public Utility Franchises*. 1930.
18. Huus, Randolph O., and Cline, Dorothy I. *Municipal, School and University Stadia*. 1931.
19. National Committee on Municipal Reporting. *Public Reporting; With Special Reference to Annual, Departmental, and Current Reports of Municipalities*. 1931.
20. Nicholson, Joseph W. *House Number Signs*. 1931.
21. Trull, Edna. *Municipal Auditoriums*. 1931.
22. Wilcox, Delos F. *The Administration of Municipally Owned Utilities*. 1931.
23. Buck, Arthur E. *Budgeting for Small Cities*. 1931.
24. Betters, Paul V. *Federal Services to Municipal Governments*. 1931.
25. Forbes, Russell. *Purchasing for Small Cities*. 1932.
26. McCracken, Dwight. *Traffic Regulation in Small Cities*. 1932.
27. Trull, Edna. *The Administration of Regulatory Inspectional Services in American Cities*. 1932.
28. Bird, Frederick L. *The Management of Small Municipal Lighting Plants*. 1932.
29. Sly, John F., Fordham, Jefferson B., and Shipman, George A. *The Codification and Drafting of Ordinances for Small Towns*. 1932.
30. Crawford, Finla G. *The Administration of the Gasoline Tax in the United States*, 3rd ed. 1932.

Statistical Series

1. Crandall, Esther. *Salaries of Policemen and Firemen in 35 Cities, 1928*. Reprinted from the *National Municipal Review* 17:5. (May 1928) 268-79.
2. *Salaries and Conditions of Employment for Firemen and Policemen in 49 Cities, 30,000 to 100,000 Population, 1929*. Reprinted from the *American City* 42:3 (March 1930) 169-173; 42:4 (April 1930) 108-109.
3. Martin, James W., and Stephenson, C. M. *Taxation of Private and Common-Carrier Motor Vehicles by Municipalities*. 1931.
4. *Selected List of Recent Municipal Research Reports*. 1931.
5. Bird, Frederick L. *The Present Financial Status of 135 Cities in the United States and Canada*. 1931.
6. Rightor, Charles E. *Comparative Tax Rates of 290 Cities, 1931*. Reprinted from the *National Municipal Review* 20:12 (December 1931) 703-18.
7. Wolff, David. *Salaries and Conditions of Employment of Police Forces in 245 Cities in the United States and Canada*. 1932.

Mimeographed Series

1. Stone, Donald C. *A New Efficiency Rating System*. Cincinnati Bureau of Municipal Research. 1927. Abstracted, 1927.
2. Carter, Leyton E. *Government Responsibility in the Fields of Social Work*. Abstracted, 1927.
3. Crosser, Callender A. *Financing the Des Moines City Plan*. Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research. 1927. Abstracted, 1927.
4. Matscheck, Walter. *Special Assessment Procedure*. Kansas City Public Service Institute. 1927. Abstracted, 1928.
5. Syracuse Municipal Research Commission. *The Selection of Patrolmen in Syracuse, New York*. 1929. Abstracted, 1929.
6. Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau. *Report on the Survey of the Buffalo City Hospital*. 1929. Abstracted, 1929.
7. New York State Bureau of Municipal Information. *Model Noise Ordinance*. Reprinted, 1930.
8. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research. *The Condemnation Procedure of Twenty-Three Cities*. 1928. Abstracted, 1930.
9. Los Angeles County Bureau of Efficiency. *Survey of the Purchasing and Stores Department, County of Los Angeles*. 1928. Abstracted, 1930.
10. Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research. *The Regulation of Minor Highway Privileges*. 1929. Abstracted, 1930.
11. Maddox, W. Rolland. *Municipal Licenses for Hawkers and Peddlers and Transient Merchants*. Michigan Municipal League. 1930. Abstracted, 1930.
12. *Regulation of Miniature Golf Courses*. Compiled from reports by state Leagues of Municipalities. 1930.
13. Ostrow, E. K. *Selected Bibliography on Garbage and Refuse Disposal*. 1930.
14. League of Wisconsin Municipalities. *Model Ordinance for the Regulation of Junk Dealers and The Regulation of Municipal Sales of Obsolete and Scrap Materials* (by Joseph W. Nicholson). 1931.

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Endnotes

¹ FDR could. In 1936, he was preparing to appoint the President's Committee on Administration Management (consisting of Louis Brownlow, Luther Gulick, and Charles E. Merriam). Brownlow and Gulick assumed that the Committee would be funded by the Rockefellers, as it had their preceding Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel (1933-35), Brownlow's Public Administration Clearing House (established in 1930), and the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council. FDR vetoed that idea and insisted that it be funded by a presidentially-controlled federal account (Roberts 1996).

² Entry for January 12, 1934, Louis Brownlow Diaries, Box 1, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Libraries, Chicago. He used similar language in his entry for December 16, 1933.

³ Spelman, who died in 1915, had been the spouse of John D. Rockefeller, Sr.

⁴ The quote comes from the second round of funding in 1929. Letter from Ravell McCallum, Secretary, Spelman Fund of New York, to Richard S. Childs, MAS, May 29, 1929. Folder 10: Municipal Administrative [sic] Service 1927-1929, Box 2, Series III: General, Gulick Papers, Newman Library Archives, Baruch College, New York. It is probably significant that the wording is stronger and more restrictive than a potential grant to the Brookings Institution in 1932 to take over MAS and expand it into a Public Administration Service: "The Spelman Fund wishes that only such public announcement as may be considered necessary be made in regard to this gift and that the reference be to it appear as inconspicuously as possible" (Letter from Guy Moffett, Secretary, The Spelman Fund of New York, to Harold G. Moulton, President, Brookings Institution, May 10, 1932; Rockefeller Foundation file, Entry 66: Correspondence concerning Gifts and Contributions, 1923-1962, Brookings Archives). The likely explanation is that funding anything affiliated with the activist NML was viewed as riskier than funding the Brookings Institution, which already had a well-established reputation as a nonpartisan research center promoting good government.

⁵ The usually comprehensive Rockefeller Archive Center in Sleepy Hollow, NY, did not have any records on this initial funding application and the internal decision-making leading up to its approval of the grant (email to the author from archivist Amy Fitch, February 17, 2015, author's files). Therefore, this interpretation is the author's attempt to reconstruct what plausibly were the considerations which led to the approval of the grant.

⁶ As printed on MAS stationery. Letter from Russell Forbes to Members of the Governing Committee, October 9, 1929. Folder 10: Municipal Administrative Service 1927-1929, Box 2, Series III: General, Gulick Papers.

⁷ "The Municipal Administrative [sic] Service," *Municipal Reference Library Notes* 13:7 (February 15, 1927), p. 34.

⁸ For a short public administration-oriented biography of Dodds, see "In This Number," *Public Administration Review* 20:1 (Winter 1960), p. ii.

⁹ For a short public administration-oriented biography of Upson, see *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 199 (September 1938), p. 175.

¹⁰ For a short public administration-oriented biography of Beyer, see "In This Number," *Public Administration Review* 19:4 (Autumn 1959), p. ii.

¹¹ February 3 and April 16, 1928. Folder 10: Municipal Administrative Service 1927-1929, Box 2, Series III: General, Gulick Papers. It is possible, though not probable, that Gulick's files were incomplete.

¹² Ballots: May 31 and June 26, 1929; FYI notification: Auditor's report, October 9, 1929, *ibid.* Again, Gulick's records might be incomplete.

¹³ Memo from Forbes to the governing committee, October 9, 1929. Folder 10: Municipal Administrative Service 1927-1929, Box 2, Series III: General, Gulick Papers.

¹⁴ Russell Forbes, *Report of the Municipal Administration Service for the Year Ending August 31, 1931*, typescript, p. 1. Folder 10, Container 54, Series 4 (Committees and Projects), Records of the National Municipal League 1890-1991, Archives and Special Collections, Auraria Library, Denver, CO.

¹⁵ Letter from Ravell McCallum, Secretary, Spelman Fund of New York, to Richard S. Childs, MAS, May 29, 1929.

¹⁶ Forbes, *Report of the Municipal Administration Service*, pp. 7-8.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁸ "Proposed Three Year Program for the Municipal Administration Service," n.a. (probably Forbes), n.d. (probably about 1929). Folder 10: Municipal Administrative Service 1927-1929, Box 2, Series III: General, Gulick Papers.

¹⁹ Memo from Russell Forbes to Members of the Governing Committee, April 18, 1929. Folder 10: Municipal Administrative Service 1927-1929, Box 2, Series III: General, Gulick Papers. Of the seven member board, the four opponents were Chairman Richard Childs (NML), Harold Dodds (NML), Luther Gulick (GRA), and Henry Waite (NML). Supporters of incorporation were William Beyer (GRA) and Harold Buttenheim (NML). Lent Upson (GRA) did not vote. The rejection likely contributed to the Rockefellers' increasing disenchantment with MAS and ultimate decision not to extend funding after that. It is significant that one of the first steps taken by PAS in 1933 as the successor to MAS was to incorporate as a nonprofit corporation, precisely what Spelman had suggested to MAS.

²⁰ For example: "Reform in Taxation Advised for Economy," August 20, 1927, p. 21; "Seeks to Simplify Reports by Cities," June 9, 1928, p. 25. Also, sometimes the editorial page made positive references to MAS's publications, e.g., "Gasoline Taxes," August 8, 1930, p. 11.

²¹ "Municipal Government Costs Still Mounting," October 30, 1931, p. 2.

²² "Scientific Street Signs" (editorial), March 12, 1928, p. A4.

²³ "Gas Tax Urged by Crawford for Farm Aid," March 4, 1929, p. 11.

²⁴ Letter from Forbes to Moffett, August 2, 1932. Folder 356: Municipal Administration Service, Rockefeller Archives. Forbes wrote that MAS had been given positive coverage in 1932 in *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Vanity Fair*, *Fortune*, and *The New Republic* (p. 1).

²⁵ "Firemen's Salaries, Hours, Etc., in 49 Cities," 42:3 (March 1930), pp. 169-73. The next issue contained a parallel article on policemen: 42:4 (April 1930), pp. 108-09. Reprinted by MAS as publication #2 of its statistical series.

²⁶ "Proposed Three Year Program for the Municipal Administration Service."

²⁷ "Report to Governing Committee on Work of Municipal Administration Service from September 1, 1927 to February 29, 1928," n.a., n.d. Folder 10: Municipal Administrative Service 1927-1929, Box 2, Series III: General, Gulick Papers.

²⁸ Before his Rockefeller role, Moffett had been a senior official at the US Civil Service Commission and the Personnel Classification Board. This gave him a deep background and familiarity with government operations. After retiring from the Rockefeller philanthropies in mid-1941, he returned to Washington. During WWII, he was appointed by FDR to the White House staff as a full-time Consultant in the Liaison Office for Personnel Management (an agency within the Executive Office of the President). He re-retired in 1944 (Lee 2016).

²⁹ Donald C. Stone, Transcript of 1983 oral history interview, p. 11. Folder PAS IV, Box 40, Papers of Donald C. Stone, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Libraries, Syracuse, NY.

³⁰ "Biographical Sketch," n.a. (probably Moffett), n.d. (probably 1941). Folder: Mr. Moffett, Box 23, Papers of William H. McReynolds, Franklin Roosevelt Presidential Library, Hyde Park, NY.

³¹ Letter from Guy Moffett, Secretary, The Spelman Fund of New York, to Harold G. Moulton, President, Brookings Institution, May 10, 1932. Rockefeller Foundation, Entry 66: Correspondence concerning Gifts and Contributions, 1923-1962, Brookings Archives.

³² Moffett had an ongoing interest in improving intergovernmental relations. In 1939, he met with Harold Smith, FDR's budget director, to suggest providing funding of an "experiment in several counties in the country bringing together federal, state, and local governmental programs into closer cooperation and integration at the local level" (Daily Memoranda October-December 1939, Box 1, Harold Smith Papers, FDR Library). The idea apparently morphed into a proposal from him in mid-1940 for improving coordination of FDR's pre-war national defense effort with state and local governments (*Minutes of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, June 12, 1940 to October 22, 1941* [Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1946], pp. 34, 48).

³³ "A Proposed Public Administration Service of the Brookings Institution," President's Report, Board of Trustees Meeting, May 18, 1932, p. 213. Entry 2, Minutes and Agendas of the Board of Trustees, Brookings Archives.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 204. That Moffett first turned to Brookings, rather than to Brownlow's PACH, to succeed MAS is an indication that Moffett had not been wholly coopted by Brownlow, despite a warm relationship and working together on many projects.

³⁵ Letter from Forbes to Moffett, August 2, 1932.

³⁶ Reply from Moffett to Forbes, September 14, 1932. Folder 356: Municipal Administration Service, Rockefeller Archives.

³⁷ Entry for June 5, 1934, Brownlow Diaries.

³⁸ Regrettably, the archival holdings of Brownlow's daily diary begins after the move was a *fait accompli*. The first reference to PAS in the diary is for November 22, 1933.

³⁹ I did not find any documentation explaining why "the" was omitted from its name. But it apparently derived from Brownlow. Most references to PAS later in public administration publications and newspaper coverage did not notice this detail and often used "the" before its title.

⁴⁰ Memo from Brownlow to PACH Executive Committee, June 3, 1933, n.t. Folder 697: PACH, Rockefeller Archives.

⁴¹ “New Group to Aid Economy by Cities,” *New York Times*, August 29, 1933, p. 25.

⁴² Letter from Forbes to Moffett, March 22, 1933. Folder 356: Municipal Administration Service, Rockefeller Archives.

⁴³ Letter from Moffett to Forbes, March 27, 1933. Ibid.

⁴⁴ The *Bulletin of the National Tax Association* used the identical wording, presumably taken straight from the NML article (“Public Administration Service,” 19:1 [October 1933], p. 19).

⁴⁵ Memo from Brownlow to PACH Executive Committee, June 3, 1933.

⁴⁶ Letter from Brownlow to Moffett, January 26, 1934. Folder 722: Public Administration Service, Rockefeller Archives.

⁴⁷ “Archives Stuff,” in a PAS news update from Executive Director Herman Pope, September 15, 1958, mimeograph. File: PAS, Box 23, Charles S. Ascher Papers, Archival Collection, Columbia University Libraries, New York.

⁴⁸ Stone oral history, p. 10.

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Note to Future Researchers

The archive of PAS papers might have additional material on the death of MAS and the birth of PAS. However, at the time of this inquiry (2015), PAS’s archives were not yet open to researchers. Professor Louis Picard, the last PAS head, donated about 40 boxes of records to the archives at the University of Pittsburgh (email to the author, June 12, 2015, author’s files). This made sense not only based on his institutional affiliation, but also because the PAS’s Donald Stone had capped his public administration career there as dean of its public affairs school. The boxes comprise the records which were in the PAS office files when it closed in 2002-03. Given that the collection had not been fully processed, a finding aid was not yet available either (email to the author from Zachary L. Brodt, University Archivist, University of Pittsburgh, June 17, 2015, author’s files). Future researchers interested in public administration history will greatly benefit from this archival collection once it opens.

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Trying to Professionalize Expert Knowledge (Part II): A Short History of Public Administration Service, 1933-2003

Mordecai Lee

Introduction, Overview and Scope

American public administration history has tended to focus on the creation and institutional maturation of the field as an area of professional practice and as an academic discipline. Some of the signal events and small coterie of activists involved in them include Louis Brownlow's Public Administration Clearing House (PACH) in Chicago, Luther Gulick's Institute of Public Administration (IPA), which was the organizational successor to the seminal New York Bureau of Municipal Research, Clarence Ridley's International City Managers' Association (ICMA), Charles E. Merriam's Social Science Research Council and its Committee on Public Administration (CPA/SSRC), the report of the President's Committee on Administrative Management (aka the Brownlow Committee, with Gulick and Merriam as members) in 1937, and the founding of the American Society for Public Administration in 1939.

Yet, the historical literature has not been as detailed when it comes to the full run and then demise of some of these cornerstone entities. Pioneering actions are trumpeted, but the long fat tail of institutional entropy tends to be less noted, if at all. For example, there does not seem to be much detailed attention in the literature to PACH's later life through to its dissolution in 1956, to the Institute of Public Administration through to its formal dissolution in 2004, nor to the landmark training programs of the National Institute of Public Affairs (NIPA), which by the 1970s had atrophied into a minor organization and then merged into the National Academy of Public Administration.

During this period, some of the good-government activists were rank and file citizens attracted to the goals of cleaning up government corruption. They often were associated with the National Municipal League and the National Civil Service Reform League. Their goals and activities tended to be controversial, political, and oft-times oriented to *voters*, such as for or against referenda on municipal charter revisions or state constitutional conventions.

A different cluster of good-government activists focused on the substantive work of civil servants and the operations of government agencies. The focus of these reformers was on the professionalization of public administration (Plant 2015). In particular, this group emphasized that its interest was wholly nonpolitical and nonpartisan. Promoting effective and efficient government was a value-free goal, they said, completely separate from politics and controversy. This stipulation echoed the so-called scientific management movement founded by Frederick Winslow Taylor, namely that there was only a one best way to do anything.

The difference between political controversy and apolitical management was a key distinction for the grants officers of the Rockefeller philanthropic funds. The family was keen to overcome its negative reputation deriving from the predatory and monopolistic practices of its founder, John D. Rockefeller, Sr., and his business, the Standard Oil Company. Funding research and other initiatives to raise the quality and efficiency of civil servants was an appealing goal. Who could argue with that? Conversely, causes that were political and partisan were to be kept at arms' length (if not farther) and never funded. The 1937 annual report of the Rockefellers' Spelman Fund captures concisely how the fund differentiated between politics and administration. It had "no partisan political objectives, but is concerned solely with the problems involved in the administration of policies already decided upon by its beneficiaries."¹

Hence Rockefeller grants provided major underwriting for efforts to professionalize and depoliticize public administration (Roberts 1994). The family's only condition was that the new field of public administration be clearly seen as a nonpartisan, nonpolitical and non-controversial profession, wholly separate from the messy world of politics. This condition was the cause of the 1914 reorganization of the Bureau of Municipal Research in New York City (Lee 2013). After that, the Bureau largely disappeared from the headlines except when it issued major, but eye-glazing and technocratic, reports identifying ways to improve the efficiency of city and state government in a specific area of bureaucratic activity such as accounting, budgeting, and contracting. By the mid-1920s, the Rockefellers' funding role was well-established and significant to the emergence of the purported science and profession of public administration.

But some of the standard pieces of the new profession were still missing, such as associations for practitioners and an organization for faculty interested in the subject. Another missing component was an institutionalized framework for the creation of knowledge to improve practice and the dissemination of such knowledge. Such a venue was viewed as an essential element to round out a true profession of public administration.

This article is an organizational history of Public Administration Service (PAS) (not "the"²), one of the central professional venues for expertise, advice and information dissemination to benefit the practice of public administration. Its organizational roots had begun modestly in 1926 with the Municipal Administration Service (MAS). MAS dissolved in 1933, followed immediately by PAS's establishment as a component of Louis Brownlow's PACH in Chicago (Lee 2017). PAS later moved to the Washington, DC area and gradually shrank, closing its DC office in 2002, sputtering on for a few more years as PAS Associates. The intent here is to summarize the life cycle history of PAS. In all, the history of PAS serves as something of a synecdoche of the professionalization of American public administration as a whole, its rise, golden years, and slow demise.

There has been little published in the academic literature on the entire organizational history of PAS, except mostly passing references and citations of PAS publications. Three informal histories of PAS were published by authors who had been associated with it (Sitkoff 1983; Newland 1984; Henry 2009). Given the largely blank slate from historians, this inquiry seeks to be an initial sketch of the organization's history. As an exploratory examination, it is, by necessity, unable to include a detailed examination of the content, value, quality, and impact of the several hundred PAS reports and publications. That is an extensive topic which covers many academic literatures and disciplines and is beyond the possible scope of an exploratory effort.

Helping Construct the New Profession Public Administration, 1933-1956

Brownlow, as chairman of PAS's Governing Board, worked to make PAS many things to many people, including a research center, a consulting service, and a publishing house. (The birth of PAS is recounted in Lee 2017.) The scope of those activities would be as extensive as his view of what public administration encompassed, namely a broad profession engaged in the entire panoply of governmental operations including both line and staff functions. For example, in 1935 PAS listed itself as providing consulting in general administration, personnel, police, public welfare, fire, public works, municipal utilities, and public libraries (Ridley and Nolting 1935, 346-70).

The initial transitional funding for setting up PAS came from the funds the Spelman Foundation had already provided for the general operations of PACH. A year later, Spelman granted PAS \$25,000 to serve working capital for the new corporation.

Brownlow also wanted PAS to get off to a fast start. He quickly chose Donald Stone, research director for ICMA's now-disbanded research operation, as PAS's director of consulting and research and Charles Ascher, one of his aides in PACH, to head the PAS publication program. The initial Board of Directors consisted of eight members, six representing the organizations affiliated with (what was called) the Chicago group (PACH, ICMA, American Municipal Association, American Public Welfare Association, Municipal Finance Officers' Association, and American Legislators' Association) and two representing the organizations which had sponsored PAS's quasi-predecessor, the Municipal Administration Service (National Municipal League and Governmental Research Association).

Considering that it was the summer of 1933, just after FDR's 100 days, there was an emergency need for the professionalization of public administration in the new alphabet agencies of the (first) New Deal. Roosevelt was creating "instant" organizations and he wanted them to expend funding as fast as possible as an antidote to the Great Depression. The President was not attentive to details of administration, but certainly he and his lieutenants understood that the conservative coalition in Congress was watching closely and would be eager to complain about unaccounted spending, lack of appropriate paperwork or books that did not balance. Therefore, during its initial years, PAS was something of the New Deal's consulting firm, ready to establish the basics of good management in the hurly-burly atmosphere of these new agencies.

For example, the Public Works Administration (PWA), headed by Harold Ickes (separate from his duties as Interior Secretary), hired PAS to establish an accounting system for the agency's field

operations,³ an accounting manual with instructions to municipalities receiving construction grants,⁴ creation of an internal administrative system for the agency,⁵ and a model bill for local public housing authorities wanting to qualify for PWA construction grants.⁶

For the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), PAS staffers briefly took over direct administration of relief in Oklahoma replacing state government.⁷ The Civil Works Administration (CWA), a subsidiary entity of FERA, hired PAS to create an agency-wide accounting system,⁸ conduct regional accounting training sessions,⁹ and reorganize the administration of the Massachusetts regional office.¹⁰ Stone characterized PAS's role as that federal agency's "consulting accountant."¹¹ PAS also created a subject file of detailed management instructions for administrators of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and installed improvements in budgeting, accounting, auditing, plant, equipment procedures for the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA).¹²

But Brownlow did not want PAS too be too closely associated with the federal government and he gradually tried to reduce this line of business. He viewed PACH for that role, especially dealing with federal administration at the highest levels.¹³ Rather, he wanted PAS to focus much more on helping improve public administration in state and local governments.¹⁴ By the end of 1936, PAS had largely withdrawn from serving federal agencies and had already fulfilled nearly 50 contracts with state and local governments.¹⁵

Similarly, Brownlow wanted PAS to follow his conception of the new profession. He wanted public administration not only to be a value-free management process that was separate from politics, but also to be separate from substantive policy making. For example, he steered PAS away from consulting on the subject of municipal debt refinancing (a major topic during the Great Depression), stating that "it might involve giving advice to the governing body of a municipality with respect to major matters of policy not clearly within the administrative field."¹⁶

The fast growth of the nonprofit PAS as a consultant to local governments quickly prompted intense complaints from E. O. Griffenhagen, who ran a for-profit national consulting firm based in Chicago (Lee 2008, 106). It specialized in installing civil service systems, efficiency engineering, and administrative surveys. He protested to Brownlow that PAS was unfair competition, especially given its nonprofit status and the imprimatur it had from the associations represented on its Board.¹⁷ Brownlow and Stone tried to placate him by saying PAS's policy was only to accept jobs when specifically invited by a local government and that PAS did not submit bids in open competitions and requests for proposals.¹⁸ Privately, PAS staffers did not respect Griffenhagen's recent work, feeling that his reports were largely formulaic and that he generally only focused on recommendations for action rather than actually implementing them.¹⁹

Brownlow also recognized that the goal of financial self-sufficiency could understandably submerge PAS's other mission, research. He pressed for translating the results of individual consulting engagements into more generalized recommendations for adoption elsewhere.²⁰ This kind of evidence-based best practices would lead to the emergence of a science of public administration, he and other early professionalizers thought.

Generally, the advice of these PAS experts was assumed to be unimpeachable and unchallengeable. After all, these were efficiency experts who were solely interested in good management and

were “objective.”²¹ A rare exception occurred in Baltimore in 1949. PAS submitted a report criticizing the work of the city’s Board of Recreation and Parks. The Board hit back with an 18-page rebuttal stating that PAS’s investigation was only a “partial study of the facts” and was an “incomplete” review of the agency. Therefore, the Board rejected PAS’s claim of “indications of unsatisfactory conditions.”²²

Governance and Operations

In 1940, PAS advertised an expanded product line including “general assistance” to public officials through “review of materials, preparation of articles, attendance at conferences, and lectures,” publications for “general use [of] the principles” of public administration, and an internship training program.²³

In early 1934, the International Association of Public Works Officials and American Society of Municipal Engineers affiliated with PAS by naming representatives to the Governing Board.²⁴ Later that year, the Board expanded to include representatives of the Council of State Governments and the US Conference of Mayors (Paige 1934, 114) and then the International Association of Chiefs of Police.²⁵ By 1938, the Board had representatives of 14 organizations. Some of the later joiners included the American Society of Planning Officials, the Federation of Tax Administrators, and the National Association of Assessing Officers.²⁶ Brownlow sought to have an active board of directors, rather than one merely adorning a letterhead. To that end, he convened meetings roughly twice a year and they usually had good attendance (especially because many members were based in Chicago). In later years, the board usually only had annual meetings, but never became so inactive as to be a fiction.²⁷

In 1938, PAS and the other organizations affiliated with PACH moved into a new building next to the University of Chicago campus. Construction costs were funded by the Rockefellers.²⁸ Informally called “1313” for the number of its street address, it became the national capital of American public administration (Hazelrigg 1938).

Around the same time, with the approval of the Governing Board, Brownlow reorganized PAS’s staff leadership. He promoted Stone from head of the consulting division to the new position of PAS executive director. This added unity to the work of the consulting and publications divisions. But Stone soon resigned. In 1939, Harold Smith, FDR’s new budget director, hired Stone as the Bureau of the Budget’s first Assistant Director for Administrative Management. His PAS successor was Assistant Director David L. Robinson, a former city manager and federal administrator (Robinson 1938, 110). However, Robinson left four years later when he was mobilized for military duty.²⁹ PAS staffer Herman G. Pope, also previously a city manager, then became PAS’s longtime executive director (until 1972).³⁰

Brownlow planned for PAS to be a substantial enterprise with an annual budget of \$20,000, \$15,000 a year from Spelman and \$5,000 from publications sales.³¹ He also applied to the Spelman Fund for a \$25,000 grant for a working capital fund to permit the Consulting and Research Division to have adequate financial reserves to cover routine gaps between billings and payments.³² In total, from 1934 to 1941, PAS received about \$267,000 from the Spelman fund (Sitkoff 1983, 2). After that, it was self-supporting.

By its second year of operations, PAS had eight full-time professional staffers (Paige 1934, 114) and 18 four years later.³³ In 1934, it opened a regional office in Boston³⁴ and, a few years later, another in Berkeley (CA). By 1954, PAS had 36 full-time staffers.³⁵

Publishing House

PAS's initial publication series was a continuation of MAS's monograph series, which had ended with #30. PAS's first, #31, came out in June 1933 (Stone and Moe 1933). It was in typescript and mimeographed, giving the impression of a rush job. Gradually, the numbered series took on a more professional look, including orange covers and typeset. Through 1939, the monograph series had reached #67³⁶ and #127 by 1956 (Thole et al. 1956). During its run in this period, the numbered series covered a wide range of categories including proposals for public policy (Unwin 1935), conference reports (Lambie 1935), case studies for best practices emanating from consulting engagements (Atkinson and Matsheck 1937), bibliographies (Culver 1940), reference and source books (Anderson 1949), academic studies (Morstein Marx 1947), catalogs (Mensing 1952), and model laws (Goldberg and Seidman 1953). In length, they ranged from 12 pages (Chatters and Rae 1934) to 319 (Thole et al. 1956). Most were under 100 pages, fitting in an informal definition of a monograph.

From its start in 1933, PAS also published books and monographs which were at-large, i.e. unnumbered and unrelated to a series. These were sometimes published reports from consulting engagements, such as 1938's *Report on Financial Administration in the Michigan State Government*. Others were in the nature of practitioner guidebooks, such as *Police Records: Their Installation and Use* (Wilson 1942). A few were substantial works that did not fit well in the more traditional scope of the monograph series, such as Brownlow's *The President and the Presidency* (1949) and Goetz's *Visual Aids for the Public Service* (1954).

PAS also served as the publishing house for the studies funded by the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council (CPA/SSRC), another Rockefeller project. The major series, "Studies in Administration" consisted of 13 volumes from 1937 to 1945.³⁷ In the retrospect of history, authors were a who's who of the next generation of leaders, including V. O. Key, John Millett, Don K. Price, George Graham, Arthur Macmahon, and Gladys Ogden.³⁸ A "special series" of monographs appears to have had 38 numbered volumes, apparently ending with Latham (1947).³⁹ On behalf of CPA/SSRC's Special Committee on Research Materials, in 1940-47 PAS published 120 case studies in a separately numbered series.⁴⁰ Finally, PAS published a few CPA/SSRC bibliographies and research guides (Herring 1940; Anderson 1946).

When PAS first started, Brownlow hoped sales revenue would cover the costs of publications. In particular, when a publication was sponsored by a professional association on PAS's board it sold well with its membership.⁴¹ But pricing publications to cover costs could be detrimental to other PAS goals, such as disseminating new knowledge about best practices.

End of the Brownlow Era

The extent that PAS accomplished what Brownlow had sought for it was confirmed in 1955 in a feature article in the weekly magazine *Collier's* titled "How Can This Man Help Your City?" (Hunt 1955). It described PAS as a nonprofit organization of 35 management experts who were trouble-shooters and could solve just about any problem in government. PAS was "like a clinic, its staffers like doctors. They minister to governments." Its staffers were "a small band of bookish, self-effacing young men." Pope was quoted saying PAS's mission was helping improve "citizen-controlled enterprises whose aim is the quietly efficient service of mankind." The article was a validation of public administration as apolitical and non-ideological. In the retrospect of history, the article was a significant high-water mark of PAS's standing and credibility as apolitical good government expertise. It captured the zeitgeist of the time.

By now, Brownlow had retired (Brownlow 1958, 458). Herbert Emmerich succeeded him as PACH director and, in turn, PAS board chair. However, the financial support PACH (and other 1313 entities) had gotten from the Rockefellers was gradually diminishing. In an internal reorganization of the Rockefeller philanthropies, the Spelman Fund was disbanded in 1950. New sources of foundation funding for ongoing operating costs (as opposed to specific projects) were not apparent.

Originally, Brownlow and the Spelman Fund had been hoping to create an endowment to provide permanent funding for PACH. One such effort involved the stock of the Washington, DC newspaper *United States Daily*. Founded by David Lawrence in 1926, its goal was as a (for-profit) newspaper of record for developments in the three branches of the federal government. Seeing an opportunity for synergy in its support for the professionalization of public administration, in 1931 the Spelman Fund invested about half a million dollars in the *Daily*. A condition of the investment was that the newspaper would expand its coverage to include state and municipal governments. In this way, the *Daily* could become a key source of information for public administrators at all levels (and, nicely, a new income stream of subscriptions). The Spelman Fund conveyed the stock to PACH's trust fund, hoping that it would generate ongoing earnings to fund PACH.⁴² It was not to be. Income from subscriptions and advertising were never enough to break even, let alone make a profit and distribute dividends. To save money, it briefly became a weekly, but then in 1934 filed for reorganization. The stock became worthless.⁴³

In 1956, PACH had run out of money and disbanded (Brownlow 1958, 465-66). It conveyed the responsibility for 1313 to PAS, turning PAS into a landlord for the buildings' tenants, now 14 professional associations. PAS's board was slightly expanded to include a representative of the university (which owned the building).⁴⁴ Pope created a Central Services Division to manage the building. PAS also inherited PACH's library of more than 100,000 items.⁴⁵

Attacks from the Far Right, Overexpansion and Near-Death Experience, 1957-1977

In 1959, the conservative magazine *American Mercury* published a scathing attack on 1313 as the center of a world government conspiracy aimed at abolishing democracy and local control by pro-

moting metropolitan government, i.e. mergers of city and county governments to be run by appointed managers. PAS was described as one of two “main subcells” containing “secretariats” promoting this evil idea (Hindman 1959, 9).⁴⁶ A few years later, another publication highlighted PAS as one of the most influential components of the 1313 monster (Bruce 1962, 65, 109-11). Another accusation was that in the mid-1950s that the National Municipal League (a PAS board member) employed a communist, who was subsequently fired (Brennan 2013). PAS was initially flummoxed by these odd accusations. Pope wrote a monograph, published by PAS, defending 1313 and PAS (1960). However, he apparently circulated it solely to inside stakeholders and did not attempt broader dissemination. He and others in the good government movement also arranged for *Reader's Digest* (a less conservative and high circulation magazine) to publish an implicit rebuttal to the attacks. Its title said it all: “‘1313’: Magic Number for Better Local Government” (Detzer, 1962).

This controversy notwithstanding, PAS continued to thrive. By 1959 it employed 53 people⁴⁷ and its Governing Board had 17 members, all (except at-large member Brownlow) representing public administration associations. PAS had three field offices, in Washington, San Francisco and Atlanta. In 1955, it had absorbed the small New York City-based American Public Utilities Bureau, which promoted vigorous municipal and state regulation of utilities and transit franchises.⁴⁸ Six years later, PAS listed its consulting expertise as surveys and installations regarding municipal organization and administration, public schools, financial administration, personnel administration, public works administration, public safety administration, institutional administration (such as hospitals), and utilities regulation.⁴⁹ In the mid-60s, PAS added public automation to its portfolio of expertise. It created a new division called Public Automated Systems Service (PASS) and began issuing a monthly newsletter, *Public Automation*, reporting on developments in the public sector.⁵⁰

PAS generally charged about \$100 per “man-day” and emphasized that it was non-profit. By 1961, it had completed about a thousand consulting projects, including 150 public sector clients beyond the continental US.⁵¹ Most of PAS’s growth during the 1960s came from US foreign aid consulting contracts, including temporary senior managers in the government of Liberia, civil service training in Afghanistan, and a computerized agricultural credit system in Malaysia.⁵² In 1967, PAS had 120 full-time staff members on the payroll, about two-thirds abroad. PAS’s budget for that year was nearly \$2.5 million.⁵³

Indicating its continued importance and link to the academic side of the discipline, PAS was invited to participate in the landmark 1968 Minnowbrook conference organized by Dwight Waldo. PAS’s Michael Meriwether was one of only six non-faculty among the 33 invitation-only conference participants (Marini 1971, 3).⁵⁴ Another high-water mark for PAS occurred in 1963 when it opened two more buildings. The first was an addition to the original 1313 structure, expanding its office space by half. Unlike the original 1313, this addition was not paid for by the Rockefellers. PAS borrowed about half a million dollars, with rents for the new space from 1313 tenants expected to generate the cash flow to pay off the mortgage. The university covered construction costs exceeding the loan.⁵⁵ Second, it opened a new adjacent building (at 1307 E. 60th St.) called the Center for Continuing Education. Designed by Edward Durrell Stone, it was financed by a grant from the Kellogg Foundation. A conference to dedicate the new building and celebrate the 25th anniversary of 1313 was to have been addressed by Brownlow, but his health did not permit him

to attend. Emmerich spoke in his place. Conference speakers reflected the next generation of leading academics, including Dwight Waldo, Rowland Egger, York Wilburn, and Ferrell Heady.⁵⁶

In the retrospect of history, PAS's timing in expanding 1313 and building the Center for Continuing Education couldn't have been worse. During LBJ's presidency, there was an explosion in the number of federal aid programs to state and local governments, including in education, health care, and social services (Wilson, Glickman and Lynn 2015). Invariably, these programs affected 1313's professional associations. The center of action was now in Washington. To influence the fine-grained details of federal aid programs affecting their members, it was necessary to have on-the-spot lobbying, whether of Congress, the rule-making bureaucracy or the White House. The only logic of being in Chicago was tautological, of being in the same building as like groups. Also, 1313 was located at the southern edge of the campus and street crime was increasing in the Hyde Park neighborhood. Some staffers felt unsafe working there (Pugh 1985, 478). In 1967, ICMA was the first to leave, moving to Washington. Gradually, nearly all 1313 organizations followed, emptying out most of the recently expanded building.

Nonetheless, PAS was busy. By 1971, in total, it had been contracted for about 4,000 projects. PAS now presented its areas of expertise as: personnel, organization and administration, finance, computer-based systems, health-education-welfare, public works and utilities, public safety, inter-governmental relations, legislative and judicial, and a catch-all category of special research.⁵⁷ Its total billings (between 1933 and 1983) was about \$65 million (Sitkoff 1983, 7).

Taking Over the Governmental Affairs Institute

PAS was as affected by the changes in federal public administration as much as its 1313 tenants. It, too, needed a foothold in Washington. Enter the Governmental Affairs Institute (GAI). GAI was the political science counterpart to PAS. Its mission was to recruit political scientists to assist with federal consulting contracts, many of them overseas as part of US foreign aid programs (and perhaps CIA).

GAI had been founded in 1950 by activist political scientists. Though a free-standing nonprofit, it was formally affiliated with the American Political Science Association (APSA). It initially received contracts from the State Department and Army to arrange visits and training programs for foreign dignitaries visiting the US seeking to learn more about American government. By 1970, it had hosted 10,000 foreign officials for briefings, visits and training programs.⁵⁸ Examples of later contracts included advising governments overseas (especially Iran), reports on federal-state relations for a presidential commission, and a series on election statistics by Richard Scammon. GAI owned its building at 1785 Massachusetts Avenue NW (near the Brookings Institution) and employed about 15 full-time political scientists (Scammon 1958). In another similarity to PAS, GAI sought to be more than a consulting organization with contracts from government agencies, rather also to promote research and to publish monographs.

Gulick was as active in GAI as he had been in PAS. He served for long stretches on its board of directors (sometimes chairman) and authored a formal plan, published by GAI, proposing a long-term research program on problems in metropolitan areas (1957). He thought GAI and PAS should become closer. But political science was changing. By the late 1960s, GAI was running out of steam (and money) and APSA had no interest in helping it. GAI's decline was an indication of the

internal politics of the discipline. With the empirical revolution underway, political scientists were less interested in good government or applied knowledge. Normative was passé. What counted was quantitative and empirical research. Being relevant to the outside world did not contribute to upward mobility within the discipline.

In 1969, Pope was asked to study a possible merger of GAI into PAS. He saw the benefits of establishing what he called “1313 East,” but warned it could be a “mixed blessing.” He recognized differences in what would now be called organizational culture and was leery of increasing PAS’s duties as a real estate manager (by having another building to fill and manage). That PAS would increase in size “would not necessarily make it better or stronger.”⁵⁹ While his report to the PAS Board was couched in neutral-to-vaguely-positive language, Pope was indirectly arguing against a merger or takeover. After much to-ing and fro-ing, the Board decided on an ostensible compromise, to retain GAI’s legal status as an independent nonprofit corporation with its own board, employees and assets, but with PAS appointing many of its board members and adding to PAS’s executive director similar responsibilities at GAI.⁶⁰

It was a sucker’s bet. After only a few years as staff director of the vaguely conjoined PAS-GAI, Pope had uncovered the full depth of GAI’s financial, legal, personnel, contractual, and real estate problems. He forced several long-time staffers to retire. Most severe was the real estate situation. GAI was already in the midst of constructing to a new building nearby. It expected that the non-GAI office space could easily be rented at premium prices and that the cash flow would cover all construction and maintenance costs. (Neither proved to be true.) There was also a messy claim by the former Board chairman that GAI had agreed to pay him a *salary*, ostensibly commensurate with that of GAI’s staff director and that he was now owed a substantial amount.⁶¹ Pope’s reports to the two boards increasingly reflected his near despair at overcoming these problems. Soon after, in 1972, he retired.

Pope’s successor was Edmund Ricketts, then PAS’s Associate Director.⁶² He was gung ho on the quasi-merger. He viewed it as contributing to restoring PAS to its 1930s and 40s prominence, by resuming non-income producing research and because presence in DC would open channels of influence and prestige. As it turned out, it was a disastrous financial mistake and he made it worse. PAS nearly folded. Some of the problems included rent from 1313 and the GAI buildings did not cover costs, IRS financial penalties due to underpayment of withholding for employees, arrearages in payments to the employee retirement trust fund, and an IRS tax lien against Ricketts personally. Books and records were not kept up to date nor were they factually accurate.

By early 1977, PAS was on the verge of not being “a viable operation.” This was news to the members of both boards because Ricketts had not kept them informed of the true situation. In an emergency series of PAS board actions, Ricketts was forced to retire (and he agreed to guarantee personally the shortages in the pension fund from his own pension account), negotiated a debt repayment schedule (including interest) with the IRS, fully merged GAI into PAS, and got out of the landlord business by surrendering 1313’s management to the university and moving to less expensive offices in the DC area. As Rickett’s replacement, the board appointed staffer Theodore Sitkoff.⁶³

Publishing House

During this period, PAS continued its numbered monograph series, apparently ending with #197 in 1972 (Hudson and McDonald). The unnumbered series between 1957 and 1977 seems episodic and near miscellanea. It included Walter Heller's 1941 dissertation at the University of Wisconsin-Madison (Penniman and Heller 1959),⁶⁴ a comprehensive handbook for personnel appraisals (Adams 1957), and, somewhat oddly in the context of PAS's mission, a guidebook for citizen involvement in politics and elections (Cass 1962). Mostly publications were final reports for consulting contracts (e.g., Friedman and Dunbar 1971). Also, as part of the expansion of PAS's consulting expertise into automated data processing, it published several volumes of bibliographies, annual reports (in cooperation with ICMA and the Council of State Governments) and collections of readings on the subject.

Apparently, the last conventional book PAS published was an updated edition of a 1963 volume (Due 1971). Significantly, the author's next revised version in 1983 was from Johns Hopkins University Press. Reflecting the demise of PAS as a publishing house, the author explained that PAS "has now *discontinued* publishing operations" (Due and Mikesell 1983, xvii, emphasis added). In total, PAS had issued 263 publications (Sitkoff 1983, 7).

Shrinking into a Contract-Based Consulting Service, 1977-2003

Sitkoff saved PAS. Probably the most important decision he immediately made was that for PAS to be financially viable it had to limit itself to revenue-earning projects which would cover its costs. It was a self-supporting nonprofit and *had* to break even. This essentially meant that PAS's mission now contracted solely to consulting. It got wholly out of the landlord business, publishing, and pure research. As for 1313, in 1982 only three professional governmental associations were still there.⁶⁵ In 1983, he closed PAS's vestigial two-person office there and moved the remainder of the shrunken organization to less expensive offices to McLean, in suburban northern Virginia.⁶⁶ He also closed all the remaining regional offices. At that point staffing was down to 31.

PAS also had the bad luck of poor timing. It now had competition. The federal government was spending enormous amounts of money (relative to preceding decades) on consulting, research, evaluation, analysis, and overseas technical assistance. That prompted for-profit consulting firms, till then mostly focused on business administration, to take notice. Here was a new revenue stream they could benefit from. Similarly, management consulting entrepreneurs figured out that they could create new corporations whose *raison d'être* was government consulting and contracts. The contract state was now in full bloom. Being nonprofit or having ostensible link to the academic world was of little benefit in the fierce sweepstakes for winning federal RFPs.

In an attempt to reinvigorate PAS's business, in 1988 it published as a marketing effort a practitioner-oriented monograph on the position appraisal method (Arnold 1988). In the Introduction, Sitkoff described the job evaluation system outlined in the monograph as a dynamic and modern technique that "public jurisdictions need," implying that readers should hire PAS to implement it. The monograph also included a "who we are" description of PAS and the services it offered. In particular, it emphasized that PAS had an "exclusive concentration on serving the public interest" as opposed to (implied) self-serving for-profit consultants.

During this period, PAS maintained a very small permanent staff (down to eight in the early 2000s), but used an ongoing network of consultants that it routinely hired on a project basis. It remained a relatively major enterprise through to the turn of the century: a budget of nearly \$2 million in 1999 (with a deficit of \$200,000), about \$1.2 million in 2000 (with a profit of about \$150,000) and about \$900,000 in 2001 (with a deficit of nearly \$250,000).⁶⁷ Clearly, the organization's trajectory was downwards.

Sitkoff retired in 2002 and was succeeded by Louis Picard.⁶⁸ Picard tried to keep it going, but by now it was in a death spiral.⁶⁹ PAS's last consulting report appears to have been for US AID on promoting governmental accountability in Ghana on December 8, 2003. Louis closed the PAS office earlier that year, but tried to keep the expert network alive briefly through an affiliated, but independent, consulting organization called PAS Associates. In 2002-03, PAS Associates had a few contracts in public safety, including studying the Seattle Police Department and examining a possible merger of the police departments in two small neighboring cities in Minnesota. It lasted about two years. Picard dissolved these remnants of PAS in 2005.⁷⁰

Conclusion

In 1984, PAS published a 45-page organizational history commemorating its 50th anniversary. The monograph is something of an epitaph for PAS. It was an expanded version of a talk that Professor Chester Newland gave to ASPA's DC chapter in 1983. He described PAS's first 30 years as the Golden Era of American public administration. Then came a "diffusion of community" (1984, 24). The founders' principle of academic and practitioner partnership "came apart" in the 60s and 70s (26). At the same time, the sense of solidarity and collegiality of public administration professionals changed to a "separationist" focus and compartmentalization. Finally, the field was overwhelmed by the politicization and deinstitutionalization of the federal government. Newland concluded that based on contemporary trends of the 1980s, public administration required a new realism in the practice of its ideals (43).

Symbolically, PAS faded and died during the presidency of George W. Bush. The first president with an MBA, he pushed for major expansion of privatization and subcontracting of federal services. These ever-larger streams of money pulled even more for-profit firms into the contracting and consulting business, further pushing PAS out of the action. With for-profit businesses zealously following the money, there was little room left for a traditional and old-fashioned nonprofit. The new world of business-like government management had passed it by.

PAS had a good run. No organization lasts forever. That PAS existed for 70 years must be seen as an accomplishment. While Brownlow's vision eventually became an anachronism, PAS accomplished much of what he had hoped for it. It was a nonprofit, seeking to help improve public administration with no motive other than disinterested service. It bound practitioners, academics and specialists into one organization intended to transfer professionalism and the latest thinking throughout the public sector in the US and, later, internationally. It was a major publishing house for academics and practitioners, presenting research, applied knowledge, reference works, and case studies for the improvement of the profession. In all, PAS made a creditable contribution to the new profession of public administration.

Looking both forward and backward, history has a future. Historiography of public administration appears to be gathering some momentum and critical mass in academic circles. The opening of new archival sources likely will provide much primary material for historians to examine. In particular, this brief overview of PAS's life and death only scratches the surface. More in-depth investigations beckon, including the impact of its publications on practice and histories of other central institutions of early public administration, including PACH, Gulick's IPA, CPA/SSRC, the DC-based National Institute of Public Affairs, and the National Civil Service Reform League.

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Endnotes

¹ "Spellman [sic] Fund Grants for 1937 Total \$858,550," *Christian Science Monitor*, October 26, 1938, 5. The use of the term "beneficiaries" as a synonym for elected officials and political institutions is odd, at least in modern usage. Perhaps it was used to obscure the close degree of oversight and control that politicians had over public administrators. The usage implies a similarity to the eleemosynary world, analogizing public administrators to nonprofit charities as beneficiaries of philanthropic donations.

² I did not find any documentation explaining why "the" was omitted from its name. But it apparently derived from Brownlow. Many later references to PAS did not notice the detail and used "the" before its title. At least once even Brownlow slipped, referring to it in his diary as "the Public Administration Service" (entry for March 5, 1934, Brownlow Diary [henceforth BD], University of Chicago Library's Archives).

³ Entry for December 5, 1933, BD.

⁴ Entry for December 20, 1933, BD.

⁵ Entry for January 12, 1934, BD.

⁶ Entry for January 7, 1934, BD.

⁷ Entry for March 16, 1934, BD.

⁸ Entry for December 5, 1933, BD.

⁹ Entry for December 20, 1933, BD.

¹⁰ Entry for January 14, 1934, BD.

¹¹ "American Cities Turn to Control by Experts," *New York Herald Tribune*, February 11, 1934, A2.

¹² PAS, "Monthly Report of Activities, November 1935," reprinted in entry for December 7, 1935, BD.

- ¹³ Brownlow, Memorandum [n.t.], [no addressee, probably Guy Moffett at the Spelman Fund], April 27, 1933. Folder 697, PACH, Rockefeller Archives. Moffett was one of the grants officers who handled funding for public administration. Later, Moffett was a presidential appointee in the Liaison Office for Personnel Management during World War II (Lee 2016).
- ¹⁴ Entry for May 16, 1934, BD.
- ¹⁵ PAS, "The Work of Public Administration Service," December 1936 (typescript, mimeograph).
- ¹⁶ Brownlow letter to Paul Betters, American Municipal Association, November 7, 1934, reprinted in entry for November 5, 1934, BD.
- ¹⁷ Entry for April 26, 1934, BD.
- ¹⁸ Entry for May 11, 1934, BD.
- ¹⁹ Stone Oral History Interview, 1983, 19. Folder: PAS IV, Box 40, Donald Stone Papers, Syracuse University Library Archives.
- ²⁰ Entries for June 6, 1934 and September 24, 1935, BD.
- ²¹ United Press, "U.S. Education Agency is being Reorganized," *New York Herald Tribune*, February 10, 1951, 2.
- ²² "Parks Board Hits Report," *Baltimore Sun*, December 7, 1949, 6.
- ²³ PACH, "Thirteen-Thirteen" (typeset pamphlet), July, 1940, 18.
- ²⁴ Stone memo to Brownlow, reprinted in entry for January 25, 1934, BD.
- ²⁵ Entry for September 25, 1934, BD.
- ²⁶ PAS, "The Work of Public Administration Service."
- ²⁷ During its 1965-70 run, the bi-monthly newsletter *Thirteen Thirteen: Center for Public Administration* (published by PAS as manager of 1313) routinely included articles on PAS board annual meetings: "Nolting, Conlon Named PAS Officers" (1:5 [May-June 1966] 7); "PAS Re-elects Nolting and Conlon" (2:5 [May-June 1967] 4); "PAS Emphasizes Cooperative Training and Research Programs" (3:3 [January-February 1968] 3-4).
- ²⁸ Associated Press, "Spelman Fund Gives Million to Chicago School," *New York Herald Tribune*, January 17, 1936, 16; "University Unit to be Entirely Air Conditioned," *Chicago Tribune*, August 16, 1936, 20; "College Building Begun," *New York Times*, March 16, 1937, 20; "Research Groups Co-operate in Survey of Government," *[Boston] Christian Science Monitor*, April 20, 1937, 1, 17.
- ²⁹ Indicating that some strings were pulled, Robinson was initially detailed to Stone's BOB office ("Col. Robinson Dies; Served as Clay Aide," *Washington Post*, November 7, 1947, B2).
- ³⁰ "Herman G. Pope, Headed Public Administration," *Washington Post*, December 14, 1973, B22.
- ³¹ Brownlow memo to PACH Executive Committee, June 3, 1933. PACH, Folder 697, Rockefeller Archives.
- ³² Brownlow letter to Moffett, January 26, 1934. PAS, Folder 722, Rockefeller Archives.
- ³³ PAS, "The Work of Public Administration Service."
- ³⁴ Entry for April 11, 1934, BD.
- ³⁵ Pope cover letter for PAS report to Interim Legislative Highway Study Committee, West Virginia State Legislature, January 11, 1954. The listing included a 37th person as a consulting expert on an as-needed basis.
- ³⁶ Listed on the back cover of #67: *Housing and Welfare Officials Confer: A Summary of Discussion at the Joint Conference of Housing and Welfare Officials* (Chicago: PAS).
- ³⁷ A complete list is on the page facing the title page of Latham (1947).
- ³⁸ After marrying Marshall Dimock, she continued writing using her married name.
- ³⁹ PAS continued identifying some subsequent publications as part of the numbered special series, but these were not associated with CPA/SSRC. The last was apparently #61 (Rutherford 1952).
- ⁴⁰ Some of the cases were written by PAS staff. *Case Reports in Public Administration* was issued in three loose-leaf binders. PAS was not the publisher of a *de novo* numbered series which began in 1948 and was sponsored by the new Committee on Public Administration Cases, later the Inter-University Case Program at Syracuse University.
- ⁴¹ Entries for January 24 and June 6, 1934, BD. For example, by late 1934, PAS had published five pamphlets on behalf of ICMA, eight from the Municipal Finance Officers' Association, and three for the National Association of Housing Officials (PAS, *Your Business of Government: Concise Bulletins for Public Officials Sponsored by Public Officials*, October 1, 1934). Also, in its early years, PAS was the publisher of some of these associations' routine publications, such as newsletters, yearbooks and conference proceedings (Entry for April 19, 1935, BD).
- ⁴² *New York Times*: "Spelman Fund Used \$1,908,000 Last Year," August 19, 1932, 18; "Spelman Grants of \$622,050 Listed," December 17, 1933, N6.
- ⁴³ Lawrence created a new company which bought the assets of the bankrupt company for \$55,000. The new publication eventually became the weekly *U.S. News & World Report*.
- ⁴⁴ PACH, "Announcement; Chicago, Illinois; October 1, 1956" (in the collection of Harvard's Graduate School of Design library). Emmerich eventually joined the University of Virginia faculty.

- ⁴⁵ PAS, *Public Officials and Consultants* (marketing brochure), 1961.
- ⁴⁶ The other was the Council of State Governments.
- ⁴⁷ Stationary of Pope's letter of transmittal of a PAS report to Robert B. Atwood, Chairman, Alaska Statehood Committee, February 6, 1959. Reflecting the times, PAS was no trailblazer in employing women. Of those 53 staffers, five were women. Probably the most prominent was Laverne Burchfield, who edited PAS publications and reports, but she was on PACH's payroll (Guy 2000).
- ⁴⁸ Pope memo to PAS Trustees, "Preliminary Review of Possible Combination of PAS and GAI (Governmental Affairs Institute)," August 28, 1969, 3. File: Government Affairs Institute 1969, Folder 3, Box 6, Gulick Papers.
- ⁴⁹ PAS, *Public Officials and Consultants*.
- ⁵⁰ *Thirteen Thirteen*: "Sharp Rise in Automation," 1:1 (September-October 1965) 3; "ADP Can Aid Code Enforcement," 4:2 (November-December 1968) 5. The newsletter's run was 1965-70. Automation ended up not being a profitable line of business so PAS eventually shut it down.
- ⁵¹ PAS, *Public Officials and Consultants*.
- ⁵² *Thirteen Thirteen*: "New Project Fills Liberia Govt. Posts," 1:3 (January-February 1966) 8; "Afghan Surveyors Complete Training," 1:5 (May-June 1966) 3; "Computerized Credit System Provides More Rice for Malaysia," 5:1 (September-October 1969) 1-2.
- ⁵³ Pope, annual summary for 1967, *PAS Parade* (Spring 1968) 7.
- ⁵⁴ While PAS did not participate in the Minnowbrook II conference in 1988, an underlying theme of the discussion was that the academic discipline needed to continue to be relevant to the world of practice (Bailey and Mayer 1992).
- ⁵⁵ PAS, "The Expansion Program at '1313,'" n.d. (probably 1962). File: PAS, Box 23, Charles S. Ascher Papers, Columbia University Library archives.
- ⁵⁶ *Institutional Cooperation for the Public Service: Report of a Conference* (Chicago: PAS, 1963). The continuing education building remains one of the campus's architecturally significant buildings, "an example of 1960s Post Modern Era in architecture, characterized by its concrete pillars and horizontal rather than vertical use of space" (accessed June 1, 2016: <http://architecture.uchicago.edu/locations>). At the time of writing (2016), the Urban Education Institute occupied 1313 and the Harris School of Public Policy was in the continuing education building (previously the building was called the New Graduate Residence Hall).
- ⁵⁷ PAS, *Catalog of Projects & Reports, 1933 through 1971* (in the collection of Cornell's library). An ad in *Public Administration Review* in 1972 provided a slightly different list: administration, organization, operations, data processing, finance, personnel, public works, and criminal justice (32:1, 63).
- ⁵⁸ "GAI's 20th Anniversary and 10,000th Visitor," *COSERV Across the U.S.A.* (National Council for Community Service to International Visitors newsletter) 14:3 (June 1970) 6.
- ⁵⁹ Pope memo to Board, "Preliminary Review of Possible Combination of PAS and GAI," August 28, 1969. GAI 1969, Folder 3, Box 6, Gulick Papers.
- ⁶⁰ For documentation, see File PAS/GAI 1969-72, Folder 15, Box 27, Gulick Papers.
- ⁶¹ For documentation of Pope's travails, see: GAI 1969, Folder 3, Box 6 and PAS/GAI 1970-71, Folder 16, Box 27, Gulick Papers.
- ⁶² Shortly after taking over PAS and GAI, Ricketts edited a 1973 *PAR* symposium on Canadian public administration (33:1).
- ⁶³ For documentation of these events and meetings, see PAS/GAI 1976-77, Folder 2, Box 28, Gulick Papers.
- ⁶⁴ Later, Heller chaired JFK's Council of Economic Advisors. Penniman was the longtime head of the public administration program at the University of Wisconsin-Madison Political Science Department. When I was an undergraduate majoring in political science (1967-70), she was the only woman in the department.
- ⁶⁵ As PAS's presence in 1313 was shrinking, in 1977, the university had rededicated building as the Charles E. Merriam Center for Public Administration. However, the university's takeover of the management of the building from PAS did not succeed at refilling the office space. Eventually, it was repurposed as the university's Urban Education Center. When 1313 closed as a public administration building, parts of the collection of its joint reference library were transferred to the university's library and the library of the American Planning Association (emails from Rebecca Starkey, Librarian for College Instruction and Outreach, University of Chicago, December 8 & 28, 2015; and Nick Ammerman, Library and Taxonomy Manager, American Planning Association, January 14, 2016; author's files).
- ⁶⁶ For a history of 1313 upon its 50th anniversary, see Knack and Rosen (1990).
- ⁶⁷ Based on PAS's IRS 990 forms online (accessed June 1, 2016): <http://www.guidestar.org/ViewPdf.aspx?PdfSource=0&ein=36-2169166>.
- ⁶⁸ Sitkoff died in 2010 (Patricia Sullivan, "Theodore Sitkoff, Management Consultant," *Washington Post*, January 8, 2010, B7).

⁶⁹ At the time of writing (2016), PAS's website circa 2002-03 remained online (accessed June 1, 2016): <http://www.pitt.edu/~picard/PAS/index.htm>.

⁷⁰ Picard email to the author, June 12, 2015. According to a 2006 letter by David Arnold (who had authored PAS's last monograph in 1988), when PAS closed it had about \$100,000 in debt, mostly legal fees (Arnold letter to Cam Andre, Charlie Henry and Mark Keane [former PAS staffers], February 22, 2006; copy provided by Henry).

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At the time of the field research and data collection for this inquiry (2015), PAS's archives were not yet open. Professor Louis Picard donated about 40 boxes of records to the archives of the University of Pittsburgh (email to the author, June 12, 2015). The collection had yet to be processed (email from Zachary Brodt, Archivist, University of Pittsburgh, June 17, 2015).

In Defense of Bullshit: Administrative Utility of the Philosophically Ephemeral

Staci M. Zavattaro

Introduction

Public administration scholars and practitioners alike grapple with how to achieve authentic participation in governance processes (King, Feltey and Susel 1998). There is a desire for truthful interactions between all participations to make democratic-styles of governance effective (Harmon 2011). These issues are becoming especially pertinent as the field embraces collaborative public management and shared governance strategies to create public value (Agranoff 2006; Bryson, Crosby and Bloomberg 2014; Catlaw 2006; McGuire 2006; O’Leary, Gerard and Bingham 2006). Oftentimes, administrators struggle with achieving authentic participation because traditional means of participation can become at best tokenism and at worst agonistic (Arnstein 1969; Innes and Booher 2004; Irvin and Stansbury 2004). Despite challenges, the ideal that participation can increase citizen trust in government remains a normative view within public administration discipline and practice (Wang and van Wart 2007).

Consensus-building practices might not directly enhance trust and participation, perhaps because consensus-based decision making processes sometimes devolve into power-laden sessions without much space of dissensus and debate (Janis 1972; Mouffe 1999; Wang and van Wart 2007; Zavattaro 2014). Citizens and administrators might see public participation as bullshit. Bullshit typically has a negative connotation as wasteful, spurious, and even harmful rhetoric used to manipulate people or situations. Typically, we all like to avoid bullshit. But what if bullshit did not have to be negative? Is there a space in public administration for appreciating bullshit? The purpose of this paper is to theoretically introduce a revised view of bullshit into King et al.’s (1998) model of authentic participation to rescue power-based consensus processes from being perceived as useless administrative endeavors (Wang and van Wart 2007). To do so, Perla and Carifio’s (2007) revised interpretation of bullshit is used, whereby the authors conceptualize bullshit as a natural part of dynamic debate and discussion. As scholars within public administration argue for politics and debate (Spicer 2010), introducing bullshit in this revised form can highlight how the open exchange of ideas can work toward bridging the citizen-administrator gap. The bridge between authentic participation and the revised interpretation of bullshit is Box’s (2005) critical imagination,

whereby citizens and administrators are encouraged to use dialectical thinking to shift the status quo.

This paper begins with a brief overview of citizen participation, focusing specifically on King et al.'s (1998) framework before introducing Frankfurt's (2005) popular treatise *On Bullshit* as a foundation for definition and explanation of the term. Next, Perla and Carifio's (2007) revised interpretation of bullshit if woven into the King et al. (1998) framework to show how bullshit might be used to move public administrators beyond power-laden, consensus-based decision-making spaces to ones that appreciate bullshit as a mechanism for creativity and critical thinking. The paper closes with some implications for public administration. Each section is meant to be a building block toward building this theory of bullshit in public administration shown in Figure 1 below.

Building Block 1: Citizen Participation, A Brief Primer

Citizen participation has been a concern for public administration scholars since Wilson asserted that "whenever public opinion exists it must rule" (1887, 208). A problem with bowing to public opinion is deciding who counts as part of the people (Catlaw 2007). Nevertheless, public administrators still strive for citizen participation in efforts to increase transparency, accountability, and legitimacy of the administrative state (Stout 2013; Waldo 2006). Administrators can change processes to include space for citizens (King 2011), increasing empathy between administrators and citizens (Zanetti 2011), and building trust (Yang and Pandey 2011). Participation, however, is not without its limits (Argyle and Merwin 2007; Irvin and Stansbury 2004; Riedel 1972). Roberts (2004) argues that citizen participation is the cornerstone of democratic governance, detailing positive aspects of representative democracy that limit unbridled direct democracy. There are many ways to view citizens and citizenship, which can restrict who participates (see also Catlaw 2007). Citizens can be legal entities, ethical entities, or sociological entities who participate as individuals or for the greater collective. All told, according to Roberts (2004), these differences muddy the waters of what we know as citizen participation.

For purposes of this paper, Arnstein's (1969, 216) definition of citizen participation is used: "the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future." A key part of this definition is the redistribution of power (Roberts 2004), which makes room for direct citizen participation in governance processes, as Arnstein (1969) envisions with movement up her ladder. Riedel (1972) echoes these ladder rungs in terms of how citizens participate with government agencies. He distinguishes between four kinds agency-appointed groups: advisory, supportive, put-off, and put-on. Advisory groups are created when an agency needs expertise it does not necessarily have or faces a potentially tricky issue. Supportive groups emerge when an agency faces opposition to an issue and seeks answers that will validate its point of view. Put-off committees indicate that the agency does not want to deal with an issue immediately so will appoint individuals who will never agree, individuals from a narrow spectrum, or individuals without a personal stake in the issue. In each situation, the agency still maintains control and hopes the issue will eventually die. Finally, put-on groups emerge when an agency hears from publics that change is needed but cannot handle change themselves, or when there is a serious problem with which it cannot immediately deal. Again, the agency tries to undermine the deliberative processes by controlling who sits on the

committee and the information members receive. These latter two are the lower rungs of Arnstein's ladder and do not make for authentic participation. Typically, these are the models of participation that turn people away from involving themselves in decision making or politics beyond voting (Riedel 1972). In an attempt to shift this view, King, Feltey and Susel (1998) aim for what they call authentic participation.

According to King et al (1998), public participation consists of four major elements: issue or situation, administrative structures and processes to facilitate participation, administrators themselves, and citizens themselves. In a typical participative situation, the issue is at the center, with administrative systems, administrators, and citizens making up the periphery in that order. Administrators and processes control citizen access to the participative space and available information. In these situations, consensus can be used as a guiding myth to potentially coerce disagreement and squash necessary dissensus (Janis 1972; Mouffe 1999; Zavattaro 2014). According to King et al. (1998), participation structured in this typical manner places citizens in a passive, receiving space rather than cooperative with administrators. Such practices mirror the lower rungs of Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation, including tokenism through administrative placation and even manipulation.

Instead, King et al (1998) advocate for authentic participation, whereby citizens are closer to the central issue, followed by administrators and administrative processes. As they describe authentic participation: "Citizens are central and directly related to the issue; they have an immediate and equal opportunity to influence the processes and outcomes. The administrators' influence comes from their relationship with the citizenry as well as from their expertise and position. The administrative structures and processes are defined by the relationships and interactions of citizens and administrators" (321). Such a reframing places citizens in positions to directly influence the issue, with administrators relying less on their technical expertise and more on their abilities to facilitate discussion.

Administrators are public officials working for agencies who are in positions to create spaces for public deliberation. The focus herein is not necessarily on street-level bureaucrats providing front-line services every day. Instead, administrators here are those organizational members who conduct public hearings, lead public meetings, open online surveys, etc. It is fully acknowledged that the terms administrator and practitioner are not straightforward and can indeed be as problematic as the term citizen participation (Catlaw 2006; Lippmann 2008). According to Catlaw (2006), today's Practitioner (he capitalizes the term to theoretically critique its nature) is an "ambiguous figure" (191) especially in light of movements toward networks, outsourcing, and contracting. Administrators often are not neutral technocrats but also have personal values and emotions. As King and Zanetti (2005) show, administrators can understand and embrace these values to foster social change – or they can wield their power to further exacerbate social differentials. It is all about choice.

King et al. (1998) realize this process of authentic participation and transformation is not easy to achieve, noting barriers to authentic participation that include the nature of contemporary society, administrative processes and practices that prefer one-way communication, and techniques for public participation (such as an open hearing). They offer solutions to these challenges, including

empowering and educating citizens, and re-educating administrators to help them reframe administrative processes. Such reframing could help the field move toward creating public value (Denhardt and Denhardt 2000). I argue herein, perhaps counter-intuitively, that bullshit can be a means to foster this kind of authentic participation.

Building Block 2: Bullshit, Defining and Redefining the Construct

Bullshit is not new as a rhetorical device; indeed, Plato in his dialogues denounced rhetoric as “manipulative oratory” (Gibson 2011, 40). Perhaps the scholar to make the construct most popular was Frankfurt in his essay *On Bullshit* (2005). Originally appearing in the journal *Raritan Review* in the 1980s (Kellogg 2006), Frankfurt’s main point is that bullshit is not good, often is unwelcome, and is becoming more pervasive in our society that struggles with understanding reality (Frankfurt 2005; Misak 2008). He distinguishes a liar from a bullshitter. A liar still is concerned with the truth value in his or her statements, while a bullshitter does not care if what he or she is saying has any truth value but rather that we *believe* what he or she is saying to be truth. The person is talking just to talk. As Aberdein puts it, “The liar has a vested interest in the institution of truth-telling, albeit a parasitical one: he hopes that his falsehoods will be accepted as true. The bullshitter may also hope to be believed, but he himself is not much bothered whether what he says is true, hence his disregard to the truth is of a deeper and potentially more pernicious character” (2005, 152).

Both the liar and bullshitter have similar ends in mind – to get the audience to believe what he or she is saying. While the liar is knowingly misleading, oftentimes the bullshitter has other ends in mind in addition to getting us to believe him or her (Misak 2008). The bullshitter might want us to not only believe her but will have us think she is funny, or witty, or an expert (Aberdein 2006; Frankfurt 2005; Misak 2008). Though lying and bullshitting are both negative rhetorically, people tend to tolerate a bullshitter more than liars, as lying is seen as a personal affront (Borman 2011; Frankfurt 2005).

Much bullshitting takes place in what Frankfurt terms a bull session or shooting the bull. In these types of sessions, “participants try out various thoughts and attitudes in order to see how it feels to hear themselves saying such things and in order to discover how others respond, without its being assumed that they are committed to what they say” (2005, 36). From examining this definition, bull sessions are personal to the bullshitter who tests the waters to see how people will respond not only to the story but his or her character (Misak 2008). A potential problem is too much positive feedback from the audience that could encourage the bullshitter’s actions. BS is, at its core, a personal device related to the *speaker* and not to the rhetoric itself. It is the *person* who is not concerned, in Frankfurt’s view, with the truth value. The person speaks what he or she knows explicitly to be false *and* does not care what the audience thinks regarding his or her neglect of truth value (Brinkema 2007).

We constantly see and hear instances of BS within the public sphere. For example, Kellogg (2006) argues that the Bush administration engaged in bullshitting rather than lying during the run-up to the Iraq War. If members of the Bush administration were lying, that means they knew there were no weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in Iraq “and made the charge anyway. Many people are

unwilling to go that far. On the other hand, many will agree that key figures in the Bush administration were determined to invade Iraq regardless and used the WMD issue as the quickest and easiest justification” (Kellogg 2006, 555). Kellogg highlights Colin Powell’s presentation to the United Nations that vehemently sold the WMD storyline. Belfiore (2009) outlines how lawmakers in Britain employed bullshit rhetoric related to arts policies and the impact of those on the country’s social fabric. She illustrates how lawmakers used bullshit to denigrate arts and consequently lessened funding for such endeavors. Instances such as these, Frankfurt notes (2005), are not solitary and occur readily and in other disciplines – public relations, advertising, and politics are breeding grounds for bullshit.

Frankfurt adopts an anti-realist stance (Kellogg 2006; Misak 2008), as a bullshitter believes nothing is true. For Misak, this anti-realist (or some would say postmodern) view has a pragmatic bent, in that we often value truth for its own sake, for our personal benefit. She wonders if there is a distinction between understanding differences between a liar and bullshitter versus a scientist, all of whom are concerned about convincing audiences of “facts.” She asks pointedly: “How can the pragmatist maintain that the aims of understanding the world, predicting the future course of experience, and the like are better than the aims of getting agreement in the community, making me feel comfortable, or even making me look clever and interesting?” (Misak 2008, 118). Who are we to judge the character of a bullshitter as worse than a liar or as on par with a scientist? Though most people find bullshit dangerous, this does not always have to be the case. A revised definition of bullshit could turn it from a negative act to a positive one.

Critiquing Bullshit

Frankfurt’s notion is simple: society is inundated with BS, leaving people unable to tell the truth value in statements. Concern for finding an overall truth goes against what many postmodernists believe (Fallis 2005), yet we still yearn for some kind of truth, be that at the doctor’s office or public works projects (Olsson 2008). Judgment plays a key role in deciding who is truthful, so language and nonverbal communication become main components in truth telling or lie detecting (Harmon 2011).

With a narrow focus, Frankfurt’s essay has been subject to several critiques (Cohen 2002). Hardcastle and Reisch (2006) edited a book dedicated to critiquing Frankfurt’s essay. In another critique, Borman (2011) uses a Habermasian lens to explore bullshit. Regarding communicative and strategic actions, bullshit becomes the enemy, for it removes any notion of thinking beyond what is given. Social integration becomes next to impossible because the “integrating function of language oriented to reaching understanding has been swallowed up by language as spectacle, as strategy, as bullshit” (Borman 2011, 134). This language emptiness threatens to become a societal norm, rendering communicative action moot at best. This could lead to cynicism toward political and public speech, though the threshold for this shift is indeterminable (Borman 2011).

A negative use of BS needs our cooperation, it needs an audience (Preti 2006), though Frankfurt does not discuss this. Bullshit is about social construction, as it not only relies on the teller but the receiver as well, making bullshit pluralistic in nature and varied from context to context (Reisch 2006). Reisch argues that, unlike Frankfurt’s view, bullshitters can care about the truth value, as they are attempting to convince us both semantically and pragmatically of their tale. Pragmatics can help us understand the use of semantics (Reish 2006). Bullshitters, then “manipulate us by

cloaking the kinds of effects that he wants his speech and his enterprise to have” (Reisch 2006, 43, emphasis in original). Despite the sentiment, the multi-layered, pluralistic nature of BS plays into social construction because all parties are implicit in its creation and dissemination. Therefore, both parties can make bullshit potentially useful rather than damaging, and the way to do so is looking at it from a different perspective.

Building Block 3: The Revised Interpretation of Bullshit

The third building block for making the argument presented herein is a revised definition of bullshit. For many readers of this article, the idea of seeing bullshit as potentially positive and transformative might be hard to swallow. Wittgenstein (2009, 5) argues that “every word has a meaning. This meaning is correlated with the word. It is the object for which the word stands.” For words such as bullshit, it becomes more complex to revise its definition when that definition is so pervasive in our lexicon. One explanation for this comes from Searle (1995), who notes that objects exist because we believe them to exist in a complex web of social interactions. The term bullshit appears in our realities as negative and something that must be avoided at all costs. But what if we can shift the language game?

Transforming the idea of BS from something negative to potentially positive is a leap already made within the literature. Perla and Carifio (2007) criticize Frankfurt’s interpretation of bullshit (what they call FIBS) for being too static, as people can transition from “‘bullshitting’ to talking authoritatively and knowledgeably in a particular subject or domain” (122). Frankfurt, Perla and Carifio argue, does not take into account that people are not *always* bullshitting. Instead, their revised interpretation of bullshit (RIBS) expressly addresses the dynamic and potentially transformative nature of bullshit. They define RIBS by arguing that: “Bullshit is not *always* bad or subversive to the truth; rather it is *often* a highly dynamic and necessary matrix for the *development* of expressive, creative, critical, and higher order thinking and representation that give birth to the truth or/and new truths” (122, emphasis in original). Considering this sounds similar to appreciating and including politics within administration (Spicer 2010), the argument herein is that bullshit can be usefully incorporated into authentic citizen participation spaces to push administrators and citizens alike beyond the status quo, shifting administrators from passive to transformative through the appreciation of RIBS.

According to Perla and Carifio (2007), RIBS includes several characteristics: metamorphic and hypothetico-deductive cognitive operations, context of discovery rather than justification, and psychologism. In all, bullshit is complex rather than static because it involves the interplay of “language, learning, memory, consciousness, and thought” (Perla and Carifio 2007, 125). The authors spend a majority of their paper on the hypothetico-deductive and metamorphic decision-making components. Using Polanyi, the authors argue that FIBS relies largely on hypothetico-deductive (positivistic) reasoning while ignoring the irrational, silly, and fanciful (metamorphic). Because BS is a cognitive construct that makes room for learning and growth, a combination of hypothetico-deductive and metamorphic reasoning is preferred (Perla and Carifio 2007) because it appreciates both explicit and tacit knowledges. Something that started out at metaphorical or fanciful in nature may become a principle, theory, or explicit knowledge.

Next, Perla and Carifio (2007) turn toward context of justification, which is “used to test the validity of knowledge claims using logically constructed criteria” (129) associated with positivistic (hypothetico-deductive) reasoning. Critiquing context of justification as too narrow, Perla and Carifio broaden it to include context of discovery. Context of discovery highlights the process by which new ideas or theories come to light, not the processes used to accept or reject them. One can readily see the parallel between context of justification with hypothetico-deductive reasoning, and context of discovery with metaphoric operations. Again, the authors suggest combining contexts of justification and discovery to gain a complete epistemological picture of the individual or group within the decision process. The problem with FIBS is that it relies chiefly upon justification rather than discovery, ignoring once again the cognitive components of bullshit.

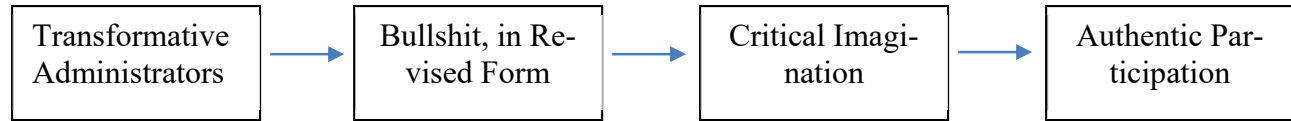
Regarding the interdisciplinary and post-positivistic nature of BS, Perla and Carifio (2007) focus on psychologism, the view that “knowledge is best understood through studying the cognitive structures and mechanisms that can be traced back to Locke” (130). Psychologism combines prescriptive tenets of philosophy and logic with descriptive aims of psychology (131). Psychologism is a more robust view of the nature of knowledge, but positivists preferred separating philosophical and psychological elements (antipsychologism), favoring psychology over philosophy, perceived as the weaker, less robust science. FIBS favors antipsychologism because it relies upon a philosophical analysis of a construct that is inherently “*largely informed by psychology and the cognitive sciences*” (131, emphasis in original). Therefore, the unit of analysis when studying and analyzing bullshit should be both explicit and tacit knowledges, accompanied by both positive and negative value judgments. By incorporating both, public administrators can create an environment within decision-making spaces that appreciate this kind of outside-the-box thinking in a critical kind of manner.

The core of Perla and Carifio’s argument is that FIBS is static, non-developmental, and rooted in antipsychologism, while RIBS appreciates cognitive dimensions inherent in learning and storytelling. RIBS, according to Perla and Carifio (2007), takes into account a person (or organization’s) ability to learn new constructs or revise older modes of thinking. Essentially, a person can go from novice to expert, thus removing signs of BS along the way. FIBS denies the importance of talking bullshit and its connection learning. Instead, FIBS encourages us to “leave the thinking, discourse, and decision-making to people who do not ‘talk bullshit’” (Perla and Carifio 2007, 124).

Building Block 4: Critical Imagination and Using RIBS

Thus far, I have outlined the roots of citizen participation and how incorporating a revised interpretation of bullshit can potentially help foster meaningful discussion and debate. To show how this process can manifest in practice, Figure 1 shows a theoretical framework of how transformative administrators can use bullshit to foster critical imagination and, potentially, lead to authentic participation. Each portion of the figure is briefly explained in the remainder of this section.

Figure 1: Incorporating RIBS into Citizen Participation



Transformative Administrators

The first part of the figure indicates that transformative administrators are needed to foster the use of bullshit in deliberative spaces. Transformative administrators emerge in response to technicist views of administration. With roots in Weberian notions of bureaucratic control (Weber 1978), technical rationality neutralizes the self and favors an external source of verifiable, scientific knowledge as arbiter of truth (Gowdy 1994). From a technicist viewpoint, public problems are so difficult to understand that “the right thing to do is to choose reasonable leaders and trust them to serve the public interest” (King 2000, 271). A major premise of technical rationality is sound means should ensure fair ends, that our chosen decision makers choose alternatives based on science and fact rather than emotion or persuasion (King 2000; Stone 2012). Technical rationality relies upon objectivism, instrumental action, and analytical means to achieving fair ends (King 2000). It is the interaction of a scientific-analytic mindset and a belief in technological progress that fosters a culture of technical rationality (Adams 2011). Technical rationality, with its dependence on positivistic sensibilities, can, at best, stunt our thinking capacities (King 2000) or, at worst, foster administrative evil (Adams 2011).

As a foil to this “administrative man,” Zanetti (1998) offers a view of transformative public administrators. For Zanetti, administrators should aim to balance what she calls knowledge of expertise with knowledge of experience. She argues that administrators can do this by “combining technical proficiency with a normative foundation that values the wisdom gained from common sense and personalized observation. Transformative public administration allows the public service professional to function as a critical specialist who recognizes that neutrality and objectivity have a dark and troublesome side” (Zanetti 1998, 112). Transformative administrators aim for inclusivity and empathy rather than strict control of the decision spaces. As King and Zanetti indicate (2005), transformative administrators recognize that facts and values cannot be separated as once previously argued (Simon 1944). Moreover, transformative administrators are aware of their power and can use it to wield more equitable decision spaces and public policies. “An administrator working from a transformative perspective recognizes the potential for all citizens to be democratic philosophers” (King and Zanetti 2005, xi, emphasis in original).

Bullshit, in Revised Form

It is from the view of transformation that we can then begin incorporating the RIBS into citizen participation. To begin, King et al (1998) advocate for a collaborative style of interaction within authentic participation. RIBS can further this by creating a collaborative style whereby participants, both administrators and citizens, have a chance for discovery. By discovery it is meant that ideas can be shared in a brainstorming-like bull session with nothing off limits. For example, a public works director leading a public meeting might ask for any and all ideas related to walkability in a city. He or she can start with an “open space” concept where ideas can flow freely without

concern immediately about important issues such as budget or logistics. Working from the macro view toward a more micro view that includes these important elements can help citizens see the abilities but also the limits of government interventions.

Next, transformative administrators use both technical and facilitation skills. In King et al.'s (1998) view of authentic participation, citizenships skills include discourse and participation skills – a desire to actually contribute to the participation space. This helps citizens move beyond more put-on or put-off (Riedel 1972) roles toward a potentially collaborative and co-productive space (Bovaird 2007). For these skill sets, incorporating metaphoric and hypothetico-deductive reasoning from RIBS should help balance expertise and experience (Zanetti 1998). Again, hypothetico-deductive reasoning is rooted in logical positivism, while metaphoric thinking appreciates the role of “divergent thinking,” intuition, fantasy and dreaming (Perla and Carifio, 2007: 127). As a practical example, local school board officials might ask for ideas about how to curb overcrowding and be open to hearing from citizens suggestions such as new buildings, more teachers, portable classrooms, changed class times, and more. The facilitator can then take workable ideas and drill down further into those with the citizens.

As King et al note (1998), authentic participation requires both technical and discourse skills on the parts of administrators and citizens alike, making for a nice parallel with two types of thinking that can foster critical imagination with the express inclusion of metaphoric thinking.

Critical Imagination

The next portion of the figure relates to critical imagination (Box 2005). Critical imagination stands in contradistinction to the technical rationality detailed above so is an appropriate bridge between bullshit and authentic participation because it can help foster transformative administrators. Critical imagination is the ability to move beyond the status quo by thinking dramatically and even fancifully – imagining potential utopian scenarios. Frankfurt (2005) argues that talk takes place in a bull session detailed above. The conversation in a typical bull session is not real, as the participants are getting comfortable with hearing their own stories. He quickly follows this remark with: “The main point is to make possible a high level of candor and an experimental or adventuresome approach to the subjects under discussion. Therefore, provision is made for enjoying a certain irresponsibility, so that people will be encouraged to convey what is on their minds without too much anxiety that they will be held to it” (36-37). This is precisely the point of critical imagination – public administrators fostering a space where participants can freely express ideas and ideals, even if those are utopian. As such, BS does not have to be all negative.

Critical imagination is based on critical theory. Box (2005) uses Marcuse (1964) as the foundation for his arguments. Critical theory, at its core, challenges the status quo in an effort to change existing social, political, or economic situations (Sementelli and Abel 2000). Box (2005,13) indicates that, “critical social theory encourages academicians and practitioners to view social structures and practices as vehicles of domination, repression, and manipulation, but also as potential starting points for meaningful social change.” It is in the latter part of the definition where we see the space for transformative administration and RIBS to emerge as ways to foster authentic citizen participation.

According to Zanetti and Carr (1997), critical theories are reflective forms of knowledge that have emancipatory interests. They emphasize the dialectical nature of critical theories and critical approaches. Debate and discussion can lead to new ideas, new social spaces. This back and forth is at the center of Spicer's work on value pluralism, which indicates that certain societal values cannot and will not mesh well (Spicer 2010). Therefore, mechanisms are needed to ideally reconcile such differences. Politics, in the sense of debate, is the heart of value pluralism. Administrators can adopt this value pluralists' perspective using critical imagination to create spaces for meaningful participation.

Authentic Citizen Participation

The last portion of Figure 1 is authentic participation reimagined to include elements of RIBS. Administrative processes that seek authentic participation are inherently dynamic, visible, and open, as opposed to static and often secretive in traditional participation. Here, the RIBS characteristic of psychologism extends this dynamic participation. Psychologism, as a reminder, is an epistemological stance that includes for prescriptive and descriptive aims. Instead of relying only on prescription (what government should do, what citizens should do), psychologism allows participants (both administrators and citizens) to think about what people actually do (description). For Perla and Carifio (2007), Frankfurt approaches bullshit through an anti-psychologism lens. Anti-psychologism separates logic from mental processing. Perla and Carifio (2007) assert that BS is highly cognitive so should be considered an active discourse process that allows for the appreciation of different kinds of knowledge (they use the term interdisciplinary). A weak version of psychologism mirrors the metaphoric and hypothetico-objective reasoning detailed above, as a weak version of psychologism espouses a "wider and different repertoire of concepts, theories, and views" (131). Allowing such discourse can ideally increase critical imagination.

Additionally, the output for administrators creating authentic participation is the process rather than the decision itself. In other words, the participation space is most important rather than achieving a power-laden consensus (Zavattaro 2014). A balance must be struck between using explicit and tacit knowledges – knowledge of expertise and knowledge of experience, as Zanetti (1997) terms them. Focusing on pure expertise makes an administrator seem too technocratic and resistant to additional thoughts and input. Focusing solely on experience leaves out necessary information public administrators take in during organizational learning processes (Argyris 1999). One way to do this is through incorporating RIBS's context of discovery rather than only a context of justification. To reiterate, a context of justification is where people can test the truth claims of an assertion. On the other hand, a context of discovery highlights how new ideas or hypotheses come to be rather than on the express truth claim. A context of discovery is "messy, fuzzy, noisy, creative, exploratory and often [lack] any steadfast commitment to the truth of the day or conventional wisdom" (Perla and Carifio 2007, 129). As the authors point out, context of discovery can let an idea emerge, while a context of justification can test whether the ideas will work within the given context.

Finally, a decision within authentic participation (King et al. 1998) is made through the equal opportunity of all to enter the discourse. The final decision is a result, then, of adversarial democracy (Mansbridge 1980) and dissensus (Mouffe 1999). Essentially, participants should not try to convince others to adopt a favored position. Instead, public administrators should foster and encourage dissensus and critical imagination to arrive at a new position to which the parties can agree

(Follett 1919). Appreciating critical imagination allows people within the participative space to put forward ideas that might seem utopian but refine those through the integration of tacit and explicit knowledges. Participants then balance metaphoric operations with hypothetico-deductive reasoning rather than simply relying on positivistic epistemologies and methodologies (Perla and Carifio 2007). RIBS helps administrators strike that balance by showing their willingness to listen to all sides, distill the information, utilize and transform that information to further the organization, then put in place decision based on this dialogic back and forth. This should broaden the discourse options and let participants know they can participate freely when within the space (see Catlaw 2007 for an explication of who can participate and how).

Conclusion and Discussion

Overall, this essay argued for incorporating a revised interpretation of bullshit into authentic citizen participation as a means to encourage dissensus as move the administrators away from a reliance on a power-laden consensus outcome (Zavattaro 2014). The bridge connecting authentic participation and the RIBS is critical imagination (Box 2005) as seen in Figure 1. Critical imagination relies on dialogic practices rooted in a Hegelian notion of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis (though Hegel himself did not use that language). There is an initial position, alternatives to the initial position, then agreement on a new alternative. Within any space such as this, tension is inherent and should be appreciated than discouraged (Stanisevski 2011). Public administrators can become catalysts for change or the embodiment of the status quo (Box 2005; Zanetti 1998). There are several implications of this theoretical exploration.

Administrators become Transformative

As catalysts for change who appreciate BS in its revised form, public administrators become transformative administrators, fostering debate and deliberation instead of shying away from it. As Zanetti notes (1998), public administrators balance knowledge of expertise with knowledge of experience. Administrators relying too much on their technocratic roles might miss opportunities for change. Though there may be an internal struggle (Zanetti 2003), public administrators are encouraged to think around the one best way (Marcuse 1964). Being a transformative administrator means “combining technical proficiency with a normative foundation that value the wisdom gained from common sense and personalized observation” (Zanetti 1998, 112). Transformative administrators have an ability to shape themselves, citizenship, institutions, and other people (King and Zanetti 2005).

As stated earlier, this position might not work at all levels. A nurse, for example, should not use bullshit when giving his patient a diagnosis. A federal government contract manager should not use bullshit when she is telling a potential business owner rules, laws, and regulations. Instead, similar to King et al.’s (1998) idea, the one presented herein is at the macro-level of participation instead of the street-level where bullshitting can be less effective. The vision presented herein is decision-making spaces (public meetings, for example) that allow for bullshit in its revised form when it comes to asking citizens what they envision. This way, no idea is shot down and people do not leave discouraged that there were not heard in a ritualized setting (McComas, Besley and Black 2010). Further examination is needed to understand how administrators can foster bullshit

to support this kind of thinking and move beyond consensus-as-unanimity to consensus-as-transformation (Zavattaro 2014).

Bullshit can Foster Critical Imagination

The focus throughout this paper has been on the revised interpretation of bullshit from Perla and Carifio (2007). Again, the RIBS describes bullshit as a positive force for change because of its broader structure, inclusion of tacit knowledge, and ability to make room for individual and organizational learning. Citizen participation spaces can be free for participants to share all ideas freely, no matter how utopian those ideas seem. This idea has grounding in the literature already. King (2000) plays with the notion of letting go of rationality, arguing that we as people need to rethink about how we think. Instead of separating facts from values (Simon 1944), people should, King argues, recognize that thinking and feeling are not separate processes. With technically rational administrators, the expectation is that decisions are made based upon some kind of scientifically rooted investigation that produces Truth. Decision makers should separate these facts from personal values, thus leading to a sound decision not clouded by the irrational (Simon 1944; King 2000). King (2000) instead notes how uneasy we are when encountering people who seem to lack affect. Taking a feminist ethical approach, King (2000) advocates for a dialectical exchange based on collaboration instead of competition. “Through dialectic, critical theory opens the doors to new possibilities by exploring unexamined assumptions and comparing these with the resonance of lived experience” (Zanetti and Carr, 1997, 208). Cognitive, active bullshit makes room for tacit knowledge (Polanyi 1966; King 2000). “Ironically, it is the nonrational that is most likely to incite action” (King 2000, 273), as well as to sustain that action through time.

Bullshit can Alter the Status Quo

In Figure 1, elements from RIBS can enhance authentic participation processes by fostering critical imagination. Utilizing bullshit in this way allows participants, administrators and citizens alike to spread ideas that might be considered utopian in nature. This balance between administrative position and citizen desires often proves difficult in collaborative spaces (Bryer 2009). Indeed, Bryer (2009) found that administrators often put themselves in the role of experts, thus reducing the change for other viewpoints to be heard. If this is the case, then the participants – both citizens and administrators – might just maintain the status quo. Instead, transformative administrators can use dialogue enhanced by bullshit to become transformative.

As an example of bullshit moving the status quo, one can turn again to King (2000). There, King details a community engagement process with which she was involved in Akron, Ohio. When bringing together the diverse group of citizens, public administrators, local businesses, and other actors, “the most difficult thing to do with this group was to build a space for stories. The participants wanted to play by the rules of rationality, dismissing as irrelevant or unreasonable anything that was not based in fact” (King 2000, 285). Such a climate of reliance on technical rationality created open hostility amongst members. It was not until storytelling spaces were introduced that, as King recalls, that technicist practices were dropped. “They had to forswear judging the stories using rationalistic criteria (Is this the *truth*? How can you *prove* it? etc.)” (King 2000, 285, emphasis in original).

Now, I am not indicating that the people in King's (2000) example were bullshitters or actively engaging in bullshit as Frankfurt (2005) defines it. Instead, I am commenting on a process of *inclusion* fostered by the revised definition of bullshit that supports dynamism, dialogue, learning, and creativity. The participants in King's (2000) scenario had to appreciate other sources of knowledge outside of scientific facts. In other words, they had to appreciate what some could see as negative bullshit. Public administrators can foster a positive aspect of bullshit à la Perla and Carifio (2007) by building space for stories into public discourse (King 2000; see also Hummel 1991). (Even more examples of transformative administrators facilitating discursive spaces are found in King and Zanetti [2005].)

Managerial implications for this exploration include: expanding decision-making spaces to foster critical imagination, embracing ideas from all parties within the decision space (either internal employees or via public participation), appreciating fanciful thinking from participants, and acknowledging the multi-layered, multi-disciplinary nature of public participation (people bringing diverse backgrounds to the decision space). Theoretical implications include: transforming an often-negative construct into a potential positive, encouraging storytelling and storytelling research, and broadening an epistemological and methodological viewpoint. Future research can delve more into the bullshit construct to, for example, see how practitioners face the construct in the typical, negative way before presenting an idealized, reinterpreted version for consideration. Qualitative, phenomenological methodologies would best capture these stories, lending additional credence to the use of stories within public administration scholarship and practice (Hummel, 1991; King, 2000).

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Character and Competence at the Top: Gerald Ford Becomes President and Pardons Richard Nixon

Terry Newell

On August 9, 1974, Gerald Ford took the Oath of Office and spoke to the nation for the first time as president in the wake of Watergate and the resignation of Richard Nixon. Ford's assumption of the presidency was praised by Americans reassured by his words, tone and actions. Before the month was out, his approval rating stood at 71 percent.¹ On September 8th, Ford pardoned Nixon. That decision was condemned by Americans angry at his failure to let justice take its course. Two years later, Ford lost the presidency to Jimmy Carter by two percentage points. Exit polls showed that six percent voted against him solely because of the pardon.²

As a leader, how did Ford, a relative unknown nationally when Nixon began his second term, gain such public support? And how, with so much political capital at the start of his presidency, did he squander it so quickly? Ford provides a useful story in what it takes to be both a good person and a good leader. In our current national political climate, where character and competence matter so much, Ford's successes and failures have much to teach us. We want leaders who do the right thing. But in politics, that's not enough. Public leaders must be effective as well as ethical.

A Most Unlikely President

To be president was never Ford's dream. Winning his thirteenth term in the House in Michigan's Fifth District on November 7, 1972, he told his wife Betty that he would retire at the end of it. His lifelong goal – to become Speaker of the House – eluded him. Nixon's woefully weak coattails left Republicans still fifty seats short of a majority.

Nixon, of course, had a more significant weakness. It would destroy his presidency. On June 23, 1972, he had met with his Chief of Staff, Bob Haldeman, in the Oval Office and directed the CIA to choke off FBI efforts to trace money used to pay for the recent Watergate break-in.

Nixon's downfall took time. It was not until May 1973 that the Senate Watergate Committee began public hearings. Testifying on June 3, John Dean, Nixon's legal counsel, told the committee that Nixon had broached the subject of a cover-up with him three dozen times. On July 13, Nixon's secret Oval Office taping system was revealed to the committee by former presidential appointments secretary Alexander Butterfield. The committee demanded the tapes, but on July 23, Nixon refused. He also turned down a similar request from Archibald Cox, the Special Prosecutor.

In another political bombshell, Vice-President Spiro Agnew was forced to resign on October 10th for accepting bribes and income tax evasion while governor of Maryland. This temporarily relaxed the heat on Nixon, who under the 25th Amendment had to nominate a vice-president. Nixon preferred John Connolly, former Democratic governor of Texas but now a Republican. Nixon saw Connolly as his successor. But since the nomination required approval of a Democratic Congress, they would have none of it. They wanted someone without any chance of gaining the presidency in his own right. "We gave Nixon no choice but Ford," House Speaker Carl Albert later said.³ Nixon backed down and sent Ford's name forward on October 12th.

Ford had a reputation for integrity and likeability. First elected to the House in 1948, he had, by his third term, earned a spot on the prestigious Defense Appropriations Subcommittee. His Democratic boss, George Mahon of Texas, would recall being "impressed with his calm judgment and steady hand" and would remember Ford as "a man you could deal with" no matter who was in the White House.⁴ In late 1963, President Johnson selected him as the only House Republican to serve on the Warren Commission after Kennedy's assassination.

Though well-respected on both sides of the aisle, Ford's confirmation was delayed due to the "Saturday Night Massacre" on October 20th, in which Nixon fired Cox and his Attorney General, Elliott Richardson, resigned when ordered to do so himself. Ford's approval for the vice-presidency received a strong vote of confidence, however, when the Senate confirmed him by 92-3 and the House by 387-55. He was sworn in on December 6th.

Ford then confronted, but navigated, a difficult challenge. He wanted to be loyal to his president. Ford was a trusting man, and he accepted Nixon's professions of innocence. Commenting on his very first conversation with the president about Watergate, Ford later remarked that "[Y]ou have to believe the President, and I did . . . He had never lied to me."⁵ But, at the same time, he did not want his reputation to be sullied with Watergate if the charges proved true. Nor did he want to appear to gain the presidency over Nixon's "dead body."

As time passed, and as the evidence against Nixon mounted, Ford's closest advisors tried to prepare him for what might well come. When the "smoking gun" – the tape of Nixon's June 23, 1972, cover-up conversation – came to light, Ford was stunned. "I was angry that Nixon hadn't told the truth. The hurt was very deep," he said.⁶

Ford Becomes President

The House voted the first article of impeachment, for obstruction of justice, on July 24th. Ordered by the Supreme Court to do so, Nixon released the transcript of the "smoking gun" tape on August

4th. On August 8th, he met with Ford and informed him that he would resign the next day. Ford would enter the Oval Office on the morning of August 9th despite being elected neither to the vice-presidency nor the presidency. Few in the nation really knew him. They were about to find out who he was.

Gaining Support

Ford faced an immense task. Amidst public anger at Nixon, with American troops still in Vietnam, in the middle of a stagnant economy within inflation running at over twelve percent, he had to calm the nation, gain public trust, and move the country forward. His chief tools were his character and the words he would speak. On his inauguration day, these tools matched his task.

Ford's first decision was to avoid discussion of program or policy. He could not tackle specific problems without public support, yet how could he gain it? He began his inaugural remarks by reminding his audience that his oath was "the same oath that was taken by George Washington and by every President under the Constitution."⁷ Yet that gave him a title but only a portion of legitimacy. He would also remind his audience that, though they had not voted for him, those in Congress who did "were of both parties, elected by all the people and acting under the Constitution in their name."⁸

Part of legitimacy is integrity, and Ford had to show he could be trusted. Accordingly, he called for "a little straight talk among friends" and stated boldly that he had not "gained office by any secret promises," a remark for any who harbored the suspicion that he had exchanged a pardon for Nixon for the chance to become president. Being truthful, he also said, was consistent with "my instincts of openness and candor with full confidence that honesty is always the best policy."⁹ In his remarks, Ford also underscored the need to move forward and asked that he be permitted to outline his vision for the nation at a joint session of Congress.

Then Ford uttered the line that would become the "sound bite" for his speech: "My fellow Americans, our long national nightmare is over." Characteristically, it was also the only sentence in the remarks, drafted by his speechwriter Robert Hartmann, to which Ford had balked: "Isn't that a little hard on Dick?" he had said.¹⁰

Ford could have concluded his remarks with the next line, which would in 2011 be chiseled into his monument in the Capitol's Statuary Hall: "Our Constitution works; our great Republic is a government of laws and not of men. Here the people rule." But he did not. There was something else he wanted to say. It was faithful to Ford the man: "But there is a higher Power, by whatever name we honor Him, who ordains not only righteousness but love, not only justice but mercy." Ford followed this by asking his countrymen to pray for Richard Nixon and his family. A nation angry at the disgraced president was asked to show him mercy. Gerald Ford could gain little with such empathy, but it was true to who he was.

He ended with a personal commitment: "I now solemnly reaffirm my promise I made to you last December 6: to uphold the Constitution, to do what is right as God gives me to see the right, and to do the very best I can for America." With that, he and his wife Betty left the East Room of the White House. The band, at his request, refrained from playing "Hail to the Chief."¹¹

The reaction to Ford was almost uniformly positive. *Time* magazine opined, “For ten years this nation has suffered from cardiac insufficiency. Now the heart is pumping again . . . Ford’s first days look like genius because they are so ordinary.”¹² In a survey released at the end of August, Gallup reported that Ford’s approval stood at 71 percent, 47 percent higher than the last rating Nixon had received.¹³

Ford also complemented his words with actions. He told the press he wanted a better relationship with them, and he took away some the trappings of Nixon’s “imperial” presidency. His family’s living space in the White House would henceforth be called “the residence,” not the “executive mansion.” He “passed the word that I didn’t want my agents to push people around.”¹⁴ On Air Force One, he decided to fly with the door to his cabin open, not closed as it had been with Nixon. At his speech to a joint session of Congress the following Monday, Ford told them, “I do not want a honeymoon with you. I want a good marriage.”¹⁵ He set up regular meetings with members of Congress, ending the isolation of the Oval Office. In his first major speech on the road as president, Ford told the Veterans of Foreign Wars, that he favored “earned reentry” for 50,000 Americans who had evaded service during the Vietnam War. He would extend mercy to them as he had pleaded for mercy for Nixon. Though aides questioned whether he should do that in front of what would likely be a hostile reception, Ford’s comment was that “It would be a little . . . cowardice, you know, if we’d picked some audience that would have been ecstatic.”¹⁶

Ford’s initial days thus built rapport with the nation and legitimacy for his presidency. His humility, integrity, and moral courage showed in the way he assumed and handled both the vice-presidency and the presidency. His character complemented and strengthened his leadership. In terms of James McGregor Burns’ seminal work on leadership (Burns 1978) and the well-researched “Full-Range Leadership” model of Bernard Bass and Ronald Riggio (Bass and Riggio 2006), Ford was a transformational leader. He was able to influence the agenda by demonstrating he was credible and trustworthy. He inspired through the articulation of a positive future state – a healed nation that could confront its problems. He challenged old ways of thinking, mired in the divide that Vietnam and Watergate had created among Americans. Ford also exemplified what Harvard’s Howard Gardner, in *Leading Minds*, later called the embodiment of the leader’s message in the actions he took (Gardner 1995).

Ford and His Limits

As August turned to September, however, Ford’s leadership skills struggled to complement his character. In his quarter century in the House, he had never managed a large staff or anything approaching the extent of the presidency. His chief of staff, Alexander Haig (whom Ford retained to his later disadvantage), even told an aide that “we have to save Ford from his own inexperience.”¹⁷

Ford’s leadership in the critical first month of his presidency would also be challenged by the same strength that brought him into it: he tended to trust people. When Nelson Rockefeller, whom Ford had nominated for vice-president, also under the 25th Amendment, tried to warn him that some of his staff hoped he would fail, Ford couldn’t grasp it. As Hartmann recalled, “Rocky named no

names. Incredibly, Ford didn't demand them . . . the President simply said he didn't believe that could be the case . . .”¹⁸

Ford also lacked ability as a public speaker. This did not matter much when he was a congressman. It would matter now. He also did not like to write, and he would sometimes acknowledge publicly that his speech delivery was poor. Hartman noted that “he rarely took the time to put his own thoughts on paper . . . it was frustrating that he was so unconsciously intolerant of the communication process . . . Ford rarely faced up to the fact that making a major address is *one of the most important things a president does*” (emphasis in the original).¹⁹

Moving Beyond Watergate Proves a Challenge

As Ford prepared for his first press conference in late August, his hope that the nation’s nightmare was over faded. His staff tried to prepare him for questions he would get about Nixon, yet he balked, believing that unnecessary. When nearly a third of the questions focused on Watergate, Ford fumed. “God dammit,” he later recalled thinking, “I am not going to put up with this. Every press conference from now on . . . will degenerate into a Q&A on, ‘Am I going to pardon Mr. Nixon’.”²⁰

On August 30th, Ford told his most senior aides that he was inclined to pardon Nixon. They urged him to wait until Nixon was tried. When he rejected that, they suggested waiting until after the fall elections, fearing that the pardon would cost Republicans dearly. Yet in his mind, there was no need to wait. “The [Nixon] story would overshadow everything else,” he later wrote. “It would be virtually impossible for me to direct the public attention to anything else.”²¹

The Nixon Pardon

Resolved in his own mind to pardon Nixon, the questions were “when” and “how.” Ford would wait only days. While he had twice before said publicly, once in his confirmation hearing as vice-president and once in his first press conference, that the nation was not ready for such an act and that the judicial process should be respected, Ford forged ahead anyway. A master at politics and engagement as a member of the House, he now swore his top staff to secrecy. He turned again to Hartmann for a speech, and on Sunday, September 8th, he sat in the Oval Office in front of a small group of hastily assembled reporters, who did not know why they were there, for the taping of his address to the nation. Stone-faced, he gave a speech that would determine the future of his presidency.

An Ethical Decision, Communicated Poorly

Contrasted with his inaugural remarks, Ford’s pardon speech was confusing and labored. If the first speech empathized with the emotions of a weary, distrusting nation, the second flew in the face of them. If the pardon was the right thing to do, he did not do it in the right way.

The speech was intensely personal. In the first paragraph, he used “I” or “my” seven times in announcing that “I have come to a decision which I felt . . . in my own conscience . . . is the right thing to do.”²² He also referred to his conscience multiple times in the 1,100-word speech. In admitting that his decision was different from what he had signaled to the nation before, Ford said: “I must admit that many of them [his decisions] do not look at all the same as the hypothetical questions that I have answered freely and perhaps too fast on previous occasions.”

Ford acknowledged that he did not labor over his decision: “To procrastinate, to agonize, and to wait for a more favorable turn of events . . . is itself a decision of sorts and a weak and potentially dangerous course.” He then announced that he was bound by the Constitution but would not be restricted by it: “The Constitution is the supreme law of our land and it governs our actions as citizens. Only the laws of God, which govern our consciences, are superior to it.” If conscience was a major driver of Ford’s decision, it was linked to his faith, and both would be balanced against his Constitutional duty. But it was clear what would count in the end.

Ford then reminded his audience that “it is common knowledge that serious allegations and accusations hang like a sword over our former President’s head, threatening his health as he tries to reshape his life.” Ford’s concern for Nixon’s health was his one insertion in the speech Hartmann drafted. While his audience may not have cared much about Nixon’s health, Ford, his career-long friend, did.

Almost half-way into the speech, Ford had still not provided a rationale for the pardon other than his conscience and Nixon’s health. He now did: the demands of procedural justice. “I am compelled to conclude that many months and perhaps more years will have to pass before Richard Nixon could obtain a fair trial by jury.” Continuing, he pointed out that: “a former President of the United States, instead of enjoying equal treatment with any other citizen accused of violating the law, would be cruelly and excessively penalized either in preserving the presumption of his innocence or in obtaining a speedy determination of his guilt in order to repay a legal debt to society.” “In the end,” he added, “the courts might well hold that Richard Nixon had been denied due process . . .” There were, of course, other aspects of justice that his audience might care about, such as justice as retribution, as restoration, and as fairness (assuring Nixon faced a jury like every other person accused of a crime), but Ford did not address them.

Finally, in the last part of the speech, Ford moved to arguably his strongest rationale: “But it is not the ultimate fate of Richard Nixon that most concerns me, though surely it deeply troubles every decent and every compassionate person. My concern is the immediate future of this great country.” “My primary concern must always be the greatest good of all the people of the United States,” he said, and “it is my duty, not merely to proclaim domestic tranquility but to use every means that I have to insure it.” Some of his advisors felt that this was the only argument Ford should give, yet it was nearly lost by being placed so late in the text. In newspaper parlance, Ford ‘buried the lead.’ He then added one last call for mercy for the former president – “I feel that Richard Nixon and his loved ones have suffered enough.”

Whatever one may think of the pardon decision, it can be supported on ethical grounds. While perhaps not conscious of it, Ford touched on the three classical approaches to ethical thinking,

Professor James Svava captures these in his “ethical triangle,” in which each point should be considered to ensure an effective and defensible decision (Svava 2014)²³:

- *Virtues*: Ford’s attention to his conscience grapples with what virtue requires. Here Ford takes the morally courageous course, what a good person ought to do. To avoid a pardon, he argues, would have been politically easy but not consistent with virtue.
- *Principles*: Kant argued that we ought to be guided by universal “maxims” that we accept as valid for behavior in all circumstances. Ford proclaims that he must “do what is right” and that “right makes might.” “Equal justice” and “equal treatment” would be violated in subjecting a former president to a prolonged period of trial in the courtroom of public opinion and even, perhaps, in a court of law. Mercy, as a maxim for treating all humans, ought to apply to Nixon as well.
- *Ends*: Jeremy Bentham and the Utilitarians use consequences as the ultimate test of ethical action, not virtue or principles. Ford’s appeal to “the greatest good of all the people” and the importance of “domestic tranquility” meet that standard.

Unlike the simplicity of Ford’s inaugural remarks, the pardon speech was complex. Perhaps Hartmann, in drafting it, was calling forth every argument he could for a decision that troubled him as the speechwriter. Ranging from an appeal to his own conscience to an argument based on the legal process to an allusion to the Constitution’s opening lines, Ford’s speech reflected the difficulty he faced in taking an action he had earlier forsworn. As a result, the words he used and the pardon itself would appear to his audience to lack a morally clear justification.

As this author put it in *Statesmanship, Character, and Leadership in America*, “[E]thicist Rushworth Kidder suggests that moral dilemmas can be analyzed through one or more of four pairs of conflicting values (Kidder 1995). Should Ford give priority to *justice* (which would argue that Nixon be subject to the law) or *mercy*? Should he focus on the *truth* of Nixon’s transgressions or *loyalty* to Nixon, as his friend and former leader? Is it more important to attend to the *short-term* desire of the nation to extract revenge and a penalty on the former president or the *long-term* needs of the nation (as Ford saw them)? Finally, should Ford focus on the individual (Nixon and his family) or the community (the American people)? The values Ford seeks to honor conflict...”²⁴ Ford’s failure is that he never provides a compelling statement of how he – and the nation – should resolve that conflict.

Not surprisingly, the pardon initially provoked widespread anger. Ford’s approval rating plummeted, leading Ronald Reagan to challenge him for the 1976 Republican nomination. Ford would beat Reagan by a mere 117 delegates, and he would start the campaign 25 points behind Jimmy Carter in the polls. He made up that ground but lost the close election anyway.

Politicians and the public have treated Ford more kindly since. A *Time* magazine poll conducted shortly after the pardon found that 58 percent of Americans said it was “the wrong thing” to do, yet an ABC News poll in 2002 found the opposite result: 59 percent said it was “the right thing” to do.²⁵ He was given a Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1999 and a Congressional Gold Medal that same year. He received the Profile in Courage Award from the John F. Kennedy Library in

2001. In presenting the award, Senator Ted Kennedy, who had criticized the pardon in 1974, admitted that Ford had been right: “His courage and dedication to our country made it possible for us to begin the process of healing and put the tragedy of Watergate behind us.”²⁶

A Failure of Leadership

The firestorm in 1974 began even before the pardon. Jerald Ter Horst, Ford’s press secretary, learned it was coming and resigned.²⁷ Ter Horst’s resignation made the front page of the *Washington Post* the day after the pardon, as did the headline: “Ford Grants Nixon Full Pardon, Says He has ‘Suffered Enough.’” The page also carried an article announcing “Nixon to Control His Papers,” a reference to the fact that Ford had not secured one of the two demands he had of Nixon for the pardon. The other was an admission of guilt, but Nixon avoided both because Alexander Haig had communicated to him that he would get the pardon anyway. The *Post*’s other headline stated, “Not Consulted About Pardon, [Special Prosecutor Leon] Jaworski Says.”²⁸ If one goal of presidential communication is to control press coverage, Ford failed. Ford was not the only one who would suffer from this. Republicans lost 40 seats in the House and 4 in the Senate in the November elections.

Just four days after the pardon, two members of Congress filed a Resolution of Inquiry that required Ford to reply to questions about the pardon. He subsequently testified before Congress, the first time in well over a century, when Lincoln was forced to do the same. Ford dropped to 50 percent approval in a Gallup Poll in mid-October, the largest fall for a president in history.²⁹ Messages to the White House ran six to one against the pardon.³⁰

It is easy to say this was inevitable, but that ignores steps Ford could have taken to minimize the damage. It started with his staff. By retaining Nixon loyalists, including Haig, he weakened the advice and loyalty he would get as well as the support he needed. Had Ford been a tougher negotiator, he still might have gotten the two concessions from Nixon that he wanted. Ford, in ignoring the concerns of more loyal staff about timing, took their support for granted. Ter Horst’s resignation was an inevitable result, a body blow to Ford’s leadership credibility.

Any president needs allies for controversial decisions. Ford did not inform Congressional leaders of his pardon decision until phone calls to them minutes before the speech. This removed their need to back him up, leaving him naked in the political storm. The same was true with Jaworski. Nor did Ford have a plan in place to “sell” the pardon decision. He planned no follow up speeches, no statements of support from key national figures, no campaign to develop positive press coverage. Sensing that he could move on, Ford expected the public to do the same – a political miscalculation of major proportions.

The speech itself lacked a convincing rationale and presentation. It did not address a key question in the public’s mind: had Ford made a deal with Nixon before he resigned? Neither did it tell the public why the nation would be better off after the pardon. The only benefit it promised seemed to most of his listeners to accrue to Nixon. Ford’s character was enough to sell his message on August 9th, but on September 8th, the stakes were too high to rely on that alone.

His weakness as a speaker now mattered, and he failed in delivering his message – a fact Ford acknowledged in his 1979 autobiography: “I have to confess that my televised talk failed to emphasize adequately that I wanted to give my full attention to grave economic and foreign policy matter. Nor did I explain as fully as I should have the strong judicial underpinnings, in particular the Supreme Court’s acceptance of a pardon means admission of guilt.”³¹ As he also said, “I thought people would consider his resignation from the presidency as sufficient punishment and shame. I thought there would be greater forgiveness.”³²

Conclusion: Ford’s First Month, Character, and Competence

In preparing his autobiography, Ford was assisted by Trevor Armbrister, a journalist he knew well. Armbrister asked Ford to respond to a series of questions to help the writing process, one of which was: what is the difference between a politician and a statesman? Ford’s reply was that the former is interested in the next election while the latter is concerned with the next generation. Whether a reflection that shaped his decision to pardon Nixon or one that he learned from that experience, it captures part of the way to blend character with competent leadership.

The dual thirst for character and competence in government often goes unquenched. Lists of desired leadership skills populate books, the Internet, and the airwaves. But citizens care about *who* leaders are, not just what skills they possess. We also look for leaders who call forth high moral character in others in pursuit of a good society. Drawing on an old Army recruiting slogan, we seek public leaders who invite us to “be all we can be.” The model in Figure 1 illuminates this idea (Newell 2013). It also helps explain what Ford got right and where he went wrong.

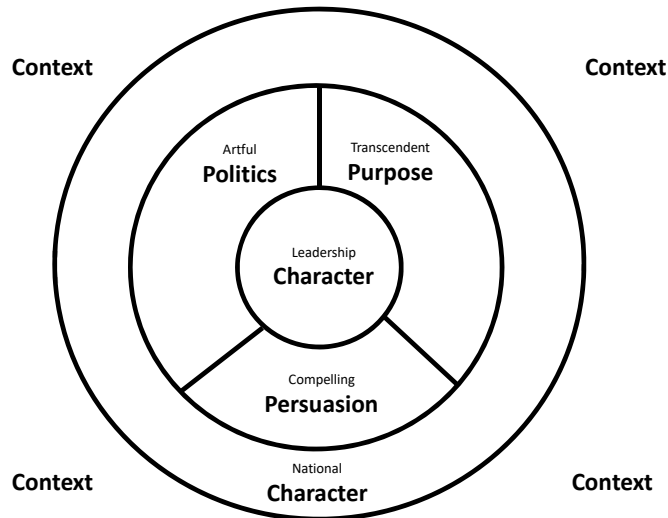
At the center of the model is the leader’s character. Without good moral character, one may lead but the result of that leadership might be a broken instead of a better society. Hitler, after all, had some good leadership skills. Moral character is, of course, no guarantee of good outcomes, but its absence is worrisome. As Calving Coolidge put it, “Character is the only secure foundation of the state.”³³ Ford’s character was perhaps his greatest strength. It lay underneath his rise in the House, made confirmation as vice-president possible, reassured the public in his inaugural remarks, and built his support in the weeks that followed. It also underlay his decision to pardon Nixon. But character is not enough.

A leader must understand the context that shapes expectations and possibilities. At the broadest level, this requires knowledge of historical, social, cultural, economic, political, domestic and international trends, forces, and events that matter. At the most intimate level, it requires understanding the people and institutions whose support or opposition will make a difference. It also means managing the context, not just taking it as a given. Ford had such an understanding and exercised such management as he took the presidency. In his opening lines, he acknowledged that the events of Watergate represented “an hour of history that troubles our minds and hurts our hearts.” In that speech, he understood that he was an unelected unknown and addressed the questions of trust and legitimacy that concerned Americans. In his actions during the month of August, he drew upon the importance of Congress in asking to meet with them, the power of the press in establishing a more candid relationship, the need to move the nation forward to address its pressing

economic problems, and the need to heal the divisions that festered from Vietnam as well as Watergate.

Figure 1

A Model for Statesmanship: Character and Competence Combined



This ability to capture and manage the context eluded him as August turned to September. He failed to grasp that the public anger over Nixon and its desire for justice were deeper and more powerful than his own. When there is a disconnect between a leader and his grasp of the context, look for trouble. Ford found it.

As Figure 1 suggests, three skill sets matter. A leader must craft a powerful public purpose. Ford's desire to heal the nation and move it forward was the foundation for both speeches. That purpose was enough to launch his presidency. It might have been enough to sustain support despite the pardon, had it not been embedded in legal arguments in the pardon speech and had it been married with two other critical capabilities.

Unfortunately, Ford lacked sufficient skills for compelling persuasion, and his politics lacked artistry, despite the fact that he had enough of both in his inaugural remarks. His words then were appropriate, inspiring, and supported his need to gain legitimacy and build trust. That his delivery was rather pedestrian did not matter. His life and his actions after the speech embodied his message. His politics were impeccable, from bringing back Chief Justice Burger to administer the oath to cultivating Congress and key constituencies during the speech and after it. Yet his convoluted pardon speech and its uninspiring delivery mattered in September. His failure to build political support for it either before or after was decisive.

Finally, Ford did call forth, as Lincoln phrased it in his first inaugural, "the better angels of our nature." He appealed to the national character, calling the public to the higher moral value of mercy in both speeches, but with a key difference. In his inaugural remarks, he made a direct appeal to

his audience, asking that “brotherly love purge our hearts of suspicion and of hate.” But in his pardon speech, his request was indirect. The pardon speech was a personal statement more than a call for followers, which may help explain why followership took decades.

In the end, when character and competence reinforce each other, the power of leadership grows. When there is a disconnect, leaders find it hard to reach their full potential. In the end, Ford, as he had said to Congress on taking the oath as vice-president, was not a Lincoln, though both sought to heal a nation. Yet, he came closer than he imagined.

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- ² Cannon (1994), p. 414 and Ford (1978), p. 181.
- ³ Cannon (1994), p. 205.
- ⁴ Cannon (1994), p. 64.
- ⁵ Cannon (1994), p. 152.
- ⁶ Ford (1979), p. 5-6.
- ⁷ For a full copy of Ford's inaugural remarks, go to the copy posted on the website for his presidential library: <http://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/library/speeches/740001.asp>, last accessed November 18, 2015.
- ⁸ For a full copy of Ford's inaugural remarks, go to the copy posted on the website for his presidential library: <http://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/library/speeches/740001.asp>, last accessed November 18, 2015.
- ⁹ The historical record strongly suggests that Ford had not seriously considered a pardon of Nixon until several weeks after he was sworn in as president.

- ¹⁰ Hartmann (1980), p. 159.
- ¹¹ Cannon (1994), pp. 347–348.
- ¹² Hartmann (1980), pp. 238–239.
- ¹³ Werth (2006), p. 254.
- ¹⁴ Ford (1979), p. 127.
- ¹⁵ Address to a Joint Session of the Congress," August 12, 1974. For the full text, see: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=4694#axzz1ju2noudY> (January 19, 2012).
- ¹⁶ Werth (2006), p. 128.
- ¹⁷ Werth (2006), p. 13.
- ¹⁸ Hartmann (1980), p. 350.
- ¹⁹ Ibid., p. 384.
- ²⁰ Werth (2006), p. 221.
- ²¹ Ford (1979), p. 161.
- ²² For a copy of the pardon speech, go to: <http://www.historyplace.com/speeches/ford.htm>, accessed November 23, 2015.
- ²³ James Svava, "The Ethical Triangle: Synthesizing the Bases of Administrative Ethics," in *Public Integrity Annual*, ed. James S. Bowman (Lexington, KY: Council of State Governments, 1997).
- ²⁴ Newell (2013), p. 178.
- ²⁵ "Polls: Ford's Image Improved Over Time," by Joel Roberts, CBS News, 2006, see: <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/polls-fords-image-improved-over-time>, accessed November 24, 2015.
- ²⁶ Remarks by Senator Edward Kennedy, <http://www.jfklibrary.org/Events-and-Awards/Profile-in-Courage-Award/Award-Recipients/Gerald-Ford-2001.aspx?t=4>, accessed November 18, 2015.
- ²⁷ Cannon (1994), pp. 383.
- ²⁸ *New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, September 9, 1974.
- ²⁹ *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 1972–1977, Volume One*, Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1978.
- ³⁰ Memorandum to Mr. Hartmann from Anne Higgins, January 4, 1975, Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library, Robert Hartmann Papers, Box 145, and Mieczkowski (2005), p. 30.
- ³¹ Ford (1979), p. 179. In 1998, when being interviewed by Bob Woodward, Ford pulled out a portion of the 1915 Supreme Court ruling in *Burdick vs. United States* that backed up the point that acceptance of a pardon is an admission of guilt. "I've got it in my wallet here because anytime anybody challenges me I pull it out," he said.
- ³² Quoted in Werth (2006), p. 330.
- ³³ Speech at New York City Lincoln Day Dinner, February 12, 1924. See: <http://coolidgefoundation.org/quote/quotations-c/>, accessed November 27, 2015.

The author is currently on the adjunct faculty of the Federal Executive Institute and is a consultant and educator for his own firm, Leadership for a Responsible Society. He was formerly the Dean of Faculty at the Federal Executive Institute and Director of the Horace Mann Learning Center, the training office for the U.S. Department of Education. This article draws on the author's chapter "Constitutional Crisis: Ford Assumes the Presidency and Pardons Nixon," in *Statesmanship, Character, and Leadership in America*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, with permission of Springer Nature.

Social Equity Helps AMPP Up the Good Life!

Veronica Adams-Cooper

Social equity helps AMPP¹ up the good life for humanity
by enabling prosperity to emerge from poverty!

“How can that be,” you may wonder?
It should be so easy to see with no need to ponder.
But, you may be just like me.
For in the beginning, there wasn’t the necessary “We.”²
Instead, it was the infamous “I”
that led me to the famous thinking habit of ‘no limits to the sky.’

There I was off and running with a story
and wondrously thinking that it was my crowning glory.
Yet, even more profound than that
is now realizing that my “I” had blindsided me flat.
After four persons learned of my story that I was trying to hone,
I was stopped by a group that doesn’t follow crowds but walks alone.

This group of persons just happened to be
comprised of five young women matriculating in CED.³
I had been training them for the social equity work that lies ahead for their generation,
challenging them at every stage to ensure their necessary preparation for public administration.
Presenting my story to them during that class
was a key step as we were preparing to help en masse.
Having just returned from a conference for building creative communities,
I was still experiencing the energetic euphoria of the humanities.

My story was built on a simple theory.
Find the letters that separate poverty and prosperity clearly.
Then simply create a word or acronym from them to serve as the central theme

that can galvanize a community, a nation to become a team.

This team would then address that non-threatening word
and make life better for those impoverished and who need to be heard.

I was so excited in creating the initial story theme of ‘sirp.’

It would be a wordplay for ‘syrup.’

However, the celebration was cut short for me.

Ms. Ryles said I had missed the letter ‘v.’

With creativity, I thought I could transform the spelling to ‘s-i-r-v-p.’⁴

“No, you can’t do that,” was the students’ heartfelt plea.

They could not see what I could see.

And, I could not see what they could see.

We went back and forth in a passionate tango

with this ‘naked professor’⁵ needing a cold glass of mango!

Ms. Ryles chimed, “Poetry can be used; it is formed from the common letters.”

Her insight helped move the roadblock making us all feel a little better.

We were so close to the answer in plain sight before us,

yet still too far away and now unable to get on our bus.

This exercise was over and time for its application

to the chapters in urban and rural community planning needing explanation.

Still, “we” ended that class period on common ground.

Social equity helps ‘America Move from Poverty to Prosperity’⁶ is what we found!

I saw the right stuff that night.

They were ready; they knew the gravity – the story had to pass the light.

I felt the right stuff that night.

I knew that I was ready because I still needed to see the light.

My focus was on the difference in spelling between poverty and prosperity – v, s, p, r, and i.

One student’s focus was on the common spelling between them – p, o, e, r, t, and y.

Where was the story within these two themes?

I waited.

I prayed.

I thought.

I waited some more into this long night and early morning.

Somehow I knew that I would receive the dawning.

Then it came like a warm cascade of love

when I felt the gentle touch of the dove.

This answer is the inspiration that I received from above:

*When each of us responds to others through the richness of our diversity
'based on' what we have in common,
we can overcome by putting ourselves in each other's place
'because of' what we have in common.*

Thus, the theory was right.
It is just that simple!

Humanity can overcome poverty and
all can experience prosperity
when (I) meaning each of us responds (RSVP)
to the common things between persons experiencing **poverty** and
persons experiencing **prosperity** (Poetry).
The synergy that results when you add the commonalities from the two sets of 'P' is fire.
Surely enough clean energy is created to fuel any empire.
Is it really possible that this social equity story encouraging fairness, justice, and equality
as a government function
could become humanity's innovative, healing, and restorative conjunction?

—
Yes!

Poetry can be the unifying bond between the masses and the few.
Poetry has the potential to improve the quality of life for many.
Poetry has the power to transform communities into creative centers for a good life!

Please accept this invitation to repeat after me.

When I RSVP to Poetry,
I AMPP up the good life for humanity.
So, I want to help prosperity emerge from poverty
by striving to achieve social equity!

Endnotes

¹ AMPP is the acronym for "America Move from Poverty to Prosperity," that is shown later in the body.

² This subject of "I" and "We" is found in the work of Richard Owen Geer and Jules Corriere *Story Bridge: From Alienation to Community Action*, 2012 (USA: Community Performance, Inc.).

³ CED stands for "Community and Economic Development." The five young women are Ali'Yah Arnold, Kimberly Brooks, Ericka Jackson, Shinadrean Palmore, and Alfreda Ryles, members of the Master of Public Administration Program's community and economic development concentration at Albany State University (Albany, GA) in spring 2014.

⁴ In Latin, the letters "U" and "V" can be used interchangeably. Thus, I would have creatively used "sirvp" as a wordplay for syrup.

⁵ Peter S. Temes, "Naked Professor," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, August 9, 2002. The essay's theme focused on the learning environment being two-fold and encompassed the professor embracing the notion of not always knowing everything and taking risks.

⁶ This phrase, "America Move from Poverty to Prosperity," has AMPP for its acronym (Refer to Endnote¹).

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The Academic Zoo: Student Profiles, Class Design and Teaching Styles

Pamela A. Gibson

They arrive from everywhere; they come from across town and from across the globe. They differ in age, social status, health conditions, temperaments, and degrees of apprehension about being in college. What is most fascinating about these exotic creatures is that when they gather for the first time in First Year Seminar classes they gel. Each class cultivates a character - an atmosphere - and establishes a unique relationship with the ringleader or, as we like to be called, the professor.

The type of seminar plays a significant part in determining the type of student attracted to taking it and demands a certain type of teaching style to help students manage their newly discovered surroundings.

Student Profiles

Let's meet the latest crop of fresh faces emerging from the back of the family SUV to unload their stuff and head over to the Student Commons and register for classes,

Eager Edward

Edward is motivated, organized, attentive to detail and willing to venture beyond the course content to learn about the larger environment. Curious, optimistic, confident and friendly, Edward came to orientation camp in the summer and ordered his books early. He researched the professors teaching the sessions and found the one most like him. Edward thrives within his comfort zone.

Edward signs up early for an Open Section of the First-Year Seminar. He is attracted to the description: "A Seminar for those interested in learning about the university, its resources and a study in skills and techniques for making the college experience worthwhile." Learning the "ins and outs" of the system, that's Edward's cup of tea.

Cautious Caroline

Caroline is more academically challenged but is aware of it and responds to it. She is tentative, shy, but open to explore the unknown. She's just not sure. Her hesitation can be frustrating for her and her instructors. She hears a lot about "reaching her potential" interpreting this to mean she missed the mark yet again, but not quite clear how she can go about reaching it. Caroline doesn't have a comfort zone.

Caroline signs up for the Conditionally Admitted Section. This is a section designed specifically for students who fall outside the normal profile for admission to the university; students who do not have strong college prep coursework in their secondary school education and a combination of low grades and SAT scores that suggest they would benefit from a course that can prepare for (warn of) what to expect and better navigate this new setting.

Mandy with a Mission

Before walking across the stage to accept her high school diploma, Mandy knew her college major. Prior to registration, she had studied the undergraduate catalog and charted her tentative course plan. Determined, goal-oriented, and smart, she knew (didn't have to dream) she would make an excellent doctor. She just has to get through this bachelor's thing first.

Naturally, Mandy is quick to register for the FIG, or Freshman Interest Group, because they offered one specifically geared toward health professions.

Testy Tom and Fun-Loving Fred

Tom and Fred feel they were burned by authority figures. They are skeptical, judgmental, and none-too-happy to learn about the Resident Advisor and that there are, in fact, rules in the dorms. That's not what they had heard. Fred thought he could move into the frat house. Although, less receptive than the others, Tom and Fred are capable of receiving direction and assistance. They just have to be sold on it.

Turning Point is the name of those sections reserved for students who have been placed on academic warning. When their GPAs fell below a 2.0 during their first semester, Tom and Fred attempt to circumvent moving to academic probation by enrolling in this seminar.

Instructor Profiles and Class Designs

Cesar Millan, the dog rehabilitator known for his *New York Times* best sellers and television series, *Dog Whisperer with Cesar Millan* (2004-2012), would quickly tell you the needs of an animal determine the type of training called for in having successful behavioral, obedience, agility and vocational training. The type of instructors called for in these distinctive seminar types are no different. Each of our freshman would be best served by a type of teacher (or trainer) attuned to his or her personality, demeanor and motivation to learn.

Let's now meet the instructors of the courses and the husbandry of the young vertebrates of our menagerie.

The Advisor

The Advisor teaches the Open Section of the First-Year Seminar that appealed to Eager Edward. Edward can quickly respond to the most academically demanding syllabi. He takes advantage of university resources and goes beyond the classroom requirements in an effort to stand out and garner praise. In fact, he is willing to do community service -volunteer work - to augment his studies and add depth to his resume.

Edward needs an instructor who is readily available and familiar with accessing services from the writing center to the career office. In fact, the Advisor is the faculty advisor for the Interfraternity Council and assists with the mentorship program housed in The Honor's College. Additionally, she practices the engagement she encourages in her students by volunteering at the local foodbank and the Medical School's fund-raising walks which highlight treatment for childhood diseases. She anticipates Edward will want a few informational interviews with those in careers he is interested in exploring and the Advisor introduces him to the local chapter of various professions so he can attend some of their luncheons and meet-and-greets.

The Advisor supplements in-class instruction on the First-Year Experience by incorporating off-campus trips; such as, exploring the city by bus, attending a theatrical production across campus or that diversity workshop and having the students write about it. These activities expose Edward to the unfamiliar, more than he is accustomed to, and broadening his appreciation and perspective beyond his own needs and wants.

The Counselor

The Counselor instructs the Conditionally Admitted Section of the First-Year Seminar. He meets Cautious Caroline's apprehension with needed structure, deadlines and perhaps extended deadlines. It's not what the instructor says, but how it's said. Therefore, the Counselor is patient and offers explicit instruction in the Seminar.

Students line up outside the Counselor's office during office hours. When not in one-on-one sessions giving motivational support, you will usually find him in the common areas of the campus simply enjoying being around students. Voted Teacher of the Year, he travels with the sports teams when playing away games and attends all the theatre productions.

Speaking softly, while validating the fears expressed by the Carolines in the class, he urges them to recognize they were admitted to college and, with support, many will remove the contingencies of enrollment. The Counselor provides Caroline with the individualized attention that fuels her confidence and self-assurance that she is gaining ground on that potential.

Additionally, the Counselor will recommend tutoring services through the University so Caroline recognizes the need to seek help, beyond the Seminar and not become too dependent upon the Counselor, as she surprises herself and becomes a sophomore.

It is important to note this isn't the role of a therapist. That is, the Counselor isn't equipped to address weightier personality and situational circumstances — possible issues among all the new inhabitants of the zoo — but a welcoming approach and focus on academic skill-building.

The Advocate

The Freshman Interest Group (FIG) on the healthcare field is led by the Advocate. Mandy with a Mission knows all about the resources on campus and will use them as warranted. She doesn't need to be introduced to them like Edward.

However, she is looking for instructors and guest speakers who are in the very profession she has in her Goal Book. The Advocate is well versed in the field of study Mandy is interested in joining once she completes her advanced degree. His experience and contacts in the field provide the credibility essential in attracting Mandy's attention in the Seminar. The Advocate, a faculty member who typically teaches graduate students in specialized courses, volunteered to come across campus and teach this freshman seminar to experience the latest generation to enter college. He is interested in the vocational pursuits of college graduates.

Mandy doesn't want the informational interview. She wants an internship. She sees the instructor of the FIG as a future reference for med school. The Advocate will then assist in developing her LinkedIn page, suggest service learning projects and other research on her intended career.

To be clear, the Advocate isn't focusing his support on the profession but on promoting the interests of the students. So, when Mandy, like most aspiring 18-year-old doctors, encounters Biology 202 and Chemistry 201 and catapults that idea out the window, the Advocate will be there to provide a helpful listing of law school admission forms.

The Trainer

Turning Point, or the First-Year Seminar for students on academic warning, is headed by the Trainer. Tom and Fred, needless to say, don't need to be educated on the extracurricular activities available on campus. They need to further connect with the academic side: interviewing faculty of upcoming classes, forming study groups, submitting library research and writing assignments for feedback. The Trainer focuses on assigning these guys several different projects requiring on-going, incremental deadlines throughout the term, anchored in the relevance to the skills they are meant to develop and refine. He coaches and tutors offering a teaching method of exposure and repetition.

Experience succeeding with authority motivates Tom and Fred to uncross their arms while sitting in the back of the room and drop the front legs of their seats back to the floor. The Trainer garners their respect and attention with a style and manner reflective of their old high school football coach. "Boys, you can have your fun," Coach would say, "but, first, you gotta run those laps."

The Late Arrivals

Beware the late arriving hybrids. Cautious Carolines can turn out to be Confused Carolines under closer inspection. That is, conditionally admitted students tend to be accepted late so they register late and their worries are confirmed that they are "already behind the curve" on acclimating to their new environment and learning within it. Testy Tom could truly be Terribly Upset Tom and Fun Loving Fred revealed to be really Frantic Fred as they enter the Student Commons late in the

day when seminar sections are full. Arriving late is indicative of their time management difficulties which had them placed on academic warning in the first place.

Apathy from the lost sheep and anger from the caged lions need a seasoned Zoo Director for these late-added sections. In fact, they need a tenured Director. One with the experience and freedom to adopt and adapt any of the other instructor profiles or class designs. They know what works and when. Don't put the novice instructor in with the hybrids. We don't want the animals running wild.

End of Your Tour

I wouldn't call what we do taming; rather, channeling the unique, natural talents and behaviors of our wildlife as they roam their transitional habitats. The more we recognize and attend to the grand diversity in our exhibitions, the greater opportunity to foster and preserve their healthy survival in a new ecosystem.

Just stay out of the dining hall. No need to be there at feeding time ♦

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Review of *The Fed at 100*

Museum of American Finance, New York,
September 15, 2013 – March 27, 2015

Reviewed by *Jonathan Woolley*

Politicians love the Federal Reserve for the same reason they love the Supreme Court. They can take credit for all of its good decisions (by saying they voted for the appointment of the person who made the good decision) and dump the blame for all of its bad decisions on somebody else (“It’s not my fault small businesses are failing in my district, it’s because the Fed has made credit too tight”). In that respect, both the Court and the Federal Reserve are somewhat like an independent public authority – immune from political control but capable of delivering politicians enormous political goodies (or disappointments) when necessary.

The Federal Reserve is similar to an independent public authority in another way: it was specifically designed to take decision-making power out of the hands of politicians. However, unlike many independent authorities, it was designed with the idea of giving control of the agency to experts – sane, safe hands who would regulate monetary policy in a manner that best suited the needs of the public – rather than giving control of the agency as a political reward to a longtime party hack or financial supporter, the way some independent authorities receive their directors. In that sense, Wilson really was embodying the good government spirit of Progressivism, and the fact that the mandate and structure of the Federal Reserve have remained largely unchanged to this day is a testament to that.

In honor of the Federal Reserve’s one hundredth anniversary, the Museum of American Finance has opened a special exhibition, *The Fed at 100*. The exhibit is divided into three sections, located in different areas of the museum. One section, located on the west side of the museum, is called *The Federal Reserve System* and covers the overall structure of the Federal Reserve. After briefly discussing the organization’s history, it explains the system’s twelve divisions, using as examples the Kansas City and San Francisco banks. Descriptions of various functions – such as economic research analysis and the types of employees who do it – are included, as are charts indicating how the various functions are related to each bank’s overall function. Information on congressional oversight, with the requirement the Chair report twice a year on economic policy, is also included.

A second section, called *Federal Reserve Bank of New York*, covers the history and functions of the Federal Reserve's New York bank. A number of exhibits relate to Benjamin Strong, the first president of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, placing particular emphasis both on his vision and promotion of the New York bank (and of American finance in general) and on his relationship with Montagu Norman, a governor of Britain's central bank. A small amount of personal information on Strong is also provided, humanizing him. Also exhibited in this section are various items related to bank functions from over the years, including Liberty Bonds and other methods of financing World Wars One and Two (including Series E Bonds), a scale used to weigh gold, and similar materials. Descriptive panels are provided for each item.

A third section, located on the museum's south side, is called *100 Years, 100 Objects* and exhibits various items associated either with the Federal Reserve's operations and personnel or with that of entities whose functions are related to those of the Federal Reserve. Some are nothing more than knickknacks – cute items such as T-shirts and photographs of interns. Others are more substantive: thus, a letter to private banks from Wilson's Treasury Secretary announcing the New York bank's establishment and enforcement of capital reserve requirements among potential member banks will be the one of greatest interest to administrative and economic historians.

A brief film, concentrating on the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, is also shown next to The Federal Reserve System section. It's a good introduction to the New York bank for laypeople – and perhaps for students who may not be familiar with the functions of the Federal Reserve (particularly undergraduates). However, it will be of little interest to more advanced scholars or bankers, who are likely to be familiar with the New York bank's functions and so may find it too touristy for their taste.

From a public administration viewpoint, the most useful section is The Federal Reserve System section. Not only does it provide a primer on the Federal Reserve's history, structure, and oversight, it also provides information on the various job functions of the Federal Reserve and how they relate to each other and to the economy as a whole. It's done in a simplistic manner – it's designed to be viewed by laypeople, not government economic analysts – but the information is provided very clearly. A person interested in researching the managerial structure, or the relationship between managerial structure and function, of the Federal Reserve would find this helpful. A professor teaching a course, either on the Federal Reserve itself or on economic policy (or political economy) and public administration would find this section even more helpful, as a field trip to this section would make a wonderful prop for teaching a bachelor's or a master's level course.

Economic and administrative historians will find the information on the history of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York – and particularly the information regarding Benjamin Strong – to be most informative. The establishment of the Federal Reserve is discussed well. Strong's relationship with Norman is highlighted with an emphasis on how the two's working together helped the Federal Reserve develop its role in international affairs despite the nation's relative inexperience in this field. Strong realized the United States needed to play a role in post-World War I reconstruction and also realized this period was a good chance to achieve his goal of making the U.S. an international financial leader. (As Strong predicted in 1922, "the day may come when American bankers can safely and profitably enter into undertakings which in fact we alone of all the nations

have the strength to currency and banking re-establishment make”¹.) But neither some organizations of the American financial system nor some organizations of the international financial system were used to thinking along these lines. The personal relationship was able to assist each central bank’s goals – and each man’s goal for his respective central bank. The net result for the U.S. was a friendly strengthening of America’s financial role in the world.

Economic historians will wish more could be said about the problems of determining monetary policy. Little is said on the pre-Federal Reserve monetary system of the late Nineteenth Century, particularly regarding the Free Silver debate that both served as one of William Jennings Bryan’s campaign platforms and as a metaphor for the agricultural versus industrial interests and populist versus business interests competitions that existed during the Gilded Age. Other than providing useful background information on public dissatisfaction with the preceding system – and thus on one of the reasons the public supported reforming the financial system – this doesn’t directly relate to the Federal Reserve. However, it is noteworthy because, when the Democrats finally were elected under Wilson (who appointed Bryan to his cabinet), they established the Federal Reserve with “the belief it would operate within the classical gold standard.”² The needs of government required reflecting the needs of business as well as farmers – not to mention the responsible spirit of Progressivism; so Democrats flipped from being fiscal populists to fiscal prudent conservatives. (“Business men,” as Strong notes, “generally welcomed the change [the Federal Reserve’s establishment] for the better;”³ they likely wouldn’t have done so had it been based upon pre-1907 panic fiscal populism.) The contrast would make a great talking point for a professor leading a class field trip to the exhibit.

Of course, the Fed couldn’t keep to that standard for long – thanks to the First World War, “the Fed was forced prematurely to assume responsibility for a fiat money system” (despite officially remaining on the gold standard).⁴ An elucidation of the determination of monetary policy during the interwar years, particularly regarding the Great Depression, would have made for an interesting additional section of the exhibition. (The exhibit implies Benjamin Strong plays a key role during the twenties – at least as far as coordinating international monetary policy is concerned – but provides little additional information on activities of the interwar years.) For instance, a discussion of the New York bank’s Depression-era “proposed expansionary actions,”⁵ and why they were largely rejected by the rest of the Federal Reserve system, would have been particularly interesting, not only because of the policy issues involved, but also, from a public administration point of view, because of the exhibition’s focus on the New York Federal Reserve bank and because of its illustration of the necessity of board⁶ consensus in implementing Federal Reserve policy. Thus, given both the economic highs and lows of this period and that it was still the Federal Reserve’s formative years – it did not turn twenty-five years old until just before World War Two – an economic historian will be left wanting.

The exhibit does a better job discussing more recent fluctuations in the economy. Visitors get an idea of the role the Federal Reserve played during the economic downturns since the start of Volcker’s Chairmanship. They also get a good idea of the role congressional mandates have played from the point of view of the Reserve system and how the system has reacted to them. Thus, students and practitioners of both public administration and economic history will find this useful from the point of view of analyzing how an independent government agency functions and determines policy.

Goodhart notes setting interest rates to meet inflation targets “can just as easily (in an operational sense) be carried out” through the Executive Branch (i.e., can be set by the Treasury Department), as it can through the Federal Reserve.⁷ Indeed, doing so might give citizens the feeling government policy is being more responsive to their wants and needs, since the Executive Branch is ultimately responsible to the citizenry. If, as Wilson himself stated, “Government is merely the executive organ of society ... through which its will becomes operative,”⁸ then “engag[ing] citizens in a communicative and democratic process in which appropriate values can ... be ascertained by all the stakeholders”⁹ might be more appropriate than having a key aspect of economic policy determined by a small number of bankers. “Political accountability involves politicians being held to account through the institutions of representative democracy,”¹⁰ and since the Federal Reserve’s board members – the small number of bankers (and other economists) – are not elected politicians, a feeling of unresponsiveness on the part of citizens could be generated as citizens are clearly not “hav[ing] a defining role in determining the activities and goals of their government”¹¹ with respect to their ability to obtain credit at affordable interest rates.

Yet, as was mentioned earlier, the advantage of the Federal Reserve’s “operational independence”¹² is, from a public administration point of view, the same as that of the Supreme Court or some public authorities: “credibility”¹³ because of its disincentive to engage in pre-election politically-motivated hijinks. The Federal Reserve is specifically structured to have its decision makers take the economic view – in particular, the macroeconomic view – irrespective of whether it will make them popular with the voters. (“[O]bjective independent expert technicians who decide monetary policy issues in the country’s best interest” as Gildea phrases it.¹⁴) Smart macroeconomic policy sometimes requires taking decisions that will be unpopular in the immediate term but will prove retrospectively popular in the long term (the measures necessary to end the stagflation of the 70’s are an example – “a well-timed aggressive interest rate tightening can ... preempt a resurgence of inflation without creating a recession”¹⁵). The exhibit states this structural rationale while, at the same time, emphasizing the Federal Reserve’s board is not as immune to political pressure as its structural independence might imply. One part of The Federal Reserve System section is devoted to Congress: the reporting requirements the board faces and the ability of elected officials to require the board’s chair to answer Congressional questions. (The ability of Congress to change the Federal Reserve’s mandate is also discussed.)

Richard Sylla, who along with Eugene White served as a content advisor for this exhibition, justifies the existence of a central bank by comparing the number of financial crises when the United States had a central bank versus when it did not: “financial crises were roughly twice as frequent when the country did not have a central bank as they were when it did.”^{16 17} While not specifically citing this information, the exhibition certainly implies the Federal Reserve plays a key positive role in producing a strong, stable economic policy. Particularly since Alan Greenspan’s Chairmanship, most will find this view uncontroversial¹⁸ (although hardline libertarians and those hit hard by the housing bubble and recession of the late 2000s, along with some economists, may feel otherwise). Public administrators and economists with an interest in long-term macroeconomic policy will, therefore, find this exhibition a good overview of the government’s role in the nation’s economy. Likewise, professors of these disciplines will find it a valuable field trip when teaching about macroeconomic policy.

Public administration professors will also find it useful in teaching about the administrative structure of an independent government entity. For one thing, The Federal Reserve System section provides a good overview of the structure of both the Federal Reserve as a whole and of a typical bank within the system. This is a subject rarely examined in public administration textbooks on agency structure, and so the exhibit provides a useful supplement to a typical lesson on the organizational structure.

The exhibit can also serve as a catalyst for a class discussion on representativeness. The Federal Reserve's board (the Board of Governors) is meant to operate almost like a cabinet in terms of the way it discusses issues – except that, unlike in the White House or the Governor's Mansion, the Chairman can't override the wishes of his cabinet. (A binding vote is taken among the entire board.) Boettke and Smith¹⁹ have raised the issue of the Federal Reserve being subject to political, bureaucratic, and special interest group influence, despite the system's intended independence. This raises the question of whether Fed decisions are really done with the best interests of the nation's economy at heart. As was mentioned earlier, the exhibit discusses the issue of political oversight of the Federal Reserve.

Gildea (and others) has raised the question of whether regional bank presidents are too interested in local issues to the detriment of national needs, listing both the advantages (“advocates for the easing of local economic hardships”) and the disadvantages (“influenced by the narrow and short-sighted interests of their primary constituency”).²⁰ The Federal Reserve System section's description of the regional banks' functions, locations, and relationship to the system as a whole would serve public administration professors as a strong component of an in-class debate on various aspects of representativeness of the Federal Reserve or its key players – the Board of Governors, the Federal Open Market Committee, or the key players of the regional banks. It could also serve as a catalyst for a debate among scholars on the subject.

Lastly, The Federal Reserve System section can also be used to illustrate to students potential career paths within the government. Thus, the exhibit could serve as a way to open up banking or finance students unfamiliar with government jobs to potential career opportunities. Also, for a public administration professor teaching undergraduate or M.P.A. students, the exhibit could serve as a way to motivate students interested in the financial aspects of public administration to study hard by providing them with some idea of the level of economic knowledge required for an entry level Federal Reserve job.

This exhibition is by far the largest exhibition yet staged by the Museum of American Finance and was designed to “illuminate the complex workings of the nation's central bank and the pivotal role it has played throughout the history of American finance.”²¹ Like most museum exhibits, it is designed to be viewed by laypersons, not scholars, both since lay people comprise the majority of museum visitors and since few people, whether laypersons or public administration scholars, know a great deal about the structure of the Federal Reserve and the history of its New York bank and so need to start learning from the beginning. I recommend it for public administration and political economy professors looking for a field trip to supplement their in-class lectures. I also recommend it for laypersons looking to learn more about American central banking and/or financial and monetary policy. Some scholars may also find this exhibit useful for their research purposes, particularly if they are looking for a catalyst to launch them into an area of Federal Reserve research they

had not previously considered studying. Some other history museums may wish to request this exhibition travel around the country, as it would serve as a good method of speaking about an issue history museums rarely address adequately: the role of finance in American history.

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- ² Marvin Goodfriend, Review of *A History of the Federal Reserve, Volume One: 1913-1951*, by Allan H. Meltzer, *The Region*. Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis.
- ³ Benjamin Strong, Preface, *The A B C of the Federal Reserve System: Why the Federal Reserve System was Called into Being, the Main Features of its Organization, and How It Works (Eighth Edition)*, by Edwin Walter Kemmerer. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1929, p. v. He is referring to businessmen in general and not bankers in particular.
- ⁴ Op. Cit. Goodfriend.
- ⁵ Christina D. Romer and David H. Romer, “The Most Dangerous Idea in Federal Reserve History: Monetary Policy Doesn’t Matter,” Preliminary Draft, December 21, 2012, *American Economic Review* (2013).
- ⁶ For the purposes of this review, the word board refers to the Board of Governors of the entire Federal Reserve.
- ⁷ C. A. E. Goodhart, “The Changing Role of Central Banks,” *Financial History Review* 18:2 (August 2011), p. 142.
- ⁸ Woodrow Wilson, *The State: Elements of Historical and Practical Politics (Revised Edition)*. Boston: D. C. Heath, 1911, p. 576.
- ⁹ Kaifeng Yang and Marc Holzer, “Re-Approaching the Politics/ Administration Dichotomy and Its Impact on Administrative Ethics,” *Public Integrity* 7:2 (Spring 2005), p. 123.
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- ¹¹ J. Woolley, “Clean Air Council: An Effort to Evaluate the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority,” *Citizen Participation: Innovative and Alternative Modes for Engaging Citizens*, ed. by M. Holzer, D. Kong, and D. Bromberg. Newark, N.J.: American Society for Public Administration and National Center for Public Performance, 2011, p. 79.
- ¹² Op. Cit. Goodhard, p. 142.
- ¹³ Ibid.
- ¹⁴ John A. Gildea, “The Regional Representation of Federal Reserve Bank Presidents,” *Journal of Money, Credit and Banking* 24:2 (May 1992), p. 224.
- ¹⁵ Marvin Goodfriend, How the World Achieved Consensus on Monetary Policy. NBER Working Paper 13580. November 2007, p. 12.
- ¹⁶ Richard Sylla, “Central Banking and the Incidence of Financial Crises,” *Financial History* (Fall 2013), p. 23. Sylla cites information from others in the article.
- ¹⁷ Note that he includes the duration of the pre-1836 Bank of the United States in his calculations.
- ¹⁸ As one news article phrased it, the then-Chairman “helped steer the economy through good times and bad, earning credibility from both parties [Republicans and Democrats] along the way”. Jeannine Aversa, “Alan Greenspan Enjoys Rock Star Renown,” *Houston Chronicle* (March 5, 2005).
- ¹⁹ Peter J. Boettke and Daniel J. Smith, “Federal Reserve Independence: A Centennial Review,” *Journal of Prices and Markets* 1 (2013), p. 31-48. GMU Working Paper in Economics No. 12-42.
- ²⁰ Op. Cit. Gildea, p. 224.

- ²¹ Museum of American Finance, “Museum of American Finance to Launch Federal Reserve Centennial Exhibition,” September 17, 2013.

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Case Study #10:

Fifth Grade Poetry Class

by Debra Conner

Developed by *Kenneth Nichols*

What do public school teachers do? What is education? Learning? Why do some people learn differently from others? How do we help students with special learning needs? Does it ever actually pay off?

See what answers you come up with as you read Debra Conner's story-poem about one child, one morning, in one American classroom. Unlike most selections in this reader, this portrays an actual event — possibly someone much like a child you yourself have known.

The author, Debra Conner, is a poet and performer who visited children in Ohio classrooms. Her visits frequently "showed students that poetry comes from the most ordinary moments." When she wrote this poem, Conner was part of a Writers in the Schools program sponsored by the Ohio Art Council.

How would you like Debra Conner to be one of your teachers?

The Selection: *Fifth Grade Poetry Class*¹

(This is copyrighted material. The poem first appeared in the June 1998 issue of *Ohio Schools* magazine and is being reprinted by permission from the original publisher.)

I squat beside him, and with his gnawed pencil
in my hand, urge, *Tell me what your hand looks like.*
All morning, while his classmates compared clouds
to cotton, snow to feathers, this boy,
so eager he couldn't stay seated, shouted out,
A wet dog smells like liver and Ice burns
like a piece of the sun. Even the teacher looked up,
amazed, at this boy who's spent two years

in fifth grade, the kid who can't write,
who needs special help on every assignment.
Now, he draws his hand close, fingers folded under,
then extends them, grinning, as he says,
*It's an old woman's wrinkled face, Five men
in a field, Five roads to nowhere.* Metaphors spill
so fast that the pencil fumbles, words blur,
lines tumble clumsily off the page.
It's like the time I took a horse
outside the riding school's fenced-in arena,
and rode off, for the first time, alone.
It was April in the Blue Ridge, and the horse,
released to the open fields, gathered speed
as eagerly as the earth drew strength from the sun.
Behind me, the gray barn, where all winter
I'd trudged the muddy ring, grew smaller,
until it stood like a door that blocked off
another world, leaving me free on the outside,
giddy and breathless, vowing I'd never turn back.

For Students

Questions

1. The poetry teacher seems to be very good at her job. Why?
2. Can you think of an example from your grade-school days when something in class suddenly opened up a new view of the world for you? What was it? What did the teacher do to create that experience?
3. The poetry teacher is introducing the fifth-grade class to simile (SIM-uh-lee) and metaphor (MET-uh-for). How can that help students beyond their assignments in poetry and creative writing?

Exercises

1. *Lesson Planning.* You are a college student who will graduate at the end of the school year. For one of your classes, each student is to visit an elementary school for an afternoon to help out in a special subject. You are expected to draw on your own background and interests.
 - a. Identify a *subject* you would like to help young students know more about.
 - b. Specify a *learning objective* — something you would like each child to know, understand, or be able to do — that will stay with the child from that time on.

- c. Create a brief *lesson plan* that describes, in simple steps, how you will handle the lesson. Also describe visual aids and any special activities, placing them at the point in the lesson you will use them.
 - d. Define an *outcome measure* (e.g., a test or exercise) that will permit you to determine whether students have achieved the learning objective you intended.
2. *Budgeting to Accommodate Special Needs.* You are the superintendent of the Hills Valley School District. You and your staff will soon begin formulating the district's budget request for the next school year. Your budget last year was \$15 million; with it, the district educated 3,000 students. (Hills Valley High School holds 1,000 students, two middle schools each hold 500 students, and five elementary schools each hold around 200 students.)

Hills Valley has never been a rich school district, and the next several years look pretty tight. In fact, in the coming year, you project your district's enrollment will grow by almost eight percent, but you think it is unlikely to expect more than a three percent increase in your overall budget.

Meanwhile, you also expect to serve 50 special-needs students, up from 40 this year. Students with special needs frequently require different kinds of special attention. (For example, mobility-impaired students may require special ramps, doorways, and desks; hearing-impaired students may require special audio devices or teachers able to communicate through sign language; students with attention deficit disorders may require extensive one-on-one attention from a teacher or teaching assistant.) Consequently, as a rule, educating special-need students costs more money than does educating most other students.

As you and your staff work up the preliminary numbers for your budget request,

- a. How will you factor in the costs associated with the anticipated increase in special-needs students?
 - b. Can you think of ways to keep down the cost of serving the special-needs students you will have without sacrificing learning quality?
 - c. Where will you try to compensate by saving elsewhere?
 - d. What will you say in your budget justification narrative?

Internet Sites

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION: www.nea.org — The NEA is America's oldest and largest organization committed to advancing public education.

NATIONAL CENTER FOR LEARNING DISABILITIES: www.ncld.org — NCLD works toward “a society in which every individual possesses the academic, social and emotional skills needed to succeed in school, at work and in life.” The nonprofit organization undertakes advocacy, programs, and a variety of resources designed for parents, students, educators, and professionals.

LEARNING DISABILITIES ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA: ldaamerica.org — “LDA’s mission is to create opportunities for success for all individuals affected by learning disabilities and to reduce the incidence of learning disabilities in future generations.”

THE OFFICE OF SPECIAL EDUCATION AND REHABILITATIVE SERVICES (OSERS): www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/osers/osep — This office within the U.S. Department of Education supports programs that assist in educating children with special needs, provides for the rehabilitation of youth and adults with disabilities, and supports research to improve the lives of individuals with disabilities.

For the Instructor

“Fifth Grade Poetry Class” is a poem written in 1998 by Debra Conner.

Discussion Points and Themes

- Dominant among the themes (■) this story-poem touches on are communication, personal and professional development, diversity, and functions of government. Also major are the themes (■) of performance evaluation, planning and budgeting, and group behavior. Important minor themes (▪) include change, ethics, leadership, and human resources management (particularly as it applies to training and development).
- Although this selection is structured as poetry, it is also a personal narrative. Consequently, apply the terms “poem,” “story,” and “narrative” in whatever combination is comfortable as you discuss the selection with your students.
- In most developed nations, education — at least to a certain level — is considered one of the functions of government.
- When structured learning takes place in our schools, it is usually referred to as “teaching”; when it occurs in the workplace, however, we usually call it “training” or “instruction.” Whatever the label, it is a critical aspect of our organizations, of society itself, and, of course, of us as individuals.

Themes

- Organizational/Societal Change
- Functions of Government
 - Democratic Principles
- Ethics
- Leadership
 - Decisionmaking
- Planning/Budgeting
- Performance Evaluation
 - Policy Development/ Evaluation.
- Law Enforcement/ Justice
- Communication
- Org/Group Behavior
- Diversity/Multiculturalism
- Human Resources Management
- Personal/Professional Development

Questions

Any of the questions can be used in classroom discussions, assigned as homework, worked in class either individually or in small groups, and/or adapted as questions for essay or objective tests.

The commentaries below are brief reflections on each question; however, they are not intended as comprehensive.

- | Question (from student section) | Comment |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>The poetry teacher seems to be very good at her job. Why?</i> | Example of synergy of skill, dedication, experience, tenacity, perception, and a remarkable student. Also an example of the challenges and rewards of teaching. |
| 2. <i>Can you think of an example from your grade-school days when something in class suddenly opened up a new view of the world for you? What was it? What did the teacher do to create that experience?</i> | Asks the student to reexamine a personal situation from the point of view of the person who triggered a particular insight — and, hopefully, the pedagogy that helped lead to that insight. |
| 3. <i>The poetry teacher is introducing the fifth-grade class to simile (SIM-uh-lee) and metaphor (MET-uh-for). How can that help students beyond their assignments in poetry and creative writing?</i> | Encourages the student to consider how skills and knowledge are frequently transferable to different contexts. |

Exercises

As with the questions, above, any of these exercises can be used in the classroom or assigned as homework. They are usually best worked in small group settings. Some be adapted as examination questions.

The commentaries below describe the potential utility of each exercise:

- | Exercise (from Student Section) | Comment |
|---|---|
| 1. Lesson Planning. <i>You are a college student who will graduate at the end of the school year. For one of your classes, each student is to visit an elementary school for an afternoon to help out in a special subject. You are expected to draw on your own background and interests.</i>
<i>a. Identify a subject you would like to help young students know more about.</i> | Gives students a chance to consider how lessons are created. This example uses younger students as the target audience; however, the concepts apply equally to training in the workplace and in higher education. |

- b. Specify a learning objective — something you would like each child to know, understand, or be able to do — that will stay with the child from that time on.*
- c. Create a brief lesson plan that describes, in simple steps, how you will handle the lesson. Also describe visual aids and any special activities, placing them at the point in the lesson you will use them.*
- d. Define an outcome measure (e.g., a test or exercise) that will permit you to determine whether students have achieved the learning objective you intended.*

2. Budgeting to Accommodate Special Needs. *You are the superintendent of the Hills Valley School District. You and your staff will soon begin formulating the district's budget request for the next school year. Your budget last year was \$15 million; with it, the district educated 3,000 students. (Hills Valley High School holds 1,000 students, two middle schools each hold 500 students, and five elementary schools each hold around 200 students.)*

Gives students a chance to grapple with zero-sum budgeting in the face of competing priorities.

Hills Valley has never been a rich school district, and the next several years look pretty tight. In fact, in the coming year, you project your district's enrollment will grow by almost eight percent, but you think it is unlikely to expect more than a three percent increase in your overall budget.

Meanwhile, you also expect to serve 50 special-needs students, up from 40 this year. Students with special needs frequently require different kinds of special attention. (For example, mobility-impaired students may require special ramps, doorways, and desks; hearing-impaired students may require special audio devices or teachers able to communicate through sign language; students with attention deficit disorders may require extensive one-on-one attention from a teacher or teaching assistant.) Consequently, as a rule, educating special-need students costs more money than does educating most other students.

As you and your staff work up the preliminary numbers for your budget request,

- a. How will you factor in the costs associated with the anticipated increase in special-needs students?*
- b. Can you think of ways to keep down the cost of serving the special-needs students you will have?*
- c. Where will you try to compensate by saving elsewhere?*
- d. What will you say in your budget justification narrative?*

Other Classroom Activity

1. STUDENT TEACHERS

Adapt Exercise 1 to become a live activity by making arrangements with a local elementary school. If practical, invite someone from the elementary school to address your class about the assignment. Rather than have students work individually, have them work in pairs or small groups. As with Exercise 1, have each team draw on shared interests (or on targeted needs suggested by officials from the school with which students from your classroom are working) to do the following:

- a. Identify a *subject* the team has been requested (or would like) to help youngsters know more about.
- b. Specify a *learning objective* — something each child ought to know, understand, or be able to do — that will stay with the child from that time on.
- c. Create a brief *lesson plan* that describes, in simple steps, how to handle the lesson. Also describe visual aids and any special activities, placing them at the point in the lesson they will use them.
- d. Define an *outcome measure* (e.g., a test or exercise) that will permit the team to determine whether students have achieved the learning objective.

As part of their preparation, have student teams critique one another's lesson plans and outcome measures. After all teams complete their teaching assignments, conduct a *post mortem* of what went well and why, what didn't and why, how they might adjust their plans, how they felt about helping others learn, and what the activity has helped them to understand about this public administration calling.

Bottom Line. This activity gives students the opportunity to:

- Set training objectives and formulate plans based on those objectives.
- Distinguish outcome measures from process measures.
- Create outcome measures for specific objective.
- Participate on a project-oriented team.
- Assume a key role in a community service activity.
- Experience the challenge and exhilaration of teaching.

2. ACCOMMODATING STUDENTS WITH SPECIAL NEEDS

Exercise 2 treats special-needs students as a budget issue. Beyond that, it is also a technical issue (in terms of *how* to accommodate a wide range of special needs in different school facilities and at different grade levels) and a social policy issue (in terms of what degree of responsibility and cost we expect public schools to bear and what level of accommodation to expect). Raise these issues with the students in your classroom. Divide the class into pairs of teams. Assign each pair a type of special need (e.g., vision, hearing, mobility, dyslexia). Within each pair, have one team look at the technical issues involved and the other team look at the social policy implications and consequences. In a subsequent class, have each pair of teams make a brief joint presentation of their findings and recommendations to the class as a whole.

Bottom Line. This activity encourages students to:

- Consider, from a variety of perspectives, practical issues of cost, accommodation, and equity that administrators and educators face in the classroom and, by extension, in the workplace.
- Participate in team-based research.
- Participate in preparing and presenting a briefing.

Further Reading

Beyond the references in this study, you may wish to identify relevant chapters or sections of the primary textbook or reading selections assigned for the course. Below are several more:

Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 — The Americans with Disabilities Act prohibits discrimination on the basis of disability in employment (title I), State and local government services and transportation (title II), public accommodations (title III), and telecommunications (title IV). It is stated as an act “to establish a clear and comprehensive prohibition of discrimination on the basis of disability.”

Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) Amendments of 1997 — Prior to IDEA’s implementation in 1975, approximately a million children with disabilities were kept out of schools and hundreds of thousands more were denied appropriate services. Since then, the legislation changed the lives of these children. Many are learning and achieving at levels previously thought impossible. As a result, they are graduating from high school, going to college and entering the work force as productive citizens in unprecedented numbers.

Ninety percent of children with developmental disabilities were previously housed in state institutions. Today, these children are no longer in institutions. Compared with their predecessors, three times the number of young people with disabilities are enrolled in colleges or universities, and twice as many of today's twenty-year-old people with disabilities are working.

Many problems still exist for the disabled, however, such as the following:

- Twice as many disabled children drop out of school.
- Many of the drop-outs become young unwed mothers.
- Many disabled children are excluded from the curriculum used by their non-disabled classmates.

The Act is an attempt to remedy these and other problems that contribute to the barriers children with disabilities face.

Endrew F. v. Douglas County School District: U.S. Supreme Court Decision — www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/16pdf/15-827_0pm1.pdf — In March of 2017, the U.S.

Supreme Court unanimously upheld and strengthened the element in IDEA that public schools must provide a meaningful individual education plan for every student who qualifies for special needs. A placeholder educational experience is not enough. This ruling is helpful to students and their parents but places added pressure on school systems.

Lewis, Rena B. et al. 2016. *Teaching Students with Special Needs*. Pearson.

Morgan, Gareth. 1993. *Imaginization: The Art of Creative Management*. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications.

Discussion and Essay Questions

The questions and exercises in the student reader are readily adaptable for classroom discussion and as examination questions. Other possibilities:

- At the end of “Fifth Grade Poetry Class,” Debra Conner speaks of riding a horse beyond the stable area. How does she relate that to learning? Can you relate that metaphor to a purpose of government?
- Compare individual performance evaluations in the workplace with academic performance evaluations in the classroom. Create an example of each.

Endnote

¹ Debra Conner, “Fifth Grade Poetry Class.” *Ohio Schools* (June 1998); reprinted in *Maine Educator* (December 1998): 12.

Case Study #11:

Being There

by Jerzy N. Kosinski

Developed by *Kenneth Nichols*

What, in general, would you think of someone who is interested in listening to what you have to say? Or of someone whose views and sentiments seem almost to mirror your own words and thoughts? Someone who, without fail, has a quiet, thoughtful presence? Who inspires trust and confidence in everyone who talks with him or her? Who always seems diplomatic but doesn't mince words? And who displays a clarity of perspective that is both simple and profound?

*Jerzy Kosinski created such a character for us in *Being There*. The character is Chauncey Gardiner — or, as he was known for most of his life, “Chance, the gardener.” Kosinski quickly moves his protagonist from a protected garden (seen by virtually no one) into the visible-yet-cloistered “garden” of high finance and power politics. As our hero moves, we see what the world does not: That Chauncey Gardiner — who displays the characteristics mentioned in the first paragraph — is an empty vessel. We recognize that Gardiner cannot read, reason, or even feel emotions the way the rest of us do.*

Yet he is a profound natural leader.

As you enjoy Gardiner's odyssey, consider what qualities we expect from our leaders, what responsibilities we place with our leaders in general and our public leaders in particular, and how leaders and followers relate to one another.

Excerpts from the Selection: *Being There*¹

(Excerpts from BEING THERE copyright © 1970 by Jerzy Kosinski. Used by permission of Grove/Atlantic, Inc. Any third-party use of this material, outside of this publication, is prohibited.)

Very gently he let the stream touch every plant, every flower, every branch of the garden. Plants were like people; they needed care to live, to survive their diseases, and to die peacefully.

Yet plants were different from people. No plant is able to think about itself or able to know itself; there is no mirror in which the plant can recognize its face; no plant can do anything intentionally: it cannot help growing and its growth has no meaning, since a plant cannot reason or dream.

* * *

Chance went inside and turned on the TV. The set created its own light, its own color, its own time. It did not follow the law of gravity that forever bent all plants downward. Everything on TV was tangled and mixed and yet smoothed out: night and day, big and small, tough and brittle, soft and rough, hot and cold, far and near. In this colored world of television, gardening was the white cane of a blind man.

By changing the channel he could change himself. He could go through phases, as garden plants went through phases, but he could change as rapidly as he wished by twisting the dial backward and forward. In some cases he could spread out into the screen without stopping, just as on TV people spread out into the screen. By turning the dial, Chance could bring others inside his eyelids. Thus he came to believe that it was he, Chance, and no one else, who made himself be.

The figure on the TV screen looked like his own reflection in the mirror. Through Chance could not read or write, he resembled the man on TV more than he differed from him. For example, their voices were alike.

He sank into the screen.

* * *

Chance was an orphan, and it was the Old Man himself who had sheltered him in house ever since Chance was a child. Chance's mother had died when he was born. No one, not even the Old Man, would tell him who his father was. While some could learn to read and write, Chance would never be able to manage this. Nor would he ever be able to understand much of what others were saying to him or around him. Chance was to work in the garden, where he would care for plants and grasses and trees which grew there peacefully. He would be as one of them: quiet, openhearted in the sunshine and heavy when it rained. His name was Chance because he had been born by chance. He had no family. Although his mother had been very pretty, her mind had been as damaged as his: the soft soil of his brain, the ground from which all his thoughts shot up, had been ruined forever. Therefore, he could not look for a place in the life led by people outside the house or the garden gate. Chance must limit his life to his quarters and to the garden; he must not enter other parts of the household or walk out into the street. His food would always be brought to his room by Louise, who would be the only person to see Chance and talk to him. No one else was allowed to enter Chance's room. Only the Old Man himself might walk and sit in the garden.

* * *

The Old Man was propped against the stiff pillows and seemed poised intently, as if he were listening to a trickling whisper in the gutter. His shoulders sloped down at sharp angles, and his head, like a heavy fruit on a twig, hung down to one side. Chance stared into the Old Man's face.

It was white, the upper jaw overlapped the lower lip of his mouth, and only one eye remained open, like the eye of a dead bird that sometimes lay in the garden. The maid put down the receiver, saying that she had just called the doctor, and he would come right away.

Chance gazed once more at the Old Man, mumbled good-bye, and walked out. He entered his room and turned on the TV.

* * *

When he heard the phone ring in his room, he rushed inside. A man's voice asked him to come to the study.

Chance quickly changed from working clothes into one of his best suits, carefully trimmed and combed his hair, put on a pair of large sunglasses, which he wore when working in the garden, and went upstairs. In the narrow, dim book-lined room, a man and a woman were looking at him. Both sat behind the large desk, where various papers were spread out before them. Chance remained in the center of the room, not knowing what to do. The man got up and took a few steps toward him, his hand outstretched.

"I am Thomas Franklin, of Hancock, Adams and Colby. We are the lawyers handling this estate. And this," he said, turning to the woman, "is my assistant, Miss Hayes." Chance shook the man's hand and looked at the woman. She smiled.

"The maid told me that a man has been living in the house, and works as the gardener." Franklin inclined his head toward Chance. "However, we have no record of a man — any man — either being employed by the deceased or residing in his house during any of the last forty years. May I ask you how many days you have been here?"

Chance was surprised that in so many papers spread on the desk his name was nowhere mentioned; it occurred to him that perhaps the garden was not mentioned there either. He hesitated. "I have lived in this house for as long as I can remember, ever since I was little, a long time before the Old Man broke his hip and began staying in bed most of the time. I was here before there were big bushes and before there were automatic sprinklers in the garden. Before television."

"You what?" Franklin asked. "You lived here — in this house — since you were a child? May I ask you what your name is?"

Chance was uneasy. He knew that a man's name had an important connection with his life. That was why people on TV always had two names — their own, outside of TV, and the one they adopted each time they performed. "My name is Chance," he said.

"Mr. Chance?" the lawyer asked.
Chance nodded.

* * *

Mr. Franklin returned to the documents. "During your employment and your residence here, Mr. Chance, can you recall signing any papers?"

"No, Sir."

"Then in what manner were you paid?"

"I have never been given any money. I was given my meals, very good meals, and as much to eat as I wanted; I have my room with a bathroom and a window that looks out on the garden, and a new door was put in leading out into the garden. I was given a radio and then a television, a big color television set with remote control changer. It also has an alarm in it to wake me up in the Morning."

"I know the kind you're referring to," said Mr. Franklin.

"I can go to the attic and choose any of the Old Man's suits. They all fit me very well. Look." Chance pointed to his suit. "I can also have his coats, and his shoes, even though they are a bit tight, and his shirts, though the collars are a bit small, and his ties and. . . ."

"I understand," Mr. Franklin said.

* * *

Mr. Franklin shuffled the papers on the desk and drew out a page filled with fine print. "It's a simple formality," he said, handing the paper to Chance. "Would you be kind enough to read it now and — if you agree to it — to sign it where indicated?"

Chance picked up the paper. He held it in both hands and stared at it. He tried to calculate the time needed to read a page. On TV the time it took people to read legal papers varied. Chance knew that he should not reveal that he could not read or write. On TV programs people who did not know how to read or write were often mocked and ridiculed. He assumed a look of concentration, wrinkling his brow, scowling, now holding his chin between the thumb and the forefinger of his hand. "I can't sign it," he said returning the sheet to the lawyer. "I just can't."

"I see," Mr. Franklin said. "You mean therefore that you refuse to withdraw your claim?"

"I can't sign it, that's all," said Chance.

"As you wish," said Mr. Franklin. He gathered his documents together. "I must inform you, Mr. Chance," he said, "that this house will be closed tomorrow at noon. At that time, both doors, and the gate to the garden will be locked. If, indeed, you do reside here, you will have to move out and take with you all your personal effects." He reached into his pocket and drew out a small calling card. "My name and the address and phone number of our firm are on this card."

Chance took the card and slipped it into the pocket of his vest. He knew that he had to leave the study now and go to his room. There was an afternoon TV program he always watched and did not want to miss. He got up, said good-bye, and left. On the staircase he threw the card away.

* * *

He began to walk. In the middle of the block, he became conscious of the weight of his suitcase and of the heat: he was walking in the sun. He had found a narrow space between the cars parked against the curb and turned to leave the sidewalk, when suddenly he saw a car rapidly backing toward him. He attempted to leap out past the car's rear bumper, but the suitcase slowed him. He jumped, but too late. He was struck and jammed against the headlights of the stationary car behind him. Chance barely managed to raise one knee; he could not raise his other leg. He felt a piercing pain, and cried out, hammering against the trunk of the moving vehicle with his fist. The limousine stopped abruptly. Chance, his right leg raised above the bumper, his left one still trapped, could not move. The sweat drenched his body.

The chauffeur leaped from the limousine. He was black, in uniform, and carried his hat in his hand. He began to mumble words, then realized that Chance's leg was still pinned. Frightened, he ran back into the car and drove a few inches forward. Chance's calf was freed. He tried to stand on both feet, but collapsed onto the edge of the sidewalk. Instantly, the rear door of the car opened and a slender woman emerged. She bent over him. "I hope you're not badly hurt?"

Chance looked up at her. He had seen many women who looked like her on TV. "It's only my leg," he said, but his voice was trembling. "I think it was crushed a bit."

"Oh, dear God!" the woman said hoarsely. "Can you — would you please raise your trouser-leg so I can take a look?"

Chance pulled up his left trouser-leg. The middle of the calf was an already swelling red-bluish blotch.

"I hope nothing is broken," the woman said. "I can't tell you how sorry I am. My chauffeur has never had an accident before."

"It's all right," Chance said. "I feel somewhat better now."

"My husband has been very ill. We have his doctor and several nurses staying with us. The best thing, I think, would be to take you right home, unless, of course, you'd prefer to consult your own physician."

"I don't know what to do," said Chance.

"Do you mind seeing our doctor, then?"

"I don't mind at all," said Chance.

"Let's go," said the woman. "If the doctor advises it, we'll drive you straight to the hospital."

Chance leaned on the arm that the woman proffered him. Inside the limousine she sat next to him. The chauffeur installed Chance's suitcase, and the limousine smoothly joined the morning traffic.

The woman introduced herself. "I am Mrs. Benjamin Rand. I am called EE by my friends, from my Christian manes, Elizabeth Eve."

"EE," Chance repeated gravely.

"EE," said the lady amused.

Chance recalled that in similar situations men on TV introduced themselves. "I am Chance," he stuttered and, when this didn't seem to be enough, added, "the gardener."

"Chauncey Gardiner," she repeated. Chance noticed that she had changed his name. He assumed that, as on TV, he must use his new name from now on.

* * *

"I am sorry if I disturbed you," she said. "But I've just been speaking to the doctor and he tells me that all you need is rest. Now, Mr. Gardiner —" She sat on the chair next to his bed. "I must tell you how very guilty I am and how responsible I feel for your accident. I do hope it will not inconvenience you too much."

"Please don't worry," Chance said. "I am very grateful for your help. I don't . . . I wouldn't. . ."

"It was the least we could do. Now is there anyone you would like to notify? Your wife? Your family?"

"I have no wife, no family."

"Perhaps your business associates? Please do feel free to use the telephone or send a cable or use of Telex. Would you like a secretary? My husband has been ill for so long that at present his staff has very little to do."

"No, thank you. There isn't anything I need."

"Surely there must be someone you would like to contact . . . I hope you don't feel . . ."

"There is no one."

"Mr. Gardiner, if this is so — and please don't think that what I say is mere politeness — if you have no particular business to attend to right away, I would like you to stay here with us until your injury has completely healed. It would be dreadful for you to have to look after yourself in such a state. We've lots of room, and the best medical attention will be available to you. I hope you will not refuse."

Chance accepted the invitation. EE thanked him, and he then heard her order the servants to unpack his suitcase.

* * *

Thinking that he ought to show a keen interest in what EE was saying, Chance resorted to repeating to her parts of her own sentences, a practice he had observed on TV. In this fashion he encouraged her to continue and elaborate. Each time Chance repeated EE's words, she brightened and looked more confident. In fact, she became so at ease that she began to punctuate her speech by touching, now his shoulder, now his arm. Her words seemed to float inside his head; he observed her as if she were on television.

* * *

At the bottom of the stairs a servant escorted him to the drawing room, where EE and an elderly man were waiting. Chance noticed that EE's husband was old, almost as old as the Old Man. Chance took his hand, which was dry and hot; his handshake was weak. The man was looking at Chance's leg. "Don't put any strain on it," he said in a slow, clear voice.

* * *

In deciding how to behave, Chance chose the TV program of a young businessman who often dined with his boss and the boss's daughter.

"You look like a healthy man, Mr. Gardiner," said Rand. "That's your good luck. But doesn't this accident prevent you from attending to your business?"

"As I have already told Mrs. Rand," Chance began slowly, "my house has been closed up, and I do not have any urgent business." He cut and ate his food carefully. "I was just expecting something to happen when I had the accident."

Mr. Rand removed his glasses, breathed onto the lenses, and polished them with his handkerchief. Then he settled the glasses back on and stared at Chance with expectation. Chance realized that his answer was not satisfactory. He looked up and saw EE's gaze.

"It is not easy, sir," he said, "to obtain a suitable place, a garden, in which one can work without interference and grow with the seasons. There can't be too many opportunities left any more. On TV . . ." he faltered. It dawned on him. "I've never seen a garden. I've seen forests and jungles and sometimes a tree or two. But a garden in which I can work and watch the things I've planted in it grow . . ." He felt sad.

Mr. Rand leaned across the table to him. "Very well put, Mr. Gardiner — I hope you don't mind if I call you Chauncey? A gardener! Isn't that the perfect description of what a real businessman is? A person who makes a flinty soil productive with the labor of his own hands, who waters it with the sweat of his own brow, and who creates a place of value for his family and for the

community. Yes, Chauncey, what an excellent metaphor! A productive businessman is indeed a laborer in his own vineyard!”

The alacrity with which Mr. Rand responded relieved Chance; all was well. “Thank you, sir,” he murmured.

“Please . . . do call me Ben.”

“Ben.” Chance nodded. “The garden I left was such a place, and I know I won’t ever find anything as wonderful. Everything which grew there was of my own doing: I planted seeds, I watered them, I watched them grow. But now it’s all gone, and all that’s left is the room upstairs.” He pointed toward the ceiling.

Rand regarded him gently. “You’re young, Chauncey; why do you have to talk about ‘the room upstairs’? That’s where I’m going soon, not you. You could almost be my son, you’re so young. You and EE: both of you, so young.”

“Ben, dear — ” began EE.

“I know, I know,” he interrupted, “you don’t like my bringing up our ages. But for me all that’s left is a room upstairs.”

Chance wondered what Rand meant by saying that he’d soon be in the room upstairs. How could he move in up there while he, Chance, was still in the house?

* * *

“You know,” he [Rand] said, “there’s something about you that I like. I’m an old man, and I can speak to you frankly. You’re direct, you grasp things quickly and you state them plainly. As you may be aware,” Rand continued, “I am chairman of the board of the First American Financial Corporation. We have just begun a program to assist American businesses that have been harassed by inflation, excessive taxation, riots, and other indecencies. We want to offer the decent ‘gardeners’ of the business community a helping hand, so to speak.”

* * *

On Wednesday, as Chance was dressing, the phone rang. He heard the voice of Rand: “Good morning, Chauncey. . . The President will address the annual meeting of the Financial Institute today; he is flying to New York and has just telephoned me from his plane. He knows I am ill and that, as the chairman, I won’t be able to preside over the meeting as scheduled. But as I am feeling somewhat better today, the President has graciously decided to visit me before the luncheon. It’s nice of him, don’t you think? Well, he’s going to land at Kennedy and then come over to Manhattan by helicopter. We can expect him here in about an hour.” He stopped; Chance could hear his labored breathing. “I want you to meet him, Chauncey. You’ll enjoy it. The President is quite a man, quite a man, and I know that he’ll like and appreciate you. Now listen: the Secret Service people will be here before long to look over the place. It’s strictly routine, something they have

to do, no matter what, no matter where. If you don't mind, my secretary will notify you when they arrive."

"All right, Benjamin, thank you."

* * *

"It's good to see you, Mr. President," Rand said, rising from his chair to greet a man of medium height who entered the room smiling. "How thoughtful of you to come all this way to look in on a dying man."

The President embraced him and led him to a chair. "Nonsense, Benjamin. Do sit down, now, and let me see you." The President seated himself on a sofa and turned to Chance.

"Mr. President," Rand said, "I want to introduce my dear friend, Mr. Chauncey Gardiner. Mr. Gardiner — the President of the United States of America." Rand sank into a chair, while the President extended his hand, a wide smile on his face. Remembering that during his TV press conferences, the President always looked straight at the viewers, Chance stared directly into the President's eyes.

"I'm delighted to meet you, Mr. Gardiner," the President said, leaning back on a sofa. "I've heard so much about you."

Chance wondered how the President could have heard anything about him. "Please do sit down, Mr. Gardiner," the President said. "Together, let's reprimand our friend Benjamin for the way he shuts himself up at home. Ben . . ." he leaned toward the old man — "this country needs you, and I, as your Chief Executive, haven't authorized you to retire."

"I am ready for oblivion, Mr. President," said Rand mildly, "and, what's more, I'm not complaining; the world parts with Rand, and Rand parts with the world: a fair trade, don't you agree? Security, tranquility, a well-deserved rest: all the aims I have pursued will soon be realized."

"Now be serious, Ben!" The President waved his hand. "I have known you to be a philosopher, but above all you're a strong, active businessman! Let's talk about life!" He paused to light a cigarette. "What's this I hear about your not addressing the meeting of the Financial Institute today?"

"I can't, Mr. President," said Rand. "Doctor's orders. And what's more," he added, "I obey pain."

"Well . . . yes . . . after all, it's just another meeting. And even if you're not there in person, you'll be there in spirit. The Institute remains your creation; your life's stamp is on all its proceedings."

The men began a long conversation. Chance understood almost nothing of what they were saying, even though they often looked in his direction, as if to invite his participation. Chance thought that they purposely spoke in another language for reasons of secrecy, when suddenly the President addressed him: "And you, Mr. Gardiner? What do you think about the bad season on The Street?"

Chance shrank. He felt that the roots of his thoughts had been suddenly yanked out of their wet earth and thrust, tangled, into the unfriendly air. He stared at the carpet. Finally, he spoke: "In an garden," he said, "growth has its season. There are spring and summer, but there are also fall and winter. And then spring and summer again. As long as the roots are not severed, all is well and all will be well." He raised his eyes. Rand was looking at him, nodding. The President seemed quite please.

"I must admit, Mr. Gardiner," the President said, "that what you've just said is one of the most refreshing and optimistic statements I've heard in a very, very long time." He rose and stood erect, with his back to the fireplace. "Many of us forget that nature and society are one! Yes, though we have tried to cut ourselves off from nature, we are still part of it. Like nature, our economic system remains, in the long run, stable and rational, and that's why we must not fear to be at its mercy." The President hesitated for a moment, then turned to Rand. "We welcome the inevitable seasons of nature, yet we are upset by the seasons of our economy! How foolish of us!" He smiled at Chance. "I envy Mr. Gardiner his good solid sense. This is just what we lack on Capitol Hill." The President glanced at his watch, then lifted a hand to prevent Rand from rising. "No, no, Ben — you rest. I do hope to see you again soon. When you're feeling better, you and EE must come to visit us in Washington. And you, Mr. Gardiner . . . You will also honor me and my family with a visit, won't you? We'll all look forward to that!" He embraced Rand, shook hands swiftly with Chance, and strode out the door.

Rand hastily retrieved his glass of water, gulped down another pill, and slumped in his chair. "He is a decent fellow, the President, isn't he?" he asked Chance.

"Yes," said Chance, "though he looks taller on television."

"Oh, he certainly does!" Rand exclaimed. "But remember that he is a political being, who diplomatically waters with kindness every plant on his way, no matter what he really thinks. I do like him! By the way, Chauncey, did you agree with my position on credit and tight money as I presented it to the President?"

"I'm not sure I understood it. That's why I kept quiet."

"You said a lot, my dear Chauncey, quite a lot, and it is what you said and how you said it that pleased the President so much. He hears my sort of analysis from everyone, but, yours, unfortunately . . . seldom if ever at all."

* * *

In his speech the President reassured the public that no drastic governmental measures were forthcoming, even though there had been another sudden decline in productivity. "There was a time for spring," he said, "and a time for summer; but, unfortunately, as in a garden of the earth, there is also a time for the inevitable chill and storm of autumn and winter." The President stressed that as long as the seeds of industry remained firmly embedded in the life of the country, the economy was certain to flourish again.

In the short, informal question-and-answer period, the President revealed that he had “conducted multiple-level consultations” with members of the “Cabinet, House, and Senate, and also with prominent leaders of the business community.” Here he paid tribute to Benjamin Turnbull Rand, Chairman of the Institute, absent because of illness; he added that at Mr. Rand’s home he had engaged in a most fruitful discussion with Rand and with Mr. Chauncey Gardiner on the beneficial effects of inflation. “Inflation would prune the dead limbs of savings, thus enlivening the vigorous trunk of industry.” It was in the context of the President’s speech that Chance’s name first came to the attention of the news media.

* * *

Chance ate lunch in his room, continued to watch TV, and was just about to fall asleep when Rand’s secretary called.

“The executives of the THIS EVENING television program have just phoned,” she said excitedly, “and they want you to appear on the show tonight. They apologized for giving you such short notice, but they’ve only just now heard that the Vice President will be unable to appear on the show to discuss the President’s speech. Because Mr. Rand is so ill, he will, of course, also be unable to appear, but he has suggested that you — a financier who has made so favorable an impression on the President — might be willing to come instead.”

Chance could not imagine what being on TV involved. He wanted to see himself reduced to the size of the screen; he wanted to become an image, to dwell inside the set.

* * *

Three large cameras stood on the small, square stage; on the right, the host sat at a leather-padded table. He beamed at Chance, rose with dignity, and introduced him; the audience applauded loudly. Imitating what he had so often seen on TV, Chance moved toward the vacant chair at the table. He sat down, and so did the host. The cameramen wheeled the cameras silently around them. The host leaned across the table toward Chance.

Facing the cameras and the audience, now barely visible in the background of the studio, Chance abandoned himself to what would happen. He was drained of thought, engaged, yet removed.

* * *

Chance heard the host say: “We here in the studio are very honored to have you with us tonight, Mr. Chauncey Gardiner, and so, I’m sure, are the more than forty million Americans who watch THIS EVENING nightly. We are especially grateful to you for filling in on such short notice for the Vice President, who was unfortunately prevented by pressing business from being with us tonight.” The host paused for a second; there was complete silence in the studio. “I will be frank, Mr. Gardiner. Do you agree with the President’s view of our economy?”

“Which view?” asked Chance.

The host smiled knowingly. “The view which the President set forth this afternoon in his major address to the Financial Institute of America. Before his speech, the President consulted with you, among his other financial advisers . . .”

“Yes . . .” said Chance.

“What I mean is . . .” The host hesitated and glanced at his notes. “Well . . . let me give you an example: the President compared the economy of this country to a garden, and indicated that after a period of decline a time of growth would naturally follow . . .”

“I know the garden very well,” said Chance firmly. “I have worked in it all of my life. It’s a good garden and a healthy one; its trees are healthy and so are its shrubs and flowers, as long as they are trimmed and watered in the right seasons. The garden needs a lot of care. I do agree with the President: everything in it will grow strong in due course. And there is still plenty of room in it for new trees and new flowers of all kinds.”

Part of the audience interrupted to applaud and part booed. Looking at the TV set that stood to his right, Chance saw his own face fill the screen. Then some faces in the audience were shown — they evidently approved his words; others appeared angry. The host’s face returned to the screen, and Chance turned away from the set and faced him.

“Well, Mr. Gardiner,” the host said, “that was very well put indeed, and I think it was a booster for all of us who do not like to wallow in complaints or take delight in gloomy predictions! Let us be clear, Mr. Gardiner. It is your view, then, that the slowing of the economy, the downtrend in the stock market, the increase in unemployment . . . you believe that all of this is just another phase, another season, so to speak, in the growth of a garden . . .”

“In a garden, things grow . . . but first, they must wither; trees have to lose their leaves in order to put forth new leaves, and to grow thicker and stronger and taller. Some trees die, but fresh saplings replace them. Gardens need a lot of care. But if you love your garden, you don’t mind working in it and waiting. Then in the proper season you will surely see it flourish.”

Chance’s last words were partly lost in the excited murmuring of the audience. Behind him, members of the band tapped their instruments; a few cried out loud bravos. Chance turned to the set beside him and saw his own face with the eyes turned to one side. The host lifted his hand to silence the audience, but the applause continued, punctuated by isolated boos. He rose slowly and motioned Chance to join him at center stage, where he embraced him ceremoniously. The applause mounted to uproar. Chance stood uncertainly. As the noise subsided, the host took Chance’s hand and said: “Thank you, thank you, Mr. Gardiner. Yours is the spirit which this country so greatly needs. Let’s hope it will help usher spring into our economy. Thank you again, Mr. Chauncey Gardiner — financier, presidential adviser, and true statesman!”

* * *

[Chance] had just finished eating when EE called. “Chauncey — darling — did you get my note? And did you see this morning’s papers?” she asked. “It seem you’ve been described as one of the

chief architects of the President's policy speech. And your own comments on THIS EVENING are quoted side by side with the President's. Oh, Chauncey, you were marvelous! Even the President was impressed by you!"

"I like the President," said Chance.

"I hear you looked absolutely smashing on TV! All my friends want to meet you. Chauncey, you are still going to the U.N. reception with me this afternoon?"

"Yes, I'd be happy to go."

"You are a dear. I hope you won't find all the fuss too boring."

* * *

A reporter called out: "What do you think of the editorial on the President's speech in the New York *Times*?"

Chance looked at EE, but she returned his inquiring glance. He had to say something. "I didn't read it," he declared.

"You didn't read the *Times* editorial on the President's address?"

"I did not," said Chance.

Several journalists exchanged leers. EE gazed at Chance with mild astonishment, and then with growing admiration.

"But, sir," one of the reporters persisted coldly, "you must at least have glanced at it."

"I did not read the *Times*," Chance repeated.

"The *Post* spoke of your 'peculiar brand of optimism,'" said another man, "Did you read that?"

"No. I didn't read that either."

"Well," the reporter persisted, "what about the phrase, 'peculiar brand of optimism'?"

"I don't know what it means," Chance replied.

EE stepped forward proudly. "Mr. Gardiner has many responsibilities," she said, "especially since Mr. Rand has been ill. He finds out what is in the newspapers from the staff briefings."

An older reported stepped forward, "I am sorry to persist, Mr. Gardiner, but it would nonetheless be of great interest to me to know which newspapers you 'read,' so to speak, via your staff briefings."

“I do not read any newspapers,” said Chance. “I watch TV.”

The journalists stood, silent, and embarrassed. “Do you mean,” one finally asked, “that you find TV’s coverage more objective than that of the newspapers?”

“As I’ve said,” explained Chance, “I watch TV.”

The older reporter half-turned away. “Thank you, Mr. Gardiner,” he said, “for what is probably the most honest admission to come from a public figure in recent years. Few men in public life have had the courage not to read newspapers. None have had the guts to admit it!”

* * *

[The Soviet] Ambassador decided to take a chance: he decided to include Gardiner’s name in the speech that he was to deliver that evening to the International Congress of the Mercantile Association, convening in Philadelphia. The paragraph, introduced into the speech after it had already been approved by his superiors in Moscow, welcomed the emergence in the United States of “those enlightened statesmen — personified by, among others, Mr. Chauncey Gardiner — who are clearly aware that, unless the leaders of the opposing political systems move the chairs on which they sit closer to each other, all of their seats will be pulled out from under them by rapid social and political changes.”

Skrapinov’s speech was a hit. The allusion to Gardiner was picked up by the major news media. At midnight, watching TV, Skrapinov heard his speech quoted and saw a close-up of Gardiner — a man who, according to the announcer, had been “within the space of two days cited by both the President of the United States and the Soviet Ambassador to the United Nations.”

* * *

An older man sitting across from Chance addressed him, and Chance stiffened uneasily.

“Mr. Gardiner, when is the government going to stop calling industrial by-products poisons? I went along with the banning of DDT because DDT is a poison and there’s no problem finding some new chemicals. But it’s a damn sight different when we stop the manufacture of heating oils, let’s say, because we don’t like the decomposition products of kerosene!” Chance stared silently at the old man. “I say, by God, that there’s a helluva difference between petroleum ash and bug powder! Any idiot could see that!”

“I have seen ashes and I have seen powders,” said Chance. “I know that both are bad for growth in a garden.”

“Hear, hear!” the woman sitting on Chance’s right cried out. “He’s marvelous!” she whispered to the companion on her right in a voice loud enough for everyone to hear.

* * *

The man sitting on the sofa faced the small group assembled in his suite. “Gentlemen,” he began slowly, “some of you already know that Duncan has decided not to run with me. That leaves us, at present, without a candidate.”

* * *

“What about Chauncey Gardiner?” All eyes turned to the man on the sofa who was drinking his coffee.

“Gardiner?” the man on the sofa said. “Chauncey Gardiner? We don’t really know anything about him, do we? Our people haven’t been able to fine out one single blessed thing. And he certainly hasn’t been of any help: he hasn’t said a thing about himself every since he moved in with the Rands four days ago...”

“Then I would like to state,” said O’Flaherty, “that this makes me think of Gardiner as an even better bet.”

“Why? Several men chorused.

O’Flaherty spoke easily: “What was the trouble with Duncan? With Frank and with Shellman, for that matter, and with so many of the others we’ve considered and have had to reject? The damn trouble was that they all had background, too much background! A man’s past cripples him: his background turns into a swamp and invites scrutiny!”

He waved his arms excitedly. “But just consider Gardiner. May I stress what you have just heard from a most authoritative voice: Gardiner has no background! And so he’s not and cannot be objectionable to anyone! He’s personable, well-spoken, and he comes across well on TV! And, as far as his thinking goes, he appears to be one of us. That’s all. It’s clear what he isn’t. Gardiner is our one chance.”

Schneider crushed out his cigar. “O’Flaherty just tapped something,” he said. “Something big. Hmmm...Gardiner, Gardiner ...”

* * *

Chance pushed the heavy glass door open and stepped out into the garden. Taut branches laden with fresh shoots, slender stems with tiny sprouting buds shot upward. The garden lay calm, still sunk in repose. Wisps of clouds floated by and left the moon polished. Now and then, boughs rustled and gently shook off their drops of water. A breeze fell upon the foliage and nestled under the cover of its moist leaves. Not a thought lifted itself from Chance’s brain. Peace filled his chest.

For Students

Questions

1. How do most people react to Chauncey Gardiner? What makes them react this way?
2. Chauncey Gardiner is mistaken for a business leader. He is also about to be supported as a candidate for U.S. President — that is, a public leader.
 - a. Why is that?
 - b. What, if any, differences do you see or expect in a strong leader who is in the public sector versus one who is in the private sector?
3. A good leader inspires followers to have confidence in the leader and in where they are being led. How does Chauncey Gardiner do that?
4. Although we know Chauncey is simply talking about his garden when he speaks, others interpret his words more broadly. In fact, his words reassure and enlighten those who listen to him. What does this illustrate about communication?

Exercises

1. *Leadership traits.* Examine Chauncey Gardiner in terms of his leadership traits.
 - a. Category 1: Traits Gardiner *possesses* that would be desirable in a public leader.
 - b. Category 2: Traits he *displays* (if not actually possesses) that would be desirable in a public leader.
 - c. Category 3: Traits he possesses that would be *undesirable* in a public leader.
2. *Perspectives and Metaphors.* When Chauncey Gardiner, the President, and Benjamin Rand were in Rand's study talking about the national economy, Chauncey voiced his in-the-garden perspective. Rand and the President interpreted Chauncey's remarks as profound and positive. But Chauncey spoke in those terms because he was, after all, a gardener.

Assume, for the moment, that Chauncey is *not* a gardener.

- a. Identify another vocation for Chauncey.
- b. Draft a substitute speech based on the alternate vocation you identified.
- c. Briefly describe the impact that speech might have had on Rand and the President.

Other Works by the Author

The Future is Ours, Comrade (1960) and *No Third Path* (1962) — Jerzy Kosinski's first two books in English. Both are nonfiction sociological works dealing with collectivized life in the Soviet Union he knew. They stem from the time Kosinski spent in Russia pursuing research for his doctoral studies on the relationship between the

individual and the collective. Notes that Kosinski took while traveling in Russia and interviewing people went into the writing of these two books.

Socjologia Amerykanska: Wybor Prac 1950-1960 — Edited by Kosinski and published in 1962.

The Painted Bird — Written in 1965 and updated in 1976, Kosinski's first novel has roots in his own youth. It darkly describes the odyssey of an abandoned Polish boy struggling to escape and survive racism and savage abuses at the end of World War II.

Steps (1968) — A disturbing tale of amorality.

The Devil Tree — Published 1973 and revised 1981, Kosinski's fourth novel tells of a young, high-living hippie who is heir to a fortune. Though a series of vignettes, he finds that the power of his wealth cannot give him spiritual freedom.

Cockpit: A Novel (1975) — This is Kosinski's version of a cold-war espionage novel.

Blind Date (1977) — With chance and coincidence as major themes, this novel follows the international adventures of a loner — an "idea" person who capitalizes on events of the moment.

Passion Play (1979) — More romantic and sentimental than earlier novels, this is Kosinski's subtle allegory about a traveling teacher of horsemanship and his stern philosophy of independence.

Pinball (1982) — Another allegory, this tale that centers on a fan's obsessive search for an elusive rock star.

The Hermit of 69th Street: The Working Papers of Norbert Kosky (1988)

Hippocrene Insider's Guide to Poland, Alexander Jordan, coauthor (1990) — A nonfiction travel guide to Poland.

Passing by: Selected Essays, 1962-1991 — A posthumous collection of Kosinski's writings. Kosinski lived between 1933 and 1991, coming to the United States at the age of 25. Topics in this volume range from polo and skiing to the holocaust to discussions of his major works.

Internet Sites

ABOUT KOSINSKI — A fine interview of Kosinski in 1972 by George Plimpton and Rocco Landesman appears in the *Paris Review* and online at www.theparisreview.org/interviews/4036/the-art-of-fiction-no-46-jerzy-kosinski. Another easy-to-use site is www.paperbackswap.com/Jerzy-Kosinski/author/.

POLITICAL PARTIES — Government and politics, which play significant roles in Kosinski's writings, all have homes on the Internet. A general site for linking to political parties throughout the world is www.politicalresources.net/. Internet links to several U.S. political parties and movements:

- Democratic Party (www.democrats.org)
- Green Parties of North America (www.gp.org)
- No Labels movement (www.nolabels.org)
- Reform Party (www.reformparty.org)
- Republican Party (www.gop.com)

GARDENING — Two major gardening organizations are the Garden Club of America (www.gcamerica.org) and the National Gardening Association (www.garden.org). Both web sites provide links to many other gardening sites and resources.

For the Instructor

Being There is a short novel written by Jerzy N. Kosinski in 1971. A film version, released in 1979, features Peter Sellers and Shirley MacLaine.

Discussion Points and Themes

- Dominating this selection is the theme of leadership (■). Also major (■) is the theme of communication. Important minor themes (▪) touch on ethics, diversity, group behavior, functions of government, and (through an activity) planning. This poem is excellent read aloud in class. It is also available on audio tape.
- This work of fiction is available as a short novel and as a motion picture.
- The novel is under 120 pages.

T H E M E S

- Organizational/ Societal Change
- Functions of Government
- Democratic Principles
- Ethics
- Leadership
 - Decisionmaking
 - Planning/ Budgeting
 - Performance Evaluation
 - Policy Development/ Evaluation
 - Law Enforcement/ Justice
- Communication
 - Organizational/ Group Behavior
 - Diversity/ Multiculturalism
- Human Resources Management
 - Personal/ Professional Development

Questions

Any of the questions can be used online or for classroom discussions, assigned as homework, worked individually or in small groups, and/or adapted as questions for essay or objective tests.

The commentaries below are brief reflections on each question; however, they are not intended as comprehensive.

Question (from Reader)	Comment
1. <i>How do most people react to Chauncey Gardiner? What makes them react this way?</i>	People like and trust the character because he appears to reflect their own views and values. Indeed, <i>reflect</i> is what he does.
2. <i>Chauncey Gardiner is mistaken for a business leader. He is also about to be supported as a candidate for U.S. President — i.e., a public leader.</i>	Gardiner is dignified and well spoken. He has a blank — and, therefore, unblemished — background. And he is in a situation where he is reflecting the views of a group of “king-makers.”
a. <i>Why is that?</i>	Strong public leaders, in addition to the virtues that all good leaders possess, must display an understanding of and compassion
b. <i>What, if any, differences do you see or expect in a strong leader who is in the public sector versus one who is in the private sector?</i>	for the needs of the broad population and must instill confidence that she/he has the vision to shepherd them toward those goals.

Question (from Reader)	Comment
3. <i>A good leader inspires followers to have confidence in the leader and in where they are being led. How does Chauncey Gardiner do that?</i>	In part, through what appear to be his clear, simple metaphors of the economic-political situation of the day and what those conditions portend.
4. <i>Although we know Chauncey is simply talking about his garden when he speaks, others interpret his words more broadly. In fact, his words reassure and enlighten those who listen to him. What does this illustrate about communication?</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ That people usually interpret on another's words in the context of their own concerns and perceptions. ▪ That people may talk past one another, not realizing they are engaged in different channels of thought.

Exercises

As with the questions, above, any of these exercises can be used in the classroom, online, or assigned as homework. They are usually best worked in small group settings. Some can be adapted as examination questions.

The commentaries below describe the potential utility of each exercise:

Exercise (from Reader)	Comment
1. Leadership traits. <i>Examine Chauncey Gardiner in terms of his leadership traits.</i> <i>a. Category 1: Traits Gardiner possesses that would be desirable in a public leader.</i> <i>b. Category 2: Traits he displays (if not actually possesses) that would be desirable in a public leader.</i> <i>c. Category 3: Traits he possesses that would be undesirable in a public leader.</i>	Helps students distinguish between appearance and actual possession.
2. Perspectives and Metaphors. <i>When Chauncey Gardiner, the President, and Benjamin Rand were in Rand's study talking about the national economy, Chauncey voiced his in-the-garden perspective. Rand and the President interpreted Chauncey's remarks as profound and positive. But Chauncey spoke in those terms because he was, after all, a gardener. Assume, for the moment, that Chauncey is not a gardener.</i> <i>a. Identify another vocation for Chauncey.</i> <i>b. Draft a substitute speech based on the alternate vocation you identified.</i> <i>c. Briefly describe the impact that speech might have had on Rand and the President.</i>	See Gareth Morgan's <i>Imaginization: The Art of Creative Management</i> for a variety of creative approaches in using metaphors.

Other Classroom Activity

1. THE CYCLES OF NATURE: A DEBATE

To those who listen to him, Chauncey seems to be using the metaphor of the life cycle of nature's seasons as a way of understanding our economic and political world. Divide the class into debating teams of two or three students. Have each team prepare arguments about whether (or to what degree) Chauncey's metaphor is valid in the real world. Subdivide the class, if necessary, and hold 10-minute debate sessions, randomly assigning which teams take the affirmative and which take the negative position. (*Variation 1:* Designate several students as moderators and conduct the debates/discussions through online chat rooms or other social media your students enjoy. *Variation 2:* Have the audience for each debate select a winning side.)

Bottom Line. This activity encourages students to consider under what circumstances an individual's observations about natural phenomena are applicable for other settings. The activity also exposes students to formal debating.

2. LIKELIHOOD AND SIGNIFICANCE: WEIGHING POTENTIAL OUTCOMES

Have your students assume, for the moment, that Chauncey Gardiner has been nominated for President. From that premise, have students use a three-point scale (with 3 being high and 1 being low) to consider the following:

- a. *Election.* Have students write down their individual assessments of, first, the likelihood that Gardiner could be elected; second, the significance that his election could have on the country; and, third, whether that significance would be positive or negative. Appoint a student to tally responses and display the result (on a chalkboard or electronically); a possible format is suggested on the next page.

Appoint a separate set of students to calculate the mean and mode for likelihood and for significance. Compute significance both in terms of relative and absolute value (that is, both with and without regard to whether the numeric value is positive or negative).

- b. *Consequences.* Continue to serve as a facilitator as students brainstorm trends and events that could conceivably occur during a Gardiner presidency (such as economic upturn or downturn; admission of a fifty-first state; universal health care; major warfare; two years of mandatory public service, from all young adults, in either the military or AmeriCorps/Peace Corps; contact with alien beings; online voting; elimination of electoral college). Once students have brainstormed a list, repeat the process of having them estimate the likelihood and significance of each event given the assumption that Gardiner is in office.
- c. *Consistency.* Close the exercise by comparing the students' overall significance rating for Gardiner's election with the aggregate of the list of possible events.

Event	Likelihood			Significance					
	3	2	1	3	2	1	-1	-2	-3
Election	✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓	✓	✓✓		✓	✓	✓✓

Bottom Line. This activity gives students a chance to:

- Consider the consequences of having a rudderless leader.
- Experience nominal group technique.
- Practice simple statistical analysis tools.
- Participate in a futures-analysis exercise.

Further Reading

Beyond references within this case study, you may wish to identify relevant chapters or sections of the primary textbook or reading selections assigned for the course.

- Bass, Bernard M. 1981. *Stogdill's Handbook of Leadership: A Survey of Theory and Research*. New York: Free Press.
- Burns, James MacGregor. 1979. *Leadership*. New York: Harper.
- Coale, Samuel. 1973. The Quest for the Elusive Self: The Fiction of Jerzy Kosinski. *Critique* 15: 25-37.
- Everman, Welch. 1991. *Jerzy Kosinski: The Literature of Violation*. The Milford Series Popular Writers of Today, Vol 47. San Bernardino, California: Borgo.
- Lavers, Norman. 1982. *Jerzy Kosinski*. Boston: G.K. Hall & Company, Twayne Publishers.
- Morgan, Gareth. 1993. *Imaginization: The Art of Creative Management*. Newbury Park, California: Sage.
- Teicholz, Tom, ed. 1993. *Conversations with Jerzy Kosinski*. Literary Conversation Series. Oxford, Mississippi: University Press of Mississippi.
- Tetlock, Philip E., and Dan Gardner. 2016. *Superforecasting: The Art and Science of Prediction*. Broadway Books.

Discussion and Essay Questions

The questions and exercises in the student section of this case study can be used in online and classroom learning and adapted for examination questions. Other possibilities:

- Compare the similarities and differences of Chauncey Gardiner in Kosinski's *Being There* and Bartleby in Melville's short story of that name.

- If Chauncey Gardiner were considered for a major public leadership position and you knew he was not the sage character others assumed him to be, what would you do? What would you do if he were already in office?
- Use the character of Benjamin Rand to describe the role a mentor can play in nurturing someone with potential and helping that individual to advance.

Endnote

¹ Jerzy N. Kosinski, *Being There* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971); reprinted 1974. The film version, directed by Hal Ashby and starring Peter Sellers, was released in 1979.

Case Study #12:

The Unicorn in the Garden

by James Thurber

Developed by *Kenneth Nichols*

Have you ever told someone about something you had seen, but they wouldn't believe you? That's the situation in James Thurber's "The Unicorn in the Garden." The situation itself is domestic rather than organizational or administrative, but it provides a wonderful gateway into the world of the UNREAL ADMINISTRATOR: How would the police react if called in? What are the appropriate roles for social services agencies? For officials responsible for animal control? Or even for "neighborhood watch" organizations?

Humorist James Thurber, who lived between 1894 and 1961, considered humor to be "emotional chaos remembered in tranquility" — a description apt for this story. For much of his career, Thurber contributed humor and cartoons to the New Yorker Magazine. Jonathan Swift and Charles Lamb provided comparable wit for Londoners in the early eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Mark Twain was the preeminent American humorist of the nineteenth century, and contemporary humorists such as columnists Dave Barry and Calvin Trillin carry on that journalistic tradition today.

Thurber himself would undoubtedly have had many theories and observations about where public administration fits when it comes to suburban gardens, mythical animals, and domestic relations. And who knows, perhaps James Thurber was just reporting an actual event.

The Selection: *The Unicorn in the Garden*¹

(“The Unicorn in the Garden” from *Fables for Our Time & Famous Poems Illustrated* by James Thurber. Copyright © 1940 by Rosemary A. Thurber. Reprinted by arrangement with Rosemary A. Thurber and The Barbara Hogenson Agency. All rights reserved.)

One upon a sunny morning a man who sat in a breakfast nook looked up from his scrambled eggs to see a white unicorn with a golden horn quietly cropping the roses in the garden. The man went

up to the bedroom where his wife was still asleep and woke her. “There’s a unicorn in the garden,” he said. “Eating roses.” She opened one unfriendly eye and looked at him. “The unicorn is a mythical beast,” she said, and turned her back on him. The man walked slowly downstairs and out into the garden. The unicorn was still there; he was now browsing among the tulips. “Here, unicorn,” said the man, and he pulled up a lily and gave it to him. The unicorn ate it gravely. With a high heart, because there was a unicorn in his garden, the man went upstairs and roused his wife again. “The unicorn,” he said, “ate a lily.” His wife sat up in bed and looked at him, coldly. “You are a booby,” she said, “and I am going to have you put in the booby-hatch.” The man, who had never liked the words “booby” and “booby-hatch,” and who liked them even less on a shining morning when there was a unicorn in the garden, thought for a moment. “We’ll see about that,” he said. He walked over to the door. “He has a golden horn in the middle of his forehead,” he told her. Then he went back to the garden to watch the unicorn; but the unicorn had gone away. The man sat down among the roses and went to sleep.

As soon as the husband had gone out of the house, the wife got up and dressed as fast as she could. She was very excited and there was a gloat in her eye. She telephoned the police and she telephoned a psychiatrist; she told them to hurry to her house and bring a strait-jacket. When the police and the psychiatrist arrived they sat down in chairs and looked at her, with great interest. “My husband,” she said, “saw a unicorn this morning.” The police looked at the psychiatrist and the psychiatrist looked at the police. “He told me it ate a lily,” she said. The psychiatrist looked at the police and the police looked at the psychiatrist. “He told me it had a golden horn in the middle of its forehead,” she said. At a solemn signal from the psychiatrist, the police leaped from their chairs and seized the wife. They had a hard time subduing her, for she put up a terrific struggle, but they finally subdued her. Just as they got her into the straight-jacket, the husband came back into the house.

“Did you tell your wife you saw a unicorn?” asked the police. “Of course not,” said the husband. “The unicorn is a mythical beast.” “That’s all I wanted to know,” said the psychiatrist. “Take her away. I’m sorry, sir, but your wife is as crazy as a jay bird.” So they took her away, cursing and screaming, and shut her up in an institution. The husband lived happily ever after.

Moral: Don’t count your boobies until they are hatched.”

For Students

Questions

1. The preamble to the Constitution holds that one of the purposes of government is to “insure domestic tranquility.” That differs in a fundamental way from what Thurber is writing about. How?
2. One of the tenets of our society is that citizens have a right to privacy in their personal lives. On the other hand, law enforcement officials have a responsibility to intervene in potentially violent domestic disputes (e.g., between a wife and husband). In your view,
 - a. what factors are involved in finding an appropriate balance between those two

- sometimes-competing goals?
 - b. where would you place that balance?
- 3. Domestic abuse can take many forms — mental, physical, and sexual — and can involve any combination of family members. Recall a recent incident you have read about, seen in the news, or are aware of personally.
 - a. What kind of outside intervention took place, if any?
 - b. What triggered the intervention?
 - c. Who intervened?
 - d. What was the outcome in the short term?
 - e. In the long term, if you know?

Exercises

1. *Handling Emergency Telephone Calls.* You handle “911” calls for the consolidated city-county Office of Emergency Services. You have just received a telephone call from the woman in the story. She is asking for police and medical assistance to restrain her husband. How will you proceed?
2. *Handling Domestic Disputes.* You are a police officer. The dispatcher has just directed you to a suburban address to check out a report of irrational behavior on the part of one of the residents in that household. You’ve been told the call came from a woman who is asking for police and medical assistance to restrain her husband. An ambulance arrives as you pull your cruiser in front of the house. A woman answers the door, looking somewhat in disarray. How will you proceed?
3. *Neighborhood Watch.* You are a neighborhood watch volunteer. You and your partners (the couple living three doors down from your place) are on pre-dawn patrol — with flashlights, pepper spray, and cellular phone in hand — when the three of you spot a number of small pony-like creatures munching flowers in gardens along the street. All are white, about the same size, and each animal appears to have a spike or horn between its ears. The animals seem to have emerged from the grove of trees behind some of the houses. How will you proceed?

Other Works by the Author

My Life and Hard Times (1933) — This is, of course, a *comical* autobiographical memoir in which Thurber talks “largely about small matters and smally about great affairs.” Mostly it is about the unbelievable things people do when they think they are acting sensibly.

Fables for Our Time and Famous Poems (1940) — In this collection of tiny stories, Thurber uses a wide variety of animals to vigorously and hilariously illustrate how human we really are. These stories have been called “completely uproarious.”

The 13 Clocks (1950) mixes puns and nonsense in a story complete with a princess, prince, and a fairy tale ending. Thurber's distinctive style comes through in the story's cheer, thoughtfulness and beauty.

Thurber on Crime, ed. Robert Lopresti (1991) — This is a collection of Thurber's ruminations on everyday villainy — stories, articles and drawings on the evil that men and women do.

Among James Thurber's many other works are *Alarms and Diversions* (1931); *My World — and Welcome to It* (1933), which became the title of a television series starring William Windom, who also played Thurber in a one-person stage production; *The Middle-aged Man on the Flying Trapeze* (1936); *The Male Animal* (1940), a play written with Elliott Nugent; *The Great Quillow* (1944); *The Thurber Carnival* (1945); *The Beast in Me and Other Animals* (1948); *Is Sex Necessary? or, Why You Feel the Way You Do* (1950), written with E. B. White; *The Secret Life of Walter Mitty* (1953), which forms the basis for a movie starring Danny Kaye; and *Credos and Curios* (1962).

Internet Sites

THURBER HOUSE, a nonprofit literary center and Thurber museum, is a major institutional resource on James Thurber's legacy. Its website address is as follows:

www.ThurberHouse.org.

JAMES THURBER is also the focus of a number of internet sites supported by earnest individuals. Try, for example, www.budgetweb.com/heather/thurber/Thurber.html for stories, reference materials, and biographic info.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TOWN WATCH (NATW) is a nonprofit organization that promotes neighborhood watch programs and related activities. NATW is on the internet at www.nationaltownwatch.org. The organization is "dedicated to the development and promotion of organized, law enforcement-affiliated crime and drug prevention programs," according to the website's description. NATW is an umbrella organization comprising "Neighborhood, Crime, Community, Town and Block Watch Groups; law enforcement agencies; state and regional crime prevention associations; and a variety of businesses, civic groups and concerned individuals working to make their communities safer places in which to live and work."

THE NEIGHBORHOOD WATCH PROGRAM is a Maryland-based program involving the joint efforts of the police or sheriff's department and the community. The Maryland Community Crime Prevention Institute sponsors a web site (<http://mdle.net/ccpi.htm>) that provides helpful information on how to organize a neighborhood watch and what individuals should be alert for in their neighborhoods. Such programs are designed to improve neighborhood security, heighten the community's power of observation, and encourage mutual assistance and concern among neighbors.

For the Instructor

“The Unicorn in the Garden” is a story by James Thurber.

Discussion Points and Themes

- Two key themes (■) emerging from this story deal with law enforcement and justice and with functions of government. Also major (■) are the themes of decisionmaking and communication. Important minor themes (▪) are ethics and democratic principles. Policy development, while not a direct theme, is also illustratable using Thurber’s story as a jumping-off point (see Activity 1, below).
- James Thurber’s works include volumes of cartoons as well as humorous essays, stories, poems, and plays. His droll wit and engaging style make Thurber entertaining reading for most adult readers. Some of his works, such as *The Secret Life of Walter Mitty*, with Danny Kaye playing the title role, have been adapted as motion pictures. His humor was also the basis for a television series, *My World and Welcome to It*, which starred William Windom, who also toured as Thurber in a one-person stage production.

T H E M E S

- Organizational/ Societal Change
- Functions of Government
- Democratic Principles
- Ethics
- Leadership
- Decisionmaking
- Planning/ Budgeting
- Performance Evaluation
- Policy Development/ Evaluation
- Law Enforcement/ Justice
- Communication
- Organizational/ Group Behavior
- Diversity/Multiculturalism
- Human Resources Management
- Personal/ Professional Development

Questions

Any of the questions can be used in classroom discussions, assigned as homework, worked in class either individually or in small groups, and/or adapted as questions for essay or objective tests.

The commentaries below are brief reflections on each question; however, they are not intended as comprehensive.

- | Question (from Reader) | Comment |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>The preamble to the Constitution holds that one of the purposes of government is to insure domestic tranquility. That differs in a fundamental way from what Thurber is writing about. How?</i> | The term “domestic” differs in meaning. In the context of Thurber’s story, <i>domestic</i> means “within the household.” In the context of the Constitution, <i>domestic</i> means “within the borders of the country.” |
| 2. <i>One of the tenets of our society is that citizens have a right to privacy in their personal lives.</i> | When rights we all agree to in the abstract compete with one another in specific situations, trade-offs are unavoidable. This question invites the reader to think about some of the principles |

Question (from Reader)	Comment
<p><i>On the other hand, law enforcement officials have a responsibility to intervene in potentially violent domestic disputes (e.g., between a wife and husband). In your view,</i></p> <p>a. <i>what factors are involved in finding an appropriate balance between those two sometimes-competing goals?</i></p> <p>b. <i>where would you place that balance?</i></p> <p>3. <i>Domestic abuse can take many forms — mental, physical, and sexual — and can involve any combination of family members. Recall a recent incident you have read about, seen in the news, or are aware of personally.</i></p> <p>a. <i>What kind of outside intervention took place, if any?</i></p> <p>b. <i>What triggered the intervention?</i></p> <p>c. <i>Who intervened?</i></p> <p>d. <i>What was the outcome in the short term?</i></p> <p>e. <i>In the long term, if you know?</i></p>	<p>that may guide individual trade-off decisions.</p> <p>This question asks the reader to consider the role of government or other outside agents (church, concerned neighbors, etc.) in dealing with suspected domestic abuse. If you use this an item for classroom discussion, also raise the questions of the potential consequences of failure to intervene and the potential consequences of inappropriate intervention.</p>

Exercises

As with the questions, above, any of these exercises can be used in the classroom or assigned as homework. They are usually best worked in small group settings. Some be adapted as examination questions.

The commentaries below describe the potential utility of each exercise:

Exercise (from Reader)	Comment
<p>1. <i>Handling Emergency Telephone Calls. You handle “911” calls for the consolidated city-county Office of Emergency Services. You have just received a telephone call from the woman in the story. She is asking for police and medical assistance to restrain her husband.</i></p>	<p>This gives students a chance to explore the role and responsibilities of emergency services workers.</p>

Exercise (from Reader)

Comment

How will you proceed?

2. **Handling Domestic Disputes.** *You are a police officer. The dispatcher has just directed you to a suburban address to check out a report of irrational behavior on the part of one of the residents in that household. You've been told the call came from a woman who is asking for police and medical assistance to restrain her husband. An ambulance arrives as you pull your cruiser in front of the house. A woman answers the door, looking somewhat in disarray. How will you proceed?*
Here, students can look at the sensitive nature of police calls beyond the stereotypical images of traffic offenses, accidents, and discovered crimes in process.
3. **Neighborhood Watch.** *You are a neighborhood watch volunteer. You and your partners (the couple living three doors down from your place) are on pre-dawn patrol — with flashlights, pepper spray, and cellular phone in hand — when the three of you spot a number of small pony-like creatures munching flowers in gardens along the street. All are white, about the same size, and each animal appears to have a spike or horn between its ears. They animals seem to have emerged from the grove of trees behind some of the houses. How will you proceed?*
Advise students that neighborhood watch programs operate by specific guidelines, and that the students may wish to become acquainted with those guidelines as a step in completing this exercise.

Other Classroom Activity

1. **ROLE-PLAY ON INFLUENCING POLICY: THE UNICORN DILEMMA**

Over the past several months, unicorns have been sighted in newer suburban areas near Yore Towne. At first, they were a curiosity. Then, one of the cable networks ran a humorous 90-second news piece on the sightings. By now, the townspeople are galvanized into a number of camps as to what, if anything, should be done about the unicorn population. News crews come into Yore Towne frequently, and the cycle is beginning to feed on itself.

Call a town meeting within the class, the purpose of which is to see whether the town council needs to consider updating its ordinances to deal appropriately with the unicorn phenomenon. Divide the class into townspeople and outsiders, each with a particular viewpoint and potential stake in the outcome. Possible groups include suburban homeowners whose gardens are occasionally invaded by hungry unicorns, animal rights activists, a “pigs-and-pythons-as-pets” (“PaPaP”) interest group, a delegation from the zoo at the far end of the state, local and national press, members of the town council, the superintendent of the animal control office, officials from the chamber of commerce and the state tourist bureau. Designate a mayor or town manager to run the meeting (with your help). Give the students a few minutes before the meeting to prepare their positions and strategies, then enjoy the discussion.

Bottom Line. This activity permits students to experience

- how a changing world affects community dynamics.

- how policy issues begin to take shape.
- how a town meeting or public hearing operates.

2. LOCATING SOCIAL SERVICES: SAMPLING THE WEB OF NONPROFITS

Good people can find themselves in extremely difficult situations — situations with which they cannot adequately cope. Examples are plentiful: It can be dealing with the aftermath of a catastrophic event such as a flood or fire that wipes out a family's home and possessions. Or it can be a chronic issue such as unrepayable debt, alcoholism or other drug addiction problems in the family, caring for an elderly or incapacitated family member, or coping with a situation that involves the domestic violence or sexual abuse within the family, to name but a few. In fact, some families face a web of such situations. Families in crisis may not know where to turn for help — or even whether social services might be available to them. The good news is that assistance is often available through a local government agency, a nonprofit organization, a religious institution, a school, or an employer.

Have the class brainstorm a list of potential social services needs and challenge them to inventory what is available in your community. Organize the students into teams, each team assuming the responsibility for tracking down details of sources in a particular sector (on campus, through local churches, etc.). In preparation for their research, the students are to compile a short list of specific, pertinent questions about which they need answers. Examples: Name and type of organization? Contact information? Types of problems for which services are provided? Types of services? Extent of service (e.g., two counseling sessions; long-term treatment)? Who qualifies for services and under what conditions? How does someone apply? What is the potential cost to the applicant? What is the potential cost, if anything, to other parties (e.g., chargeback to a municipal referral service or an employer)? What commitment is expected from the applicant?

Have students combine their information; enter it on a database; validate, print, and proof it; and reproduce it for everyone in the class. Encourage students to offer the data base as something that can be posted on the web site of the university, the public library, or the local government. If an underwriter can be identified (e.g., a local hospital or social services agency), the list can be reproduced in pamphlet format for free distribution at libraries, clinics, dorms, etc.

Bottom Line. This activity enables students to —

- gain a sense of the range and frequency of problems people often face in daily life.
- explore the diversity of social service resources available to members of the community.
- initiate and contribute to a potentially valuable community project.

Further Reading

Beyond references within this case study, you may wish to identify relevant chapters or sections of the primary textbook or reading selections assigned for the course.

- Bard, Morton, and New York City College Psychological Center. 1970. *Training Police as Specialists in Family Crisis Intervention*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice (For sale through G.P.O.). Discusses police training and family social work.
- Carlson, Allan C. 1988. *Family Questions: Reflections on the American Social Crisis*. New Brunswick: Transaction Books. Discusses family policy and social conditions in the United States since World War II.
- Christensen, Bryce J., Travis Hirschi, Sara S. McLanahan, and Armand M. Nicholi. 1991. *When Families Fail — the Social Costs*. Lanham: University Press of America, and Rockford, Illinois: Rockford Institute [The Family in America research series]. Discusses economic aspects of family, family health and hygiene, and family policy; family structure and crime; and the impact of family dissolution on emotional health of children and adolescents.
- Dickstein, Leah J., and Carol C. Nadelson. 1989. *Family Violence: Emerging Issues of a National Crisis*. Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Press [Based on a symposium held during the 1986 American Psychiatric Association Annual Meeting in Washington, DC]. Discusses family violence and its prevention.
- Fraser, Mark W., David Haapala, and Peter J. Pecora. 1991. *Families in Crisis: The Impact of Intensive Family Preservation Services*. New York: A. de Gruyter, [Modern applications of social work], Offers case studies of family social work.
- Guerra, Sarith. 1991. *Emergency Planning and Community Right to Know*. Washington, DC: Management Information Service, ICMA. Discusses the Emergency Planning and Community Right-to-Know Act of 1986, reporting health aspects of hazardous substances, and health risk communication; includes emergency management case studies.
- Kagan, Richard, and Shirley Schlosberg. 1989. *Families in Perpetual Crisis*. New York: Norton. Discusses family social work, family counseling, and foster home care.
- U.S., Head Start Bureau, and National Alliance of Business. 1998. *Supporting Families in Crisis: Training Guides for the Head Start Learning Community*. Washington, DC: U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families, Administration on Children, Youth, and Families, Head Start Bureau (Also for sale through G.P.O.). Deals with handbooks and manual for Head Start programs, services for problem families, family social work, and crisis management.

Discussion and Essay Questions

The questions and exercises in the student section of this case study can be used in online and classroom learning and adapted for examination questions. Other possibilities:

- If, one morning, you had seen a unicorn (or other remarkable phenomenon) in your garden and you felt it important to convince the local authorities about what had happened, who might you contact and how would you attempt to convince them?
- At what point should a person report suspicions of spouse abuse about a neighbor? What would *you* look for? If the situation were reversed, how would you react (not just feel emotionally) if someone were to contact law enforcement authorities with suspicions about

you or a member of your family? What does this suggest about the meaning of “neighborhood watch”?

Endnote

¹James Thurber, “Unicorn in the Garden,” *New Yorker* 16:25 (February 17, 1940).

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Call for Manuscripts for a *Public Voices* Symposium

The United States Democracy: An Endangered Wonder of the World? A Historic Overview of America's Democratic Experiment, Its Triumphs and Challenges to Its Existence



The Parthenon, an enduring symbol of ancient Athenian democracy, stands as a hollow shell.
Will American democracy follow suit?

While democracy has never been an ideal form of government, it has undoubtedly been the best humanity has ever created. In modern times, the American “experiment” in liberal democracy has been the beacon of freedom and justice, religious tolerance and inclusion, the standard of governance to strive for and emulate, the value to cherish over others.

When Ronald Reagan declared that government was the problem, not the solution, he undermined citizens’ trust in government. That trust has never been fully restored. The polarizing discourse of the last presidential election and the first months of the new Administration have revealed an even more alarming trend: the democratic order itself, the very foundation of the U.S. democracy, is under attack by the President, his cabinet and his party: by insisting that there is pervasive and widespread voter fraud without providing any substantiating evidence, by disparaging the Judicial branch, by putting the executive powers above the “checks and balances” purview of the other two equal and independent branches of government, by discrediting and witch-hunting the free media and thus effectively infringing on the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

Is the moral fiber of the American society resilient enough to resist the bleak vision of America painted by Donald Trump, from which “the land of the free” emerges as the place of neglect and carnage, torn apart by gangs and crime and drowning in drugs and blood of the fictitious “Bowling Green Massacre”? Are the Founding Fathers’ Constitutional provisions strong enough to repel the antidemocratic, authoritarian, and even totalitarian rhetoric of the new president, or is the American democracy in danger of becoming extinct, having succumbed to the alternative-facts reality of the new White House?

To be considered for the symposium, submit your manuscripts online at <http://publicvoices.us>.