

Public Voices



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Cover Art

A BUREAUCRAT Drawing by pen on a newspaper page. This Soviet cartoon from the 1920s is from *Red Tape from Red Square*, a collection of Russian political art soon to be available on CD-ROM from Chatelaine Press.

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Public Service in "Greeneland"

Louis C. Gawthrop

Career public servants assume a prominent position in the fictional writings of Graham Greene. Of his twenty-four (+/-) novels, eleven can be viewed as "political" in the sense that they are structured within a context involving the dynamics of governmental forces and/or politics. Of these, there are six that may be referred to, loosely, as his "administrative" novels from within which several interesting insights into Greene's basic perspectives of the public service can be discerned. These works are: *It's a Battlefield*, *This Gun for Hire*, *The Heart of the Matter*, *The Third Man*, *The Quiet American*, and *The Human Factor*. (A seventh, *Our Man in Havana*, is a farcical caricature of public sector organizations and administrative behavior. Although it is drawn with discomfiting accuracy, I do not include it in my consideration of Greene's serious treatment of public administration.) The specific thrust of this article will focus on four of Greene's "administrative" novels: *It's a Battlefield*, *The Heart of the Matter*, *The Quiet American*, and *The Human Factor*. The primary perspectives of public bureaucracy that emerge from these four novels may be characterized as: 1) a malevolent dichotomy, 2) the malignancy of the innocents, and 3) the danger of caring.

The first perspective, "a malevolent dichotomy," was first engaged in one of Greene's earliest novels, *It's a Battlefield*, as revealed in the characterization of the central figure of the book, the Assistant Commissioner, and again revealed in one of his later novels, *The Human Factor*, in the character of Colonel John Daintry. The second perspective, "the malignancy of the innocents," is developed most deftly in the characterization of Alden Pyle, from *The Quiet American*; this

same mannerism is revealed in the character of Arthur Davis who figures prominently in *The Human Factor*. The third perspective, "the danger of caring," is reflected most effectively in two of Greene's central characters, Major Henry Scobie (*The Heart of the Matter*) and Maurice Castle (*The Human Factor*). In other words, Greene's perspectives of public service, as reflected most thoroughly in his novel, *The Human Factor*, were no idle impulses; each was crafted in meticulous detail in previous works. For this reason, these basic perspectives need to be considered thoroughly to determine if they simply reveal quaint idiosyncrasies of a British civil service (and American in the case of Alden Pyle) long since made extinct, or if they are endemic to public service—that is, to the profession and to the professional civil servant, as well.

A Malevolent Dichotomy

Unlike the policy-administration dichotomy advanced by such scholars as Max Weber and Woodrow Wilson at the end of the Nineteenth Century, the dichotomy drawn by Greene is much more malevolent. The basic assumption in Greeneland is that, at the micro levels of public service, the individual may have a chance to survive as an authentic self; but once one is drawn into the organizational macro sphere, or worse, into the ideological metasphere of politics, individual virtues are inevitably uprooted either through gradual erosion or sudden flooding. Given the fact that the notion of "rootlessness" is a central, albeit implicit, theme in all of Greene's writings, its significance in relation to this perspective cannot be ignored (Allain, 1983, p. 20).

Greene's conception of a malevolent dichotomy can be expressed in terms of a counterpolar attraction between the ever-present organizational forces of pretense and the individual public servant's struggle to maintain a semblance of personal authenticity. In this connection, however, it is important to note that, for Greene, these countervailing forces are by no means equal in their intensity. The macro forces of pretense are substantially more powerful in their pull on the individual than are the micro forces that draw in the direction of the authentic self (Gawthrop, 1994, pp. 23-30). For public servants, the conclusion that Greene seems to impart is clear: If one enters the public service assuming no conflict exists between organizational ends and individual authentic being, such a person is bound to be drawn into the macro web of organizational pretense.

This premise, while implicit in all Greene's "administrative" novels, is developed most astutely in one of his earliest works, *It's a Battlefield*, written in 1934, and in *The Human Factor*, written forty-four years later.

The Macro World of Organizational Systems.

The title of the novel, *It's A Battlefield* (Greene, 1982), finds its meaning, not in raging pandemonium and chaos, but in vaguely defined, segmented orderliness. A clue to Greene's intended purpose is found, as is virtually always his practice, in the novel's epigraph:

Insofar as the battlefield presented itself to the bare eyesight of men, it had no entirety, no breadth, no depth, no size, no shape, and was made up of nothing except small numberless circlets commensurate with such ranges of vision as the mist might allow each spot...In such conditions, each separate gathering of English soldiery went on fighting its own little battle in happy and advantageous ignorance of the general state of the action; nay, even very often in ignorance of the fact that any great conflict was raging.

The "battlefield" in this novel is the criminal justice system where victims, offenders, law enforcement officials, courts, prisons, and political officials all operate in blind ignorance of the overall system—all of them secure in their respective "circlets"—i.e., sub-systems that reflect the routinized, habituated patterns of pretense. As depicted by Greene, the concept of justice becomes the pretense of justice, and all of the circlets join together to maintain this pretense. Within this stable state, the system of organizational circlets provides a subtle logic to the design of the battlefield—all is well and calm unless the dynamic impulses of one circlet impinge on the operating routines of another.

The principal character of the novel, known only as "the Assistant Commissioner," has been recently reassigned to London to the "number two" position at Scotland Yard after an extended tour of duty as police superintendent somewhere in the Far East. Unfortunately, he is never able to comprehend the unwritten rules of his new "battlefield" and, as a consequence, the unreality of this situation creates for the Assistant Commissioner his own private torment. At one

point, we are told that "he had a dim memory that someone had once mapped hell in circles" (p.18).

Forty-four years later, Greene again revealed his flair for utilizing the mode of geometric symbolism to describe the depersonalized detachment associated with complex public sector organizations. *The Human Factor* (1979) is Greene's *magnum opus* on the bureaucratic machinations of complex, public sector organizations and, as indicated above, will be discussed in connection with each of the three perspectives to be examined.

The storyline of *The Human Factor* revolves around a long-tenured, subordinate career civil servant, Maurice Castle, who is in charge of Section 6A of MI6, Britain's counterpart to the CIA. In conjunction with his official responsibilities, which include the supervision of one assistant, Castle is also a double agent providing top secret intelligence information to the Russians. Castle is viewed by his superiors, who are trying to locate the Russian "mole" burrowed in their midst, as a totally loyal, dedicated, competent, dull, and boring public servant. Thus, throughout most of the novel Castle is above suspicion as the department's senior officials proceed to ferret out the subversive traitor in their ranks.

The two principal agency officials involved in the search are Colonel John Daintry, who only recently assumed his position as MI6 security chief, and Dr. Emmanuel Percival who serves as the agency's triple-threat resident physician, psychologist, and nihilistic reactionary. What Daintry brings to his position as security officer of MI6, unlike the Assistant Commissioner, is a rigid, rational, legalistic mind-set. For Daintry, administrative responsibility is clearly and solely a function of accountability, and the lines of accountability are as precisely defined as the coordinates on a map.

In a weekend meeting at the estate of Sir John Hargreaves, the chief of MI6, Percival and Daintry are informed by Hargreaves of the security leak. Hargreaves and Percival engage in a "hypothetical" discussion as to how to handle "the leak" in the most expeditious manner (and the "logical" source of the leak at this point is assumed to be Arthur Davis, Castle's assistant). Percival, MI6's specialist in bacteriology, is anxious to bring the discussion to closure: "I quite understand. He should die quietly, peacefully, without pain too, poor chap....A natural death" (pp. 33-34). In response to Daintry's quick

protest—"I'm not saying he's guilty"— Hargreaves replies reassuringly, "None of us are....We are only taking Davis as a possible example...to help us examine the problem....There is no hurry. We have to be quite sure that he's our man" (p. 34).

As the three prepare to retire for the evening, the discussion is continued between Percival and Daintry. "It seemed to me you were a bit shocked at C's [Hargreaves'] attitude—I mean to things in general," Percival states. "Yes, perhaps I was." To which Percival replies, "You haven't been a long time with us, have you, or you'd know how we all live in boxes—you know—boxes." Daintry is mystified: "I still don't understand." And Percival states, "Yes, you said that before, didn't you? Understanding isn't all that important in our business. I see they have given you the Ben Nicholson room" (p.36).

Greene's reference to Ben Nicholson, the British abstract artist, is interesting, particularly as it follows Percival's statement: "Understanding isn't all that important in our business." In describing his own work, Nicholson has stated:

One of the main differences between a representational and an abstract painting is that the former can transport you to Greece by a representation of blue skies and seas, olive trees and marble columns but in order that you may take part in this you will have to concentrate on the painting, whereas the abstract version by its free use of form and color will be able to give you the actual quality of Greece itself, and this will become part of the light and space and life in the room—*there is no need to concentrate...*(Nicholson, 1955).

Such references, however, are beyond the comprehension of Daintry: "I don't understand modern pictures," is his weak response. And this allows Percival the opportunity to explain MI6's organizational design in terms of Nicholson's abstract paintings.

Take a look at that Nicholson. Such a clever balance. Squares of different color. And yet living so happily together. No clash. The man has a wonderful eye. Change just one of those colors—even the size of the square—and it would be no good at all.

Percival pointed to a yellow square.

There's your Section 6. That's your square from now on. You don't need to worry about the blue and the red. All you have to do is pinpoint our man and then tell me. You've no responsibility for what happens in the blue or red squares. In fact not even in the yellow. You just report. No bad conscience. No guilt.

Percival's "the-end-justifies-the-means" argument is not lost on Daintry: "An action has nothing to do with its consequences. Is that what you are telling me?" Percival replies: "The consequences are decided elsewhere, Daintry....Do try to understand that picture. Particularly the yellow square. If you could only see it with my eyes, you would sleep well tonight" (pp. 36-7).

The Micro World of Human Systems.

The situations involving the Assistant Commissioner and Daintry, and the manner in which they deal with the threatened rootlessness—i.e., the loss of authenticity—caused by their respective organizational systems, are fundamentally different in numerous respects. But in the depths of their existential selves, each is able to resolve the inevitable tension that constantly prevails between the macro and micro levels of public service; each is able to avoid the destructive forces of rootlessness; and each is able to live within himself as an authentic human being.

In the case of Daintry, the issue involving the security leak in MI6 proved to be a far heavier load than his legal mind could tolerate. His suspicions of Davis were purely circumstantial; only hard evidence could prove his guilt and in this regard Daintry was adamantly opposed to the "elimination" of Davis. Percival, however, was much more pragmatic and opportunistic. At dinner one evening with Hargreaves, Percival confides, "...personally I'm convinced that Davis is the man we are looking for....can we afford to wait for perfect evidence, John? After all we don't intend to put him on trial....we can't wait for the kind of evidence that Daintry demands" (pp. 85-89).

Subsequently, Hargreaves is required to attend a meeting in Washington, but before leaving, he turns the Davis situation over to Percival. "I leave it with confidence in your hands, Emmanuel. And in Daintry's too, of course." "Suppose we don't agree?" "Then it must be

your decision. You are my deputy in this affair. But for God's sake, Emmanuel, don't do anything rash" (p.135). Shortly thereafter, while Hargreaves is in Washington, D.C., Davis becomes ill and dies. Upon his return, Hargreaves castigates Percival mildly: "You should have waited until I came home. Did you discuss it with Daintry?" Percival's Machiavellian strain cannot be disguised: "You had left me in charge, John. When you feel the fish on the line you don't stand waiting on the bank for someone else to advise you what to do" (p. 182).

Later, when it is apparent that the wrong man has been "eliminated", Daintry goes to Castle's home to interrogate him. During their meeting, Daintry confides to Castle, "I nearly resigned after Davis's funeral. I wish I had.' 'Why didn't you?' 'What would I have done to pass the time' "(p.237)? At another point we are informed that "There were moments when he had wanted to...say, 'I resign. I don't want to have any more to do with your bloody firm.' He was tired to death of secrecy and of errors which had to be covered up and not admitted....Daintry thought: They killed my marriage with their secrets....There was nothing clear enough in the cause to justify murder by mistake....He thought: My wife has enough money, my daughter is married, I could live—somehow—on my pension" (pp. 239-240).

After his conversation with Castle, Daintry is convinced that he is the spy. With great reluctance and absolute bitterness, he reports to Percival that he has interviewed Castle. "Yes. What's your impression?", Percival asks." "My impression is that you have murdered the wrong man." Daintry concludes his telephone conversation with Percival and heads for his flat. "He thought: Well, I did what they would call my duty, but though he was on the road toward his home...to write his letter, he was in no hurry to arrive. In his mind the act of resignation had already been accomplished. He told himself he was a free man, that he had no duties any longer and no obligations, but he had never felt such an extreme solitude as he felt now" (p.243).

The extreme solitude experienced by Daintry is mirrored in the isolation that threatened the Assistant Commissioner. At the outset of the novel, *It's a Battlefield*, we are informed that "...justice was not his business" (p.1). As he says to himself, "I've got nothing to do with justice...my job is simply to get the right man....One left justice to magistrates, to judges and juries, to members of Parliament, to the Home Secretary" (pp. 2, 173, 177). Moreover, we learn that the Assis-

tant Commissioner is, like Daintry, a very secular man. Indeed, "He considered morality no more his business than politics" (p.3). Nevertheless, as the story unfolds it becomes apparent that the Assistant Commissioner is, like Daintry, driven by a deeply-ingrained sense of "just-ness" and, also, is endowed with a penetrating sense of moral consciousness.

Although he disassociated himself from any abstract notion of justice, the Assistant Commissioner was fully dependent on the sense of order provided by the justice system. This sense of order formed the essence of his job, and for him it was "...impossible for a man to found his life on any higher motive than doing his job" (p.82). Anything less had no meaning for him. He threw "...his whole shrewd slow mind into every detail of his duty...; nor did the men with whom he spent his days disguise the fact that they worked—worked seriously, with a sense of responsibility, to keep life in them—detectives, bus-drivers, pawnbrokers, thieves" (p.10). And yet, the Assistant Commissioner was critically conscious of his role in the system. As he confesses to himself, he upheld the system because he was paid to uphold it—"He was a mercenary, and a mercenary soldier could not encourage himself with the catchwords of patriotism—my country, right or wrong, self-determination of peoples, justice. He fought because he was paid to fight....it was the will of the organization he served" (p.137).

From an existential perspective, however, a different "war" unfolds; the Assistant Commissioner's own inner being was a turbulent battlefield. "...When he was tired or depressed or felt his age...he dreamed of an organization which he could serve for higher reasons than pay, an organization which would enlist his fidelity because of its inherent justice, its fair distribution of reward, its reasonableness....His thin face, yellowed by more fevers than he could count, lined by the years of faithful mercenary service [at an unidentified post in "the East"] would grow for a moment envious at the thought of younger men who might live to serve something which they believed worthy of their service" (p.137).

Such thoughts, however, were always quickly erased from his mind; "...the Assistant Commissioner, like Pilate, washed his hands" (p.177) clean of any ethical-moral involvement in his mission. When asked by a long-time acquaintance to intervene with the Home Secretary to stay the execution of the convicted murderer around whom

the story unfolds, he responded simply, "It's out of my hands" (p.200).

The Assistant Commissioner is, on the surface level, a model of professional detachment and objective neutrality—the epitome of Max Weber's fundamental dictum, *sine ira ac studio*. We are left with an individual whose passion for anonymity is intense—the ideal administrator, always on tap, never on top. Nevertheless, we become aware of the existential torment that haunts the "number 2" man of Scotland Yard. He finds himself angered by the hypocrisy and pretense of a system of justice that is applied severely to the underclass criminals and, at the same time, most leniently to upper class offenders (p.180). Yet, it is the only system that can provide him with the critically essential life-support mechanism on which he has become absolutely dependent.

At the end of the story we share a brief glimpse into the inner sanctum of the Assistant Commissioner's existential self when he considers the possibility of resigning—"I'm half inclined to resign myself." But then, in the secure confines of his drawing room, late one evening, he, too, confronts the awful reality of resignation. "Resign? He rose, shut the window, drew the curtains. The word seemed to usher him into an empty room, cold, fireless, without light....He sat down again at his desk. I am a coward, he told himself; I haven't the courage of my convictions. I am not indispensable to the Yard; it is the Yard which is indispensable to me" (p.215).

The man with no name spent his entire professional career carefully maneuvering through the mine fields of life. In the process he assiduously and successfully avoided innumerable confrontational situations that would have entailed personal and professional risks, to be sure. But, by the same token, such situations were the elements that could have added substance to his being. For example, on numerous occasions, in the East and in London, he encountered "the man by the side of the road," the one who needed help; but always he charted a wide course and moved on. No Samaritan was the Assistant Commissioner; nor was he the priest—"God help the men responsible for the way life is organized," he reflects at one point (p.177). But he was certainly not far removed from the Levites, the assistants to the Temple priests whose job was to insure that the laws were faithfully obeyed.

As it was, he stood in the twilight of his professional career and genuinely acknowledged himself for what he was—a lonely man with a malaria shaded face reflecting the metaphorical symbol of cowardice. His damaged liver was the only wound he received in his years of service, and it not only was revealed in his countenance for all to see but it was also reflected in his soul, a fact of which he alone was aware.

The Assistant Commissioner was a man of scrupulous integrity and unquestionable professional competence who was able to project the demeanor of the perfect civil servant. He was, nevertheless, ashamed of his absolute dependence on his work; and his shame was made all the greater by the realization that it was not possible for him to change. The novel's last reference to the Assistant Commissioner sounds the tone of a eulogy:

He came, yellow lined face; he came, thin bureaucratic body; he came slowly, justice with a file of papers; he came, respectability with bowler hat and umbrella; he came, assurance, eyes on the pavement, safe in London, safe in the capital city of the Empire, safe at the heart of civilization;...down the street the upholder of civilization, eyes on the pavement, neat file under his arm (pp. 171–172).

The Grand Paradox of Public Service.

The ability for one to maneuver through the eddies and riptides of the bureaucratic currents is no mean feat, at least in Greenland. The notions of organizational loyalty and political fidelity can be presented to the public sector careerist "...in so many respectable and seductive disguises that his conscience becomes nervous and vacillating, till at last he contends himself with a salved instead of a clear conscience, so that he lies to his own conscience in order to avoid despair; for a man whose only support is his conscience can never realize that a bad conscience may be stronger and more wholesome than a deluded one" (Bonhoeffer, 1967, p. 3).

Thus, it would appear that, for Greene, public service may be viewed as one grand paradox. Accountability, allegiance, service, duty are concepts praised in the abstract for their clarity but, in reality, each is enveloped by multiple contradictions. This is the basic paradox that all civil servants must endure and, thus, by definition, they

must become expert in recognizing that the path to the authentic self is not to be found in the metaspheres of ideological causes, nor in the macro spheres of organizational systems, but only at the micro levels of human relations—reality is in the relating. The ultimate reality of public service, not only reflected in the pages of Graham Greene but in our own current reality, can be phrased in a question: To what extent can career public servants remain objectively detached from the macro and metacurrents that swirl about them and, at the same time, remain authentically attached to their professional colleagues, to the citizens they are committed to serve, and to themselves? The answer Greene suggests is clear: only with great effort and with extremely limited success.

The Malignancy of the Innocents

The notion of innocence clearly ranks as one of the most frequently developed character traits in all of Greene's novels, political and non-political. Some of his characters reflect a naive innocence derived from simple ignorance. For others, innocence is derived either from a distorted sense of egoistic self-confidence or from a deluded allegiance to a higher cause. Moreover, as depicted by Greene, innocence is an extremely costly commodity; not only is the mortality rate among the dozen or more innocents that can be culled from all of Greene's novels extremely high, but, in addition, the danger to others who are associated with these "infected" carriers is substantial.

Two of Greene's public servants who best exemplify the notion of innocence in his "administrative" novels are Arthur Davis, a secondary but critically important character in *The Human Factor*, whose innocence is shaped primarily by a naive simplicity drawn from an immature romanticism, and Alden Pyle, the quiet American, who is the principal character in Green's *The Quiet American* (1977) and who reflects the innocence of a "true believer"—i.e., a "blind" allegiance to an ideological "cause" that transcends the organization.

Naive Simplicity.

In the opening two pages of *The Human Factor*, the reader is introduced to the character of Arthur Davis, a subordinate civil servant assigned to MI6. Like the CIA, the activities of MI6 are enveloped by a seal of super-secrecy. Moreover, given the British civil service tradition of anonymity—fashioned in no small part by London's Bond

Street tailors—the myriads of British civil servants suggest a montage of Gothic gray-suited clones whose distinctiveness is characterized by their inconspicuousness—not only in dress and demeanor but also in personal life style. All of this is lost, however, on Arthur Davis who, as we are informed, “...was conspicuous by his eccentricities” (p. 4).

As he arrives for work, he is introduced to the reader, “dressed as if he had just come from a rather horsy country weekend, or perhaps from the public enclosure of a racecourse. He wore a tweed sports jacket of a greenish overall color, and he displayed a scarlet spotted handkerchief in the breast pocket: he might have been attached in some way to a tote” (p. 4). Professionally, Davis reveals the same casual, cavalier attitude that imprints his personal life. In an organizational environment that places high value on punctuality, Davis consistently treats time as a measure of approximation. Moreover, Davis is a hopeless romantic who, in his naiveté, joined the agency to travel to exotic places around the world. Instead, he finds himself forced to endure a daily routine of opening mail pouches and decoding seemingly innocuous, if not worthless cablegrams in a staid, drab London office.

Davis' simplistic indifference towards his professional responsibilities is accepted by Maurice Castle, his supervisor in Section 6A of MI6, with a fatherly forbearance; however, for Colonel John Daintry, MI6's newly appointed security chief, the letter of the law is his only guide. In conducting spot checks to test the regulation against taking work from the office, Daintry encounters Davis as the latter returns from lunch, only to find in his mackintosh pocket an official report that Davis read over lunch. No major scene resulted; only a gentle but stern warning from Daintry. An innocuous transgression committed by a naive innocent, to be sure; but for Daintry, innocence was a fundamental legal concept that could be precisely defined.

Unfortunately, Davis's minor infraction occurs at an inopportune time. As mentioned previously, the head of MI6, Sir John Hargreaves, has just become aware of a security “leak” in Section 6A and summons Daintry and Dr. Emmanuel Percival to his country estate to evaluate the breach in security. Daintry reports on the routine background checks he completed on Castle and Davis. Castle, who is in fact the Russian mole, is characterized approvingly by Daintry as a “dullish man, first class, of course, with files,” and also as “careful

and scrupulous" (p.29). But about Davis, after commenting on the report he carried out of the office in his coat pocket, Daintry muses, "I don't know that I'm quite so happy about Davis, in spite of his positive vetting" (p.29).

As the discussion between the three men progresses, it becomes clear that Hargreaves and Percival are satisfied that Davis is the mole and must be eliminated. "Nothing spectacular," Hargreaves advises; "Doctor's certificate. No inquest if it can be avoided"(p.33). But in response to Percival's eagerness to stage "a natural death," a concern is expressed by Hargreaves: "Assuming for the moment that it is Davis, he's a man of just over forty. In the prime of life." Percival is quick to respond. "I agree. A heart attack might just possibly be arranged. Unless...Does anyone know if he drinks a lot?" Hargreaves asks, "You said something about port didn't you, Daintry?" (p. 34). Davis is, in fact, a heavy imbiber of port wine, which is all the nihilistic Dr. Percival needs to hear. He has the bacteriological warfare scientists prepare a highly toxic culture that attacks the liver. As he explains to Hargreaves, "You only need a small quantity....0.5 milligrams should do the trick, but to be quite sure let's say 0.75." Death should occur in one week. "Do you ever find that you shock yourself, Emmanuel?", Hargreaves asks. "There's nothing shocking about this, John. Think of all the other deaths Davis might die. Real cirrhosis would be much slower....To spend only a week dying is quite a happy fate, when you think what many people suffer" (p.88).

The type of naive simplicity that an Arthur Davis brings to any complex organization contains the seeds of its own destruction. To be sure, not every simplistic innocent faces the same murderous end that befell Davis; but few public sector organizations can tolerate those who are illiterate in the pragmatic realities of organizational systems. Within the confines of well-established bureaucratic mores, romantic dreamers are like the proverbial "fifth wheel on a wagon." In the pages of Greene's "administrative" novels, little hope is allowed for those who answer the call of public service with the innocence of naive simplicity, as in the case of Arthur Davis. Only the innocence of the ideological "true believer" is accorded a more ignominious role in Greenland.

The True Believer.

At the hands of Greene, the "true believer" is shaped to reveal the full potential of the devastating malignancy inherent in the notion of innocence. For such individuals who operate in the metasphere of an ideological cause, organizational affiliation is simply an instrumental means to a higher, transcendent end. And the one character in his "administrative" novels who best exemplifies this type of innocence is Alden Pyle, one of the key figures developed by Greene in his novel, *The Quiet American* (1977).

We learn about Alden Pyle through the eyes of a first person narrator—Thomas Fowler, a middle aged, cynical, and objectively detached British journalist. Pyle is a young, thirty year-old CIA agent—totally idealistic, immature, and insensitive—who is posted in Saigon in the early 1950s. At that time, Saigon was still the capital city of Indochina, and France was desperately struggling against the Communist guerrillas to maintain its colonial possession. Under the guise of an economic aid officer, Pyle is assigned to what one may presume to be the U.S. Foreign Operations Administration, one of the precursor agencies of the present-day Agency for International Development. Most significantly, however, Pyle is an avowed "true believer" of the domino theory that, in fact, formed the nucleus of U.S. foreign policy at that time—if Vietnam (formerly Indochina) fell to the Communists, the entire Southeast Asian region would fall incrementally, like a row of dominoes. The time frame of the novel covers a five month period, September to February, although the year(s) is not stipulated. Certainly the story takes place before the ultimate French defeat at Dienbienphu in the Spring of 1954. Given the oblique and implicit references to the U.S. presence in Indochina that Greene weaves into his novel, it is obvious that Pyle's *de facto* mission is to function as an *agent provocateur* in the most dedicated and determined sense of the term. *The Quiet American* is written from a retrospective point of view. It is Fowler's reminiscence of his relationship with Alden Pyle. Thus, when Pyle first arrives in Saigon, Fowler tells us, "With his gangly legs and his crew cut and his wide campus gaze he seemed incapable of harm" (p. 17). The operative word that best describes Pyle is "serious." Indeed, the seriousness of his demeanor that undergirds his boyish Bostonian innocence combines to create the impression of a quiet, well-mannered, and extremely gentle individual. At the outset of the novel we learn that "he was very meticulous about small courtesies" (p. 11); that

"He's such a punctual man" (p. 12); and that "He's a good chap in his way. Serious" (p. 17).

The "quiet American" was clearly an oddity among the Western diplomatic and press corps that inhabited Saigon. "He belonged," Fowler tells us, not in the war-torn locale of Indochina but "to the skyscraper and the express elevator, the ice cream and the dry Martinis, milk at lunch, and chicken sandwiches on the Merchant Limited" (p. 20). Gradually, however, Fowler concludes: "He was determined...to do good, not to any individual person but to a country, a continent, a world" (p. 18). In introducing Pyle to the profane delights of Saigon, Fowler reveals his first instinct was to protect him. "It never occurred to me that there was greater need to protect myself. Innocence always calls mutely for protection when we would be so much wiser to guard ourselves against it...." (p. 37).

By the end of the novel, Pyle emerges as a tragic figure of "goodness", revealed in its most hypocritical, threatening, and dangerous form. He is a solid Unitarian liberal and Harvard graduate who is determined to change the world for "good" but without any awareness of the trials, tribulations, temptations, and tensions that such a commitment entails.

Of course, every policy is no policy until it is implemented, and perceiving himself as the ultimate implementer, Pyle proceeds to orchestrate a strategic incident of destruction that would clearly be linked to Communist terrorists. A massive bomb explodes in the heart of Saigon's downtown shopping district just before high noon, resulting in at least fifty civilian deaths. In the pandemonium that ensues Fowler encounters Pyle. Standing in the midst of the carnage Pyle says,

'It's awful.' He looked at the wet on his shoes and said in a sick voice, 'What's that?' 'Blood,' I said. 'Haven't you ever seen it before?' He said, 'I must get them cleaned before I see the Minister.'...

I forced him...to look around. I said, 'This is the hour when the place is always full of women and children—it's the shopping hour. Why choose that of all hours?'

He said weakly, 'There was to have been a parade.'

'And you hoped to catch a few colonels. But the parade was cancelled yesterday, Pyle.'

'I didn't know....I was out of town,' he said, looking down at his shoes. 'They should have called it off' (p.162).

In the evening after the explosion, Pyle says to Fowler, "It was a pity, but you can't always hit your target. Anyway they died in the right cause....In a way you could say that they died for democracy." Fowler responds, "I wouldn't know how to translate that into Vietnamese" (p.179).

Elsewhere, in his retrospective mode, Fowler observes, "He was as incapable of imagining pain or danger to himself as he was incapable of conceiving the pain he might cause others" (p.62). Pyle continues his conversation with Fowler. "It was a terrible shock today, Thomas, but in a week, you'll see, we'll have forgotten it. We are looking after the relatives too." "We?", Fowler asks. "We've wired to Washington. We'll get permission to use some of our funds." At this point Fowler selects a book of poetry from his shelf and reads aloud a poem that seems to cast a fitting shadow on the hypocritical ideologue.

I drive through the streets and I care not a damn,

The people they stare, and they ask who I am;

And if I should chance to run over a cad,

I can pay for the damage if ever so bad.

So pleasant it is to have money, heigh ho!

So pleasant it is to have money.

"That's a funny kind of poem,' Pyle said with a note of disapproval" (p.177). Fowler states at one point, "I never knew a man who had better motives for all the trouble he caused," (p. 60). Nevertheless, Pyle "was impregnably armoured by his good intentions and his ignorance...."he'll always be innocent, you can't blame the innocent, they are always guiltless. All you can do is control them or eliminate them. Innocence is a kind of insanity" (p. 163).

Ultimately, Pyle is eliminated, murdered by the Communists with Fowler serving as a reluctant, partially aware accomplice. After Pyle's murder, Fowler engages in a conversation with the Economic Attaché of the U.S. Mission in Saigon. The latter explains his distress at having to notify Pyle's father, Professor Harold C. Pyle—a world authority on underwater erosion—of his son's death. "What did you say in your cable?" Fowler asks. "He replied seriously and literally, 'Grieved to report your son died a soldier's death in the cause of Democracy.'" Fowler's anger fills his response: "They killed him because he was too innocent to live" (p.31). When Fowler is later interrogated by Saigon's French police superintendent, the latter comments on Pyle's death: "To speak plainly, I am not altogether sorry. He was doing a lot of harm." To which Fowler's only response is: "God save us from the innocent and the good" (p.20).

The Razor's Edge.

Greene's feelings toward "innocence" are anything but subtle: "Innocence is like a dumb leper who has lost his bell, wandering the world, meaning no harm" (p. 37). In his interview with Marie Françoise Allain he stated that "innocence can be exceedingly foolish, disastrous"; it "is not to be trusted" (1983, pp. 27,28), a phrase that also appears in one of his earliest novels, *Shipwrecked* (1982) in which he assigns to one of the leading characters a "depraved innocence": "...his smile explained everything; he carried it with him as a leper carried his bell; it was a perpetual warning that he was not to be trusted" (p. 10).

For Greene, the invincible ignorance of the "innocents" obliterates one constant reality; namely, the authentic self is defined more by the scars of failures than by the self-proclaimed delusions of success. In his interview with Allain, Greene stated, "Our interest is on the dangerous edge of things. 'The dangerous edge of things' remains what it has always been—the narrow boundary between loyalty and disloyalty, between fidelity and infidelity, the mind's contradictions, the paradox one carries within oneself. This is what men are made of" (1983, p. 21). The notion of 'a dangerous edge' has an extremely rich history. But it may be Somerset Maugham who, in his epigraph to *The Razor's Edge* (1944), quite possibly located the original source (the ancient Hindu philosopher, Katha): "The sharp edge of the razor is difficult to pass over; thus the wise say the path to salvation is hard." To a very real extent, this existential perspective operates at

the core of Greene and its relevance to public service should be evident. The history of administration is replete with the evidences of loyalty, obedience, faithfulness, and authority. By the same token, it also demonstrates clearly that "caring" is the most dangerous edge of things.

Caring Is the Only Dangerous Thing

In a book review of Graham Greene's *The Human Factor*, Denis Donoghue observed:

If Greene's fiction has a moral, it is that our ethical judgments are inept if they are directed upon a man's actions. By their deeds ye shall know them? No, not by such things, mere external appearances, false clues.... Character, Greene's abiding concern, is disclosed in thoughts, attitudes, and feelings more accurately than in deeds. "We are saved or damned by our thoughts, not by our actions" (1978, p. 1).

Of course, as Greene was well-aware, organizational macro systems place a high premium on actions and deeds; conversely, a very low premium is placed on individual intentions. The wrongs of commission are easily spotted and subject to permanent notation. The wrongs of omission are subject only to the checks and balances of one's existential being. In other words, can one's individual conscience become an existential wasteland if one's intentions are not given the same primacy of purpose as one's acts? According to Donoghue, Greene deals with this question by "reducing the list of sins and withholding punishment. But one sin remains, and is unforgivable. The cardinal sin is not to care" (1978, p. 1).

For Greene, as Donoghue suggests, the notion of "caring" does seem to rank as something of a categorical imperative. In Greene's *The Honorary Consul* (1974), Dr. Eduardo Plarr finally confronts the honorary consul, Charlie Fortnum, with the truth that he has enjoyed an adulterous and purely lustful relationship with Fortnum's wife, Clara, for an extended period of time. "You don't even pretend to love her, do you?", Fortnum asks. "No," Plarr replies, and then adds, "I never intended this to happen, Fortnum." "You never intended to be found out. It was cheaper for you, wasn't it, not having to pay for your fucks?" And then Plarr responds, "What good do scenes like this do? I thought it would be all over quickly and you'd

never know. It's not as if she or I really cared for each other. Caring is the only dangerous thing, Fortnum" (p.271).

The danger, of course, results from the personal commitment that one person makes to another and, like the biblical mustard seed, the tiniest bit of personal ethical-moral commitment can grow into a complex existential reticulation. Viewed from an organizational perspective the consequences of "caring" can be quite dysfunctional. In his epigraph in *The Human Factor*, Greene quotes from Joseph Conrad: "I only know that he who forms a tie is lost. The germ of corruption has entered into his soul." The germ of corruption referred to is the force of one's conscience, the sense of moral obligation. Such a sense of moral consciousness has an effect that clearly runs counter to the rational order of the complex macro systems of public sector organizations.

The significance assigned by Greene to the notion of caring, and the danger associated with it when it is manifested by civil servants, constitutes the primary theme of two of his major "administrative" novels, *The Heart of the Matter* (1978) and *The Human Factor* (1979). The principal characters in these novels—Major Henry Scobie in the former and Maurice Castle in the latter, are both senior career civil servants. Both are extremely proficient professionals. Both are highly valued by their superiors. But both share a common flaw: they reflect a deeply embedded sense of moral consciousness that inevitably corrupts the basic canon of public sector professionalism; namely, objective detachment/neutral impersonality. Both pay dearly for their sins against their respective organizational systems. Yet, both emerge from the pages of *Greenland* with a complexion of ashen integrity.

The Responsible Self.

In *The Heart of the Matter*, Major Henry Scobie, the Deputy Police Commissioner in a West African British colony (Sierra Leone), is 50 years old and a career civil servant with 15 years of service in the colony. As a consequence, he has had to deal, almost daily, with the mundane tensions and conflicts that occur at the micro level of the justice system in a diverse, multi-cultural colonial setting in tropical Africa. The wartime setting of this novel (circa 1942) brings a new level of tensions to the colony.

We come to know Scobie as a finely-tuned, professional civil servant who, over the course of his tour of duty in the colony, has developed an astute understanding of the relationship between the human mind (and the behavior it produces) and the human heart (and the intentions it induces). For Graham Greene, the range of human emotions that shapes intentions and gives cause to action is the essence of life. As reflected in the character of Scobie, Greene produces an individual whose sense of professional and personal responsibility for the care of and service to others constitutes a categorical moral imperative. Thus, among the diverse population of Africans, West Indians, Syrians, *et al.*, he is respected for his "honesty" by those who are oppressed and exploited; but, at the same time, he is despised by the exploiters and oppressors for his incorruptibility.

For his part, Scobie is immutably loyal to the notions of duty, trustworthiness, and loyalty itself. He "committed himself to a belief" (p.54), that all human beings are basically good. Thus, although Scobie—the enforcer of "the law"—is formally committed to the legalistic premise that facts yield "the truth," he is quick to recognize the limitations of human knowledge—i.e., no individual human being is omniscient. "We'd forgive most things if we knew the facts," Scobie says at one point; and then he adds, "A policeman should be the most forgiving person in the world if he gets the facts right" (p.81). At still another point, this notion assumes metaproportions in his mind: "If one knew, he wondered, the facts, would one have to feel pity even for the planets? If one reached what they called the heart of the matter?" (p.124).

Moreover, although Scobie's professional character is cemented in a base of truthfulness—to himself and his superiors—his measure of truth, as applied to his interpersonal relations, is much more pliable. "The truth, he thought, has never been of any real value to any human being—it is a symbol for mathematicians and philosophers to pursue. In human relations, kindness and lies are worth a thousand truths. He involved himself in what he always knew was a vain struggle to retain the lies" (p.58). At base, however, Scobie's philosophy is flawed; he finds it impossible to lie to himself. "You are too damn honest to live," he is accused by one of his countrymen; and perhaps that is his most serious "fault." For example, we are told that he "...couldn't shut his eyes or ears to any human need of him; he was not the centurion, but a man in the ranks who had to do the bidding of a hundred centurions, and when the door opened, he could

tell the command was going to be given—the command to stay, to love, to accept responsibility, to lie" (p. 187).

The personal conflicts that surround Scobie's life are substantial. The money he borrows from a Syrian racketeer, Yusef, to pay for his wife's passage to South Africa seriously compromises his professional integrity. The illicit liaison he establishes with a recently widowed, nineteen year old woman after his wife leaves the colony imposes on him the burden of deceit. As a consequence, he is forced to ply the art of concealment that ultimately creates in his own mind not only a sense of professional disgrace but also a sense of what he perceives to be the black abyss of mortal sin. His final act of "service"—his suicide (*qua* "natural death" heart attack)—is specifically intended, not to avoid his disgrace made public, but, rather, to comfort those whom he felt he had a moral obligation to serve with authentic integrity.

Death is a basic occurrence in all of Greene's novels and its import gains added significance when it involves his central characters. In the beginning, Scobie tells the Commissioner that he doesn't want to leave because his current duty post "is pretty in the evening," but elsewhere he wonders, "Why...do I love this place so much? Is it because here human nature hasn't had time to disguise itself? Nobody here could ever talk about a heaven on earth. Heaven remained rigidly in its proper place on the other side of death, and on this side flourish the injustices, the cruelties, the meanness that elsewhere people so cleverly hushed up. Here you could love human beings nearly as God loved them, knowing the worst" (p.35). And although Scobie was morally committed to assist others in attaining a sense of happiness, for himself he was much more skeptical. "What an absurd thing it was," he reflects at one point, "to expect happiness in a world so full of misery....Point me out the happy man and I will point you out either extreme egotism, evil—or else an absolute ignorance" (p. 123).

In his death as in his life, Scobie sought nothing other than the unqualified obligation to assume absolute responsibility for his acts. At one point, Scobie reflects, "Despair is the price one pays for setting oneself an impossible aim. It is, one is told, the unforgivable sin, but it is a sin the corrupt and evil man never practices. He always has hope. He never reaches the freezing-point of knowing absolute

failure. Only the man of goodwill carries always in his heart this capacity for damnation" (p. 60).

Most (but not all) of the principal civil servants in Greene's "administrative" novels are carefully shaped to reflect the positive values and exemplary virtues of individuals committed to serve the public. To be sure, Scobie is solely responsible for the self-inflicted destruction of his own professional reputation; of maintaining a deliberate deception of his perfidious acts; and betraying the trust placed in him by the very individuals he was committed to serve. But this raises an interesting question. To destroy, to deceive, to betray comes very close to describing a situation of treachery, if not outright treason. Was Scobie's behavior treacherous? Was Scobie a traitor?

Obviously, no, if the conventional definition of the term is applied. But as far as his own conscience, his own existential self, and his own spiritual being were concerned, he was a traitor. By his actions, he betrayed himself and all that he stood for in terms of his personal and professional integrity, honesty, and trustworthiness. Public reaction to his death may have brought forth official and personal recollections of an exemplary public servant, but in his own mind's "eye," his suicide was the terminal act that condemned his soul to an eternity of absolute disgrace.

This subtle juxtaposition of both public and private perceptions of honor/dishonor and grace/disgrace is a major theme that runs throughout much of Greene's works. In only two of his "administrative" novels, however—*The Heart of the Matter* and *The Human Factor*—does he use career civil servants as the primary focal point around which the dynamics of these conflicting forces tend to coalesce. Scobie is the first; Maurice Castle is the second.

The Dilemma of Being Human.

Maurice Castle, the leading figure in *The Human Factor*, is certainly one of Greene's most enigmatic characters. A 62 year old career civil servant assigned to MI6, Castle is a nominal supervisor at the lowest level in British intelligence (Section 6A, with supervisory responsibility over one subordinate). Castle's previous duty assignment was South Africa where he served quite capably as an MI6 agent until his cover was blown. "You did very good work in Pretoria," Sir John Hargreaves, the head of MI6 tells him. "You are described as a first-

class administrator. You reduced the expenses of the station considerably" (p.53). But Castle possesses none of the daring of a James Bond nor the introverted intellect of a George Smiley. Rather, as noted previously, he is described as a "dullish man, first class, of course, with files...no high living. He doesn't even...[own] a car. I believe he bicycles every day to the station....Careful and scrupulous" (p.29). In his wife's eyes, he is a "creature of habit," and he prides himself as being accountable and always punctual. In short, his professional reputation is apparently as solid as a block of cement and just as interesting, at least as far as his superiors are concerned. But Castle is a man possessed by the dynamic and conflicting tensions generated by the intensities of fear, hate, and love. He is a man who "cares" but who also realizes that "...he who forms a tie is lost. The germ of corruption has entered his soul" (*Human Factor*, epigraph).

The overarching object of his hatred is the principle of apartheid, in general, and the torturous manner in which the policy was implemented by South African bureaucratic marionettes and their loyal "Gauleiters." Moreover, he is unalterably opposed to the manner in which his own government not only tacitly supports the South African regime but is on the verge of committing itself to a multinational policy that would essentially eradicate the blacks in South Africa. In this regard, however, Castle is no ideologue. His attitudes toward apartheid are not the result of some abstract philosophical or theological conception of good and evil. Rather, his attitudes are drawn from very personal and practical experience. His wife, Sarah, a black South African, was one of his agents in Pretoria before they were married. She became the object and the source of his absolute, unqualified love—"I wasn't secure. Until I knew you" (p.62). When Castle's MI6 identity was exposed, so, also, was his connection to Sarah, but while he enjoyed the privilege of diplomatic immunity and faced only expulsion, her potential fate was much more ominous.

In desperation, Castle enlisted the aid of his Russian KGB counterpart in South Africa, Carson, who was able to use his Communist network to save Sarah (who, incidentally, was pregnant as a result of an encounter with another black South African) and reunite her with Castle in England. Upon her arrival there, Sarah and Castle were married, and then gave birth to her son, Sam. As Castle recounts to Sarah, "When people talk about Prague and Budapest and how you can't find a human face in Communism I stay silent."

Because I've seen—once—the human face. I say to myself that if it hadn't been for Carson, Sam would have been born in a prison and you would probably have died in one. One kind of Communism—or Communist— saved you and Sam. I don't have any trust in Marx or Lenin anymore than I have in Saint Paul, but haven't I the right to be grateful?" (p.116).

Castle's sense of gratitude—his manner of "caring"—is a recurrent theme throughout the novel and it is as absolute and as unqualified as his love for Sarah and Sam. Moreover, it is this gratitude and love that feeds his absolute and unqualified hatred of South Africa's policy of apartheid. So grateful is he that for the seven years since his expulsion from Pretoria and his subsequent assignment in MI6's London headquarters as the charge officer of Section 6A (Eastern and Southern Africa), he has assiduously and surreptitiously operated as a mole for the KGB to undermine the South African government.

Castle's relatively secure role as a double agent, however, begins to come unglued. As noted previously, Hargreaves learns that a security leak exists in MI6. Daintry and Percival are directed to locate the leak. Acting solely on the basis of circumstantial evidence and flimsy deductive logic, Percival persuades Hargreaves that Castle's sole subordinate, Arthur Davis, is the source.

Castle senses that internal security procedures have been amplified within MI6 and although his usual sense of caution becomes more acute, he is inclined to attribute the increased surveillance activities to the energetic efforts of Daintry who has only recently assumed his post as MI6 security chief. Thus, Castle is stunned when he learns of Davis's sudden death ("cirrhosis of the liver") following a brief and apparently minor illness.

Castle realizes that his double agent days are over and he dispatches his final encoded message which he ends simply with "goodbye." Hargreaves intuitively begins to suspect Castle who, in turn, senses his disclosure is imminent. Consequently, he activates the stand-by emergency plan he needs to follow in order to effect his immediate defection to Russia.

The novel ends with Castle safely secured in the drab routine of an empty Moscow existence. His expectation that Sarah and Sam would

subsequently join him is reduced to a meaningless hope. Sarah has a passport but unfortunately her son does not, and as soothing Dr. Percival explains to her, it is extremely unlikely that a passport application for Sam would be approved in the foreseeable future. In the one and only telephone call Castle is permitted to make to Sarah, the sense of mutual despair rings clear: "I miss you terribly, Sarah." "Oh, so do I. So do I, but I can't leave Sam behind." "Of course you can't. I can understand that" (p.302). The final sentence of the novel is, in very real measure, an existential pronouncement of finality. Sarah says, "Maurice, Maurice, please go on hoping," but in the long unbroken silence which followed she realized that the line to Moscow was dead" (p.303).

Some Call it Treason.

Viewed in terms of the ethos of public service, *The Human Factor* raises a seriously discordant theme: What is a public servant to do when confronted with the responsibility of implementing a policy, program, or even a plan to which he or she is unalterably opposed? One answer that assumes the "high moral ground" is suggested by the title of Weisband and Frank's classic volume, *Resignation in Protest* (1975). But, unfortunately, this ethical alternative can be embraced sanguinely only by those individuals whose professional reputations are such as to allow them the luxury of resigning in protest and then moving on to positions of comparable or even superior status in the private sector. Greene, however, does not cast such secure individuals as his principal characters; rather, his focus is on the lonely and lowly, the insignificant and forlorn, and those in absolute despair.

To a very real extent, Greene is the voice of the public servants who are approaching the twilight of their professional years with less than illustrious careers, and who are faced with critical decisions that will affect their modest futures. For most of the civil servants in Greenland, retirement looms as an imminent reality, and few are prepared to assume the "high moral ground" of public sector ethics and "resign in protest."

The alternative, as Greene so artfully reveals, is grim. The lowly, career public servants, as exemplified by Henry Scobie and Maurice Castle, are forced to blend their personal and professional values between the poles of honor and dishonor, grace and disgrace. *The*

Human Factor causes the profession serious discomfort, to be sure, but what has been said of Graham Greene by Allain can also be transposed to many of his civil servant characters, including Maurice Castle: "What is most impressive of all is the genuine strength of his [Greene] sympathies....Behind his subtleties, behind his aversions,...he betrays...the anarchic 'human factor'" (Allain, 1983, p. 73). In *The Human Factor*, Greene has Castle reflecting, "A man in love walks through the world like an anarchist, carrying a time bomb" (p.155), and "love was a total risk" (p.16). Both Scobie and Castle formed ties that led to their downfalls. Scobie's ties were to his job and to the women in his life; Castle's, to Sarah and her son Sam, as well as to his hatred of the South African government and its policy of apartheid. As Greene tells us at one point in *The Human Factor*, "fear and love are indivisible" and "so too are fear and hate" (pp. 102,103). The ties that both Scobie and Castle formed were clearly the anarchic 'human factor' seeds of their own corruption.

St. Augustine writes, "Love and do what thy wilt," which on a quick reading seems to provide one with *carte blanche* insofar as proceeding through life in the name of love is concerned. The notions of love and gratitude are, indeed, inseparable in Castle's eyes. When he finally explains his subversive activities to Sarah, he says, "When we came to England...Carson sent someone to see me. He [Carson] had saved you and Sam. All he asked in return was a little help. I was grateful and I agreed" (p.209). But there is a subsequent proviso by Augustine—"Love, but watch what you love"—that seems to be reflected rather clearly by Sarah: "No one would say you were wrong to be grateful. I'm grateful too. Gratitude's all right if...." "If...?", Castle asks. "I think I was going to say if it doesn't take you too far" (p 116).

Excluding his Russian connection from all else that we come to know about Maurice Castle, he emerges as a perfectly honorable man. He is a devoted and caring husband and stepfather, a conscientious and dependable administrator, and a responsive and empathic associate. For instance, we learn that, "he could seldom resist a call of distress however it was encoded" (p. 140). He certainly was no Communist (p. 133), nor did he have any heroic illusions (p. 103). He was, quite simply, "a dullish man" who for the first and only time in his life was able to commit himself to something and someone that gave true meaning to his being. As a consequence, he embarked on what may be viewed in realistic terms as a quixotic mission—the deliberate

subversion of a policy that he, despite his religious disclaimers (pp. 115, 116), found to be morally repugnant and reprehensible.

In explaining his actions to Sarah, who for the seven years of their marriage was totally ignorant of his subversive activities, Castle says, with just a touch of equivocation, "I'm what's generally called a traitor." Sarah's response is absolutely unequivocal: "Who cares?...We have our own country. You and I and Sam. You've never betrayed that country, Maurice" (p.211). But there is no comparable sense of understanding to be found in his Mother's reaction: "Maurice is a traitor....He's a traitor to his country." "Would you have turned Maurice out if you had known?", Sarah asks her. "No. I'd have kept him just long enough to call the police" (p.299). Nor, we can assume, does the head of MI6, Sir John Hargreaves, view Castle's actions in any terms other than treason if his misguided attitude toward the unfortunate Davis before he was "eliminated" is any clue. "I can't admire treachery," he proclaims to Percival (p.181). But even the base realist, Dr. Percival, takes a much more benign view—"...that's an old-fashioned word, John" (p.182), and at another point Percival notes: "We are all committing crimes somewhere, aren't we. It's our job" (p.32).

Obviously, Greene intends for the reader to view Castle more through the heart of Sarah than through the mind of Percival. In his *Collected Essays*, Greene reflects on the subject of treason as related to the actual British spy case of the 1960s involving Kim Philby. "He betrayed his country—yes, perhaps he did, but who among us has not committed treason to something or someone more important than a country?" (Greene, 1981, p.311). And this strikes at the heart of the matter insofar as the integrity of the public service is concerned. Are those who labor in the service of democracy bound to the transcendent good that the concept of democracy entails—i.e., a common good that elevates the sanctity of every individual human being to the highest good? Obviously, Castle concludes that he is, but the manner in which he acts on his commitment leaves him branded by his government with all of the ugliness attached to the words "traitor" and "treason."

Whether Scobie is to be judged a coward, or Castle a traitor, is left for the individual reader to decide. In Greenland, however, neither of these public servants could ever be accused of not caring. Both cared to a fault. For Scobie, responsibility for the care of others con-

stituted his clarion call to "duty"; for Castle, it was "gratitude." But duty is an amorphous term and gratitude an ambiguous one. At the micro level of organizational systems they may mean one thing; at the macro level, however, something entirely different. The point is that regardless of the ethical-moral criteria that prevail in Greenland, every public servant has to be prepared to make a personal, existential decision—to care or not to care—and then be prepared to accept the judgment associated with either alternative. Caring is "the most dangerous thing."

The Bleak Gray Spectrum of Public Service

Graham Greene's world of public service is a discomfiting arena. There emerges from the pages of his total body of fiction a continuum that ranges from the pure white of absolute goodness to the total blackness of absolute evil. Although none of his major characters in any of his works can be placed at the absolute extremes of this continuum, there are many of his nonpolitical figures who certainly can be situated in the whitish-gray band of this spectrum (mostly women, by the way). It is important to note, however, that virtually none of his public servants can be fitted into that band. Some, like Emmanuel Percival (*The Human Factor*), clearly operate on the cusp of midnight. But the best that most of Greene's civil servants can hope for is a place in the penumbra where an occasional ray of sunlight can fortify their commitments to public service. Public service in Greenland is a career spent on the boundary of the gray/black spectrum of life. Only the ethically mature public administrator can hope to attain some degree of ashen authenticity. As revealed in the fictional pages of Greenland, public service is a grim endeavor. But the haunting question is to what extent is Green's fiction a mirror or a caricature of reality?

The truth of the matter is that, in all probability, each of us, at one time or another in our professional careers, has been closely associated with "clones" of virtually all of the public servants portrayed by Greene in his administrative novels. Moreover, in reality each of us defines in our minds the configuration of our own professional "battlefields"—be it in terms of circlets, or "squares of different color....living so happily together," or some other metaphor of our own choosing—simply to derive some degree of stability amid the turbulent complexity of one's external environment. Finally, it is no caricature to suggest that the organizational systems that consume

the major portion of our adult lives have an enormous impact on our existential being, primarily as a result of the inevitable clash between the habits of the mind and the habits of the heart.

In this regard, my value bias is exposed when I describe the dichotomy that exists between the macro and micro spheres of organizational systems as malevolent. As noted previously, I share with Joseph Conrad the proposition that "he who forms a tie is lost. The germ of corruption has entered into his soul." I infer that the tie alluded to by Conrad is the force of a public servant's conscience, the sense of moral obligation that informs the habits of the heart and, as a consequence, the rational organizational systems that shape the habits of the mind are threatened by "corruption." A reverse interpretation, however, is also possible. The public servant who forms a tie to the macro sphere of his or her organizational system is lost—i.e., the machinations of the habits of the mind are so totally invasive as to cause a progressive atrophy of any sense of moral consciousness (the habits of the heart).

Of course, one could ask, as Dwight Waldo did some years ago, "Why would an instrument [of management, i.e., bureaucracy] designed to be impersonal and calculating be expected to be effective in delivering sympathy and compassion?" (Waldo, 1980, p. 45). To ask the question is to answer it; a mechanistic instrument can only be effectively utilized by the logic of the mind, not by the grace of the heart. But the counterquestion that I have pursued in my writings is: *Should* a system of governance defined as democracy be expected to be effective in delivering sympathy and compassion? From my own perspective, the answer to this question is clearly in the affirmative, but then the problem is how do you reconcile the values and virtues of democracy with the canons of bureaucracy?

Public servants can allow themselves to be drawn into the existential wasteland of bureaucratic rationality and join the ranks of the upward mobiles, in which case they can resign their lives to a world of red, blue and yellow squares, "living so happily together. No clash." Alternatively, they can attempt to maintain a foot in both camps, so to speak. That is to say, they can sincerely commit themselves to the advantages of clarity, orderliness, and security that the instrument of bureaucracy provides while at the same time maintaining a deep and burning sense of moral obligation to some existential good, however defined. Such individuals follow the beat of a

different drummer than those who march directly into the macro sphere. These individuals are the ambivalents of bureaucratic systems. Operating on the cusp of the macro-micro interface, they, like Scobie, learn "to stay, to love, to accept responsibility, to lie." And, finally, there is a third possibility that is open to those individuals who view public sector organizations solely as a vehicle that enables them to fulfill their own personal agenda, be it a comfortable lifestyle or an ideological commitment, without developing any concern whatsoever for either the purposes or the processes of their respective organizational systems.

Only in one of his administrative novels, not discussed here (*This Gun for Hire*), does Greene present in full detail a major character who has committed himself totally to a professional career at the macro-level of his public sector organization. Other "macro" civil servants, such as Sir John Hargreaves, the head of MI6 (*The Human Factor*) and his trusted subordinate, Emmanuel Percival, the Dr. Strangelove of MI6, are given just enough attention to make it clear that the habits of rational bureaucratic systems are imbedded deeply in their minds and control their every action. Similarly, the attention Greene gives to the aberrant, but quite dangerous behavior of the innocents who enter into public service, either by accident or design, to fulfill their own personal visions, may be either primary, as in the case of Alden Pyle (*The Quiet American*) or secondary, as in the case of Arthur Davis (*The Human Factor*). The innocents of the world are, in the eyes of Greene, to be viewed with pity (Davis) or scorn (Pyle), but, in either case, they operate at a totally distorted and psychedelic existential level. The major block of Greene's time and efforts, in crafting his administrative novels, however, focuses on the ambivalents of the bureaucratic world—career civil servants like the Assistant Commissioner (*It's a Battlefield*), Henry Scobie (*The Heart of the Matter*), Colonel John Daintry, and Maurice Castle (both in *The Human Factor*). The individuals who constitute this subset of characters in Greene's administrative novels seem to proclaim with a single voice—as a chorus, so to speak—the terrible *angst* one must suffer if one attempts to maintain a sense of moral consciousness in the public sector. Those who attempt to integrate the habits of the heart with those of the mind must walk across "the razor's edge;" that is to say, the narrow boundary between loyalty and disloyalty, between fidelity and infidelity. And in the end, the one saving grace that these Greene characters all can clutch is that at one critical point in their lives—when each was confronted with

the heart of the matter—they responded as truly authentic human beings. Aside from these personal epiphanies, however, the overall contour of public sector bureaucracy remains unaltered. For those who labor in the vineyards of bureaucratic systems, wherever they are located, the message seems clear:

Neither hope for reward for good deeds nor fear punishment for evil deeds; moralists cannot shake the wicked from the surface of the earth and God will not. The laws of the natural order and those of the moral order are not of one piece. If you decide to do good, do it because it is good (Tsevat, 1980, p. 33).

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The Art of Administrative Biography: Wallace Stegner's John Wesley Powell

Larry S. Luton

One strain of public administration literature includes examination of various public administrators as exemplars for the field (Haught (ed.), 1985; Fry, 1989; Hubbell, 1990; Van Riper (ed.), 1990; Bellavita, 1991; Hubbell, 1991; Terry, 1991; Cooper and Wright (eds.), 1992; Hubbell, 1992; Lambright, 1993; Marini, 1993; Sternberg, 1993; Stivers, 1993; Wheeland, 1994; Jones, 1995; Ricucci, 1995). Wallace Stegner wrote a biography of John Wesley Powell because he saw Powell "as the personification of an ideal of public service" (Stegner, 1954, p. vii.). Thus, Stegner's biography of Powell, *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian*, can be seen as an important contribution to the literature of public administration.

Stegner's biography of Powell is also a valuable case study of the art involved in administrative biography. Stegner's interpretation of Powell's impact, though widespread, is not universally shared. Examining the impact of Stegner's perspective on this biography leads to important lessons regarding the author's influence on the meaning derived from a nonfiction narrative.

Methodology

The method utilized in this article is a "qualitative" method that focuses on a narrative¹ and examines it for lessons regarding: 1) what it takes to be an exemplary public administrator, 2) the impact of historical context on the answer to what it takes to be an exemplary public administrator, and 3) how the viewpoint of an author may affect the lessons drawn from his or her narrative.

Public administrators are concerned with practical knowledge, and the narrative form represents practical knowledge well. Also, reading and thinking about certain narratives can help to develop practical knowledge. "Narrative is the dynamic representation to an audience of events that stand in a temporal, causal, intentional, but not logically necessary, relation to each other. Because of these characteristics, narrative is particularly suited to deal with ...situations of practical choice in which the worker has to acknowledge different, conflicting claims, and which have no obvious resolution" (Wagenaar, 1995, p. 101).

Narrative is also well-suited to the consideration of public administration exemplars. There is no universally acknowledged, specific set of characteristics and skills that define "exemplar;" when public administration scholars have identified sets that seemed to them to constitute such a definition, those sets have been fundamentally dependent upon the historical and cultural context of their proponents (White and Adams, 1995). The variety among stories about people who are described as exemplary public administrators points to the variety of ways that one may become an outstanding public administrator. There is not one best way, but there are constellations of characteristics and skills that have served public administrators exceedingly well in particular circumstances.

Narratives provide their audiences opportunities for vicarious experiences, opportunities to "try on" various complex situations and to discover how their choices might affect outcomes. As Haan (1985) has argued with regard to moral development, exemplary performance arises more out of the dynamic emotional, interactive experience of social, interpersonal conflict than it does from evaluating the consistency of one's analytic reasoning with a set of rules. Exemplary performance is characterized more by an understanding of the intentions, practical implications, and likely consequences of the actions of others (and of one's own actions), than it is by the logical consistency of the reasons offered with the policy guidelines under which an administrator operates (cf. Radley, 1990).

Narratives are the prevailing approach to knowledge acquisition in public administration (Hummel, 1991; Wagenaar, 1995). Moreover, according to Hummel this "form of knowledge acquisition is for their [public administrators] purposes as valid as science" (Hummel, 1991, p. 32). Wagenaar claims that narrative is the most fundamen-

tal way that humans make sense of what they do: that it "is the way for humans to weave value into detail while struggling to understand practical, everyday situations and solutions for them which are both acceptable and feasible" (Wagenaar, 1995, p. 102); so it should not be surprising that it is an important way for public administrators to build their knowledge base.

Understanding the import of a decision to utilize narratives as a way of thinking about professional issues can be aided by Jerome Bruner's distinction between propositional thinking and narrative thinking (Bruner, 1986). Propositional thinking is the foundation for positivist social science. Narrative thinking, like propositional thinking, is a way of describing observed phenomena, but instead of establishing inferences, it aims at verisimilitude. Instead of requiring strict adherence to mechanistic methods it requires 1) the use of imagination, 2) a viewpoint regarding human intentions and dynamics, 3) an appreciation of the complex influences of historical and cultural context, and 4) an empathetic engagement.

This kind of thinking is valued highly by public administrators. Because public administrators work in a setting "characterized by dense detail of a variegated nature that includes facts, observations, feelings, and valuations, by being open-ended, by an obligation to act on the case, and by the presence of numerous constraints (legal, organizational, professional, temporal)" (Wagenaar, 1995, p. 99), they prefer skills and sensibilities that arise from being in touch with events to the objectivity achieved by being detached from them (Hummel, 1991, p. 33). As Vitz has explained, "literature achieves its power 'through context sensitivity,' whereas a work of [positivist empirical] science [achieves significance] through 'context independence'" (1990, p. 710). Narratives are "tools of engagement" (Hummel, 1991, p. 36).

An effective implication of the foregoing is that analyzing narrative accounts of the experiences of exemplary public administrators should be a very effective way of improving one's practical understanding of how to better approximate exemplary practice in the administration of public affairs.

Stegner's Biography of John Wesley Powell

Wallace Stegner is generally recognized as one of the leading literary voices of the American West. His work ranged from the Pulitzer Prize winning novel, *Angle of Repose* (1971) and three O. Henry Prize winning short stories to biographical treatments of the lives of labor organizer Joe Hill (1950) and historian Bernard DeVoto (1974). His biography of John Wesley Powell focused on Powell's career in public service because Stegner saw Powell's greatest impact on his country as deriving from his work for the federal government (Stegner, 1954, p. ix). Powell's public service career spanned forty years and included stints as the principal of the Hennepin, Illinois, public schools, as an officer in the Union Army during the civil war (at Shiloh he lost most of his right arm to a Minie ball), as a faculty member at Illinois Normal College, as the first white explorer of the Grand Canyon, as director of federal geographic and geologic surveys of public lands in the American West, as special commissioner for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, as first director of the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology, and as director of the U.S. Geological Survey (1881-94).

This analysis of Stegner's presentation of Powell's career as a public administrator will not dwell on the endeavors for which Powell is most noted. Though the drama and the dynamics of his explorations of the West, including his rafting trips through the Grand Canyon, clearly indicate much about the character of Powell, they are not as relevant to his work as a public administrator as are his adventures in governmental labyrinths. Many of Powell's leadership qualities were in evidence both in his exploratory expeditions and in his administration of public institutions. The same measured boldness, resoluteness, geniality, magnetism, and persuasiveness that served him in his outdoor explorations also served him well in his public service. His tendency to pursue a larger vision than he could hope to accomplish was a tendency that both dogged and impelled his exploratory efforts. It had similar effects upon his administrative efforts. As a public administrator, Powell also demonstrated a number of characteristics, skills, and aptitudes that have often been identified as among those needed by public administrators: attentiveness to practical concerns, leadership, the ability to delegate, political skills, personal integrity, devotion to public service, analytical insight, and a sense of timing.

Like many successful public administrators, Powell was focused on what could be done, on practical matters. Stegner said he was as "practical as a plane table" (1954, p. viii). In order to get things done, he often had to compromise on standards of accuracy and inclusiveness in order to cope effectively with time constraints. It might be said that the combination of his practicality with his boldness was the key to much of his success. For example, when he was appointed to head the Geological Survey, he inherited a young bureau with too few resources and too much responsibility. It was an agency that had to work under severe legislative restrictions that made some of its most important work virtually impossible to accomplish (Stegner, 1954, p. 248). The budget for his first fiscal year (1881-2) was only \$156,000, but by 1885-86 it was over \$500,000 (Stegner, 1954, p. 273). His practicality can also be seen in his response to his critics: The topographical work of the Geological Survey under his direction was criticized by some as too detailed, by others as not sufficiently detailed. His response was that it was not absolutely accurate, but it was "accurate enough" (Stegner, 1954, p. 280).

As is also generally true about successful public administrators, Powell was able to work well with others. Whether engaging in pioneering exploration and research with a cadre of volunteer students as he did in his first exploration of the West, or fine tuning research with a cadre of professionals as he did in his second trip down the Colorado River, Powell was able to get important work done. He knew how to delegate as well as how to lead. It was through his delegation of responsibilities to Almon Harris Thompson (who completed the mapping around the Colorado River), Grove Karl Gilbert (a scholar who developed in great detail—and with mathematical precision—Powell's geological ideas) and Clarence E. Dutton (who became a "John Muir" kind of interpreter for the general population of the Grand Canyon and the High Plateaus) that he moved from his survey work to contribute to ethnology, Indian policy, public land policy, and to the organizational development of science in the U.S. federal government.

Powell was also able to deal with politicians very effectively—an ability built initially upon his doggedness, then enhanced by a hard-learned sophistication. In 1866-67 he lobbied successfully for funding from the Illinois legislature to support the maintenance and increase of the Illinois Natural History Society's museum. After failing twice to obtain an appropriation from Washington, in 1867 he

obtained provisions for a twelve person expedition to the Colorado Rocky Mountains. Following his trip through the Grand Canyon, he acquired from Congress a \$10,000 appropriation for additional geographical and topographical exploration. He continued his surveys of the area uninterrupted for almost a decade, obtaining \$45,000 in 1876-77 and \$30,000 in the very difficult year of 1877-78. He came out of that lean period much stronger than he had begun it, with his field teams making much progress, his study of 670 Indian languages proceeding well, and several key publications reaching either usable stages for specialists or final status for general distribution.

Later in his career, Powell had learned more about how to work the legislative process. He was not reticent to use his power to do battle with those opposed to him, but he was also able to find the interstices in the process to win his way without facing direct opposition. He insulated the Bureau of Ethnology and the Geological Survey from Congressional micromanagement by using appropriations bill riders to establish them and to provide them with specific tasks (Stegner, 1954, pp.250, 272). Though the organic law gave him much leverage, he increased his discretionary power in 1882 by obtaining authority to act as Special Disbursing Agent for the Survey. That gave him almost unbridled spending authority. He also had learned that Congressmen were impressed by publications, so he made a habit of publishing preliminary reports (cf. Stegner, 1954, p. 265).

Another reason he was so successful was that he was able to rise above the temptations of personal interest and to see that the work needing to be done was more important than the egos of those who thought they should be the ones to do it. To be fair, he did not come to this realization immediately. His grander view of things came gradually out of his experiences with opportunism. Still, Stegner described the work Powell did in 1878 and 1879 as "a voluntary acceptance of public responsibility rare in public life" (Stegner, 1954, p. 204). In 1877 he indicated his willingness to abandon his survey and his work in other fields to his competitors in order to concentrate on ethnology, and in 1878 he spent most of his time working on the problem of how government science should be organized (Stegner, 1954, p. 210). By 1881 he was directing both the Bureau of Ethnology and the Geological Survey.

According to Stegner, Powell realized the value of consolidated power for getting things done, but he never turned his considerable

power to personal gain (Stegner, 1954, p. 274). In stark contrast to most of those around him who participated fully in "an age of boodle" (Stegner, 1954, p. 6), Powell pursued an ideal of public service. While Henry Adams² and Clarence King³ were succumbing to the temptations of wealth, Powell pursued a vision of government service in which "government should undertake research for human good" (Stegner, 1954, p. 270). In testimony before Congress when his reorganization of government science was under attack, Powell argued that science should be done not only for and by the wealthy, but that government should support science "in the confident belief that knowledge is for the welfare of all the people" (Stegner, 1954, p. 292).

Powell believed in science. He was bothered by the tendency of humans to distort facts in order to persuade others to follow the route they preferred. But he also thought that humans were the beneficiaries of progressive evolution and were not as subject to the forces of nature as other species. In concert with that belief, he attempted "to impose order on whatever he touched" (Stegner, 1954, p. viii). He saw science as the best counter to the wild emotionalism and fervor that accompanied calls to fulfilling America's "Manifest Destiny" (Stegner, 1954, p. 6). The West as frontier held a special fascination for Euro-Americans that led to a romanticization of the region as a land of freedom, adventure, and opportunity; but as Stegner pointed out

...the romanticizing of the West also led to acute political and economic and agricultural blunders, to the sour failure of projects and lives, to the vast and avoidable waste of some resources and the monopolization of others, and to a long delay in the reconciling of institutions to realities. (Stegner, 1954, p. 176).

Powell's most important contribution may have been his opening move in an attempt to influence the organization of government science, his publication of a *Report on the Lands of the Arid Region of the United States* (1878, reprinted 1962). Publication of this tract was rushed by Powell in calculated awareness that, because it embodied "a complete revolution in the system of land surveys, land policy, land tenure, and farming methods in the West" (Stegner, 1954, p. 212), it would force those considering reorganization of government science to recognize the connection between scientific surveys and important policy questions regarding natural resources.

Since 1812 the General Land Office had been imposing a simplistic checkerboard grid of surveys on Western lands. In Powell's analysis "what worked well to eastward worked increasingly badly beyond the 100th meridian" (Stegner, 1954, p. 214). Montana, Utah, and Arizona were not like Kansas. In addition to their aridity, they were different in terms of the variety of altitude, topography, and soil. "Much of it was too high for crops, much of it too stony, almost all of it too dry" (Stegner, 1954, p. 224). But the greatest reason that the checkerboard did not work well in the West was the land's aridity. In making this aspect of the region the centerpiece of his report, Powell was challenging a fairly recently developed, but firmly entrenched myth—that the Great American Desert could be "reclaimed" for agricultural use by putting it to agricultural use. When white settlement of the West coincided with a series of unusually wet years in the mid-1870s, some began to believe in a very simplistic fashion that rain would follow the plow, that by farming the arid land one could significantly alter its arid character.

American tradition had it that 160 acres was sufficient for a family farm (it worked in the Midwest), but Powell saw that the arid conditions of the intermountain West required recognition of a different basis for the distribution of land and water if homesteaders were to be able to subsist. Not only did the size of the homestead need to be reconsidered, the type of land needed to be factored in. In the intermountain West the potentialities of land vary greatly depending upon whether they are in the highlands or in the valleys, upon whether they are upstream or downstream riparian lands or require reservoirs and irrigation canals to obtain sufficient water. Control of the water supply would mean control of the economic value of "farmable" land. This meant that the system of law relating to water rights would need to be adjusted.

Overwhelmingly, early attempts to organize settlement of the West by small family farmers through legislation such as the Homestead Act was a failure. Between 1860 and 1900 while the population of the United States grew by 45 million (and approximately 4 million tried to set up homesteads in 1874-75 alone), only 2 million were able to establish successful homesteads. When the small farmers failed, their lands reverted to the banks that had extended them credit. Instead of ensuring the role of small family farms in the West, the Homestead Act stimulated corporate monopolization of the land (Stegner, 1954, p. 221). The Preemption Act, Desert Land Act,

Swamp Lands Act and the Timber and Stone Act engendered similar results.

Powell wanted to facilitate settlement by small farmers. In order to further their prospects he recommended dividing homesteadable land into two categories: irrigable and pasturage. With irrigation, eighty acres seemed quite enough for one family to handle. Pasturage lands were another matter altogether. For them he recommended 2,560 acres with twenty acres of irrigable garden and feed growing land (Stegner, 1954, pp. 226-27). In order to fit the homesteads to the land, instead of the checkerboard pattern, he recommended "surveys based on the topography, letting farms be as irregular as they had to be to give everyone a water frontage and a patch of irrigable soil" (Stegner, 1954, p. 227). Hoping to reduce the politics and increase the science involved, he wanted the land parceling done by the Coast and Geodetic Survey. Finally, taking guidance from the Spanish villages of New Mexico, he recommended that community co-ops control use of the pasturage lands.

But despite the support of the National Academy of Sciences, his plan was not adopted. When Congress was finished with it, all that remained was an authorization for a commission to study the problem of the public lands.

The hard winter of 1886 and the drought of the late 1880s and early 1890s led Congress to create the Irrigation Survey to explore the need for and practicality of establishing reservoirs to support irrigation farming. Powell supported that course of action, and the survey was added to his administrative purview. He took this opportunity to make a proposal that was even more radical than that found in his 1878 report—withdrawal of all non-irrigable lands and titling of irrigable lands only under the homestead and desert land laws (Stegner, 1954, p. 307). Instead of depending upon community co-ops to insure efficient use of lands, he now proposed federal intervention. Not only were his proposals passed into legislation, but he was put in the position of determining when the 850,000,000 acres of withdrawn lands would be returned to potential private ownership (Stegner, 1954, p. 319).

This increase in his influence was not to last. A few years later Powell found his plan, his work and his character under attack. Some people resented his power, found his policies a paternalistic interfer-

ence with economic development, and objected to his rejection of the American cowboy myth of independence. "[T]he reduction of the Irrigation Survey from a comprehensive and articulated General Plan to an ineffectual and aimless mapping of reservoir sites was the major defeat of his life, and the beginning of the end of his public career" (Stegner, 1954, p. 337). Shortly thereafter, his discretionary authority as head of the General Survey was drastically curtailed. Following that, all of the scientific bureaus found their appropriations and their authority subject to significant cuts. He resigned from the Geological Survey in 1894.

Throughout his career Powell made significant contributions to science and to government. His explorations of the intermountain West were a great service to geography. His greatest legacy in this area derived from his plans to prepare a topographical map of the United States. He never got close to finishing this project, but his vision began the creation of maps that have been of unquestionable value over the years: "By 1952 more than twenty-three million of them had been distributed" (Stegner, 1954, p. 282).

As one example of Powell's contributions to the science of geology, Stegner offered his insights on the behavior of streams:

He observed that they often paid no attention to the terrain through which they ran. The Yampa, the Green, the Escalante, with valleys at hand to run through, chose instead to cut straight into massive ridges or mountain ranges. Since water does not run uphill, he had to conclude that these rivers were older than the mountains, and that as the mountains rose across their path they rose slowly enough to be cut like a log held against a revolving saw. Out of that simple observation arose a whole complex of ideas: that mountains were relatively ephemeral earth features, that nature abhorred an elevation almost as fiercely as it was said to abhor a vacuum, and persistently cut it down and carried it away; that in this case at least, and probably in most, earth movements were slow, not catastrophic as Dana⁴ and King and some other geologists held; and in particular that drainage upon this slowly altering earth-surface could be divided into three classes which he called antecedent, consequent, and superimposed" (Stegner, 1954, p. 153).

Those three classifications have become the "alphabet of the study of drainage" (Stegner, 1954, p. 153).

Powell's work demonstrated what the American faith in democracy and science could achieve, both intellectually and socially. In the latter portion of the nineteenth century he was part of the growing group of scientists that was "as closely knit as a university faculty and far more powerful" (Stegner, 1954, p. 186). He was an active member of the Philosophical Society of Washington, a member of the National Academy of Science, of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and one of the organizers and the first acting president of the Cosmos Club. Stegner said that in the 1880s Powell was "the most powerfully situated scientist in America" (Stegner, 1954, p. 242). His importance among the scientists was not so much based on his original research contributions as on his overseeing the accumulation of information and applying his organizational genius to make sense of that information through a comprehensive interpretation (Stegner, 1954, p. 198). Through his systematization of the study of American tribal cultures he "remade the science of cultural anthropology" (Stegner, 1954, p. 259). His decision to publish a set of conventions for geological mapping set a lasting American standard and led to modifications in European conventions (Stegner, 1954, p. 271).

Powell also promoted a better understanding of the relationship between humans and their environment. His *Report on the Lands of the Arid Region of the United States* demonstrated his recognition of the limits that nature places upon the achievement of human hopes. Historian Bernard DeVoto reportedly (Stegner, 1954, p. xxii) proclaimed that report as basic to American history as *The Federalist Papers*. Powell's understanding of the American West led him to promote conservation of the public domain and the reservation of public lands from private ownership. Though his vision remains incompletely realized, many of his reform ideas have taken effect, and many of his plans have been adopted.

In Stegner's view Powell also respected the earlier inhabitants of the American West, accepting "without question their right to be what they were, to hold to the beliefs and institutions natural to them" (Stegner, 1954, p. 131). His studies of the American Indians, which Stegner described as "one of the two great works of his life" (Stegner, 1954, p. 258) demonstrated a recognition that the various tribes

could not be properly understood as a single people. In founding the Bureau of Ethnology he was attempting to investigate scientifically their languages, myths, etc. before waves of white settlers and the accompanying cultural genocide made such an effort futile. But Powell also believed that the white man's culture was a progressive step beyond the tribal cultures, a step that could not be foresworn.

In sum, Stegner's narrative depicts Powell as an American hero, both in his pioneering explorations of the American West and in his visionary service as a public administrator. That narrative ascribes many positive attributes to Powell and explains how they contributed to Powell's successes as an administrator working in public service.

Evaluations of Stegner's Narrative

Because it is not common in the United States to celebrate public administrators (cf., King, et al., 1998), it is significant that Stegner used his considerable literary skills to promote the contributions of "one of the illustrious obscure" (Stegner, 1954, p. viii), a man who was "a bureaucrat before the name got either familiar or unpopular" (Stegner, 1954, p. 361). Stegner was clearly aware that he was going against the grain of American culture in praising a public servant.

Moreover, Stegner's interpretation of Powell's life has had a lasting impact on American natural resources policy and on the agencies charged with administering it. Worster has described Stegner's Powell biography as "the best book ever done on the man and one of the most important books ever written about the region? (Worster, 1994, p. 25). Stegner's biography of Powell contained a vision of "the West as a battleground between the global economic system of capitalism, which was amenable neither to environmental adaptation, conservation, nor democracy, and an alternative social ideal of public planning, communal ownership of resources, and community decision-making about their development? (Worster, 1994, p. 25). According to Stegner, it was the failure of federal administrators to heed Powell's advice that set the stage for many of the hardships and troubles in the West (Stegner, 1954, p. 229).

Stegner's biographer, Jackson J. Benson, wrote that *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian* "contributed substantially to the basic philosophy that has led the [environmental] movement to challenge the con-

ventional thinking regarding 'progress' and 'development' and to challenge the agendas of the Corps of Engineers, the Bureau of Reclamation, the Bureau of Land Management and the Forest Service" (Benson, 1996). But that has not kept contemporary federal administrators from claiming Powell as progenitor of their mission and vision. An image of Powell as the initiator of contemporary federal natural resource policy and its instruments of administration is a popular one. The Bureau of Reclamation claims him as "the father of irrigation development? (Warne, 1973, p. 4). Both Stewart Udall, who talked Stegner into being a special assistant during his term as secretary of the Interior Department, and Bruce Babbitt, current interior secretary, say they were inspired by Stegner's Powell (Hepworth, 1996, p. 19).

Of course, not everyone agrees with Stegner's positive interpretation of Powell's contributions. In my opinion Stegner's lens had a tendency to grant too much credit to Powell. For example, in discussing William Henry Holmes' drawings of the Teton range, the Wind River Mountains, and the Yellowstone, he credited Powell by association with Holmes' work for the U.S. Geological Survey, saying that "Holmes thus joined the Powell Survey after it had ceased to exist" (Stegner, 1954, p. 188). The "Powell Survey" had been disbanded and its work consolidated into the Geological Survey at the time of Holmes' work. Powell was not associated with it. In his generosity toward Powell, Stegner also credited him with bringing the concept of the welfare state into American consciousness:

The concept of the welfare state edged into the American consciousness and into American institutions more through the scientific bureaus of government than by any other way, and more through the problems raised by the public domain than through any other problems, and more through the labors of John Wesley Powell than through any other man" (Stegner, 1954, p. 334).

Stegner's lens was unrelentingly kind to Powell and almost invariably harsh toward those who opposed him, "the dragons of error, backwardness, and unchecked exploitation" (Stegner, 1954, p. 304). He seldom presented Powell's enemies in anything other than a negative fashion, alleging that they were driven by "petrified beliefs" or personal, anti-scientific, anti-federal, and/or vested interests (Stegner, 1954, p. 283). Professor E. D. Cope was a leader of anti-Powell forces, the lone dissenter in the National Academy's vote supporting

the *Report on the Lands of the Arid Region*, and a key player in an 1884 Congressional move to investigate the Geological Survey. Stegner described him as "a character out of fiction, a distinguished scientist with an emotional life like that of the villain of a Jacobean tragedy" (Stegner, 1954, p. 284).

Stegner discounted Alexander Agassiz's testimony against Powell at the Congressional hearings as motivated by his allegiance to those in a competitive bureau, by his souring relationship with Clarence King, by his lack of understanding (as a wealthy man) of the need that some scientists had for government support, or by the threat that expansion of government science may have posed to his plans for his own museum at Harvard (Stegner, 1954, p. 291). But Agassiz was a respected scientist of great renown and standing. Surely his views deserve some credit.

Again, Stegner was not content simply to denigrate the character and motives of Senator Bill Stewart as partisan and narrow, but proceeded to describe the Senator as "uncomfortable in the presence of intelligence" (Stegner, 1954, p. 317).

Thus, it is clear from Stegner's biography that Powell had contemporaries who vigorously disputed the value of his contributions. Still, Stegner granted little or no credence to their views.

A few of Stegner's contemporaries have also gone on record as seeing Powell differently. And some of their differences with Stegner have been more genteel than others. For example, Stegner depicted Powell as a person sensitive to Native Americans, but Goetzmann described him as an imperialist (Goetzmann, 1966). More recently, Williams objected that Stegner's depiction of Powell as a hero went too far and lacked the realistic complexity that most often characterized Stegner's writing (Williams, 1996, p. 135). Similarly, Topping complained that Stegner's depiction of Powell "overlooked contrary facts" and reached too far when it portrayed Powell not as a conservationist, but as a preservationist (Topping, 1996, pp. 152-153).

Finally, one of the more strenuous complaints about Stegner's depiction of Powell came from Karl Hess who claimed that Stegner's "versions both of the West and of Powell are flawed and dishonest" (Hess, 1997, p. 172). His difference with Stegner was based in ideology. Where Stegner thought that the federal government should

have heeded Powell's advice and played a stronger role in natural resource management, Hess blamed Powell's leadership and the federal resource managers (those who he thought followed Powell's lead) for most of the problems found on the Western public lands.

Even with this difference, Stegner and Hess shared some points of agreement. Like Stegner, Hess credited Powell with being "the first to bring the West under the scrutiny of science, the first to meld that science with trained, disciplined bureaucracy, and the first to claim that scientific bureaucracy could evade the pall of politics and hitch itself to the public interest" (Hess, 1997, p. 161). Hess also agreed with Stegner that Powell set the pattern for the progressive movement and "laid the cornerstone" for the welfare state.

But for Hess this legacy was not a positive one: it relied too much on the federal government. "To Powell, the West was but a challenge and an obstacle to be overcome by the late-nineteenth-century rising stars of Herculean statism and scientism" (Hess, 1997, p. 171). Hess would place his confidence in individuals operating in a free market.

Regarding the impact of Stegner's biography, Hess made two salient points. First, he recognized an intertwining of the author and his subject. According to Hess, "Powell is ... both the creation and the creator of the last western hero: Wallace Stegner" (Hess, 1997, p. 171). Hess believes that the West has been hurt by its "heroes" and blames Powell for being an exemplar and Stegner for becoming a literary figure with the impact of a modern day hero.

Which brings us to the second point: according to Hess, Powell's contemporaries did not follow his lead as thoroughly as they might have, but Stegner's biography resurrected Powell's arguments, reviving them in an era more open to his recommendations: "Overnight, John Wesley Powell, the forgotten man, became a hero for all of the West" (Hess, 1997, p. 163). Thus, he blamed Stegner's Powell for the role that Charles Wilkinson's book, *Crossing the Next Meridian*, has had in Babbitt's Department of the Interior. He blamed Stegner's Powell for Babbitt's creation of a National Biological Survey. He blamed Stegner's Powell for a West in which "A geometric progression in federal laws and regulations has ended any illusion of community, self-governance, or local self-help" (Hess, 1997, p. 175).

But in dreaming of a new West in which local control is reclaimed, Hess ignored a major reason for the federal government's involvement in natural resources administration in the West—moderating the impact of corporate power. Seeking to reduce national governmental influence, Hess overlooked the threat of intrusions by corporate interests, both national and global. The choice is not between local control and federal control; the choice is between federal moderation of corporate interests and no moderation of corporate interests.

Donald Worster disagrees with Hess and has offered a more moderate critique of Stegner's Powell. Worster complained that Stegner went too far in his depiction of Powell as "the fountainhead of Progressive conservation in the West, the patron saint of federalized management" (Worster, 1994, p. 26). But he also noted that Hess's critique of Stegner's Powell was so driven by ideology that he failed to do his homework. Not only did Hess overlook the threat of unregulated capitalism, but his characterization of Powell as a precursor to progressivism failed (as did Stegner's) to capture the true flavor of Powell's worldview: Powell's vision was more like that of the populists than the progressives; he was a communitarian, not a socialist. As Worster concludes, "Hess has a right to his conservative ideology ... What he cannot be allowed to do is distort Powell's views or make him into a monster of oppression. That cartoon simply will not stand as good history" (Worster, 1997, p. 219).

Stegner's and Hess's treatment of Powell are subject to the same complaint—they distorted Powell's views for ideological purposes. Hess's distortion of Powell may be more severe than Stegner's, it may be more at odds with Powell's view of himself, and it may be less convincingly constructed, but those differences should not blind us to the similarity in the uses to which Hess and Stegner put Powell.

In order to put Stegner's story about and analysis of Powell in perspective, it is helpful to understand how Stegner saw the role of the writer. He was not under the illusion that a writer merely presents the facts. He believed that "the eye is not a Xerox copier; it must add something to what it sees. ... a good writer is not really a mirror; he is a lens" (Stegner, 1992, p. 217). He realized that writers address matters that are important to them, so they can claim no disinterested objectivity regarding their subjects. He considered biographies in some sense to be fictions (Stegner, 1992, p. 218), and said that fiction and biography "are variant means to the same end" (Stegner,

1992, p. 220). Still, he believed that "the real world exists, and that literature is the imitation of life," (Stegner, 1992, p. 220); he considered his writing to be an attempt to make sense of life, not a fabrication from scratch. He believed that fiction and biography had the same purpose—"to try to be truthful" (Stegner, 1992, p. 222).

Conclusion

What can we learn from the example of John Wesley Powell as presented in Stegner's narrative? First, it is clear that in order to be considered a public administration exemplar, it helps to be in a position to be the among those who create a new agency, or among the first to run a relatively new one. Powell's star rose in Washington, DC, in a time when centralization of power, facilitated by the crisis of the War Between the States, was on the rise. "Postwar Washington permitted and encouraged the development of professionals and put them in charge of operations of incalculable potential" (Stegner, 1954, p. 117). But those conditions are not available to many public administrators, so it may not be a very useful insight. Still, the underlying dynamics of such a situation may help to clarify why it is that many public administrators find the current trend toward reduction of government services distressing; it takes away significant opportunities for making a positive difference for society through public service.

Second, though this is also out of a public administrator's control, having one's story told by a skilled and sympathetic literary figure can be of enormous (but probably delayed) assistance in becoming recognized as an exemplar. In understanding the dynamics of this relationship, it may help to consider Wagenaar's three elements of narrative as they apply to this case study: 1) attention to audience, 2) time, and 3) absence of logically necessary connections.

Stegner was quite attentive to his audience. He was writing in the early 1950s, and the value that he placed on science was one that played better to a 1950s audience than it does today. His promotion of Powell's environmental and ethnographic sensitivity may have been slightly ahead of the 1950s audience, but they, too, were sure to find a resonance among many of his readers. Finally, his portrayal of Powell as a defender of the interests of the small farmer was a theme certain to find much support in American political culture throughout our history.

Powell was also significantly a man of his time. Though Stegner correctly portrayed Powell as ahead of the mainstream in his confidence in science, his leadership in that area was possible largely because government science was in its infancy. His unquestioning belief in science was characteristic of the intelligentsia of his time, but it may appear rather naive to many in the waning years of the twentieth century.

On another note regarding time, Stegner's biography of Powell made clear that this exemplary public administrator did not experience a life full of successes. His fortunes fluctuated over time. That is no small lesson for public administrators to keep in mind. Stegner was as impressed by Powell's perseverance against powerful odds as he was by Powell's achievements (Benson, 1996, p. 210).

Also, as Wagenaar has noted, the absence of logically necessary connections is a key feature of the narrative form. It imbues narrative with drama. It also reflects the uncertainties with which public administrators must learn to cope. Powell made a strong logical case for radical reform in our approach to disposing public land in the arid West. Western public lands still suffer from this country's failure to see the wisdom of his recommendations. His expertise did not control public policy. Neither will the technically rational expertise of twenty-first century public administrators. If public administrators wish to influence the direction of public policy, they need to go beyond technically rational explanations of what should be done and work within the dynamics of public policy formulation.

The Stegner narrative also holds some usable lessons regarding what it takes to be exemplary. The Powell story provides evidence that having confidence in one's vision can be an important aspect of public administration leadership. That vision must be supplemented by diligent work. Powell was relentless in his drive to survey the West, in his promotion of the recognition of the significance of aridity for land management in the West, and in his belief in the importance of organizing government science for the promotion of the general welfare.

Powell's career was one that included failures as well as successes, but the one exemplary aspect of Stegner's Powell that need not be qualified was his forsaking of private fortune for the higher value of public service. There is nothing much more important for public

administrators to remember than that they ought to dedicate their work to the public interest.

Notes

1. In the context of this paper, the term "narrative" refers to what scholars of post-modernity mean by "local narrative" and what Hummel (1991) and others have simply referred to as "stories." As will become clear later in the paper, it distinctly does not include the phenomenon that is sometimes called a "grand narrative."
2. Henry Adams was posthumously awarded the Pulitzer Prize for his autobiography and served as a correspondent for *The Nation*, as editor of the *North American Review*, and as a professor of history at Harvard College.
3. Clarence King conducted a ten-year study of mineral resources on the 40th Parallel along the path of the Union Pacific Railroad and was the first director of the U.S. Geological Survey.
4. James D. Dana, a faculty member at Yale, was a founding member of the National Academy of Sciences and served terms as president of the American Association of the Advancement of Science and the Geological Society of America.

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Sick Organizations, Rabid Managerialism: Work-Life Narratives from People with Invisible Chronic Illness

Margaret H. Vickers

Life and Work with Invisible Chronic Illness

Life and work with an “invisible” chronic illness (ICI) is a passage of trauma—turbulent, random and poignant, and one that is characterized by uncertainty, perilousness and ambiguity. Chronic illness in the workplace has remained a neglected management challenge; an unseen, unspoken, unrecognized organizational dilemma.

Recent phenomenological research uncovered work-life narratives from sick people; people who came to their places of work with illness, rather than illness spawned by the working environment. The stories revealed fractured lives, shattered selves, ontological despair. Concurrently, the stories resonated with themes of hope, burgeoning resilience—stories of survival. Nevertheless, even the most positive coping mechanisms and postures of defence were, in some instances, a poor match for the rigors faced during day-to-day work life. Examples of insensitivity, callousness, even cruelty are expounded as rabid managerialism. It is argued that the rising managerialism spawned of capitalism and economic rationalism¹ may make work a nightmare for people with chronic illness, especially when the situation is complicated by the fact that the illness cannot be seen.

Invisible chronic illness (ICI) entails characteristics generally attributed to chronic conditions; conditions that are ongoing and which may be physical, emotional or cognitive; and which may or may not be treatable or curable. ICI combines the attributes Goffman (1963) ascribed to invisible stigma: a condition that is not perceptible, not noticeable, not evident to others. In short, a condition *unseen* by oth-

ers that may arise from disease, disability or injury. Donoghue and Siegel (1992) have suggested some exemplars: chronic fatigue syndrome (CFS); endometriosis; fibromyalgia; HIV; colitis; Crohn's disease; irritable bowel syndrome (IBS); lupus erythematosus; lyme disease; migraine headaches; multiple sclerosis (MS). Others may include: asthma; arthritis; epilepsy; depression; schizophrenia; cystic fibrosis (CF); diabetes; heart disease; head injuries; sarcoidosis; or nephritis. This list is not intended to be comprehensive and it is recognized that some conditions may result in highly visible manifestations over time. What is important to note here is that the examples serve to vivify the *number* and *variability* of conditions which may be described as "invisible" and which may make a working life difficult for the people who bear them.

Sick Organizations and Rabid Managerialism

The most pernicious constraint ever laid on a public organization is the doctrine of efficiency, a precept that appears so self-evident and so much a matter of common-sense, as to be beyond doubt. If, however, common-sense is not enough of a warrant, we have the weighty pronouncements of economists, accountants and junk-bond peddlers who continually urge that our salvation is to be found under its banner (Landau and Chisholm, 1995).

It is argued that one of the manifestations of the sick organization is the preponderance of managerialism which may, especially, present problems for those with illness and disability. The managerialist theme is one that is embedded in the prescriptive doctrines of the market (Rees and Rodley, 1995) that has been identified as the inevitable outcome of capitalist ideologies (Rees and Rodley, 1995). Rees defines managerialism as an ideology with two distinct claims: that efficient management can solve almost any problem and that practices which are appropriate for the conduct of private sector enterprises can also be applied to public sector services. It is an ideology underpinning the notion that management "knows best". Management recipes (such as re-structuring, re-engineering and outsourcing) have, seemingly, become irresistible, however, "the idea that these recipes might not be appropriate is often inconceivable" (Kouzmin, Leivesley and Korac-Kakabadse, 1997). Unfortunately, the stories from PwICI demonstrate that the managerialist enterprise is sometimes inappropriate. The demoralization that they may

feel is almost an inevitable outcome when people feel they are powerless to challenge those in authority.

The recent economic rationalist backdrop of Anglo-American managerial praxis nurtures the managerialist ideology and, yet, the economic basis of managerialism is also one of its major criticisms. One of the interesting metaphors of the managerialist ideology is the strong person taking tough decisions and being rational and/or scientific whilst doing so; of doing more with less and a focus on outputs. It is a commodified approach emphasizing professional neutrality. Economic rationalism is, arguably, a paradigm for the functionalists concerned with how to and best approaches implemented by professional managers indoctrinated with the traditional coercive management theory. The corollary to this is a corporatized focus where "dealing with one-another on an arms-length basis" (Hughes, 1994) and appearing tough about the outcomes (Rees, 1995b) becomes the norm. Unfortunately, life for PwICI does not comfortably lend itself to this kind of impersonal response or the concomitant absence of personal responsibility.

Unfortunately, the rise of managerialism does not address the human costs—these are "not allowed to cloud the efficiency equation" (Rees, 1995a). An ideology to justify callousness is provided by the economists and is one that seems to condone economic and social inequality even whilst espousing the need for fairness and equity. "As *instrumental* criteria, efficiency and effectiveness serve as measures of accountability for organizational action. This probably explains much of their appeal in that they seem, at least, to provide standards of *correct* action" (Harmon and Mayer, 1986, emphasis in the original). Issues such as fairness, justice, representation or participation may be treated as constraints whilst striving for ever greater levels of efficiency. As a result, illness may be regarded as a bothersome, human inefficiency detracting from the efficient processes of organizational life.

Nor does managerialist ideology address the problem of making simplistic, rationally-prescribed decisions, relating to indefinable, often insoluble, problems: "The moral fiction" is that "many of the claims of managerialism are a fiction" involving a preoccupation with management panaceas (Rees, 1995a) and management recipes. Management praxis is applauded as a means of increasing productivity through a pathological embrace of faddish management practices or

tool tropism and their application to difficult (or even simple) organizational problems. If the suitably prescribed solutions do not work, it is in some way the organization's fault or the failure of the people involved to work hard enough, be smart enough—or feel well enough.

The Research Process: In Brief

This paper describes part of a phenomenological model developed as part of a Ph.D. research project entitled "Life and Work with 'Invisible' Chronic Illness." The study utilized Heideggerian phenomenology as the methodological vehicle for exploration. Phenomenology was used as the philosophical approach to capture the intersubjective experiences of PwICI; to bring them to awareness. Phenomenology as a philosophical approach was in keeping with the aims of this study. The phenomenological method in philosophy began to crystallize in reaction to the denigration of philosophical knowledge and the objectification of humans. The goal of Heideggerian, hermeneutical phenomenology is "to understand everyday practices" (Benner, 1985), with the hermeneutic method proposed in Heidegger's (1927/1962) *Being and Time* being "a method for the study of sacred texts to a way of studying all human activities" (Dreyfus, 1991).

Heideggerian phenomenological interpretation requires, not detached, but engaged activity ideally resulting in a profoundly reflexive experience. The researcher should always come to the situation with a pre-understanding; a story that is not always rationalizable. In this study the researcher's pre-understanding or background was grounded not just in personal experience, being an insider or intimate to the phenomenon (herself having multiple sclerosis), but in a literature-based theoretical framework with interpretations being influenced by past and present unique circumstance (Taylor, 1993). Following Swanson-Kauffman's (1986) lead, theoretical hunches were developed to guide the research process on the basis that a prepared mind would be an asset to the researcher.

Difficulties were encountered in contacting potential respondents. Like other un-discussable organizational problems, sensitivity to key ethical issues was paramount. The informants existed within an invisible population (a likely characteristic of many people with problems that need discussing which others don't wish to hear). Of vital importance was the privacy of the individual, especially given

the workplace context. Many illnesses can be highly stigmatizing, encouraging, for many, a policy of nondisclosure. It was deemed that people with invisible illness were a largely hidden population—a group neither seen nor heard.

The modified chain referral technique (Watters and Biernacki, 1989) was successfully employed to contact potential respondents for interview. Similar difficulties had been experienced by researchers trying to survey the hidden population of injecting drug users (Watters and Biernacki, 1989). A modified version of this technique was applied, where the investigator asked associates and colleagues (referred to as Work “intermediaries”) if they knew of anyone who was a likely candidate for participation. This was found to be a very successful technique in introducing suitable respondents to the researcher whilst also addressing the weighty issues of respondent privacy and researcher safety.

The ten PwICI who participated in the research are introduced (using pseudonyms) in Table 1. Each respondent was interviewed twice, for approximately one hour, with the interviews transcribed verbatim. Respondents were selected because they were working and had what was described earlier to be an invisible chronic illness. A comparison of their stories took place, with shared experiences noted. Thematic analysis was used to build a phenomenological model with part of that model being reported here. Readers may wish to refer to Table 1 as the stories unfold.

Life Narratives: Two Perspectives on Managerialism

So basic to agency is ontological narrativity that if we want to explain—that is, to know, to make sense of, to account for, perhaps even to predict, anything about the practices of social and historical actors, their collective actions, their modes and meanings of institution-building and group-formations, and their apparent incoherencies—we must first recognize the place of ontological narratives in social life (Somers and Gibson, 1994).

Table 1: Summary of Participant's Details

Name	ICI(s)	Job	Ethnicity	Age
Daphne	Multiple Sclerosis	Senior Project Manager, Computing Applications	Greek	39
Shelley	Acute Lymphoblastic Leukemia	Childcare Worker	English	25
June	Glaucoma	Social Worker	English	47
Rodney	Spondylolisthesis	Senior Financial Accountant	English	34
Linda	Breast Cancer; Metastasis in Sternum	Computer Applications Programmer/Analyst	Australian	28
Maryanne	Endometriosis; Interstitial Cystitis	Liaison Officer for a Charitable Institution	Australian	35
Rosalie	Chronic Fatigue Syndrome	Self-Employed; Education and Consulting Services	Australian	48
Fred	Lung Cancer; Slipped Disc	Sales Representative	Italian	54
Shirley	Endometriosis; Lipodystrophy; Hearing Impairment; Learning Disability	Administration Officer with Public Sector	Australian	41
Beverley	Multiple Sclerosis	Senior Manager with Public Sector	Australian	41

Note: Job titles have been varied so as to further protect the confidentiality of informants. It was endeavored to use titles that have captured the essence of the work involved, striving for accuracy in impression.

The following ontological narratives are examined from two perspectives. First, there is the individual perspective of the person who has been a *recipient* of the managerialist doctrines described above in organizational life. Secondly, reports were given by PwICI who were also managers. The managerialist tenor of their comments seemed in no way to have been dissipated given the respondent's illness status, serving to provide some interesting insights into potentially real managerial recruitment decision-making processes concerning the chronically ill.

Themes of Managerialism: The Non-Manager's Perspective

From the individual PwICI's perspective, organizational life was not always easy. Whilst many respondents initially *stated* that they had received tremendous support from colleagues, that the organization had been great, closer inspection revealed little in the way of clear support. There *was* evidence of insensitivity and callous disregard for people's suffering emanating from the managerialist imperatives pervading organizational life. The noted managerial obsession with outputs rather than the process of work or the actors involved, and of the strong manager taking tough, rational decisions constantly threatens any notional social support that may have otherwise been available. For example, Shelley reported feeling "used" by her manager to cover staff numbers at the child-care center where she worked while, concurrently, struggling to work and cope with the leukemia which, ultimately, took her life.

It has been confirmed that social support is not necessarily supportive nor positive, with sick people sometimes having difficulty getting the support they require. Supervisors in the workplace can potentially be a great source of stress in some instances. In particular, the distinction should be made between available and received support and the problem of initial support dissipating over time. Shelley, depicted a vast discrepancy between the support she reported and what was actually provided. Early in the first interview, Shelley *reported* that her manager was very supportive and, yet, in the next breath it became clear that this same manager reportedly "flies off her handle" if anybody asked to go home because they were sick:

Shelley: It comes across as even though she is supportive in some respects, if I was sick or got a bad blood result or something on the telephone, she would be there. If I was in tears, she's there for me in that situation. But on the other hand it's like, "You're here to work, do it," sort of thing.

There seemed to be a desire for—an expectation of—the support of colleagues and, yet, evidence of this being available was frequently lacking. Shelley also reported the managerialist tradition of managers making decisions on another's behalf, of knowing what was best, and the assumption that employees will respond passively as required. She recalled being excluded from activities at the child-care center where she worked; activities that she would have been fit for, but was *assumed* to be unable to participate in, without being "even given the chance to say no". Similarly, June was pressured to drive a bus when her vision was inadequate for this task and Daphne and Shelley both described the inflexibility of management and the rigors surrounding the need to have a day off. Daphne declared her manager's impatience with her in situations such as getting in and out of taxis, a potentially slower task for someone with MS, but the most pernicious incident was recalled by Linda who described a meeting with her senior manager only days after her return from seven months sick leave:

Linda: So my senior manager came a saw me and said "I need a decision by this Friday where you want to move to. Your job no longer exists." ... I said, I asked him, "Do you realize what I've got is a life-threatening disease?" "and he just looked at me and he said "Yes, but I didn't really factor that in when I was thinking of what to do with you." I was just totally blown away.... I'd heard actually two days before this he had to cut about four people out of his budget.

Finally, evidence of *enacted stigma* or discrimination towards PwICI was also reported. Discrimination is another likely outcome of the managerialist efficiency imperatives that combine with the negative attitudes widely held in the community towards those with illness and disability. Whether or not discrimination had been experienced, respondents often indicated consciously or unconsciously their fears in this area. For Shelley, enacted stigma was keenly felt through the loss of a workmate's friendship; Linda's boss told her to find herself another job—fast; and Maryanne's already arduous existence with

endometriosis and interstitial cystitis was exacerbated with a blatantly unfair dismissal by her previous employer:

MV: So they asked you to leave?

Maryanne: Yes.

MV: Who asked you, your manager or the doctor?

Maryanne: The manager, after medical consult. Nowadays, nowadays I'm not naive and nowadays I would take them to court on unfair dismissal.

MV: And what, did they give any reason or what, what did they say?

Maryanne: The letter was just so simple it was ridiculous. I saw it coming. Actually I should have dug it out. I found it the other day when I was going through some stuff. It was like two lines. I just didn't cry at that stage or anything.

Themes of Managerialism: Stories from Managers

During the interview process the investigator was also fortunate enough to have the opportunity to ask several of the PwICI for their managerial perspective. They were asked, specifically, how they would feel about hiring a potential employee with a chronic condition, for example, HIV, epilepsy, cancer or MS. There was definitely more understanding reported towards fictional job candidates who had the same (or similar) problems as the respondent. Both Daphne and Beverley reported that they would be more understanding towards a colleague with MS (since their own diagnosis of MS) than someone with a different condition.

Rodney provided a paradigm case which exposes the managerialist and paternalistic attitudes towards illness in the workplace that arguably pervade modern management.² The reader may recall that Rodney has a chronic back condition:

MV: What would you do if you were interviewing a person who you knew had a bad back? How would it affect you?

Rodney: I would probably ring our HR department first, to find out what I could and couldn't ask, for fear of digging myself into a major hole that I couldn't get out of ...

MV: And if they said it was OK [to ask about the illness]?

Rodney: Yes.

MV: What would you ask?

Rodney: How's your back?", if I knew them.

MV: What else?

Rodney: I probably would raise it in terms of swapping back stories. Probably.

MV: Would it influence you in your decision making?

Rodney: I guess if, this really comes back to what I said last week about the fact that if, if they can do the job then it wouldn't. Then if there was a risk that they couldn't do the job well, they would let themselves and me down as a result, then it would affect my personal decision. Again, I would need to check with the HR people as to what I'm allowed to affect my decision and what I'm not allowed.

MV: When you say, "if they could do the job", would that be in your estimation or their estimation?

Rodney: Mine. And theirs as well. I mean, if they didn't think that they could do the job, well there's not much point in me telling them they could. I guess, it's somewhere in between, I guess. Because they know what their disability is; I know what the job is.

MV: What about if you'd spoken to HR and they suggested that it... might not be [a] good idea to ask the person, what would you do then? How would you determine whether they could do the job or not?

Rodney: Gut feel, I guess really.

MV: Based on?

Rodney: Well, I guess you try and put yourself in their shoes. If you know what's wrong with them—I guess there's two situations. If you know and understand what's wrong with them, say its a back problem, and—you know it shouldn't affect what they do, yes, because I've got a fairly serious back problem, its not the *worst* that you can get by any means, but its not the best...I guess you have to try and familiarize yourself a little with what that involves, what it means, both now and in the short term. But that would only ever become an issue if they were as good as or better than anybody else on a pure qualifications basis.

MV: What about if they had cancer?

Rodney: And I knew they had it?

MV: Let's say it was an internal position and you'd heard on the grapevine.

Rodney: —[long pause]. Well, this would not be a decision I'd make in isolation. [MV: Go on]. I would discuss the whole issue with HR and my boss as to what they thought was the most appropriate, given that this is a fairly stressful environment, this department, and is this the best, from their own point of view, is this the best place to be, again, in terms of bringing stress in.

MV: What about from your point of view?

Rodney: From my point of view?—I wouldn't want to bring someone into a department that, or an area that, is not going to help them.

MV: But what about how they're going to help you? Tell me about your perspective as a manager?

Rodney:—[very long pause] On a purely selfish point of view, you'd say if they can't, they're either at an increased risk, a greatly increased risk that they're not going to be as great a help to me or this organization as the other two. So, from a purely—personal point of view I guess, you'd really have to look at the position they're

applying for and think ahead as to how you can cover for that position if that person needs to go off sick at short notice for treatment or just goes and doesn't come back. Yes, there are some positions that are better than others. If it was someone who, if it was a direct report to me, i.e. someone I'd put responsibility onto, then I'd probably be pretty nervous about taking them on. Being realistic. However sorry I might feel for them.

In sum, Rodney, a product of his culture and organizational milieu, demonstrates various aspects of managerialism. He makes judgments based on gut-feel, even though these are argued to be rationally derived and based on his concern for the prospective staff member. He makes these judgments seemingly with incomplete knowledge about illness even given the vast consequences his decisions may have on another's life. He is, conversely, acutely concerned with organizational (Human Resources) policy, presumably to avoid a possible lawsuit, as opposed to "doing the right thing". Finally, Rodney is rationally "realistic" and yet overtly patronizing in his judgments, as noted in his comments about feeling sorry for the person and of not wanting to place them in a difficult or stressful situation. There seems to be little recognition that the sick person may be able to make such a judgment for themselves.

Daphne was also asked about what her views might have been about hiring people with chronic illness *prior* to her own diagnosis of MS. She responded that if a potential job applicant had a diagnosis of MS or cancer, this could have effected a decision against them, in that she believed it may have meant time off for that staff member in the future. She demonstrated less concern about epilepsy, believing that it was less of a problem and could be controlled. Daphne acknowledged that she would have some concerns about staff members with back problems believing them to be unpredictable and incapacitating, and difficult to improve or control. Daphne also reluctantly acknowledged that someone with HIV would present the biggest problem for her as a manager hiring new staff. She felt that this condition presented not just problems with being able to do the job (or not), but of potentially placing other staff members at risk, citing the common staff facilities (such as the tea room) as an example. She said that even surgeons who take precautions still catch HIV and die and that she would not want that responsibility. Daphne admitted to being unlikely to employ this person.

Finally, Rosalie also admitted difficulties hiring others with ICI, stating that "I'd like to be able to say 'Oh, it wouldn't make any difference,' but I can't honestly say it." The discussion continued:

MV: Do you think it would make a difference if someone presented themselves to you who had cancer or who had chronic fatigue? Would your response differ?

Rosalie: Not now. Previously it would have.

MV: Right. In what way?

Rosalie: Oh, because I wouldn't have taken CFS probably *seriously!* I mean [laughter from MV] I'm probably back where *many people are*, because, and I wouldn't know the complexities, the impact. [MV: No.] *I wouldn't have a clue.* And cancer, if I'm quite honest cancer would *seem*, six years ago, much more earnest to me. I mean I, I'm part of my culture as well.

What is evident in Rosalie's commentary is her belief in the lack of validation of invisible and fatigue-related conditions. Few invisible conditions will be understood by colleagues because the symptoms cannot be seen and, while invisible disabilities are thought to provide the least discomfort for co-workers when compared to visible disabilities, invisible disability is often thought of as not being a "real" disability.

The Sick Person Hiding in the Sick Organization

Maryanne seemed to encapsulate the problems faced by many PwICI in their working lives—a need to hide stemming from the negative attitudes of others and emphasizing the negative aspects of the *invisible* nature of her conditions:

Maryanne: We make ourselves *hide* our diseases because of people, of perceptions that we have about people and acceptance and, like, the real irony of that is you know that if these people had someone in their family that had the thing they'd be really supportive....they'd be much more empathetic, much more supportive and have higher expectations on that person's employer than they possibly would as

an employer or a co-worker themselves. And I don't know if you'd find that generally across the board, but that's it. *You're dealing with perceptions; you're dealing with lack of knowledge; you're dealing with judgments* and those things become skewed, and why people tend to hide their disease is because they don't know how people are going to react. You'd be better off walking in the door with a massive birth mark, or, or say you have AIDS or something and you have a big AIDS scar or, you know how they get the scarring on their faces? than that, because people can see—concrete.

While this author argues that invisible illness is frequently, but not always, hidden many authors always refer to illness that cannot be seen as hidden illness or disability. Maryanne's comment on the issue of hiding a stigmatizing illness is an important one. Covering up behavior may be underpinned by a need to convey a picture of essential normalcy but there is a dilemma of a need for legitimization of invisible or hidden illness which may support the need to reveal one's identity to decrease the problems associated with disbelief.

Whilst one may *assume* that the average workplace may, potentially, be a good source of social support for the individual, capitalism may incite an unhealthy desire to conform, to progress, to succeed, making the mutual trust and honesty required for social support difficult. PwICI are encouraged in organizations *not* to be sick. They should be "normal", "happy" and "healthy". The paradoxical corollary to this is that being part of a sick organization which encourages one to keep-up, to succeed and to be normal may make one even more sick.

Conclusion: No Simple Solutions

Managers who are inconsiderate of other members of the organization, through ignorance or the chasing of efficiency objectives, may feel exempt from responsibility. They are being "terrifyingly normal" when they feel no "moral guilt" over their actions (Twining, 1997). They may be demonstrating an "internal circuit breaker" that enables them to disconnect from the responsibility associated with their own actions (Twining, 1997). Organizations are human creations and, yet, are replete with impersonal rules, roles and procedures. They seem to take on a life and legitimacy of their own in the minds of those who work in them and are affected by them. Rational

managerial action has come to be identified with what one does to further the goals and objectives of that organization. Unfortunately, managerial action does not always correlate with consideration and concern for others. Claims to innocence, whether grounded in unconnectedness or inadvertence, raise a special issue of how far such claims can be pressed convincingly. The answer, unfortunately, seems to be "very far indeed" (Goffman, 1974).

There are numerous human costs associated with membership in the modern, sick organization: of relevance here is a loss of social conscience; feelings of betrayal in organizational life; a loss of trust in organizations; job insecurity; a persistent sense of powerlessness; and problems of stress, fatigue and anxiety at work. These problems are noted for all actors but may add to the special difficulties already faced by PwICI.

There may exist a mythical and negative view of the sick worker: that people choose to stop work due to illness and gain sanction from the sick role; that the chronically ill are malingerers; or that people choose disability rather than work. Rather than uncritically embracing the view that sick people are hysterical, malingerers or just plain lazy and in need of some positive self-talk, perhaps, instead, it is the world of work that requires some scrutiny:

Instead of focusing on the nature of illness, public policy would do well to emphasize the world of the work place. Altering the characteristics of jobs can reduce the probability of work loss dramatically, even among those with activity limitations. This can be done by modifying the fit between the individual and the job, both in the interaction between the physical limitations and physical requirements of work and in the discretion granted the individual to do a job in the ways and at the pace consonant with capacities (Yelin, 1986, p. 647).³

It is increasingly unclear just what employees and employers owe one another in terms of fulfillment of tacit obligations surrounding the psychological contract. Erosion of trust in the contract may be due to numerous forces influencing organizational life including social change, technology change, organizational dynamics, demographic shifts and economic pressure. What is clear is that violations are increasingly occurring and, when they do, result in decreases in trust, job satisfaction, as well as any perceived obligations to the

organization and intentions to remain. This feeling of violation, of betrayal, is a multifaceted blend of first order feelings. Central to the experience are feelings of anger; resentment; bitterness; indignation; even outrage that comes from the perception of betrayal or mistreatment—a feeling experienced at a deep visceral level. The stories shared here reflect both the feelings of violation arising from rabid managerialism. For PwICI, these feelings of violation may add to the melange of an already difficult working life.

While deliberately avoiding a prescriptive, recipe-like solution (that is traditionally sought by the managerialist organization), an unveiling and vivification of the difficulties that managerialist processes offer to a marginalized group in the workplace presents a beginning for the amelioration of work life for sick people in sick organizations. They are organizational actors already “on the fringe” (Vickers, 1999). Rabid managerialism serves to further marginalize actors with unseen illness and present problems for their working lives. The way forward may commence with organizational actors embarking on a reflexive analysis of their own actions in order to recognize the flawed and inhumane aspects of managerialism in organizational life.

End Notes

1. It is acknowledged that modernity and bureaucracy are similarly noted for outcomes of dehumanization and feelings of powerlessness in organizational actors that may exist beyond the capitalist sphere. However, without dismissing the Weberian distinction from Marxist thought—that is, that problems of modernity and bureaucracy being attributable to more than just capitalism, and being inherent in groups and classes, and forms of action, authority and legitimation (Beilharz, 1991, p. 226)—it is felt that for the author to wade into a more comprehensive analysis of bureaucratic process on this basis would be beyond the scope of this work. It is the notions of alienated labor (Marx, 1975/1994, p. 387) where the worker becomes estranged from the human essence: from themselves and from others (Marx, 1975/1994, p. 390) through capitalist processes that have long been equated with devaluation in direct proportion to increases in the value of material things and the shift from a concern with quality of inner life to concern for economics (Blauner, 1964, p. 1) that is of primary concern. The actor (sick person) molds and changes oneself to fit the work process (Fromm, 1963/1994, p. 394) and “utilitarian organizations”, where remuneration is the major means of control over lower participants with calculative involvement, constitute an example (Etzioni, 1961/1975, p. 31). The Marxian hypothesis of alienated workers (Blauner, 1964, p. 3) is reinforced through a recognition of alienation in the workplace through feelings of powerlessness and social isolation (Blauner, 1964, p. 2-3) which are especially relevant to this analysis.

2. This lengthy narrative was deliberately included as a paradigm case to demonstrate some of the managerialist issues articulated earlier. Leonard (1989, p. 54) and Lawson (1987, p. 254) have both used paradigm cases (read exemplar cases) as "strong instances of particular patterns of meaning" (Leonard, 1989, p. 54) to demonstrate a particular phenomenon (Lawson, 1987, p. 254). Leonard's (1989) articulation of interpretive analysis is particularly close to van Manen's (1990) and was specifically presented for use with Heideggerian phenomenology, making it especially relevant in this analysis.
3. The reader might look to recent legislative shifts in some nation states as a potential solution along the lines Yelin (1986) has suggested. While agreeing with the sentiment, the implementation has seemed problematic. For example, the enactment of the Federal *Disability Discrimination Act* (DDA, 1992) in Australia makes it unlawful to discriminate against people on the basis of their disability in areas such as:

work, accommodation, education, access to premises, clubs and sport; and the provision of goods, facilities, services and land; and existing laws; and the administration of Commonwealth laws and programs (DDA, 1992, p. 2).

The DDA also promotes equal rights for the disabled, as well as trying to promote recognition and acceptance of disabled and chronically ill people's rights within the community (DDA, 1992, p. 2). Whilst it is argued that the DDA, administered by the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC) in Australia, was far better than the previous state-by-state legislation where communities were afforded different (or no) levels of protection depending on the location of the alleged discrimination, it has not provided the panacea that was hoped for and has, to some extent, mirrored the experience in the United States of America (USA). Prior to the *Americans with Disabilities Act* (ADA), a melange of disparate programs was also administered on a state by state basis (Putney and Atchley, 1994, p. 25). The ADA was regarded as a potential catalyst for initiating change in the US community, not just in the employment and judicial setting, but with the spirit of the law enabling opportunities to open for qualified individuals (Putney and Atchley, 1994, p. 26). Unfortunately, there have been serendipitous outcomes from the ADA and DDA. For example, the fear of litigation in the USA has resulted in this legislation actually *increasing* discrimination against the disabled, rather than reducing it (Klimoski, 1994). There is also a significant lack of understanding of the implications of the legislation (Bento, 1994, p. 12).

Similarly, problems have emerged with the DDA in Australia. First, the HREOC have had difficulty enforcing the DDA owing to an Australian High Court ruling (February 1995) leaving the HREOC disempowered, being unable to operate as a court to enforce any punitive actions (Farr, 1995; Toten, 1995, p. 32). A "toothless tiger" was left to uphold the intentions of anti-discrimination legislation (Vickers, 1997c, p. 244; 1997d). Secondly, many with disabilities may be unaware of the extent of their rights under legislative changes (either in Australia, the USA or anywhere else). Those who are aware may choose not to make use of legislative ave-

nues, perhaps recognizing that the legal process is time-consuming, and physically, financially and psychologically taxing, even for those who have the personal resources and confidence to represent themselves (or sufficient funds to hire a lawyer), and sufficient intestinal fortitude to complete a process which invariably takes months or years. These problems are underscored if redress is sought with one's current employer (Vickers, 1997c, p. 247). It seems that reliance on legislative shifts provides, at best, an incomplete solution to the problems depicted here.

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Mr. Findley, The Whiskey Rebellion, and Public Administration

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A knowledge of these events may be of use to those who are intrusted with the administration of the government, if such a crisis should ever again happen, or rather for the salutary purpose of guarding against such emergencies.

William Findley

Introduction

The Whiskey Rebellion is one of the more interesting episodes of American political development, yet it receives scant attention. It is mentioned in American history courses, and may be mentioned in American government textbooks, but only as a political crisis facing the new nation. This study argues that the Whiskey Rebellion is more than just a colorful episode of American history, it is a key episode in the development of the administrative procedures needed to govern a new nation. The episode arose from an unpopular tax and from the efforts of public administrators to enforce public policy. It triggered a popular uprising which resulted in the dispatch of 12,950 troops to four counties in western Pennsylvania—a number three to five times that of the standing army of the period. It represents the first major challenge to national administrative power under the Constitution, and, as such, can provide crucial insight to the development of and the legitimization of public administration in the new nation. The insurrectionists of the Whiskey Rebellion, along with those of Shay's Rebellion, and Jefferson's apparent sympathy for

both groups, have been cited by some contemporary militia movements to legitimate their own actions (O'Brien, 1996).

The Whiskey Rebellion involved public administrators, elected public officials, and their constituents. A number of public administrators suffered personal and property damage as a result of their efforts to implement an unpopular public policy, forcing the new nation to address the issue of liability of public officials. More than this, however, it helped set a pattern of public management practice in the United States, a pattern that Lerner and Wanat (1992) call "constrained administration." Public managers are constrained by the political process in many ways. The Whiskey Rebellion illustrates these constraints, particularly in the area of political ideology as evidenced through political parties and public opinion. These constraints were played out in an executive-legislative context.

Elected officials, including members of Congress, found themselves caught between executive authority and the needs of their constituents. This was at a period of time when the relationship between legislative bodies and appointed officials was being defined, with Federalists and Democratic Republicans articulating very different views. Partly as a result of those differences, one of those elected officials, William Findley, was accused of inciting revolt. Desiring to set the record straight—or at least to set forth his version of events—he decided to write a history of the insurrection, a history which would vindicate himself, and to a great extent, his constituents. Mr. Findley, in a very real sense, was lodging a formal grievance against the executive branch of the national government through his writings. His writings, supplemented by a collection of original documents compiled by the Pennsylvania Archives provide the focal point of the paper.

The Whiskey Rebellion: A Brief Overview

The Whiskey Rebellion was the first major challenge to national authority faced by the government operating under a new constitution. It resulted from the imposition of an excise tax by the national government upon a key local industry, a tax that was despised by the citizens of western Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania's Experience with the Excise Tax on Spirits

Excise taxes—taxes on manufactured goods—had long been a mainstay of the British tax structure. These taxes had an equally long history of unpopularity, however, particularly among the Scotch and Irish citizens of the realm. The excise tax was viewed as one of the most heavy-handed forms of governmental interference. Indeed, among the Scottish peasantry it was felt that to kill an exciseman was such a noble deed that it would cover a multitude of sins. Scots-Irish immigrants brought this attitude with them to their new homes in the Americas, including those homes in western Pennsylvania.

As an English colony, Pennsylvania had a long history of unsuccessful attempts to levy an excise tax on alcoholic beverages. The first such tax was enacted by the Assembly of the Province in 1684. The excise tax was contained in the *Bill of Aid and Assistance of the Government*. Popular resistance to the excise tax portion of the bill led to its quick repeal, and it was not taken up again until 1738. The new bill, *An Act for Laying an Excise on Wine, Rum, Brandy and Other Spirits*, was again intensely unpopular and was repealed in a matter of months. Another attempt to levy the tax came in 1744, resulting in a similar rejection.

The Assembly, undaunted by earlier attempts, once again passed an excise tax on spirits in 1772. Little attempt was made to collect the tax on domestic spirits, however, and the act was largely ignored until the Revolutionary War. With the advent of the war, distillation became a temporarily unpopular activity in the populous eastern part of the state, due to its heavy consumption of grain needed to support the war effort. Realizing the need for both revenue and grain, most Pennsylvanians, with the notable exception of those in the western part of the state, supported the tax, and a significant amount of revenue was raised.

Support for the excise tax waned as the war continued. In 1780 Congress levied the states for additional funds to support the army, and Pennsylvania attempted to increase revenues from the excise tax to meet the increased demand. This proved remarkably unsuccessful. Pennsylvanians were beginning to believe they were being discriminated against regarding this tax. No neighboring state was collecting

the tax, although New Jersey did have such a tax on its books. Resistance to the excise tax mounted, particularly in those counties west of the Allegheny Mountains.

Western Pennsylvania, Grain, and the Excise Tax

The majority of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania's western counties were of Scots-Irish descent. These settlers objected to the excise tax not just on historic grounds, but on grounds of fairness. Transportation was primitive, at best, making the cost of salt and of manufactured goods dear in the western counties while at the same time making it difficult to transport grain to eastern markets. One obvious solution was to distill grain into spirits, reducing the cost of transport and providing the western settlers with a marketable product.

With the conclusion of the war, the state continued its efforts to collect this revenue in an attempt to pay its war debts, much to the displeasure of the Scots-Irish in western Pennsylvania. In 1785 an excise man named Graham was sent to enforce the law. He settled into a hotel in Greensburg in Westmoreland County. He was rudely awakened in the middle of the night by a large man in disguise who informed him that he was Beelzebub, the Prince of Devils, and that a number of his smaller devils were outside waiting for him. Graham managed to escape the mob, and had a man arrested whom he thought to be the pretended Beelzebub. This individual had an alibi, however, and no one was ever convicted of the assault.

Graham then moved his operations to Washington County, with even more disastrous results. A mob disarmed him, took his papers, including his commission, and threw them in a muddy part of the street and then required Graham to stomp them into the mud until they disappeared from sight. The mob then shaved his horse's tail, shaved one side of his head, placed his cocked hat on backwards—a contemporary sign for a fool—and escorted him from the county.

Faced with this open challenge to authority in the west and to a growing dislike of the tax in the east, the Pennsylvania Legislature repealed the excise tax. While many of these legislators hoped to put a vexing and embarrassing episode behind them, events conspired to keep the state stirred up.

In 1791 *An Act Concerning the Duties on Spirits Distilled Within the United States* was introduced in Congress. The House of Representatives of the Pennsylvania Legislature responded to the proposed act by adopting a resolution of opposition. Calling the tax "subversive of peace, liberty, and the rights of the citizens," the lower house called upon Pennsylvania's U.S. Senators to "oppose every part of the excise bill now before the Congress which shall mitigate against the rights and liberties of the people" (Linn and Egle, 1890, p. 16).

Such opposition notwithstanding, Congress passed the act into law. The act, being national in scope, avoided one of the earlier problems felt by Pennsylvanians, that of being the only ones paying such a tax. It had other problems, however, that made it particularly objectionable to western Pennsylvanians, whose congressional delegation had been unanimous in its opposition. These western settlers might have been better inclined to pay a similar amount in taxes that they considered more just. The excise tax on distilled spirits, however, was seen not only as interference by a national government over the objections of their own state government and national representatives, but as grossly unfair. A gallon of whiskey sold for 20 or 25 cents a gallon in the region, with an excise tax of 7 cents added to each gallon. Whiskey in the eastern part of the country sold for 50 to 60 cents per gallon, with the same 7 cents added in excise tax. Even backwoods Scots could see that they paid over a quarter of their manufactured goods value in excise taxes, while those in the cities of the east paid less than an eighth. Findley pointed out the injustice of this in a letter to Governor Mifflin, written on November 21, 1792 (Linn and Egle, 1890, p. 43):

...the injustice of being obliged to pay as much excise out of two shillings, with difficulty procured, as other citizens better situated have to pay out of perhaps three times that sum, much easier obtained, comes home to the understanding of those who cannot comprehend theories.

"Tom the Tinker:" Reaction to the National Excise Tax

The new law required each distiller to furnish the survey inspector nearest his works with a full description of his establishment, and to open each still for visits and inspections by these inspectors. A public meeting was held on July 27, 1791, at Redstone to plan a response to these measures. Findley was later to argue that the meeting was

"lawful and proper," and conducted for the purpose of "petitioning Congress in order to quiet the minds of the people" (1984, p. 264). Representatives from this meeting then went to each of the county seats of Pennsylvania's four western counties to organize similar meetings. The sentiments of these meetings was summed up in a resolution adopted by the second meeting at Pittsburgh, which stated, in part (Linn and Egle, 1890, p. 26):

And whereas some men may be found amongst us, so far lost to every sense of virtue and feeling for the distresses of this country, as to accept offices for the collection of the duty:

Resolved, therefore, That in future we will consider such persons as unworthy of our friendship; have no intercourse with them; withdraw from them every assistance, and withhold all the comforts of life which depend upon those duties that as men and fellow citizens we owe to each other; and upon all occasions treat them with that contempt they deserve; and that it be, and it is hereby most earnestly recommended to the people at large to follow the same line of conduct towards them.

Given this resolution, it is somewhat difficult to believe that individuals were found who were willing to assume the office. Yet two men did accept the collectorship: Benjamin Wells for Westmoreland and Fayette counties and Albert Johnson for Washington and Allegheny counties. Johnson had the better local reputation of the two, but neither escaped the wrath of their neighbors. On September 6, 1791, Johnson was assaulted by a mob and treated similarly to that given Graham six years earlier. A marshal was sent to arrest the offenders, but was instead taken captive, stripped, whipped, tarred and feathered, blindfolded, and tied to a tree where he remained for five hours until a passerby freed him.

In response to these and similar acts, Congress amended the excise law in 1792, lowering the tax and allowing distillers to pay monthly rather than annually. At the same time, Congress raised the penalty for non-compliance. Wells opened offices in both Greensburg and Uniontown, but had no business at one and failed to appear himself at the other. The two remaining counties were without collection offices of any kind, making nearly two-thirds of the stills exempt by default.

On September 15, President Washington issued a proclamation "admonishing all citizens of the district of the trouble they were making for themselves," and demanding "that the people cease all unlawful combinations and stop all proceedings which tended to obstruct the operations of the law" (Linn and Egle, 1890, p. 27). The following June was set as a deadline for the four counties to comply with the law.

As June of 1793 approached, newly appointed Inspector of Excise, General John Neville, established collection offices at the homes of Wells in Fayette County, Johnson in Allegheny County, and at Philip Reagan's house in Westmoreland County. Wells son, John Wells, was appointed deputy for Westmoreland County. Benjamin Wells moved to collect the excise, resulting in his home coming under attack twice by organized mobs, forcing his resignation. His son converted Reagan's house into an old fashioned blockhouse, complete with gun ports. With Reagan, he found a few men willing to stand with him to defend the office, a defense that was soon tested. Reagan's barn was burned, and gunfire was directed at the house over a period of several nights, and eventually a group estimated at 250 men assembled for an attack. Deciding that resistance was useless, Reagan reached an agreement with the mob in which he agreed to surrender his commission in exchange for their guarantee of safety for his remaining property.

Similar action was taken elsewhere, with the defeated collector required to cheer "Tom the Tinker"—the popular term for an insurrectionist. Threats were made against any and every individual seen supporting, or cooperating with, collectors (one such advertisement that appeared in the *Pittsburgh Gazette* is reproduced in the appendix). Local ministers, while not openly advocating violence, sided with those resisting the tax. Local members of Congress, including Findley, expressed sympathy for the resistance while calling upon the people to use only lawful means in opposing implementation of the law. The situation continued to deteriorate.

Congress once again modified the law, but this was far too little too late to settle the issue. Local juries refused to convict those few individuals brought to trial for defying the law. Given the inability of gaining a conviction in western Pennsylvania, summons were issued requiring a large number of distillers to appear in Philadelphia. An inspector, accompanied by a marshal, served a summons on one of

these distillers, a man named Miller. A number of men followed the two as they left the distillery, and a gun was discharged. Findley argued that there had been no intent to do harm, as (1984, pp. 77-78):

It is well known that, if the design had been to shoot one, or either of them, they could not have escaped from so many men, few of whom I suppose would have missed their aim at a pigeon or the head of a squirrel. Appearing, however, to be in bad humour, the marshal and inspector rode off.

This "bad humour" continued to spread, with shootings and burning spreading throughout the area. More militant men emerged in leadership roles as conditions worsened and respect for authority lessened. David Bradford called a meeting attended by an estimated 16,000 men at which he urged a siege of Pittsburgh, to be followed by its burning if the demands to repeal the excise law were not met. A siege was actually undertaken, although it dissipated within the first two days.

Cooler heads, including Findley's, began to prevail. A meeting was held at Parkinson's Ferry on August 14, 1794, bringing together 260 delegates—including a handful from Ohio and Virginia. These men listed their grievances against the excise tax and against taking men 300 miles to Philadelphia for trial. This body elected a Committee of Safety composed of 60 men to represent the four counties in future dealings.

A commission of both Federal and Pennsylvania officials arrived at Pittsburgh during the meeting at Parkinson's Ferry, and the Committee of Safety was directed to meet with them. An initial meeting was held on 20th of August, and an agreement was made to meet again at Redstone Old Fort (now Brownsville) on August 28. This meeting attempted to reach an agreement on terms of submission, and to do so given the reality of the tense situation in western Pennsylvania. The members of the Committee of Safety were unwilling to take a vote on the record, for fear of retribution. Finally it was determined that each member be provided with a single sheet of paper with the words *yea* and *nay* written upon it. Each member then tore one word from the paper, ate that part of the paper, and cast their ballot by depositing the remainder in a box.

This vote resulted in the appointment of another committee to confer with the commissioners. It was determined that communication should be sent throughout the western counties to establish a date at which the sense of the people should be taken to the following proposition: *"Will the people submit to the laws of the United States upon the terms proposed by the Commissioners of the United States?"* Events had gone too far, however, for such an agreement to lead to a resolution. For one thing, the time it took to communicate the results of the meeting both throughout western Pennsylvania and back to Philadelphia meant that further steps to end the insurrection were already in progress.

State and National Reaction

Fearing a total breakdown of law and order in the western counties, Governor Mifflin ordered the militia to stand by for possible service in the west. He also wrote the U.S. Supreme Court for advice. Justice James Wilson, one of the most distinguished members of the Court, then wrote to President Washington on behalf of the Court, informing him "that in the counties of Washington and Allegheny, in Pennsylvania, laws of the United States are opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings or by the powers vested in the Marshall of that district" (Linn and Egle, 1890, p. 70).

Washington responded to this challenge to national administrative authority by calling upon the insurgents to lay down their arms by September 1, and by calling upon the states to provide a military force capable of restoring order if the insurgents failed to do so. That force used the militias of four states, and included the numbers shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Numbers and Types of Troops

	Infantry	Cavalry	Artillery	TOTALS
New Jersey	1,500	500	100	2,100
Pennsylvania	4,500	500	200	5,200
Maryland	2,000	200	150	2,350

Source: Linn and Egle, p. 105.

Table 1: Numbers and Types of Troops

	Infantry	Cavalry	Artillery	TOTALS
Virginia	3,000	300	---	3,300
TOTALS	11,000	1,500	450	12,950
Source: Linn and Egle, p. 105.				

Failure of the western counties to act quickly on the commission's statement, a statement that quickly took on the connotation and name of an *Oath of Loyalty*, led Washington to move the assembled army west from Philadelphia October 1, moving to Harrisburg and then to Carlisle. It should be noted that the army found its way heavy going due to the terrain and the mud—a fitting illustration of the validity of the western settler's complaint.

The Committee of Safety met at Parkinson's Ferry on October 2, and appointed William Findley and David Redick as commissioners to wait on President Washington and assure him that order could be restored without the aid of the military. The two had a number of meetings with Washington at Carlisle, during which the president informed them that the army, being already on its way, would continue, but that no violence would be used, and that all that was desired was to have the inhabitants return to fold of law-abiding citizens.

These actions effectively ended the crisis. Citizens throughout western Pennsylvania lined up, signed their oaths of allegiances, and went back to their everyday lives. All but a handful of troops were mustered out by November, with those few remaining at Pittsburgh under the command of General Morgan throughout the winter. Thus the new nation had survived its first major challenge to national administrative authority. In the words of Dr. Carnahan, "this occurrence was salutary as an example, showing that the Federal Government was not a rope of sand which might be broken at the will of any section of the country, whenever any State or part of a State thought a particular law might be oppressive" (Linn and Egle, 1890, p. 15).

Administration, Legislative Action, and Public Policy

The Whiskey Rebellion helped establish the pattern of relationships between the national executive and legislative branches of government in developing and implementing public policy. It illustrated the constrained nature of public administration. And it did so in a context of differing theories concerning the nature of that relationship, theories that remain with us to this day, and thus are still worth examining.

Administrative Theories of the Federalist and the Democratic Republicans

Political parties, while never planned, emerged quickly in the new government, and rapidly became tools of governance. These parties reflected divergent views in many areas, not the least of which was in the area of public administration. Thomas Paine summed up the extreme Republican view (Wheeler, 1908, pp. 275-76):

The executive is not invested with the power of deliberating whether it shall act or not; it has no discretionary authority in the case; for it can *act in no other thing* than that what the laws decree, and it is *obliged* to act conformably thereto; and in this view of the case, the executive is made up of all the official departments that execute the laws, of which that which is called the judiciary is the chief.

This view was supported by those members of the new Congress, including Findley, who formed the basis of what emerged as the Democratic Republican Party (1984, p. 258):

I was surprised to observe so much of the legislative business referred to the heads of newly erected departments, and especially at the originating revenue systems being referred to the head of an executive department. This influential power being specifically vested in the House of Representatives, and of an untransferable nature....

This view also found support within the executive branch, particularly with Thomas Jefferson, Washington's Secretary of State, who emerged as the key spokesman for it. He found his strongest opposi-

tion in another department head, Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton. The administrative thinking of these two individuals dominated early administrative development, and continues to influence contemporary practice. The debate centered, in part, upon their conflicting views of the advisability of using the people as a guide to determine public policy.

The Federalist view was spelled out best in *The Federalist Papers*. Democratic Republican thinking came from a variety of sources, and from all parts of the new nation, although it was stronger in the South and in the West, including western Pennsylvania. Democratic Republicans, dubbed "anti-federalists" by their opponents, reflecting their emphasis upon individualism, were not as well organized as Federalists. Their arguments pre-dated the adoption of the Constitution, and those early arguments must be examined if the Whiskey Rebellion is to be fully understood.

Opposition to the new constitution took a number of forms, but no source of opposition was stronger than a belief that it represented a threat to individual freedom and liberty. George Bryan, author of the *Centennial Letters*, stated this quite forcibly (1985, pp. 243-244):

In many of the states, particularly in this and the northern states, there are aristocratic jundos of the *well born few*, who had been zealously endeavoring since the establishment of their constitutions to humble that offensive *upstart, equal liberty*. But all their efforts were unavailing, the *ill bred churl* obstinately kept his assumed station.

However, that which could not be accomplished in the several states is now attempting through the medium of the future Congress.

The fact that supporters of the new constitution recognized the need to counter the argument that it was a threat to individual freedom and liberty is well-illustrated in Hamilton's *Federalist No. 1*, the introductory essay. Hamilton argued that (1961, p. 35):

An enlightened zeal for the energy and efficiency of government will be stigmatized as the offspring of a temper fond of despotic power and hostile to the principles of liberty....it will be... forgotten that the vigor of government is essential to the

security of liberty; that, in the contemplation of a sound and well-informed judgment, their interest can never be separated; and that a dangerous ambition more often lurks behind the specious mask of zeal for the rights of the people than under the forbidding appearance of zeal for the firmness and efficiency of government.

The triumph of the Federalists in passing the new constitution and in forming a new government did not quiet the debate. Attempts to consolidate power and to create a strong central government continued to be seen by many as attempts to wrest liberty from a free people. Alexander Hamilton emerged as a key figure in the attempt to strengthen government; Thomas Jefferson remained a champion of limiting government in favor of individual freedom.

As the first Secretary of the Treasury, Hamilton used his post to pursue the goal of a strong, effective government. "The most enlightened friends of good government," he stated, "are those whose expectations are the highest." And he himself had high expectations (Hamilton, 1959, p. 160):

To justify and preserve their confidence; to promote the increasing respectability of the American name; to answer the calls of justice; to restore landed property to its due value; to furnish new resources, both to agriculture and commerce; to cement more closely the union of the States; to add to their security against foreign attack; to establish public order on the basis of an upright and liberal policy;—these are the great and inviolable ends to be secured....

To secure those ends, Hamilton became the leading spokesman for a strong central government, a commonwealth of the people.

If Hamilton became the leading spokesman for the Federalist view, Jefferson remained the champion of the Democratic Republicans. And, as such, he was drawn into conflict with Hamilton. In a letter to President Washington, Jefferson stated (Peterson, 1975, p. 456):

That I have utterly, in my private conversations, disapproved of the system of the Secretary of the treasury, I acknowledge & avow: and this was not merely a speculative difference. His system flowed from principles adverse to liberty, & was calcu-

lated to undermine and demolish the republic, by creating an influence of his department over the members of the legislature.

Jefferson's statement is very similar to that of Findley, quoted earlier. Both these men saw Hamilton's efforts to extend national executive power as dangerous to liberty. Is it any wonder that the farmers of western Pennsylvania saw it any differently?

The differences in the philosophies of the two parties is summed up well when one looks at Washington's comments to Congress concerning the Whiskey Rebellion, and Jefferson's reaction to those comments. President Washington, in his annual message to Congress, delivered on November 19, 1794, strongly condemned "self-created" democratic societies which had sprung up during the preceding year and a half, linking them to the Whiskey Rebellion (Welling, 1995):

When we call to mind the gracious indulgence of Heaven by which the American people became a nation; when we survey the general prosperity of our country, and look forward to the riches, power, and happiness to which it seems destined, with the deepest regret do I announce to you that during your recess some of the citizens of the United States have been found capable of insurrection.... In the four western counties of Pennsylvania a prejudice, fostered and imbittered by the artifice of men who labored for an ascendancy over the will of others by the guidance of their passions, produced symptoms of riot and violence.... The arts of delusion were no longer confined to the efforts of designing individuals... [but] associations of men began to denounce threats against the officers employed. From a belief that by a more formal concert their operation might be defeated, certain self-created societies assumed the tone of condemnation.

Jefferson's reaction to these events was predictable and strong. In a letter to James Madison he labeled Washington's attack as "one of the extraordinary acts of boldness of which we have seen so many from the fraction of monocrats" (Peterson, p. 467). In another letter, this to Phillip Mazzei, he stated that "[i]n place of that noble love of liberty and republican government which carried us triumphantly through the war, an Anglican monarchical aristocratical party has sprung up, whose avowed object is to draw over us the substance, as

they have already done the forms, the British government" (Peterson, p. 470).

Thus Findley and others who were sympathetic to the actions of the insurrectionists saw them as protecting liberty against "an Anglican monarchical party" that was threatening the very liberties they had fought so hard for during the Revolutionary War.

Administrative Practice and Action in the Whiskey Rebellion

A first, casual reading of the events of the Whiskey Rebellion might lead a contemporary reader to compare the actions of these men to those of the current militia movements in the United States. A siege of Pittsburgh might compare to placing a bomb in a truck in front of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City, and the burning of Reagan's barn to that of militiamen in Georgia building and stockpiling pipe bombs. When placed in context, however, it is easy to see that there is no real similarity between the actions of western Pennsylvania farmers in 1792 and the members of the contemporary militia movement.

The insurrectionists of western Pennsylvania were part of a political movement with widespread support. They drew upon a long history of events dating back to the mother country through the development of the colony to its becoming one of the thirteen original states. They were supported by their elected officials, and by many public officials appointed by Governor Mifflin. These officials saw themselves as defenders of a free people from an autocratic government that was unjustly infringing upon the rights of the public. Many of the leaders of the various mobs were themselves officers of the state militia, and others held other public positions. Nor were their actions that far removed from the political mainstream of the period. Politics was a rough and tumble game during this nation's early years; western Pennsylvanians simply took the game a bit further.

John Boucher (1906, 1918) pointed out that many of the more serious offenses of the insurrectionists, such as tar and feathering, were not uncommon practices throughout the nation. Public officials had been given similar treatment in other states. Furthermore, there was a long history of similar opposition to excise taxes on distilled spirits in Pennsylvania, and that opposition had been successful in

the past. While not necessarily condoning the violence—although he never strenuously objected to it—such a key political figure as Thomas Jefferson sympathized with the insurrectionists, seeing them not as a threat to their country, but rather as defenders of its freedoms against an administrative assault.

Implications for Understanding Modern Administrative Practice

Not very long ago the country saw a candidate for the presidency, a former majority leader of the Senate, arguing that the people of this country should not feel bad about not wanting to pay taxes—it's our money. Instead, we should demand an apology from President Clinton for taking so much from them. This is not all that different than Findley's actions in supporting resistance to a tax that he and virtually all of his constituents saw as unjust. In 1996, Dole and other Republican candidates ran at least in part against administrative power of the national government, arguing for a return to local control. It is an interesting irony worth noting that Dole, leading a party that can trace its roots back to the Federalists, is arguing a position that would have placed him in the Democratic Republican camp at the time of the insurrection. His target, President Clinton, heads the Democratic Party, the modern version of the nascent Republican-Democratic party of Findley and Jefferson. Yet he is now defending governmental administrative power.

This is not to argue that all Republicans nor all Democrats fit the same mold—it would be ludicrous to do so, just as it would have been to argue that all Federalists agreed with Hamilton or that all Anti-Federalists agreed with Jefferson at the time of the Whiskey Rebellion. The Republican and Democratic parties do differ on these issues, however. Those who argue most strongly for individual liberty tend to be in the Republican Party, while those arguing for strong, national executive power tend to be found in the Democratic Party.

Executive-Legislative Relations and Political Parties

The Federalists placed greater reliance upon administrative offices and actions than did the Democratic Republicans. As Leonard White put it, "[t]he Federalists emphasized the necessity for power in government and for energy in the executive branch. The Democratic

Republicans emphasized the liberties of the citizens and the primacy of representative assemblies" (1948, p. 89). This debate continues today, as may be seen in the 1994 "Republican Contract" and in the current arguments over eliminating or keeping the Department of Education. It is seen in the question of congressional investigative committees v. executive privilege.

Again, the Republican party appears to be playing a role similar that played by Findley and other "Anti-federalists" in the Congress of his day. Hearings into alleged FBI misconduct concerning Ruby Ridge, Waco, and other recent episodes reflect this view of protecting liberty against an out-of-control executive power. The attempts by President Clinton and the Democratic party at gun control, attempts that have met with some modest successes, are opposed by congressional Republicans as a threat to individual liberty.

Public Opinion and the Administrative Function

The Whiskey Rebellion illustrates the error of attempting to implement a public policy that not only lacks public support, but generates intense public opposition—a lesson that President Clinton seemed to have missed with his attempt at health care reform. Public administrators are on the front line of the implementation process. Many are, as Lipsky points out (1980), "street-level" bureaucrats, those who meet the public on a daily basis. And, while contemporary public administrators may not be literally tarred and feathered, the figurative equivalent is not uncommon when they are called upon to implement an unpopular policy.

In 1798 Stephen Higginson argued that government (in White, 1948, p. 88):

...should have two or three able men in their service, to inform the people of the expediency or necessity of the measures adopted.... A popular government like ours, dependent upon the support and confidence of the people, cannot have a fair chance, unless constant and convincing displays of wisdom and rectitude of public measure are regularly made for their instruction; and to depend upon volunteer exertions to make such displays, is to render the public tranquillity, if not safety, very precarious.

The Whiskey Rebellion did not result from "constant and convincing displays of wisdom." And it is doubtful that "two or three able men" could have convinced the people of western Pennsylvania of the wisdom of the government's policy.

While it is possible, and at times necessary, for government to lead public opinion, it is usually safer to follow it. Jefferson's statement to Colonel Carrington that "the good sense of the people will always be found to be the best army" reflects this view. "They may be led astray for a moment," Jefferson added, "but will soon correct themselves. The people are the only censors of their governors; and even their errors will tend to keep these to the true principles of their institution" (Peterson, 1975, p. 414). Whenever government has gotten too removed from public opinion, its policies have been resisted or ignored. The case of prohibition in this century offers many of the same insights regarding this as does the Whiskey Rebellion.

Public opinion may be the safest guide, but it is not always the best guide. Jefferson's comments to Carrington indicating that the public, when led astray, would soon correct itself has, unfortunately, not been supported by events. Public opinion supported segregated schools in 1954, and managed to delay any impact of the *Brown* decision for at least a decade. And public opinion was changed only through governmental action—action, it might be added, that involved calling out and using the contemporary version of the militia. Public administrators of today may, at times, be forced to turn their administrative homes into blockhouses, complete with gun ports, to resist a public that is wrong.

Summary and Conclusions

This study began with the argument that the Whiskey Rebellion is more than just a colorful episode of American history, it is a key episode in the development of the administrative procedures needed to govern a new nation. Examining those events can help contemporary public administrators and students of public administration better understand the events of today. The same arguments concerning the need for executive energy advanced by Hamilton are being made today. The counter arguments stressing individual liberty and characterizing executive energy as its enemy are also being made by today's Findleys and Jeffersons.

Public administrators are still caught in the middle of those arguments. To survive, they need to know when to surrender the blockhouse and make an agreement with the mob. The second *Brown* decision, and the resulting backing away from integration plans by local school boards illustrates this quite well. Like those school boards, however, today's public administrator also needs to be prepared to move on those issues she or he believes to be right once public opinion and elected officials begin to support such movement. Public administration remains an art, and knowing when to submit and when to stand firm is part of that art. Findley's grievance provides good guidance.

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Appendix A: Tom the Tinker's Notice to John Reed

Mr. Scull:

I am under the necessity of requesting you to put the following in your next paper. It was found pasted on a tree, near my distillery.

John Reed

ADVERTISEMENT

In taking a survey of the troops under my direction in the late expedition against that insolent excise man, John Neville, I find that there were a great many delinquents among those who are carrying on distilling. It will, therefore, be observed that I, Tom the Tinker, will not suffer any certain class or set of men to be excluded the service of this my district, when notified to attend on any expedition carried out in order to obstruct the execution of the excise law, and obtain a repeal thereof.

And I do declare on my solemn word, that if such delinquents do not come forth on the next alarm, with equipments, and

give their assistance as much as in them lies, in opposing the executing and obtaining a speedy repeal of the excise law, he or they will be deemed as enemies and stand opposed to virtuous principles of republican liberty, and shall receive punishment according to the nature of the offense.

And, whereas, a certain John Reed, now resident of Washington, and being at his place near Pittsburgh, called Reedsburgh, and having a set of stills employed at said Reedsburgh, entered on the excise docket, contrary to the will and good pleasure of his fellow citizens, and came not forth to assist in the suppression of the execution of said law, by aiding and assisting the late expedition have [sic] by delinquency manifested his approbation to the execution of the aforesaid law, is hereby forthwith to cause the contents of this paper, without adding or diminishing, to be published in the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, the ensuing week, under no less penalty than the consumption of his distillery.

Given under my hand, this 19th day of July, 1794.

TOM THE TINKER

Nolan J. Argyle is Coordinator of the MPA Program and Professor of Political Science at Valdosta State University.

Call for Manuscripts

Public Voices hopes to provide a more emotive approach to public management than the traditional forms of analysis presented by many professional journals. As such, *Public Voices* focuses on humanistic, artistic and reflective expression concerning public administrators and the people they serve. Unlike traditional social science journals, *Public Voices* publishes unorthodox, controversial perspectives on bureaucracy by students of organization, broadly defined as public servants, the public, writers, and artists, as well as academics from all fields. That dialogue is aimed to:

- explore conflicts between efficiency and ethics in organizational life, including ethical dilemmas faced by bureaucrats;
- examine the consequences of a bureaucratic environment for employees and clients, including ways in which clients are assisted by individual public servants or abused by large systems; and
- generate new ideas for improving organizations.

Manuscripts and proposals for featured topics (i.e. symposia) are welcome on a wide variety of artistic and humanistic perspectives relevant to the public sector. Original fiction, including creative writing, poetry, and plays, will be featured in each issue. Reviews of novels, cinema, art and other related forms of expression may comment upon life within bureaucracies. Artistic works may include such material as photographs, sketches, and cartoons, and such work may be featured on the cover of each issue. Personal essays by public servants and clients are also welcome. All submissions will be evaluated on a blind, peer reviewed basis.

Manuscripts should be submitted with two cover pages: the first with the author's name and full contact information, the second with only the title. Five copies of each manuscript should be sent to:

Dr. Willa Bruce, Managing Editor, Doctor of Public Administration Program, University of Illinois at Springfield, PAC 326 PO Box 19243, Springfield IL 52794-9243.

For book and movie reviews submit two manuscripts to Dr. Meredith Newman, Book Review Editor, Dept. of Political Science, Washington State University, 14204 NE Salmon Creek Avenue, Vancouver, Washington, 98586

All Those Ghosts

Walter L. Balk

On what began as an ordinary day someone ignored a stop sign and plowed into Harold's car. After enduring the glare and routines of hospital care, Harold returned to the comfort of his Georgetown home. Hampered by a cast from foot to hip, he hired a housekeeper to help him get through what promised to be a lengthy recovery. His cousin Sarah took over on weekends, arriving from Philadelphia laden with reading materials and tempting dishes. Since their occupations had taken them in different directions, many years passed before they became good friends, drifting together into the mixed rewards of advancing age.

Born into a nomadic American diplomatic family, Harold became a gifted linguist familiar with various European regions. Shortly after graduating from college he served behind enemy lines during World War II, then completed a law degree and, following the footsteps of his father, joined the foreign service. Aside from his linguistic aptitudes, Harold was soon recognized for his analytical skills and concise communications abilities. He was eventually promoted to missions in London, Paris, and finally, Washington. So he became a regular presence at the side of chief negotiators and other major policy makers, producing documents in a timely manner, engaged in quiet consultation.

Sarah surprised her Main Line Philadelphia family by ignoring the distractions of high society and plunging into studies so as to acquire the skills necessary to explore the lives of tribal natives along the Amazon River. After more than twenty years in the field, fatigue and

a string of illnesses took their toll. She continued her prominent career in a university anthropology department, now only rarely venturing out to renew conversations with her acquaintances in the tropics.

The reputation of both cousins survived retirement, prompting occasional requests to draw upon their talents—Sarah as an academic lecturer, Harold as a consultant. They looked forward to each other's company during these weekend visits, drawing upon their exotic past and various observations put aside to rummage through together. It was an easy-going relationship since they were accomplished listeners, adept at slipping into long periods of silence to rest from the richness of each other's presence.

We find them on a November afternoon finishing a bottle of Merlot after a late lunch. He is moderately comfortable, unwieldy leg propped up on a leather footstool. Sarah occupies the better part of an adjacent sofa, a mountain of a woman compared to the other slender, somewhat frail presence.

"Harry, what are these stacks of composition books doing around here? Are you about to tell us how the free world was really won—or is something more sinister afoot? Perhaps some new insights into the diplomatic machinations, errors and vices of prominent people?"

"Nothing like that, Sarah, I'm just working through an obsession," is the quiet reply. "Surely we don't need another book called 'the fall of the wall' or some such thing. As for the other path there are always television and the Old Testament to keep us entertained."

"Well, given all this effort strewn about, you seem to be accommodating one hell of a big obsession," she murmurs, "care to elaborate?"

"Sure. You know the background—what it was like to be brought up abroad; after that those hairy times in the mountains raising Cain with the enemy while trying to avoid murderous infighting between partisans. Then the path from law school to the State Department and a string of minor posts in closed societies; from the shallowness of daily routines, to the excitement of big cities and becoming a modest player in efforts to push new ideas and avoid all kinds of disasters. How frustrating the complexities of huge missions were as well

as trying to cope with conflicting interests of visiting dignitaries and various military and intelligence worthies.

What I haven't mentioned was that, aside from intense periods of *sturm und drang*, there were unexpected times of inactivity and solitude, probably because I wasn't interested in office power plays and the finer arts of self-promotion. At times a strange sense of futility and dejection took command of my life. In the grip of these longeurs, when not echoing and shifting the convictions and pronouncements of others, I became deeply interested in understanding what was happening to me. There was, in short, in the middle of an enviable career, a deep yearning to make sense of my existence. Such anxieties are not unusual during the course of most working lives. You, for example, have mentioned long, crazy-making days cooped up in leaky huts during the rainy seasons that tested your devotion to the great gods of anthropology. In office settings people act out their anxieties in various ways. Some of the afflicted redouble their efforts for career advancement; others get seriously addicted to booze or other distorters of the self; yet others become enmeshed in doomed love affairs. Some drop everything to take up ranching in Montana or raise llamas in Vermont. A few even betray their trust and choose the crooked paths of espionage or larceny out of what...greed?...boredom? That copy book next to you explains what I was going through. Toss it over and I'll work through the scribbles. Strange; a fountain pen seems to suit my thoughts better than a computer screen.

Turning inward, attempting to understand who, what was lurking at the doors of my awareness, I wondered if I could reshape myself by dredging up some new hidden, engrossing talent. Perhaps I could become a novelist, a dealer in antiquities, or lose myself in the delights of golf. Hardly. The enduring "me" is, for better or worse, that of a policy-wonk fated to lurk a modest distance behind the powerful; a minor Machiavelli with perhaps more affection for humanity, but considerably less talent than that great master.

During this time of internal turmoil, on a visit to the Louvre, I found myself in front of a seventeenth-century painting. Off to one side of the canvas, someone who looked remarkably like me was whispering into the ear of a velvet and lace-bedecked patron. It struck me then, that since my craft is ageless, I might go back in time imagining scenes involving other advis-

ers to the powerful, even advisors to the advisors. How did they grapple with adversity and danger, react to emergencies, endure tedium, as well as help and harm others in the name of some higher purpose? Could I capture how people in the past honed their talents to persuade others, to elaborate their desires? Why were opportunities missed? What drove us then, as now, to abandon normal, sane relationships for the benefit of prominent individuals, cabals or grand abstractions such as faith, empire, nation, bureau, corporation?

This curiosity about the emergence of our craft is not shared by my friends in the Service and those in think-tanks who occasionally tap some arcane aspect of my experience. They avoid examining the more remote corners of the past in favor of shaping the present. Since they are dedicated pragmatists; what is...just is, and it's a waste of time, indeed counterproductive (that revered term) to wonder why. Since most are willing dispensers and captives of power, their consuming interest is, as was mine at one time, to hone the skills of managing relationships, to understand individuals and groups so as to please one's superiors. While there is little collegial interest in how we evolved into and are programmed to be such accomplished modern organizational animals, my choice is made as I roam library stacks, natter with over-eager computers, mine the stillness of museums and make these endless notes.

To capture what was I visualize scenes, as in a motion picture, and introduce small snippets of action, dialogue and thought. Deep in the studio of my mind, often during the dead of night, I visualize stories and scribble away. All of this has a price, for it is often a lonely, unsettling business to relive history, to retrieve what by now seem real memories; tatters, at the risk of seeming overdramatic, of the genetic ribbons and whirls that define who I am."

"Well," says Sarah, "most attempts to make sense of one's existence are solitary and painful. Take me through one of these scenarios." Harold reaches for and opens another notebook.

CIRCA BC 8000: ON THE RIVER NILE, SOUTH OF THE DELTA

A small settlement of oval huts, each capped by brown rushes, bakes quietly in the afternoon sun. Boxed by the shade of bushes, four slender men squat on their heels, quietly talking. Another, taller and muscular, stands leaning on his spear. He sees villagers bending over fields; others tend to animals. No distant plumes of dust or other unusual movement...no signs of danger.

"Tell us, Messenger," says the leader "what will you tell your lord when you lay our gifts before him?" Messenger's eyes focus upon the leather headband, Karmak's badge of rank.

"This I will say to my ruler: Karmak greets you and sends his boundless thanks for your help in protecting the children of his clan. The Nubian warrior has taught Karmak's villagers how to make spear-throwers and build looking-towers. He has shown them ways to gather and move as one, to throw back attacks by the sand people, so that these evil creatures will murder and plunder no more. To seal his friendship Karmak sends captives, as many as the fingers on his hands. Your servant, Messenger, carries tally sticks showing how many sheep, baskets of grain, bags of spear heads, fish catchers, and rolls of cloth have been laid before you. Most close to his heart, Karmak offers his eldest son, Amden, so that he can serve and learn at your feet."

Before making his reply, Karmak glances at his brother and son who close their eyes in quiet approval. "So it stands. Let us now help to load the rafts. You will then eat and rest before joining the new light of God Sun on your long journey."

The next day, as dawn begins to outline distant shapes, preparations are complete for the departure. An offering smolders at the base of a small stone effigy. Chanting warriors, wailing captives and bleating sheep start moving down the river path. Alongside, Amden helps to pole the lead raft, Messenger the last, keeping pace with their protectors on the river bank.

In the stillness that follows, the villagers begin to disperse. A

youth on a high platform watches the last traces of the voyagers and scans the terrain, ready to give the alarm at any sign of danger. Karmak and his brother stand alone near the shrine. "Mother River offers geese and fish but the great water lizard, giant cats and sand dwellers wait to strike from hidden places," murmurs Karmak, "Amden's mother and sisters mourn as though he will never return. What lies at the end of this journey? When the strong lord receives my son as hostage along with our gifts he should favor us, but what will he demand next? In any case he is in a strange land many sleeps away and will leave us in peace for a while. May Amden return as the next protector of our clan. May the wise falcon stay at his shoulder to open his heart and guide his steps."

* * * * *

"Cut! What else do movie directors say....It's a wrap? I have no idea if people really talked that way, but imagine those prehistoric times without writing or sophisticated ways to count things. As people like Messenger took the place of paper, post office, word processor, and filing cabinet, there must have been many opportunities to distort, swindle and editorialize, not to mention the dangers of being the bearer of bad news. Modern day Messengers experience similar temptations and risks as they travel the air routes and clog Fax lines. Their success still depends upon agile reactions and the ability to bring back accurate assessments for the boss.

If this kind of thing amuses you, here's a scene in the Persian Empire during the time of King Darius the First, that energetic ruler over the huge area from beyond the Black Sea to the Indus river. It is only a short time before the disaster at Marathon, and his empire is beginning to show signs of stress. Our opening scene zeros in on a bunch of rough-looking horsemen escorting someone of importance, all pounding through the portals of a busy, dusty town. Then shift to a large, richly-carpeted, gloomy room:

BC 491: ASHDOD, PALESTINE

Several supine figures attend the luminary we just saw cantering through the city gates. A kind of inspector general, he is known as the Eye of The Great King. Proper time is given to

the usual loud expressions of fealty and thanks to the gods for the bright and dazzling presence of his supreme highness's envoy.

The Eye clears his throat and rumbles: "Your Vice Satrap and I met two days ago along the coast where he is busy rooting out the vermin that prey upon our supply vessels. He knows, as do you, that the Great King and his Shining Council are highly displeased at the disruption of our trade lines with Egypt. We face critical shortages and, while you give many assurances, you plead for more warships and troops. Now listen well...help is not on the way; all our resources are being massed to forever crush the treacherous Greeks. Yet the sea supply lanes around here are in shambles because our naval forces off of Egypt also have problems with security.

The Lord of All That Stirs In The World commands us to take immediate and forceful action to restore order. His charge is our life or death burden. Why do you not prevent disruptions of the two main routes through the lands of the Jews? Since, because of your incompetence, the serenity of the realm is threatened; we had better see rapid results."

Artyzonis, Ashdod's governor, thinks it best not to look up from the floor. The towering Eye presents a very real and dangerous dilemma. It is far from prudent for a lesser official to offer opinions when the penalties for lack of protocol, flawed advice or plain error can be so, well...final. With pounding heart he loudly proclaims the willingness of the King's servants, his devoted slaves, to offer their lives so as to enhance the tranquillity of the Ruler of All The World and his revered Eye.

"Are you about to crawl under the rug, governor? Why am I surrounded by people with such frail stomachs and weak minds? Just tell me what is and take action! Who are you?" asks the Eye, shifting his attention to a bowed head of elaborately curled hair.

"My name is Zal, my lord. I am captain of the garrison at Jerusalem charged with guarding the overland routes in this sector." Zal leans back on his knees and gazes steadily at the

envoy. "I ask your permission to present a certain Hayim. He is here in the name of the leaders of the Jewish tribes in this region."

"I know of you, Captain Zal, nephew to Attosa, our revered First Queen of the Realm" growls the Eye. "Why do you bring this stranger, this peasant, before us?" Artyzonis peeks up from the floor. He questions Zal's sanity in bringing the Jew to this gathering, but the young officer is connected with exalted powers and seems willing to take the risks of offense and failure. Zal continues,

"Hayim's elders and those of other tribes are the ones responsible for attacking supply lines on the Way Of The Sea and the Way of the Kings. Two nights ago we discussed our grievances at a secret meeting with tribal heads. I determined that enough progress was made for me to promise their envoy safe passage to meet with you. We know that the present struggle benefits no one and can agree upon some minor matters. There is, however, one issue to be resolved which Hayim will address. He is here on my personal vow of protection. Given what is at stake..."

"Bring him in," interrupts the Eye, visibly interested. Zal nods his head and doors open to admit a gaunt, squinting, skraggled-bearded man clad in dusty, mended robes.

"State your case," grates the Eye, now angry that the misfit has been granted high-level attention. Myopic Hayim extends his hands, palms out.

"Envoy of the Great King, we can come to a good and lasting agreement if the shrines of your god Zoroaster are removed from within the walls of sacred Jerusalem and holy Jericho. Their presence is an abomination to God and his chosen. Therefore, we fight."

"So this is how you thank the merciful King Darius and his generous father for permitting you to return to your precious Jerusalem?" shouts the Eye; then more evenly, "Everyone knows that Zoroaster is among our great favorites. After all he teaches that there is but one God who makes clean all that

grows and lives, that the bridge of Truth is narrow and our immortal souls must make their way over the sea of lies surrounding access to the Wise Lord above. This, I have been told, is not unlike the beliefs of your people. Why cannot the two faiths thrive side by side?"

"True, there is but one God," Hayim says in a low voice, "but I can neither instruct nor convince those who are not God's children. Move the shrine and we will have peace."

"Why now, after all this time, after all these years, have you disturbed the harmony of this land?" is the demand.

"Well, mighty envoy, we petitioned the Great King's Council and many public officials not to install the altars; we explained why it causes us such loathing and distress. Your garrison is too strong for us to throw out these abominations and their priests. For the past three years we have asked in vain for the authorities to hear our words. Finally our leaders decided that it was necessary to get the attention of the King's Council so that you could better understand our anger and resolve." In the menacing silence that follows, Hayim gently rubs his elbow and looks around the room.

"Thank your Jehovah that I respect the promise for safe passage and you are not right now being slowly separated from your ill-mannered, miserable skin!" bellows the Eye. "Get out of here and wait for Captain Zal."

Hayim leaves. The Eye glares at the kneeling Zal and shuddering, still-sprawled Artyzonis. "Captain, you will come to an untimely and painful end if this arrangement falls through, but we have little choice. Let us review these 'details' that you discussed with the tribal rabble. If I agree that we can accommodate, you will transfer the shrines to towns nearer to Ashdod, where the people are not so unreasonable. Tell the priests of Zoroaster that this is the wish of the Great King since he wants them to be among more friendly surroundings. Instruct this Hayim to go softly, to tell his leaders to act as though this has been a long-planned move on our part. Let us see no large celebrations by these hicks so that we appear weak and vacillating.

The Great King will not be pleased but he is aware of our predicament. When we have flattened the Greeks there will be time enough to deal with these upstarts. Time will swallow up the Jews and their stiff-backed, unyielding ways. Our empire will always remain home to many religions and spirits while these raisers of goats along with their ideas of God will wilt away in the bright light of the Persian Empire, in the pure truth of our destiny shaped by the great powers in heaven."

All voice agreement and make a sign to ward off the iniquity represented by Hayim.

* * * * *

Sarah stirs, remarking "My, Harry, I didn't know that this was all pent up within you. Tell me what it means."

"It's hard for staff people to hold things together when pressed, when situations begin to deteriorate" he replies, his gaze fixed upon a corner of the room." Later the Greeks at Marathon showed that Persia was not invincible and the empire started on a path of slow decline. The Eye was right about the King's approval, but like most of us, a lousy forecaster. Hayim, the zealot, is an unusual kind of counselor who manages to live a life of internal tranquillity right on the rim of disaster.

Even today it's not always possible or practical for us to telephone and check things out with the boss. We occasionally have to make snap decisions in the name of those who run things back at the home office. Situations such as these create opportunities for great rewards or lasting disgrace...if nothing they are ideal conditions for heart burn and ulcers.

This next story opens quietly as the camera skims in a leisurely way along the Grand Canal and turns up a narrow waterway. Then we pause before ornate mooring posts guarding a shimmering palazzo that seems to float on the water line. Shift upward to lace-like double-arched windows and enter a room.

VENICE, 1574

Sunlight outlines a young woman writing at a table. Behind us a soft voice mirrors her words:

“And so, Aldo, *caro fratello mio*, you are now up to date on the latest news about our family, friends and all those pretty ladies whose hearts you broke, along with mine, when you went so far North in the service of our great Doge. I find it hard to imagine what it must be like among those dark forests and undistinguished towns, fighting the rain and cold winds. How you must miss la Serenissima, our enchanted city! I have saved the greatest news and a few related thoughts to end this letter.

Even for our city, so proud of her lavish treatment of important visitors, the festivities honoring King Henri III during his recent visit were indeed splendid. The French, it seems, may join us in defending against the dangers that confront the civilized world.

Didn't the King's reign start off in a strange manner when he abandoned the throne of Poland for that of France? I wonder at the permanence of his reign for many in his court are crude and arrogant, expert only at dueling and murdering Huguenot villagers. We all knew that sparks could fly as wine inflamed the passions of our young hotheads, just as adept at sword play, even quicker to take offense. Both Doge and King vowed swift and heavy retribution to their own if fighting broke out. The warning held and, occasional heavy breathing at real and imagined insults aside, the sojourn has been seen as a great political success and, we hope, historical importance.

Early on one fine day our royal visitor was taken to the Arsenal where he was asked to press his seal on a wax marker securely embedded in a long, bare wooden keel piece. Then drums and music, on to a grand feast for many hundreds of guests, followed by long welcoming speeches, visits to churches and palaces. A short stop honors the aged master, Titian. After several hours of these taxing pleasures, the weary but durable King and his entourage return to the shipyard. To their astonishment they behold an entire warship, ready for service, sitting proudly at dock...built around that bare piece of lumber...the keel upon which the King had put

his seal that very morning!

We, of course, delight in the mystery of an entire *fregatta* put together...masts, oars, cordage, sails, flags, cannons and all...in just a matter of hours. There is an underlying message here; question not the power of Venice to defend its interests, as the Turks found out at Lepanto!

The Arsenal guards its secrets ferociously and spies cross the bridge from the State Prison to suffer a terrible end. Yet the Venetian love for speculation and gossip cannot be contained. All of us know that the construction of these vessels involves the gathering and massing of various pieces of the ship at different stations. There skilled specialists concentrate upon installing one specific thing, such as planking, guns or ropes, on ship hulls which are towed from point to point, steadily growing to their full glory. Not only new ships but also repairs are made in very short order. Behind these stations are long belts of parts moving continuously from worker to worker, each a specialist in putting things together, rigging mechanisms on one line, cannon mounts on another, for instance.

I have been quite taken by these marvels, impelled to imagine wider possibilities and can but turn to you, dear brother, to discuss their merits. No one around here will listen to such scatter-brained and inappropriate speculation from a mere woman, even one of high station. You remember that Papa said, "My daughter will be schooled so as to understand and hold her own in the world of men"? I hope that his wish has come to pass, but father is no more, leaving you alone, my far-away confidant, to take these thoughts seriously.

I wonder if the genius employed at the Arsenal could be turned to making other complicated peacetime goods used by everyone such as wagons, stoves, and furniture. Smaller things like clothes, door locks, even shoes could be rapidly produced by having moving belts deliver parts to worker stations continuously stocked with pieces ready to put together. Would this not result in cheaper, better-lasting possessions for most people? Then the adventures of designing, commerce and artisanship could take the place of the greed, horror and destructive adventure of war. Consider the devastation caused by

brutal, rapacious families, soldiers and rulers around mainland Italy alone; we Venetians are far from blameless. Are we all forever doomed to such painful strife during our short lives? Is it true that what exists is only by the will of God and the conquests of warring heroes? What prevents all people on this earth from building their future around the pleasures and other rewards of commerce, agriculture, fabrication and art? Should not the humble have a larger voice in their fate?

Well, it is best that we decided to correspond in our secret code for, as we agreed before your voyage, no one should be able to twist or use our words against us. Your sister may seem a bit young, perhaps immodestly forward to consider these matters, but I know that the world is full of creative and thoughtful women...why can't we join forces with you men in shaping the future? I yearn for your words and miss your comforting presence.

The courier awaits impatiently below, so it is time to end this note by wishing you fame and success in your efforts on the part of our great, dear, watery Republic. I close now, beloved brother, dreaming of the day when the cheerful call of the *gon-dolere* will announce your return."

* * * * *

"I leave the young woman on this Spring day, at the window overlooking the canal flowing to the bright, dancing Adriatic. The mass production concept will be rediscovered centuries later. It will take another one hundred and fifty years after her letter is sent on its way for someone to come out and say that it is illogical to explain human history as simply the result of God's will and the exploits of powerful leaders. A new visionary, Giambattista Vico, will see humanity as a vast complex, evolving like a live organism in which countless people can and do control the future. Even then it was a dangerous thesis, destined only to become common knowledge a century after his death.

So what have we learned about how the powerful may be influenced? Profound advice can come from unconventional sources...being on top of the heap does not necessarily provide the best overall view. I

like to imagine that Aldo and his vivacious, thoughtful sister managed to escape the devastating plague that was to devastate Venice three years after the visit of the French king."

"Evidently that bright, little creature was modeled after me," says Sarah wryly. Harold, swallowed by the past does not hear her.

"I am toying with a scene that takes place in Beijing during the Ming dynasty about sixty years before the Venetian episode. The story centers upon one among the throngs of civil servants who attended the emperor and his council at daily court audiences. Much of the country's sophisticated system of governance was linked to those lengthy sessions covering ongoing business, petitions, judgments, proclamations, new laws, granting of honors and even the listing of literary achievements.

Work began before dawn in an open air courtyard, rain or snow notwithstanding. All civil and military officials in the capital area, thousands in number, were required to attend. They stood in silent lines facing East and West, obedient to rigid protocols punctuated by the sounds of bells and drums. It would be interesting to get into the head of one of those in the ranks, a civil servant with nothing much to do except to listen and join in occasional mass responses when the wind was blowing the right way. Imagine the seething intrigue and raw ambition that must have existed side by side with fatigue and boredom.

I see things opening with a parchment map of ancient China. The camera locates Beijing, bears down on the Imperial City and then to an immense square full of rows of long-robed dignitaries. At one end is a raised space reserved for the emperor, his courtiers, other high officials and clerks. Glinting formations of guards line the way to the ornate dais. In silence the camera turns to Tang Chieh among the attending rows of civil servants. We then hear a faint, shrill intonation from the dais drowned out by Tang's thoughts. Uninterested in the announcement, his passive front conceals his racing mind. A meager salary and inadequate chits for grain and cloth from government warehouses barely cover his family's modest needs. He has just realized that his direct superior is getting careless in receiving bribes and he hopes that a scandal will not surface soon. Tang aspires to the rank of Pheasant In Flight along with its prestige and material gains. His mind then turns to his deceased parents, how

they and other family members sacrificed to pay for his rigorous training to compete in civil service entry and advancement examinations. This leads to contemplating a major dilemma for, if promoted, he must go heavily into debt since expensive elevation ceremonies will have to be held and new, more ornate headstones provided for his parents along with other ancestors. They, in the land of the departed, must share his elevated status.

I haven't got much further than this. It's too bad that China was so isolated because the West could have learned a lot about running big government though, thank heavens, the mass morning meetings were eventually dropped. I know that I have endured many agonizing hours attending ceremonial functions as well as waiting for the mighty to get a move on. It's just part of the job as we dream and fantasize, think of what next lies ahead, or turn to more mundane matters like wondering what to pick up in the way of groceries on the way home. Who hasn't drifted during such times?

"My work in the field," replies Sarah, "gives me a great deal of sympathy with having to endure long, tedious rituals. Where's all this going, cousin mio?"

"Well, give me that red notebook and we'll move on to Europe" answers Harold. This one opens in modern Paris where as architect of the French Revolution is brooding next to the Odeon Metro station. It is easy to believe that his forceful presence and political machine helped bring down the monarchy, that he was the brilliant strategist who prevented France's nervous neighbors from destroying its infant democratic movement.

I begin with a view of Danton's statue parting the flow of busy contemporary Parisian pedestrians going to and from the Metro stairwell. Then dwell upon the inscription on the stone pedestal...*L'audace, l'audace, toujours l'audace...*A narrator, invisible as usual, joins us as the monument is again put in focus.

"That's one of Georges Jaques Danton's exhortations: something to the effect that we should be bold at all times. His admirers see him as a reincarnation of Joan of Arc; others dwell upon his venality, how he abandoned friends and principles at crucial times. A real enigma. Raised in a small town near Rheims, he was a country lawyer who yielded to the lure

of Paris early in the 1780s. In short order, with money borrowed under questionable circumstances, he bought a position which entitled him to represent clients in the lucrative royal courts of law and councils. It was a well-traveled, slick and fast track to success. Meanwhile disaffection continued to grow throughout France. Jobs were in short supply, prices inflated; some were starving. While some changes were being made, few commoners had any kind of representation. The elite seemed only to respond when shaken by mob anger and violence.

Suddenly Danton, the conventional striver and careerist, began exhorting the masses to rise up, to fight against despotism. The precise reasons for this abrupt transformation are not clear. Some say that he always had a great hatred of injustice, others that he was caught up in the rhetoric of his revolutionary intellectual friends, and yet others that he was a calculating self-promoter taking advantage of rapidly-changing events. Probably all are right."

PARIS, JULY 14, 1789

"We travel well back in time, but only a short distance from the statue that dissolved before our eyes along with the Metro station. Move on to a doorway and then into a simple but well-appointed study. There is Danton at his desk gathering new thoughts, liking what he hears. Note how his head reflects the ambiguity of his short life. A large and generous face, but the nose is broken, the lips twisted and scarred by some past accident. See how this detracts from his deep, intelligent eyes."

A sharp knock at the door coincides with the entrance of a lanky man. Danton shifts his gaze and smiles.

"Justin! What is happening out there? I'm drafting a declaration for the Cordeliers' meeting tonight and couldn't join the action."

"Well, you missed it, Georges," answers flushed, disheveled Justin. "The Bastille fell less than two hours ago! I had a sweaty time getting back here. When the crowds got their hands on all those rifles at the Invalides armory yesterday,

they couldn't find any ammunition. You heard the whole town going insane last night; all kinds of looting, arson, break-ins, beatings, wagons overturned. Luckily those guns were out of commission. Early this morning the rumor was that the authorities had transferred several hundred barrels of gun powder for safe-keeping at that hated prison. I followed the mob to the Faubourg Saint Antoine, filling up rapidly with people yelling 'Powder! Get the powder, get the powder for our guns! To the Bastille!'"

The working stiffs poured out of places like the Passage de la Main D'Or...carpenters, cabinet finishers, charcoal haulers, hat makers, street cleaners, leather workers...no end to them, all howling, streaming right up to the walls of that great big, gray, ugly bastard of a fort. There they were at mid-day, milling about like minnows. Impossible for our militia to mount an effective attack since they didn't have the right equipment. The defenders, safely behind two great layers fortifications each with its draw bridge, held their fire, thinking that help was on the way.

Then some brave lads with hand axes...they were screened by surrounding buildings and unseen by the distracted garrison...crawled along the walls near the top of the first draw-bridge. Suddenly, by God, they managed to do something so that the outside gate fell with a great thud! In poured masses of yelling citizens churning around the courtyard in front of the second drawbridge, still closed. So what could be done? Nothing. Those donkeys could have held the fort forever if nothing changed.

Yet, in the blink of an eye, the Swiss guard mercenaries lost their nerve and fired directly into the crowd. About one hundred people died right then. Others were wounded and screaming. It was like the end of the world. At almost the same time a bunch of artillerymen who had joined our cause showed up with several horse-drawn cannon. All this in the middle of curses and shrieks for revenge.

Launay, the commander of the Bastille, realizing that the situation was impossible because his gates could not stand up to heavy gun fire, offered to surrender if our militia would pro-

tect the garrison from harm. Agreed. The great doors swung open and then pandemonium as the inside courtyard was occupied. Before the mob could be held back many Swiss Guards were butchered by demented relatives and friends of the victims of those first terrible bursts of gunfire. Even Launay, heavily escorted by our own militia, fell to the rage of the crowd on the Faubourg Saint Antoine and was torn apart."

Danton, pale and shaken, is now on his feet. "Justin, there is no turning back now is there? We are committed by destiny to bring our hopes and dreams to a successful conclusion. Our course is sanctified by the death of these martyrs.?"

Danton's voice dies in the heat of Justin's glare and bitter words. "Save the fancy speeches. Keep them for the crowds that you caused to froth at the mouth in the gardens of the Palais Royale yesterday; some lie dead before the fort. Where in the hell were you all day along with the other great orators and blood-thirsty theorists? Damned few, if any of you show up in the middle of real danger, when people get hurt and howl in pain or just plain fall down dead. Are you too precious, too essential to share the dangers with those inferiors you pump up to put their hides on the line? How long will you continue to play the fox, swaying to these bloody events you have set in motion, always sure to land in a safe place?

Get out there and see what you have done! Mobs are fearsome, insane; they have no scruples or feelings of pity. They devour and maim all in their path. They really enjoy the sight of gory heads mounted on pikes. Your pretty words may be necessary to rid us of this rotten royalty, but bring back some semblance of sanity now. Only a few understand the workings of this democracy that you keep braying about; people of good will, like Lafayette, who learned his lessons in America where they are trying to somehow reconcile their differences and have started to understand the mechanics of peaceful change. Do you avoid him because he too is eager for fame and may want to share your pedestal?

Watch it, Danton! You intellectuals and your abstract notions about the good of the masses have set off a chain of awful events that no one may be able to control. Your words have

had terrible consequences and you can no longer stand apart from the destruction you have put into motion.”

Danton, now angry and red-faced, shouts “Justin, you don’t?” as the door of the study slams on his words.

* * * * *

“Five years later Danton became a victim of the savagery he helped to unleash. He showed a great deal of courage at the end, taunting the rigged court and, finally, his executioner by proclaiming that he would live on in the memory of France long after his tormentors were dead and forgotten. Justin might have wondered if his bitter words on that day in July had helped to create a national hero.

So you see where all this leads. Those with great power usually consider themselves too precious to take the risks that they inflict upon others. Influential thinkers are so often removed from the real effects of their ideas, so taken up with the glory of abstractions that they, along with their advisors, risk turning into monsters.”

“Come on, Harold, must it always be so depressing to be close to the powerful?”

“More and more so, Sarah; technology makes it even more difficult. Since we are camping on the doorstep of a new millennium, it could be interesting to see how folks visualized the future at the turn of this century. Americans were at a high pitch of optimism about the future. Living standards had improved, government seemed to work better and education seemed within everyone’s reach. The war with Spain had helped to create a stronger, if misguided, sense of national destiny. Yet it would take decades to begin to cope with the plight of our families of emancipated slaves, dispossessed native Americans and immigrants of non-European lineage. Women’s rights had a long haul ahead. These realities were barely part of our national conscience. Hand me that green notebook, Sarah. It’s about a time of powerful, if misleading dreams.”

BOSTON; APRIL 1901

We look in on a well-dressed crowd amid the debris of a fin-

ished banquet. White cups make soft reflections on wine-glasses as fingers of cigar smoke explore the light fixtures and patterned ceiling.

At the front of the room a large white banner proclaims "American Society of Mechanical Engineers." A man is speaking, his gold watch chain glinting in a loop across his ample middle. Might as well listen in.?

"I have mentioned only a few aspects of the incredible progress that this country has made over the past century. Our machines have taken over the backbreaking labor of plowing, digging, cutting and hauling, so the farms of this nation are now the most bountiful in the world. Our factories have laid undreamed-of goods at the feet of ordinary citizens. You put up the massive bridges and high buildings that tower in the skies of our cities and you drilled the tunnels that join us under rivers and through mountains. None of these magical advances could have taken place without the unparalleled ingenuity, skills and drive of dedicated professional, mechanical engineers (scattered applause, voices of approval, soft thumping on table tops). Unimaginable progress will be made over this new century so bravely entering the second millennium. Arm in arm with our other professional colleagues, we will continue to forge ahead.

I am still under the spell of an encounter a few days ago with two of the world's great engineering innovators...Frederick Taylor and Henry Gantt...at a conference on metal fabrication. Taylor, a genius at designing tools, is the guiding light behind what he calls scientific management. Gantt has joined him in searching for better ways to plan for and run our industries. Both make hard facts the basis for designing the equipment, work and training of operators and their supervisors. They use scientific methods to discover the best way to do things, reaching well beyond work bench and floor operations to better understand what can be seen as the human aspects of our increasingly large and profitable enterprises. The success of these engineers has been unprecedented, and it was especially interesting to hear Gantt's vision of what lies ahead. For example he sees a need for far more friendly, cooperative relationships between owners and workers. As

progress occurs, everyone must share the benefits in the form of salary increases, reduced working hours, proper vacations and protection from the costs of accident and illness.

While there is little agreement along these lines at present, these are but emerging examples of how linking science to humane practices will change the future. We are only beginning to realize why the most fundamental aspects of factual research and Christian fair play go hand-in-hand with those of commerce as everyone shares in the good life. It stands to reason that favorable advances in international productivity and trade will result in greater abundance for all. With increases in the world-wide economy as proof, professional ethics of scientific observation, neutral competence and honesty will become applicable to all other aspects of human activities. Similar progress is being made in fields such as science, medicine and engineering as well as the newer professions of politics, psychology and the study of social organization. All of this will revolutionize the manner of governance within and between nations as professionals usher in a new era of cooperation and abundance, labor and capital leading the way. The ethics of professionalism, its dedication to facts and truth, will serve as a rational base to eliminate the havoc created by the small number of greedy and abusive politicians, businessmen and crackpot theorists who cause so much misery. Is not the next logical step for all to recognize that wars and other destructive strife within and between nations are never to human advantage?

Surely we must make it our goal, our civilizing mission as professionals, to take the lead in turning our inventive genius from conflict, destruction and oppression to promoting the common good. So my suggestion is a simple one; let us strongly resolve that our true purpose is to turn the scientific method to a future of prosperity and peace! Imagine all those armies of professionals in the engineering and social sciences working together, striving to bring the good life to all so that the entire world can, in a democratic manner, eliminate misery?"

* * * * *

Well, you get the general idea, it's pretty close to the one expressed by that young Venetian lady some three hundred years before the Boston banquet. What we are seeing is the flowering of the modern professions, each with a deep pride in its specialization and the faith that scientific thinking and expertise will bring salvation. We believed that more accurate information makes ethical choices obvious; so professionals could best advise the powerful. In short the rationality of impartial facts and the benefits of technology would win out over greed and oppression.

Now, immense wars and genocides later, as we scare ourselves skinny over all kinds of crises, the vision of the benign nature of professionals is no more. Apparently, whenever psychopaths act out, they do so with the enthusiastic help of scientifically-trained experts. Since there is little, if any, shared morality among professionals, they cannot seriously question authority. Their loyalty to those in charge and their desires to serve have certainly increased the efficiency of repression and destruction. I leave you to provide the historical facts."

"Not so fast, amigo." Sarah gets up and stretches. "Is this turning into the big, nasty-old-technology rerun, featuring the spawn of science destroying humanity along with its normal peaceful, caring nature? It's perfectly clear that practically all social improvement depends upon skilled, scientifically-trained professionals; even, God save us all, anthropologists. All told, however, I'm pretty happy with the comfort and freedom of modern times, even though there are plenty of problems. By the way, where is God in the middle of all of this and what other incidents in our century do you expect to cover?"

Dropping his notebook on the floor beside his chair, Harold answers, "Yeah, we're all aware of and enjoy the advantages of this century. Yet you must admit that there is something pretty scary about the insularity, even the innocence of these experts that we depend upon so much for our salvation. The record is pretty dismal. As for God, I think that He observes the Blue Marble without intervening, serenely ignoring the shouting, often murderous groups who claim that He is on their side alone. Maybe he wonders if and when we'll grow up. At the same time it's easy to picture Him surrounded by flocks of advisory angels exulting, pleading, despairing.

You see, dear cuz, this century has been far too depressing for me to revisit. Perhaps I feel a sense of responsibility in that things turned out so poorly. Still there are many more scenarios that I want to work on. For example, it would be interesting to visit a Mayan civilization in order to better understand why those advisors so expert in math and astronomy tied science to such bloody deities. Who did Simon Bolivar depend upon to help him soar over and liberate those countries tucked away in the Andes? At the time that Moors governed Spain in the thirteenth century, how did advisers convince their rulers to encourage such great advances in literature, medicine and science? So, there is much to do. My evenings are increasingly spent in the company of invented people. Most have become friends and at times it feels like we are whirling around in a sort of loony dance. I am comfortable with these spirits...but not when trying to understand the ghosts of the more recent past or those of tomorrow."

"I have spent lots of time trying to understand people possessed by ancient spirits and rituals, so we both have similar interests," Sarah comments. "It seems important since what we were partially accounts for what we are. On the other hand your engineer and his vision of professional salvation helped bring about an enormous shift from dependence upon the past to an obsession with the realities of the present. In a way this is too bad, but it is hard to deny that, as a result, life for the majority has become a lot more pleasant than it used to be, especially in our part of the world."

"For sure," answers Harold, "think of all the illness, suffering, drudgery and oppression that most had to put up with. We live longer, experience more, have more individual freedom and knowledge multiplies at mind-boggling rates. Why then, does what we call civilization replay and promise ever greater horrors? Pretty damned depressing if you ask me."

Sarah punches a pillow for support, "OK, Harry. Now what? We haven't so much

lost the lessons of the past as much as misplaced them in oceans of undifferentiated information and mindless distractions. The driving force of most professionals and many politicians has been a faith in the magic of the free market and its promise for all of humanity to become lotus eaters. You say that advisors have been too trusting in the goodness of human nature, too ignorant of its paradoxical

aspects, too careless of its dark side. Well, we won't solve this mess just by spending our time exploring the past and refining the present. An even more essential focus for humanity has come up...we will have to become obsessive with the long term future. Danger signs abound...degradation of the environment, nuclear disaster, runaway genetic manipulation, the rise of fanaticism. Even if it was possible, suppose that we could freeze these trends, how possible is the market dream of bringing all to the level of affluence of the "developed" countries? Apparently several more planets would be needed to provide the air, space, water and other resources.

It's an interesting quandary. Clearly the more affluent must reduce their expectations for more and nicer stuff, meaning that our children and their children's children will have to put aside striving for ever greater levels of comfort and expensive diversions. If that doesn't happen the earth and our species is in for a lasting demolition derby, through I suppose that cockroaches will survive.

Now, Harry, tell me. Will humans change their life purposes to accommodate the future? Can they do this with grace, good humor and optimism? How can short-time players like you and me help to start to pull this off?"

"Beats me. Good luck to us all." Harold grunts as he shifts his great white cast. In the silence that follows both contemplate a small yard framed by the bay window that dominates the side of the room. Autumn's sharp, clear light strikes a tree whose shadows continue their patient search for night.

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The food I eat

Jody Helfand

I know every piece of concrete like my son,
and pick our home this week near garbage
with a fine standing. Tonight he eats bread
covered in a crust of cheese from hours ago.
The bread is still soft.
I watch my son—
he chews with the ease of habit,
small hands keeping their grip,
eyes rooted on the center of the bread
that he will save for last.
to pull my body over the side of the dumpster.
I slip on tomato pieces, sogging lettuce,
and vinegar. The air is ruined, but
I smell of oranges and mint leaves.
There is a piece of chocolate cake with nearly
three bites taken, and I look back at my son
who will be surprised later, his smile
taking the place of plates of scallops
and garlic penne—my dinner for the evening.

Jody Helfand is a graduate student at Chapman University in California on a scholarship for his M.F.A. in writing. He already has an M.A. in English and has published a poem in the Phoenix Journal at Berkeley. Also, he has won the Clark Award for the best writing from the English faculty and have placed in The California State Poetry Monthly Contest for April of 1998.

A Bard's View

Samuel M. (Mike) McCreary

Public Administration

HAMLET, ACT 3, SCENE 1

Legitimate, or not legitimate: that is the question:
Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
The slings and arrows of outrageous paradigms,
Or to take arms against a sea of ambiguity,
And by opposing objectify? To sleep: to still the mind
Ever more; and by a sleep to say we end
The uncertainty, heart-ache and the thousand theories
That PA is heir to, 'tis a consummation
Devoutly to be wish'd. To actively listen, to deliberate;
To dialogue: perchance to—promote citizenship: ay, there's the rub;
For in-relationship what dreams may come
When we have shuffled off this positivist coil,
Must give us pause: there's the censure
That makes calamity of such an approach;
For who would bear the quips and jibes of others,
The heterodox vision...or the conventional wisdom?
The pangs of despised doctrine, the law's essence,
The uncertainty of office and the quest for legitimacy,
That patient merit of the unknowing takes,

When he himself might his ethos make
Without technique or tool but with faith,
To being in-relation a new reality make,
But that the dread of something unknown,
The discover'd self and others from whose bourn,
No positivist returns, perplexes the will
And makes us rather embrace those spaces we at last discern,
Than fly to tethers that we have bid farewell?
Thus consciousness does make human-citizens of us all;
And thus the native hue of resolution
Is imbued with the reflexive cast of thought,
And enterprises of great pith and moment
With this regard their currents turn toward
And gain the name of action.—Soft you now!
Brownlow, Gulick, Merriam, and the lot,
Have shown us what, perhaps should be not...

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An Inner Voice For Public Administration

by Nancy Murray, Praeger Publishers, 1997.

Reviewed by
Ethel Williams

"What does it mean to be a public servant," and "how do we learn? (p.4)?" These are the questions raised by Nancy Murray in the book *An Inner Voice for Public Administration*. This book takes a very different and innovative approach to attempting to understand the responsibility of public administrators to provide efficient and effective service. This responsibility goes beyond simple service delivery based on rational decision making to a call for personal introspection and the need for a humanistic approach to decisions and service. Murray asserts that "we know how to do public service but not how to be public servants (p.4). Our knowledge and abilities in public service are not only derived from what is taught in schools about public administration, but also on the importance the western world places on facts, scientific method, and empirical evidence. *An Inner Voice* was written in response to what the author views as an unbalanced focused emanating from a lack of writing on the philosophical and psychological aspects of the field. Dr. Murray argues that most of the literature in public administration tends to be focused on the external demands made by public administrators on themselves rather than the individual personal demands for humanism, better performance and service. Because public administration is interdisciplinary in nature, the author suggests that there should be a "search for balance" in what is taught in public administration programs and in what individuals do on the job. In eight chapters, through the use of fictional characters and situations, metaphors, allegories, and references to specific cases, the author challenges readers to reflect inwardly on their understanding of public service and how that

meaning was developed. Then to focus on things will provide balance.

Murray begins the book by establishing how we, in the western world, have come to think and act in the manner that we do. She acknowledges that public administration in America is predicated on the teachings of Descartes, Bacon, Max Weber, Isaac Newton, David Hume, Kant, and other traditionalists. Collectively their teachings brought a mathematical approach, a rational quest for truth, and a belief that sound decisions are deeply rooted in the observable nature of things or empirical data. In briefly exploring the teachings of these scholars, Dr. Murray salutes their sound contributions to the field while maintaining this is only one side of the story. "Our take-charge attitude... has led us to a narrow way of thinking in which we can be either right or wrong, succeed or fail, win or lose (p. 7)." Public administration is not black-and-white. It demands a multi-faceted approach. The author encourages readers to reflect on the teachings of eastern philosophies that promote individual introspection, listening to an inner voice, and thereby attaining a deeper level of understanding. She challenges public administrators and scholars in the field to "see beyond the conventional solution (pp. 18-20)." She acknowledges the wisdom of Lao-tze, Chuang Tzu, Ghandi, and others. She suggests a deeper understanding of their philosophies and proposes that the teachings and philosophy of Carl Jung be used to "bridge the gap" between eastern and western thought.

The key qualities, promoted by eastern philosophers, that bring balance to the rational approach, are silence, unity and wu-wei or non-action (pp.17-21). Throughout the book, Murray, primarily through the use of a fictional character known as Emily, very creatively takes readers on a journey that illustrates the importance and success of using these three concepts. Silence allows administrators to hear their inner voice; unity provides intuitiveness and a sense of being connected with others and the world; non-action (not inaction) provides a sense of forbearance and benevolence. These when coupled with the rationalism bestow the sense of balance Murray believes American administrators may have lost.

Nancy Murray believes that public administrators should begin to heed the admonition of Dwight Waldo and not become "culture bound." Continuing to operate in a rational manner only may lead to a government that is less efficient and ineffective. The author, in her

own words, is "not proposing a mutiny" in the way public administration operates, nor does she set out to demolish the foundations on which the discipline is built. She suggests instead, that as we sail the sea of transition into a new century, that we change our course because our discipline may be headed for serious trouble. The primary challenges made to public administrators are to (1) move from just carrying out legislated policies to a full grounding in philosophical tradition; (2) examine the technological changes that will occur in the future; and (3) develop insight into the ways organizations can renew themselves to meet the challenges of a post-modern world.

I believe Dr. Murray has offered a very creative and insightful means of meeting those challenges. The challenges posed by the author are indeed legitimate as we move into the next millennium. Such a shift in behavior and culture suggested by the author may not be as easy as it appears. While the book poses realistic adversities for the characters, and as the readers observe their solutions, there is no hint of the problems associated with individual and organizational change. Even Murray suggests that we, in the western world, are not ready or equipped to handle such as change. Those who do make the transformation may be viewed suspiciously by other American administrators and citizens. Nevertheless, the questions are extremely important. "What does it mean to be a public servant," and "how do we learn?" Our service to the field and to our constituents demand we rethink our approach. Murray's suggestions may indeed be the way, or at least provide parameters for reflection. I found the book to be challenging, refreshing, and innovative. Far too long have administrators and students of administration failed to look at the legitimacy of a humanistic way of thinking. Scholars, practitioners and citizens may find an overwhelming call to introspection. I did.

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Wasta—The Hidden Force in Middle Eastern Society

By Robert B. Cunningham and Yasin K. Sarayrah
(Praeger, 1993, 205 pages)

Reviewed by
Thomas E. Murphy

Introduction

I first read *Wasta* in late 1997 in preparation for a Fulbright assignment in Jordan. Since my project involved trying to link government universities and industries in Jordan, the book was perhaps the best preparation I could undertake. *Wasta*, contrary to the book title, is not “hidden.” In spite of the efforts of many who try to change it, this cultural practice is open, pervasive, and has a negative impact on many of Jordan’s public institutions and many of its people. For me, reading *Wasta* was more helpful than having a map, more relevant than taking a course in Arabic, and more informative than hours of orientation meetings. Although the book title uses “Middle East,” it is the story of *wasta* in Jordan. To mention the book in Jordan generates a resonance of both acknowledgement and curiosity. “How can we get this book?” they ask. No one seems to be able to find it in Jordan.

The authors of *Wasta*, through their unique form of story telling research and analysis show both a deep understanding of *wasta* and offer some innovative ways to change this flawed cultural practice.

What is Wasta

The authors trace the origins and evolution of “*wasta*” which means “the middle.” Grounded in the tribal settings of Jordan, and other Middle Eastern countries, practitioners of *wasta*, primarily shayhks, first served as mediators resolving disputes between groups within their own tribes and, in some cases, inter-tribal conflicts. They were

respected and revered by their constituents. Thus, when a member of one tribe negligently injured another, an intermediary was called upon to resolve the conflict. Obtaining an offer of remuneration, an apology, and other recompense, the mediator could help the parties avoid both the legal system and the possibility of retributive violence. Property disputes, family squabbles, and other conflicts were historically solved by the tribal shaykhs often called "the wasta." Their compensation was prestige and status.

Wasta in Transition

With the urbanization of much of Jordan, together with a growing government bureaucracy, the authors trace the transition of wasta from a prevailing practice of mediation to one of intercession, for example, helping their cousins and tribal relatives to get jobs in the government. As professors of public administration, the authors focus on the application of wasta to the public sector and argue that it is debilitating the integrity, effectiveness, and the mission of government.

The transition has occurred because fewer Jordanians live a semi-nomadic lifestyle, and, instead have moved to cities, like Amman, Irbid, and new industrial centers. The shaykhs, who practiced dispute resolution, no longer have the resources to be effective in urban settings. A new form of wasta—family members, usually themselves government officials, who intercede on another's behalf—now are the practitioners of wasta.

Wasta and Developing Countries

The authors acknowledge that interventions on behalf of family and friends are not uncommon in developed countries. For example in the U.S., campaign finance practices lead to high government appointments and ambassadorships and more. They point out, however, that the complexity of the bureaucracy in Jordan and other developing countries, makes wasta critically important to the uninitiated trying to navigate the public agencies' sea of red tape and procedures. Also, they note that in developing countries there are bigger economies making it easier to get jobs and lower level bureaucratic accountability that insures better agency performance. Thus, wasta is essential in the Middle East.

The authors offer the case of Ata, a young man from the desert, who traveled to Amman to get a passport, a process that normally takes days to complete. He was given the name of a hometown relative who worked for the Passports Department and the authors detail how Ata successfully moved from office to office using his relative's name to gain approvals along the way and get his passport in a record one day's time. The lessons to the public are obvious.

The Application and Pervasiveness of Wasta

The book is filled with illustrations of how wasta is used to get lower customs duties on imports, to get jobs in various government organizations, to obtain transfers and promotions within agencies, and to prevent or overrule firings and discipline.

For example, the book recounts the story of Shtayan, whose uncle had an influential position within the Customs Department. His uncle first helped him gain a position. When Shtayan was terminated for throwing papers in the face of his supervisor, his uncle helped get the discipline reduced to one week without pay. Later, when Shtayan was working on his Ph.D. dissertation, his uncle once again interceded to get reluctant bureaucrats at Customs to provide data for Shtayan's research. Interestingly, their cooperation on the research project was superficial, only providing Shtayan with incomplete records and data demonstrating the limits of wasta influence. Stories of embezzlers who were "saved" by wasta, and other illustrations lead the authors to conclude: "The hierarchical system cannot withstand wasta intervention."

What about the Palestinians who now represent more than half of Jordan's population? They are, of course, represented in many top levels of government. The authors deal with this important question and conclude that while wasta was practiced to some extent in Palestine, former West Bankers now living in Jordan have less influence and fewer relatives to call upon. As a result, they have less wasta. Also, many Palestinians are unfamiliar with the traditions and customs that surrounded the tribal practice of wasta. The story of a Palestinian who, when making a claim for back taxes to an argumentative Jordanian patriarch, yanked his beard and was nearly killed by the patriarch's family. The Palestinian was simply not aware of the customs. In some cases, the authors say, Palestin-

ians must simply offer gifts or money to obtain *wasta*. The *wasta* of Circassians and Christians is also discussed in the book.

Government jobs are not the only venue for *wasta*. The story of Mohammed the accountant who was unfairly displaced from an open job position in the private sector by an inferior candidate who had a member of Parliament call on his behalf, makes a compelling example of how the system destroys a meritocracy.

Wasta and education are also explored through a variety of stories. There are attempts to use *wasta* to insure admission to a university or transfer to a more prestigious institution, to obtain good grades, and to get faculty appointments and promotions. The authors conclude that such efforts to use *wasta* in academe are less successful than in other government settings.

Methodology—The Use of Stories

The authors acknowledge that their method of using stories as the bases for research and conclusions is somewhat unusual. But in a developing country, steeped in cultural and tribal practices, one doubts that traditional research methodology would have been effective or appropriate. “*Wasta* does not readily yield its secrets to the traditional scientific inquirer,” the authors state. “Stories,” the authors claim, “have a chameleon-like quality; they are open-ended, allowing a variety of emphases and interpretations.” “Stories serve as windows through which to catch a glimpse of a culture, and demonstrate the values at play in people’s lives,” they assert. The authors believe that using observation and description to build hypotheses is an “appropriate strategy.”

I agree. One could argue that the stories are based largely on the recollections of Yasin Sarayrah and therein lies the book’s limitation. While Yasin’s repertoire is extensive, using his recollections and first hand observations to draw hypotheses and conclusions may not be, in the parlance of statisticians, a “sufficient sample.” For what it is worth, however, the authors’ stories of *wasta* and its practices in Jordan, were consistent with this reviewer’s observations during his Fulbright assignment in Jordan, which included meetings and discussions with a wide range of government, university and business representatives all over the country.

Wasta—Its Theoretical Construct and Countermeasures

Wasta is examined within the context of the *Arena Theory and the Rational Choice Theory*. The authors describe how many wasta interventions involve changing the arena to change the outcome. By changing the group of stakeholders in the controversy, the wasta can manipulate a better outcome for its client. When a person is discharged, the stakeholders in the immediate environment would not be interested in changing the discipline. When the stakeholder group is enlarged to include higher ups in the organization, the wasta influence proves more successful.

The *Rational Choice* analysis is somewhat weaker. There are examples of a physician violating hospital policy by changing the diagnosis of a patient who could not afford the treatment. By calling it a “communicable disease” the government, not the patient, would assume the financial responsibility for the payment. The authors suggest that such “benign” practices afford “humanitarian but preferential treatment.” The *Rational Choice* illustrations appear to be little in number.

In examining wasta *countermeasures* the authors suggest four possibilities: (1) create a more powerful and administratively developed set of government agencies; (2) implement a “technical fix” by converting many low level bureaucratic positions to automated tasks, thus forcing work and discretion to the tops of the organization; (3) privatize public institutions; (4) hold intercessors responsible and accountable for the actions of their proteges—fight wasta with wasta.

They rather quickly, and without much analysis, dismiss the utility of the first three alternatives. Strengthening bureaucracy, the authors argue, will only perpetuate the loyalty to families, which remains stronger than loyalty to government efficiency. There are, however, ways to introduce meritocracy in government. Case studies can be shown to support this. The authors correctly point out that the technical fix solution will only push wasta to the top. But, by eliminating some of the bureaucratic morass and red tape, the need for wasta is minimized. Thus, a technical fix deserves more analysis.

Privatization, the authors suggest, is drastic and politically dangerous, and because of the lack of cost sensitive enterprises in Jordan, it may not work. But, privatization has worked in other countries. The introduction of regional and world markets to Jordan should constrain the country to make public enterprises more cost conscious or to privatize them. True market forces do eliminate practices, such as *wasta*, which irrationally increase costs and force prices to be uncompetitive. The authors correctly suggest that privatization leads to job loss, "therefore creating a political problem." This is a clear possibility but true economic growth and survival of such countries lies in their ability to succeed in the new markets. *Wasta* is, as the authors portray it, an insidious enemy of such growth and success. They support fighting *wasta* with *wasta*.

The authors' recommended solution—fighting *wasta* with *wasta* is ingenious. In spite of the rather limited analyses pertaining to the other solutions, their choice just may have the highest prospect for success in Jordan. Culture impedes change. Paying careful and reverent attention to the change process, as the reviewer discovered on his own in Jordan, is the key to progress. And it is slow. By making the practitioner of *wasta* accountable for the success or failure of his protege may just work in such a culture. The obvious impact on the quality of decision making and recommendations is obvious. Just how it might be designed, however, is not carefully outlined by the authors.

Conclusion

The book, *Wasta*, combines and maximizes the talents of two able educators—the rich narrative story telling and insightful perspective of Professor Sarayrah, and the experienced research and writing talents of Professor Cunningham. It is an innovative and refreshing attempt to explore social and political culture in a way that can be understood and appreciated. The traditional methodology would have yielded an empty and dry set of data, without the rich and revealing context the authors have provided.

Wasta reads like a novel, but is steeped in truth. It tells of the desert culture, but shows how the culture works in the urban setting. It deals with a "hidden force," but opens one's eyes to its prevalence and impact. It is a unique piece of contemporary research that offers

sufficient insights for one to both understand and solve an insidious cultural flaw in an important region of our world.

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