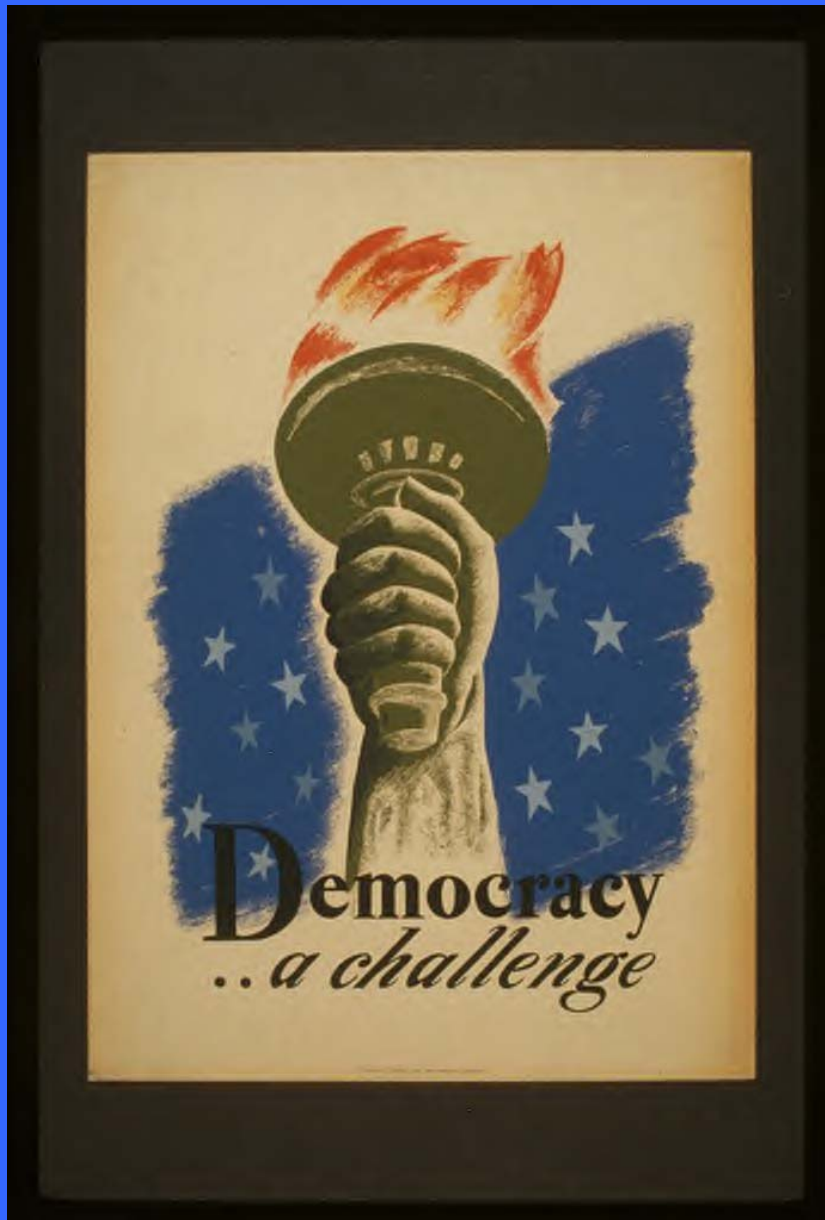


Public Voices



Public Voices

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Public Voices is a unique journal that focuses on historical, artistic and reflective expression concerning public administrators and the public service. Published by the National Center for Public Productivity (NCPD), it is now accepting submissions for Volume IX.

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Unlike traditional social science journals, *Public Voices* publishes unorthodox, controversial perspectives on bureaucracy in particular and the public sector in general. We seek submissions from public servants, writers, artists, and academics in all fields. In addition to analytical articles, submissions may include original fiction, poetry, photographs, art, critiques of existing works, and insights based on experience, observation and research. Especially encouraged are manuscripts that explore ethical dilemmas and public controversies, discuss value conflicts, or generate new ideas for improving public service and public organizations. Personal essays that relate fictionalized experiences in government agencies are equally welcome. We also welcome reviews of novels, literature, popular fiction, a series of works by one author, scholarly books, films, art, etc.

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Public Voices

Rewriting the History of Public Administration: What if...?

Symposium

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The United States Bureau of Efficiency (BOE), which had been established in 1916, was abolished in 1933 when President Hoover signed an omnibus appropriation bill on his last full day in office. Given Hoover's commitment to businesslike and efficient management and his ongoing support for the work of the Bureau throughout his presidency, what if he had acted differently and prevented its abolition? This fictional public administration history explores how Hoover could have kept BOE in existence and, if he had, how six of his successors might have treated the agency as part of their administrations.

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To have a dis/ability opens the possibilities for seeing (understanding) something different because of difference in the disabled’s lens or worldview.

Public administration is awash in self-doubt, discomfort and confusion. As it struggles with setting, moving and removing academic boundaries of the discipline, public administration reveals its own dyslexia. The disabling of public administration offers a view from the balcony (or orchestra pit) granting a greater appreciation of ‘the other’ in the public administration student, public administration theory and public administration practices. The dyslexic individual and institution can suffer and celebrate contradiction, paradox, irony, and other delimiting arenas of learning without resistance. Successful learning and understanding can come not in spite of but because of apparent disabilities.

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Democracy .. a challenge – the WPA Federal Art Project Poster

Adapted from *Jerry Wilkinson*,
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In 1935, Harry Hopkins, with the approval of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, started the Federal Arts Project (FAP), a program of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) designed to help struggling artists cope with the Great Depression. The FAP had two goals: first, to provide artworks for non-federal public buildings and, second, to provide jobs for unemployed artists on relief rolls.

This program existed in forty-eight states. It maintained more than 100 community art centers, managed art programs for children and adults and held art exhibitions. Over its lifetime, the FAP produced 2,566 murals, 17,744 sculptures, 108,099 easel paintings and 240,000 prints.

The Federal Arts Project spawned a new awareness of and appreciation for American art. It ended in mid-1943, when the government turned its attention toward World War II.

The poster we chose for the cover is an example of the WPA art. It shows the hand and torch of the Statue of Liberty – a symbol of democracy.

Listening to “Other” Voices: Letters from Readers

Dear Editors,

I liked the compilation of resources that you presented in Volume VII, No.2, especially because you included David Baldacci. I have used his novels for many years in my ethics course. I also had an opportunity to meet him. One of his most recent novels, *Split Second*, is very useful as well. I actually want to write something this year based on my experiences using his work and how students have responded to his work on exams and class exercises.

Sincerely,

Valery Patterson

Florida International University

Dear Public Voices Readers,

If you'd like to share your thoughts on the material you read in our journal,
please write to:

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Is There a Role for Historical Fiction in Public Administration? An Introduction

Mordecai Lee

Studies of history as well as of fiction have long been accepted in Public Administration. For historical studies, Leonard White's definitive tetralogy on Public Administration in the early years of the United States was the authoritative cornerstone, due both to the scope of the topic as well as the identity of the author (White, 1965a; 1965b; 1965c; 1978). Administrative history has since flowered into a major subtopic within American Public Administration (Luton, 2003). Similarly, Dwight Waldo's trailblazing examination of fictional representations of government managers in print inaugurated a field of study that by now is represented by an extensive literature (Waldo, 1968). For example, this journal and the SHARE Section of the American Society for Public Administration that sponsors it, have the explicit missions of encouraging historical studies and, separately, fictional treatments relevant to Public Administration. An interesting spin-off has been the study of *American Government Through Science Fiction* (Olander, Greenberg and Warrick, 1974), a genre sometimes known by the rhyming shorthand of Poli Sci Fi.

In this symposium, four faculty are experimenting with shotgunning history and fiction into a merged subject of Public Administration historical fiction. This approach has an established niche in popular history (Cowley, 1999 and 2001). For example, writing about the California Gold Rush in the mid-19th century, Brands tantalizingly reminds the readers "history never tells us what would have happened, only what did happen" (Brands, 2002, 361). However, serious academicians engage in historical speculation as well. A recent reappraisal of President Kennedy (Dallek, 2003a) inevitably prompted speculation about what his second term would have been like and, in particular, would his decisions about Viet Nam have been different from President Johnson's (Dallek, 2003b)? If Lincoln had had more close friends whom he trusted, what decisions might he have made differently? Donald speculated about three significant counterfactual scenarios based on that premise (Donald, 2003, 215-8). If Hitler hadn't been permitted to be appointed Chancellor in January 1932, what would likely have happened (Turner, 1996, 170-6)? The widespread acceptance of this subject matter is demonstrated by the standard subject headings classification maintained by the Library of Congress. It contains 23 separate categories of entries prefixed by 'imaginary,' including

histories, places, wars and battles, interviews and cities (Library of Congress, 2002, 2996-7). Yet, this approach has not been explored on any extensive basis in Public Administration.

Certainly, there is much that could be said to dismiss this prism into the world of government management. Since it is totally speculative and fantasy-based, it should seemingly have no place in an academic discipline. It appears to be antithetical to the paradigm of research-based literature in higher education. This perspective would posit that historical fiction makes no intrinsic or useful contribution to scholarship and therefore should be dismissed. Fair enough.

But consider the other viewpoint. Inarguably, it is a mistake to view the chronology of history as an inevitable and linear chronology. In his definitive and award-winning history of Reconstruction, Foner cautioned, "The historian, however, must avoid telescoping the actual course of events into a predetermined, linear progress" (Foner, 1988, 170). Writing a history of the media in the US, Starr noted:

Things that work satisfactorily come to be thought of as right: Laws, methods, and systems that appear to be successful become the basis of standards, often gradually appearing to be natural and inevitable, *as if they could be no other way* (Starr, 2004, 5, emphasis added).

If history were indeed predictable, then we could all peer into the future and foresee precisely what will happen in five, ten or 50 years. The future is not a mere straight-line extrapolation of present trends and facts onto upcoming events. Future developments are not knowable because history "*is not predetermined by the past*" (Raadschelders, 2003, 162, italics in original). The problem is that the common method of writing history "give[s] the impression that what happened was the inexorable product of great impersonal forces, that it was bound to happen, that there were no alternatives" (Turner, 1996, 165). It should be unanimously accepted that future history is not knowable. A recent volume of popular history that became a bestseller was about the decisions made by key governmental officials in the last month of the Civil War (Winik, 2001). The book highlights the forks in the road of history, the choices made, the possibility that something else might just have easily occurred. Since that's the case, shouldn't historical fiction have at least a modest niche in exploring the world of government?

I'd suggest that historical fiction can make a small contribution to the past, present and future of our discipline. First, historical fiction helps focus on those pivotal developments that bent the direction and evolution of Public Administration. By exploring alternative scenarios, we can gain a more textured appreciation of the significance of the events and decisions that actually occurred. Historical fiction is needed, suggested a journalist, because "history never discloses its alternatives" (Saler, 2003). It is left to us to try to figure them out. For this past-looking orientation, the question is, 'What could have happened?'

Second, alternative history gives clarity to the present of both practice and theory by describing substitute narratives that could be occurring now. Such stories of the road not traveled should contribute to a more subtle and sophisticated understanding of the current state of public administration literature and the real world of its practice. For this present day focus, the inquiry would be, 'What could the present have looked like if...?'

Finally, perhaps these flights of fantasy also affect PA's future. Counterfactual history heightens our sensitivity to the future implications of today's decisions. By being willing to open ourselves to less obvious future scenarios regarding contemporary choices, we might add to the richness of the alternatives to choose from. By knowing that we can shape the future and identifying the forks in today's road, we may improve our current choices and present the next generation with a future that was self-consciously rather than accidentally shaped. This futuristic approach would be summarized by the investigation of 'What might happen if...?'

Without trying to oversell historical fiction, I'd suggest it might be more than a mere trifle. It is a form of mental gymnastics that can provide a constructive albeit minor contribution to understanding Public Administration's past, analyzing its present and helping shape its future.

The symposium consists of four submissions. The first, by Michael W. Popejoy, wonders what would have happened if Alexander Hamilton had not been killed in his duel with Aaron Burr. This is a very timely topic because the 200th anniversary of the duel was observed last year. More importantly, Hamilton is indeed a major figure in the emergence of American Public Administration. His views on a strong central government were a necessarily prelude to the development and professionalization of government management. Professor Popejoy provides an excellent example of the potentialities of counterfactual history by speculating about the further influence Hamilton may have had on the shape and direction of American government had he survived the duel.

The second submission, by Alexander Dawoody, presents a different approach to historical fiction as an academic genre. While the previous entry focused on an 'external' event and then spun a fictional scenario from it, Dawoody's article focuses instead on a subject within the discipline. He speculates about a fictional trial of Dwight Waldo, as a way to examine the different intellectual perspectives and approaches that the field of public administration encompasses. The author's approach shows one of the benefits of historical fiction, by permitting major figures from different eras to debate each other regarding major and conflicting concepts. (Since Waldo was my dissertation director, there were many times when reading the trial's transcript that I was tempted to jump into the cross-examination and help defend him! But, Waldo is such a towering figure intellectually that he really doesn't need any help, whether in a fictional trial or in the real debates that academicians enjoy.) This entry, very different from the first one, demonstrates how historical fiction can contribute to a deeper understanding of our profession.

The next submission is by Terrance M. Garrett. While partly belonging to the more general genre of fictional public administration writing that this journal has helped create a niche for, this brief piece is also a different kind of example of historical fiction because of its focus on a 'what if' scenario for the discipline of public administration. By using the prism that the theme of this symposium presents, the author has a platform for making a serious argument about the intellectual effect that the rational choice approach has had on public administration.

I authored the final entry in the symposium, which returns to the more traditional approach to fictional history as presented in the first article. (To prevent any conflict of interest between my role as Symposium editor and as an author of an article in it, this journal's Managing Editor, Iryna Illiash, handled all matters dealing with the review of my submission. It was subjected to the normal blind review process and was recommended for publication as a result.) My general interest in public administration historical fiction and this article in particular were triggered by my more mainstream research on the US Bureau of Efficiency, which existed from 1916 to 1933. The Bureau was abolished when President Hoover signed omnibus legislation on his last full day in office that included a provision defunding the Bureau. The next day, just hours before Roosevelt's inauguration, Hoover pocket vetoed a different omnibus appropriation bill that funded the Bureau for the next fiscal year. Passing two bills doing opposite things was, to say the least, odd behavior on Congress' part. Yet, Hoover's behavior was equally interesting since as President he had been very supportive of the Bureau of Efficiency's work. Inevitably, I wondered if Hoover could have acted differently on his last day and a half in office to save the Bureau. That also prompted me to speculate about what some of his successors may have thought of having a Bureau of Efficiency in the executive branch. The results of this casual curiosity are presented in the Symposium's last entry.

As in public administration itself, a symposium is a group effort, with credit appropriately belonging to all involved. Besides the three other contributors and all the external reviewers, *Public Voices* Editor-in-Chief Marc Holzer and Managing Editor Iryna Illiash deserve recognition for their enthusiastic reaction to the idea of a symposium on such an unconventional topic. Without them, this flight of fantasy would never have left the ground. Would that all editors shared their heterodoxy. Also, Ms. Illiash deserves to be considered a co-editor of the symposium, since she handled the bulk of responsibilities for processing the submissions and managing the dozens of details that the refereed review process entails. My thanks.

This symposium will be considered successful if historical public administration fiction becomes an accepted and established part of the discipline, as indicated by future publications, panels at professional conferences and follow-up symposia. As a start, I hope this forum encourages readers to submit additional articles on fictional history to this and other journals. Or, perhaps, the development of this possible new subfield, too, will remain fictional.

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Alexander Hamilton: What if Aaron Burr Missed?

Michael W. Popejoy

On the weekend just prior to the fateful duel that took his life, probably the most well known duel in history, Alexander Hamilton spent the quiet of the early morning hours tending to the affairs of his property, known to all as The Grange, with one exception; he had written a last will and testament and penned a letter to his wife, Elizabeth known affectionately as Eliza. She and the seven children were still fast asleep in their beds upstairs with no one to disturb him or ask questions as to his labors on this morning, and at such an early hour. No one would have guessed, but a few close associates and friends did already know that in a few days he would meet Aaron Burr, Vice President of the United States on the field of honor.

The day of reckoning between the two prominent men of the early years of the Republic had been brewing for quite awhile. Their bitter, acrimonious political differences had come to the point that it was now time to settle the score. Burr had demanded satisfaction and Hamilton could not refuse and still maintain his stature and reputation as someone who had for years been at the center of national affairs.

It may seem a waste and an excess for a man still active in politics, holding the second highest office in the land, Burr, to be overly concerned about the comments of a man who had retired to the life of a gentleman farmer and sometime lawyer far from the center of political action, Hamilton. Yet, an unauthorized published account of an overheard dinner conversation between Hamilton and his friends was the final straw for Burr which led to this historically significant confrontation with such fatal results, and such long term consequences to the nation. Maybe it is a universal truth that politics, religion, and sex should never be discussed among friends even in the informal atmosphere of a social occasion, especially on social occasions when everyone's guard is down and tongues are loosened by excessive consumption of fine port or merlot; and, never when a reporter is at the table and nothing is off the record.

Hamilton was known to be afraid of very little but of those few things, he feared democracy, disunion, and Burr in power. He knew democracy could be dangerous to the nation because

he believed the emotions of the masses could be captured too easily by a demagogue, and the masses would vote their passions. He abhorred the thought of disunion because it would divide the vast resources of a potentially great and powerful country—he believed that a united America could be made impenetrable and would have its rightful place on the world stage. He both hated and distrusted Aaron Burr because, in his estimation of the man, he was a passionate and articulate demagogue, and a clear and present danger to the new nation; a man who did not put the nation above his own self interests.

Dueling was just beginning to fall from favor as a method of conflict resolution between gentlemen, and Hamilton had no stomach for it since his oldest son died defending his father's honor in a duel against George Eacker just three years before. The 20 year old Philip Hamilton, a recent Columbia University graduate; and as eldest son, he was his father's greatest hope to carry on the family tradition, suffered in agony for more than 24 hours before he mercifully died in the arms of both Alexander and Elizabeth who were lying on the bed on either side of their son. Further compounding the tragedy, Angelica, their eldest daughter and the delight of her father, was shocked into insanity by her brother's death; an insanity from which she never recovered.

Hamilton arrived in New York on Monday morning to spend the night before the duel at his house in town at 54 Cedar Street. This was not uncommon for him to do since he had a thriving law practice in the city upon whose business affairs he tended to when he felt the urge to counsel on a case, otherwise his firm's daily legal business was handled by associate counsels—he mostly dabbled in whatever case struck him as interesting or engaging. If he had stayed at The Grange, he would have had to leave at 5 AM to make the appointment with Burr and that would have aroused questions from Elizabeth—if she had any idea what he was up to, she would have used all her influence to stop him. The memory of her son's death remained a fresh wound to her heart. Risking her husband to the same fate would have been unbearable for her. So, he kept it from her, as husbands are often known to do when they are up to no good. He knew she would find out eventually, but he thought that it was better to beg forgiveness than to ask permission, particularly when dealing with Elizabeth.

After disembarking from his small boat on shore; Hamilton slowly but confidently walked up the narrow path to the cliff overlooking the village of Weehawken, New Jersey, on the west bank of the Hudson River opposite the end of 42nd street, New York; just across from Manhattan. It was late in the morning on a hot, humid July 11, 1804. He breathed in the musty smell of the rich top soil; it surprised him that since becoming a farmer he loved to smell dirt. He squinted up into the bright sun rising high, threatening to scorch the earth from a cloudless summer sky.

Accompanying him was his friend and second, Nathaniel Pendleton, carrying the beautifully crafted heavy cherry wood box with ornate brass fittings and hinges that contained the expensive, exquisitely crafted imported dueling pistols lying cradled in a bed of blue velvet. Waiting for him back down the hill where the boat remained docked was his personal physician and long time associate, Dr. David Hosack, who enjoyed a reputation of being one of the best trained physicians of the time currently in practice in the city. In addition to his private practice he was a distinguished clinical professor at the medical school in New York.

“Wait in the boat or here on shore, David. There is no reason for you to witness this sordid business. It is my weakness to have not refused Burr’s demands for satisfaction. Let it not embarrass you as well,” Hamilton had said as they landed. Dr. Hosack simply said, “As you wish, Alexander.” Hosack paused a moment, then added; “Take care up there, sir. You are far too important a man to this city, to this state, and to the nation to be lost in a place such as this. It would be a waste for you to die in Jersey, an ignoble end; it is unthinkable; and to die at the hands of a man like Burr is worse.”

Hosack looked down and shook his head gravely. He had great respect and admiration for his friend, but as an educated and sophisticated man, he was not at all happy to be about this dueling business. It was barbaric, but he had been unable to dissuade Hamilton from his decision; and out of loyalty to him, he came anyway—just in case his medical skills were needed. And, most certainly, if needed, if not reluctantly, Hosack knew he would have attended the injuries of Col. Burr since the arrogant fool had not thought to bring a physician for himself; but the doctor held out hope that this would be over quickly and with no harm to anyone so that he could get back to his office where he had patients waiting—paying patients at that.

Hamilton unexpectedly turned and grasped Hosack by the arm and said intensely as though he had a premonition, “If my plan should go awry, David, please assist my family in any way that you can. You are my most trusted friend. They will have great need of you and of others that I have already spoken to.” At that moment, Hamilton smiled briefly, released Hosack’s arm and turned and walked away rapidly to meet Burr already impatiently waiting up the hill.

Col. Burr and his second, William P. Van Ness, had arrived earlier and had finished preparing his weapon as Pendleton opened the box and Hamilton carefully reached for the already loaded but uncocked hair-trigger pistol lent to him by his friend and brother-in-law, John Church; whose wife, Angelica, was Elizabeth’s sister, and many have thought that Hamilton was in love with his sister-in-law and had an ongoing affair with her through the years. Ironically, the pistol borrowed from Church was the very same pistol his son Philip had used in his fatal duel. Unbeknownst to anyone, Hamilton was within minutes of meeting the same fate.

Hamilton studied the heavy pistol and turned to Pendleton holding the pistol away and safely pointed toward the ground; “Nathaniel, there are some important legal papers regarding my property and finances, and a letter to my beloved Elizabeth on my desk; and you will also find a last will and testament in the top drawer. See to their timely execution if needed,” Hamilton quietly told Pendleton as he moved away to position himself to face Burr who scarcely acknowledged him with but merely a nod. Burr then averted his gaze from Hamilton as he spoke briefly to Van Ness. No words were exchanged further between the two men. The only words spoken now were that of the seconds setting the stage.

This defining moment was the conclusion of many engagements of vigorous, heated debate both orally and in the press over politics, ideology, and the law. It was the scathing criticisms of Burr from Hamilton that eventually and unavoidably found their way into print that forced

Burr to demand his satisfaction. Burr had never been, and would never be, Hamilton's equal in debate, in politics or in the law; the one exception would be in terms of a distinguished military career. Col. Burr was no coward in the face of danger. Indeed, both Burr and Hamilton were fierce fighters during the Revolution; but they were also equally fierce competitors for Gen. Washington's favor and both desired a commanding role in the new government. Two energetic, intelligent young men seeking their way in the same world at the same time set them on a collision course.

Further complicating matters, Hamilton was never one to keep his counsel discrete and Burr was a sensitive man who never suffered criticism well, although he developed this trait over the many years following the duel. He had learned in his maturity to cope with almost universal disdain from everyone. Hamilton would be dead, and Burr would spend many years living with the consequences.

The conflict between them clearly lead unavoidably to a resolution by the code of the duel as both men together and through their seconds had failed to communicate a satisfactory compromise. What Burr could not settle with the power of his argument, he would end with the power of his pistol since few could best Hamilton in a duel of words.

"Yes, sir, I would see to it," Pendleton nervously replied as he looked into the face and cold blue eyes of the calm almost serene Major General Hamilton, retired of the military and veteran of many skirmishes and commander of a great charge against the British grenadiers as he fought with General Washington for freedom from King George's tyranny. He was no stranger to danger and controlled his fear like a professional military man who had been tempered by experience in war. He was a man who kept his wits on the field of battle as an artillery officer, in the court room as a skilled lawyer and in the political battles of the founding of a new nation based on a model never before tried—there he served tirelessly as a political writer, public speaker advocating new ideas, and as a key cabinet officer in the first administration of the new republic, and according to his critics, particularly Jefferson, he was an all around trouble maker. Aaron Burr may kill him here today but he could never rob him of his dignity or his place in history or his reputation as an irascible character.

After the seconds established the count, it was too soon over; Burr quickly turned, aimed and fired. It is not clear whether Burr actually intended to hit Hamilton or if it was just an accident. Many duels of the day were fought without great shooting accuracy since just facing each other satisfied the argument. Both could walk away men among men, satisfied, and the most important thing; alive. It is also a matter of debate whether or not Hamilton intended to fire at all since his pistol discharged high in the air, arcing away from Burr, and its ball struck a tree branch some distance away from where Burr was standing. Hamilton had not frozen or hesitated, he was not shaken or outwardly nervous, and he would not have missed had he intended to strike his target for he was renowned as a master marksman; indeed, he had checked his fire as he had intended to do, and as he had advised his son to do some three years earlier. In both cases it was a fatal decision in the face of a determined opponent.

Some have believed that Hamilton was already seriously ill and that he had decided that suicide by dueling Burr was a more heroic and important death than dying slowly in bed from

some undisclosed disease. Hamilton considered Burr a danger to the new nation, and feared him for what he might do to the nation if he continued to ascend to power—particularly the presidency. But, if Hamilton were killed by Burr, then he was sure that Burr’s political career would be finished. He would never become President after Jefferson’s term in office. The nation preserved. Hamilton would have been dead anyway as some have speculated, sooner or later, and this was sooner, quicker, and for a good cause. No one will ever know for sure since Elizabeth carefully protected his reputation for the remainder of her long life; and Dr. Hosack was true to his calling as a physician and firmly protected the confidentiality of his patient and friend. But, clearly, Hamilton was not a well man; even though he was only 49, he was not as vigorous in body as he was in mind.

If Burr had not intended to kill Hamilton, then Burr may have missed his aim as the red hot, oversized pistol ball ripped through his side just above the hip, streaking upward, ripping deep into flesh and breaking a rib before shredding his liver as it passed through and shattering a vertebra where it remained—paralyzing him almost instantly. Hamilton slumped to his knees balanced for a moment, clutching his side with one hand while still holding his smoking pistol in the other. On his face was a look of shock, pain; and there was disbelief in his eyes as he looked upward into the sky before slumping over sideways into Pendleton’s arms. It is possible that he never believed Burr would actually shoot him. He could not move his legs or feel anything below his waist. He looked down just briefly before shock took him into unconsciousness and saw the thick black blood drenching his tunic indicating that bile was mixing with the red arterial blood which was a sign that the liver was mortally damaged. Hamilton had at one time considered taking up medicine and had studied anatomy, and he had been in a war and had seen many mortal wounds. He knew he would die.

Pendleton looked toward the shore below, and ignoring Burr and Van Ness who approached a few paces to see to Hamilton, screamed at the top of his lungs down to the boat where Hamilton’s physician awaited his expected return and their short voyage back across the bay to the city; “Dr. Hosack! Dr. Hosack, quickly, sir, we need you!”

Pendleton’s crying out for the doctor galvanized Van Ness who grabbed Burr and moved him quickly toward the path to the shore. “We must get out of here, sir; and right now,” Van Ness has said in a shaky voice. Burr said nothing as he allowed himself to be propelled head long down the path by Van Ness who had picked up the pace to a run.

Dr. Hosack had heard the two shots and soon Pendleton’s hysterical cries. He knew what it meant, he didn’t want to believe it, but he knew. He grabbed his medical bag which he carried with him always, not really expecting to use it today, but with him nevertheless. He never really expected to use it on Hamilton—always a survivor—in war, in the courtroom and in political debates. He ran up the short pathway to the clearing where Hamilton lay bleeding, brushing past Burr and his second as they ran in the opposite direction down the cliff to get to their boat and make quick their return to New York City just across the bay. Burr’s face was cold and clammy; one of panic, shock and disbelief, and his eyes showed fear, and something else; regret. He knew he may have just killed the great Alexander Hamilton, and even if that was not his intention; he knew that there would be severe consequences to his future that not

even Thomas Jefferson, the President of the United States, could extricate him from—even if he had wanted to.

Jefferson made no secret of the fact that he had never liked Hamilton; in fact, he had no great affection for Burr, either—both were war heroes and highly regarded military men of senior rank. Jefferson always felt that he personally was far too important a man to the nation to risk his life in combat, but nevertheless, he was jealous of those who did and the respect and honors bestowed upon them. Jefferson was the first president never to have served in any military capacity during the Revolutionary War. Indeed, whenever word got to him that the Redcoats were coming, Jefferson got going—right out of town on the fastest horse his purse could acquire. He was a revolutionary with the uncanny ability to avoid gunfire or the possibility of the hangman’s noose. He had never heard a shot fired in anger—not at him anyway.

Now, with Hamilton dead, and Burr’s political career just as dead, Jefferson would have a singular place in history; his two toughest adversaries—both keen competitors for his place in history would be gone. Indeed, revisionist historians may yet conclude that Jefferson had a more direct hand in moving this duel forward and privately convincing Burr to shoot to kill rather than checking his fire which was becoming increasingly popular with the more enlightened duelers of the age.

Jefferson spent years trying to discredit Hamilton, at least now he would be dead. On the record, it was John Randolph, a politician and statesman of the time was not the first to offer up the subtle accusation that Jefferson and his cohorts “used Burr as a tool to divide their opponents by killing Hamilton.” Years later, John Marshall had said that, “Jefferson was among the most unforgiving of men.” Many who knew Jefferson knew him to be just the kind of man not to fight his enemies directly, but to get them to fight each other while he safely stood on the sidelines to profit from the outcome.

Hamilton regained consciousness momentarily and looked up at Dr. Hosack and said almost inaudibly, “This is a mortal wound, Doctor,” and then he passed out again. Dr. Hosack could not feel a pulse or detect any breathing and the bleeding had slowed to a mere ooze from the large ugly jagged entry wound.

“Pendleton, let’s get him to the boat. Hurry! We have to get him back to the city.” Hosack and Pendleton lifted Hamilton and rushed him down to the boat where the bargemen helped load his near lifeless body onto the boat deck beneath the seats. Hosack proceeded to rub Hamilton’s face, lips and temples with spirits of Hartshorne and then applied it to his neck and chest and to the wrists and palms of his hands and managed to pour some of it into his mouth.

Hamilton rallied as he then sighed, coughed and groaned agonizingly in pain; his eyelids fluttered as he awoke from his initial deep shock, a normal reaction to sudden trauma. “My vision is indistinct,” he said. Yet, he cast an eye upon the pistol lying on the seat near him, and even though he was mortally wounded and suffering from shock and blood loss, he said urgently, “Take care of that pistol; it is undischarged and still cocked; it may go off and do

harm; Pendleton knows that I did not intend to fire upon him.” Pendleton looked over at Hosack and nodded, “Yes, Doctor, he had told me that fact many days ago. The General would not have killed Col. Burr even though the General is an expert marksman.” In his condition, Hamilton could not have known that the pistol had already discharged with the ball striking a tree limb nearby. No doubt caused by an involuntary jerk of his finger on the hair trigger as he was hit.

As the boat approached the foot of Horatio Street, Hamilton’s friend, William Bayard, whose house was nearby, was shocked to see Hamilton, covered in blood, lying in the bottom of the boat as it approached the dock. It was more than he could take as he began to cry out. He could hardly follow the doctor’s instructions he was so shaken by the sight of Hamilton in such grave condition, with so much blood on his tunic, on his hands and on the hands of the doctor and Pendleton and on the floor of the boat which was slick with it.

Hamilton’s face was ashen, his eyes lolling in his head in insensibility and heartbreaking groans escaped in wet gasping sounds from the dying man’s open mouth. Bayard, never a warrior, had never seen such a wound, so much blood. He froze with his lips quivering in a silent cry of fear and horror and grief for his friend. It was past noon, and he had just taken his lunch, and at the sight of the gore, he turned away to vomit.

“Bayard, man, get hold of yourself! Your house is close to here. We must get him there quickly. Go now and make a bed! We will bring him.” Dr. Hosack ordered as he and Pendleton and the bargemen began the tedious labor of getting Hamilton out of the boat with the deck now slick with blood and carrying him over to Bayard’s house. Bayard wiped the vomit from his face and the tears from his eyes and began to move away, back toward his house; then he broke into a run to prepare a sick room, and his family.

When the men carrying Hamilton got there, the entire Bayard family was already in a panic—even the servants loved the General. As he was carried through the parlor door, he was now awake, tranquil and composed, accepting his fate while all the others in the house were in a flood of tears and lamentation. Upon reaching the room that the Bayard’s had hastily prepared, Dr. Hosack got him out of his clothes and more closely examined the wound, and he knew that he must immediately send for help. Meanwhile, the doctor gave him weak wine and water and a large anodyne. He also applied a tepid anodyne fomentation directly to the wound site, and as Hamilton was in terrible pain, he administered more than an ounce of laudanum, all he had with him in his medical bag. He then sent a servant from the household to his office for more—Hamilton would need much more.

Rushing over from his clinic after being sent for, another prominent New York physician and medical school professor, Dr. Wright Post, arrived at the Bayard’s home. All the way there, he couldn’t believe that he was called to attend the famous Alexander Hamilton. But, in just a few moments of examining the patient, he looked up and shook his head slowly. Regretfully, he fully agreed with Hosack’s diagnosis—it would be over in just a few hours at best. In situations such as these, Hosack thought to himself, it is unpleasant to know too much because too much knowledge chases away all hope; and, it is hope that immunizes against overbearing grief for at least a brief moment while one prepares the heart for the worst.

“Doctor, there is little that can be done for him but wait for the end and pray that it will come quickly and put an end to his wretched suffering. We can only keep him as medicated as we dare to blunt the pain,” Dr. Post said in a whisper as he and Dr. Hosack stood conferring in the far corner of the room. But, Hosack could not give up so easily on his friend; this was General Hamilton and he could not surrender him to death without doing more. Both he and Dr. Post were skilled physicians but he still hoped against hope that something could yet be done even though they both knew better. He sent word by messenger across the city to the residence of General Rey, the French Consul, to summon surgeons from aboard the French frigates that were at that moment anchored in the harbor. Uncharacteristic of the French and surprising to all, they agreed to come and help Hamilton. Their surgeons were well experienced with gunshot wounds, and it is a measure of how fickle the French can be that they agreed to come at all since it simply was not in their nature to come to the aid of Americans, particularly Hamilton, who on several occasions had called for war against the French. It is possible they only wanted to see for themselves that he would truly be dead. Sadly, for Drs. Hosack and Post, their conclusions were the same; he was terminal beyond all mortal hope. The French surgeons had a bite to eat and a sip of wine and then bid a hasty adieu and rushed back to the safety of their ships in the harbor to make their report. There was only one other person to call.

Hamilton weakly requested that the Episcopal Bishop Benjamin Moore be summoned to offer the sacrament. Moore arrived and shocked everyone present by delivering a stinging rebuke to Hamilton, even as he laid dying in bed, for his sins in dueling; an act against God which Moore detested and considered a mortal sin among men. Further insulting to Hamilton, Moore refused to give the sacrament on the stated high moral and theological grounds that he was wounded in a duel and was not even a member of the church; he then abruptly left the house leaving Hamilton to die not at peace with his Lord.

Later in the evening, friends of Hamilton sought Bishop Moore to reconsider, offering him a rather sizable financial tithing and offering for the church if he would provide Hamilton with some small comforts in his last hours. As most clergymen discover early in their religious careers, to forgive and to minister to a dying sinner is a much lighter burden to bear when one has been so handsomely compensated. So, Hamilton was at last offered the sacrament of the church and forgiveness by the now kindly speaking Bishop bearing a heavy purse.

Both Burr and Van Ness had sent inquiries to Bayard’s home regarding Hamilton’s condition. Both men were concerned and probably aggrieved at what they had done, but they also were very much afraid. Although the duel was conducted appropriately and at least quasi-legally under the laws of the times; as news of Hamilton’s grave condition at the hands of Burr moved through the city, there was a growing unrest and calls for both Burr and Van Ness to be arrested. The possibility of a lynch mob was very real. Both men were secreted away from the city late in the night for their own protection until this all blew over and a legal hearing could be convened. Although Van Ness would later be appointed judge of the southern district of New York by James Madison, Aaron Burr would never again achieve any useful social or political prominence, and it was to achieve this result that Hamilton gave his life.

At about 2 PM on the day after the duel, Hamilton expired quietly, and at peace. But, he left behind a shattered widow who would never remarry and never forgave Hamilton's enemies including for reasons not immediately clear, James Madison, who decades later in their twilight years tried to mend the bridge between them but to no avail. He also left behind seven children, a mountain of debt that was partially satisfied by his friends who contributed to helping his family maintain the Grange and his other investments. He also left a huge hole in the history of the nation where a different story could have been told had he lived to the fullness of his maturity.

What If Aaron Burr Had Missed—The Counterfactual History

It is at this point the story departs from a creative nonfiction account of historical fact and moves to a counterfactual story more of imagination, speculation and a best guess estimate of what Hamilton would have done had he lived. Here the story moves to entertain, to delight the reader by engaging in a reasonable but fanciful play on what ifs. And, it is here that the story trespasses on history and which often makes historical scholars moody.

By the time of the duel that took his life, Alexander Hamilton had retired from active politics to The Grange where he took up life as farmer and devoted family man and successful lawyer with a lucrative practice in New York City choosing whatever cases that interested him. But, many of the key players in society, politics and public service still sought him out for advice and counsel and the pleasure of his company at social occasions. Little happened in New York City or the Republic at large that he did not have an opinion to offer to the decision makers of the day. He no longer had a formal role in government or politics, but he was still powerful, still influential; and, to Jefferson, still dangerous.

Hamilton stated that he had always distrusted the concept of pure democracy where the masses were free to vote their passions—mobs whose hearts and minds could be captured by an unscrupulous demagogue. Hamilton resisted vigorously any calls to disunion and they were frequent enough long before secession led to the Civil War. He believed disunion would seriously weaken the nation and any advantages to any region for secession, including the slave states, would be overwhelmed by strong disadvantages.

Hamilton believed and vigorously advocated for an energetic central government; one that controlled the economic forces of banking, commerce and currency; encouraging manufacturers even in the earliest days of the industrial revolution, he saw this movement as the road to national prosperity and prestige on a world stage; issues critical to the new nation's growth. He also supported the civil rights of the Negro, including the slaves in the south, and the Indians of the western frontier. Ironically, it is in these areas of civil liberties that he and Aaron Burr actually agreed while Jefferson remained bound to the soil and to slaves and the conversion or the extermination of the Indians as the white settler moved westward. At a time when manpower was in limited supply, it was both Hamilton and Burr who saw these groups as the free labor needed to construct the infrastructure of an interconnected nation; including roads, railroads, canals and cities, as well as workers for agriculture and the factories.

Hamilton's *Potential* Contributions to History

Had Alexander Hamilton exited his voluntary exile of retirement and reentered the political scene in a major way, and he would have been accepted with open arms by many, he could have been a major political force toward making a significant difference in the history of the union as we have come to know it. Based on his advocacy of antislavery, it is not beyond the fancy of imagination of this story that he could have contributed to ending slavery decades before the Civil War and Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

Extending the argument even further, his unwavering commitment to the development of transportation, commerce, and industrialization with the help and support of the national government, including funding; it is conceivable that the agrarian culture and slave dependent economy of the South could have been slowly shifted over decades to a more similar culture and economy with the northern states thus dissolving the huge disparate differences between the two regions. This conceivably could have precluded entirely the Civil War and the decades of strife that followed.

We should not ascribe motives to Hamilton that he may not have had since he may not have seen the black man as an equal. He was probably not that enlightened, and he was definitely an elitist by the modern definition despite his ignoble past born a bastard in the West Indies, and he had no known friends who were black or for that matter no Indians could be counted among his acquaintances either; however, he did not see them as an object of ownership. He was firmly committed to the economic concept of free labor of which the new nation was in short supply.

In terms of the Indian problem, he would have advocated a solution of negotiation and slow reasoned development with the Indian as a partner rather than an enemy. The huge loss of life in the frontier Indian Wars could have been averted. There are so many examples of good relations between the Indians and the white man ever since the *Mayflower* landed that this is not totally beyond the realm of what could have been possible had cooler heads prevailed in the federal government. It is even possible that General Custer could have been a great Indian negotiator instead of a dead general.

Clearly, along the lines of national development, Hamilton would have been a strong advocate in support of Manifest Destiny, the westward expansion as the nation stretched to its full geographical potential; as evidenced by the fact that he was nearly alone in supporting Jefferson's purchase of the Louisiana Territory.

If Hamilton was alive as other land was discovered north, south and west all the way to the Pacific, he would have said, "Take the land; put our flag on the land for that land is ours." He would have fought the Spanish, the French, the Canadians and the Mexicans to have expanded the national boundaries across the length and breadth of the continent.

Hamilton's views on the central government's role in managing a vigorous public service could have put public administration on the map far earlier than Woodrow Wilson's paper of 1887. It may be argued that Hamilton should be accorded the honor of being the father of

public administration rather than Wilson as some books have labeled him. Indeed, following on this idea, the *International Journal of Public Administration* has recently commissioned a new symposium to explore just that possibility.

Hamilton's views on the economy both partially supports and substantially refutes Adam Smith's classical economic theory and predates the macroeconomic theory of John Maynard Keynes and the New Deal ideas of FDR by more than a century—simply, he believed that the nation's central government had the authority and the duty to encourage economic development and to manage the results, smoothing economic cycles using both fiscal and monetary policies; however, he would have far and away refuted the Marxist views on economic central planning and control.

Hamilton believed in capitalism, with the factors of production remaining in the hands of highly qualified and motivated entrepreneurs—the elite classes (he would have most certainly counted himself among the Social Darwinists), but capitalism with government assistance and support, not laissez-faire as Smith argued or government ownership as Marx and modern communists argued; and, he would never have agreed with the concept of ownership by the masses.

Hamilton could have accelerated the industrial revolution with government support for the creation of and the protection of infant industries, with the creation of new transportation nodes linking cities throughout the nation, peace between the regions and between social groups, and he foresaw the need for a commission to govern interstate commerce and set rate restrictions on transporters. Historically, this type of regulation did not happen until the formation of the Interstate Commerce Commission more than 60 years after his death.

Despite the efforts of the Jeffersonians who labored for more than a decade to discredit Hamilton; and later the Jacksonian Democrats who tore down what they could of Hamilton's governmental structures, they seemed to have kept coming back full circle and recreating what he had already envisioned. It was Albert Gallatin who said to Jefferson after he was ordered by Jefferson to investigate Hamilton's legacy as Secretary of the Treasury with the intention of discrediting him; "I have found the most perfect system ever formed—any change that should be made in it would injure it—Hamilton made no blunders—committed no frauds. He did nothing wrong."

The problems between the regions began in the absence of a strong, effective national government when each state began to make its own rules and shape an individual destiny separate, apart and above that of the union. This had always worried Hamilton as he feared the potential disunion that seemed always a threat. As a result, the south adopted the Jeffersonian ideology and rested their destiny on concerns of land and slavery so firmly they were willing to secede and fight a war to secure their way of life. The north adopted a Hamiltonian view of a society that rested on market forces, free labor, and contract law. It took the Civil War to ultimately settle the dispute, if indeed it is settled everywhere in the south (Venture too far off the main roads in the south even today and the unreconstructed southerners will confront you with their views on what they call the War of Northern Aggression!), but it did not have to be. It was such a waste of lives leaving more than a

century of bad blood between the regions; and the evil misjudgments of the post war Reconstruction is another story that should be told.

Hamiltonianism prevailed from the Civil War to the mid-20th century at which time the country began a shift or a slide, depending on your politics, back to a government of the demagogue as represented by the party with its people ever less self-sufficient and ever more dependent on the federal government—not for support and encouragement, but for support in terms of transfer payments, protective legislation, federal funding and a Big Brother paternalism that would have sickened Hamilton.

Ultimately, and maybe unfortunately, we have become a Hamiltonian society, but were he here today, he would warn that we have gone too far. He would warn against paternalistic or government as Big Brother. He would agree that George Orwell had a point.

End Notes/Bibliographic Essay

I am indebted to a number of books on Hamilton's life as well as the politics and social conventions of the times. Creative nonfiction requires a great deal of facts within which to weave the story. It may be difficult to discern the fact from the fiction but that is the nature of counterfactual history and creative nonfiction—it is a creative invention of what is known in the historical record.

Providing interesting insights into the personalities and character of Burr, Hamilton and Jefferson is Roger G. Kennedy's book, *Burr, Hamilton, and Jefferson: A Study in Character*. Kennedy's discussions are more reserved than mine, but he provided fuel for speculations that Hamilton's death could have been a conspiracy perpetrated by Jefferson for his own gain—that of eliminating both Hamilton and Burr from the political landscape. It really did not matter to Jefferson who killed whom since with the death of one the other's political life would have been over. Kennedy revealed that Jefferson was just that cunning as a political operator.

Willard Sterne Randall's biography, *Alexander Hamilton: A Life*, was very helpful in illuminating Hamilton's exploits during the war and an excellent and heart rending narration of the duel itself which opens the book. I have taken a great deal of license with Randall's accounts of the duel but he set the stage for how I would write it. Although there are longer and more detailed biographies of Hamilton, this one is very readable and reasonably complete in its coverage of his life and exploits without being overly pedantic as to Hamilton's political philosophies.

Randall's book also recounts a story that Hamilton was commanding a field artillery unit chasing the British when he set up a position near Princeton University, interestingly enough, a school that rejected his application for admission due to his bastard birth status which resulted in his attending Columbia University. It has been said that Hamilton ordered one of the cannon turned toward the school and had a ball fired through one of the buildings. This was characteristic of Hamilton's playfulness in answering Princeton's earlier decision.

In order to project a future based on the concept we know as Hamiltonianism, I relied a great deal on the work of famed historian Forrest McDonald in his book, *Alexander Hamilton: A Biography*. I particularly used information provided in Chapter 6 obviously appropriately titled Hamiltonianism.

Another outstanding narrative of the duel as well as details of Hamilton's activities and thoughts over his last days is to be found in the classic book by the eminent Hamiltonian biographer and historian Broadus Mitchell in an abridged edition of his massive two volume work titled simply, *Alexander Hamilton*. Mitchell passed away in 1988 after a 40 year academic career making the study of Alexander Hamilton his life's work and he remains today Hamilton's foremost biographer.

An older book, published in 1957, *Alexander Hamilton: Selections Representing His Life, His Thought and His Style*, is a series of selections edited by Bower Aly, whose most interesting feature to me was his use of comments and editorials and descriptions and musings by Hamilton's contemporaries to tell his life story and introduce us to his character and personality. It is similar to the modern biographical style that tells a life story through the words of people who knew or had interactions with the subject of the biography rather than simply a biographer's spin on the events governing the subject's behavior.

Arriving too late for any information to be included in this paper, are two books on Hamilton, one of which was scheduled for publication in 2004 which is the 200 year anniversary of his death. This newest book on Hamilton is Ron Chernow's *Alexander Hamilton*, which I recently reviewed for the peer reviewed journal *Public Integrity*. The book is large and is an easy read but does not seem to offer a great deal of information that is not previously known. The second book on Hamilton originally published in 1999 deals specifically with the ongoing feud between him and Burr; it is Thomas Fleming's book *Duel*, to which he adds an important and supposing subtitle: *Alexander Hamilton, Aaron Burr and the Future of America*.

Finally, I needed to research the opinions of historians in doing this type of historical writing. It is important to know that the work is either accepted for what it is; which is mostly entertainment; or at least know where the criticisms will come from, the scholarly historians. However, the book by Robert Cowley, and the important historians who wrote chapters of the book, *What Ifs? Of American History: Eminent Historians Imagine What Might Have Been*, (2003), does kind of give us tacit permission to stray into the same minefield as they did—to write about the *what ifs* of key historical events apparently without career destructing consequences—although I doubt that junior history professors would attempt essays like these and still entertain dreams of tenure.

For general background on historical philosophy and the general discipline of historians, I relied on John William Miller's book *The Philosophy of History: With Reflections and Aphorisms* and Ernst Breisach's huge book *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval and Modern*.

And, finally, I would want to cite that any ideas I have had on how a non-historian can write a revisionist version of historical events, I have studied Robert Fogel's Nobel Prize winning cliometric study of slavery in his book *Time on the Cross* and the more technical version, *Without Consent or Contract*. His books convinced me that slavery was doomed even without the Civil War due to the cost effectiveness of the mechanization of agriculture. If that economic evolution, emerging as it did from the industrial revolution, occurred decades earlier, for instance under Hamilton's influence, the Civil War certainly could have been averted.

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The Trial of Dwight Waldo

Alexander Dawoody

Introduction

The following is a work of fiction. It attempts to bring historical characters together in a single place and time. Imagine a scenario whereby these characters examine different notions of public service and administration according to their individual points of view and in contrast with the ideas of the accused regarding public administration as value-laden and a form of politics that is engaged in the pursuit of the values of efficiency, economy, equity and in the advocacy of administrative agencies.

The Setting

A courtroom in Boston, Massachusetts. The year is 1787, the year of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. There is no appointed judge. A Council of selected jurors is to assume the responsibility of judicial authority. Council members are Machiavelli, John Locke, Thomas Hobbes, Adam Smith, Leonard White, Frederick Taylor, Herbert Simon, Woodrow Wilson, and Louis Brownlow. The accused in the witness box is Dwight Waldo.

Waldo: If I may ask the Honorable Council, what is it that I am accused of?

Taylor: You are accused of advocating an approach in governance that promotes many points of view, instead of seeking one best view or choosing the best between two competing views. Promoting the debate regarding governance between too many views is a recipe for instability and even chaos.

Waldo: With due respect, sir, I beg to differ. Having many ideas debating how to govern the business of people is precisely what governance ought to be. On the other hand, reducing governance and the way to approach it to one idea or to

choose between two competing ideas is a means to stifle public service, block creativity, and render us limited to defined and limited approaches. Am I charged with a crime here?

Taylor: This is not a criminal court, Mr. Waldo. This is a court of public theory in regards to the proper function of government. If the Council found you guilty, the judgment would be sanctioning your idea, not imposing physical or financial penalties on your person.

Waldo: Without being disrespectful, I question the legitimacy of this Council to be the judge of my ideas. On whose authority do you gentlemen act?

Hobbes: We act on behalf of a social contract of which we all are party to. Without this contract, we will return to the state of nature and lose our security and individual freedoms.

Waldo: Are my ideas in contrast to our social contract?

Taylor: Our social contract is best served, as it always has been, by one approach, one way, and one method of governance, not your suggestions of allowing many ideas to debate and find the appropriate approach to governance. I am afraid, sir, that your ideas will lead us into disorder.

Brownlow: I agree. There ought to be one way in governance, and administration ought to be strong in order to carry out its function in serving the public.

Wilson: I need to comment, however, that the notion of one best method in governance is not the only best way. History has taught us that whenever we have monolithic and singular thinking in any aspect, we are constraining ourselves and preventing the emergence of new possibilities. Instead of one choice or approach toward governance, there ought to be a dualistic approach. Let two ideas compete, and from the clash of polar opposites, the correct and suitable idea will emerge. Yet, I agree with my colleague, Taylor and echo his hesitation that promoting the debate of many ideas is a dangerous notion in governance. It will lead to blurred boundaries and even chaos.

Waldo: This is a matter of opinion, Mr. Wilson, not logic.

Simon: Logic dictates a rational approach toward governance. I need to remind my colleagues on this Council to refrain from using terminology such as “ought” when addressing an issue. If the members of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia who are gathered today only a few hundred miles from us are finalizing our independence from England, then we need to depart from the British moral philosophers’ “ought” rituals and deal with the immediate instead. Governance and public administration is about “is” not “ought.”

- Locke: As a British philosopher, let me assure you, Mr. Simon, that I am more concerned about the treatise of governance than your semantic argument about “is” and “ought.”
- Hobbes: And let us not forget that the American Revolution was a revolution against taxation without representation. It was not a revolt against all that is British. May I remind you that at this very moment in Philadelphia, members of the Constitutional Convention are incorporating a lesson learned from the British history of governance and applying it to the new American system of government?
- Simon: How so?
- Hobbes: The English Tudor experience is directing the Framers of the American Constitution toward the practice of balance government. The practice is teaching us to diffuse power and cause it at the same time to be shared among three realms, the judiciary, legislative, and executive.
- Machiavelli: It seems to me that many in the Constitutional Convention are influenced with republican ideas derived from the Roman Republic. How did the Tudor experience make its way to America in order to influence the Framers of this Constitution?
- Hobbes: The Tudor practice was transplanted to the American colonies by the establishment of a governor, his council, and a lower House of Burgesses.
- Locke: And, of course, the Tudor institutional practices were not possible if it was not for the Magna Carta of 1215. The Magna Carta was a fundamental law that served as a foundation for every good government, with the King recognizing that he was to rule in accordance with law and respect for the legal rights of the public. This idea of government by laws not men was embedded in the American colonies and later it became one of the principles of the American Revolution.
- White: If I remember correctly, the American Revolution was largely waged against King George’s administrative misdeeds. Our Declaration of Independence was mainly a listing of the administrative offensives of the British Crown.
- Hobbes: That is correct. The King had obstructed the administration of justice. In essence, he violated the principles of the social contract between the sovereign and the public. The public surrendered some of their rights and freedoms to the sovereign in exchange for security and peaceful coexistence. The sovereign has the duty to administer justice. If not, the contract is threatened from within. Therefore, the American Revolution was born as a corrective measure to sustain the contract by remedying the defect created in the Crown’s obstruction of the administration of justice.

- Taylor: We are forgetting the accused here and instead arguing among ourselves.
- Locke: We are not arguing. We are merely discussing certain issues of interest to this particular case.
- Waldo: You had just illustrated my point, Mr. Locke.
- Locke: How so?
- Waldo: The mere discussion of the different ideas and thoughts that you have mentioned is precisely what I advocate.
- White: Multiple ideas equal to no idea. How would your premise here represents solving governance issues in an open society without leading this very society to chaos and confusion? How do you establish order through governance while you promote multiple ideas that lead to disorder?
- Waldo: The world, dear Mr. White, is a messy place and truth is held by no single approach. From the give-and-take of many ideas, as you gentlemen were doing a few minutes earlier, truth will emerge. This is what my dear friend Karl Popper talked about as well when he wrote about open society and saw democratic policy-making akin to idea and theory testing. I wish Popper was here today to echo what I am saying.
- White: Unfortunately, Mr. Popper is not here today, but you are. What we were giving-and-taking was a discussion about some historical influence on the American Revolution and the subsequent emerging model of government. But, your idea of pluralism is not about discussing history. Your focus is on public administration and how to run government according to variety of ideas. To me, this will undermine our system of government and will weaken its function.
- Waldo: On the contrary, diversity of ideas will strengthen governance. Good public administration should offer a vast range of choices and allow the inventiveness of individuals and group discussions determine the selection of the appropriate method. Diversity of ideas not only explains governance, as you gentlemen were doing earlier, but it also strengthens it.
- Taylor: This is a one person's opinion, yours. I am not aware that anyone else shares your thought, Mr. Waldo.
- Waldo: On the contrary, sir, there are many intellectuals and practitioners in the field of governance and public service that share my thoughts. As I mentioned earlier, one of those happened to be my dear friend Karl Popper. Another is my

friend Vincent Ostrom who wrote about the intellectual crisis in American public administration.

White: But what you and your friends are advocating for, sir, is chaos, not governance.

Waldo: I respectfully disagree. Promoting the debate of many ideas toward achieving the best means for governance is like democracy itself, by offering public administration a loose set of competing ideas, methodologies, and approaches. From the competition of these ideas, the correct measure for a given situation in a given period will arrive. On the other hand, your ideas, gentlemen, whether dualistic or one best method will weaken public administration and render it ineffective. So, let a thousand flowers bloom and open up all the windows. There is no one or two right ways. All ideas have their virtues as well as their vice. But, without the debate and flourishing of ideas, we are unable to examine that.

White: What you are advocating, Mr. Waldo is an approach that is leading further and further toward changing public administration to an art. I foresee a contradiction to that. In my opinion, public administration is an art that is becoming or at least moving ahead to become a science.

Waldo: I am grateful to you, Mr. White, as for all you gentlemen on this Honorable Council for your ideas. In fact, if it were not for your ideas and labor, the debate of many ideas would have been unable to emerge. And, even among you, without the contribution of any of you, the idea of the person next to you would not emerge. So, we all build on one another and chink along toward one. This is what makes our discussion so unique. Yes, Mr. White, you spoke of public administration being an art that is on its way to become a science. Allowing multiple ideas to flourish was built on that and went further to state that public administration is more of an art and is becoming less of a science. We do not speak in absolutes, such as one best way or dualism. Instead, we speak of shades of gray.

White: Please explain.

Waldo: For me, "It all depends." I believe that it is the situation that rules, not the method. You gentlemen, on the other hand, believe in methods and attempt to fit them to every situation universally.

White: "It all depends" seems to be unscientific and lacks methodology. Your ideas are about engaging in mere description. They sound to me, sir, as unstructured and diffusing, and at least, a meaningless exercise that lacks rigor and purpose.

Waldo: At least my ideas are not reduced to a simplified either/or, black/white, us versus them dichotomy, or having a tool-box model of one approach fits all situations, or for instrumentalism and technique to triumph over purpose. The

flourishing and debate between many ideas will shape our democratic administration machinery, especially when our American administrative system of governance is formed without optimal design.

Locke: Does your premise and vision for what you called the “administrative machinery” fall in line with the thinking of Framers of the Constitution? It seems to me that this is an important issue we need to consider, especially when the Constitutional Convention is only a few hundred miles from this court.

Wilson: It appears that administration as a concept is not being discussed by the Framers of the Constitution. However, let me assure everyone here that administration will play a role as the fourth branch in government and it will remedy the defect in our Constitution. An apolitical administration will make the concept of the separation of power in our system of government possible. Without administration, and apolitical administration specifically, there cannot be a balance of power between the executive, judicial and legislative branches of government.

Simon: I agree that an apolitical, valueless administration is the rational instrument to carry out the public service.

Waldo: To answer Mr. Locke’s question regarding the American Constitution that is now being written in Philadelphia, it is an original experiment forging from the unique confluence of ideas, institutions, events, and mythos of our time, giving it character from many sides. None definite, none absolute. Gentlemen, our Constitution is a living example of multiple ideas debating and engaged in action. I cannot imagine how the Framers would respond if one of them suggested to their convention that they had only one idea available on the discussion table to serve as a premise to write the new Constitution, or they had to choose between only two competing ideas.

Locke: You still did not answer my question on how the new American Constitution will deal with your pluralistic idea regarding public administration?

Waldo: It appears that the Framers are creating the Constitution, partly by accident and partly by design, without a state to make it work and succeed. They are, in essence, writing a living Constitution that can be reinterpreted legally and refashioned administratively with enough ease to accommodate rapidly changing circumstances.

Locke: What of individual rights? The new American Constitution as I learned today is more concerned about limiting state rights than to clearly state individual rights.

Waldo: Then perhaps an amendment is needed to the Constitution to clearly outline specific individual rights.

Locke: A sort of Bill of Rights?

Waldo: Yes. And, credit to you, Mr. Locke, I believe the Framers hold with high regards your ideas about life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Locke: I spoke of life, liberty, and private property, not the pursuit of happiness.

Adam Smith: I believe private property and securing economic means and equal opportunity for all to compete in a free market in order to enhance their lots in life is essential for every proper government.

Taylor: I echo Adam's comments. A market-oriented government that promotes innovation, entrepreneurship, decentralization, and the principles of scientific management is very important.

Waldo: Let us not exclude the possibility for other models of governments.

Adam Smith: Such as?

Waldo: Participatory government, flexible government, de-regulated government and many other models.

Adam Smith: Does this go along with your idea of pluralism?

Waldo: Precisely.

Hobbes: Market government sounds more like self-government than what the American Framers are discussing today. I am not quite sure that the American regime is totally adaptive of the Roman model of republicanism that Mr. Taylor and Mr. Smith are advocating.

Machiavelli: I disagree, Mr. Hobbes. The Framers have revived the classical Roman republican tradition of Cicero by emphasizing the value of civic virtue and moral character as requisites to a well-ordered society.

Waldo: To credit Mr. Machiavelli, the Framers borrowed from his notion of idealizing the ancient Roman Republic.

Hobbes: How so?

Machiavelli: I believe, as did those in the Roman Republic, in the ideas of independence and in a self-governing polity of property owning citizens based upon codified law and civic virtue. Perhaps I agree here with Mr. Smith and Mr. Locke on the issue of private property.

- Hobbes: I still do not know what republicanism means to the Framers of the American Constitution?
- Waldo: It literally means “public things,” “public interest,” or “welfare of the public.”
- Brownlow: Let us not forget that republicanism carries more negative connotations than positive ones.
- Hobbes: How so?
- Brownlow: In terms of political systems it eliminates hierarchy, privileges, and tradition as a basis of rule.
- Machiavelli: And instead it requires a special type of involved electorate, virtuous, egalitarian, independent, and property-owning citizens who are willing to give up selfish interests for the common good.
- Taylor: Although every individual has the right to private property, I do not think it is the function of government to ensure that.
- Adam Smith: I agree. Perhaps the Framers’ notions regarding the individual’s pursuit of happiness are more appropriate than to obligate government to ensure the right of private property for individuals.
- Locke: Government is not in the business to ensure any person’s right to private property because this right is not for government to give, regulate, or suspend. This right, the same as life and liberty, are rights endowed to us by the Creator.
- Adam Smith: I understand your point, Mr. Locke. But for a government to acknowledge each individual’s right to private property, it must indicate the notion that it is the obligation of government to assure each individual of having some sort of property. The issue will then shift from protecting access to providing means. I am not certain that this is what you have in mind. If so, then you and I will depart, with you being an advocate of a welfare state and I being an advocate of a market government.
- Locke: I am not advocating a welfare state.
- Adam Smith: Then what are you saying?
- Locke: I believe that individual freedoms are the fundamental issue of governance by consent. This is the heart of republicanism. The Creator endows these freedoms to us. They are not privileges awarded to us by the sovereign. It is the task of the government, by consent, to protect these rights in order for our social contract to continue and remain valid.

Hobbes: We agreed, as part of our social contract, to surrender to the sovereign some of our freedom in exchange for security.

Locke: No sovereign can take from us the basic rights of life, liberty and private property. If we surrender these or some of these rights to any type of government, then we no longer have a government by consent. We will have a form of human slavery in contrast to what the Creator had envisioned and designed for us. That would go against both God and human nature.

Machiavelli: The sovereign has the right even to kill us to serve the common good. Government lies and deceives in order for the public to accept being governed and protected against their own selfish vice. What is important here is the goal. Not the means to achieve it.

Adam Smith: I beg to differ. Government is us. We ought to be guarded by the impartial spectator within us to live according to the objective codes of moral sentiments that govern humanity as a whole. If we governed by lies and deceits, then we are in violation of these sentiments.

Waldo: Since you, gentlemen, do not agree among on one idea, isn't this another example of the legitimacy of my premise regarding allowing many ideas to debate and find the most appropriate method for governance?

Machiavelli: Why?

Waldo: The basic idea of my premise is precisely what you are doing now by exploring the different thoughts and concepts and arriving through discussion to what is plausible. If we began with one or two ideas only and prevented the opportunity for other ideas to come forth, then we would not be able to have such lively discussions. Am I right?

Adam Smith: In certain areas, perhaps, there is room for your premise. However, in others, there ought to be one objective way. Morality and governance, for example, ought to have only one way. And such a way ought to be universal, not local, relative or plural.

White: I agree with Adam. Governance and public administration are universal. Public administration, in particular, is a generalist rather than a specialist field. This approach is based on the notion that one way can be applied to all situations and it would resolve all problems. Public administration's methodology and instruments are approaching the methodologies of science and borrowing from the business model as a strategy to build public organizations based on efficiency and effectiveness.

Taylor: Well said.

- Brownlow: If I may add, the universal one best way idea can be materialized in broad and comprehensive planning, structural organization, staffing and trained personnel, directing through authority and hierarchy, coordinating among the various parts of agencies, reporting through documents and effective communication between administrators and their subordinates, and budgeting that is accountable, audited, and controlled.
- Taylor: It seems that we are indeed building on one another's ideas, as Mr. Waldo had suggested earlier in his argument. This does not mean that I agree with Mr. Waldo's multiple ideas approach. But I agree with him that we are chinking along toward one.
- Waldo: Yes.
- Wilson: The universal one best way can be corrected if we separated politics from administration.
- Waldo: How is it possible to separate politics from administration?
- Brownlow: By having a strong administration to carry on the will of the elected officials and the lawmakers.
- White: Keep in mind that you also need to separate law and public administration. These are two distinct fields, separated from one another.
- Waldo: It seems to me, gentlemen, that your ideas of one way are more about fragmentation than a comprehensive approach toward governance.
- Wilson: The Dualist School suggested that there is a dichotomy between politics and administration. This is not fragmentation but understanding of reality and the world. Administration, for example, is separate from politics and it remedies the new Constitution that the Founders are writing today by providing a balanced wheel to support the three separate branches of governments. Administration is subordinate to the will of public officials, and is competent, neutral, and generalist to carry the public work in order to support democracy and the constitutional government. I therefore agree with Mr. White's notion that administration is a generalist, managerial art that is becoming a science.
- Brownlow: One best way is correct because it works.
- Waldo: Where? Where does it work?
- Brownlow: It works in the positive state model of government. Political and administrative relations in this model are based on cooperative relationships. The criteria for action are based on managerial effectiveness. The reliance on the free market is to be low. The source of policy direction is designed to be bottom up, with

citizens, interest groups, and officials to be involved. And, the rule of public administration in society is to be expanded.

Wilson: Dualism is also correct because it too works.

Brownlow: Again, where?

Wilson: It works in the halfway state model of government. Political and administrative relations in this model are complex and indefinable, and the criteria for action is based on pragmatic, muddling through norms. The reliance on the free market depends on the situation. The source of policy direction is influenced from all sides. And, the rule of public administration in society is to act as a balancing wheel.

Taylor: Neither of these models can account for efficiency, effectiveness, and accountability as the professional state model. Political and administrative relations in the professional model are based on a nonrelationship approach, with technocracy taking command. Criteria for action are based on technical rationality and specialization. There is no such thing as reliance on the free market. Instead, reliance is designed to be on planning by the experts. The source of policy direction is to be responsive to globalization, technology, and professional expertise. And, the rule of public administration in society, according to the professional model of government is to be global and all encompassing.

Simon: I support the professional state model as well.

Adam Smith: I must admit that I have to object to all three of these models.

Taylor: Mr. Smith, among all Council members, I thought you are the one most qualified to support the professional state model because of your thoughts about the market economy.

Adam Smith: My thoughts of a market with invisible forces to regulate it can only envision a negative state model, a state whereby the market forces are treated as the deciding elements in governance.

Taylor: How so?

Adam Smith: The negative state model has a temporary political appointee. The political and administrative relations are based on a sharp split between politics and administration. And, the action for criteria is based on economy and efficiency. The reliance on the free market is high, the source of policy direction is top down with politicians in command, and the rule of public administration in society is sharply limited.

Taylor: Do you agree or disagree with at least one of these models for government, Mr. Waldo?

Waldo: I am not against a particular model or idea. For example, I am not against Mr. Wilson's halfway state model or idea of the dichotomy between politics and administration. Nor am I against your model of professional state or your thoughts on scientific management, Mr. Taylor, or against Mr. White's idea about administration is an art that is on its way to become a science, or against other Council members' ideas. What I mean by promoting multiple ideas toward governance is not to have different moral standards. Rather, what I mean is for us to allow for different thoughts to be expressed in order to discuss the topic of morality. I also suggest that we ought to allow for different thoughts to be expressed discussing the topic of governance. If we had one thought or one way of thinking on any topic, the possibilities of ending with untested and wrong ideas will be more likely.

Taylor: If your premise does not oppose scientific management, for example, does it support it?

Waldo: There ought to be other ideas in addition to scientific management for organizations or governments to explore. If, for example, after long a discussion an organization or a city government decided to adopt the method of a scientific management, then their decision ought to be respected. But, if scientific management were introduced from the start as the only available method, then they will lose the opportunity to entertain other possibilities. As you see, gentlemen, pluralism is not about censoring an idea or an approach. It is about openness and possibilities.

White: I need to emphasize that what needs to be articulated as well is the notion of normative public administration and governance. Value has a great deal of importance both in the thinking and practices of public administration. In essence, you could say that our ideas are value-driven. The common ground for what Mr. Wilson, Taylor and Brownlow are saying is that they envision a normative approach toward governance and public administration.

Simon: I am not too sure about all these value-driven notions in public administration. My theory of "Logical Positivism" aims to transform public administration from a normative base to a non-value, rational and instrumental base. Logic, reason, and rationality need to be the basis for public administration, not values.

White: I am afraid, Mr. Simon, that your idea of Logical Positivism is merely an abstract theory.

Simon: Please allow me explain the basis of Logical Positivism before labeling it as abstract. To rely alone on practice, which I reject, is normative since practice

meshes between “is” and “ought.” Public administration is apolitical, and since politics involves values, then public administrators need to distance themselves from the messy involvement with values.

Wilson: In essence, you seem to agree with my notion on the dichotomy between politics and public administration, Mr. Simon?

Simon: Yes.

Taylor: I would agree with Mr. Simon’s rationalism, but I am not supportive of the idea of dichotomy. The one best way methodology, and especially scientific management can apply to both politics and administration and I can’t see how we can separate the two.

Wilson: Just because we can apply Mr. Taylor’s idea of scientific management to both politics and administration does not necessary mean that the two, politics and administration, are one. The world is the clash of polar opposites, not the plurality of ideas or the supremacy of only one best method.

Waldo: The world, dear Woodrow, is a web of relationships and interconnectedness. It is not only the clash of polar opposites. There are many interacting forces go into play in the world and together they make up life. The world of public administration is no different.

Locke: I agree that the world is made of individuals, but the individual himself is the basic unit in it. Without the individual and his/ her acknowledgment of his rights, there would not be a world for the collective.

Waldo: Reliance on rugged individualism is dangerous. It would underestimate the importance of community, democratic institutions, and public service.

Locke: When an individual is guarded by values, the regime he creates will be a value-drive one that will promote networking, community, and a healthy foundation for a government by consent. Yet, all these notions start from the individual, moving sideways toward a community and then governance.

White: What are the values that guard us as individuals?

Locke: Acquisitiveness, reputation, and character.

Simon: An individual may be the corner stone in a society, but on his own he is unable to have good judgment.

Machiavelli: Is this part of your Logical Positivist theory?

Simon: No. It is part of my “Bounded Rationalism” theory.

Machiavelli: What is Bounded Rationalism?

Simon: As individuals, we are supplied with a lot of information and are unable to make rational choices. Therefore, we need organization in order to make rational decisions. We are bounded by organizations, by reason, rationality, and logic to make good decisions in life. Thus, I introduced instrumental rationality to become a means to achieve an end.

Machiavelli: It appears that your instrumentalism is becoming an end on its own.

Waldo: It appears as though both Mr. Machiavelli and Mr. Simon are having one thing in common: using the end to justify the means.

Machiavelli: And you, Mr. Waldo, seem to forget who is on trial here.

White: I am curious, Mr. Simon. How does bounded rationalism apply to public administration?

Simon: It suggests that public administration is a specialized field, apolitical, rational, and logical.

White: Then you agree with me that public administration is an art on its way to becoming a science?

Simon: No. What I am stating is that rational instrumentalism suggests that public administration is a science, not an art on its way to becoming a science. There is a difference. Bounded rationalism and instrumental rationality will take precedent as public administration moves toward knowledge, technological expertise, and specialization. This approach is the basis for the professional state model that emphasizes the importance of knowledge and specialization.

Taylor: This thinking seems to incorporate my theory of Scientific Management without attaching a value system to administration.

Waldo: And I have to acknowledge that it supports my argument on allowing multiple ideas to flourish in public administration in order to achieve through debates and discussions the proper measures for governance.

Taylor: You had lost me. At one point you are arguing against us. Now, you are agreeing with us. How so?

Brownlow: I am a bit confused as well. Would you please explain your position more clearly and without jargons?

Waldo: My argument allows for all ideas and practices to emerge and take place. It is a departure from the One Best Way or Dualism models. Instead, it applies many best ways. There is no emphasis on one way or the clash of polar opposites in solving public administration problems. Rather, it allows for many ways to debate and to choose the best way for the right time and right situation.

Brownlow: What is your rationale for such an assertion?

Taylor: Let me add one point before you state your rationale, Mr. Waldo. The global economy, innovation, technology, advances in science, and the increased involvement of government in solving social problems that were created by urbanization, immigration, disparities in wealth and technology will transform government to an actual doer in society. Such a transformation needs a highly specialized, technical, and focused public administration. Knowledgeable public administrators who are highly skilled and experienced in their specialized fields are the one who have to carry the public service. How do you see your thoughts on the debate of multiple ideas preparing for such a challenge?

Waldo: Having multiple ideas flourishing and debating will allow for the kind of transformation that you are talking about, Mr. Taylor. On the other hand, One Best Way and Dualism will stand dormant in front of it.

Taylor: But you are forgetting that either one best way or dualism emphasize focus, avoiding blurring boundaries, employing values in the decision-making process, supporting the constitutional framework, applying merit in the public service, and supporting the political process that is the framework of our democratic system of government. I have yet to see that in your premise.

Waldo: On the contrary, One Best Way is too comprehensive, too rigid, unable to adjust to change, and it prescribes a universal application to all problems. Dualism follows the same path as One Best Way. it takes politics out of administration and reduces public administrations to an us verses them dichotomy.

Locke: Ultimately how do the Framers of the American Constitution view administration?

Waldo: The Framers do not see administration as a separate process from politics. Although the Constitution does not mention “administration,” the Framers see policy and administration as one. Taking policy out of administration would leave public administration just as a tool in the hands of politicians, instead of defending the values of the American regime and citizenry.

Locke: Does this speak in support of your ideas, Mr. Waldo?

- Waldo: Yes. For example, it references the Framers' ability to foster creativity, encouraging debates and discussions, promoting many best ways and moving from the rigidity of one best way and dualism in order to prepare for change and allowing for a thousand flowers to bloom. These ideas have a great sense of history, building on the collective contributions of all thoughts and practices in governance.
- White: Not so fast. Your ideas lack values and emphasize instrumentalism as those of Mr. Simon whereby the instrument itself becomes an end.
- Waldo: My premise is more about the human factor in public administration than instrumentalism.
- Taylor: How so?
- Waldo: Suppose we send a team of observers to a factory in order to measure productivity.
- Taylor: What kind of management practice is in place in this factory?
- Waldo: Let us assume that it is your scientific management.
- Taylor: And?
- Waldo: If we maintained the work conditions in the factory the same as it was prior to our entrance to the factory as observers, most likely productivity will increase more after we became observant of the workers than when we were not there.
- Taylor: How?
- Waldo: Productivity will increase because the workers are responding to us as their observers. It is thus the human factor that comes into play in this scenario. This illustrates that instrumentalism such as work conditions and regulations or tools are not important as the human factor.
- White: Are we to conclude that instrumentalism is not the most appropriate method in public administration?
- Brownlow: Instrumentalism is more of Mr. Taylor and Mr. Simon's idea than any other council members.
- Waldo: Mr. Brownlow, if you see faults in the ideas of two of your colleagues, then why I am the only one on trial here?
- Brownlow: I suggest that we place both Mr. Taylor and Mr. Simon on trial as well.

Adam Smith: We will do nothing of the kind. This trial has been going on for too long. It is time to put aside our differences and agree that Mr. Waldo has awakened us to an important notion. We do need the flourishing of many thoughts and ideas in order to find the best answer for the best situation. One tool that fits all situations or the clash of only two tools will not allow us to explore possibilities for other ideas to come forth. Progress is made through diversity of thoughts.

White: What then of your universal morality concept, Mr. Smith?

Adam Smith: Some issues will remain objective and universal. But, allowing different ideas to discuss them is not in contradiction to objectivism. A threat to an issue comes when it censors opposing points of view. The truth can only be enhanced with discussions and arguments.

Locke: I think Mr. Smith is correct. Without diversity of ideas, none of us were able to build on the ideas and contributions of one another. We owe it to ourselves and to our diverse opinions to have a rich perspective toward life as a whole, and the issue of governance in particular.

White: Then what of Mr. Waldo's accusation? What is our verdict?

Simon: Acquittal. Mr. Waldo has proved to be a worthy colleague of ours. His ideas are to be echoed, as I echo his call for a thousand flowers to bloom.

Hobbes: Are all Council members in agreement on what Mr. Simon had suggested?

(All members acknowledge by saying yes).

Hobbes: Mr. Waldo, on behalf of the Council, I congratulate you on your defense of your premise regarding allowing multiple ideas to flourish in order for the appropriate way emerge to serve the public. Together, we had enhanced the principles of our social contract today.

Waldo: Thank you.

(Council members embrace Dwight Waldo and leave with him to a nearby tea cafe, continuing to discuss the theories of public administration and the unique experiment of the American system in governance).

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(I relied on the following sources to write this play)

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Trying to Save the Garden: What if “Rat Choice” Hadn’t Invaded Public Policy and Public Administration?

A Public Administration Satire

Terence M. Garrett

Introduction

The study of public administration is a huge garden of fruits and vegetables. There are a wide variety of different plant species that are beneficial to the public interest. Unfortunately, however, every garden also harbors pests, both of the plant and animal kind. In this essay, the “garden” represents the fruits enjoyed by a democratic public administration and the primary destructive force is the unchecked power of the rat.¹ The rat represents the worst of capitalist behavior that undermines democracy and public service. First, we will make a simple salad comprised of fruit, nuts, and vegetables. Second, we will be looking at the behavior of the rat in undermining the produce from the garden. Finally, we will conclude the short essay with a possible solution to the problem of the rat.

Making Salad with a Sample of Fruits and Veggies

Okay. So it is bad enough that we have had to make do with a rather odd lot of vegetables and fruits in our public administration garden. Wilson (1887) introduced “papaya” through his politics/administration dichotomy that has had a lasting effect on the “artificial separation” legacy found in the discipline.

Fruit note: Papaya is a tropical fruit that grows on a palm tree, that when cut open the inside resembles a cantaloupe. The resemblance, though, is quickly lost on the victim who opens it as the insides smell like a putrid trash can. Some people, still, like the fruit and claim that it is tolerable when one squeezes a lime on it to alleviate the initial unpleasantness of the odor. In South Texas, natives have been known to use the crushed seeds of the fruit to tenderize meat and to make brisket seasoning. The comparison with Wilson here is good because the politics/administration dichotomy on its face is a stinky idea until further

explained and coaxed when other fruits and vegetables are added. A word of caution is in order: it is still papaya.²

So, modern American public administration (Waldo’s classical approach, see below) had its humble beginnings in the papaya fruit.³ This is hardly sufficient to sustain us in our garden quest.

Dwight Waldo introduces us to “lettuce,” as in let us not forget where we have come from in public administration. Lettuce comes in a number of varieties including iceberg and romaine. As Fry (1998) reminds us, Waldo remains an important force in questioning public administration at its roots. Is PA a discipline, a profession, a science, or an enterprise (241)? Lettuce is a basic component our salad and holds it together. Waldo asks: “What is Public Administration” and this question, similarly provides us with a strong beginning.

Vegetable note: lettuce is used extensively in tossed salads and in Caesar salads, for example. There isn’t a whole lot of nutrition in the vegetable, but it is popular with most folks nonetheless. It is also a good source of roughage.

When examining the contents of our garden, we must not overlook the importance of apples. In particular, the “Paul Appleby” variety is critical here. Like a big red delicious apple, Appleby reminds us that government is different from every other activity in society. Politics is supreme and should never be ignored or downplayed when engaging in the study of public administration and in the conduct of analyzing public policy. It is difficult to imagine a Waldorf salad without the apple!

Fruit note: Apples come in several varieties including Granny Smith, Rome, and Jonathon, to name a few. Apples are highly nutritious and very important to good public health. Remember the old saying, “An apple a day...”

No salad would be truly complete without nuts (Waldorf or otherwise). Herbert A. Simon (1957) answers the call from the “intrusiveness of economics”⁴ by coming up with the concept of “satisficing,” a rather nutty idea that still bears proper consideration. In response to the “rats,” (see more below) Simon rebuts the invasive idea from microeconomics (a basis in rat thinking) that humans are completely imbued with the tendencies of selfishness, have all-knowing capabilities of choices available, and are utility maximizing. Simon is, however, perilously close to providing too much food for the rats in terms of the kindred spirit “rationality” that his and their theories share in common.

Dry fruit note: Nuts are exceedingly healthful unless consumed in too large quantities, then that makes one potentially too fat. Cautionary second note: It is also a favorite of rats and other rodents and serves as a gateway into the garden.

Olives come next in our salad. Charles Lindblom (1959) bears fruit with his analysis of the science of “muddling through.” Lindblom gives us the “root” approach: a rational comprehensive change in policy analysis as a means to examine changes in public policy. He also refers to the “branch” approach: successive limited comparisons, or the incremental

approach to understanding policy analysis. Both metaphors are analogous to our olive tree in the public administration garden.

Fruit note: Olives take years to develop but are ultimately well worth the wait. Again, as in the other fruits and vegetables noted above, they come in a wide and delicious variety.

There are numerous other examples of fruit and vegetables that we could go into, but we have enough ingredients for our simple salad. A recap shows that we have papaya, lettuce, apples, and olives. Throw these things into a bowl, sprinkle some feta cheese, add croutons and raspberry vinaigrette dressing, pour two glasses of pinot noir, etc., then *voila*! We would have had a great meal, in principle, from our PA garden. But then, of course, there is the problem of the rat.

In Comes the Rat

At this point we should be enjoying our repast. Unfortunately, the rats have devoured most of the salad before we get it. Rats use: (1) tools such as vouchers; (2) the idea of treating citizens as customers; (3) the assumption that people are always greedy and selfish and not motivated to serve the public good; (4) the notion that individuals are utility-maximizers; (5) motivation techniques that the people in a society are profit-driven; and, (6) the false notion that government services provided by the public sector are always inherently inferior to services provided by the private sector.⁵ Rats will nest in the papaya trees, eat the fruit, and pretend that there is a literal separation of politics and administration, the whole time knowing that their behavior in administration is inherently political. Similarly, the rats hate olives and apples and try to destroy the trees by eating their roots. When the trees are gone, the rats deny that they ever existed. The nuts are allowed to exist, but not flourish. It is rational behavior to do it after all.

Solution to the Problem of the Rats

Quick, call in the rat terriers!

Moral of the Story

Too many rats destroy the garden. Unchecked rat thinking is also unhealthy for the long-term survival of good public service.

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Notes

- ¹ Rats serve a useful purpose when properly balanced in an ecological system. However, if they are allowed to run amuck, there will be trouble brewing in the garden.
- ² A further explanation is in order here. Papaya resembles cantaloupe when it is cut open, but the smell is quite bad in comparison. Squeezing a lime on the remaining fruit (after the seeds have been removed) makes it much more palatable.
- ³ Please note that Woodrow Wilson is not a fruit. Rather, his ideas represent a papaya in our metaphorical garden. For that matter, no one else depicted in this parable is a fruit, nut, or a vegetable, respectively.
- ⁴ Rat choice theory is at its heart a variation of microeconomic theory. It is intrusive in the sense that it permeates thinking in our metaphorical garden to the point that everything good about public administration is lost.
- ⁵ Rat ideology is pervasive in American society and represents one of the greatest challenges to democratic public service.

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The US Bureau of Efficiency: Not RIP in 1933?

Mordecai Lee

Background

From 1916 to 1933, the Federal executive branch included an independent agency called the United States Bureau of Efficiency (BOE). Before that, it had existed for three years as the Division of Efficiency within the US Civil Service Commission (CSC). This long forgotten agency can be seen as an outgrowth of the two intellectual movements that dominated elite attitudes about government management at that time, scientific management and the progressive movement. Given the conventional wisdom of the early 20th century, the Bureau of Efficiency was a well-intentioned and sincere attempt to improve the quality of public administration.

BOE's origins were tied to the push for objective ways to evaluate the performance of civil servants, called efficiency ratings, which was one of the goals at that time of reformers. In 1913, Congress established a Division of Efficiency within the CSC to create a federal efficiency ratings system (38 Stat. 1007-8). In 1916, Congress detached the Division from the CSC and converted it into a freestanding independent agency within the executive branch called the US Bureau of Efficiency. During that conversion, Congress also greatly expanded the mission of the agency, authorizing it to conduct a wide range of studies, as long as they were intended to help improve the efficiency of federal government agencies (39 Stat. 15).

During its existence, BOE conducted and released dozens of studies and reports about specific aspects of federal operations (Baker, 1934; Chiang, 1940). From time to time, Congress directed the Bureau by statute or resolution to conduct particular studies on topics its committees were investigating (41 Stat. 343-4; 45 Stat. 886). BOE was sometimes invited to testify at Congressional hearings, with committees requiring agencies to implement Bureau recommendations. In one instance, a Congressional committee directed BOE to hold hearings to investigate possible malfeasance in the awarding of a government contract.¹ BOE also created the first federal public information service as a way to utilize its in-house expertise

about the federal government. It answered general inquiries from citizens about the operations and activities of the government, something that had never been done before (Lee, 2003).

From the perch of the early 21st century, it is easy to mock BOE's 'efficiency experts' and smirk about its pretensions. However, it would be a mistake simply to dismiss the bureau's work due to the now-apparent deficiencies of the efficiency movement. Rather, some of the work products appear to be quite consistent with modern day policy analysis and program auditing as conducted by neutral and independent staff. In that sense, it is possible to connect the modern-day respected endeavors of policy analysis and program auditing with the earlier efforts first practiced, albeit primitively, by the professionals of the Bureau of Efficiency (Lee, 2004). Glaser lauded BOE as one of the earliest precedents in government of "groups of experts divested of line functions and devoting their time to questions of administrative technique" and management analysis (Glaser, 1941, 139). Later, Afzal explicitly identified BOE as one of the early practitioners of what emerged to be called management analysis (Afzal, 1962, 36-46). BOE's work, in part, was akin to the contemporary activities of the General Accounting Office (Van Riper, 1958, 222).

The last four years of the Bureau's existence corresponded to the presidency of Herbert Hoover. He "was the rare public servant in that he engaged administration at a conceptual level" (Arnold, 1998, 65). The Bureau of Efficiency fit in well with his conceptual approach to management, including business-like orientation in public administration, a focus on efficiency and pursuing standardization in the economy as well as government operations (Hoover, 1952, 28, 31,61-4, 73, 77; Hawley, 1981, 50-51). He was sometimes called "an efficiency expert" by contemporaneous observers (Gould, 2003, 73). To Hoover, BOE provided valuable and important services. For example, he referred approvingly to its work at three presidential press conferences (Hoover, 1976a, 58, 333; Hoover, 1976b, 47-8). In a plan to reorganize the federal government that he proposed after being defeated for reelection, he suggested merging BOE and the Bureau of the Budget (BOB), so that BOE's work could continue, simply better integrated into a centralized budgeting and management system (US Congress, 1932, 71). Congress nixed that plan.

Therefore, it is ironic that Hoover, two days before leaving office, signed a bill *abolishing* the Bureau of Efficiency. The situation was complicated, which brings us precisely to the fork in the road between fact and fiction, history and what-if.

Hoover's Actions about Keeping or Killing BOE

Inevitably, some of BOE's recommendations gored pet projects of various senators, congressmen and special interest groups. The Bureau gradually acquired more and more critics in the House and Senate. During the late-1920s and early 1930s, the annual appropriation process on Capitol Hill invariably brought legislative supporters and opponents of the agency into conflict. Supporters urged continuing funding of the agency by citing the value of its work, while opponents suggested that it was a waste of money and – anyway – it duplicated the work of the Bureau of the Budget (which was created in 1921, five years after BOE). Up to 1932, the supporters of the agency maintained the upper hand politically.

However, this predictable annual fight over BOE changed in early 1933. Late winter and early spring was a period of great economic and political instability in the US. Roosevelt had already won the November 1932 presidential election, but would not be inaugurated until March 5, 1933.² Hoover, defeated by Roosevelt and now a lame duck, was trying to continue pursuing his preferred policies for dealing with the Depression. Roosevelt refused to cooperate with or be co-opted by Hoover during the long interregnum. In general, from November to March FDR refused to tip his hand or endorse any policy prior to taking office. The lame duck 72nd Congress was still in session, with a Democratic majority in the House and a Republican one in the Senate. During these months, Congressional Democrats in both houses did not want to help Hoover nor disadvantage Roosevelt before he'd become president. They were stalling until the 73rd Congress, elected as part of the Roosevelt landslide in November with overwhelming Democratic majorities in both houses, would be sworn in. That's why, for example, they prevented Hoover's reorganization plan (including merging BOE and BOB) from going into effect.

The previous year, in reaction to the continuing national depression, Congress had passed what was called the Economy Act, drafted a special Economy Committee.³ The new law contained a potpourri of legislative directives to federal agencies to reduce spending and trim the number of civil servants. It also authorized the president to reorganize the executive branch through reorganization plans that were subject to the oversight of Congress but did not need full statutory enactment. Some of the key provisions of the Economy Act were not permanent law, rather were only in effect for the duration of Fiscal Year (FY) 1933.⁴ Therefore, one issue facing Congress in the spring of 1933 was whether to extend the temporary provisions of the 1932 Economy Act.

In early January 1933, the Senate Appropriations Committee voted to attach the renewal of the Economy Act to the version of the Treasury and Post Office Appropriation bill for FY1934 that had already been approved by the House.⁵ While considering other possible related amendments besides the simple renewal of the Economy Act, the Committee voted to add the abolition of BOE to that part of the bill (US Congress, 1933, 9). The language flatly abolished the bureau. Furthermore, the amendment stated that "All records and property, including office furniture and equipment of the bureau [of efficiency], shall be transferred to the Bureau of the Budget," but neither BOE's responsibilities nor its staff were included in the transfer (47 Stat. 1519). This clearly was *not* a merger, as Hoover had proposed a few months earlier. After several rounds of disagreement by the House, which wanted to continue BOE, the House finally relented and accepted the Senate provision killing the agency on March 1, 1933, four days before Roosevelt's inauguration (*Congressional Record* 76:5, 5373-7).

Meanwhile, the annual Independent Offices Appropriation Bill for FY1934 was also going through the legislative process. As an independent executive branch agency, BOE's yearly appropriation was always included in this bill. The supporters of the agency succeeded in including routine funding for BOE for the coming fiscal year in this bill. In the fragmented way that Congress funds the federal government, it had approved both bills even though they contained contradictory provisions about BOE. One abolished the agency and the other renewed its funding for the upcoming fiscal year. Hoover's decisions about signing or vetoing

these two bills would determine the fate of the agency. Congress transmitted both bills to President Hoover on Friday, March 3, 1933, his last full day in office (*Congressional Record* 76:5, 5596).

Understandably, Hoover was concerned with much larger issues than the fate of BOE during the last few days of his presidency. First, the gathering momentum of an impending collapse of the banking system that week was merely the tip of the iceberg of America's urgent economic crisis. It was the number one worry for all during that last week (Walch and Miller, 1998, 134-47). For example, on his last night in the White House, he called President-Elect Roosevelt at 11:45 p.m. and took another call at midnight to discuss the ever-expanding list of bank collapses. Even the next morning, with only a few hours left in his presidency, Hoover met with "bankers and financial men who were trying to cope with the banking problem" (Owen, 1933). On Inauguration day, wrote one historian, the United States seemed like "a nation whose financial and economic machinery had come to a virtual standstill" (Hawley, 1979, 226). The survival or abolition of BOE was infinitesimal in importance to Hoover compared to the survival of the economy.

Second, during his last days as President, Congress was sending him dozens of routine bills in a last-minute flurry that is typical of the end of a legislative session. But this did not give him much time for deliberation and independent analysis of each bill and its implications. The press of bills to sign continued through Hoover's final hours as President. When he arrived at the Oval Office shortly after 8:00 a.m. on Inauguration day, March 4, "Bills lay on his desk awaiting his signature, and others arrived during the fleeting hours" (Owen, 1933). In his last 3½ days in office, from March 1 to noon on March 4, he signed 49 bills into law (47 Stat. 1371-620).

Finally, for Hoover, this last passel of bills to act on presented him with one last opportunity to determine his legacy. He wanted to reiterate the principles that had guided his decisions throughout the depression. In this way, he would create a sharp and bright line separating his policies from those of his successor. Hoover was guided by a sense of certainty that Roosevelt's different approach would fail and his own would be vindicated by history. So, when deciding how to deal with the final stack of bills on his desk, Hoover could not concern himself with the fate of BOE, notwithstanding how much he supported the mission of the agency.

So, for reasons wholly unrelated to BOE, Hoover decided to sign the Treasury and Post Office Appropriations Bill on Friday, March 3, 1933, the same day it was sent to him and his last full day as president. While the official message to Congress notifying it of the bill being signed didn't reach Capitol Hill until the next day (Inauguration day), the routine effective date for all bills is the day it is signed, not when Congress receives official notification of the signing (Singer, 2001, Vol. 2, 15-7). Thus the effective date of the Treasury and Post Office Appropriation Act for FY1934 was March 3 (47 Stat. 1519). Hoover had abolished BOE on his last full day in office.

Now it was the next morning, Saturday, March 4. Hoover would be president through noon that day, with Roosevelt taking the oath of office then. With only a few hours left in his

presidency Hoover pocket-vetoed the Independent Offices Appropriation Bill (Hoover, 1977, 1011), the bill that contained funding for BOE for FY1934.⁶ In his last public statement as president, Hoover said he was objecting to Congress exceeding his budget recommendations for FY1934 by \$160 million of additional spending, when adding up the funding levels contained in all the appropriations bills that it sent him to cover the operations of all federal agencies for FY1934. The largest portion of what he deemed to be excessive spending was in the Independent Offices bill. So, he decided that bill was substantively the most appropriate one to veto (Myers, 1970, 603-4). The pocket-veto killed the funding for BOE to continue in operations.

However, Hoover knew his action was largely a symbolic one, since Congress could re-pass the bill and send it to the new President, theoretically as early as the next day. Hoover alluded to this when he said in his public statement that his veto would only be able to force the bill to be "reviewed" by Congress, not necessarily cut the spending levels. But, at least he had made his point for historical purposes with this last presidential act just a few hours before leaving office.⁷

Hoover's Options about Keeping or Killing BOE: The Fictional Road Not Traveled

Hoover's final decisions about dealing with the last bills on his desk created a clear and unambiguous legal situation. He had already signed the bill abolishing the Bureau of Efficiency and then pocket-vetoed the bill providing continuing funding for the agency. However, he could have acted differently. This is the precise point in the narrative that shifts from history to fiction. This section analyzes what Hoover could have done differently if he had been determined to protect the survival of BOE. Then, the next section examines how some of his successors might have treated the Bureau if indeed Hoover had kept it alive.

In one scenario, if Hoover had decided to protect BOE above other considerations during his final days in office, he could have signed the Independent Offices Bill (funding BOE) and pocket vetoed the Treasury and Post Office Bill (abolishing BOE). By pocket-vetoing the bill instead of vetoing it, he would have prevented Congress from having an opportunity to vote on a veto override, thus killing BOE. These two actions would have created an unambiguous legal record keeping BOE in existence and fully funded for the next fiscal year. (This would not preclude, of course, a renewed effort by the next Congress and President Roosevelt to abolish BOE.)

Hoover also could have pursued a second, more complicated, maneuver. He could have signed both bills, but in a specific sequence and taking care that the legal record would clearly show the chronology of his actions. For example, he could have signed the Treasury bill on March 3, the same day he received it. Then, before noon on March 4, he could have signed the Independent Offices Bill. So, the legal effective date of the Independent Offices Bill would have explicitly been after that of the Treasury and Post Office Bill. This would have created an unambiguous legal record that the laws embodied in the Independent Offices bill went into effect *after* the provisions contained in the Treasury Bill.

Consider this fictional legal situation: On March 3, a law was enacted abolishing the Bureau of Efficiency. On March 4, a subsequent law was enacted funding BOE. How would the rules of statutory construction have dealt with such a scenario? Generally, the approach taken by courts when interpreting such close legal questions is to maximize all efforts to *harmonize* seemingly contradictory actions by a legislature. Courts usually are loath to divine legislative intent by nullifying a legislative act or preferring one legislative action over another unless absolutely required to do so by the facts (Singer, 2000, Vol. 2B, 191). By harmonizing two laws, a court avoids superseding the judgment of the legislature. Would that be possible in this fictional scenario? Apparently yes.

Here's how the logic of the story would play out: In the complex interplay of the branches of government determined by the Constitution, it is important to remember that the president is an integral part of the *legislative* process. For a bill to become law, it must have the approval of three institutions: the Senate, the House and the president. When the president makes a decision whether to sign or veto a law, he (and someday she) is as much a participant in the law-making process as when a house of Congress passes a bill. Hence, a bill is not *enacted* when the two houses send it to the president. Rather, a bill becomes law when the president signs it. So, a legislative proposal is *enacted* only when the president formally takes the action that gives it his approval. Similarly, when a president vetoes a bill, it is enacted into law on the day the second house of Congress overrides the veto (Singer, 2001, Vol. 2, 15-8).

Therefore, the key factor in this fictional scenario is not when the two bills were approved by Congress and sent to Hoover, but rather when the president acted on them. Only when he signed each bill was it enacted into law. So, subsequent determinations about legislative intent and interpretations of statutory construction must bring into consideration the president's actions and the timing of those actions, not just the actions and timing by Congress.

If a court were seeking to harmonize the seemingly contradictory laws hypothesized in this fictional scenario, it could rule that it did not need to choose one law over the other, to negate one and deem the other operative. Rather, by focusing on dates of enactment the two laws could be harmonized, giving both equal legal validity and weight. It could focus solely on the *plain meaning* of the language (Ball, 1997, 99). On one day, Congress decided (remember that the president is part of the legislative branch's law-making process) to abolish BOE. Then, for whatever reason, the next day it changed its mind. The reason for the change is unimportant for such a judicial interpretation, since attempts to ascertain legislative *intent* from sources external to the statutory language would generally be pursued only if the plain meaning of the text cannot yield a reasonable resolution of the seeming conflict. Courts generally prefer to avoid the quicksand of trying to determine legislative intent (Eskridge, Frickey and Garrett, 2000, Chapter 7). Factually, from March 3 to March 4, BOE didn't exist. Then, on March 4, Congress and the president, acting as a unitary legislative process, decided to reinstate the agency. If this analysis creates a reasonable interpretation, rather than one that is absurd and unjust, then the courts would rule it acceptable and in effect (Singer, 2000, Vol. 2A, 81-90). In this scenario, both laws could be deemed fully valid and can be harmonized. BOE would have survived, excepting the one-day period when it was temporarily abolished.

Theoretically, Hoover could have accomplished the same result even if he had signed both bills on the same day, either March 3 or 4. Normally, the time of day that a bill is signed into law is unimportant. The legal rule of thumb is that the new law is in effect for the entire day. However, that presumption applies "if there is no evidence of the precise time when approved" (Singer, 2001, Vol. 2, 19). Hoover could have signed both bills on the same day, as long as he was careful to sign the Treasury and Post Office bill before the Independent Offices bill and that he created a formal legal record of the time of his signing, such as by writing the exact time next to his signature. By those actions, Hoover could construct a legal situation identical to the scenario of signing the two bills on different days. The only difference is that BOE's temporary elimination would have been for a shorter time, perhaps down to just a few minutes.

A court could also take this fictional scenario to the next level of examination. Perhaps a court decided it could not simply harmonize the two laws without choosing one over the other. In that case, the next relevant rule of statutory construction (akin to the next 'tie breaker' in sports) is sequence. When two legislative enactments are deemed contradictory, then the latter action is always deemed to prevail over the earlier action (Singer, 2002, Vol. 1A, 525). That approach could be applied to this fictional scenario. First, BOE was abolished. Later, regardless of the length of the intervening time, BOE was funded. The contradiction of the abolition and funding of BOE would be resolvable because the continuation of BOE came *after* the act of eliminating it. Therefore, using this different rule of statutory construction, BOE certainly would have been deemed continuing in existence with full funding for FY1934, despite the preceding law that had abolished it.

So, from this fictional review of possible scenarios, Hoover had several options he could have pursued had he been determined to protect the existence of the Bureau of Efficiency during his last days in office. Continuing down the path of this fictional history, if Hoover had saved Bureau of Efficiency from abolishment, how would some of his successors have viewed it? Would they have supported BOE or neglected it? Would they have authentically believed in its value or not? The following speculation in fictional history is based on the known views and historical record of six other 20th century presidents.

The Bureau of Efficiency in Post-Hoover Presidencies:

Roosevelt

Franklin Roosevelt was one of the few presidents of whom it could authentically be said that he had a *philosophy* regarding management and its interplay with political power. For example, at the end of his meetings with all three members of the Brownlow Committee, "The president would ask [member Charles E.] Merriam to remain after meetings so that he could 'talk philosophy.' ... Roosevelt would talk about political power in a manner which sometimes startled the political scientist" (Karl, 1974, 267). On another occasion, when the other two members of the Committee (Louis Brownlow and Luther Gulick) presented the draft of their final report, Roosevelt said, "We have to get over the notion that the purpose of reorganization is economy. ... The reason for reorganization is good management" (Brownlow, 1958, 382).

Given his management philosophy, it is likely that Roosevelt would have had little regard for BOE's small-bore approach to improving government. FDR would have downgraded the importance of efficiency for its own sake and focused instead on improving management and presidential oversight of the executive branch. So, all things being equal, Roosevelt would probably want to abolish BOE, perhaps buried as a small detail within the vast reorganization plan proposed by the Brownlow Committee in 1937 (although not approved by Congress until 1939).

However, given the fierce opposition to his policies by the conservative coalition in Congress (Patterson, 1981), an initiative to eliminate BOE could well have created an easy political target for FDR's opponents. Given its very title, legislators could frame rhetorical attack lines charging that by killing the Bureau of Efficiency Roosevelt was showing his true colors as a big spending liberal who was blithe to the need to promote efficiency in federal operations. Given the complexity of most public policy controversies, the fight to protect BOE would have been easy to explain and easy for the public to understand. "Yes, but..." tends not to be a successful political response to such attacks. Trying to explain his support for a broader concept of efficiency, just not for a particular agency, would have been a weak defense.

Roosevelt was a very pragmatic politician who didn't want to spend political capital on losing efforts. He could also be evasive, even baldly denying knowing something if necessary. That characteristic led one of his major biographers to describe him as a political 'fox' (Burns, 1956). For example, Roosevelt prevented Robert Moses from building a bridge from Battery Park in lower Manhattan over the East River to Brooklyn. But he did it without a paper trail and behind the scenes, so that his political fingerprints could never be found on those actions (Caro, 1975, 671-4). So, if Roosevelt had tried to abolish the Bureau of Efficiency and generated major opposition on Capitol Hill or in the press, he most likely would have blithely denied ever having that intention. Perhaps he would have tried to starve the agency through smaller and smaller budgets, but Congress could have ignored that and maintained BOE's funding at status quo levels.

Eisenhower

Eisenhower was the only president after Hoover who actually had worked with BOE. He essentially accepted the philosophy it represented, or at least he did in the early 1930s. Then an obscure Army Colonel stationed in Washington, he was assigned to work on updating the military's Industrial Mobilization Plan (Lee, 2002, 88, endnote 12). The plan was to be a comprehensive document outlining an all-out mobilization of civilian and economic resources should another major war occur. On November 11, 1930, he arranged a meeting for some senior Army officers to present their thinking to BOE staff. Then, based on his diary, BOE was asked for its reactions and suggestions "on the general subject of coordinating government effort in preparing for war." The Bureau representatives were presented with the Army's tentative recommendation, to "setup [sic] an executive assistant for President, with Cabinet rank, to act for President on all national defense matters" (Holland, 2001, 145, underlining in original). While not stated in his diary, BOE apparently agreed with the Army proposal.

Also, as president, Eisenhower very much articulated the basic Republican dogma that government should be run like a business. He appointed many successful businessmen to cabinet posts and generally chose the company of titans of industry for social companionship.⁸

Based on Eisenhower treating BOE as if it possessed expertise when he had sought out its advice in 1930, along with his naiveté about business administration, I'm speculating that Eisenhower would have been an explicit supporter of the work of the agency when he was president and would have taken actions to strengthen its standing and insist on using his own powers to implement reports and recommendations from the bureau. In that respect, I'm suggesting that he would have treated BOE with the same attitude that Hoover had towards it during his presidency.

Kennedy

It is likely that Kennedy would have fully understood the limitations, even absurdity, of having a Bureau of Efficiency as an executive branch agency. He had a quick mind, read widely, and had intellectual curiosity (Schlesinger, 1965, 104ff). He also was surrounded by a bevy of the 'best and the brightest' from Harvard including various experts in government. (At that time, Harvard had the Littauer School of Government, later renamed the Kennedy School.) For example, he had a casual acquaintance with Arthur Holcombe, a Professor of Government at Harvard, who had worked at BOE from 1917 to 1919 (Holcombe, 1918; Kennedy Library, 2004). Invariably, one or more of those professors would have been familiar with the post-World War II Public Administration literature that debunked efficiency as a viable concept, especially Waldo's withering critique (1948, Chapter 10). Such a perspective would surely have resonated with President Kennedy as valid. So, I'm speculating that Kennedy would have disdained the work of the Bureau of Efficiency. But, would he have done anything about it? Probably not.

One of the most common terms used to characterize Kennedy and his administration was 'pragmatic.' He focused on what could be achieved, rather than reaching for the unattainable (Dallek, 2003, 634). While a Democrat, he was relatively non-ideological and often disdained so-called knee-jerk liberals. He also had a sense of irony and detachment that permitted him to view issues from a relatively objective distance (Dallek, 2003, 470). This combination of characteristics came into play, for example, regarding the diplomatic status of China. In this instance, Kennedy's views were ahead of political realities. As a Senator he had urged that the US recognize the Communist regime ruling China as the de facto government of China, instead of maintaining the Cold-War diplomatic fiction that the Kuomintang regime, then only governing the island of Taiwan, was supposedly still governing all of China. However, when Kennedy became President, he did not act to change the diplomatic status quo, even though he considered the federal policy to be "irrational" (Schlesinger, 1965, 479). Why not? According to a story, perhaps apocryphal but one that certainly rings true, he said, 'I'm all for it, but the government isn't!' The underlying message of that quip was this: if you are able to convince the State Department and Capitol Hill, well then I'd be delighted to approve that change. But, I'm not going to spend my time and effort on what is probably a losing effort. I'll just accept

the status quo and dedicate my Administration to other pragmatic goals that are more achievable.

It is likely that JFK's attitude about abolishing BOE would have paralleled his approach to the diplomatic recognition of Red China. Sure, he'd say privately, it's dumb to have it. I'd love to sign legislation abolishing it. But, I'm not going to spend scarce political capital on such a minor and probably losing proposition. Like FDR, Kennedy would not want to give his conservative opponents an easy political target. It just wasn't worth it, even though his preference would have been to terminate the agency.

Nixon

From his service as Eisenhower's vice president, Nixon would have known of Ike's endorsement of BOE. Given his oft-stated desire to be viewed as the heir to Eisenhower's presidency, Nixon would certainly have been inclined to treat BOE the same way that Eisenhower had. However, another Eisenhower-related explanation would have prompted his support for the Bureau. Nixon came into office with intimate knowledge of the workings of the executive branch based on his eight years as vice president. For example, he was familiar with how federal agencies used public relations to develop external bases of support, permitting some independence from White House control. In 1969, in the first year of his presidency, Nixon dictated a memo to his budget director reflecting that earlier experience:

I want you particularly to take a very hard look at the number of personnel in various Agencies who are assigned public relations, press relations, etc. You will find that most of these people are covered up pretty properly; but every Department I know of is terribly over-staffed in this respect. ... I don't know whether you will be able to make much headway on this because previous Budget Directors have tried and have failed (Lee, 1997, 303).

Nixon's hostility to agency public relations activities was a small part of his general perspective that the 'permanent government' of federal agencies was unfriendly to him and sought to undermine or neutralize his initiatives. He developed a "visceral mistrust of the sprawling federal bureaucracy" (Wicker, 1991, 424). Therefore, his administration engaged in a broad range of initiatives to take control of these seemingly recalcitrant agencies, including through reorganization, centralizing power in the White House and trying to prevent his appointees in the agencies from 'going native' (Nixon, 1990, 279-80; Ambrose, 1989, 328-9, 611-2; Hoff, 1994, 50-3, 67-8). Within the context of that effort, it seems fair to speculate that Nixon would have been a supporter of the Bureau of Efficiency. He would have seen its reports and recommendations as a helpful way to challenge the status quo in the agencies, to prompt changes and to try to force agencies to become more efficient and spend less money. Such repercussions from BOE studies would be helpful in pursuing his larger goal of dislodging agencies from the status quo of their autonomy.

Nixon undertook another action that is important vis a vis the Bureau of Efficiency. The Bureau of the Budget (BOB) had been created in 1921. Between then and 1970, there had been little change in its work and mission. The only significant development during that half-

century was in 1939 when FDR transferred it from the Treasury Department to the new Executive Office of the President, thus transforming BOB into a tool for presidential oversight of the executive branch. In 1970, Nixon initiated a major change in BOB's mission and activities. In a reorganization plan he issued in March, he proposed changing the agency's name to Office of Management and Budget (OMB). That revised title signified how he wanted to reshape the agency's orientation. Gould characterized this reform as "the most important administrative legacy that Nixon provided to the modern presidency" (Gould, 2003, 152). In his message to Congress about the reorganization, he said:

The budget function is only one of several important management tools that the President must now have. He must also have a substantially enhanced institutional staff capability in other areas of executive management – particularly in program evaluation and coordination, improvement of Executive Branch organization, information and management systems, and development of executive talent (Nixon, 1971, 260).

In that message he also said that the reforms he was proposing were intended "to promote greater efficiency throughout the Executive Branch" (Nixon, 1971, 258).

Given Nixon's desire to strengthen the management review functions of BOB for purposes of promoting efficiency, I speculate that Nixon would have included in this reform plan a proposal to merge BOE into the new OMB. For Nixon, BOE's mission and work would be a perfect fit for the enhanced management orientation of the new Office of Management and Budget. So, he could have sought to merge BOE into the central budget office, as first proposed by President Hoover late in his presidency (see above). Since Congress permitted President Nixon's plan to transform BOB into OMB to go into effect, I am speculating it also would have gone along with merging BOE into OMB as part of that reorganization.

While subsuming BOE into OMB would have had the legal effect of abolishing BOE, it would nonetheless have shifted BOE's work, culture and orientation into OMB, with the possible result of strengthening and revitalizing the kind of work BOE had always been doing. There is a superficial similarity between this fictional scenario and what actually happened in March 1933. In both cases BOE ceased to exist. However, the two scenarios are opposite in substance. In this fictional Nixonian scenario, BOE would have lived on within OMB, perhaps to the present day.

Carter⁹

Jimmy Carter was probably the most technocratic president since Hoover and the one most interested in efficiency after Hoover. The similarities are more than coincidental. Like Hoover, Carter was an engineer by professional training.¹⁰ Being an engineer was one of the items he highlighted in his standard stump speech while running for president in 1976: "I'm an engineer, and my graduate work is in nuclear physics," he'd say (Carter, 1977, 53). Also, like Hoover, Carter presented himself as a non-politician, an outsider who would make decisions more objectively.

For example, Carter's approach to reorganizing the Georgia state government while governor was very focused on organization charts and boxes on tables of organization. By doing that, he was able to boast as a presidential candidate that of about 300 state agencies he had "abolished 278 of them!" (Carter, 1976, 128). This, of course, was exceptionally misleading, since merging agencies into larger superagencies does not reduce the size of government, only the number of freestanding boxes in a table of organization. Carter reported proudly on many other major and minor projects of his to make Georgia state government more efficient, such as zero-based budgeting, directing agencies to write 5-year plans with specific goals, not mowing ditches on state highways and changing how state highway engineers supervised construction projects.

Given his engineering and structural approach to government, Carter could perhaps be said to reflect the political counterpart to modern day industrial engineering. This field is a direct descendent of Taylor's so-called scientific management. That profession continues to be interested in accomplishing efficiency in factory processes, still even conducting time and motion studies (Niebel, 1992; Rigassio, Giller and Jaffe, 1983; Sellie, 1992). In fact, when describing his approach when he became governor, he said it was "as a planner, as a businessman, [and] as a scientist" (Carter, 1977, 54). With that statement, Taylor would have beamed and Hoover would have nodded sagaciously in agreement.

Therefore, it is not surprising that Carter's approach to the presidency had an emphasis on efficiency. Gould described Carter coming into office "promising much in the way of programs and enhanced efficiency" (Gould, 2003, 183). A British historian characterized Carter's White House style as a "technocratic focus on managerial *efficiency*... President Carter was right to take problems of management and organisation very seriously. Yet managerial *efficiency* cannot, of itself, solve underlying problems" (Dumbrell, 1995, 213-4, italics added). Given his orientation towards managerial efficiency, it's likely that the work of the Bureau would have appealed to him and he would have supported the agency as Hoover did.

Carter's engineering approach to government also contributed to his micro-management of issues. For example, in order to prepare for making a decision about whether the proposed B-1 bomber should be funded, he told reporters he had "spent many hours reading those detailed technical reports" from the Defense Department (Carter, 1978, 1199). So, I'm speculating that he would not only have been a supporter of the BOE approach to government, but have considered himself to be the peer (or better) of BOE. He'd probably read most of its reports word-for-word and feel confident making independent judgments of the Bureau's studies. More often than not, I'm guessing, he'd agree with BOE's recommendations and press their implementation. He'd be persistent about that, obsessing about details and not letting go.

Bush (the younger)

George W. Bush was the first president to have a Master of Business Administration degree, which he had earned from the Harvard Business School (Kettl, 2003, 13-9). At that time, two required courses were Production and Operations Management (called POM) and Environmental Analysis for Management. In POM, students concentrated on maximizing the

efficiency and productivity of all aspects of business, including manufacturing and management. In *Environmental Analysis*, students focused on interactions between government and the private sector. At that time, the course dedicated part of the semester to how the Japanese government interacted with businesses versus the American model and how the Japanese Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) contributed to business successes (Wright, 2003). Another course Bush took, 'Human Behavior and Organization' (HBO), was one of his favorites. According to a classmate, he was particularly interested in how organizations worked (or didn't) and how people functioned within organizations (Minutaglio, 1999, 157). In his campaign autobiography, he wrote that he "was fascinated by the case-study method that Harvard used to teach" (Bush, 1999, 60). One of the effects of the case approach was to focus students' attention on "minute institutional dysfunctions" (Minutaglio, 1999, 155). Bush's business training most likely contributed to the efficiency focus of his White House management style (Kettl, 2003, Chapters 2-3).

These factors all suggest President Bush would have been a supporter of the Bureau of Efficiency. His premise would be that government is inherently less efficient than business because a business has an inherent imperative for increased efficiency in order to lower costs and increase profits. That explains his efforts to privatize as much of federal operations as possible (Walsh, 2003). For example, when presenting the annual awards for management excellence in the federal government, he said, "outsourcing is an important part of efficiency in our Government" (Bush, 2002, 2089). A mid-term profile of Bush described his motivation for privatization as being done "in the name of efficiency" (Keller, 2003, 31). For the remnant of the federal government that could not be privatized Bush would likely be very sympathetic to BOE's mission to increase efficiency and its small-bore and minute approach to agency processes. One can practically hear him order his OMB director: "Double their budget!"

Summary

This post-1933 fictional history of the US Bureau of Efficiency has sought to explore an alternative scenario of public administration history that could have occurred if President Hoover had saved it from termination. Deeming that to have happened, the article then speculated how some post-Hoover presidents might have felt about having a Bureau of Efficiency within the executive branch. While fictional, this exploration might nonetheless suggest some points of orientation for authentic historical studies of how these presidents exercised their managerial role and how they viewed efficiency. In that respect, perhaps fictional public administration history can modestly help add some insights into real history.

Endnotes

¹ This author is currently engaged in a broader research project on the political and operational history of the Bureau of Efficiency.

² During FDR's presidency, Inauguration day was moved from March to January.

³ In this case, 'economy' was used in the more narrow meaning of the word, namely 'being economical,' rather than the broader sense of macro-economic policies to deal with the nation's economy.

⁴ In those days, the federal fiscal year began on July 1. Since the 1970s, it is October 1.

⁵ According to the Constitution, all spending bills must originate in the House.

⁶ A pocket veto means a president declines to act on a bill before that session of Congress adjourns. This prevents Congress from being able to conduct a veto override vote. So, a president's action in such a case is a de facto veto, not a legal one. That's also why there is no formal legal message transmitted to Congress of his action, only – at most – a public statement.

⁷ When Congress re-passed the Independent Offices Appropriation Bill for FY1934 and sent the bill to newly inaugurated President Roosevelt for signing, it did not adopt the identical bill Hoover had pocket-vetoed. One of the changes in the bill was the deletion of the funding provision for BOE, since the abolition of the agency was already a fait accompli.

⁸ This should be contrasted with Eisenhower having been in the public sector his entire working life, with the exception of two years as President of Columbia University – which is in the nonprofit sector. He never worked in the business sector.

⁹ The remaining two fictional narratives of presidents are premised on the pre-Nixon fictional status quo ante of BOE existing as an independent agency in the executive branch, rather than having been merged into OMB.

¹⁰ Graduates of the Naval Academy in Annapolis are awarded a Bachelor's degree in engineering.

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Public Administration's Dyslexia: Appreciating the Strengths of its Disabilities

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To find out what our society means by sanity, perhaps we should investigate what is happening in the field of insanity (Michel Foucault).

A Positive View of Disability

Self-doubt is a necessary prerequisite to expanded learning. Discomfort is a motivator in the pursuit of greater understanding. In addition, confusion invites a multitude of orientations from which to examine and appreciate further knowing. For, to be confident with what you know and how you know encourages placidity and comfort, which can lead to unchallenged assumptions and conclusions and a delusion of clarity in thought. How lucky I am to have self-doubt, discomfort, and confusion. How fortunate I am to be disabled.

Ironically (and there are many ironies to being learning disabled [LD]), the disability that cultivates a position of humility from which one can question and learn about the self can also nurture a sense of uniqueness from which one can learn about all else. For someone to say I am disabled goads me into questioning why they think they know I am disabled. Self-doubt and defiance operate together to reveal and dispute the socially engineered and constructed reality that the non-disabled might more confidently accept as Truth.

Not allowed on the stage of 'normalcy' grants one a wonderful atypical worldview from the balcony (or orchestra pit). From up (or down) here, one not only has the opportunity to define a unique self - different from the masses - but also, one is granted a panoramic perspective of the shifting personal, political, and social that draw temporary parameters around The Normal.

As Heidegger pronounced, “Human beings remain committed to and within the being of language, and can never step out of it and look at it from somewhere else” (Heidegger, 1971). I do not claim the ability to escape what Farmer calls “the conceptual cobweb of language” (1995). I am still in the theater. Rather, I suggest my uniquely ‘disabled’ view, ostracized from the norm, can prove ultimately beneficial in viewing our languages and their power.

To have a dis/ability opens the possibilities for seeing (understanding) something different because of difference in the disabled’s lens or worldview. Farmer proposes, “We cannot escape having a framework, but we need to be conscious of the way that it shapes (creates) what we see. A leading concern is why we are seeing what we are seeing and whether we could see it differently; it is reflexive interpretation” (1995).

The dyslexic learns relatively early in life that her perception of the world is brought into question by the privileged authority. She is made aware of her ‘lens’ and questions herself and then, from a position of strength (and doubt) in self-awareness and critical thought, she questions ‘the other’, challenging the very set of assumptions and social constructions that comprise the mainstream theoretical lens of privileged authority.

Public administration is awash in self-doubt, discomfort and confusion. As it struggles with setting, moving and removing academic boundaries of the discipline, public administration reveals its own dyslexia. The disabling of public administration offers a view from the balcony (or orchestra pit) granting a greater appreciation of ‘the other’ in the public administration student, public administration theory and public administration practices. The dyslexic individual and institution can suffer and celebrate contradiction, paradox, irony, and other delimiting arenas of learning without resistance. Successful learning and understanding can come not in spite of but because of apparent disabilities.

The Disabilities in Defining a Learning Disability

Like any socially fabricated demarcation of what is and is not normal, definitions of learning disability and dyslexia fluctuate and accommodate the personal, political and social demands of the times. Definitions create rationales for generating theories, formulating hypotheses, distributing research monies, and inevitably contribute to molding the language of a field under study. The study of learning disabilities is no exception.

Since 1962, when the first formal definition of LD was offered, the field struggles with the creation of a legitimate consensus as to what identifies a learning disability. Professional organizations disagree as to specifying cause (some clearly note a problem with the central nervous system while others mention no etiological issues); age of onset (some speak only to ‘children’ while other definitions imply LD can be evident at any age); manifestations (some specify certain academic or speech problems while others do not); and, the allowance for other kinds of handicaps (some indicate coexistence with mental retardation, emotional disturbances or motor impairment and others exclude other disabilities) (Hammill, 1990).

Conflicting and contradictory claims as to accurate cause(s), symptoms, appropriate interventions, and desired treatment outcomes for the learning disabled are created and compounded by the prejudicial conceptual frameworks employed by various professionals in their research. Each privileges a certain paradigm. Researchers of the epistemological grounding in studies of dyslexia note,

[T]he psychological approach to learning and development with its emphasis on learning processes and products, the psycho-educational focusing on pedagogy and the medical model with its disorder/disease-treatment orientation almost inevitably lead to contrasting interpretations...professional training predispose them to different levels of analysis and toward particular interpretations (Pumfrey & Reason, 1991).

Disagreements are common among education boards, medical associations and LD advocacy groups as they attempt (and fail) to formulate a One True Definition that can satisfy each group's agenda and defy the 'test' of time.

The power of these definitions becomes evident when they influence (and are influenced by) the diagnostic decisions as to who is and is not LD, the funding for research and treatment, the design and implementation of government regulations, and in how they inform future professionals of the field. Professional texts choose one or two diagnostic frameworks for defining LD without neither making their choice explicit nor broaching the debate surrounding competing diagnostic interpretations.

Dyslexia, considered by some a subset of specific learning difficulties, carries its own array of identifying dilemmas. The broadest definition is the most literal: stemming from the Latin "dys-" meaning 'bad' or 'hard' and "-lexia" meaning 'language,' or simply put, difficulty with language communication affecting reading, writing, speaking, and listening (Orton, 1925). Consensus on identifying traits is lacking but most include, but are not limited to, linguistic issues: lack of awareness of sequence of syllables, difficulty decoding words (single word identification), difficulty encoding words (spelling), poor sequencing of numbers, of letters in words and, confusion about direction in space or time (Wilkins, 1997).

Dyslexia suffers (enjoys) similar disputes surrounding symptomatology found in the LD debates. Without solidifying agreement as to what is dyslexia and who is dyslexic, one finds research conclusions so exclusive to suggest the elimination of the term altogether and others so inclusive as to make the term superfluous. For instance, given the linguistic symptoms above, what differentiates the dyslexic from the typical poor reader? Historically, the term dyslexia was "reserved for those ...showing significant discrepancies between reading ability and intelligence test performance" (Stanovich, 1994).

This assumption remains strong in the literature as many eminent figures of the past are posthumously diagnosed as dyslexic because of their brilliance in one or more areas and significant failings in academic endeavors. The 'Who's Who' of dyslexia has included Winston Churchill, Leonardo da Vinci, Thomas Edison, Albert Einstein, George Patton, William Butler Yeats and others (Lerner, 1985; West, 1997). These gentlemen exhibited patterns or traits associated with dyslexia. They did poorly in early schooling which

concentrated on elementary spelling, writing and verbal memory and had difficulty learning languages and reading aloud. However, they also improved significantly academically when engaged in higher mathematics and ‘conceptual sciences’, had exceptional spatial-visual skills and creative talents.

However, the imprecision in diagnostic practices and suggested alternative explanations for these discrepancies in abilities have called into question the label given these famous people (Adelman & Adelman, 1987). Current research suggests this early “critical assumption” of reading-IQ discrepancies was made without empirical support and, in fact, consideration should be given to “whether the term should best be dispensed with” (Stanovich, 1994).

On the other hand, some research extends the diagnostic umbrella and includes the possibility of many paradoxical abilities and inabilities. They include:

- ineptness or lack of tact in social situations (but in some cases showing exceptional powers of social perceptiveness),
- poor coordination and lack of athletic abilities (but often having superior athletic abilities), and
- difficulty in memorizing information by rote (but often having surprising powers of memory for selected types of information) (West, 1997).

West continues in his definition to include what he calls ‘hard’ traits, such as, difficulty in reading orally, unusual problems with handwriting, and left/right confusion in spatial orientation, and ‘soft’ traits including impulsiveness, inconsistency, and excessive talkativeness. The net widens as he proceeds with what he calls the ‘constellation of traits’ with some physical characteristics ascribed to dyslexics, namely, having an especially large head, early graying of hair and - my personal favorite - notable good looks (West, 1997).

As the listing of traits or symptoms lengthens, it has been argued that a coherent, consistent meaning for the terms ‘learning disability’ and ‘dyslexia’ slowly fades and the professionals of the field risk loss of credibility. Ironically, West contends the continuous expansion of characteristics is evidence of a beneficial diversity in strengths and weaknesses among and within individuals.

We can expand or constrict the defining of LD categories until we define our way completely out of categorizations. One can hope. This is not to suggest this phenomena called LD or dyslexia does not exist but rather, the process of defining the terms is as much a casualty/celebrity of self-doubt and self-exploration (of the language) in which the dyslexic struggles as it is a diagnostic explanation for dyslexia’s paradoxical strengths and weaknesses.

The Disabilities in Defining Public Administration

Public administration is cursed (blessed) with its own efforts to formulate defining parameters of the discipline. The beginning of a self-conscious study of public administration in the

United States is attributed to Woodrow Wilson's 1887 essay, "The Study of Administration". He introduced, for instance, two controversies of public administration studies: a separation of politics and administration and a lack of separation between business practices and public works. Present day readings have the politics-administration dichotomy interchangeably occupying a nostalgic historical position of being applicable and successful in another time period; an ideal position that is unachievable but still worthy of effort; and, a myth that sits comfortably in a theory with a linear continuum. Although, it never is completely invalidated. Waldo notes the politics-administration doctrine isn't all wrong and, "has a recognized, workable reality in human affairs, no matter the difficulties in attempting to separate or combine them" (1992). In any case, we struggle to find a sufficient replacement model to address the specific anomalies in administrative practices only encountered in government.

Waldo acknowledges the mixed-blessing that came with "the new generation's criticisms" of the dichotomy: a receptivity that brought new ideas, methods, and techniques into the study of public administration but it also brought more questions. He wrote, "I may have first floated the term - to speak of the 'identity crisis' of Public administration, an enterprise that now continuously pushed out its boundaries (or at least permitted them to be easily penetrated) but at the same time could not decide how it should define itself and by what principles it should act"(1992).

The futurist writings of Osborne & Gaebler and Deming versus the reflexive works of Appleby and Moe demonstrate the continued debate surrounding the in/ability (and dis/interest) of running government like business. The former call for 'reinventing government' and instituting 'total quality management' practices of the private sector that are spirited into action by local and state officials as well as federal attention in former Vice President Gore's *National Performance Review* (Walton, 1986; Osborne & Gaebler, 1992). Whereas, the latter defend a difference in government practices from private enterprise, established in public law (Moe & Gilmour, 1995) and perpetuated by a unique 'public-interest attitude' (Appleby, 1992).

Public administration studies have followed time sensitive political and social impulses and remained fluid. For instance, decision-making models reviewed in PA literature have included the rational ideal-type general public administration model of scientific management movement of Taylor and Fayol (Urwick, 1987); bounded (limited) rationality (Simon, 1947); an introduction of external forces in the incremental approach (Lindblom, 1959); and acknowledgment of the unknown and complex in the garbage can model (Cohen, March et al. 1972). One can argue the rational model is saturated in too much theoretical content whereas, the garbage can model "places too high a value on descriptive realism" (Lane, 1993). Yet, they can, and do, co-exist in the public administration literature providing challenges to the discourse in PA classrooms and organizations.

I recall spending the better part of one of my first doctoral classes engaged in (what, I'm certain, is a typical first class) debate surrounding the question: What is public administration? We covered the traditional disciplines housed in other departments across campus: public administration is art, history, management, psychology, sociology, and so on. When we reached the outermost corners of campus, we turned inward and used Waldo's

grammatical distinctions (little letters [pa] to refer to, what he calls “the phenomena ‘out there’” and big letters [PA] to denote a discipline) (1992). We grappled with terms like ‘bureaucracy,’ and ‘citizen’, until ultimately arriving at the word ‘public’ and denoted anything involving more than one person could conceivably be considered within the realm of public administration inquiry. Of course, I was comfortable that no singular, hard and fast definition made it to the chalkboard: that public administration can be few or many things at different times. However, that was not a feeling shared by the majority of my fellow students.

These graduate students came from schools of law, criminal justice, biology, information systems and social work, to name a few, in which the realms of their field were provided through clear formulism of the profession’s history, founding fathers, and a body of cumulative knowledge nestled in time honored theories. They sought to study within a discipline and not to debate the essential qualities of the discipline.

Public administration attempts to form a constant and consistent identity for itself, in keeping with the tradition of other fields of study. It struggles with its disciplinary boundaries, grappling with a definition that encompasses all that its practitioners do and its theorists think. Yet, the nature of public administration escapes categorization. Outsourcing, private-public partnerships, non-profit organizations, consulting practices and other mechanisms which blur the parameters surrounding what is in the public sector and who is a public servant add to the self-doubt of the profession. However, as with the dyslexia categorical battles, the pliable nature of public administration reflects a respect for time-specific and space-sensitive terminology and honestly demonstrates the paradoxical strengths and weaknesses inherent in a dynamic and malleable field of inquiry.

The Abilities Found in Defining a Learning Disability

The scientific struggles for systematic definitions have ignored the confining nature of these conceptual habits of understanding. Some seek to retain a foundation of reason when addressing the paradox and incongruity of defining dyslexia. Andrew Ellis argues the proper analogy for dyslexia is not found in the disease model as, say, measles, but instead (but still) as a medical condition more akin to obesity, that is, “not a discrete entity but a graded continuum” (1985). One dyslexic attempts a means of unification of meaning by describing the variation in symptoms among and within dyslexics as “...much like being a guest at a buffet where a variety of foods are available. Not everyone is going to choose the same dishes, but all will partake of the same meal” (Rogers, 1991).

Not only have the components of disability definitions been challenged but also so has the assumption of complete impairment implied in the term ‘learning disability’. For instance, Gardner found “jagged cognitive profiles” in gifted and brain damaged children (1986). That is, strength in one area (for instance, music or language) did not relate to functioning in other cognitive areas. Damage to the left-hemisphere of the brain can affect language - as far as having difficulty in reading and speaking - but not cause deficits in the ability to sing a song, or spatial awareness. Conversely, a stroke in the right-hemisphere may see no limitation in speech but “... you can no longer carry a tune, can’t find your way around, can’t dress

properly, can't make a drawing, ...these kinds of things cannot be accounted for by a unitary view of intellect" (Gardner, 1986).

Gardner suggests a pluralistic concept of intelligence to include not only linguistic and logical mathematical skills, but also musical, spatial, bodily kinesthetic, inter- and intra-personal intelligences (1986). Each of these attributes may carry their own degree of genetic or adaptive strengths and weaknesses, varying among and within individuals. The reading-IQ discrepancies noted in the earliest research of dyslexics again gains favor as 'IQ' is redefined to include other arenas of knowing.

As often as a dyslexia definition includes academic difficulties of reading and writing, increasingly they also mention areas of strength (Ingram, 1970; Geschwind, 1982). The most prominent attributes are:

- "visual thinking," identified as a form of thought in which images are "generated, or recalled... manipulated, overlaid, translated, associated with other similar forms (as with a metaphor), rotated, increased or reduced in size, distorted, or otherwise transformed gradually from one familiar image into another,"
- "spatial ability" to comprehend and manipulate three-dimensional space, "providing a sense of proportion as well as distance, momentum, leverage, balance and the like"; and
- "pattern recognition" or skill in discerning similarities of form, wholeness or connectedness among two or more items/concepts (West, 1997).

In spite of their poor academic performances, where language and linear reasoning predominate, great success came from the high visual-spatial skills required in the works of Leonardo de Vinci, Edison and Einstein. They were able to make associations and connections of somewhat distant elements, reason by analogies and employ visual imagery to their creations. A major hypothesis of West's book, *In the Mind's Eye*, is that environmental conditions assist in squelching or promoting certain skills and talents and that present day computer technologies demand the spatial and visual skills of the dyslexic, making this 'different mode of thought' more of a gift than a problem as was the case, he argues, with these famous gentlemen.

Cultural shifts have allowed former 'disabilities' to now be treated as potential assets. Emily Martin, of Princeton University, has observed that two mental conditions, attention deficit hyperactivity disorder and manic depression, are being treated as worthy attributes for successful survival in the business world of today. She notes, Kay Jamison, an eminent psychologist, in her 1995 book *The Unquiet Mind*, and Ted Turner allege career advancements were due, in part, to the emotional adaptability to change granted by their manic depression (1997).

Charles Schwab believes his struggle with dyslexia provided him with a unique perspective that fueled his successful brokerage firm. He notes, "I've always felt that I have more of an ability to envision, to be able to anticipate where things are going, to conceive a solution to a business problem than people who are more sequential thinkers" (Mitchell, 1994). Martin is

interested in pursuing research that investigates “an emerging shift in the cultural conception of the ideal person’s mental functioning, in which we come to value instability, disorder, and lability over stability, order and stasis” (Martin, 1997).

The Abilities Found in Public Administration’s Disability

The paradox and contradictions swirling around the defining of dyslexia expose the inherent fascinating and fluctuating strengths and weaknesses of the disability. It demands a reflection on our institutional means of defining and suggests the uncommon, disabled perspective of dyslexia may serve as an asset to greater learning and deeper understanding of how we conceptualize ourselves and the world around us.

Public administration is just as fluid and complex as dyslexia. Its unsettled boundaries do not confine us to specific subjects of investigation, theories or practices; thereby, allowing simultaneous in-depth exploration into the psyche of the public servant and the architecture of public buildings. The struggles of theory and practice, politics and administration, and public and private, have left the dichotomous academic debate and become the confusing reality that public administrators experience. Public administration’s dyslexia demands that it engage in constant self-reflection, receptive to change and the fallibility of knowledge. This is something a more Normal discipline isn’t compelled to do.

Public administration is a self-acknowledged borrowed discipline, adopting elements of economics, business administration, psychology, sociology, and political science “drawing what cohesiveness it possesses more from its object of analysis than its intellectual parentage” (Fry, 1989). The body of knowledge comprised in public administration literature prevents PA from privileging one authority; thereby, allowing a multiplicity that grants a fluidity to the parameters of public administration definition(s) and discourse. Postmodern public administration encourages this diversity.

Public administration is fragmented, discontinuous and fallible. The reflexive language paradigm of postmodern public administration literature allows a self-exploration into the prominent role PA language plays in constructing a reality and challenges it to “decanonize its traditions,” promote diversity, reveal administrative ‘boxism’ or stereotyping, and oppose metanarratives and established institutions (Farmer, 1995). Actions one in the balcony or orchestra pit would applaud.

Postmodern fragmentation may simply be the present modernist alienation of the socially marginal, since “modernity itself always looked different to those...whose marginality has been socially imposed rather than sought, striven for, or self-chosen” (Mostern, 1994). I note this to emphasize, it is not the theoretical framework of modernity, postmodernity, or any other, but the decenteredness of the disabled (individual or discipline) that affords the unique viewpoint from which to learn and develop. Multi-sensory, multi-disciplinary, multi-voiced learning is public administration’s weakness and its strength.

Public administration's dyslexia fosters the struggles to identify, define, and 'treat' its own disabilities. Public administration theories, students, and practices, hold their own inconsistencies and conflicts, fluctuating strengths and weaknesses, engaged in an unsuccessful struggle for stable boundaries of its identity. I suggest P.A. recognize its dyslexic traits and utilize them to navigate change and ignite growth in a dynamic field of study. We should embrace our disabilities and learn, not only from them, but also through them.

The Strength That Comes From Struggling

Most would view the term 'struggle' as denoting unpleasant, restrictive and contested exertion of force, like twisting in pain while trying to loosen the tight grip of rope around one's wrists. However, I view it as movement, freedom, exploration that feeds further growth and change. At least, that is the attitude I have cultivated over time as I have drawn upon the advantages of having a decentered perspective and celebrate the unique opportunities it offers. Public administration needs to do the same.

I hesitate to offer just one example, since it is impossible to capture an entire dis/ability in one story, any more than it could be tamed by attempting one unifying definition. However, to serve as an illustration, I offer my academic experience with numbers. In elementary and secondary school, mathematical instruction began with the assumption that numbers were exclusive, distinct, and maintained a constant meaning in a constant context. However, when I saw what I was told was a 'five (5)', I sometimes saw a 'three (3)', the letters 'W', 'M', or capital 'E'. I thought of one hand or foot (with five digits), an iambic foot, iambic pentameter... and, before long, I was writing poetry in math class. This serendipitous practice didn't work to my advantage until allowed to flourish in college philosophy and creative writing courses.

I could not memorize a multiplication table yet, I had little problem with geometry. I readily grasped the perplexing dilemma in alternative voting procedures, between the Condorcet plurality procedure (a simple majority win from a dichotomous decision) and the Borda preferential procedure (the winner receives the highest row sum in a voting matrix) in which the 'value' of a vote is contingent upon an incomplete perception of how democratic philosophies are instituted (Young, 1988; Felsenthal & Machover, 1992; Sen, 1995). I found room in my worldview for a multiplicity of meanings and applications for numbers.

Since I wasn't seeing or using numbers the way the teacher (the great privileged authority) intended, I initially considered myself a failure at comprehension. I couldn't stay in the 'box' at the moment. There was one Truth, and it was that of the teacher, so I came to doubt and devalue my way of knowing. However, the chasm between my perspective and that of the indoctrinating one allowed me to see both and the possibility of others. I could better see multiple knowledges (in the construction and validation of other perspectives) and that they could co-exist as simultaneously competent and conflicting views. I could accept and examine the teacher's '5' as a '5' and also see the '3', 'W', 'M', beginning of a new poem

and the significance of meaning granted a '5' relative to the context of its application. One view doesn't invalidate another and multiple views allow tension that urges further knowing.

Public administration's identity crisis is, in part, due to its quest for unifying theories and practices to find, see, and utilize only the '5'. However, PA also sees and shouldn't deny the 'W', 'M', and poetry of numbers. PA isn't just in government agencies, but also in non-profits and public-private collaboratives. It isn't just in PA schools, but also in political science departments and public policy centers. It's in economics and philosophy, explored in modernity and postmodern thought. And, it is certainly not only in the United States. Because it can not be housed and maintained in one type of agency or academic department and has many clashing and conflicting arenas for knowing, there is a premature assumption of failure instead of an appreciation, encouragement and incorporation of multi-viewing of its identity.

Self-doubt can be the antithesis of certainty without being synonymous with insecurity. One can suspend belief, without abandoning it or feeling compelled to fall on one side or the other of an artificially constructed dichotomous argument. Knowing is multiplicitous, changing with time, place and space. The tensions in public administration are indicative of its growth. Dyslexic Public Administration doesn't follow a linear history of cumulative knowledge. Its variety may not be the problem, but rather, the answer. This defies the educational and employment systems grounded in an illusion of essential uniformity rather than the reality of necessary diversity, yet it is the diversity of public administration that keeps it current, relevant, and forever interesting. Public administration has its own seat in the balcony (or orchestra pit) and I suggest it enjoy the show it is simultaneously watching and a part of: to continue struggling. How fortunate public administration is to be disabled.

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List of Critiques on Literary, Cinematographic, and Other Humanistic and Artistic Resources for Public Administration

Compiled by *Iryna Illiash*

The previous issue of *Public Voices* featured the list of works of fiction that address various public administration topics and can be used both in teaching administrative theory and in managing public organizations. This issue offers the list of critical articles that discuss literary, cinematographic, and other humanistic and artistic resources for public administration. It should serve as another helpful tool in bringing together the science and the art of public administration.

Adams, Elsie, and Frank Marini (1995). Regimentation and Rebellion in "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest." In Goodsell, C.T., and N. Murray (Eds.). *Public Administration Illuminated and Inspired by the Arts*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 59-74.

Ken Kesey's novel as a commentary on bureaucratic values in the arts.

Adams, Elsie, Frank Marini, and Darrell L. Pugh (1995). Teaching Social Equity in a Diverse Society: "The Merchant of Venice." In Goodsell, C.T., and N. Murray (Eds.). *Public Administration Illuminated and Inspired by the Arts*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 189-202.

Using Shakespeare in explaining the concept of social equity to students.

Adams, Elsie, and Frank Marini (1996). "The Back of the Tapestry:" Social Action Art and Public Policy. *Public Voices II* (2), 7-26.

Art as a potent force for political change.

Adams, Elsie, and Darrell L. Pugh (Fall, 1993). Decision Making and Melville's "Billy Budd, Sailor." *Public Voices I* (1), 59-74.

The article discusses different methods used in arriving at a decision, the characters involved in making it, and the consequences of the decision.

Aercke, Kristiaan P. (1999). *Gods of Play: Baroque Festive Performances as Rhetorical Discourse*. State University of NY Press: Ithaca, NY.

The article examines the close connections between politics, culture, art, and philosophy.

- Allain, Marie Françoise (1983). *The Other Man: Conversations with Graham Greene*. NY: Simon Schuster.
Insights into Organization Theory from Greene.
- Allen, Dennis, W. (Winter 1984). Horror and Perverse Delight: Faulkner's "A Rose for Emily." *Modern Fiction Studies* 30, 685-696.
The clash of aristocratic and democratic ideologies in Faulkner's story.
- Alvarez, J.L., and Cantos, C. M. (1994). From Escapism to Resented Conformity: Market Economies and Modern Organizations in Spanish Literature. In Czarniawska-Joerges, B., Guillet de Monthoux, P. (Eds.). *Good Novels, Better Management*. Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 175-198.
A critique of three Spanish novels in terms of their dealing with the market and organizational realities.
- Alvarez, J.L., and C.C. Merchan (1992). The Role of Narrative Fiction in the Development of Imagination for Action. *International Studies of Management and Organization* 22 (3), 27-45.
Narrative fiction and executive decision-making.
- American Society for Public Administration (ASPA) (2000). Seeing through the Glass Darkly? Public Administration through the Cinematic Lens [concurrent panels session at conference]. *ASPA's 61st National Conference, San Diego, CA, April 1-4, 2000: Visions 2000* [Conference Program].
- Angle, Paul M. (Ed.) (1947). *The Lincoln Reader*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
The book deals with the poetical power that Lincoln exercised in leadership capacity.
- Argyle, Nolan J., and Lee M. Allen (1996). Science Fiction and Administrative Truths: The Short Story and Novella as Administrative Cases. *Public Voices II* (3), 61-76.
The article presents arguments in favor of using science fiction in the MPA classroom setting.
- Armstrong, J.P., J.M. Coleman, C.T. Goodsell, D.S. Hollar, and K.A. Hutcheson (1998). Social Meanings of Public Architecture: A Victorian Elucidation. *Public Voices III* (3), 7-28.
The authors propose a theoretical framework for social interpretation of public buildings.
- Armstrong, Richard B., and Mary Willems Armstrong (2001). *Encyclopedia of Film Themes, Settings and Series*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland.
A general reference source on motion pictures.
- Atkinson, David (1996). *The Message of Proverbs*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press.
- Bailey, Stephen (Winter 1949). A Frank Statement of Affairs, *Public Administration Review* 9, 51-53.
Pat Frank's "An Affair of State" is discussed as it relates to public administration.
- Baines, J. (1982). *Conrad: A Critical Biography*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson.
Joseph Conrad's biography.
- Bantock, G.H. (1958). Conrad and Politics. *ELH* 25, 122-136.
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Melville's "Bartleby, the Scrivener, a Story of Wall Street" as a lesson in Organization Theory.
- Barris, Alex (1976). *Stop the Press! The Newspaperman in American Films*. South Brunswick, NY: A.S. Barnes.
A book about reporters and the media.
- Beck Jorgensen, Torben (1994). The Gioconda Smile of the Authorities: An Essay on Fictional Pictures of Public Administration and Citizens. In Czarniawska-Joerges, B. and P. Guillet de Monthoux (Eds.). *Good Novels, Better Management*. Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 267-303.

- The author suggests a typology according to which authorities are depicted in the works of fiction as either belonging to the Old Testament or to the New Testament type.
- Beggs, Gordon J. (1995). Proverbial Practice: Legal Ethics from Old Testament Wisdom. *Wake Forest Law Review* 30, 831-846.
The author posits eight principles or concepts of legal ethics that are rooted in the book of "Proverbs" – those of justice, purity, mercy, humility, honesty, candor, truthful testimony, and civility.
- Bellos, Nondas (1996). The Lessons that Tolstoy and "Father Sergius" Hold for Public Administration: Revisiting Three Root Questions. *Public Voices* II (3), 29-42.
Using Tolstoy's short story, the author revisits three root questions relevant to PA: To whom does one owe loyalty? Do we need complex institutions? What moral principles should guide PA?
- Berger, P. (1970). The Problem of Multiple Realities: Alfred Schutz and Robert Musil. In Luckmann, T. (Ed.). *Phenomenology and Sociology*. London: Penguin, 343-374.
Unity of business, science and the arts in Musil's novel "The Man without Qualities."
- Berman, Ronald (1968). *Twentieth Century Interpretations of Henry V: A Collection of Critical Essays*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
Aspects of charismatic leadership.
- Bernstein, Richard (April 12, 2000). Obsessive, Compulsive and Oh, Yes, Unemployed (Book Review). *New York Times*, E8.
Review of "Mr. Phillips" by John Lanchester.
- Berthoff, Warner (1963). *The Example of Melville*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Berthoud, J. (1978). *Joseph Conrad: The Major Phase*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
Conrad's "Nostromo" and political action.
- Bivona, Daniel (1993). Conrad's Bureaucrats: Agency, Bureaucracy and the Problem of Intention. *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 26 (2), 151-169.
The author argues that Joseph Conrad is the most important European literary figure before Kafka to take an interest in exploring the political irony of bureaucracy in his writings. In particular, he dwells on such topics as bureaucratic identity; operation of bureaucratic logic; the colonial bureaucrat's divided subjectivity; and lampooning of Lord Cromer's view of colonial bureaucracy.
- Bock, Edwin A. (1957-1958). PI & E. *Public Administration Review* 17-18.
- Boland, Richard J. Jr. (1994). Identity, Economy and Morality in "The Rise of Silas Lapham." In Czarniawska-Joerges, B. and P. Guillet de Monthoux (Eds.). *Good Novels, Better Management*. Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 115-137.
Learning about management by considering the meaning of being a manager as it is dramatized in Howells' novel.
- Boykin, A., and S. Schoenhofer (1991). Story as Link between Nursing Practice, Ontology and Epistemology. *Image* 23, 245-248.
Practitioners write stories about critical incidents at work.
- Breischke, P. A. (1993). Interpreting Ourselves: Administrators in Modern Fiction. *Theory into Practice* 32 (4), 228-235.
Use of literature in the preparation program for school administration; sampling of theoretical lenses for reading fiction; use of literature as social texts; fiction as a form of critical inquiry.
- Brown, Brack, and Richard II Stillman (1986). *A Search for Public Administration: The Ideas and Career of Dwight Waldo*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press.
Written by two of his former students, the book consists of transcribed interviews with Waldo as well as separate analyses and comments by the authors and by their mentor, giving new perspective to the events and forces that shaped public administration in the post-World War II era.
- Brown, Brack, and Richard II Stillman (1986). *Dwight Waldo, an Intellectual Biography*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press.
- Bruner, J. (1986). *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

The narrative approach to knowledge is discussed.

Campbell, Joseph (1988). *The Power of Myth*. NY: Doubleday.

The founding fathers understood the power of myth and used it to guide them in creating a new country.

Cantor, Paul A. (June, 1995). Literature and Politics: Understanding the Regime. *PS: Political Science & Politics* XXVIII (2).

The study of literature offers striking confirmation of the idea of the regime as developed in classical political philosophy, especially by Plato and Aristotle. As a concept encompassing public and private life, the regime is the point at which politics and literature meet.

Carey, Michael (1995). Art and Transformation in "Murder in the Cathedral." In Goodsell, C.T., and N. Murray (Eds.). *Public Administration Illuminated and Inspired by the Arts*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 133-144.

Poetry and drama use symbols to express what is most true about people's lives. Each symbol consists of two meanings: literal and conceptual. The bridging of these two meanings in the reader's mind produces enlightenment and transformation. T.S. Eliot's play "bridges" the general and the particular, the abstract and the concrete, to tell a story about Archbishop Thomas Becket, providing some useful insights into the process of leadership along the way.

Carroll, Virginia, and Joan Gailey (1992). Using Literature to Teach about Bureaucratic Structure. *College Teaching* 40 (1), 24-26.

The article focuses on the use of literature in teaching bureaucratic structure in the workplace to college students. Bureaucracy is presented as a dysfunctional model.

Cellier, Françoise, and Cunningham Bridgeman (1914). *Gilbert and Sullivan*. NY: Benjamin Blom.

Champoux, Joseph E. (1999). Film as a Teaching Resource. *Journal of Management Inquiry* 8 (2), 206-217.

Use of film in management training.

Champoux, Joseph E. (2001). *Organizational Behavior: Using Film to Visualize Principles and Practices*. Cincinnati, OH: South-Western College/Thomson Learning.

The use of films in public management pedagogy.

Chan, Wing-Tsit (Ed.) (1969). *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

A short history of Confucian philosophy.

Chandler, Ralph, and Barbara Adams (1997). Let's Go to the Movies! Film to Illustrate Basic Concepts in Public Administration. *Public Voices* III (2), 9-26.

The use of works of art in teaching helps students discover the relationship of academic concepts to their own life experience.

Chilton, Bradley, and Lisa Chilton (1993). Rebuilding the Public Service: Researching the Origins of Public Perceptions of the Public Service in Children's Literature. *Review of Public Personnel Administration* 13, 72-78.

The article explores influences of the arts and the media on public attitudes toward government.

Choudhary, Mona (2000). The Bollywood Bureaucrat. *Public Voices* IV (2), 63-70.

Indian film makers cash in on the negative stereotypes of the corrupt, incompetent and uncaring bureaucrats.

Christianson, Terry (1987). *Reel Politics: American Political Movies from Birth of a Nation to Platoon*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Screen depictions of politicians.

Clark, S.R.L. (1995). *How to Live Forever: Science Fiction and Philosophy*. London and NY: Routledge.

The book discusses the philosophical consequences of the ideas developed in science fiction.

Classic Leadership Cases (1994). Hartwick College.

The project utilizes writings by Homer, Shakespeare and Conrad in management courses.

Clemens, J., and D. Mayer (1987). *The Classic Touch: Lessons in Leadership from Homer to Hemingway*. Homewood, IL: Dow-Jones Irwin.

Aspects of leadership in literature are discussed.

Clowers, M.L., and L. Letendre (1973). *Understanding American Politics through Fiction*. NY: McGraw-Hill Company.

Cohen, Claire (1998). Using Narrative Fiction within Management Education. *Management Learning* 29 (2), 165-181.

"The analysis of fiction within management education offers the possibility of exploring a form of literary criticism that may support a management education that (among other attributes) questions its own content and context. In this paper the author describes some of her own uses of fiction within the management classroom and concludes that the management educator needs to employ a bold and imaginative approach to 'literary criticism' with students, if the use of fiction is to be fully exploited" (Cohen).

Corrigan, Paul (1999). *Shakespeare on Management: Leadership Lessons for Managers*. Kogan Page, Limited.

The author shows us that "Shakespeare, through his plays, demonstrated the different roles a leader can take and the different skills those leaders need."

Council for Excellence in Government (2003). Changing Images of Government in TV Entertainment. *Public Voices* VI (2-3), 70-72.

A study of how TV entertainment depicts public servants.

Cox, C.B. (1974). *Joseph Conrad: The Modern Imagination*. London: Dent.

Cox, S., and J. Lofflin (1990). *The Official Abbott and Costello Scrapbook*. Chicago, IL: Contemporary.

Efficiency expert in the "Abbott and Costello" series.

Czarniawska, B. (1986). The Management of Meaning in the Polish Crisis. *Journal of Management Studies* 23 (3), 313-331.

The cultural context of organizing.

Czarniawska, Barbara, and Bernard Joerges (1994). The Man with All the Qualities: Can Business, Science and the Arts Go Hand in Hand? In Czarniawska-Joerges, B. and P. Guillet de Monthoux (Eds.). *Good Novels, Better Management*. Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 234-266.

The authors argue that the unity of "business, science and the arts" is crucial for the discipline of management.

Czarniawska-Joerges, B. (1995). *Narrating the Organization. Dramas of Institutional Identity*.

The work explores the narrative approach to knowledge in the context of organization studies.

Czarniawska-Joerges, B. (1994). Don Quixote and Capitalism in Poland: On the Cultural Context of Organizing. In Czarniawska-Joerges, B. and P. Guillet de Monthoux (Eds.). *Good Novels, Better Management*. Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 37-64.

The author analyzes Boleslaw Prus' novel "The Doll" as it depicts the relationship between the individual and societal, agency and structure, against the backdrop of the development of mature capitalism in Poland.

Czarniawska-Joerges, B. (1994). Epilogue: Realism in the Novel, Social Sciences and Organization Theory. In Czarniawska-Joerges, B. and P. Guillet de Monthoux (Eds.). *Good Novels, Better Management*. Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 304-325.

The author discusses realism in literature and science.

- Czarniawska-Joerges, B., and P. G. de Monthoux (Eds.) (1994). *Good Novels, Better Management*. Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers.
How to profit from novels and related literary genres in teaching economics, business and public administration.
- Dannhauser, Werner J. (June, 1995). Poetry vs. Philosophy. *PS: Political Science & Politics* XXVIII (2).
The author reflects on what literature can teach political scientists above the level of mere information.
- Davidson, James F. (December 1961). Political Science and Political Fiction. *American Political Science Review* 55 (4), 851-860.
The author argues that political fiction is worth serious attention from political scientists.
- Davidson, N.B. (2000). Management Film Festival Favorites. *Department of Management, California State University-Northridge*, available at: www.csun.edu/~hcmgt002/MANAGEMENTFILMFESTIVALFAVORITES.htm
An on-line directory of Management Film Festival Favorites.
- Dawoody, Alexander A. (2003). Children's Stories and the Quantum Administrator. *Public Voices* VII (1), 13-26.
The article examines the analogous relationship between children's literature and the complex world of public administration.
- de Fatima Abreu, M., J.A. de Paula, S.M. Dias, L.F. Assis, and M. Cerqueira (2000). Insights into the Construction of the Brazilian Bureaucracy's Image through the Cinema. *Public Voices* IV (2), 31-42.
Films portraying colonial times and the emergence of bureaucratic stereotypes in Brazil.
- de Monthoux, Pierre Guillet (1994). Docteur Clerambault in Zola's Paradise: Notes on Naturalist Studies of Passion in Organizations. In Czarniawska-Joerges, B. and P. Guillet de Monthoux (Eds.). *Good Novels, Better Management*. Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 17-36.
Modern organization is not an entirely rational enterprise. In studying it, one should not discount obscure irrational passions that underlie it. Literary fiction is a tool that can help highlight these aspects of organization.
- de Monthoux, Pierre Guillet, and Barbara Czarniawska-Joerges (1994). Introduction: Management Beyond Case and Cliché. In Czarniawska-Joerges, B. and P. Guillet de Monthoux (Eds.). *Good Novels, Better Management*. Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1-16.
The role of novels in educating business managers and public administrators.
- DeMott, B. (May-June, 1989). Reading Fiction to the Bottom Line. *Harvard Business Review*, 128-134.
Fiction as a source of managerial wisdom.
- DeVault, M.L. (1990). Novel Readings: The Social Organization of Interpretation. *American Journal of Sociology* 95 (4), 887-921.
This article examines the sources of variant readings of a single novel, "The Late Bourgeois World" by Nadine Gordimer. Analysis of published statements and their comparison with the author's own "lay" reading highlight the effects of gender, historical contexts, and purposes for reading on the readers' constructions of the novel's content.
- Diani, Marco (1993). Introduction: The Letters of Bureaucracy. In H. de Balzac. *The Bureaucrats*. Evanston, TX: Northwestern University Press, pp. vii-xxix.
- Dimock, W-C. (1991). The Economy of Pain: Capitalism, Humanitarianism and the Realistic Novel. In Pease, D. (Ed.). *New Essays on the Rise of Silas Lapham*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 67-90.
Howells' novel "The Rise of Silas Lapham."

- Dobell, J. Patrick (1988). The Honorable Spymaster: John Le Carré and the Character of Espionage. *Administration and Society* 20 (2), 191-215.
- Donoghue, Denis (Feb.26th, 1978). A Novel of Thought, Action and Pity (Book Review). *The New York Times*.
Greene's "The Human Factor."
- Downey, Lawrence L. (1987). The Use of Selected Fiction in Teaching Public Administration. Presented at the 1st national conference on Public Administration, the Arts, and the Humanities, the *New School for Social Research*, NYC.
- Downey, Lawrence L.(1997). The Ax (Book Review). *Public Voices* III (3), 99-102.
Donald Westlake's "The Ax."
- Drucker, Mark L. (1999). Studying Immigration Administration through Hollywood Filmmakers' Eyes. In Nagel, Stuart S. (Ed.). *Teaching Public Administration and Public Policy*. Urbana-Champaign, IL: Dirksen-Stevenson Policy Institute, University of Illinois, 141-156.
Hollywood films as a new teaching technology.
- Dubnick, Melvin (2000). Movies and Morals: Energizing Ethical Thinking among Professional. *Journal of Public Affairs Education* 6 (3), 147-159.
Use of film in management training.
- Durst, Samantha, and Charldean Newell (1997). Two Thumbs Up: The Media Are the Message. *Public Voices* III (3), 29-43.
This is a commentary on efforts to incorporate a "creative" project into a graduate-level public management course. Students analyze the effect of specific media images of the public sector on public perceptions.
- Eastep, Mary Ann, and Ali Farazmand (2000). "Just Doin' My Job." *Public Voices* IV (2), 11-14.
Two films, "The Chamber," and "Dead Man Walking," provide "unique insights into bureaucratic socialization as they traverse the work world of prison personnel charged with the implementation of society's ultimate punishment."
- Eco, Umberto (1989). *The Limits of Interpretation*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
The book describes two types of reader: a semantic, or naïve, reader that enjoys the worlds created by the author as they come, and a semiotic, or a critical, reader that analyzes these worlds in order to increase the joy of reading.
- Edelman, Murray (1995). *From Art to Politics: How Artistic Creations Shape Political Conceptions*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
Public administration and the arts.
- Edmundson, Henry (Ed.) (2000). *The Moral of the Story: Public Ethics and Literature*. Lexington Press.
- Egger, Rowland (Autumn, 1944). Fable for Wise Men. *Public Administration Review* 4, 371-376.
John Hersey's "A Bell for Adano."
- Egger, Rowland (Summer, 1949). Saga of a Lost Shoe. *Public Administration Review* 9, 221-234.
George Stewart's "Fire In."
- Egger, Rowland (June, 1959). The Administrative Novel. *American Political Science Review* 53, 448-455.
The author discusses characteristics of a good administrative novel.
- Ellison, D.R. (1990). *Understanding Albert Camus*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press.

An overview of the development of Camus's (1913-1960) major themes and writing style. Camus is examined not as a philosopher who used literary forms to express doctrinaire, dogmatic, or abstract ideas, but rather as an artist whose works demonstrate literary, philosophical, and political relevance (Annotation c. Book News, Inc., Portland, OR; booknews.com).

Elshtain, Jean Bethke (June, 1995). *Stories and Political Life. PS: Political Science & Politics XXVIII* (2).

Vaclav Havel's "Stories and Totalitarianism."

Ericson, E. (1974). *Dimensions of a New Identity: The 1973 Jefferson Lectures in the Humanities*. NY: W.W. Norton.

The author analyzes Jefferson's attitudes toward race and slavery. Jefferson's opposition to slavery is viewed as a characteristic of American identity.

Farmer, David John (1995). *The Language of Public Administration: Bureaucracy, Modernity, and Postmodernity*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press.

The aim of employing the anti-administration metaphor is to promote a multi-perspectival or reflexive language paradigm, thus seeking the energy from including marginalized and excluded insights.

Farmer, David John (1997). Postmodern Challenge to Public Administration. Introduction: Listening to Other Voices. *Public Voices III* (1), 1-8.

Public administration can be expected to become even less defined and even more open to sources like literature and art.

Farmer, David John (1997). Public Administration Discourse as Play with a Purpose. *Public Voices III* (1), 33-51.

P.A. discourse has avoided the opportunities for useful play that other disciplines have followed. Meanwhile, bureaucratic practice can benefit from such leading features of play as imagination, creativity, and spontaneity. The idea of P.A. discourse as a language game was discussed.

Farmer, David J. (2002). St. Anselm: A Perspective on Anti-Administration. *Public Voices VI* (1), 27-34.

The medieval perspective can underlie the limited parameters of the traditional public administration discourse.

Farmer, Rosemary (1997). Scenes from the Unconscious. *Public Voices III* (1), 67-81.

Using two examples that illustrate organizational behavior in terms of the Oedipal scene, the author proposes that organizations can benefit from storying and re-storying, where psychoanalytic interpretations are understood in terms of truth approximations.

Feibelman, James K. (1976). *Understanding Oriental Philosophy*. NY: Horizon Press.

An introduction to the history and development of religious and philosophical thought in India, China, and Japan.

Fisher, W.R. (1987). *Human Communication as Narration: Toward a Philosophy of Reason, Value, and Action*. Columbia, SC: The University of South Carolina Press.

The book discusses the narrative approach to knowledge.

Flaumenhaft, Mera J. (1994). *The Civic Spectacle: Essays on Drama and Community*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Through the analyses of four plays by Aeschylus, Euripides, Machiavelli and Shakespeare, the author shows the social and political function of drama in shaping and reshaping community.

Fleishman, A. (1967). *Conrad's Politics: Community and Anarchy in the Fiction of Joseph Conrad*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.

Frederickson, H. George (1997). *The Spirit of Public Administration*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

The author outlined eight basic principles of public administration, realization of which leads toward fulfilling the spirit of PA. A historical analysis of the leading ethical philosophies that the Constitutional framers examined and used; origins of the low citizen participation and low governance model.

- Frederickson, R.Q. and H.G. Frederickson (Fall 1994/Winter 1995). The Public Poems of Howard Nemerov. *Public Voices I* (3), 7-22.
The authors analyze several poems by Nemerov they judge to be “public” – poems that, in their view, should interest persons in public affairs – government, politics, and public administration.
- Friedsam, H.J. (March, 1954). Bureaucrats as Heroes. *Social Forces* 32, 269-274.
Novelists depict bureaucrat as a tragic heroes.
- Gabrielian, Vatche (Fall 1994/ Winter 1995). “Repentance” (Movie Review). *Public Voices I* (3), 73-78.
The first film to openly address the reign of terror of the Stalinist era through the images and philosophy of Orthodox Christianity.
- Gabrielian, Vatche (1996). Public Administration in Ancient China: The Practice and Thought. *Public Voices II* (1), 25-44.
Aspects of governance.
- Gabrielian, Vatche (2000). The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Screen Bureaucrat. *Public Voices IV* (2), 71-83.
The depiction of bureaucrats in Soviet cinema mirrors popular attitudes toward authorities, civic rights and freedoms, and changing values and ideas.
- Garaventa, Eugene (December, 1994). “An Enemy of the People,” by Henrik Ibsen: The Politics of Whistle-Blowing. *Journal of Management Inquiry* 3 (4), 369-374.
- Gawthrop, Louis C. (1998). *Public Service and Democracy: Ethical Imperatives for the 21st Century*. New York, NY: Chatham House Publishers.
The author argues that Judeo-Christian religion has much to contribute to the development in public administration of the ethical-moral construct promoting the common good.
- Gawthrop, Louis C. (2000). Public Service in “Greenland.” *Public Voices IV* (1), 5-36.
Administrative novels by Graham Greene.
- Geertz, Clifford (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures*. NY: Basic Books.
The author argues that the complexity of the world makes it necessary to turn to rich, thick sources of knowledge.
- Gianos, Phillip L. (1998). *Politics and Politicians in American Film*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
Screen depictions of politicians.
- Giglio, Ernest (2000). *Here’s Looking at You: Hollywood, Film, and Politics*. New York: Peter Lang.
Screen depictions of politicians.
- Gilman, S. (1981). Galdos and the Art of the European Novel: 1867-1887. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
“The Disinherited Lady” by Benito Perez Galdos.
- Gira, Catherine R. (1995). Lessons in Leadership from Shakespeare. In Goodsell, C.T., and N. Murray (Eds.). *Public Administration Illuminated and Inspired by the Arts*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 109-120.
“...Shakespeare tended to define the qualities of a good leader principally by negation—that is, by identifying common deficiencies of failed leaders. If we reflect on those deficiencies, we can arrive at certain positive maxims for those who aspire to be effective leaders” (Gira).
- Goldman, I.C. (1986). Business Made Her Nervous: The Fall of Persis Lapham. *The Old Northwest*, 419-438.
Howells’ novel “The Rise of Silas Lapham.”
- Golembiewski, Robert T. (1992). Organization Is a Moral Problem: Past as Prelude to Present and Future. *Public Administration Review* 52 (2), 99-103.
Democratic and bureaucratic principles that are self-evident truths are found in the Judeo-Christian ethic model.

- Good, Howard (1989). *Outcasts: The Image of Journalists in American Films*. South Brunswick, NY: A.S. Barnes.
A book about reporters and the media.
- Goodsell, Charles T. (1994). *The Case for Bureaucracy: A Public Administration Polemic*, 3rd Ed. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House.
Fiction creates experiences for individuals as vivid as encounters with real bureaucrats.
- Goodsell, Charles T. (1995). The Public Administrator as Artisan. In Goodsell, C.T., and N. Murray (Eds.). *Public Administration Illuminated and Inspired by the Arts*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 27-42.
Public administrators' daily work is inherently frustrating. The existing normative criteria and supportive systems are insufficient in guiding administrative decision making, as these systems and criteria "tend... to operate at the macrocosmic rather than the microcosmic level" (Goodsell).
- Goodsell, C.T., and N. Murray (Eds.) (1995). *Public Administration Illuminated and Inspired by the Arts*. Westport, Connecticut, London: Praeger.
Potential importance of literary genres for a deeper understanding of the practice of public administration.
- Goodsell, C.T., and N. Murray (1995). Prologue: Building New Bridges. In Goodsell, C.T., and N. Murray (Eds.). *Public Administration Illuminated and Inspired by the Arts*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 3-23.
Unorthodox approaches to administrative theory.
- Goodsell, Charles (1997). Public Architecture as Social Anchor in the Postmodern Age. *Public Voices III* (1), 89-97.
"Government buildings can provide physical reference points for the creation of common meaning, even in the postmodern condition. They remind us of our collective activities, help to distinguish the public and private spheres, and crystallize important institutional meanings."
- Gormley Jr., William T. (2001). Moralists, Pragmatists, and Rogues: Bureaucrats in Modern Mysteries. *Public Administration Review* 61 (2), 184-193.
Contemporary mysteries feature bureaucrats struggling with ethical dilemmas.
- Graham, L. (1997). Beyond Manipulation: Lillian Gilbreth's Industrial Psychology and the Governmentality of Women Customers, *Sociological Quarterly* 38 (4), 539-555.
Use of film in historical research in different academic fields, including business and government.
- Guba, E.G. (1985). The Context of Emerging Paradigm Research. In Lincoln, Y.S. (Ed.). *Organizational Theory and Inquiry: The Paradigm Revolution*. Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE.
Application of basic tenets of naturalism in organization studies. Since there are many constructions of reality that lead to divergent inquiry results, the outcomes of a scientific inquiry contribute not to prediction and control but to increased understanding. The same result is achieved through literary works.
- Guerard, A. (1958). *Conrad the Novelist*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Conrad as a commentator on the effects of the introduction of capitalism, on modernity, and humanity.
- Gugin, David A. (1987). Bureaucratic Decision Making and Bureaucratic Ethics: An Argument for the Novel. Presented at the annual meeting of ASPA, Boston.
- Hahn, Chan K., and Warren C. Waterhouse (September, 1972). Confucian Theories of Man and Organization. *Academy of Management Journal* 15 (3).
The authors review different concepts of human nature discussed among ancient Chinese philosophers and demonstrate how their differences led to various forms of political and administrative prescription.
- Hammond, Scott, and J.B. Ritchie (December, 1993). Models of Learning, Models of Life: A Review of Herbert A. Simon's Autobiography. *Journal of Management Inquiry* 2 (4), 326.

- Hanson, Patricia King (Ed.) (1988). *The American Film Institute Catalog of Motion Pictures Produced in the United States: Feature Films, 1911-1920*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Hanson, Patricia King (Ed.) (1988). *The American Film Institute Catalog of Motion Pictures Produced in the United States: Feature Films, 1931-1940*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Hanson, Patricia King (Ed.) (1988). *The American Film Institute Catalog of Motion Pictures Produced in the United States: Feature Films, 1941-1950*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Havel, Vaclav (1991). Stories and Totalitarianism. In *Open Letters*. New York: Knopf, 328-350.
An ideological politics, and a literature that serves it, suppresses history because it must suppress any viewpoint that is not its own.
- Hawthorn, J. (1979). *Joseph Conrad: Language and Fictional Self-Consciousness*. London: Edward Arnold.
“[T]he core achievement of [Conrad’s] *Nostramo* is the searching, delicate investigation into the relationship between material interest, material changes, and the hearts and minds of characters...” (p. 58).
- Hay, E.K. (1963). *The Political Novels of Joseph Conrad*. London: Chicago University Press.
- Heady, Ferrel (1996). *Public Administration: A Comparative Perspective*, 5th ed. NY: Marcel Dekker.
Ancient roots of public administration.
- Heffernan, Jeanne (Summer 1999). “Poised between Savagery and Civilization”: Forging Political Communities in Ford’s Westerns. *Perspectives on Political Science* 28 (3), 147-152.
The author discusses the political side of the motion pictures directed and produced by John Ford from 1917 to 1970 and examines the political issues and problems found in the plot of his films.
- Heinemann, Richard (1996). Kafka’s Oath of Service: “Der Bau” and the Dialectic of Bureaucratic Mind. *PMLA* 3 (2), 256-270.
- Hinton, David B. (1994). *Celluloid Ivy: Higher Education in the Movies, 1960-1990*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow.
A study of the cinematic depiction of higher education.
- Hofstede, Geert (1994). The Merchant and the Preacher: As Pictured by Multatuli’s “Max Havelaar” (1860). In Czarniawska-Joerges, B. and P. Guillet de Monthoux (Eds.). *Good Novels, Better Management*. Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 138-153.
Dekker’s novel on Dutch colonial administration and successful stakeholder action.
- Holden, S. (22 December, 2000). Ultimate Survivor, Man against Nature (Movie Review). New York Times, B1, B38, available at: www.nytimes.com/2000/12/22/arts/22CAST.html.
A review of “Cast Away.”
- Holland, H.M. Jr. (Ed.) (1968). *Politics through Literature*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
A collection of works of fiction to aid the study of politics.
- Holley, Lyn, and Rebecca K. Lutte (2000). Public Administration at the Movies. *Public Voices* IV (2), 3-10.
Influence of popular films on public perception of government and on public policy.

- Holzer, Marc (July 1974). Unorthodox Administrative Commentary. *The Bureaucrat* 3, 116-29.
Categorization of pessimistic views of bureaucracy's impact on individual values.
- Holzer, Marc (1991). Visual Perspectives on Bureaucracy: Art, Cinema, and Photography. Presented at annual conference of the *American Political Science Association*, Washington, D.C.
- Holzer, Marc (Fall 1993). Creative Insights into Public Service: Building an Ethical Dialogue. *Public Voices* I (1), 9-22.
The arts and humanities often contain thoughtful critiques about relationships between bureaucracies and bureaucrats, and bureaucrats and their clients.
- Holzer, Marc (1997). Communicating Administrative Issues through Creative Forms. In Garnett, James and Alexander Kouzmin (Eds.). *Handbook of Administrative Communication*. New York, NY: Marcel Dekker, 203-226.
- Holzer, Marc, and Vatche Gabrielian (Eds.) (2000). Bureaucracy on the Silver Screen: A World-Wide Perspective (Symposium Introduction). *Public Voices* 4 (2), 1.
An international effort to examine bureaucratic images in motion pictures.
- Holzer, Marc, and Liudmila Kuznetsova (Fall, 1993). Public Voices: Encouraging Creative Voices. *Public Voices* I (1), 5-8.
Unorthodox organizational diagnosis.
- Holzer, Marc, Kenneth Morris and William Ludwin (Eds.) (1979). *Literature in Bureaucracy. Readings in Administrative Fiction*. Wayne, NJ: Avery Publishing Group.
The editors of this reader developed the so-called Matrix of Concern that lists and categorizes unorthodox administrative commentaries found in fiction that have not been duly emphasized in traditional administrative theory.
- Holzer, Marc, and Linda Slater (1995). Insight into Bureaucracy from Film: Visualizing Stereotypes. In Goodsell, C.T. and N. Murray (Eds.). *Public Administration Illuminated and Inspired by the Arts*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 75-90.
Motion pictures promote and feed on the negative stereotypes of the bumbling bureaucrat, while the public adopts the premises of inefficiency and corruption in government.
- Horton, Andrew (Ed.) (1993). *Inside Soviet Film Satire: Laughter with a Lash*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Image of the bureaucrat in Soviet cinematography.
- Horton, J., and A. Baumeister (Eds.) (1996). *Literature and the Political Imagination*. London: Routledge.
The book shows how modern political theory can be enriched through an engagement with works of literature. It uses the resources of literature to explore issues such as nationalism, liberal philosophy, utopianism, narrative and the role of theory (From the Publisher).
- Howe, I. (1961). *Politics and the Novel*. London: Stevens and Sons.
Themes of political power and the development of political awareness in Conrad's "Nostromo."
- Hsu, Cho-yun (1988). The Roles of the Literati and of Regionalism in the Fall of the Han Dynasty. In Yoffee, Norman and G.L. Cowgill (Eds.). *The Collapse of Ancient States and Civilizations*. University of Arizona Press.
The role of literati in the Ancient Chinese administration.
- Hummel, Ralph (1994). Stories Managers Tell: Why They are Valid as Science. In J. White and G. Adams (Eds.). *Research in Public Administration*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 225-245.
Case studies and descriptive narratives as the major alternative means of knowledge acquisition by public managers.

- Illiash, Iryna (2000). "A Forgotten Tune for the Flute" (Movie Review). *Public Voices* IV (2), 85-92.
The review of one of the most explicit anti-bureaucratic films of the Soviet cinematography.
- Illiash, Iryna (2004). Waldo Revisited or Genesis of the Idea of Looking at Administration through the Prism of the Arts. *Public Voices* VII (2), 63-72.
A synopsis of arguments in favor of integrating works of the arts into the study of public administration.
- Jacobsson, Bengt (1994). On Evil Organizations and Illusory Reforms: A Scandinavian Saga. In Czarniawska-Joerges, B. and P. Guillet de Monthoux (Eds.). *Good Novels, Better Management*. Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 65-92.
The main character of "The Red Room" by a Swedish novelist A. Strindberg collects intelligence on the distribution of power in government, mechanisms of opinion formation, and citizens' possibilities to influence their living conditions.
- Jameson, F. (1981). *The Political Unconscious: Literature as a Socially Symbolic Expression*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Jarvie, I.C. (1978). Seeing through Movies. *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 8, 374-397.
The movie as a window on society.
- Johnston, J.S. Jr. and Associates (Eds.) (1986). *Educating Managers: Executive Effectiveness through Liberal Learning*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
How education in liberal arts has helped managers to be more adaptable and appreciative of diverse cultures.
- Jones, R. (1998). The Economic Puzzle of Oskar Schindler: Amenity Potential and Rational Choice. *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 57 (1), 3-26.
Use of film in historical research in different academic fields, including business and government.
- Jurkiewicz, Carole, and Robert A. Giacalone (2000). Through the Lens Clearly: Using Films to Demonstrate Ethical Decision-Making in the Public Service. *Journal of Public Affairs Education* 6 (4), 257-265.
The article provides a description of how to transform a natural interest in watching films into a potentially profound understanding of incorporating public service values into the decision-making process.
- Karl, F.R. (1997). *A Reader's Guide to Joseph Conrad*. Syracuse University Press.
- Keenan, Kevin L. (Fall 1996). Network Television News Coverage of Public Relations: An Exploratory Census of Content. *Public Relations Review* 22 (3), 215-231.
Exploration of the screen image of public relations in network TV coverage.
- Kiley, Frederick, and Walter McDonald (Eds.) (1973). *A "Catch-22" Casebook*. NY: Thomas Y. Crowell.
- King, Stephen M. (2000). Toward a New Administrative Ethic: An Understanding and Application of the Judeo-Christian Tradition to Administrative Issues. *Public Integrity* 2 (1), 17-27.
Ethical guidance based upon religious wisdom literature has relevance to the "real world" of the public administrator.
- King, Stephen M. (2004). A Proverbial Approach to Public Administration. *Public Voices* VII (2), 28-40.
The article examines public administrative principles that flow from the book of "Proverbs," thus showing that ethical decision-making by public administrators is influenced by wisdom literature found in religious texts.
- Klima, Robert H. (1999). *The Beginning of Wisdom: A Lawyer's Reflections on Proverbs 1:1-9*. Broad Run, VA: Saints Hill Publishing Company.
- Klopp, Sophia B., and Michael W. Popejoy (Winter/Spring 1994). "Disclosure," by Michael Crichton (Book Review). *Public Voices* I (2), 87-91.

The novel on sexual harassment is discussed from two points of view: that of a woman's and then that of a man's.

Knight, Nicholas (1974). Equity, the Merchant of Venice and William Lambarde. *Shakespeare Survey* 17.

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Mary P. Follett: Creating Democracy, Transforming Management

By Joan C. Tonn. New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 2003

Reviewed by *John R. Phillips*

Mary Parker Follett is one of the great figures in the history of public administration, but one who remains elusive and difficult to categorize. An important political theorist, Follett's early work encompassed political institutions and structures such as the leadership of the House of Representatives. Her later analyses of citizenship, community, and nation arose in part, at least, from a careful study and complex critique of English pluralism on the one hand and Hegelian collectivism, on the other. To this theoretical and philosophical background she added insights from her own deep involvement with—and leadership of—the community centers movement, innovations in education and placing youth in the workforce, and extensive studies in the natural and social sciences. Follett's political theory has generally been overshadowed by her work in organizational behavior, an area of study that took up the bulk of her professional life. At the end of that life, however, Follett returned to political theory and shifted her attention to the League of Nations and international relations, an area of research cut short by her untimely death.

As an organizational theorist, Follett does not have a comfortable intellectual home. Thinkers from both the public and private sectors claim her as their own. A few major concepts regularly appear in textbooks: The law of the situation, power and the giving of orders, power-with versus power-over, depersonalization of orders, and empowerment, among others. Similarly, three of four of her articles are regularly recycled through collections of readings on public administration or organizational behavior. In those texts and collections, Follett is often disposed of with a simplifying summary or an obligatory paragraph or two that treat her as a transitional figure between the scientific management of Frederick W. Taylor and the later human relations school of management. That obligation having been met, textbook writers move on to other topics. So much for Follett.

Until recently, so sketchy a view is about all that one could easily learn about Follett, as a scholar. Follett, as a person, remained a great mystery. All that is now changed. Joan Tonn's superb new biography, an endlessly fascinating study of an equally fascinating subject, is

richly informative across the full scope of Follett's personal and professional life. Follett's life is set within the context of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the great political events of which were the Great War, the Women's Suffrage movement and the Nineteenth Amendment, the "return to normalcy" following the war, and (at the end of her life), the beginning of the Great Depression. On the personal side, Follett's life, as Tonn presents it, was deeply dyed by the psychological insecurities so often found in children of an alcoholic parent (in Follett's case, her father). A domineering and demanding mother, from whom Follett struggled to achieve independence, added to the psychological mix.

Educational achievement and intellectual activities, which came to dominate Follett's life, provided both a psychological and a physical escape from the home environment. As a secondary school student, she came under the influence of Anna Boynton Thompson, who shaped her basic writing and analytical skills. At the "Harvard Annex" (which became Radcliff College), she studied with the great historian Albert Bushnell Hart who pushed her to publish her first book, a study of the speaker of the House of Representatives. (It is interesting to note that this book was published two years before she received her bachelor's degree.) Follett also studied with the utilitarian Henry Sidgwick at Newnham College, Cambridge. Unfortunately, one of her mother's illnesses demanded her return to the United States, so Follett was unable to receive a Cambridge degree.

A professional when there were few professional careers open to women, Follett devoted herself to community organization and education in addition to her research and writing. While she never held a university post, she lectured regularly at the Maxwell School and at Oxford as well as addressing such organizations as the Bureau of Personnel Administration, the American Philosophical Association, the National Institute for Industrial Psychology, and others. During her career she came to know many important social and political leaders of the day. In public administration and organizational behavior, she had close relations with Frederick Taylor, Lyndall Urwick, and William Mosher, among others. In both England and the United States, she associated with political, social, and cultural leaders such as Ella and Richard Cabot, Louis and Alice Brandeis, the writers Virginia and Leonard Woolf, Lord Baden-Powell (founder of the Guides/Boy Scout Movement), Dame Katherine Furse (organizer of World War I army medical aid and, later, head of the Women's Royal Navy Service), and Lord Haldane (British minister of war and social philosopher).

On the personal side, Follett's adult life was an interesting counterpoint to that of her childhood. For over three decades she received great encouragement and support from her friend Isobel Briggs, a Shakespearean scholar and secondary school headmistress. Their relationship was that of the so-called "Boston marriage," an arrangement where two single women shared a household. Briggs had the intellectual ability to be a constant stimulus to Follett while, at the same time, having personal characteristics that (despite occasional tensions) were supportive rather than demanding. After Briggs' death, Follett lived for some time with Dame Katherine Furse, but that relationship was much more stressful, for Furse was both more demanding of Follett and more independent of her than had been the case with Isobel Briggs.

In addition to the rich detail on Follett's personal and professional life, Tonn's work is essential to an understanding of Follett's contribution to social thought. In the area of political

theory and public administration, Follett shared the frustrations of other thinkers of her time. With Woodrow Wilson and Frank Goodnow, she noted the “unworkabilities” of our national government at the end of the nineteenth century. The checks and balances system had led to stagnation, stalemate, and chaos. Her study of the speaker of the house was a study in practical politics in that it explored the ways in which the speaker brought his power to bear in order to accomplish political purposes. Her understanding of political parties was also akin to that of Goodnow who saw political parties as a means to circumvent stalemate and to empower individuals.

She rejected the structural federalism of the day, but appeared to support ideas similar to the cooperative federalism of a later time. She applied the notion of integration (in almost a Parsonian sense) to the international sphere and to her studies of the League of Nations. When one considers the richness of her political theorizing, Follett is truly visionary, for the successive development of such international structures as the European Economic Community, the European Free Trade Association, and the European Community are all consistent with—and anticipated by—Follett’s political theory.

In the area of organizational theory, it may well be questioned whether Follett was indeed the “transitional figure” between scientific management and the human relations school that the textbooks would have her to be. For all the creativity of her work, she remained committed throughout her life to a scientific approach to management. The great difference is that while Taylor and Taylorism placed its scientific faith in a relatively mechanistic model, Follett saw society and its future much more broadly. Her wide reading in psychology, sociology, biology, and other fields, gave her a much more complex view of the world of work than that held by the Taylorites. Yet, despite her emphasis on human and humane factors in the workplace, Follett remained resolutely “unmodern” in some respects. Her work does not reflect much interest in workers as males or females. Indeed, her work is rather resolutely masculine, the few references to women being in the context of discussions of “shop girls.” A feminist she does not appear to be! Even so, across all the fields that she studied, Follett was above all a tremendously original and creative thinker.

Those who take up Joan Tonn’s book, will find far more of interest than can be sketched out in so short a review. The truly good thing to note is that, for those who read this fine book, Follett will no longer be a great mystery. What Tonn has accomplished is to give us a very rich picture of the life of this remarkable theorist, philosopher, and practitioner. Surely there is much more to be done in analyzing Follett’s thought. The biography, however, is definitive. Read it.

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