Public Voices

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Public Voices

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Public Voices

Bureaucracy and the Bard

Symposium

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Front Cover

"Shakespeare – *Tempest*, Act 1, Scene 1." Painted by G. Romney, engraved by B. Smith; published by J. & J. Boydell at the Shakespeare Gallery, Pall Mall, London, 1797. The print depicts the shipwrecked sailors being washed ashore; Prospero and Miranda are standing on the right. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

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Letters from Readers

Listening to "Other" Voices: Responses to Mordecai Lee's Article* on the Founding of ASPA

*The article "Colluding to Create the American Society of Public Administration and the Consequent Collateral Damage" was published in the previous issue of *Public Voices* (XIV-1).

Addressing the Controversy

Dear Editor:

Herbert Butterfield's classic 1931 book, *The Whig Interpretation of History*, took aim at the dominant English Historiography of that era in which the progressive liberal Whig thinking had long been the underlying assumption for "good" scholarship. English history never appeared quite the same after the publication of Butterfield's slim volume. A similar pronounced tendency runs throughout much of public administration historical writings, one possibly tagged as "progressive history," where authors elaborate a linear, upward, non-controversial march forward of events. Disputes tend to be "paved over" or ignored. Thus, Mordecai Lee's "Colluding to Create the American Society of Public Administration and the Consequent Collateral Damage" is a welcomed addition to our literature, precisely because the path to developing our profession was never clear-cut nor certain. Drawing upon original library research and primary sources, the author highlights the intense conflict that emerged between the Government Research Association and the early founding fathers of ASPA such as Brownlow, Gulick, and Mosher as well as the collateral damage that resulted in terms of thwarting the career of a young University of Chicago doctoral student, Norman Gill. This revisionist view offers a rare "not-so-nice" glimpse into the seamy side of ASPA's creation and serves to "tone down" the generally commonplace heroic images of the field's founders. Not only is Dr. Lee's historic research impressive, but his own "full disclosure statement" at the end is unique for histories of this sort (or any sort). Such honesty and transparency only adds weight and authority to author's arguments.

Yet, this reader comes away from reading the article with the nagging question: is that all to the lessons learned from this controversy? Isn't there more, a lot more, to this story that profoundly shapes our field today than what the author describes? Yes, it is about a significant controversy in the mid-1930s that created ASPA and destroyed a promising career, but maybe there are more significant themes and insights that we can glean?

My sense is that there is a much more profound narrative that could be developed here if the author was willing to broaden the intellectual context of the event he so carefully and thoughtfully describes. Specifically WGR reflects the powerful "economy and efficiency" technical stream of administrative thought/practice a la Frederick Taylor that began with the NY Bureau of Municipal Research and was spread throughout the nation and throughout all levels of government thanks to "the bureau movement" that later morphed into WGA. But that strong current of thought continues today, lodged in research institutes, policy shops, consulting centers, often attached to universities everywhere in the USA and impacts enormously contemporary administrative thinking. Indeed the most important book published in the field during the last 25 years by far, as measured by citations as well as impact upon government at every level was a product of that line of administrative thinking, i.e. Osborne and Gaebler's *Reinventing Government* (1992).

The generalist public administration stream of thought, by contrast, has different origins. Here one needs to look towards the founding of the City Manager's Association (now the ICMA) in 1914 and especially the contributions of Louis Brownlow in developing its generalist management training programs, professional conferences, "the green book series," ethical codes, etc. Those generalist concepts that saw the field vastly broader than "economy/efficiency values" were further refined by Gulick, Mosher, White, and others and were elevated to the state and national levels via the creation of the Public Administration Clearing House. They not only shaped the founding of ASPA but were powerful ideas serving to recast the very highest office in the land for the first time since its creation in 1789, the U.S. Presidency, thanks to the recommendations of the Brownlow Report (1936). Moreover, in the late 1930s the Public Administration Service began publication of a series of impressive generalist management research books, such as *The Management of Municipal Public Works*, *Public Administration Education in the United States*, *Council-Manager Government* in the United States, and much more, that really established generalist management perspective that thrives to this day in public administration research and training programs across America.

Perhaps a book length study that elaborates upon the meaning and implications of this particular controversy by setting it within the wider intellectual context of American public administration's past, present, and future development should be the next step for Dr. Lee research? Again, my gut feeling is that there is more to the narrative than what we read here that deserves telling.

Richard Stillman
Professor of Public Administration
University of Colorado at Denver

Looking Back to Move Forward

Dear Editor:

In my 2003 article, "Measuring Government in the Twentieth Century," I quote Dwight Waldo, "There have always been reformers ... and taxpayers organizations, whose primary purpose is the lowering of taxes, no matter what the cost in human values. 'Efficiency' means for them, economy, 'economy' means less money spent by government, more retained by taxpayers—simply said" (Waldo 1948, 195; Williams 2003, 650). While I associate this with the New York Bureau of Municipal Research (BMR), after reading Mordecai Lee's "Colluding to Create The American Society for Public Administration and the Consequent Collateral Damage" (Lee 2014) it appears that Waldo may have had a more subtle point. Indeed the BMR sits in a narrow space between advocacy and research. Camilla Stivers (2000) suggested that the BMR was an advocacy group along with those taxpayer organizations at the Government Research Association (GRA) that the ASPA founders sought to circumvent. In fact, the GRA owes its origins to the BMR. However, Lee shows that Luther Gulick – who was, at the time, the head of the BMR's successor, the National Institute of Public Administration – was among those ASPA founders who sought to change the direction of government research. The BMR/NIPA and Gulick are enigmatic: are they advocates or researchers? It is not always clear. For example, Gulick, who was never a professor, served as the president of the American Political Science Association in 1950.

A rich area for future study is the later history of the BMR and its successors the National Institute of Public Administration and of the work of Luther Gulick. Both the organization and the person are closely associated with the development of the discipline over the first half of the twentieth century and into the second half. The Institute of Public Administration's archives are now at Baruch College's Newman Library and are expected to be available for research beginning in the summer of 2015.

Dan Williams
Professor of Public Administration
Baruch College

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Claiming the Field

Dear Editor:

Early twentieth century public administration scholarship had a strong reform component. In pre-1914 writings, people associated with the New York Bureau of Municipal Research argued passionately for political and administrative changes to increase citizen participation and ameliorate the lot of the urban poor (e.g., Allen 1907)

Donor pressure led to a change in the organization's vision. After intervention from the Rockefeller interests, the BMR shied away from controversial and politicized issues. It no longer supported strong citizen participation in educational decision making, a signature issue for the organization in 1911-1912 (Schachter 1997).

By the 1920s, the dominant concern of much of the public administration and political science scholarly communities shifted from using analysis to jump start societal change to perfecting a scientific research technique that could compare with the physicists' methodologies. One American Political Science Association presidential address from that decade went so far as to label the old approach a waste of time (Munro 1928).

Mordecai Lee's well researched article shows how the battle to orient scholars to value technique developed in the Depression years. In my work on the Progressive era, donors pushed the shift away from reform whether in the case of the Rockefeller interests at the BMR or the Russell Sage Foundation at the New York School of Philanthropy (Schachter 2011). Lee's central actors are public administrationists themselves pushing against what they see as provincial, reform oriented researchers. Donors such as the Rockefellers stand in the background—rewarding "acceptable" scholars with grants—but the main push for scientifically respectable research now comes from the field's own leaders. They have internalized the norms of technical ascendancy. But their foray is a mopping up operation since the BMR movement had long since lost its original passion and *raison d'etre*.

Sincerely,

Hindy Lauer Schachter
Professor of Management
New Jersey Institute of Technology

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Dear Public Voices Readers,

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Editor's Letter, *Public Voices*

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Bureaucracy and the Bard
Symposium Introduction

Aaron Wachhaus

Public administration demands facility in the skills of organizational management. Public organizations have a set organizational structure, mission, and relationship to other units of government that define the limits and aims of the organization. Effective management of these characteristics is essential to providing efficient service. Concurrently, public administrators must be proficient in skills of human management. An organization functions only as well as the people of which it is composed. So public administrators are expected to master skills of leadership in order to harness any number of individuals into a coherent organization directed towards a clear public goal. The articles in this symposium address the difficulties of pursuing both organizational and human management simultaneously through the examination of selected works of Shakespeare.

Shakespeare's work continues to appeal due to his masterful exploration of the human element at work in complex settings. Of particular relevance to public administration, and emphasized in these articles, are the following themes:

First, the acknowledgement that the human element deeply impacts the operation of the machinery of government. Lear was an apparently successful king. He had been a competent administrator of the machinery of his state. However, his need to be loved, not for his technical accomplishments but for his own sake, led to the downfall of his reign, the destruction of his family, and chaos in the land. Similarly, Henry V is compelling not because of his accomplishments on the battlefield or as a ruler, but because of his refusal to quietly give up his individualism and assume totally the functionalism of a working monarch. For Henry, to become the state is to lose part of his humanity. As Shakespeare shows us, it is precisely his individuality that informs his rule.

Second, the recognition that multiple perspectives are necessary to obtain a full view. Shakespeare presents vivid characters with strong drives and goals operating in complex social webs. They face complicated problems. We, the audience, benefit from seeing the action at a remove that allows us to take in the unintended consequences of individual action, as well as from hear-

ing and seeing multiple perspectives from a variety of characters. Our distance from the stage allows us to see Kate Minola as both empowered woman as well as titular Shrew. Frequently, Shakespearean plays turn on the inability of characters to step outside their own, often self-imposed, constraints and speak openly and broadly. Hamlet would be a much shorter and less bloody affair were the prince of Denmark able to talk openly about the problems in his family and country. Over and over again, Shakespeare shows us the consequences of initially simple or small deceptions, inversions or omissions. Surely, there must have been some moment when Othello and Desdemona could simply have confronted one another honestly and openly. Shakespearean comedies rely on our ability to see past deceptions that, while quite transparent to us, envelop the characters. Too often in public administration, we lack the ability to gain sufficient distance to step outside ourselves, take in our situation from a range of viewpoints and increase transparency.

Finally, the development of narrative across several levels at once. For Shakespeare, sub-text drives the play as much as does the overt level of dialogue and action. As Farmer notes, "Important lessons from Shakespeare …come not so much from the surface but from the subterranean, not so much from the main story as the incidental". We, as readers and audience members, benefit from being able to take in the larger play, making connections that are not apparent from the stage and gaining a broader and deeper understanding of the play as a whole. As administrators, we cannot effectively understand complex problems while immersed in them. A single perspective is, by its nature, limiting. Responsible management calls for adopting multiple perspectives in an effort to better understand the entirety of complex public issues.

David Farmer opens the symposium with an analysis of *Henry V* and *Richard III*. As Farmer notes, Shakespeare looks both outwards – to setting of the play, the structure of the play itself, and its larger social context – as well as inwards – to the motivations of and lessons learned by each character. Accordingly, Farmer's analysis operates on both levels. He looks inward, considering Henry and Richard's qualities as individuals and the leadership lessons that have been drawn from their examples. He also looks outward, exploring how the structure and poetry of *Henry V* communicates an understanding of the subtext and often hidden underpinnings of policy leadership.

Second, Catherine Horiuchi gives a powerful critique of the planning and implementation of the new eastern span of San Francisco's Bay Bridge. Her central point is that actions must speak louder than words – that the bridge itself must be stronger than the rhetoric surrounding it. The test of the new span will be its ability to deliver drivers safely and quickly across San Francisco Bay. However, words spread more widely than can a bridge roadbed. Press releases, news stories, opinion pieces and social media posts reach around the globe, vastly outstripping the bridge itself, which only reaches from Oakland to Yerba Buena island. Critically, words spoken by policymakers, planners and budget appropriations committees overpower the silent and passive action of the bridge itself. Using *King Lear* as her lens on the project allows Horiuchi to contrast the rational and quantifiable action of the span against the qualitative and emotionally laden political discourse surrounding its planning and construction. Lear chooses to value proclamations of familial love more highly than the loving actions of Cordelia, with disastrous consequences. Having linked real-world power to a display of language, Lear is surprised when competition moves from the rhetorical to the physical realm. So, too, Horiuchi contrasts the quantifiable be-

havior of a bridge with the value-laden and politically charged language that framed its planning and construction, giving a cautionary tale of the power of language to lead to unexpected consequences.

The final piece continues the exploration of language, power and the limitations of projecting idealized visions onto the real world. Wachhaus reads *The Tempest* as a laboratory for experimenting with sovereignty and the exercise of power. The island lies outside of the bounds of civilization, allowing the characters shipwrecked there to re-imagine social order. Lacking resources and practical knowledge of the island, their only tools (and base of power) are words. In this respect, *The Tempest* is the obverse of *King Lear*. Lear moves from demonstrated applied power and engaged governance (a successful reign) to the less fixed realm of language. The Tempest meditates on the limitations of words and the difficulties of translating ideas into action. For Wachhaus, one of the central lessons of *The Tempest* is that social structure is inescapable. Even in the isolated and amorphous setting of the shipwreck island, we need to impose a social structure in order to make sense of the world around us. Wachhaus suggests that pursuing a collaborative approach, rather than attempting to impose a personal vision, may be more productive.

Shakespeare continues to hold appeal because of his ability to portray our inner workings – our passions, foibles, and dreams – as well as the complexity and depths of our social relations. Much as with public managers, Shakespeare's characters occupy complex worlds made up of competing agendas and deep social ties, and constrained by limitations on time, knowledge and resources. His characters endure not because complexity reduces them to functionaries but because constraints allow us to see more clearly the richness of their humanity. For public administration to remain meaningful, it must likewise adopt means of embracing its passions, foibles and dreams. Critically, it must also retain the ability to step back from the stage and view itself at a distance, to transcend the individual perception and take in the entirety of the play.

Aaron Wachhaus is assistant professor in the School of Public and International Affairs, University of Baltimore. He is interested in better understanding how organizations and communities develop relationships and collaborate in environments of uncertainty and resource scarcity, and advocates for effective intersectoral governance. He is the editor of *Public Administration Quarterly*.

Practical Leadership in Public Administration: The Practicality of Poetry

David John Farmer

The utility of literature, including poetry, should be more widely recognized for generating practical understandings about leadership in Public Administration (PA). This aim reflects the claims of Leo Strauss and Dwight Waldo that literature can offer a broader and deeper view. For example, Strauss (2001, 6-7) claims that, while he "doesn't question that social science analyses are very important, but still, if you want to get a broad view and a deep view you read a novel rather than a social science." It can tell you more about "modern society than volumes of social science analysis." He prefaces this by arguing that "poetry alone makes for the most comprehensive knowledge." For him, it is the "capstone of wisdom." Waldo (1984, 212), for example, argues that "administrative thought should establish a working relationship with every major province in the realm of human learning," including literature. So we turn to the Bard, one of the greatest poets – and to the practical topic of leadership in Shakespeare's *Henry V* and *Richard III*.

What can we learn about Public Administration (PA) leadership from Shakespeare's narratives about a winning warrior-leader like Henry V and a losing warrior-leader like Richard III? At one level, we can hope for reflection about some of the human elements of PA's leadership as-a-discipline in producing even more effective public sector leaders and wanabee leaders, not mainly people qualified to do low-level and mid-level jobs but also more people who understand more deeply the macro needs and context of government. At another level, we can hope for reflection about some human elements of how this discipline can re-write its leadership contribution to the character and destiny of government – as government faces such an unparalleled assault by a structure that has some uncanny partial resemblances to the fifteenth century bastard feudalism of *Henry V* and *Richard III*.

There is certainly much that cannot be learned from the poet-philosopher Shakespeare, e.g., about e-government, e-warfare, and economic theory. But the nature of the human is a different story, with different perspectives and depths. The writer about leadership theory can play with ideas – outwards – about what to write about leadership; that same writer can also learn – inwards – about herself and why she writes what she does about leadership. The leadership writer can also play with translating from one context to another, to (say) the proverbial mail-room

manager (where leadership opportunities are hidden by their narrower opportunities) from that of an agency head, a president or a king. Eventually for utopian hopes, we need re-writing that tells more not only the story beneath the story, but also the layers of stories where the layers can even flicker from real to unreal. Harold Bloom encourages us to recognize depths within depths in Shakespeare's re-writings of human nature and personality (see Bloom 1998). Even more encouraging is Sigmund Freud and the debt to Shakespeare that he acknowledged when re-writing our understanding of the human psyche.

This paper considers four avenues of reflection – two on Henry V (king 1413-1422) and two on Richard III (king 1483-1485). The first avenue indicates how some business schools have provided examples of Henry V as successful entrepreneur and how more can be learned. The second discusses the unconscious of public policy leadership suggested in *Henry V*, such as the pro-war text and anti-war sub-text. The third searches through the text and sub-text for the arch-villain of *Richard III*, like the king himself or Tudor propaganda and/or even Machiavelli. The fourth is the depth that Sigmund Freud sees in *Richard III* and in us the audience, and the importance of insights about what is explained as stronzi. So, back to the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453) and to the Wars of the Roses (1455-1485)! Back to Shakespeare and the complexity of the human!

Henry V – The Successful Entrepreneur?

At a minimal end of my scale of public utility, the first avenue of reflection considers how *Henry V* has been used in business schools, like Wharton and Columbia, to teach leadership skills to executives. It also speaks about using one-liners. The obvious attraction of Henry V is that this young king took part in what became a Hundred Years' War and won a decisive battle at Agincourt (1415) against overwhelming odds; he was a winner, he used inspirational methods and language. An example of the use of Henry for business education purposes is that by organizations like Movers and Shakespeares – reportedly, a profitable enterprise itself. The belief is that the Bard offers astute insights into human nature and tells good war stories. Movers and Shakespeares was founded by Carol Adelman and Ken Adelman, ex-ambassador (should be called "Montjoy" after the French herald, I imagine) and Director of the Arms Control and Management Agency. Other examples can be found on the Internet and elsewhere (e. g., Harvard, the Findhorn Foundation, Tom Peters, Theatresaurus, and so on).

For Carol and Ken Adelman at the Wharton Center for Leadership and Change Management, see "What *Henry V* Tells Us about Leadership, Motivation, Wooing and Hanging" (Adelman & Adelman 2010). They attach importance to business executives speaking inspirationally in the heroic style of Henry when he declaimed about "We few, we happy few, we band of brothers…" (*Henry V*, 4.3.62). And elsewhere – "Once more into the breach, dear friends, once more..," inviting his soldiers to wall up the breach with their dead bodies (*Henry V*, 3.1.1-2). And elsewhere! Carol and Ken Adelman also give King Henry credit for his innovative battle techniques (use of the long bow, rather than the cross bow) and battle strategy (choosing a rainy battle day and an open area limited by two woods, hindering the effectiveness of the relatively huge number of heavily armored enemy cavalry). They approve Henry (and a CEO), unlike his enemy king, being at the center of the battle. They also approve as a teachable moment for business ex-

ecutives when Henry orders one of his old childhood friends and drinking companions, Bardolph, to be hung for stealing from a church. They assert that Henry V is "a young king who needs to show his toughness," more concerned with his own reputation than with moral right and wrong. Into this pile could also be thrown Henry's killing of enemy prisoners. Also applauded is the wooing by leaders of their subordinates – in imitation of what Adelman calls the "artful wooing technique" that Prince Harry uses on the daughter of the enemy king.

One does not have to agree with the Adelmans' judgments to see the point of re-writing from literature (in one context, the heat of battle) to hermeneutic understanding (in a different context, the heat of business). Even a large fan of *Henry V* can have doubts about the "truth, the-whole-truth, and nothing-but-the-truth" of the Adelmans' comments, just noted. It is hard for a king to control rain showers in northern France and southern England on any October 25 (the date of the battle) or in any month; it rains and/or shines often enough. It is hard for top-dog Henry (or a president) to have been "the" inventor of a new war technique like the use of long bows (or of drones), just as Churchill didn't invent radar air defense in his backyard at Chequers. It is true that the winning Henry was at the center of his battle, but so too was the losing Richard III at the center of his battle. Some objections are deeper, such as that drawing a parallel between Henry V's father as superego and Harry as ego. The hanging of Bardolph continued the emerging of the former self from the last scene of Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, where Henry V dismissed Falstaff and other close buddies to prison with a contemptuous "I know thee not" (see the title of Farmer, 2004). On the artful wooing, I think that Prince Harry was a great salesman. He was not above lying, as when he assured his army that they would be brothers. It is a tad impractical to be the king's brother when you are the lowly Fluellan or the "rascally, scald, beggarly, lousy, pragging knave" Pistol, or a mail-room supervisor. On the one hand, Shakespeare was quite a salesman for Henry V; on the other hand, a merely good salesman probably would not have mentioned the killing of the enemy prisoners.

The point of using the Shakespearean examples, even though some may over-reach, often seems to give emotional content and a sort of historical dignity to what is claimed. "Management by wandering about" (MBWA) per Tom Peters, for instance, is one of the leadership activities that could appeal to Henry V's MBWA on the night before the Agincourt Battle – linking it to icons wandering about elsewhere like Henry Ford and Frederick Winslow Taylor. It is more gripping to speak of a "little touch of Harry in the night" and to suggest that leaders have done MBWA for centuries. "Pride and glory on his head/ For forth (the royal captain) goes and visits all his host/ Bids them good morrow with a modest smile/ And calls them brothers, friends and countrymen" (*Henry V*, *VI*, 31-34).

Yet there is more in Shakespeare than examples, attractive as they have been. Important lessons from Shakespeare, in *Henry V* as in any other of his plays, come not so much from the surface but from the subterranean, not so much from the main story (the doctrinal center) as the incidental (the peripheral). In this, I am paralleling Alfred North Whitehead's understanding of his comment that the "safest general characterization of the European philosophical tradition is that it consists of a series of footnotes to Plato" (Whitehead 1979, 39). By this, he meant that the manner of philosophical thinking comes from Plato, his tutor (Socrates), and his star pupil (Aristotle). But Whitehead did not think of Plato's philosophy as constituting a set of doctrines. The jewels were in the subterranean, the incidental, the peripheral – in the cracks, hidden as it were.

My prejudice is that Shakespeare's jewels are the equivalent of one-liners by either Henry V or another character or even the chorus, and we can play with them thoughtfully. The playing would be in contrast to using the stories (as in the business education examples just given) to confirm our prejudices – e. g., the Bardolph hanging confirming that CEOs must sometimes appear tough and forget the moral. I will illustrate. First, in his wooing of the Princess Katherine, Henry V observes that "we are the makers of manners, Kate." In context, it reads "O Kate, nice customs curtsy to great kings. Dear Kate, you and I cannot be confined with a weak list of a country's fashion. We are the makers of manners, Kate…" (*Henry V*, 5, 2, 10). I like to suppose that Shakespeare is talking of the connection between truth and power, anticipating Michel Foucault by some 380 years (Foucault, 1980). Or, maybe it is because Henry is saying it is right that he and Kate are entitled to their privilege in determining what counts as really real, not totally unlike that of contemporary successful entrepreneurs or of one percent-ers.

Second, a character called Boy asserts "I wish I were in an ale house… I would give all my fame for a pot of ale, and safety." (*Henry V*, 3. 2. 13-14). The Boy must be wooed to want his fame, just as a business must woo a boy to want his (for example) cell phone. Can we play with that idea, making a connection between that quote and the contemporary Mall on Black Friday? Artful wooing is required no less in PA theorizing (Big PA), if little pa (pa practice) is to win its battles against a world that is partly similar to the plutocratic world of the fifteenth century. Bastard feudalism "was the network of social, political and economic relationships that gave cohesion to… society in the later Middle Ages" (Cook 1984, 9-10.) It derived from the old military feudalism of Anglo-Norman England. But "it was bastardized by families that rose through trade, service in administration and the professions, notably the law" (Cook 1984, 9-10). By mid-fifteenth century that was about fifty such nobles – a much smaller percent than our one percent. Our own society has two similar horns, each with its urge to woo – the military and the economic (e.g. see Johnson 2004, 97-130; Reich 2007, 3-14). It is not clear whether playing with Shakespeare's Boy will lead us this far. Is the Boy the maker of his own manners? Clearly not, as Henry has assured Princess Kate.

Henry V – The Unconscious of Policy Leadership

The second avenue of reflection indicates the complexity of the unconscious of policy leadership. By unconscious, I mean what lies – at various levels – underneath the surface of the story, including the anti-war sub-text and including the sub-text that the play might be ironic. In the text, Henry V had matured to the mastery of power – as Bloom (1998, 319) puts it. For one thing, there is the hard-to-resist power of beautiful rhetoric – chosen to seduce and reduce, to persuade, to make it seem reasonable to follow the royal command and wall up the breach with my dead body. With such rhetoric, the Boy might not quietly disregard the King or Henry Ford.

On the surface, *Henry V* is a pro-war and patriotic play. It celebrates an outstanding war leader, described in serious histories of the Hundred Years' War as having achieved more in such a short time than any previous king (e.g., Gesta Henrici Quinti, 100-101). This pro-war and patriotic surface is well reflected in Lawrence Olivier's 1944 movie *Henry V*. And why not, considering that W.W.2 still continued? But Shakespeare depicts the human as more complex. His play is also anti-war. This anti-war undertone is excellently captured in Kenneth Branagh's 1989 *Henry V*

movie, where soldiers are shown as suffering, as wounded and as slaughtered. Even to the groundlings at the Globe Theater, the program for the play (in Summer 2012) noted the anti-war unconscious that is intertwined with the pro-war and patriotic text.

At a subterranean level, it might well be that Bloom and W. B. Yates are right that Shakespeare is being ironic in *Henry V* (Bloom 1998, 321). They claim that Shakespeare cared little for the State, which had murdered Christopher Marlowe, tortured and broken Thomas Kyd and branded the unbreakable Ben Johnson. (This story could be filled out farther by those, like Bloom and Freud, with the view that Shakespeare the writer was handed his scripts clandestinely by Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford.) Bloom and Yates might have agreed with historians who have described Henry V as an "able but short sighted adventurer" (e.g., McFarlane 1972, 133). As McNeil explains, "The implications that Henry's war of conquest, when stripped of its rhetorical (glitter), may amount to nothing more than theft on a grand scale… (McNeil 1995, 263). Making a comment that may make some cringe, Bloom adds the following. "Our nation's Henry V (some might say) was John Fitzgerald Kennedy, who gave us the Bay of Pigs and the enhancement of our Vietnam adventure" (Bloom 1998, 321). Others later compared Henry V and the 43rd President George Bush (e.g., Thompson 2004). Henry's adventure failed rapidly enough when his only son Henry VI succeeded him in 1422, with "one of the most disastrous (reigns) in English history" (Cook 1984, 13).

The remark about short-sighted adventurer deserves some additional comment. Earlier I have described how all the "brother-ing" around at Agincourt in the glories (Olivier version) and in the blood (Branagh version) is indicated by Shakespeare as being the result of a crass "policy" calculation. The motivations for the war also have their surface, and their down, sides. At the beginning of *Henry V*, the king is apparently convinced by two senior churchmen of the rightness of his war. The downside is that the churchmen tell one another that they plan to advance this view, because they see it as a way of the Church avoiding taxation. In Shakespeare's earlier *Henry IV* play, Henry V's royal father, was continually threatened by civil strife and by his own history of killing to obtain the throne: "uneasy lies the head that bears the crown" he exclaims (*Henry IV*, 3,1, 31). Son Henry V is going to erase memory of that story with a war on foreigners; he plans it on his father's death-bed. Shakespeare reports that the dying daddy king advises his son, "Therefore my Harry/ Be it thy course to busy giddy minds/ With foreign quarrels; that action hence borne out/ May waste the memory of former days" (*Henry IV*, 5, 2, 211). As noted previously (Farmer, 2004, p. 234), Shakespeare recognized how smoking the gun (the broadsword) was. The star-like Henry did not need the bishops to advise him; he already has made up his mind, and the bishops' scene was mere theater.

Unfortunately, mainstream PA's focus avoids problems about the nature of policy leadership to the extent that instead it centers on carrying out what has been assigned by political superiors. If he were interested only in the effectiveness and efficiency of his troops and not directly in policy choices, Henry could just as well have commanded the French, or the English, or the German, or the Soviet armies. A likely guess is that, if he had heard of PA Theory, Shakespeare would have asked PA to reconsider its policy leadership capability – urging "All things are ready, if our minds be so" (*Henry V*, 4.3.73).

Richard III – The Identity of the Villain?

Who is the villain? The text of the play *Richard III* is that the hero is the villain. A subtext is that there is more than one suspect, including Tudor propaganda and even Machiavelli. This third avenue of reflection seeks the identity of the villain, with a sub-text of wondering about the nature of an identification as a villain. The relevance to modern days will be clear to those who see the role of propaganda, myth and misinformation in both public and private enterprise.

The play is emphatic. "I am determined to prove a villain/ And have the idle pleasures of these days," exclaims Richard III (*Richard III*, Act 1, Scene 1). Richard confides in the audience that he will prove to be an arch-villain. He starts with pointing out his physical deformities in detail, claiming that he looks so extraordinary that dogs bark at him. He goes on to indicate his sado-masochistic seduction of his new wife, whose husband and father-in-law he killed; he later poisons her. He portrays the killing of his older brother, and his murder of his two nephews whom he undertook to "protect" – the little princes in the Tower. So it continues in this violent way until he is defeated and the Wars of the Roses are ended by Henry Tudor at Bosworth Field, and Richard's dead body is taken to Leicester on a horse to be buried in what eventually became a parking lot (Buckley et al. 2013, 519). He has been depicted as an arch-villain not only by commentators but also in Ian McClellan's 1995 movie, *Richard III*. Set in the 1930s, the movie modernizes and emphasizes Richard's arch-villainy. The portrayal of Richard is as a kind of Hitler, a sort of king of the Third Reich.

Another sub-text of villainy is that *Richard III*, at one level, is Tudor propaganda for the power-people following Bosworth Field. These successful people include the Tudor Richmond – the heroic liberator of the play - who became Henry VII, and others including Henry VIII and (queen in 1592-1593 when Shakespeare wrote his play) granddaughter Elizabeth Tudor – Gloriana, the Virgin Queen. Well, the audience did not know it. But Richard very possibly did not murder his two nephews; very possibly the murderer was the victor of Bosworth Field, Henry VII. Probably he did not poison his wife Lady Anne, and so on. The twin architects of the Tudor Tradition about Richard III are Polydore Vergil and Sir Thomas More (later St. Thomas More after Henry VIII Tudor executed him). In his non-historical *History of Richard III*, More is described as setting "about the character of Richard with a decided relish, creating a villain 'entirely removed from the sphere of human life; he is evil incarnate, sheer monster'" (Cook 1984, 66; Rawcliffe 1978, 422).

Yet it should be stressed that the reality of Tudor propaganda need not be seen as impeding the relevance and insights of Shakespeare's play. Harold Bloom explains. He describes Shakespeare as treating the propaganda as "materia poetica." Yes, the play did help in popularizing the propaganda among the public. But Bloom adds that, although we will never know how "Shakespeare truly regarded the historical Richard III, the Tudor cartoon was wonderful materia poetica for playful purposes, and that was more than enough" (Bloom 1998, 66).

Another sub-text suspect that has been named is Machiavelli's *The Prince*. On the one hand, the historical Richard III never had access to Machiavelli because *The Prince* was written after the king's death (although long before the Bard's play). He could never have admired Cesare Borgia, Machiavelli's model prince. On the other hand, Shakespeare's Richard III does fit Machiavelli's

prescription, and John Roe (2002, 4) assures us that Shakespeare could not fail to have had access to Machiavelli, "either directly or at a slight remove." Machiavelli advised the Medici Prince, for instance, to pursue a politics guided by considerations of expediency, using all means for aggrandizing one's country and for aggrandizing oneself. He did advocate a kind of leadership that describes "virtu" (Italian spelling) as willingness to follow the virtues wherever possible and an equal willingness to disregard them when necessary. Shakespeare's Richard is a Machiavel, as much as Cesare Borgia.

Richard III – Freud and Recent Writing

The fourth avenue of reflection is to note the depth that Sigmund Freud sees in *Richard III* and in us the audience. It also seeks to note the relevance of the villain to our theorizing. What lies underneath Richard's villainy and what can underlie ours? Shakespeare's *King Richard III* has always been a popular play, and so the question arises why such an evil man – and other evil people - should be so popular with audiences. And what can we do about such people, and ourselves, in modern organizations?

Freud analyzed much of Shakespeare's work, including *Richard III* and others. Probably the most dramatic is the Oedipus complex in Hamlet, and we are told that it was his analysis of Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* and Hamlet that "guided him in his self-analysis" (Holland, 1960, p. 165). As explained by Chui (2012, 45-48) and relying on his *Some Character-Types Met With in Psycho-Analytic Work*, Freud (1916) identifies what he considers two features of the unconscious of what he considers the ego-weak Richard III. First, Freud seizes on the fact that Richard believes that he was wronged by "dissembling" Nature and that he is owed by society. Richard feels that he "is an exception and not bound by the normal rules of society" (Chui 2012, 45). Second, Freud writes that love (in company with the exigencies of life) is the great educator. If an incomplete human being lacks love from those nearest to him, that person lacks what he needs when it comes to respecting moral imperatives. And recall that Richard lost his father and his brother in battling the Lancastrians. "Basically Freud pictures a person who grows up in loving relationships, to whom Richard serves as a negative example" (Chiu 2012, 47).

Does a similar analysis apply to the audience, which thoroughly enjoys the villainous Richard? Bloom points out that there is a "startlingly intimate relationship" between the hero-villain and the audience. We are in the audience "to be entertained by the suffering of others" (Bloom 1998, 71), and he seems to be saying that the narrative is similar to a high-level gangster movie – sans insight. Bloom concludes that we in the audience would deserve being beheaded by the entertaining Richard (just as he ordered Buckingham's execution) "because we have been unable to resist Richard's outrageous charm, which has made Machiavels of us all" (Bloom 1998, 71).

The temptation is resisted to comment more on the desirability for PA Theory to explore further the relevancy to bureaucracy of love. That has been written about several times (e.g., in Farmer, *To Kill the King*, 2005, 177-182). That chapter is summarized as "The post-traditional practitioner should be motivated as a regulative ideal by love rather than by mere efficiency. It should embrace un-engineering as a symbol." It is pleasing that the sub-text of Richard III also speaks to this.

A particular interest in organizational thinking I translate (as a sort of politeness) into the Italian word "stronzo." Let's agree that Richard III was a stronzo, and an organization without a least one human stronzo is an exception. For the claim about interest, I am referring to books like Aaron James' *Assholes: A Theory* (James 2012). The true stronzo, he explains at one point is "immunized by a sense of entitlement against the complaints of other people." For more about interest about stronzi, there is a book (which won the Quill Award for the best business book in 2007) by Robert Sutton, *The No Asshole Rule: Building a Civilized Workplace and Surviving One That Isn't* (Sutton 2007). (For ten or more other books with a stronzo title, see Amazon books.) The stronzo's narcissicism, self-absorption and permanent thoughtlessness are discussed in such books. It is linked also to Freud's insights about Richard III, about the hero/villain I am calling "Richard, the Stronzo."

Epilogue

Four avenues of reflection – two on *Henry V* and two on *Richard III* - have been offered. The first avenue indicated how some business schools have provided examples of Henry V as successful entrepreneur and how more can be learned. The second discussed the unconscious of public policy leadership suggested in *Henry V*, such as the pro-war text and anti-war sub-text. The third searched through the text and sub-texts in *Richard III* for the arch-villain, like Richard himself or Tudor propaganda or even Machiavelli. The fourth was the depth that Sigmund Freud sees in *Richard III* and in us the audience, and the importance of insights about what is explained as stronzi.

> "For government, though high and low and lower,
> Put into parts, doth keep in one consent, Congreeing (sic) in a full and natural close, Like music." (*Henry V* 1, 2, 187-190)

> "My conscience hath a thousand several tongues, And every tongue brings in a several tale…" (*Richard III* 5, 3, 194-195)

The reflections are intended to assist in encouraging writers about leadership theory to play with ideas – outwards - about what to write about leadership; that the same writer can also learn – inwards - about herself and why she writes what she does about leadership. For utopian hopes, the leadership writer can also play with translating from one context to another. At one level, we should hope for use of such reflections and others about some of the human elements of PA's leadership as-a-discipline in producing even more effective public sector leaders and wanabee leaders. At another level, we should hope for thoughts about some human elements of how this discipline can re-write its leadership contribution to the character and destiny of government. Indeed, we should continue to look at leadership through Shakespearean writings that grip civilizations and souls.

These four avenues of reflection are offered to support the claim that the utility of literature, including poetry, should be more widely recognized for generating practical understandings about leadership in public administration. Leo Strauss and Dwight Waldo are right that literature, like the poetry of the Bard, can offer the study of Public Administration a broader and deeper view.

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Stewardship in Large Public Projects: The Practicality of Shakespeare

Catherine Horiuchi

Introduction

Can reading of great literature, considering its heroes and small characters, improve the performance of public sector actors? *King Lear*'s characters fault a wickedly disinterested heaven for life's setbacks and woes. Yet Shakespeare makes clear that these actors' own terrible choices beset the king, his family and the rest of us who are subject to the acts of public leaders. Reading this literature as analogy for the effectiveness of the modern public sector suggests how administrative operation of our democratic state may – or may not – successfully parcel information, power and control so as to limit negative externalities derived from ill-informed, self-serving or rent-seeking executive and individual decisions.

David John Farmer's *To Kill the King* offers an invitation to use imagination and individual experience in understanding and interpreting Shakespeare, teasing out implications for the practice of public administration: "Post traditional thinking about governance and bureaucracy should not be described in terms of (in opposition to, as a supplement to) traditional thinking. It stands by itself." (Farmer 2005, ix) His preface statement grants permission, indeed provides an admonition, to apply one's playful imagination to issues bureaucrats and citizens engage, from the mundane to the most serious and brutal issues of our current moment.

Openness to perceptions, opinions, and confounding evidence is inherent to governance in the public interest. Whether in practice or policy, an eye for divergent or diverse opinions provides opportunity to examine assumptions and look for missing information and stakeholders whose support will be essential.

> A key editorial issue [for the journal, *Policy Sciences*] is whether to promote overall consistency and coherence, or to encourage diversity and its attendant class and interplay of perspectives… [D]iversity with a purpose, and the purpose was, as Harold D. Lasswell had conceived it, to promote knowledge "of" and "in" the policy process (Torgerson 1992, 225).

One who is not a Shakespearean scholar may reasonably feel intimidated rather than welcomed to play with these canonical texts, despite the invitation, and especially if one has been acculturated into the academy or service in a public bureaucracy with its emphasis on one's appropriately narrow area of expertise. Farmer offers a second invitation, the 9/11 Commission's statement that emphasizes the point: "It is therefore crucial to find a way of routinizing, even bureaucratizing, the exercise of imagination" (Farmer 2005, xi). In a similar vein, Richard Feynman wrote in his appendix to the Rogers Commission report on the Challenger shuttle disaster, "What is the cause of management's fantastic faith in the machinery?" and "For a successful technology, reality must take precedence over public relations, for *nature cannot be fooled*." (Feynman 1986; italics added.) Feynman had interviewed managers and technical staff regarding their perception and calculations of risk. He was echoing the Bard, who makes a similar point in *King Lear*: "night pities neither wise men nor fools." (IV:2:12) That is, we can believe as we choose regarding the adequacy of professionalism, project plans, contracting controls and operating protocols; but chemical processes and physical forces act upon us, indifferent. That forces of nature are actors in our environment is a central assumption here, one that has significant explanatory power. Actor-network theory, as developed by Michael Callon and Bruce Latour, is a more structured philosophical framework as further impetus of this use of the Bard to illuminate the sociological and geologic associations that resulted in the construction of this bridge. (Latour 1990; Latour 2005) In actor-network theory (ANT), all elements of an environment contribute to successful outcomes: real, human, and semiotic entities. "Strength does not come from concentration, purity and unity, but from dissemination, heterogeneity and the careful plaiting of weak ties." (Latour 1990, 3) In Lear, we see this theory tested.

The prototypical 19th American household would have in its possession at minimum two books: the Bible and Shakespeare's complete works. It is impossible to navigate K-12 education in the US without encountering Shakespeare. He is singled out from all other authors in the description of the national Common Core curriculum: "The standards include certain critical types of content for all students, including classic myths and stories from around the world, foundational U.S. documents, seminal works of American literature, and the writings of Shakespeare" (Key Shifts in English Language Arts, 2014). This advantages the use of Shakespeare in exploring the emotional response to government actions.

Shakespeare's iambic cadence and Elizabethan English give us many a well-turned phrase that captures a moment's shock or passion, words that have in some instances become shopworn clichés. The loves, betrayals, subterfuges, and familial bonds that serve as plots remain and are echoed in our modern experience. These plays, as a result of their ubiquity and fine language, form a shared imaginative palette from which we can derive a re-imagined understanding of our current environment and be less likely to act the fool. Further, the characterization of our nation as the American experiment invites the informally schooled and street wise to postulate on equal footing with pundits and scholars in the judgment of the performance of the state and its actors.

In this vein, reading the 1608 Quarto, *The True Chronicle History of King Lear* or the 1623 First Folio *The Tragedy of King Lear* invites the triggering of one's internal drama and sense-making by analogy to our 21st century lives. Especially, these durable descriptions of 17th century dynamics of succession resemble descriptions of discord and fault in governance being experienced at our present moment. Any project anticipated to last generations will be repeatedly subject to

the stresses of succession. Shakespeare's command of spoken language in the service of epic storytelling across the arc of human experience has assured his writings survive, facilitating his work becoming a primary shared text in canonical education of western Man. The stories gleaned, gathered and retold by Shakespeare are emblematic not just of Elizabethan England, but of civil society, whether organized into tribes or states. Note that this retains relevance in societies where representative government is absent; however, there are greater expectations of responsiveness to the people's opinion in democratic governance.

This imaginative exercise is accomplished via the following process. First, a modern and dramatic project is described, with its similarity to other large public engineering projects that have been repeatedly discussed in public administration literature. The project for this exercise will be the East Span of the Bay Bridge, an earthquake retrofit. Following, a synopsis of *King Lear*'s opening sets the stage for reflecting on the project. Attention is drawn to scenes and dialogue that are analogous to the implicit or explicit relationships, situations and solutions to challenges in the public project under consideration. It concludes with thoughts on good governance, philosophy and the contribution to practice in knowing one's Shakespeare. Throughout, this path includes an allowance and permission to wander, drawing from the intense emotions or results of prior actions to reflect further on what the evidence appears to indicate.

The East Span of the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge

Civil engineering and large public works projects require substantial public funding over a number of years, with the build spanning several administrations in multiple agencies; eight different directors managed the California Department of Transportation (Caltrans) over the course of this bridge retrofit project (California Senate 2014, 35). There are expectations that the project will operate according to original plans for many decades. Some are exceptional projects of untested scale, involving novel technologies and joint operating agreements across multiple local jurisdictions. If the project requires new interagency or multi-stakeholder organizations, these come into existence with much discrete knowing but little organizational knowledge (Yanow 2009). These projects require significant public funds to construct; as a result, project financing and expenses receive much attention and are subject to considerable accounting oversight. For all these reasons, large public works of high visibility are a frequent topic of investigation in public administration policy and practice. Projects that fail or have disproportionate costs with doubtful corresponding benefits have come in for special scrutiny. Sports stadiums are one example of this type of large, controversial project and have repeatedly been investigated for their unlikely contributions to local economies (Swindell and Rosentraub 1998; Rosentraub 1999; Eisenger 2000; Schwester 2007) or the outsized influence of the franchise owners and other major stakeholders (Paul and Brown 2001). Iconic public architecture and public art can define public spaces (Goodsell 2003). Examples abound of signature projects: the Brooklyn Bridge, the Gateway Arch in St. Louis, and the Picasso in Delay Plaza in Chicago. In building these, the determination of political actors involved at multiple points in the process and institutional structures for accomplishing the projects impacts the value of the end product. "What are the appropriate tradeoffs between governmental structures based on function (which commonly ease organizational tasks) and geography (which eases citizenship, political leadership, and societal learning)?" (Kirlin 1996, 417) Or, in a play on words, what is the appropriate span of control for the

control of the span? Beyond the boundary jurisdictions of Oakland and San Francisco, included to some degree were the interests and intentions of all counties feeding into the traffic between the East Bay and San Francisco, of engineers and contractors and fabricators in China, Korea and Japan.

First, a little history of the bridge is warranted. Prior to the construction of the Bay Bridge, ferries moved travelers between Oakland on the east side of the San Francisco Bay and San Francisco to the west. In 1926, 46 million passengers were transported via ferry. (California Department of Transportation, ND) Initial impetus for constructing the bridge came from growth in private automobile ownership, presenting challenges to ferry traffic due to the increased bulk and mass of transporting people and their cars. The Bay Bridge was completed in 1936; the ease and speed of vehicular bridge transit resulted in a steep drop in ferry traffic, which remains to this day a niche transit option, tertiary to the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) system with its tunnel beneath the bay. The Bay Bridge has a current maximum capacity of nearly 12,000 cars per hour or more than twice its original load, when its lower decks were reserved for trains. This hourly capacity equates to approximately 102 million vehicle crossings per year. At peak hours, from 5 a.m. till 10 a.m. for the morning commute and from 3 p.m. till 7 p.m. for the evening commute, the bridge is congested and at peak capacity. Measures to reduce peak impact included congestion pricing, preferred lanes for electronic toll payment, and designated carpool lanes.

The Bay Bridge is actually two bridges linked via a tunnel through Yerba Buena Island. The west span between San Francisco and Yerba Buena consists of two suspension spans connected at a central anchorage. The original east span between Yerba Buena and Oakland was a simple span truss and cantilever truss structure with ten bridge piers as anchors. After the 1971 San Fernando earthquake, all existing bridges in the state were reviewed, including the Bay Bridge; due to its size and complexity, it is designated a special structure to which ordinary engineering codes and standards are not applied, and so its retrofit requirements were separately assessed. During the Loma Prieta earthquake in October 1989, a seismic event rated 7.1 on the logarithmic Richter scale, twenty-four bolts on a bridge pier on the east span moved an estimated and unanticipated seven inches before shearing off. This resulted in a section of the upper deck breaking loose and dropping onto the lower deck, killing one motorist (U.S. General Accountability Office 1990, 5). After the earthquake, California's seismic safety standards for public bridges were revised. Most have since been retrofitted to the new standards. The East Span of the Bay Bridge was deemed to be a key transportation structure that needed to be operational immediately following a major quake. At that time, the cost of a retrofit was calculated to be higher than that of a new bridge, so planning for the retrofit structure began.

The design for the replacement span is unique and monumental. The bridge is within view of the Golden Gate, another of the world's iconic bridges, and an aesthetically compatible suspension replacement bridge replaced the 1927 truss bridge crossing the Carquinez Strait 15 miles to the northeast. An equally or more compelling structure was irresistible for controlling interests in the community. The replacement bridge's signature element is the world's tallest self-anchored suspension span (SAS), a single white tower 525 feet tall, supporting and supported with a single main cable. Neither the Bay Bridge Design Task Force nor the 34-member Engineering and Design Advisory Panel established in 1997 prioritized promoting a more modest, durable, cost-effective structure. It was inevitable that this bridge would be "high road" architecture, and due

to its cost and political prominence, a certain draw toward "no road or "magazine" architecture existed (Brand 1994). That is, though cost was regularly discussed, cost was routinely underestimated and the excitement of the look of the new span featured, along with improbable and unprovable design constraints (that the bridge will last at minimum 150 years, and would survive the largest seismic event in a 1500 year window). This resulted in the single largest public works project in California's history to date (California Senate 2013).

The $5.1 billion cost estimate in 2001 for the span included a contingency reserve of nearly half a billion dollars. This projected cost was revised upward to $8.3 billion in 2004. Of that sum, $930 million of the overrun was related to its signature span and its superstructure: "[N]owhere in the world have bridges as complex been designed or built to today's high seismic standards" resulting in cost uncertainty due to the absence of prior projects (California State Auditor 2004, 1-2). At its completion in 2013, the cost was pegged at $6.4 billion. This makes the east span also the world's most expensive bridge.

Subsequent to the opening of the span, a series of surprises and ongoing unexpected costs have occurred. Further, the cost of dismantling the old bridge has been underestimated as well; in 1997 the removal of the 1936 span was expected to cost $46 million. That task has been revised, and is expected to be complete in 2018 at a cost of $271 million. At ten lanes, five in each direction on a single deck, the new bridge has a capacity similar to the old span, so at its opening it was already congested. This single deck design makes the East Span, at 258 feet or 78 meters, the world's widest bridge.

The Bard and the Bridge

We are Cordelia, and the bridge is our Lear. The story underlying the tragedy of King Lear derives from the pre-Norman literary history of Britain, well known and part of Geoffrey of Monmouth's twelfth century *Historia Regum Britanniae.* The plot, stripped to its elements, begins with the old and kind King Lear describing his pre-retirement allotment of his kingdom across his three daughters. He is giving their hands and his lands in marriages, thereby stepping down in an orderly manner. Shakespeare's language breathes life into this otherwise mundane succession planning exercise:

> Know that we have divided
> In three our kingdom, and 'tis our fast intent
> To shake all cares and business from our age,
> Conferring them on younger strengths, while we
> Unburdened crawl toward death (I.i.39-43).
> We have this hour a constant will to publish
> Our daughters' several dowers, that future strife
> May be prevented now (I.i.46-48).

Lear is experiencing primitive and ubiquitous emotions around his impending departure from the physical and psychic cares of office. His firm intention is "to shake all cares and business from our age," or what we now think of as unwinding or decompressing, as those weights need to be

borne by "younger strengths." He does not expect a long or particularly healthy retirement: "while we unburdened crawl toward death." His advance planning will eliminate infighting and power struggles that would occur if a king died suddenly with his affairs not arranged. By analogy, the construction of the new East Span reduces concerns and worries in the minds of public officials and its designers and the population of the Bay Area; the new bridge is a "younger strength" and the deciding entities experienced "a constant will" to complete the preliminary analysis so that they could decide and publish their decisions. As regards "several dowers," the new span developers were beholden to several stakeholder groups and funding sources – from bond issuers to toll paying drivers – that needed to be in love with the design. The new span could be a dramatic approach from Berkeley and Oakland in the East Bay, but it ought not lessen in any way the luster and prominence of the Golden Gate as the "It Girl" of public works in San Francisco.

The allocation of Lear's kingdom ought to go smoothly. But he rather foolishly and suddenly decides to up the ante with a challenge for his daughters: he will give more than an equal share to she who best expresses her love for him:

> Which of you shall we say doth love us most,
> That we our largest bounty may extend
> Where nature doth with merit challenge (I.i.56-58).

We might wonder if he believes this is a *pro forma* request. He has a favorite, his youngest daughter Cordelia. But to his surprise, while the two elder daughters offer puffery of affections, Cordelia decides that her many and constant actions demonstrate her profound love for her father so she need say nothing at all. "What shall Cordelia speak? Love, and be silent" (I.i.68).

In planning the replacement bridge, adequacy of construction and purpose was insufficient. Building something so prominent, so expensive, requires extraordinary justification: a proposition to build a bridge the people will love. At first, love is superficial, centered on the appearance of the beloved. But over time ordinary people can learn the beloved's more subtle attractions, appreciate other elements in its design and operation, and so the love of the object will grow. The bridge needs the love of the people as do the elected officials and designers; a signature span creates an singular focal point for people to openly love and admire. In local government, the silence of the public is typically interpreted as love for our elected officials. Neighborhood participants and constituents at public meetings most frequently appear to lodge complaints or voice strong opposition to decisions and policies under consideration. But a major project, with extensive and rising costs to be covered through bonds and fees, requires more than perceived complacency.

After her refusal to proclaim her love, Lear disinherits Cordelia, who leaves and marries the King of France. The other daughters marry dukes and gain shares of their father's kingdom. They then drive out their father, who loses his mind. He next wanders in a terrible storm before being reunited and reconciled with Cordelia. She and her husband wage war against the sisters' husbands. They lose. Cordelia is killed. One sister kills the other, then kills herself. Then Lear dies. There is an intertwining plot of the Earl of Gloucester and his two sons, the legitimate Edgar, and the illegitimate Edmund, who accelerates trouble at key points. These story elements are

interesting but not central to this imagining of the East Span case. Instead, the interest here is interpreting Lear and his relationship with Cordelia.

King Lear launches into a dystopian state at the outset, and matters go from bad to worse from there. None of the family survives, apparently for no clear or necessary reason. The king plays at pitting his daughters against each other in a zero-sum game. Each's affirmation of devotion is a claim that she will construct a utopian state, a state of love for her aging father whose powers and authority are in rapid decline. Lear had already decided to parcel it out proportionately; this exercise in statements of fealty appears vain and self congratulatory. Not expecting that Cordelia would refuse to play along, the old king's response to her results in the unraveling of long held ties and beliefs. At one point in the play, the King has been cast out and is residing on a heath, a "kind, old King" (iii, i, 30) alone with the loyal Earl of Kent. This is where Cordelia finds him:

> And wast thou fain, poor father,
> To hovel thee with swine and rogues forlorn,
> In short and musty straw? (v:iii, 44-46)

In this, Shakespeare puts the king in the same sorry setting as the prodigal son:

> When he had freely spent everything, a severe famine struck that country, and he found himself in dire need. So he hired himself out to one of the local citizens who sent him to his farm to tend the swine. And he longed to eat his fill of the pods on which the swine fed, but nobody gave him any. Coming to his senses he thought, 'How many of my father's hired workers have more than enough food to eat, but here am I, dying from hunger (Luke 15, 11-32).

Lear's loss of cognitive capacity, his stated of *non compos mentis*, leaves him vulnerable and unable to even recognize his degraded surroundings or ask for help. Cordelia arrives to redeem her father, reversing the parent/child roles. She takes on the guiding role of Lear, the king, and he of the object of love. However, this reversal is temporary and unsuccessful, and both lose their lives at the end. The descent of the king is echoed in the descent of the retrofit project, estimated in 1996 to cost $843 million and completed by 2007; this was later revised to 2009, and completion was again pushed back to 2013 at many multiples of the original estimate. The roles of the public and the bureaucrat similarly become temporarily reversed at times, as public support is sought to protect what is good and loved. But only elected officials can assure allocation of adequate funds for further remediation and maintenance (The bridge toll has already risen from $1 to $6 since Loma Prieta to pay for the retrofit.) And only technical elites and the bridge workforce can engineer and implement the fixes.

This love is not rational, not a matter of incremental improvement. It is faith and passion. For years, commuters and residents watched the bridge approach being built as they waited in rush hour traffic or zipped across in the earliest hours. They glimpsed in passing the tower's arrival by daylight and night lamps, semi-fabricated and pre-painted, its placement on its foundation, ready to rule over a set of giant building blocks comprising its other parts, all moved by monstrous barges and cranes into place.

Since the tower is self-anchored, the bridge deck had to be built before the tower, so the tower could be attached. Yet the tower supports the bridge deck. This apparent contradiction is addressed by the construction (and cost) of a temporary steel support for the bridge deck that is removed at the end of the project. In the process of testing the bridge prior to the demolition of the steel structure, 32 bolts failed. (the "bolts" are steel anchor rods three inches in diameter and up to 24 feet in length). Thus the choice of the bridge bolts as a current and local case on which to read King Lear.

> The tension between priest and jester would appear inescapable in any vital intellectual endeavor, for each possesses virtues necessary in developing the focus of inquiry. Without the priest there can be no coherent focus; without the jester, no lively challenge for development. In the domain of the policy sciences, the tension between priest and jester is typically resolved in favor of the priest, so that the jester perhaps needs encouragement (Torgerson 1992, 225).

The Folger Library's introduction notes that *Lear* "challenges us with the magnitude, intensity, and sheer duration of the pain it represents." His pain is visceral, immediate. His deterioration into a person without power, without the capacity to make matters right, echoes our own human fears of impotence. We routinely are faced with evidence that suggests the relative insignificance of the public when weighing in on matters of governance. These passions strip us of our capacity, "But I will tarry, the fool will stay/And let the wise man fly" (II:iv, 81-82).

This is the frame of reference for the engaged citizen or bureaucrat who views unblinkingly the grinding and inexorable output of our so-called representatively democratic administrative state. When irrational results occur, we have a long list of everyday causes: malfeasance, madness, sloth, error, corruption, and misinformation. To these, Shakespeare invites us to add human passion and emotion. We are not rational man, we are not even bounded rationality. We are full-bore irrational, in love with our vision of how we can make the world as we wish.

What pain or inchoate response might accompany the more reflective of the 270,000 daily commuters in their vehicles beside the $6.4 billion public works problem that is the new San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge, the world's largest self-anchored suspension span at 2047 feet with its monumental 525 foot tall tower? How could bridge builders at this magnitude set aside their own standards for manufacturing cables,

> *Which of you shall we say doth love us most,*
> *That we our largest bounty may extend*
> *Where nature doth with merit challenge* (I.i.56-58).

… forget to grout them for 17 months,

> *Allow not nature more than nature needs* (II.iv.306)

… notice rusty water coming out,

> *I am the very man –*
> *that from your first of difference and decay*
> *have followed your sad steps* (V.iii.345, 348-9).

… decide not to tell the public,

> *I will forget my nature. So kind a father!* (V.i.32)

… only to be caught 7 years later, when months before the celebratory grand opening, the bolts on tightening began breaking, calling the safety and stability of the entire structure into question?

> *Her voice was ever soft,*
> *Gentle, and low, an excellent thing in woman* (V.iii.328-29).

Leaving us to mourn the loss of the youngest and most comely daughter and the impending destruction of the entire family.

> *As flies to wanton boys are we to the gods;*
> *They kill us for their sport.* (IV, i 41–42)

The problem is not simply of matter of knowing and not knowing the facts. It is not merely the need for additional performance information. There is considerable distance between the acquisition of specific information and the sense of knowing:

> [I]n distinguishing between data and inferences we are already taking sides on a debatable question, since some philosophers hold that this distinction is illusory, all knowledge being (according to them) partly immediate and partly derivative (Russell 1926).

Similarly, there is distance between knowing and institutional knowledge that can be applied to problem solving, and knowing that is privileges distinct from knowing that has little standing (Nicolini et al. 2003; Yanow 2004; Yanow 2009).

Surely, behind closed doors or atop the signature tower, there are tragic conflagrations of no less passion than Lear's decline and madness. That passion is hid through the dryness of government audit reports, volume of source paperwork, diffuseness of its location across many actors and the confusion of languages and geographies. Add to that the ephemeral nature of important clues at manufacturing sites and on the jobsite itself, which is visible to the public in general but closed off from direct inspection except for a very small number of authorized personnel. Matters are not helped by the density of technical, managerial and contractual information that is essential to explaining why 32 bolts broke, why the paint is rusting, why the steel rods are sitting in several feet of water instead of waterproofed sleeves. The bridge's descent from glory to decrepitude tumultuous as that of King Lear.

In their introduction to a special issue of Public Performance and Management Review, its editors note the articles were selected "related to the issue of declining citizen trust and increasing accountability pressures;" that with increased participation in evaluation, citizens will better re-

spect and understand the level of performance government actors can provide (Holzer and Yang 2014; Yang and Holzer 2006). Yet Fukuyama (1996) argues persuasively that the US is a "low trust" culture, to its advantage. The problem may not be the need for more trust, but among many factors, a better use of accountability processes, accompanied by recognition of and humility toward immediate knowledge. Managers cannot know everything, and ignorance can be an advantage (Kessler 1998). But in this instance, the pursuit of a bridge that would be passionately loved, the construction of a bridge promised to last 150 years and engineered to withstand a once-in-1500-years seismic event, improved institutional knowledge and practice is paramount to the public interest.

Conclusion

Mere contracting error and failure of procedural oversight provides inadequate explanation for the betrayal of public interest in reliable construction of public works and careful expenditure of public funds. Twenty years of continuous testing and measuring, combined with performance reporting both routine and extraordinary, did not keep the project on track, on time, or on budget. Ultimately, the project was completed, despite failures small and large. Its validation as a thing of beauty rings true, while the test of its engineering justification – that it is strong enough to endure a once-in-a-thousand year earthquake – may never be tested in its 150-year life. The former validation trumps the latter, at least as long as there is no major earthquake.

Could a more lyrical and philosophical understanding improve matters? Catlaw rejects the composite of a neutral public actor, drawing on Farmer's work regarding the importance of love in public administration. In regarding flaws in the concept of a neutral market he notes "a disruptive enjoyment" that serves no apparent purpose and "cannot be reduced to calculation, empirical specification, or representation." (Catlaw 2002, 201) Shakespeare's concern with love, we can say, returns governing to more primitive desire for creation and production, away from representation and rituals of performance, that is, the nuts and bolts of everyday performance management. We need, however, to be cautious because love can and does enact its own fantasies. Perhaps then, we end where King Lear started with random bad but irreducible human elements feeding into a dynamic where raging forces can tear it apart. In the same room, we need the Bard and the builder.

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Breaking the Teacup: Imagining a Perfect Lonely World in *The Tempest*

Aaron Wachhaus

Prospero, Duke of Milan, was marooned following a coup that placed his brother on the throne. Twelve years later, through his mastery of sorcery, Prospero conjures a storm and shipwrecks:

- Antonio, his usurping brother
- Alonso, the Duke of Naples, a conspirator to the coup
- various courtiers
- and all the ship's company.

Using his magic and aided by fantastical servants, Prospero carries out a plan of revenge to restore himself to his rightful throne and to cause Alonso's son to fall in love with Miranda, Prospero's daughter. The bulk of the play follows various groupings of characters as they explore the island and their own desires for freedom, power and control.

Of particular interest to me is the role that the island itself plays in the characters' development. Everyone in the play must confront the empty space into which they have been cast. With one exception, all have come to the island unwillingly – the island and its emptiness has been forced upon them. For them, the island is a blank canvas on which each character writes his own vision of himself and of society. My central question is, what can we learn about organization and culture from those "writing exercises"? *The Tempest* contains multiple levels of meaning and reference. The play itself, as well as the cast of characters, has been seen as a metaphor for understanding culture and the struggle between cultures (e.g. Brown 1997; Lara 2007). Here I employ each character's vision of idealized society as a metaphor for understanding issues of collective organization, authority, and power.

Metaphor is a means of sense-making. It allows us to conceive of one thing in terms of another (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 36). In using metaphor as a means of understanding *The Tempest,* I follow Lakoff and Johnson, who assert that metaphor is a core means of understanding the world. They find metaphor is "pervasive in everyday language," and a fundamental part of structuring "what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people" (1980, 3). In other words, our entire conceptual system is largely a matter of metaphor. In their view, an experiential basis is required if metaphors are to successfully make sense (19). Accordingly, they propose experientialism as an epistemological perspective. They assert that we understand the world through interaction, through "constant negotiation with the environment and other people" (23) – precisely the sort of interaction that permeates *The Tempest*. From this experientialist perspective, "truth depends on understanding, which emerges from functioning in the world" (230). However, Lakoff and Johnson go further, claiming that culture is also a necessary component of experiential understanding. "Every experience takes place within a vast background of cultural presuppositions" that inescapably frame our how we understand our experiences (57). The problem for the shipwrecked characters in *The Tempest* is that they seek to make sense of the island before they've experienced it. Immediately they come to land, they begin writing in the emptiness of the island with their own visions of idealized society. Lacking any experiential base, they have only their cultural framework with which to build those visions. As the island is a no-place – a utopia – it affords unique opportunities to see the effects that cultural frameworks have on how characters perceive society.

The Island Utopia

The island is a true utopia – it occupies no definite space. It has no fixed location in either geography or in our minds. We know remarkably little about it. Many scholars place it in the Mediterranean – as Asimov puts it, "somewhere between Italy and Africa" (1970, 652). This assumption is based on Prospero's being marooned in a small boat with few provisions as well as his ability to attract (and distract) Alonso's ship on its return from Africa to Italy. However, a reference to "the still-vex'd Bermoothes" (Shakespeare 1955, 1.2.229) have led some to place the island in the Atlantic, near Bermuda, grounding the play in survivors' accounts of a shipwreck off the Bermudas (Lanbaum 1972, 1537-38). Curiously, the island may not exist at all. Anderson reads the play as a satire on the Essex Rebellion and views the island as a metaphor for England (2005, 351). More broadly, critical scholarship sees the play as a text on colonialism and the clash of cultural values and resistance against the dominance of Western culture imposing its values on subordinate peoples and places (Busia 1989; Fuchs 1997, 45; Lara 2007). This strain of scholarship – using one's own cultural framework to make sense of a blank space – is not dissimilar from how the island works on the characters: As the characters relate to the island by writing their own background and biases onto it, so do we relate to the play as a whole. In this case, I write the culture of bureaucratic hierarchy with the aim of uncovering and examining its framework and biases.

The island is similarly vague in our minds as it is only sketchily staged at best. None of the characters know where they are. No one recalls how they came to the island. Lacking any clear path from their homes to the island, there is no clear path off the island and back into known space. This makes it problematic at best to place the island definitively, as there are no points of reference to connect the island to any other point. Miranda asks her father, "how came we ashore?"; his reply, "by Providence divine" (Shakespeare 1955, 1.2.158-159). This is, unfortunately, more

than we learn from other characters. Ferdinand, son of the present Duke, is brought on to the stage by Ariel. Similarly, Alonso and his party simply appear, walking on the island. As no stage directions are given, there is no definite place where they may be said to be walking. The Signet Shakespeare then introduces Trinculo and Stephano as walking on "another part of the island" (Barnet 1972, 1550), although this stage direction is not consistent across editions. Ariel, Prospero's supernatural servant, appears to have no history or life beyond the island. We learn only that Prospero discovered him imprisoned in a pine tree (Shakespeare 1955, 1.2.277). He is thus firmly rooted in the island itself; he is, however, the least connected to the rules of society (and physics) and the only one who does not want to return to civilization. Similarly, Caliban was born on the island and is the only one with real knowledge of the land. He is discounted by the others as monstrous and not fully human, with the implication that his connection to, and knowledge of, this no-place distances him from membership in human society and humanity itself.

Ariel and Caliban are the only "natives" – the only ones who are present on the island before Prospero is marooned and the play begins. They are also the only non-Western characters, occupying a middle ground between humanity and otherness. Their otherness is reflected physically – Ariel has magic powers: he can transform his own body (he becomes invisible, can fly, etc.) as well as beguile others, confusing their rational minds and thus exerting a measure of control over them. Caliban has a monstrous appearance and little ability to exert control over anyone. He continually finds himself in servitude. Prospero explicitly links Caliban's slavery to his inability to master language (Shakespeare 1955, 1.2.351-362). By teaching him to speak, Prospero sees himself as elevating Caliban. By the same measure, Caliban's subordinate position is linked to his lack of facility with Prospero's language. Tellingly, what Caliban has really learned is how to curse his master (Shakespeare 1955, 1.2.363-365). What Prospero discounts is Caliban's real knowledge. He is the only one who has mastered the island itself (Fuchs 1997, 61). It was Caliban who taught Prospero to "read" the island, showing him where to find "fresh springs, brine-pits, barren place and fertile" (Shakespeare 1955, 1.2.337-338). His reward is to be confined in a rock (Shakespeare 1955, 1.2.342-344). For his part, Prospero disregards this knowledge, focusing only on mastery of language as worthwhile for knowledge and power.

The vagueness of the island is of central importance here. Busia's colonialist reading of the play focuses on characters missing from the island and the play. I also focus on what's missing from the island – society, culture and social norms. The island is a place with little definition, either physical or social. Characters are not placed on the island; they merely appear and wander around, emphasizing that what is important is what they say, not where they are or how they interact with their environment. This utopian space allows characters to project their own idealized utopias – their own vision of perfected society – upon the blank canvas of the island.

Tellingly, these visions are all bound up with visions of personal power and are founded on hierarchical command and control. What is envisioned is personal power and social control. Caliban claims mastery of the island and desires a return to the sovereignty he enjoyed as its sole resident (Shakespeare 1955, 1.2.331-342). This desire stands in stark contrast to his lack of control and inability to follow social norms – he's pursued Miranda (Shakespeare 1955, 1.2.344-351) and serves Trinculo and Stephano in order to drink their liquor (Shakespeare 1955, 2.2.116-126). Prospero exercises complete control over everyone around him – he causes the storm, bewitches

his daughter and Ferdinand, manipulates Alonso and his party, and compels Ariel. Caliban alone resists him, contesting his power and is punished for it – where words and sorcery fail, Prospero rules through brute force.

As the shipwrecked crew comes onto the island, Gonzalo, an honest old counselor, is the first to describe his vision for the island. He envisions a communal paradise with no bonds of market or government where all would live and work in peaceful harmony – with him as sole ruler over an otherwise anarchic paradise (Shakespeare 1955, 2.1.146-165). For others in that party, the island spins darker fantasies. Antonio and Sebastian, brothers of Prospero and Alonso, see the island as a chance to seize power. As the others fall into a charmed sleep, Antonio proposes that he and Sebastian murder Alonso (the king of Naples) so that Sebastian can take the throne. Because the island occupies a utopian no-space, Antonio can reason that the sleeping king is no better or worse than if he were dead. Further, that being asleep (or dead), Alonso cannot rule: in a key way, he has already abdicated the throne by giving up his power of reason. In this void, anyone could rule at least as well as the absent king, why not Sebastian? Here we see clearly the power of words and language to envision a world and frame reality.

Trinculo and Stephano also quickly see the potential of the island, realizing that with everyone else drowned, they will inherit the island (Shakespeare 1955, 2.2.174-175). Their "conquest" begins with Caliban who swears to be their servant. As with Prospero, Caliban promises to share his knowledge of the island, giving them mastery over it. In parallel to Prospero, Stephano begins to verbally abuse Caliban, playing on his inadequacy of language, his drunkenness and monstrosity. They seek to kill Prospero and usurp his position, although Trinculo acknowledges their own inadequacies, "They say there's but five upon this isle: we are three of them; if th' other two be brained like us, the state totters" (Shakespeare 1955, 3.2.4-7).

The characters all acknowledge this sentiment that the island is no real state and that they have, at best, an ambiguous relationship with the place. This may be seen most clearly in Prospero, who has the most experience in the island, and can think only of his vengeance and his return to society. Oddly, Prospero has more real power on the island than he did in civilization. While he was Duke of Milan, he exercised sovereignty over the city; here he has no people, but has mastery over both the sub-human Caliban and super-natural Ariel. In addition, using his books, he has mastered the art of sorcery. Ironically, it was his desire for mystical power that led to his downfall in Milan. He became obsessed with his books of power and withdrew into his studies, abandoning his people and sovereign responsibilities (Shakespeare, 1955, 1.2.63-77; 88-90; 109-111; 166-188). As he turned away from his people and ceded practical authority to his brother, he was overthrown and marooned on the island. Now, he can think only of his return to his city and people. In further irony, he seems more connected to the practical administration of ruling the island than he was to ruling Milan.

Escaping the Island

Prospero engineered the storm and supposed shipwreck in order to wreak vengeance on his brother and to return to society to resume his rightful place as ruler of Milan. Throughout the course of the play, he gradually maneuvers all other characters to converge on him. As they approach Prospero, they begin building relationships in ways that reveal their inner characters: Miranda and Ferdinand fall in love; Caliban pledges to follow the fools, Trinculo and Stephano;

while Anontio and Sebastian plot to kill the king of Naples, Gonzalo and Alonso's good natures become more apparent. The play culminates with the announcement of the marriage of Ferdinand and Miranda, repairing the breach between Alonso and Prospero. Additionally, Prospero forgives his treacherous brother, frees Ariel and bequeaths the island to Caliban. The party then departs for their ship and the return to civilization. Prospero's final act is to break his magic staff and drown his book (Shakespeare 1955, 5.1.50-57), acts that he sees as necessary to attaining his own escape from the island and resuming his place in ordered society.

Making Sense of *The Tempest*

The theme of regicide, and the need to displace and replace rulers, recurs throughout *The Tempest*: the stage is set when Prospero is exiled and marooned, not killed; the play's central action revolves around his desire for revenge on his brother and his accomplices. Caliban wants to kill and usurp Prospero. Prospero, in order to be free of the island, must kill off his supernatural powers by destroying his magical implements. *The Tempest* is set in a place of absences, a no-place (utopia) that is used to examine politics and the rules of society. It seems fitting that David Farmer's (2005) *To Kill the King*, his work on "post-traditional governance" - governance that does not rely on a central figure occupying a position of hierarchical authority - may be usefully applied to better understand the play as a metaphor for public administration. In that book, Farmer argues that we need to move past traditional governance, defined as a reliance on a leader, and move to what he terms post-traditional governance. Instead of relying on a lead authority figure, Farmer calls for the development of collective authority, what he calls "open administration" (2005, 4). Open administration occupies a range of openness that begins when hierarchical structures are relaxed, extends through the communal interactions of the marketplace to the anarchist ideal of "a society without government but with rules" (2005, 5).

Farmer asserts that the modernist system of governance is broken. It has provided structure, but relegates normative concerns to the periphery. A reliance on positivism has yielded explanation in place of understanding, identified causes rather than reasons, and avoided addressing deep issues of meaning and ethics (2005, 14). A central cause of these failures has been our reliance on hierarchical leadership and the glorification of the leader. "The problem, in short, is *the King*, i.e., singular top leadership. If our organizations are failing, if our institutions are not producing social justice and well being, then—the theory goes—the answer lies in getting better leadership at the top" (McSwite 2009, 307). The complexities of modern social problems have revealed the folly in continually looking to the top for solutions to problems plaguing the middle or the bottom, or endemic throughout a system. The position of kingship is not only one of power and authority, but also of truth. After all, if a king is all-powerful, he must be all-knowing and therefore can do no wrong. This displaces us from meaningful social contributions (it's the king's job; he knows better and is better positioned) and leads to a static society (McSwite 2009). Moreover, focusing on a King alienates us from each other and hinders "the process of community consensus building" by which we develop practical and social truths (McSwite 2009, 311). In other words, we've been focusing on the man behind the curtain and ignoring the splendor of Oz.

In contrast, Farmer replaces the system of a single leader with "open conversations among system actors as they cope with the issues before them" (Cunningham 2009, 301). In making this

call, Farmer allies himself with a growing set of voices calling for more open and inclusive systems of governance. These range from the ideals of the new public service (Denhardt & Denhardt 2011) to network governance (Koliba, Meek & Zia 2011) and self-organization (Feiock & Scholz 2010) through the use of open-source and platform approaches (Johnston 2010; Noveck 2009; Wachhaus 2011) and collective anarchism (Wachhaus 2012). While many of these approaches take a structural perspective (how can the system be opened up; is a new system required), Farmer instead focuses on the role of leadership within the system. His central insight is that the system depends upon centralized authority. Without that central figure, the system itself dissipates. Put another way, Farmer is calling for the inversion of the Hobbesian worldview: "if decisions through dialogue become a collective value, the King disappears" (Cunningham 2009, 301). When we each retain our in-born sovereignty and participate actively in the creation and ongoing re-creation of society, we collectively assume the powers once abdicated to the King.

A key feature of Farmer's approach is continual active engagement. When we stop questioning, reflecting and acting, we cede power. Farmer calls us to continually examine our practice and ourselves. In this, what he describes resembles the Socratic method. Socrates preached, and practiced, continual questioning. The pursuit of wisdom was "an ongoing process that demanded a persistent willingness to question even root assumptions" with the result that truth was not a static endpoint, but a dynamic accompaniment and a companion to be continually revisited (McSwite 2009, 315). In other words, a dialogue (even if that dialogue is with oneself), not a monologue of imposed vision. Farmer uses 'art' and 'play' to capture this, extolling public administrators to imaginative play and to "carry out their activities as if they were creating a work of art" (2005, xiv). While this may seem like a radical departure for the practice of governance, he grounds it in the 9/11 Commission's findings of failures "in imagination, policy, capabilities and management" and the resultant call to make the "exercise of imagination" a routine part of government (2004, 339; 344). For, as Farmer notes, "governance is worth contemplating, playfully" (2005, 6). Governance as play or governance as art engages us – play is a social activity; art forces us to respond to both the work and the artist. What Farmer does through this dialogue is "open up civil space in the interactions that make up administrative processes" (McSwite, 2009 314).

In many ways, the island of the Tempest is an ideal space in which to examine visions of governance. It is a utopia, a no-place, existing outside of society and geography. It occupies a post-traditional, post-bureaucratic position, where social and physical laws don't operate within traditional parameters. As such, it's in an ideal location for examining play and imagination. This is precisely what we see happening throughout the island. Characters already on the island dream – of revenge and of freedom. As shipwrecked characters come onto the island, they immediately begin imagining new roles for themselves. The blankness of the place facilitates this play: without the constraints and boundaries of Western society, they are free to position themselves as they will and to imaginatively fill in the blankness of the island. McSwite points out that

> the formal structures that constitute the world of social life are held together not by the official prescriptions of their structure and by "leaders" as much as by the ongoing interpretive and collaborative work of the people who staff them… In other words, there is a great amount of space in formal structures, and it is people, as they live social life, who

> take up this "slack" by cooperatively making sense of it and creating lines of action in order to cope with the ongoing stream of situations that confront organizations and institutions (2009, 304).

The island is nothing but slack space – only Caliban has fixed it into definite features and so firmed it into a static system. Particularly for the shipwrecked characters, it has no definite qualities and they are unable to grasp a sense of the whole or understand their relationship to it. McSwite urges us to "use the space available to us in the settings we are in to choose to speak openly and act freely in ways that will connect us to other people and thereby produce, from the unique position of the public administrator, a humane world" (2009, 316). We see precisely this dynamic play out in *The Tempest*. Prospero intentionally separates and isolates characters. By keeping them apart, he prevents them from making sense of the island by writing their own script onto it. In isolation, we see each character attempt to write himself onto the island; notably each does so by imagining a society in which to root himself.

Killing Kings: The Play's the Thing

The play opens with a 'dead' king - Prospero deposed from the throne of Milan. During the play we nearly get another dead king, as Antonio and Sebastian conspire to kill Alonso. More fundamentally, the island is a place where the king is dead, as there is no society. With no social structure, there is no place for a king to exist atop. Farmer advocates killing the king – removing the authority figure at the top of the pyramid. *The Tempest* is a place where there is no space in which to be King. Instead, the island gives us visions of kings with no people and no government. This inversion – imagined kings with no subjects or defined sovereign area – allows us to explore Farmer's critique of the modernist system of governance. He asserts that we are inescapably social creatures; that "we live inside the limits, the invisible chains, of our social consciousness" (2009, 376). Set free from the constraints of society, those shipwrecked on the island should be free to greater stretches of imagination as they consider what could be made of the island.

Instead, they largely fail, falling into uncreative, traditional governmental thinking, envisioning themselves as kings and recreating society around them in that central position. There is a massive failure of imagination. Caliban, depicted as sub-human and monstrous, declares that he wants freedom from Prospero's oppression. However, the moment that he gains a measure of freedom, he is terrified of being alone and loses his sense of place on the island. He regains that by quickly entering into servitude to Stefano and working to place him in the position of power that Prospero occupies. Trinculo and Stefano for their part, emboldened by wine and by Caliban's evident monstrousness, are perhaps more aware of the irony of their situation. Nevertheless, this does not free them from lording it over Caliban and plotting to kill Prospero. Their natures as drunkard and jester continue to show through, as they are self-aware enough to see the foolishness of their position and aims; their attempt on Prospero is quickly derailed when they are distracted by flashy clothes; they are then driven off by a pack of spirit hounds. Antonio and Sebastian similarly plot to kill and replace a king: Sebastian's brother. They cannot envision a place for themselves on the island and seek to attain the kingship of Naples. In some ways, their most imaginative thinking is the gap between the killing of Alonso and the assumption of the throne in Naples – it seems as if the act of creating a vacuum on that throne would be sufficient to call them back to it. Prospero similarly wants to return to society and to regain his throne in

Milan. Curiously, it was his devotion to his study of magical books, rather than to his people and duties as king, that led to his downfall. Ironically, Prospero wields greater power on the island through his command of magic than he would upon his return to his people. Nevertheless, he sacrifices his magical artifacts and powers in order to resume a position of civilized leadership. Ariel is granted freedom for his service to Prospero. We know nothing about his desires or destination other than that it is freedom – even less defined than the island itself. It may not be entirely surprising that true freedom is more vague than the utopian island and appears to be beyond our imaginative abilities.

In many important ways, the island itself is beyond our imagination, a situation that bears on Farmer's critique of modern public administration, that of failure of imagination. As Schachter (2009, 335) observes,

> For Farmer, public administration as art features thinking as play… By identifying art with play Farmer emphasizes a very different element of artistic success than Taylor. For Taylor diligent practice—hard work—was a prerequisite for artistic success.
>
> The aspects of art that Farmer stresses are closer to those identified by Louis Gawthrop who contrasted administrative art and craft. Art facilitated a role for active citizenship because it brought the unexpected into the relatively closed world of bureaucratic craft. Here—as in Farmer's book—art brings in the unexpected; it heralds a new voice.

The island itself is unexpected, outside all norms of society. It should provide an ideal, open and blank canvas on which to imagine entirely new relations. Instead, each character's impulse is to fill in that canvas with the drably familiar, changing only his own position in the hierarchy. Put bluntly, if everyone paints the same old picture on the blank canvas of the island, what's the point of coming? Instead of a new vision (cf Goodsell 2006), we end up with the same old structures of hierarchical domination.

Killing the King Cooperatively

In Mary Parker Follett's terms, what is envisioned on the island is the *power-over* that was familiar to the characters from their experiences in a feudal society. Power-over deals with authority (and leadership) depending on position and flowing vertically from a top, or supreme, position (1987, esp. chap 1). It is, she makes clear, exactly the sort of power that we see in play on the island: the slave-master relationship by which Prospero rules (Follett 2003, 79). In contrast to power-over, Follett introduces *power-with*, a "co-active" rather than coercive power (2003, 79). Power-with, for Follett, is legitimate power, deriving from coordination, not position (1987, 5). Authority and power do not filter down from the top (1987, 43). Instead, they are generated by relationships between actors working for a common goal. It is coordinated activity (1987, 81). Or, more broadly, they are "the outcome of our common life" (1987, 46). In other words, failures of imagination may have occurred in *The Tempest* due precisely to the characters' isolation. They immediately felt a sense of freedom: due to their isolation and displacement, they were aware that there was no positional authority over them. However, because they were alone and lacked context, they could not imagine any other situation. The lack of their oppression did not equate to freedom. For Follett, power "is not a pre-existing thing which can be handed out to

someone, or wrenched from someone" (2003, 89). Rather, it is generated by the interaction of actors towards a common goal – it is produced as work is done.

Similarly, freedom is not produced or experienced in isolation. "The idea of liberty long current was that the solitary man was the free man, that the man outside society possessed freedom." For Follett, freedom "is the harmonious, unimpeded working of the law of one's own nature. The true nature of every man is found only in the whole" (Follett 1998, 69). She continues, echoing Aristotle's vision of man as a social animal: "A man is ideally free only so far as he is interpermeated by every other human being; he gains his freedom through a perfect and complete relationship because thereby he achieves his whole nature (Follett 1998, 69). When we are free, we are not free from, but free within. Alone, we are not free, only isolated. It is therefore not surprising that, in isolation, characters in *The Tempest* are unable to imagine new structures of relationships. It is only by immersing ourselves into society and relationships that we become truly free ("I am not dominated by the whole because I am the whole") (Follett 1998, 70).

Returning to Farmer's work, the idea of purposeful immersion as requisite to imaginative play is found in the role of the gadfly, an idea he borrows from Socrates description of his own role *vis a vis* Athens. A gadfly "can mean a person who acts as a goad or provocative stimulus. It can mean an in-your-face critic, persistent and irritating, stirring the pot" (2005, 21). However, the gadfly does not play merely to annoy. "Two ideals should govern the gadfly posture: 1) broad based governance concerns and willingness to transgress disciplinary boundaries; and 2) the inclusion of voices otherwise marginalized within traditional governance discourse" (Kouzmin, Witt & Thorne 2009, 347). Emphasizing movement across boundaries with the aim of including underrepresented or unheard voices, the gadfly seems an ideal goad to nudge systems towards Follett's vision of power-with, coordinated horizontal power and inclusive, holistic voice. Farmer's critique of the modernist system – that it is hierarchical, position-dominant and reliant on vertical authority in ways that lead to stagnated thinking, mundane acting and the alienating of employees – is that of Follett's criticism of hierarchical power-over organizations. Farmer's prescription for imaginative play to open up structures of governance leads, I think, to a place similar to that reached by Follett: freedom through identification with the whole. One lesson from *The Tempest* is that imagination, as Farmer and the 9/11 Commission call for, can't be realized from a position of detachment. We need to be intimately involved in order to imagine fully and fruitfully. The gadfly – the imaginative, rule-breaking artistic player – is only a goad if she is an isolated minority. As more actors assume a playful stance, imaginative play becomes the norm, transforming organizational structures and relationships.

Conclusion: Lessons for Practice

Metaphors are a way of making sense of the world, allowing us to come to understand one thing in terms of another. I have been using the island in *The Tempest* as a metaphor for society. As society may be thought of as a system of purposeful social human interaction, the scale of the metaphor may be reduced and the island can be used as a means of making sense of organizations and how people fit into organizations. In this metaphor, coming ashore on the island is the equivalent of joining an organization - taking a job in a new agency, for example. When coming ashore, like Ferdinand or any of the others, we need references in order to establish a sense of place. Applying Follett, we need not only geographic landmarks, but social ones as well if we are

to fill in the blank canvas of the island. Arriving at a new place can be disorienting, particularly if few reference points are provided. However, arrival also presents opportunities to imagine new possibilities – as the landmarks aren't yet fixed, we may have more conceptual freedom to envision a place in ways that others haven't seen it. Why then do we criticize government for failures of imagination (Farmer 2005; 9/11 Commission 2004)?

My reading of *The Tempest* suggests that, in the absence of landmarks or other references, we tend to envision familiar structures – we use what we know from previous experiences and locations to make sense of new places. Similarly, I contend that immediately fixing a place by filling it with landmarks allows no space for newcomers to envision anything other than what's been presented to them. Berger and Luckmann (1966) assert that reality is socially constructed – reality cannot be experienced objectively, but is interpreted through a framework built of social rules, norms and expectations. What is 'real' to a Wall Street trader may not be real to a nomadic herder. Of particular relevance to this work is the assertion that social order is "an ongoing human production"; that "social order exists *only* as a product of human activity" (Berger & Luckmann 1966, 52). Even large bureaucratic and social institutions, which may appear as "undeniable facts" are in fact social constructions that are 'reified' by human activity (Berger & Luckmann 1996, 60-61). We objectify institutions through persistent activity. In other words, we call seemingly permanent institutions and social features into being, formalizing their appearance through repeated action. We see this in action in *The Tempest*. As characters come ashore, they immediately construct a vision of what the island must be, what it must mean. That vision is strong enough that the actual island and its features fade into irrelevance, as what they 'know' must be true becomes, for them, true. This is precisely the failure of imagination that Farmer and the 9/11 Commission call out. Government has become so accustomed to what it is that it is unable to view itself aspirationally (or accurately). If government is to regain a fresh vision for itself (Goodsell 2006) or to move past a modernist system (Farmer 2005), it cannot reflexively fill in new spaces with old, institutional conceptions.

A second, related, lesson may be seen in the power of words to construct our realities. Words and the command of language, are powerful. Prospero's books are the source of his magical powers. Ironically, they were also the source of his downfall: his obsession with those books fed his disinterest with the affairs of governance and led to his exile. Kay's (1984) analysis of *The Tempest* draws explicit connections between happiness and magic, where magic is associated with rationality and language. Language is related to rationality; control of language gives us the power to impose our will on the world, to re-configure even the firm institutional structures to our own ends. Prospero, through mastery of his books, wields this power. Similarly, Ariel, the obverse of Caliban (Busia 1989, 5) has supernatural powers. Of more relevance here is the status of Caliban. The only native of the island, he should have the most real knowledge of, and power on, the island. Instead, he remains a slave because he cannot use language as well as others. His inability with language is reflected in his lessened rationality that leads him to seek out positions of servitude. Caliban's mother, Sycorax, does not appear in the play: entirely absent, she lacks a voice (Lara 2007). She did not teach Caliban to speak (Busia 1989, 94). It is at least in part Caliban's linguistic inabilities that make him monstrous. Retamar (1989, 13) asserts that language is Caliban's prison; it is what constrains him and restricts his achievements and moral development. Caliban's lack of facility with words (policy and policy-making and the linguistic structuring of social orders) trumps his accomplishments with practical matters and the delivery of real services.

Public administrators, policy makers and public leaders run the risk, like Prospero, of becoming infatuated with control of language and focusing on our books and words of power at the expense of our duties to governance. Rather than books of sorcery, we have rules, legislation, policies, and standard operating procedures; command of these gives power in the professional world. The danger is that we will then come to see citizens as Caliban: unsophisticated natives, lacking rational and moral development to the extent that they lack facility with the language of administration. In this view, citizens come to depend on professional administrators: people can't make sense of government as they don't speak the language of government. This inverts the ideals of governance, empowering administrators over the public that they should instead be serving. Again, this is a failure of imagination, an inability to see things as they ought to be. As public administrators, we construct the reality of government for citizens.

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Niccolo's Lesson: Machiavelli's Advice to Policy Advisors

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In the five centuries since he lived, Niccolo Machiavelli has been condemned and celebrated with equal passion for insisting that successful princes must learn how not to be good. In particular, when the national interest requires it, they must be able convincingly to lie. The subject of these pages, though, is not Machiavelli's advice to princes. It is his advice to advisors. And policy advisors today who would understand his lesson for their enterprise should begin by understanding that while Machiavelli advised princes to lie, he wrote—and lived as if he believed—that advisors must tell the truth.

But Machiavelli also knew what all advisors learn at last—that unarmed prophets are always at risk, and political officials who are powerful enough to do harm with impunity may have limited tolerance for troublesome truths. So, Machiavelli cautioned, while advisors must tell the truth, they must be able to do it in ways that minimize personal exposure. In this, his advice to advisors echoed his advice to princes. To succeed, he thought, princes must combine the qualities of lions (to frighten wolves) and foxes (to recognize traps). In the same spirit, he urged advisors to tell the truth bravely, and try not to get caught.

This essay, written in retrospect by a career policy analyst, is rooted in a belief that Machiavelli is someone we policy analysts should know. The reason is partly that his career experience and reflections on the relationship of advisors and princes are strikingly contemporary; so knowing Machiavelli is a way to deepen our understanding of our common identity and corporate purpose. But it is equally that, like some of us, Machiavelli understood the limits that human frailty and "malicious fortune" imposed on his art, understood that even the ablest princes and shrewdest advisors usually fail, as he himself had failed. And still he persevered.

Why Policy Advisors—Especially Those Who Labor in Executive Agencies—Should See Machiavelli as One of Their Own

In June 1498, four years after a French invasion of Italy had restored the Florentine republic and three weeks after the people of Florence had executed the reformist preacher Savanarola, the

Great Council of the city appointed Niccolo Machiavelli secretary to the government's principal executive magistracy (the *Signoria*) and Second Chancellor of the Republic.[1] In the latter job, Machiavelli became, in effect, the deputy director of the Florentine government's executive bureaucracy (or chancery). As a bureaucratic form, the chancery was relatively embryonic—*i.e.,* functionally undifferentiated. The institution supported the processes of Florentine government and implemented the orders of the city's magistracies and councils across the entire range of public business. So Machiavelli's portfolio was fairly broad—with one potential exception.

In external matters, the Second Chancellor's responsibilities were officially limited to the administration of subject territories, while the First Chancellor oversaw the more important business of international relations and defense. In practice, however, the duties of the two senior officials merged, with any functional boundary that might have existed at the time of Machiavelli's original appointment obscured a few months afterward when he was made secretary to a second magistracy, the *Dieci di Balia*. The *Dieci* set the republic's diplomatic and military policies in wartime, which during Machiavelli's tenure was most of the time.[2]

Much of the day-to-day business of Machiavelli's office involved the preparation of written documents—letters on behalf of the *Signoria* or *Dieci* to foreign states and individuals, and to the city's own diplomats, military officials, and territorial administrators. However, Machiavelli's professional reputation and personal influence derived not from the chancery's daily written output but from an important related responsibility—diplomacy. In the late fifteenth century, Florence had begun to use senior bureaucrats as foreign envoys to gather and report intelligence, negotiate matters of moderate importance, prepare the way for duly elected ambassadors, and sometimes accompany and advise these ambassadors at foreign stations. Between 1498 and 1512, Machiavelli was the career service's most active and effective diplomat.[3]

The letters and dispatches from these missions, together with his voluminous personal correspondence during this period, are raw material for later generations of impassioned scholarship,[4] and the initial drafts of ideas that Machiavelli later expressed more systematically in his major political works, *The Prince* and *The Discourses*. They are also, along with some of his later correspondence, the primary expressions and examples of his advice to advisors, as well as the written record of his inability to follow that advice.

Like senior analysts in the executive bureaucracy today, the axis of Machiavelli's daily experience was his relationship to political superiors. With one major exception—the link with his political patron, Piero Soderini—the official relationship was always temporary. Members of the *Signoria* served for two months, and members of the *Dieci* for six, with selection determined by lot from privileged categories of eligible citizens.[5] The resulting asymmetries in knowledge and skill between the professionals in the chancery and their political superiors had two important consequences. The first was that the entire chancery staff, and especially Machiavelli, became more expert in matters of state, and more familiar with foreign leaders, than some of the magistrates they served.

The second was that the chancery's career staff was inclined to view their transient overlords with a degree of contempt. In Machiavelli's case, the typical tension between experts and amateurs was compounded by out-sized intellectual confidence and the impatience of the quick to-

ward the slow. The pity, for him, was that he frequently failed to hide his feelings. John Najemy notes that "[o]ne can hardly miss the sense of condescension" in Machiavelli's letters and dispatches to political officials that he "must have considered…tiresome and presumptuous amateurs whose demands for respectful attention only got in the way of the serious work he had to do."[6]

This arrogance of expertise was famously displayed in Machiavelli's passive-aggressively delayed and deliciously derisive letter to Agnolo Tucci, a member of the *Segnoria* who had requested a briefing (in letter form) of information that Machiavelli had already included in official dispatches. Machiavelli begins his letter by announcing that while he has already supplied the desired information, he will repeat himself in "the vernacular" (*i.e*., Italian), just in case he has written the original message in Latin, "which I don't think I did."[7] Machiavelli would not suffer fools. But as events later proved, he probably should have.

The asymmetries that shaped relationships in the Florentine chancery persist in democratic governments today—with much the same result, especially when political appointees seem ill-prepared for their jobs, or lack the ability or desire to defend office or agency turf, or cling more closely to partisan narratives than to the guidance of disciplined inquiry. In contrast to the senior magistrates of sixteenth-century Florence, however, political appointees in our own time tend to serve multi-year terms and their selection is not random. Indeed, they may have considerable expertise in their own right or be party to a richer stream of political information than career staff. They also have system-conferred authority to make final decisions and to control careerists' opportunities and rewards. And they can usually rely on civil service culture (especially, the ethic of responsiveness) to keep careerists docile. As a consequence, the relationship between career officials and political appointees evolves over time into a kind of rough operational equality.[8]

The structural problem for career analysts today—one that Machiavelli also faced, but failed to solve—is that political elites change. And new leaders are apt to discount professional reputations earned in the service of their predecessors. Among new arrivals, at least at first, loyalty or even effective analysis in the service of a decamped leadership cadre may be seen as disloyalty to the new order—especially when the new order represents a change in party control. With each change in senior leadership—but especially when one party succeeds another—shelter, familiarity, and influence give way suddenly to exposure, uncertainty, and impotence. And like conquered populations facing occupations by foreign armies, careerists must learn to cooperate or, as Machiavelli did, suffer the consequences.

Machiavelli's Advice to Advisors (1)—*Tell the Truth*

Machiavelli describes the framework for successful advice-giving as a mutually supportive relationship between able leaders and shrewd counselors. Axiomatic to this relationship is the idea that, while successful princes must know how to deceive others, they cannot long succeed if, by their own sentimentality, or the negligence or bias of their intelligence sources, they are themselves deceived. Therefore, a prudent prince must shun flatterers "of which courts are full, because [princes] take such pleasure in their own things and deceive themselves about them…." And he must choose for his counselors "wise men, giving these alone full liberty to speak the

truth to him, but only of those things that he asks and of nothing else; but he must ask them about everything." "It is an infallible rule," Machiavelli affirms with characteristic immodesty, "that a prince who is not wise himself [in the recruitment, use, and reward of wise and loyal advisors] cannot be well advised."[9]

In an era of polarized politics, Machiavelli's rule raises vexing possibilities: Princes today who rely on like-minded advisors and preferred sources of advice—Machiavelli's flatterers—seem to demonstrate a dwindling tolerance for truth and probably have diminished access to it. Such princes, in short, may be structurally incapable of being well advised. The related question for policy advisors—those especially at the beginning of their careers—is why we should bother trying to advise them; and whether, in partisan times, prudent advisors planning their own careers should favor offices and agencies where they can practice their analytic art in relative freedom from partisan bias—*i.e*., places where powerful disciplinary norms or a pluralist customer base counteract the plague of partisan perception.

Having found a good place to work (*i.e*., having gained a wise prince's favor), Machiavelli believed, the duties of advisors were, first, to be loyal—to place the welfare of the prince (or the republic) before their own[10]—and then to have the courage and subtlety to speak the truth. *The Prince*, though a product of his political exile, was an exercise in this principle. "[M]y intention being to write something of use to those who understand," he announced, "it appears to me more proper to go to the real truth of the matter than to its imagination."[11]

Once they knew the truth, Machiavelli believed, practical considerations obliged policy advisors to speak it. He could not "advise men to be silent," he said, "for withholding the expression of any opinion would render them useless." Even if the opinion was mistaken, advisors' candor helped to protect princes from the delusions of flattery. In any case, cautious reticence could not buy security. Rather it inspired mistrust and might lead to disaster if events later proved that forthright advising could have averted some policy failure.[12]

Advising forthrightly and wisely also had up-side advantages. For one, it might bring personal benefits. Wise princes, he opined, could ensure the fidelity of able advisors by "honoring and enriching them" and giving them "responsible tasks"—*i.e.,* increasing their status and expanding their field of opportunity.[13] Such rewards "never equal[led] the punishment" if something went really wrong.[14] But Machiavelli had no doubt that the overall cost-benefit calculus was a net positive—for princes, republics, and advisors themselves.

Machiavelli also embraced truth-telling as an expression of professional pride. "Among the many considerations that show what a man is," he wrote sarcastically to a chancery secretary of Lucca, whose intercepted letter denouncing Florence's execution of an underachieving *condottieri* captain had come mysteriously into Machiavelli's hands, "none is more important than seeing either how easily he swallows what he is told or how carefully he invents what he wants to convince others of."[15] Whether or not the Luccan had mischaracterized events, Machiavelli was telling him that able advisors refuse to be conned—to be taken in by superficialities or seduced by conventional wisdom. Moreover, they appreciate the responsibilities associated with their art—*i.e*., with crafting analyses that shape the perceptions of leaders and peoples. Beneath its sarcasm, therefore, Machiavelli's letter is the revelation of a belief that, for career policy advi-

sors, truth-telling is a requirement of professional integrity and personal reputation—"considerations that show what a man is."

At its most basic level, though, Machiavelli's insistence that advisors must tell the truth is about more than utilitarian calculation, more than professional hubris, more even than the debt of mutual loyalty that sustains the feudal relationship between trusted advisors and their political patrons. It is about duty. If "those who counsel princes and republics…do not advise what seems to them for the good of the republic or the prince, regardless of the consequences to themselves," he says, "then they fail of their duty." And duty, as Machiavelli must have understood it, is something a person feels, something that is a part of who he believes himself to be, so that the failure to do it is a diminution of himself. The word Machiavelli attaches to that failure is "disgrace."[16]

Machiavelli's Advice to Advisors (2)—*Be Careful*

By Machiavelli's own reckoning, while the benefits of active and honest counseling could be considerable, so could the risks. Looking backward in *The Discourses* on his long and ultimately disastrous effort to shift responsibility for Florence's defense from mercenary captains to a citizen militia, he lamented that because all men "judge of good and evil counsels only by the result," whatever advisors may counsel, they are "at risk of their position and their lives" if policies fail.[17]

To mitigate these risks, echoing his advice to princes about imitating lions and foxes, he proposed two principles of professional prudence. The first, as I have already noted, was boldness—not hanging back but advising actively and well. The second, rendering the first less troubling, was to exercise editorial discretion. The course of prudence, he thought, was "to take things moderately, and not to undertake to advocate any enterprise with too much zeal; but to give one's advice calmly and modestly" so that princes and the leaders of republics believed they had followed your advice "of their own will, and not as though they were drawn to it by your importunity."[18]

He suggested aspects of the literary style appropriate to editorial "modesty" in an October 1522 memorandum to his friend Raffaello Girolami on the occasion of the latter's departure from Florence to be ambassador to Emperor Charles V.[19] Rule one in reporting to superiors was to avoid the first person. "To put your opinion into your own mouth would be odious," he cautioned, partly because writing in the first person left no room for doubt about who was responsible for the advice and its consequences, and partly because, in sixteenth-century Florence, addressing political (and possibly social and economic) superiors directly was widely considered to be disrespectful. In official reports, therefore, the prudent course was to put troublesome judgments in the mouths of others, cloaking one's authorship in constructions like: "Considering, then, everything about which I have written, prudent men here judge that the outcome will be such and such."

Machiavelli's finest twentieth-century biographer, Roberto Ridolfi, suggests that Machiavelli himself "frequently used" this device.[20] A particular example is his November 8, 1502 dispatch to the *Dieci* from Caesar Borgia' headquarters at Imola. Borgia's recent conquests in central Ita-

ly had alarmed the Florentine leadership who feared that he might turn toward Florence and a campaign to overthrow the republic. Machiavelli liked and admired Borgia and believed that Florence should seek closer relations with him. The November 8 dispatch is a long analysis supporting this conclusion. Rather than acknowledging his own authorship, however, he frames the analysis in quotation marks and introduces it as a "report to your Lordships [of] a conversation I had with that friend who in past days…said to me that that it was not a good thing your Lordships should have only a vague relation with this Duke."[21]

In another case, a letter to Giovanni Ridolfi, commissioner general of Florence's 1506 campaign against Pisa, Machiavelli reports on the content of recent dispatches from France, then signals a shift from reportage to analysis: "But these dispatches are insufficient unless I communicate to you the commentary which our fellow citizens—the wisest ones—make on them…. If these dispatches keep up, it seems to them more likely than not that [Maximillian, soon-to-be Holy Roman Emperor] will make an incursion into Italy, and this is how their reasoning goes." The rest of the letter relies either on passive voice or constructions like "people think," or "people do not think" to create plausible deniability of Machiavelli's authorship.[22]

It's hard to believe that Machiavelli's readers could have been taken in by so obvious a subterfuge, could have believed that he was merely reporting what others—*e.g.*, a mysterious, extraordinarily well informed, keenly analytic, and remarkably articulate friend, or simply "people here"—might have said. It seems more likely that Machiavelli was really practicing a transparent, but artful sycophancy—fooling nobody, but observing differences in political and social status in a way that left everybody happy, and also better informed. Machiavelli's lesson here, for those able to understand and apply it, is that skillful sycophancy is evident, amusing, and possibly effective. The boss sees through it, but likes it anyway.

Machiavelli also had at least one further point of guidance for professional colleagues—one that, unlike his advice to write modestly and deferentially, he always followed. It was to write well. He expressed this view, as a teacher might, in a letter to his nephew Giovanni Vernacci: "I urge you to use a clear style with those whom you do business with," he advised, "so that whenever they get one of your letters they think, because your way of writing is so detailed, that you are there."[23] He had put the point somewhat differently fourteen years before, in his sarcastic letter to the secretary of Lucca: "[I]n brotherly love," he had written, "I admonish you that in the future, should you want in your evil nature to go on gratuitously insulting people, you should insult in such a way as to be considered more prudent."[24]

What Machiavelli Meant by "*Real Truth*"

Machiavelli believed he told the "real truth" on two levels: on a practical level through the unvarnished reporting of direct perceptions, filtered by personal judgment and a refusal simply to "swallow what he [was] told"; and on a theoretical level in the form of inductions from historical and contemporary examples—*i.e.*, what some have called his scientific method. On the first level, his judgments of people and situations were penetrating, unsentimental, and lucid—in the words of one admirer, "judgments…of a scientist and a technician of political life."[25] In contrast, his theoretical pronouncements were truths of a less concrete and more disputable character—inductions of sweeping principles from selected historical and contemporary precedents. A

famous example of the latter from *The Prince* recounts France's failed policies in Italy "[f]rom which may be drawn the general rule, which never or very rarely fails, that whoever is the cause of another becoming powerful, is ruined himself."[26]

Despite his determination to speak the "real truth," however, Machiavelli, like all of us, approached his world with biases that if not partisan, were at least personal—functions of his belief in the baseness of human nature, his admiration for Roman antiquity, his preference for sweeping judgments and bold action, his inclination to see political challenges in terms of clear choices and extreme outcomes, and perhaps a contrarian impulse to debunk conventional perceptions and policy preferences. He also had inordinate confidence in his own intimate and exclusive relationship to the truths revealed by historical analysis, "that food that *alone* is mine and for which I was born" (emphasis original).[27]

No less than his own targets of professional and political criticism, therefore, Machiavelli is open to the charge that saw problems and solutions as he preferred them to be, and that "he could ignore the things which did not shape themselves to the mold he had constructed."[28] In fact, Machiavelli recognized this criticism, though not necessarily its validity. He worried aloud whether in decrying the present and praising the past, he had "fall[en] into the very error for which I reproach others," and deserved as a consequence to be "classed with those who deceive themselves." A sentence later, though, he discounted the possibility, "the matter being so manifest that everybody sees it."[29]

For the purposes of this essay, however, debate about the rigor or subjectivity of Machiavelli's truth tests is beside the point. In the matter of truth-telling, his lesson for policy advisors of a later age has less to do with what he said about the realities of statecraft than with the how he said it. Whatever critics may say about his analytic method, the fact remains that, except when he acknowledged that he wasn't,[30] Machiavelli always said what he *thought* was true—often dramatically and with extravagant self-assurance. That is to say, he was always true to his idea of what was true.

Why, Especially Now, Machiavelli's Advice Catches the Light

On its face, the idea that advisors should tell the truth seems unremarkable. Shouldn't everyone tell the truth? Coming from Machiavelli, though, the dictum *is* remarkable for at least three reasons. The first is the prominence and reputation of the source. Machiavelli is notorious, mysterious, and unfailingly attractive. He's the wicked philosopher, who wasn't really that wicked, and who it's fun to like. (He got a kick out of being thought wicked when he wasn't. Admiring him, especially out loud, is fun in just the same way.) He was coldly analytic, devilishly funny, and comfortable in the company of dangerous men—for members of the advisor class, hero material.

The second is that Machiavelli simply would not lie to us. Princes, he thought, must lie when they had to; but his deepest value and greatest pride was to see things as they were, not as he or we might wish them to be, and then to say what he saw. He could be sarcastic and hyperbolic, but when he meant to say something important, he always told the truth. Moreover, what he

meant to tell advisors was informed by rich experience, acute observation, and compelling judgment. He was talking about us, and he knew what he was talking about.

The third is that insisting that advisors must tell the truth exposes a core problem of the knowledgeable who labor in the presence of the powerful. In the matter of speaking truth to power, power's attention is always subversive—distorting inevitably the pursuit and communication of clear understanding. Advisors who aspire to power, or have it, cannot avoid being affected by it—cannot help but do their work differently than they might have if, through some miracle of antisepsis, they had been isolated from its influence.

Even in normal times, therefore—if an example of "normal times" is the half-century after 1945—organizational and ideological gravitation bend analytic perspective, and policy analysts in the executive bureaucracy find themselves shading or ignoring inconvenient facts. But we do not live in normal times. Rather, we live in a time when policy decisions are driven increasingly by partisan calculation and policy deliberations are conducted increasingly by cloistered groups of political loyalists. In times like these, policy analysts can lose their analytic bearings. And even if they don't—especially if they don't—speaking truth to power can be dangerous business. Part of Machiavelli's allure is that, during his government career at least, he never gave in to partisan pressure—never tempered his arguments or tailored his analyses to the preferences of his Florentine overlords. As a consequence, in the summer of 1512, he misplayed his one big political transition—the restoration of Medici dominance in Florentine politics—and suffered the failure he foresaw for the entire class of truth-telling policy advisors: neglect, frustration and, in a real or figurative sense, public execution. In this regard, his lesson for modern policy analysts is a cautionary tale.

Machiavelli's Failure—a Cautionary Tale

Machiavelli knew his place in relation to the men he served, knew where the rhetorical line was. Sometimes he kept to his side; but sometime he didn't. In one case, for example (an October 9, 1502 dispatch from Caesar Borgia's headquarters at Imola), he lapses into the first person to scold members of the *Dieci* then indulging themselves in an underestimation of Borgia's political and military resilience: "I wish to warn you, lest you persuade yourselves that you are likely to be ready every time."[31] And in a later example (a dispatch from France, dated July 26, 1510), he urges the *Dieci* "as they accept the Gospel" to accept his opinion that they cannot avoid taking sides in the impending conflict between the Pope and the King of France. Thus, they should decide in advance whose side to take, "and since opportunities are short-lived, you had better decide quickly."[32]

Such outbursts were, in part, expressions of a proud and contrarian nature, and a certain lack of self-control. But, especially at the beginning of his chancery career, they were also the basis of Machiavelli's growing professional reputation. In the circumstances, boldness worked. Thus, even while he was lecturing the *Dieci* from Borgia's camp, Niccolo Valori, then a member of *Signoria*, sent him an appreciative note: "Your [dispatch] and the description could not have been more appreciated, and people recognize what I in particular have always recognized in you: a clear, exact and sincere account, upon which one can rely completely."[33]

What worked for Machiavelli in his chancery years, however, stopped working in the summer of 1512, when the republic collapsed and the Medici returned to Florence. The result was a failure that was personal and virtually complete, and in which Machiavelli himself was deeply complicit—on two counts. The first was that his haughty ride through the years of the republic had earned him the resentment and mistrust of some of the city's most eminent and powerful men. "[T]ime and again" during those years, writes Niccolo Capponi, "Machiavelli displayed a knack for provoking the wrong people."[34]

The second was more serious. In August of 1512, Piero Soderini, who had been the republic's chief minister "for life" and Machiavelli's main protection from the resentment of "the wrong people," abandoned both Florence and his protégé. With his cover gone, and Medici power restored, Machiavelli became fair game. He lost his chancery job, was ordered to stay in Florentine territory and out of the government palace for a year, and had to post a considerable bond as assurance of his good behavior. The same penalties were imposed on his closest chancery aid, Biaggio Buonoccorsi. These measures were targeted and punitive. The chancery staff was generally viewed as apolitical; Buonoccorsi and Machiavelli were its only members who were actually fired.[35]

Capponi suggests that Machiavelli and his friend were singled out partly because of two ill-advised products of Machiavelli pen in the weeks following the Medici's return. The first was a letter to Cardinal Giulio de Medici, later Pope Clement VII and Machiavelli's main Medici patron, advising against the return of Medici property that had been confiscated and sold after the Medicis flight from Florence in 1494. The second was a memorandum to the Medici (apparently with the subject line: "Pay Good Heed to This Writing"), in which Machiavelli criticized the Medici's propaganda campaign to discredit Soderini and his governance of the republic. In the process, Machiavelli denounced the new regime's upper-crust supporters who, he charged, had only their own interests at heart and "behave like whores." Capponi argues that Machiavelli might have kept his chancery job if he could only have kept his mouth shut and his pen still. But he could not.[36]

The irony of Machiavelli's failure to weather the transition from republican government to Medici dominance in Florentine politics, is that he fell victim to the very problem he had noted as the cause of failure in princes. He could not adapt his methods or his personality to fit altered circumstances. He explained the problem in a September 1506 letter to Giovan Soderini (Piero's nephew): "in the first place, men are shortsighted; in the second place, they are unable to master their own natures; thus it follows that Fortune is fickle, controlling men and keeping them under her yoke."[37] Machiavelli must have learned some of what he thought he knew about princes by studying himself. And he seemed to know in 1506 why he would fail in 1512.

Perseverance

In the years of his exile from active politics, Machiavelli's emotions shifted from fevered optimism toward joyless resignation. In the final chapter of the *Prince,* yielding to the dangerous power of his own logic, he had made himself believe that salvation might be imminent. But years of disappointment bore him down into unrelieved melancholy. He spoke openly of his unhappiness only to people he trusted, and who could neither help nor hurt him. "I have become

useless to myself, my family, and to my friends because my doleful fate has willed it to be so," he wrote to his nephew Giovanni Vernacci. "I bide my time so that I may be ready to seize good Fortune should she come; should she not come I am ready to be patient."[38]

Through it all, Machiavelli almost never stopped working; all of his political and historical writing, as well as his plays and the famous correspondence with Vettori and Guicciardini are the fruits of his exile. Denied direct participation in public life, he seemed determined to create a legacy of practical guidance for princes and advisors alike. "[I]t is the duty of an honest man," he explained, "to teach others that good which the malignity of the times and of fortune has prevented his doing himself; so among the many capable ones whom he has instructed, someone perhaps, more favored by Heaven, may perform it."[39] The explanation was only part of the truth. Machiavelli's inner demons were political, but they were also poetic. They drove him first toward a life of political action; but once that way was barred, they determined that he could also *talk* about politics. So Machiavelli wrote books, and never stopped trying to give advice.

Policy professionals of a later age, who may share Machiavelli's disappointment in princes and in the capacity of science to affect policy, may also see themselves reflected in his perseverance and, indeed, in his explanation of that perseverance. In the short term, he sometimes thought, energetic princes and able advisors might succeed—might steal a march on Fortune or find themselves graced mysteriously by her favor. Moreover, the short term might endure indefinitely. What Romans had done, others could do. Therefore, since men were ignorant of Fortune's aims, "which she pursues by dark and devious ways, [they] should always be hopeful and never yield to despair, whenever troubles or ill fortune may befall them."[40]

Beneath this pragmatic logic, it seems to me, Machiavelli persevered also because he had no choice. To succumb to disappointment would have meant suppressing his nature, repudiating the identity in which he became real to himself, and repudiating the major premise of his work—the idea that science can make policy better, if not now then "at the right time." He could not know when that time might be. The fate of ancient empires showed that failure might endure as long as success. In the face of Fortune's mystery, he could only press forward and hope for the best.

Endnotes

[1] H.C. Butters, *Governors and Government in Early Sixteenth-Century Florence, 1502-1519* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), Ch.1; Nicolai Rubinstein, "Machiavelli and the Florentine Republican Experience," in *Machiavelli and Republicanism*, eds. Gisela Bock, Quentin Skinner, and Maurizio Viroli, 3-28 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). The Great Council was the most important constitutional innovation of the Florentine republican restoration in 1494; all of the city's magistrates were appointed there and all legislation required its two-third-majority approval. The Council was comprised of over 3000 men who had been selected previously themselves, or whose ancestors for the three previous generations had been selected for one of the three most important offices of the city—the nine-member *Signoria* and its two related Colleges.

[2] Roberto Ridolfi, *The Life of Niccolo Machiavelli* (1954), trans. Cecil Grayson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), 15.

[3] Robert Black, "Machiavelli, Servant of the Florentine Republic," in *Machiavelli and Republicanism*, eds. Gisela Bock, Quentin Skinner, and Maurizio Viroli, 71-99 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

[4] Isiah Berlin, "The Originality of Machiavelli," in *Studies on Machiavelli*, ed. Myron P. Gilmore, (Florence: G.C. Sansoni, 1972), 150, 159.

[5]Butters, Ch. 1; Rubinstein, "Machiavelli and the Florentine Republican Experience." Machiavelli's relationship with Piero Soderini was closer and more enduring than his relationships with other political officials because, in

1502, the city's Great Council elected Soderini chief minister (*Gonfalonier*) for life. Soderini's enemies, especially among the city's wealthiest and most powerful families, came to resent his power and to associate Machiavelli, not altogether fairly, with the man and his regime.

[6] "The Controversy Surrounding Machiavelli's Service to the Republic," in *Machiavelli and Republicanism*, eds. Gisela Bock, Quentin Skinner, and Maurizio Viroli (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 113.

[7] James B. Atkinson and David Sices, eds./trans. *Machiavelli and His Friends: Their Personal Correspondence*, (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1996), Letter (L) 85 (November-December 1503). The letters are ordered by date, beginning with L 1, dated December 1, 1497, and ending with L 335, probably written on or after May 22, 1527.

[8] Hugh Heclo, *A Government of Strangers: Executive Politics in Washington* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1977), 178; Arnold J. Meltsner, *Policy Analysts in the Bureaucracy* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1976), 83.

[9] *The Prince*, Ch. XXIII, in *The Prince* and *The Discourses*, Modern Library College Edition, Introduction by Max Lerner (New York: Random House, 1950), 87-88. The 1950 Modern Library College Edition combines *The Prince* and *The Discourses* in a single volume, with pages numbered continuously. Citations in the present essay include as needed the name of the work, book number (in the case of *The Discourses*), chapter number, and Modern Library Edition page number(s).

[10] *Prince*, Ch. XXII, 86.

[11] Ch. XV, 56.

[12] *Discourses*, Bk. 3, Ch. XXXV, 515-16.

[13] *Prince*, Ch. XXII, 86.

[14] *Discourses*, Bk. 3, Ch. XXXV, 513.

[15] Atkinson and Sices, L 11 (October 1499).

[16] *Discourses*, Bk. 3, Ch. XXXV, 514.

[17] Bk. 3, Ch. XXXV, 515.

[18] *Discourses*, Bk. 3, Ch. XXXV, 514.

[19] Niccolo Machiavelli, *Advice to Raffaello Girolami when he went as Ambassador to the Emperor*, in Allan Gilbert trans., *Machiavelli, The Chief Works and Others*, vol. 1 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1989; first published 1958), 116-19.

[20] Ridolfi, 313.

[21] Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Legations*, *11.44*, in Gilbert trans., *Machiavelli, The Chief Works*, vol. 1, 130-33. Machiavelli's dispatch, addressed to the *Dieci*, is dated November 8, 1502. His observance of editorial protocol, in this case, may have been a response to a letter (dated October 28, 1502) from his chancery colleague and close friend Biagio Buonaccorsi cautioning him to avoid dispatches reaching "too bold a conclusion," especially since that conclusion contradicted intelligence from "a variety of [other] authorities" and the judgments of "people here." Stick to describing the facts, urged his friend, and "leave the judgment to others" (Atkinson and Sices, L 44).

[22] Atkinson and Sices, L 112 (June 12, 1506).

[23] Ibid., L 217 (August 4, 1513).

[24] Ibid., L 11.

[25] Ernst Cassirer, *The Myth of the State* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1944), selections republished in *Machiavelli: Cynic, Patriot, or Political Scientist*, ed. DeLamar Jensen (D.C. Heath and Company, 1960), 67.

[26] Ch. III, 14.

[27] Atkinson and Sices, L 224 (December 10, 1513).

[28] Herbert Butterfield, *The Statecraft of Machiavelli* (New York: Collier Books, 1962; first published 1940), 95.

[29] *Discourses*, Bk. 2, Introduction, 274.

[30] Atkinson and Sices, L 217.

[31] Frederico Chabod, *Machiavelli and the Renaissance*, trans. David Moore, Introduction by A.P. D'Entreves (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965; a collection of essays dating from the mid-1920s, first published in the United States by Harvard University Press, 1958), 130.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Atkinson and Sices, L 32 (October 11, 1502).

[34] *An Unlikely Prince: The Life and Times of Machiavelli* (Cambridge, MA, Da Capo Press, 2010), 89.

[35] Ibid., 194.

[36] Ibid., 195.

[37] Atkinson and Sices, L 121 (September 1506).

[38] Ibid., L 250 (February 15, 1516).

[39] *Discourses*, Bk. 2, Introduction, 274-75.
[40] Ibid., Bk. 2, Ch. XXIX, 383.

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Capturing the Art of Public Service: The Government's Perspective

Tony Carrizales

Introduction

Public Service, in popular culture, can be viewed through many lenses – including murals, statues, film, and literature, to name a few. Artistic interpretations can lend themselves to both positive and negative views of government. However, in popular culture, there has been a consistent negative portrayal of government and bureaucracy through art forms such as film and television (Larkin 1993, Holzer and Slater 1995). As a result, Holzer and Slater suggest that a "torrent of unflattering images teaches the public that government employees are incompetent, callous, and corrupt" (1995, 76). Moreover, Holzer (1997) notes that negative images in creative media can have serious consequences with recruitment and retention. Negative images of public servants may also lead to public organizational issues of low morale and lack of motivation (Holzer 1997).

Although there are some positive portrayals of public service through the arts, their prominence is limited and not considered the norm (Larkin 1993, Lee and Paddock 2001, and Wielde and Schultz 2007). Does this mean that the portrayal of public service is predominantly negative with the occasional positive artistic expression? Government and public institutions can commission, approve, and create artwork that showcases the value of public service. Public servant leaders are immortalized via statues. Great events in public service history are captured in grand murals within public buildings. The architectural design of public buildings at times calls for vast and imposing structures. Public and government institutions throughout the world have used art to communicate with the public – underscoring the importance of service and promoting government institutions and prominent public servants.

In the United States, government institutions have opportunities to foster various forms of art promoting aspects of public service, to counter the negative portrayals in places such as film and television. This research begins to answer the question – how has government used art to communicate with the public?

This research analysis will utilize data from a virtual public service museum. Specifically, the method employed for reviewing government sponsored art is a content analysis of the holdings at the *Virtual Museum of Public Service*. Sponsored by the Rutgers-Newark School of Public Affairs and Administration, the *Museum* explores "digital representations of great works of visual art, film, video, and significant documentary artifacts that depict the largely unrecognized achievements and sacrifices of individuals in the public service" (VMPS 2013). Within the virtual halls of the museum are found over 30 galleries of permanent and special exhibits. Although not an exhaustive collection of public service art, it is one of the more comprehensive and diverse representations of public service art. Themes such as Diversity, Leadership, Quiet Heroes, Women, Nonprofit Organizations, Public Safety and Law Enforcement, Public Education, Civic Engagement, Civic Architecture and Public Works, Public Technologies for the Public Good, and others are included in the museum's halls. Based on the collections and visual accessibilities of the collections – the working framework of *public art* for this research is limited to Badges/ Emblems, Memorials, Monuments, Murals, Posters, Public, Infrastructure, Stamps and Statues.

Literature Review

Before reviewing the *Museum* and analyzing its holdings, a review of the literature of public service and government art is explored. An understanding of how government has historically been demonized by art will help further underscore the importance of government art, which holds the potential for shedding a more positive light on public service and administration. Art in popular culture can help set the foundation for a sustained belief and ideal. Wielde and Schultz (2007) suggest that popular culture has historically provided a frame of reference that can impact the manner in which the public view or think about the world. They further underscore, how movies – as an extension of popular culture "can affect how people think about the world" (62). Moreover, McCurdy (1995) argues that fiction and other works of imagination not only influence public policy but also the manner in which they are carried out – public administration. McCurdy suggest that this is achieved "by entering the public consciousness or popular culture and becoming part of the cognitive base for making decisions about public policy and administration" (1995, 499). To a greater extent, art can also be an agent of social change, impacting policy and administration via the public (Adams and Marini 1996). The creation of art about public service can have a long standing impact on society.

The Art of Public Administration

There are various relationships between the arts (the broadest concept of artistic imagery, including literature, film and paintings to name a few) and public administration. Goodsell (1992) suggests the administrator, "by doing the job in the deepest sense of the word, can achieve support and satisfaction…"and while employing a value system that supplements existing microcosmic influences an result for a more inspired service (252-3). Murray (1995) further advances the art of administration in applying aesthetics and arguing for harmony and balance as critical principles for the practice of administration. In addition, the importance of the art of aesthetics and its relationship with governments throughout the world was made by Blasko (2007).

An early proponent for the use of art in administration was Dwight Waldo. In one example, Waldo (1968) underscored how good administrative novels can provide a deeper meaning for one's

personal experience in organizations. Kroll (1995) suggests, the "administrative-viewer, through analytical observation of motion pictures, gains a broader perspective on an exceedingly complex world" (106). Films have continuously been found to be a source of public administration discourse (Chandler and Adams 1997; Holley and Lutte 1999, Eagan 2011, Stout, 2011, Austin 2012, Marshall 2012), as well associated topics such as: bureaucratic culture (Eastep and Farazmand 1999), military management (Shafritz and Foot 1999; Schwester 2009), administrative ambiguity (Domoracki et. al. 2011) and institutionalized racism (Witt 2011).

Public administration discourse is not limited to American political or policy films, but extends to films on science fiction (Lee 1999, Rutgers 2002) and international films in countries such as Brazil (Abreu et al. 1999), Spain, (Villoria 1999), India (Choudhary 1999), and the former Soviet Union (Gabrielyan 1999). The public administrator is influenced by various art forms such as films, thus providing new styles and techniques for which to use in their role as practitioners of public service.

Further examples that the administrator can learn from the arts include; lessons from Shakespearian literature (Shafritz 1993, Gira 1995, Kuder 1995), religious literature (Lee 2002, King 2004) and children's literature (Dawoody 2003); the poetry of Howard Nemerov (Frederickson and Frederickson 1994) T.S Eliot (Carey 1995), and Abraham Lincoln (Nelson 1995); television shows such as *Lonesome Dove* (Russell and Tinsley 1995), *Law & Order* (Pontuso 2003) *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (Mastracci 2011a, Mayo 2011), *The West Wing* (Popejoy 2009), *Parks and Recreation* (Norman and Kelso 2012), *The Wire* (Gaynor 2014); and animated shows as well (Mastracci 2011b). In addition, further lessons on public administration can be studied through paintings (McSwite 2002). Illiash and Carrizales (2004) provide an extensive list of literary resources from around the world that lend themselves to a further understanding of the field of public administration. The research of public administration and the arts underscores various opportunities for the public servant to learn from such artistic forms as film and literature. If government initiated art can influence public administration much in the same manner found in research about film and literature, then there exists a significant and sustainable positive portrayal of government through art.

Views of the Public Servant through the Arts

Holzer (1997) notes how positive images of public servants typically reflect those in life-threatening situations, such as military, police, and fire and emergency medical workers. On the other hand, service providers such as teachers, social workers, and librarians are less frequently portrayed in a positive light through the arts. Holzer and Slater (1995) review the portrayal of the bureaucracy in film and find that depictions are reworked to underscore negative stereotypes. As noted earlier, unflattering images lend themselves to viewing government employees as "incompetent, callous, and corrupt" (Holzer and Slater 1995, 76). These negative images can have serious ramifications with public service recruitment and retention (Holzer 1997). Larkin (1993) points out that although negative views of public administration in film are abundant, it is important to find and point out the few positive images.

Positive images of bureaucrats, although scarce, come in various forms of art. Lee and Paddock (2001) found a few number of movies highlighting the bureaucratic hero. Similiarly, Wielde and Schultz (2007) found that not all movies depict government servants negatively with examples of

action and ethics heroes in public servant roles. Carrizales (2009) reviewed a number of positive portrayals of public servants through editorial cartoons, an often unfriendly medium toward the bureaucracy. Pautz and Roselle's (2009) systematic review of recent popular films find that civil servants are generally depicted as competent with more than half positively depicted. Lee (2009) suggests that there are "occasional positive depictions of public servants in the mass media" but raises the question about future trends, specifically in emerging means of communications such as the internet and social media (6). These few examples of positive portrayals underscore the predominance of a negative perspective of bureaucracy through the arts.

Public Art

Public art specifically calls upon the collaborative relationship between public organizations, the artists and their art. The creation of municipal statues, building murals and architectural structures that are intended for the public's visual consumption – reflects a distinct manner in which the art of public service is displayed. For example, Kelly and Morris (2009) note that, "the construction of a national memorial is one of the most symbolic, visible manifestations of national commemoration policy" underscored by the network of elected officials advocating for its creation (89). Symbolism of public monuments, memorials and buildings transcends the discourse of construction and fosters in a potentially long-lasting symbolic imagery of positive public service.

Public architecture and buildings can have various meanings for the public. As Yanow (1995) finds, buildings tell stories, "with their landscaping and decor told an intended, authored policy story to multiple audiences, internal to the agency as well as external, near and far, even when this story was not expressed explicitly in policy language or in implementing agencies' goal statements" (417). Armstrong et.al (1998) propose a framework of seven social meanings embedded in public buildings: controversy, metaphor, marker, museum, influence, history and intimidation. Moreover, Goodsell (1997) underscores the importance of public architecture and notes it as a source for "shared meaning" in a postmodern world (89). In reviewing the prospects of public architecture serving as a social anchor, Goodsell suggests that:

> The government building reminds all citizens that they belong to a comprehensive, organized polity. The fact that the same structure serves everyone reminds people that they hold their citizenship in common. … [T]he public building's physical presence makes citizen's aware, continuously and unmistakably, that the government is there (1997, 92).

The prospects of art serving as a common and shared meaning among the citizenry is not limited to public architecture but can be attributed to all government art. The following methodical overview and subsequent findings further outline the various forms of government art – many of which, like public architecture, create a positive government presence.

Research Methodology

Public Service art will be reviewed through an analysis of the art collection hosted by the *Virtual Museum of Public Service*. A review of existing exhibits allowed for the categorization of the varying types of arts represented in public service: Awards/Prizes; Badges/Uniforms/Emblems; Memorials; Monuments; Murals; Music/Songs/Hymns; Oaths/Pledges; Policy/Law; Posters;

Public Sponsored Infrastructure; Stamps; and Statues. The collection of the *Museum* represents only a sample of the vast existence of public service art. Of the thousands of pieces of public sponsored art – it would be a challenge to quantify and qualify them all – so a sample, those collected by the *Museum,* allows for a researchable alternative. The online collection represents a vast collection of art that is specifically geared towards public service. The online collection is not limited to financial resources of owning pieces or physically housing them. Although the virtual collection is not an exhaustive representation of all public service art, it maintains a diverse collection of pieces suitable for beginning and continuing a discussion of the role the public sector plays in advancing public art.

The *Virtual Museum of Public Service* was founded in the spring of 2013 by the Rutgers-Newark School of Public Affairs and Administration as "an innovative web-based project that reflects the contributions public servants have made to their communities, nations, and the world" (Kim 2013). The *Museum* is co-sponsored by the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA), the Alliance for Public Service, the Public Technology Institute (PTI), George Mason University's Department of Public and International Affairs, and other public service organization (*VMPS* 2013).

Virtual museums can trace their roots back nearly two decades when in 1993 early concepts of online museums were developed by two computer artists collaborating on the internet-based *Museum of Computer Art* (Kim 2013). Virtual museums are now numbered in the hundreds and cover every form of art possibly captured through digital media. Some virtual museums are extensions of existing brick and mortar museums, while some are exclusively online. The *Virtual Museum of Public Service* reflects the latter type of virtual museum, but its collection of pieces can be found throughout the world.

The *Museum* was established to underscore the work of public service. As noted in the literature review above and reemphasized by the *Museum's* call for existence, "citizens often undervalue endeavors undertaken in volunteer, not-for-profit, and government settings… and receives unjustified criticism as inefficient or inept" (*VMPS* 2013). The *Museum*'s goal is to balance this stereotype of negativity towards public service by:

> Drawing upon digital representations of great works of visual art, film, video and significant documentary artifacts to depict the largely unrecognized achievements and sacrifices of individuals in the public service, thereby reflecting the contributions that public servants have made to their communities, nations, and the world (*VMPS* 2013).

The *Museum* is home to over 30 galleries for permanent and special exhibitions dedicated to Women in Public Service, Science in the Public Interest, Faith-Based Public Service Initiatives, Firefighters, Philanthropy, Leadership in Public Service, and others. There are currently two floors of galleries, with the first floor currently the only one "open" for viewing (Appendix A). The first floor houses 24 galleries which are divided into five "wings."

Findings and Analysis

A review of the collection within the 24 open galleries at the *Museum* highlights the various ways in which public service can be put on public display. In all there are 326 exhibits (Appendix B), but as these art exhibits are virtual – many are exhibited more than once in different but associated galleries. In addition, many exhibits are biographies of individuals – both historical and contemporary public servants, which are out of the scope of this research.

In all, a review of the *Museum* exemplified eight forms of government sponsored art. These categories could have been further expanded, but were grouped in cases of high similarity. These forms of art listed in alphabetical order in Table 1 and provide examples from the *Museum's* exhibits. Although some forms of art were found more often represented in the various art galleries and in this study, it is not reflective of their prevalence in society. There are no quantifying results from this exploratory review, except in highlighting the various forms that government sponsored art can be and has been expressed throughout history. In addition to the more common and recognized forms of art such as statues, there are numerous other mediums by which government promotes service and government.

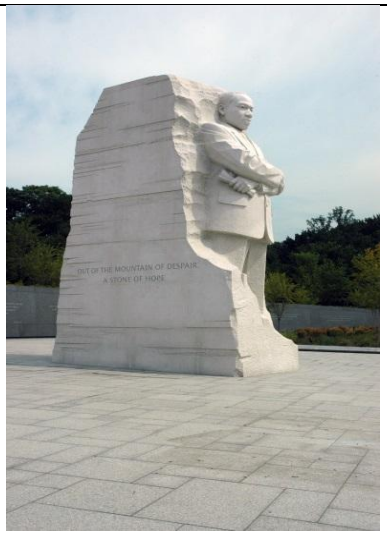
Table 1: Forms of Government Art

Form of Public Art	**Examples**
Badges/Uniforms/Emblems	Department of Homeland Security Emblem Military and emergency service uniforms
Memorials	Remembering individuals Past Wars
Monuments	Celebrating Individuals
Murals	Within government and public buildings promoting service
Posters	WPA Posters Recruitment Posters Health Advocacy Posters
Public Sponsored Infrastructure	Bridges, Damns, Railways, Causeways,
Stamps	Highlighting individuals dedicated to service, Professions of public service
Statues	Celebrating individuals Conceptual art commemorating significant events

Lessons from Government Initiated Art

In analyzing the data from the *Museum's* collection of art, we can begin to explore the possibility that the practice of public administration can be informed and influenced by art other than film and literature. Of the eight categories derived from the art collection, a few are selected to exemplify how government initiated art can impact the practice of public service.

Table 2: Examples of Government Sponsored Art

Form of Public Art	Examples
Badges/Uniforms/ Emblems Department of Homeland Security	
Monuments "Stone of Hope" – Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. National Monument	
Murals "Barefoot Mailman Mural"	

One example taken from the Exhibit: Emergency Management is the seal of the Department of Homeland Security. It is relatively new symbolic emblem of a public service organization creat-

ed in 2003. The image was designed as a symbolic representation of the "Department's mission – to prevent attacks and protect Americans – on the land, in the sea and in the air" (DHS 2013). This piece of government initiated art allows for a further understanding of the organization and provides a symbolic medium for discourse about its responsibilities, purposes and history.

A second example of public service art is one of the most recent monuments built in the U.S. capital city, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. National Monument's the "Stone of Hope." The monument reflects and celebrates an individual who was a proponent of public service, but was a non-elected, non-governmental official. This monument not only celebrates the individual but their ideals. On the other hand, the mural "Legend of James Edward Hamilton, Barefoot Mailman" highlights the trials and commitment of a public servant. Painted by Connecticut artist Steven Dohanos, the mural was intended to commemorate one of the Barefoot Mailmen, who died while crossing the Hillsboro Inlet carrying mail in 1887 (VMPS 2014).

Positive Portrayal of Public Service

One of the underlying aspects of this study was the portrayal of public service. How does government initiated art reflect a positive portrayal of public service and administration? Of all the exhibits reviewed and outlined here – not one portrayed public service in a negative manner. These results are not all that surprising given the context of the art exhibited and that fact that they are sponsored by public institutions. However, what should be noted through this research is the breadth by which art of public service and bureaucracy can be transmitted.

This study has outlined eight forms of art that can and should also be included in the discourse of how we can reflect on public service art. In addition to the few examples highlighted above, there are hundreds more in the *Museum's* collection that represent public service and can have lasting impression upon the public and practitioners alike. Monuments, memorials, and statues are not only long standing forms of art; they are typically open and accessible to everyone. In addition, there are more subtle examples that may enter the conscious of the public and ingrain a positive portrayal of public servants, such as stamps, and posters. The *Museum* had 24 exhibits and showed indications of expanding to encompass additional forms of art that may not have been discussed here. This suggests that government initiated art is continually providing a positive portrayal of public service in various forms.

Conclusion

This research has shown that the government is not immune to promoting public service through forms of art and public consumption. Although not an exhaustive list, a review of the *Virtual Museum of Public Servic*e has shown that government and public entities have historically and continually engaged in promoting public service through art. This research has not identified the degree to which this art impacts the public but many of the artistic pieces reviewed go beyond a temporary exhibits and are permanent fixtures in cities throughout the world. Many of these public art examples are open to the public year round without limitations, such as buildings, statutes, and other public structures.

In addition, the arts have continually served as a source of scholarship and research that can only further lend themselves to the field of public administration and service. Specifically, the manner in which government and public organizations use art to express their ideals and missions can help inform the practice of public administration. Through online resources, we have identified eight forms of public art, but there are many more still left to be discussed and studied for future research. For example, the design and layout of cities are artistic forms. Holiday and celebratory parades are artistic forms often sponsored by municipal governments. These are just two examples not exemplified when utilizing the methodologies for this research. However, it simply underscores how public art can be and should be studied – both for what it means to the study of administration, but also for the impact that it potentially has on the public.

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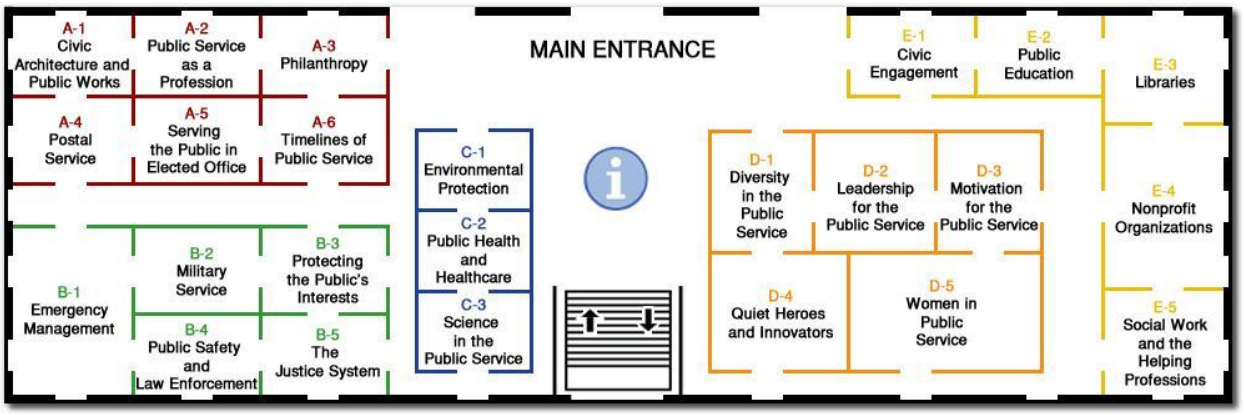
Appendix A: Virtual Museum of Public Service – First Floor Layout



Appendix B. Virtual Museum of Public Service Galleries (No. of exhibits)

Wing A	Civic Architecture and Public Works (13) Philanthropy (29) Public Service as a Profession (14) Postal Service (12) Serving the Public in Elected Office (4) Timelines of Public Service (1)
Wing B	Emergency Management (6) Military Service (10) Protecting the Public's Interests (13) Public Safety and Law Enforcement (18) The Justice System (4)
Wing C	Environmental Protection (15) Public Health and Healthcare (40) Science in the Public Service (5)
Wing D	Diversity in the Public Service (12) Leadership for the Public Service (7) Motivation for the Public Service (7) Quiet Heroes and Innovators (19) Women in the Public Service (28)
Wing E	Civic Engagement (18) Libraries (14) Nonprofit Organizations (13) Public Education (22) Social Work and the Helping Professions (5)

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Superhero, Sleeping Beauty, or Devil? The Making of Orphan Myths and Public Administration

Mariglynn Edlins

Introduction

In the 2009 movie, *Case 39*, Emily Jenkins is a social worker who develops a protective relationship with a young girl. When she confirms that Lilith's parents have tried to kill her, Lilith is removed from her parents and placed in foster care. The young girl convinces Emily to take her in and then mysterious things start happening. Lilith transforms from a sweet child to a demonic, possessed creature. As the film progresses, the interactions between Emily, the public servant, and Lilith, the demon, veer into the absurd and end in a dramatic murder.

With a professional background working with children in the foster care system, I was surprised to see a child in such a vulnerable position portrayed this way. While I recognize the intention for entertainment, a narrative such as this one about children who are separated from their parents is concerning. What does it communicate to us generally about who these children are and what they are going through? And perhaps even more important, what does it communicate or support in the thinking and judgment of individuals who work with children on the front lines of public service? With these questions in mind, I set out to explore popular narratives that might influence general thinking about these children, as well as the governance they receive through public administration.

In this paper I trace three popular narrative genres—superheroes stories, romantic fairytales, and horror films—that tell multiple stories about children who are temporarily or permanently separated from their parents, often called orphans. I am interested first in what myths about orphans emerge from these narratives, including archetypes about who they are, how they think and feel, as well how they should be treated. Additionally, I am interested in how these myths might influence the interactions between children who are separated from their parents and the public servants who represent the state. The paper will proceed as follows: the first section reviews the rela-

tionship between orphan children and public administration, exploring the foundational concepts for this relationship, as well as the relevance of popular genres. In subsequent sections, I trace the archetypes of orphans that emerge from each of the three narrative genres, identify how these myths might play out in interactions between children who are separated from their parents and public administrators, and consider the broader possible implications of these myths.

Orphans and Public Administration

Though citizens in the formal sense, children are functionally deprived of the capacity to participate in the decisions that affect them most. "Judged to be incapable of citizenship in that they cannot make the rational and informed decisions that characterize self-governance" (Cohen 2005, 221), children are dependent on adults to act for them and to make decisions in their best interest. Within families, governance is generally provided for children by one or two parents. However, for children temporarily or permanently without parents to govern them, this creates a considerable dilemma. Many of these children may not be orphans in the traditional sense but nonetheless "have one, sometimes two, parents, who can't or won't care for them" (Toth 1998, 20) for a period of time. Whether through "the death or disappearance of, abandonment or desertion by, or separation or loss from, both parents" (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services 2011), these children are indeed orphans. In this paper, I use the term "orphan" to represent a child who separated from their parents, whether temporarily such as the case of foster care, juvenile detention, or mandated in-patient drug rehabilitation, as well as a more permanent situation such as jail or waiting for adoption.

As an extension of the *parens patriae* doctrine (Latin for "parent of the nation"), the state has the power to step in when there is an absence of appropriate parental care. For these children who are separated from their parents whether permanently or temporarily, the individuals who represent the state become very important. While all children come into direct contact with public servants through state and local agencies, orphans become dependent on them to care for them and act on their behalf. When the state steps in as "parent" of orphan children, the day-to-day decisions in this child's life are made by representatives of the state, often referred to as street-level bureaucrats. These frontline bureaucrats work directly with orphan children: they are social workers, counselors, teachers, police officers, and others. They have a broad range of decision-making powers related to orphans, from arranging medical check-ups to deciding which state a child will live in. They also schedule dental appointments, advocate for appropriate academic conditions, attend court hearings and teacher conferences, purchase clothing, assess adoptive parents, process adoption-related paperwork, and much more.

Yet, even with the significant responsibility as the substitute governance of orphan children, the "field of public administration has yet to undertake a systematic exploration of children within the contemporary literature" (Edlins 2013). Unlike other fields that have adapted their thinking and action toward children, there is an absence of work in public administration's literature that considers children by contemplating their nature and needs in order to inform the interactions between public administrators and children. Even the literature that helps us understand the interactions between street-level bureaucrats and citizens, such as the works of Lipsky (1980) and Maynard-Moody & Musheno (2003), lack a focus on children. This literature indeed focuses on

interactions with adults, yet when children are mentioned, they are merely secondary characters or as categories of problems, such as misbehaving students. This oversight means there is a gap in our understanding about the interactions between public administrators and children; it also means there is a deficiency of guidance for these interactions.

However, although not focused on children, public administration's literature provides a wealth of information regarding how street-level bureaucrats make decisions and perform their work. These workers are known to function in tense environments characterized by high service demands, inadequate resources, and ambiguous expectations (Lipsky 1980). As a result of the nature of their work and the environment they work in, street-level bureaucrats rely on their own judgment (Hummel 1991; Tummers and Bekkers 2012; 2014), discretion (Lipsky 1980; Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2003; Meyers and Vorsanger 2007), and often must resort to a "flying by the seat of your pants" approach (Hummel 1991, 32). This use of personal discretion is inescapable because "street level bureaucracies *require* people to make decisions about other people" (Hudson 1989, 52) as they process individuals into appropriate categories to enable bureaucratic oversight of people as administrative units (Prottas 1979). In practice, the necessity to use personal discretion to work in a structured environment often means that street-level bureaucrats exert influence that is beyond their own authority such that they "can simply *control* clients" (Hudson 1989, 43).

At the same time that street-level bureaucrats rely on their own discretion to decide how to perform their work, they rely on their own judgment about the target populations they serve in order to make sense of the work that they do (Meyers and Vorsanger 2003). Their judgment about the people they work with is guided by their own beliefs and norms, as well as based on their personal biases. In the process of making sense of the work they do, the stories that street-level bureaucrats tell themselves, as well as the stories available to them through popular avenues become "sources of knowledge" for their public service (Hummel 1991; Meyers and Vorsanger 2003). In fact, all stories that are available to street-level bureaucrats invite them "to become engaged with the reality they represent" (Hummel 1991, 38); stories are therefore not merely entertainment, but also exist to inform the realities in which they work.

In the absence of public administration literature to guide or provide understanding around the interactions between orphans and the street-level bureaucrats that act as their parent, and because of the dependence of orphans on these public servants to make all important decisions in their day-to-day life, it is important to consider what influences might help street-level bureaucrats make sense of the work they do with these children. In other words, what stories exist that might influence how street-level bureaucrats think about orphans? What narratives might inform or merely influence the discretion and judgment they use in their work? Of course, it would be impossible to identify all of the stories that are available to street-level bureaucrats as "sources of knowledge." However, we can attempt to identify and consider the narratives that exist, with the knowledge that effective public administration requires balanced judgment and broad understanding (Denhardt and White 1986); the fact that it is children who are dependent on the governance of street-level bureaucrats makes this effort even more important.

Superhero Stories, Romance Novels, and Horror Films

In order to explore the stories that might influence the judgment and discretion of street-level bureaucrats who interact with orphan children, as well as to contribute to our broader understanding of these interactions, I look to popular narratives of fiction and other works of imagination as possible sources of narrative about orphans. By entering the public consciousness, also known as popular culture, works of fiction become "part of the cognitive base for making decisions about public policy and administration" such that they influence how public servants do their jobs (McCurdy 1995). In fact, the intersection of fiction (and other works of imagination) and public administration have long been considered; this can be seen as early as 1924 when Humbert Wolfe considered the representation of public servants presented in works of fiction (Wolfe 1932). In the literature that considers this intersection, the use of fiction is thought to be beneficial for public administrators (Egger 1944; 1959; Waldo 1968; Kroll 1965; 1981) and is thought to influence how public servants do their work (McCurdy 1995). Additionally, there is a tradition of using fiction as a teaching device in public administration courses to "illustrate principles and expand experience" (1995, 499; Hatcher 2006; Marini 1992; 1992b).

There is no shortage of narratives about orphans in fiction and other works of imagination. Stories from Jane Eyre (Bronte 1950) to Harry Potter (Rowling 2007) and many more,[1] offer narratives about orphans, each with different presentations about who they are and how they function in society. In each orphan narrative, the individual messages communicated to audiences contribute to common archetypes of orphans. These archetypes become common images that affect our deepest convictions in such a way that "we are not even aware of their power in our conscious lives" (Iaccino 1994, 4). As common images, theses archetypes define and limit the ways in which individuals approach and respond to orphans (Slotkin 2000). In this way, each fictional orphan and the genres that contain their narratives contribute to or create myths about the real lives of orphans.

In this paper, I explore the orphan archetypes created in three areas of narrative, including superhero stories, romance novels, and horror films, and consider how these myths might impact the interactions between orphans and public administrators. The selection of these genres over others was a mere fact of convenience: in my early searches for works of fiction about children separated from their parents, these children were commonly referred to as "orphans" and were frequently available in superhero stories, romance novels, and horror films. In addition to the availability of relevant narratives within these genres, I believe these are good cases to explore for three reasons. First, these narrative genres are popular and widely available. Superheroes have been widely popular since the 1930s when they became available through single-hero comic books (Goulart 1990). In addition to the comic book medium, superheroes have gained popularity through movies, television shows, and an obvious presence in American culture (Reynolds 1994) and are now more popular than ever (Coogan 2006). Stories about romantic love are some of the oldest and most common stories. Romance is embedded in many of the fairytales told to children at young ages but remain popular to adults through novels, movies, and TV shows. Horror narratives are also widely available through TV shows and film. They are continually popular because "societies are constantly having to address the things which threaten the maintenance of life and its defining practices" (Wells 2000, 10).

Next, the characters in these genres resonate with commonly-held emotions. In other words, they are relatable. As "the embodiment of the American myth of the lone, rugged individual who comes into society and cleans it up," superheroes take on what humans dream of doing but do not know how to do (Muir 1995, 3). Romantic fairytales similarly draw on our hopes and dreams, while stories within the horror genre capitalize on fears and anxieties. By definition, horror films aim to scare audiences by exploring natural fears that emerge in the contemporary world, while also identifying appropriate sources of fear. The use of orphans in these myth narratives is meant to make the characters relatable, in that we feel with or for them.

Finally, these genres offer us an opportunity to explore the unknown and to experience our own hopes and fears. Superhero stories are embedded with tropes of strength, bravery, and efficacy, which express the human need to feel control over our lives, no matter how bad the conditions around us get (Kaw 2005). These stories give readers the opportunity to "overcome our limitations, to soar and to unlock superpowers hidden within us" (Meyerson 2010). The romance genre gives us the experience of an extreme case of revival: a character starts from the very worst case (orphanhood) to the very best case (perfectly matched, passionate relationship). Horror stories allows us, even force us, to face the possibility of "a particularly violent and uncanny disruption of our unremarkable, everyday experiences" (Worland 2007, 2).

Within these genres, I examined three narratives in the superhero genre and six narratives each in the genres of romance novels and horror films, all based on their availability. The titles are displayed in Table 1. For superhero stories, I focused on the three best-known superheroes because they have the oldest and most established storylines, as well as the fact that there is a range of literature establishing the importance of their orphan status. For romance novels and horror films, the cases were selected based on the presence of a main orphan character.[2]

The following section will trace the narratives of these genres to identify the archetypes of orphans that they create and demonstrate how the emergent myths about orphans provide a perspective through which street-level bureaucrats might approach some of the orphans they interact with.

Superhero Stories

Many, perhaps even most,[3] superheroes are orphans. However, most notably orphaned are the big three: Superman, Batman, and Spiderman. Superman's parents died when their planet, Krypton, exploded. In an effort to save him, they sent him hurtling toward Earth in a rocket, where he was taken as an orphan and adopted. Before becoming Batman, young Bruce Wayne witnessed the brutal murder of his parents. Peter Parker, who would become Spiderman, also experienced the death of his parents early on and was taken in by his Uncle Ben[4] and Aunt May (Goulart 1990).

For many superheroes, their orphan status is the driving force of their character (Daniels 1995; Fingeroth 2004; McWilliams 2009). As part of an evolving mythology, these characters are seen as loners, who because they are "cut loose from family responsibilities, [are] an inherent part of the romance of America, of the myth of eternal fresh starts" (Wirth-Nesher 1986, 260). At the

core of these superheroes, are two primary elements that make them extraordinary: they succeed in the pursuit of a valiant mission, despite their great loss, and access great power and resources to do this. These attributes of resilience and access to resources lay the foundation for an emergent archetype of orphans as superheroes.

Table 1

	#	Title	Author/Director	Main/Orphan Character
Superhero				
	1	Superman	DC Comics	Clark Kent
	2	Batman	DC Comics	Bruce Wayne
	3	Spiderman	Marvel Comics	Peter Parker
Romance				
	1	*A Kiss to Remember*	Medeiros	Laura Fairleigh
	2	*Irish Thoroughbred*	Roberts	Adelia Cunnane
	3	*Desperate Measures*	Michaels	Pete Sorenson
	4	*Less of a Stranger*	Roberts	Megan Miller
	5	*Shades of Twilight*	Howard	Roanna Davenport
	6	*Heather and Velvet*	Medeiros	Prudence
Horror				
	1	*Whisper*	Hendler	David
	2	*Case 39*	Alvart	Lillith
	3	*Orphan*	Collet-Serra	Esther
	4	*The Orphanage*	Bayona	(ghost orphans)
	5	*House of Voices*	Laugier	(ghost orphans)
	6	*Hurt*	Stepansky	Sarah

Resilience

Although they experience significant loss early on, Superman, Batman, and Spiderman are not harmed or held back by their loss but are instead able to succeed by taking advantage of the "benefits" their orphan status bestows on them. They channel their grief and guilt into a mission to avenge their loss. Both Superman and Batman are motivated to reconcile their loss of family and sense of home. Superman was separated not only from his parents, but also from his home planet of Krypton. To reconcile that loss, he attempts to restore social justice to Earth and make it more like Krypton (Coogan 2006). In addition to this separation, Superman is left with feelings of guilt because he survived while his parents perished on Krypton (2006). Thus, "he constantly lives in such a way as to set himself apart from society because he feels inadequate" (McWilliams 2009, 14). Compared with Superman's altruistic drive, Batman's motivation has roots in anger. Scarred by witnessing the gruesome murder of his parents, Bruce Wayne created an alter ego in order to seek revenge on criminals across his city. For Spiderman, motivation emerges from his own failure. Shortly after receiving his spider-powers, Peter Parker's Uncle

Ben was killed by a thief. Because he was not there to prevent the crime and failed to catch the murderer for his original theft, Spiderman blames himself (Fingeroth 2004; Goulart 1990). Altogether, these three orphans rise above their experiences by channeling their loss into individual missions.

The loss of their parents generates a unique freedom for Superman, Batman, and Spiderman to pursue their own agendas (Coogan 2006). Although each character had other people who cared for them, they do not have to answer to parents or make time for them in traditional ways; they have a freedom from family obligations that allows them to pursue their main purpose (Fingeroth 2004; Wirth-Nesher 1986). This lack of attachment and oversight is not seen as a detriment to the characters, rather it is portrayed as a benefit as it frees them up to operate outside of the typical demands of family. To some extent, these orphans are presented as actually better off without their parents, because it allows them to become superheroes. This loss gives them the purpose to be a "champion of the oppressed" and to fight "evil and injustice" (Detective Comics, Inc. v. Bruns Publications 1939); the loss also provides them freedom to pursue their mission. In this way, the orphan status of a superhero becomes appealing; it is seen as an asset rather than a liability.[5]

Access to Resources

Along with the ability to channel their loss into something great, these superheroes are blessed with resources that are unparalleled by others and the ability to make use of these resources to pursue their mission (Coogan 2006). Superman, as the first true superhero, emerged with enough resources to make him very unique but also was given additional powers over time which allowed him to fly (instead of merely super-fast running), fend off any type of danger (atomic bomb included), push planets, throw buildings, and use x-ray vision to see through anything (Daniels 1995).[6] Unlike Superman, Batman had no supernatural powers but instead had access to financial resources that enabled him to devote "years to preparing for his crime-fighting career, turning himself into both a master scientist and a top athlete" (Goulart 1990, 23). These abilities, paired with the best devices money could buy, give Batman his superhero power. Similar to Batman, Peter Parker began with no supernatural powers; he was just an average teenager until a radioactive spider bit him, giving him "strength, agility, wall-crawling ability, and an intuition for danger" (1990, 347).

In addition to their physical and supernatural resources, superheroes are marked by unlimited possibilities. Although they endured the nightmarish experience of losing their parents, these characters are not destitute of options or choices. This is evident in the resources available to them and the power they have to choose between resources. For Batman, these resources are financial. As a millionaire, he has the "opportunity to outfit himself with all the high-tech tools that an underfunded, overstressed metro police force could not afford" (Muir 1995, 71). His utility belt contains "an endless supply of lifesaving gadgets" (Goulart 1990, 23). In addition to the belt, he has the Batmobile, Batboat, Batsub, Batgyro (helicopter), and Batplane. To house these tools of revenge, Bruce Wayne was able to expand the Batcave until it became "a bottomless pit with room for a garage, a hangar, a laboratory, a trophy room and even a gymnasium" (Daniels 1995, 79).

Although not blessed with immense financial resources like Batman, Superman is privileged with increasing choices. He debuts as a hero, super in rank, with the ability to squash the common criminal. However over time, his powers increase dramatically—instead of merely overruling criminals, he can extinguish atomic bombs; rather than running across states with a superhuman speed, he develops the power of flying. As these alternatives emerge for him, Superman is able to choose his causes and to alter his mission to fit his preference. At his beginning, Superman is a do-gooder, working as "a savior of the helpless and the oppressed" (Goulart 1990, 351). He helps widows and orphans; he stops abuse to the vulnerable; he holds back drunk drivers and gamblers. With a concentration on domestic violence and government corruption, he relies on his social conscience to addresses the issues important to him. The ability to choose between good options as well as the resources and powers available to these superheroes ensure their success in each situation.

In each of their stories, access to resources—whether supernatural powers, wealth, possibilities, or choices—elevate these superheroes above crooks and villains. But it is not just the resources they have access to, it is also their ability to harness these resources in ways that allow them to "effortlessly solve problems that the ordinary authorities cannot handle" (Coogan 2006, 231), without causing any danger to themselves. As such, they project an effortless efficacy demonstrated by their ability to do anything they set out to do.

The Superhero-Orphan Myth at the Street-Level

These narratives of superhero-orphans present an archetype of orphans as resilient and able to take advantage of the many resources available to them. In each story, the characters are able to translate the loss of their parents into a mission that not only defines them but also helps others. They have the freedom to do as they please and the resources to enable them. All together, these narratives present a character who does not suffer emotional struggles but is logical and determined. The superhero-orphan has access to resources that they are able to use to bounce back, and even succeed, in spite of their loss.

Under the influence of the myth that orphans are superheroes who will use their resources to succeed in spite of loss, a street-level bureaucrat may view an individual orphan as not needing a great deal from them. In this view, as long as they provide basic resources for the child, it is reasonable to expect them to be able to channel those resources in order to not only get by, but to succeed. For instance, a child in foster care may need an adequate placement and support services, but as long as those things are in place, it follows that the orphan should be able to successfully navigate their experience and succeed. This would be the same case with an orphan in juvenile detention or in-patient drug rehabilitation. Additionally, as long as those resources are available, even if it means multiple changes in a child's home or school placement, this myth holds that the child is resilient and supported with resources enough to bounce back. As an extension of this perspective, a street-level bureaucrat may not seek additional support and may have less patience with a child's on-going emotional struggles. If then a child does not embody this myth, the street-level bureaucrat may think, "It's nobody's fault but your own" because the orphan did not make logical decisions to succeed in spite of their situation.

Romance Novels

In romance novels, the "main plot centers around two individuals falling in love and struggling to make the relationship work" (Romance Writers of America 2011). Most well-known romance writers have at least one storyline that revolves around an orphan, although many authors have multiple such storylines.[7] In these stories, the Love-er is the active character, initiating and pursuing the Love-ee, who plays a more passive role in the process of falling in love and developing a relationship.[8] Unlike the superhero genre, which displays the orphan as the ultimate hero, orphans in romance novels are most often the Love-ee, or passive character. Although usually the novel's protagonist, this character is in a position to merely respond to the advances and efforts of the Love-er; they are often at the mercy of the Love-er in order to maintain their livelihood, status, or security. The ways in which orphan characters are depicted in tales of romance generate the sleeping-beauty-orphan archetype, which portrays orphans as primarily motivated by a need to be saved by a romantic love in order to enjoy a happy ending.

Need to Be Saved

Unlike superheroes who can channel their experience of loss into a mission, orphans in the romance genre are often portrayed as unable to recognize, process, or act on their feelings. As a result, orphan characters are unaware of the good things that happen in their lives; they are often made aware of their own feelings and what is best for them by other characters. This deficiency places them in debt of their Love-er and creates a situation where they need to be saved from their own foolishness. In *Desperate Measures* (Michaels, 2010), everyone but Pete, who spent his childhood shuttling from foster home to foster home, knows that he is in love with Annie. Annie, of course, loves him and is patiently waiting for Pete to recognize what everyone else already knows. When the realization of his love for Annie catches up with Pete, he admits, "I guess I always loved you. I was just too stupid to know it" (Michaels 2010, 380). *Less of a Stranger's* (Roberts 2003) Megan cannot believe that Davis could truly love her and convinces herself that he is out to get the family business. She is sure that what she truly wants is "for him to go away and leave us alone" (Roberts 2003, 102) but after it occurs to everyone else, Megan realizes that, while Katch was interested in the family business, his primary interest was in her. Similarly, in *Irish Thoroughbred* (Roberts 2007), Adelia cannot believe that Travis could truly love her and therefore must continuously be convinced by Travis that he loves her and wants to be married to her.

In these stories, orphans are characterized as lacking autonomy, even in situations with the people who love them. In *Shades of Twilight* (Howard 1997), Roanna is desperately in love with Webb, but when he leaves, she effectively stops living. She is powerless to stop him from leaving; she is powerless to keep herself alive once he is gone. Even ten years later, she has not been able to resurrect her life in his absence. She floats through life with a "blank doll face" which registers no passion, feeling, or personality. Even when Webb finally does return, Roanna remains powerless around him, explaining, "It's never been a secret how I feel about you. All you had to do at any time was snap your fingers and I'd have come running and let you do anything you wanted to me" (1997, 163). Similar to Roanna's compliant personality, *Heather and Velvet's* (Medeiros 2011) Prudence lacks authority in her own life and allows Sebastian to take advantage of her. Without ever voicing her feelings or the proposal she is considering, she allows herself to be kidnapped and then forcibly married to Sebastian.

Happy Endings

A crucial element of this archetype is the happy ending that all the characters find when they are rescued by their lover. Although the orphaned characters in romance novels are shown to have deficits that limit their own autonomy, they are always saved by a romantic character who secures a happy ending for them. In *A Kiss to Remember* (Medeiros 2002), Nicholas falls deeply in love with Laura; they marry and she is able to secure the house she is able to live on in her family home. In *Irish Thoroughbred (*Roberts 2007*),* Travis convinces Adelia of his love and they live happily ever after. In *Heather and Velvet* (Medeiros 2011), Sebastian recognized Prudence's hidden beauty and allows her to personality bloom. In *Desperate Measures* (Michaels 2010), Annie happily receives Pete's love. In *Less of a Stranger (*Roberts 2003), Megan is convinced by Katch that he is interested in her and they quickly marry. In *Shades of Twilight* (Howard 1997), Webb is able to melt Roanna's icy exterior and he builds her self-confidence. Together they are able to solve the mysterious situations around them and live happily together.

In each case, the orphan is not able to create good out of their bad situations; they also struggle to accept good from others. A happy ending is only possible because the lover sweeps into save them from their dependence and helplessness.

The Sleeping-Beauty-Orphan Myth at the Street-Level

In each of these tales of romance, the helpless orphans are moved through the story as pawns, completely powerless to their own development or outcomes. They need to be saved because of an emotional debt that comes from their lack of awareness, not only of how their Love-er feels, but also of their own feelings. This indebtedness is made possible by the orphan status, which seemingly defines the character as unable to recognize their emotions, accept their attractiveness, and receive the love of another person. The situations in each of these stories reveal a power differential between the Love-er and Love-ee that establish the Love-ee's dependence on the Love-er for their security, a manifestation of their lack of autonomy.

Under this myth of needing to be saved in order to find a happy ending, the street-level bureaucrat becomes all-important. The work becomes all about the bureaucrat, who works to meet their own personal needs of altruism and co-dependence. By amplifying the importance of the public administrator, this myth in turn infantilizes the orphan and robs them of their self- determination and autonomy. The street-level bureaucrat is likely to make decisions for the child without consulting them, often without informing them, as the one who "knows best." These decisions might include choosing a permanent placement for the child, based on the criterion of what is most likely to "save" the child. It might also include limiting the orphan's opportunities or risks, based on the idea that the orphan is incapable of acting on their own. For the street-level bureaucrat, the likely result of this myth is burnout. If then a child does not embody this myth, or is not rescued for a happy ending, the street-level bureaucrat they started will not be around. As a result of this myth, the orphan would be crippled by the infantilization and in a self-fulfilling turn of events, they would not know how to act for themselves.

Horror

Horror films typically employ a monster or devil who creates an unwanted, and often dangerous, disruption. This devil represents "a projection of particular threats, fears and contradictions that refuse coexistence with the prevailing paradigms and consensual orthodoxies of everyday life. The devil may also be perceived as a direct and unfettered expression of the horrors that surround us" (Wells 2000, 9). While horror films have often included orphans as characters,[9] recent films have featured an orphaned child as the devil who is evil and beyond repair.

Evil

In the opening minutes of *Whisper* (2007), a black screen displays 2 Corinthians 11:14, "And no wonder, for Satan himself masquerades as an angel of light." The film's "angel of light" is David, who appears to be a sweet and normal 8 year old but turns out to be an evil child, who is out for murder. After causing the brutal murders of five people, David makes it clear that he is "casting for souls" and killing anyone in his way.

In *Case 39* (2011*)*, Lilith convinces social worker Emily to take her in, yet quickly turns her evil on her. After Emily's closest friends die bizarre deaths, Emily begins to see that her "sweet and intuitive" foster daughter is also a callous and calculating psychopath. She seeks out Lilith's father who explains that Lilith intends "to know what your idea of hell is... and make you live there." Not able to comprehend such evil in a child, Emily asks what Lilith is and her father responds, "Whatever evil she is, didn't come from us. It was already there. From the moment she came into being, she brought something with her. Something older, destructive. Soul of a demon."

In *Orphan* (2009), Kate and John are initially drawn to Esther over the other orphans because she appears quiet and perceptive. However, it quickly becomes clear that Esther is no innocent victim as she deliberately harms those around her: she brutally kills Sister Abigail with a hammer, bashes in the head of a bird with a rock, pushes a little girl off a playground structure, and physically threatens both of her new siblings. Esther's villainy escalates as she almost kills her brother, succeeds in brutally murdering her father, and desperately attempts to kill her mother.

In other films, the evil orphan character is less obvious. In *The Orphanage* (2008), Laura's son Simon disappears and she suspects he has been taken away by the ghosts of past orphans who lived in the orphanage. As the story unfolds, Laura begs the orphanage to return her son, at times actually calling out to the house, as she begins to confirm details of the orphans who lived there in the past. In a similar story, when Anna arrives at the orphanage in *House of Voices* (2005)*,* she begins to sense a supernatural presence and hears mysterious voices. This escalates as the orphanage itself seems to rise up as a character, making noises and slamming doors, in order to intimidate and communicate with her.

In each of these stories, orphans are portrayed as having supernatural evil that enables their evil. However in *Hurt* (2009), young Sarah Parsons' malevolence stems from witnessing the tragic death of her parents and an intense desire to get revenge on those she believes are responsible for her pain. Even without additional powers to spur her violence, Sarah's extreme grief provokes

her to kill, or almost kill, all the people she encounters. Whether by extraordinary means or merely by the experience of tragedy, these orphans are manipulative, powerful, and ruthless.

Irreparable

In these stories, characters volunteer to help the orphans even though they are in vulnerable situations, only to discover that the orphan is beyond love and repair. The main parent-characters in both *Orphan* (2009) and *Hurt* (2009) are struggling with great loss, yet open their homes to an orphan out of the goodness of their hearts. While they struggle with their own pain, they are open to supporting and loving the orphan child. But, ignoring the hurt around them, as well as taking advantage of it, Esther and Sarah refuse to be helped by these supportive families. Instead, they viciously prey on the very people who have offered to care for them, despite their less than ideal conditions. Resistant to support and love, these orphans demonstrate that they are beyond repair.

In many stories, it is only the death of the orphan at the hand of the parent-character that can end their destruction. Here, the orphans beg their new parent to save them and forgive them their evil. Esther calls out to Kate, "Don't let me die, Mommy!" (*Orphan* 2009). Lilith similarly begs Emily, "Please…don't let me die, Mommy" (*Case 39* 2011). Making an emotional plea, the orphans request that their new parent love them as they might their own child and give them a second chance, forgiving their evil behavior. In other situations where orphans face defeat by those who set out to help them, they taunt the opposing character. Sarah highlights her own corruption as a result of her trauma by challenging her sister, "You can't hurt me, you don't know how" (*Hurt* 2009). David also highlights this by telling Max, "You couldn't kill me, you don't have it in you" (*Whisper* 2007). These characters have reached the height of evil, such that they cannot recover but must die for things to get better.

The Devil-Orphan Myth at the Street-Level

The narratives of these horror films present an archetype of orphans as evil and beyond repair. They enter seemingly sweet and vulnerable, in need of people who will love and support them in their time of need. But instead of accepting this effort, these orphans morph into monsters who endeavor to kill those around them. This creates a myth that orphans, specifically *certain* orphans, are a "lost cause", in that they are evil and irreparable. These orphans, rather than to create concern about themselves, actually create concern for those around them because they are likely to ruin things and people around them.

Influenced by this myth of evil and irreparable orphans, a street-level bureaucrat would approach interactions with individual orphans with diminished commitment and diligence. Rather than explore feelings or causes of behavior, they would be eager to silence it. For instance, to allow prescribed psychotropic medication or punitive treatment. This myth would make a street-level bureaucrat more amenable to institutionalization, rather than advocating for therapeutic or community support. Working with "lost causes," a street-level bureaucrat's involvement and actions become less important. They would be less likely to fight for unique or creative solutions for an orphan, under the assumption that nothing will work. They would put others ahead of the orphan, given the need to protect others from the danger and potential harm from the orphan. In most cases, these interactions would, in a self-fulfilling type of way, ensure negative outcomes for the

orphan. If then a child does not embody this myth, the street-level bureaucrat may think "I told you so" or "Glad I didn't make an investment in that kid!"

Possible Implications of Orphan Myths

The popular narratives in superhero stories, romance novels, and horror films frame myths about orphans: that they are resilient and resourceful; that they need to be saved in order to find a happy ending; and that they are evil and beyond repair. Each of these stories provides us examples of children who have been separated from their parents, along with an archetypal narrative about how these orphans fared in spite, or as a result of, their orphan status. All together, these orphan myths suggest a nature of inevitability about the outcome of an orphan: that they will bounce back from their struggles, that someone will rescue them for a happy ending or that they will ruin everything and everyone around them.

Although these are stories, mostly far-fetched stories, we know that narratives are subsumed into the public consciousness in ways that affect how public servants perform their jobs (McCurdy 1995; Slotkin 2000). We also know that these public servants become the direct administrators of the day-to-day lives of children who are separated from their parents, whether temporarily or permanently. Given the constraints of their jobs and work environments, in addition to the absence of public administration literature, what are the possible implications of these myths to the interactions between street-level bureaucrats and real-life children who are separated from their parents?

First let us consider the possibility that these myths about orphans, coupled with street-level bureaucrats' reliance on their own discretion and the lack of public administration literature, may influence these interactions in ways that are bad for children. As previously identified following the discussion of each myth, a negative implication may occur when a public servant uses their discretion in ways that reflect the individual archetypes that emerge from popular narratives. For instance, a caseworker who assumes an orphan will bounce back in challenging situations may be willing to allow their orphan client to make multiple foster home moves. This reflection of any of the individual orphan myths could be harmful to orphans. However, the negative implications of these myths may be much broader in their influence on street-level bureaucrats and their interactions with children.

Together, the myths that emerge from these narratives suggest that certain outcomes are inevitable for orphans: success, rescue, or failure. But at the core of this is an assumption of who or what is responsible for the future outcomes of orphan children. The myth that orphans will access the resources available to them in order to succeed suggests that an orphan is fully responsible for their response to their orphan experience, as well as for the eventual direction of their life. However, the myth that an orphan will only find a happy ending through someone else puts all the responsibility for a positive outcome on someone from the outside swooping in for a rescue and devalues the orphan's autonomy in their own life. Likewise, the myth of evil and irreparable orphans suggests that nothing can be done to impact the orphan's outcome; they are doomed from the start. In the first case, all the self-determination and responsibility falls on the orphan, while in the latter two, the orphan has no autonomy to impact the outcome of their own life.

The inevitability of outcomes as proposed in these myths also allows for the assignment of blame in the event a child's eventual outcomes are not ideal. The superhero-orphan myth tells us that a child who does not bounce back to succeed is at fault: they should have taken advantage of the resources that were provided to them in order to overcome their loss and circumstances. The myth that orphans need to be saved by someone else in order to be happy sets the orphan's only hope on the possibility of finding someone who will rescue them with a fairytale ending. However, the blame still falls on them if this does not happen. The myth of orphans as evil and beyond repair suggests that there is no possibility of a good outcome; this child is lost before anyone can help.

By suggesting simplified outcomes from complex situations, these myths may become "work-processing devices" that allow street-level bureaucrats to categorize orphans and make decisions about how to work, given their significant workloads (Lipsky 1980). Such a tool allows a street-level bureaucrat to simplify complicated situations into categories that allow them to efficiently do their jobs. This of course is not necessarily done consciously, but is part of a subconscious process of operating under the demands of a heavy workload. While perhaps more efficient, this type of processing does not necessarily translate to increased effectiveness when working with young humans who have unique emotions and feelings. In fact, the use of these myths as tool to prioritize their work with orphans may make street-level bureaucrats less effective, as simplifying techniques prevent individualized care. Thus, these myths threaten to desensitize street-level bureaucrats to the needs and vulnerabilities of orphans.

However, not all the possible implications have to be negative; perhaps the implications of these myths on interactions could in fact be positive. Given the significant amount of discretion they have, as well as the closeness of their work to their clients' lives, street-level bureaucrats might use their discretion to the *benefit* of children who are separated from their parents. For instance, these myths might convince them that their orphan clients are even more worthy of their help, creating a type of "positive discrimination" (Goodsell 1981; Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2003) such that they work harder, are more creative with solutions, or use their discretion to take liberal action for the child. Whether motivated by pity (orphans need to be saved) or genuine concern for the child's loss or separation, the amplified conditions of the orphan status through these narratives might generate positive implications for orphan children.

Lastly, it is also important to consider the possibility that these myths may have no real impact on the interactions between orphans and public servants. Individuals may be unaware of the narratives about orphans: they may not consume superhero stories, romance novels, or horror films; they may consume these narratives yet not make a connection between the stories and real-life children. Or perhaps they may know these narratives and recognize the archetypes of orphans presented, but choose to disregard them as possible influences on their work.

Conclusion

The possibility of these negative implications is concerning for two reasons. First, children are a vulnerable population. They do not have the agency to govern themselves, but depend on others to govern them. Second, children who are separated from their parents temporarily or permanently come under the direct governance of the street-level bureaucrats who both implement public policy and make their own policy through their use of discretion (Lipsky 1980). These public servants essentially act as orphan children's parents, making and overseeing decisions that range from the day-to-day, like doctor's appointments and clothing, to the big and important, like where they will live, what medications they take, and how they progress in school. In this way, orphans are vulnerable as children, but doubly vulnerable as children governed by street-level bureaucrats, who receive little guidance for their interactions with these children. The danger of negative interactions between street-level bureaucrats and children is particularly concerning but also likely because they are clients without rights (Meyers and Vorsanger 2007).

There is currently a gap in understanding around the interactions between street-level bureaucrats and the children who depend on them because they are temporarily or permanently separated from their parents. Thus, these myths and their potential implications highlight a need for further research on these interactions and how street-level bureaucrats approach children as clients. Additionally, further research is necessary on the ways street-level bureaucrats use personal discretion in their interactions with children. This type of research will allow us to inform and understand the interactions that these public servants have with children who are separated from their parents.

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Endnotes

[1] Consider: Dorothy Consider in The Wonderful Wizard of Oz (Baum 1900), Tom in The Adventures of Tom Sawyer (Twain 1881), Pip in Great Expectations (Dickens 1861), Heathcliff in Wuthering Heights (Brontë 1848), and the list could go on. More recent than these classic novels, popular movies tell stories about orphans, including James Bond, Harry Potter, Aladdin, and Good Will Hunting. Even popular television shows including storylines related to orphans: Modern Family, Brothers & Sisters, Private Practice, Bones, House, and multiple soap opera series.

[2] It is important to note that the discussion of these genres, as well as the specific titles within them, is not meant to be exhaustive. Rather this is my attempt to identify some of the available narratives about orphan children, and the

archetypes that emerge about who these children are, as well as to consider the possible implications of these narratives for the interactions between public servants and children separated from their parents.

[3] Beyond these three, many other superheroes are orphans: Aquagirl, Aurora, Captain Marvel, Daredevil, Green Lantern, Gypsy, and Roy Harper. Additionally, many of the X-Men cast are orphans, including Bishop, Cyclops, Havok, and Jubilee.

[4] Early in Spiderman's storyline, his uncle is also murdered, subjecting him to a second orphaning.

[5] As it glorifies the freedom associated with the orphan status of superheroes, this myth-narrative provides an escape reality for non-orphans wanting to escape their families (Coogan 2006).

[6] In 1963, Lois Lane confirmed that Superman also had acquired the power of the "superkiss" (Daniels 1995).

[7] Consider: Nora Roberts, Linda Howard, Jude Deveraux, Judith McNaught, Susan Elizabeth Phillips, Julie Garwood, Kristin Hannah, and many more.

[8] These characters are generally referred to as the hero and the heroine. However, as this suggests, the heroine is not always a female character, nor the hero a male character (by definition, a hero is a man, while a heroine is a woman). Instead, these terms refer to the role the characters play with in the evolution of their love and relationship. Because gender has historically been assigned to hero and heroine and they can thus become a complicating rather than clarifying terms, I will refer to these character roles as the Love-er and the Love-ee. Love-ers (or heroes) are the active character. These characters, whether man or woman, are the determined pursuer and initiator of love. They are clear in their affections and determined to win over their Love-ee. The Love-ees (or heroines) plays a more passive role in the process of falling in love and developing a relationship. They are typically the one to be swept off their feet; the one to wake up towards the end of the novel, suddenly surprised by their feelings.

[9] Orphans have long held major roles in horror films. Consider: *Psycho* (1960), *The Innocents* (1961), and *The Shining* (1980). *The Omen* (1976) is generally thought to be the first horror film that featured an orphan child as the devil, rather than a common character.

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Information Is Power: Women as Information Providers to the President's Budgeting Men; A History of the Bureau of the Budget Library, 1940-1970

Mordecai Lee

The power of the purse is a fundamental component of public administration. In the federal government it facilitates the president's control over the sprawling executive branch. While only Congress can appropriate funds, the president's Office of Management and Budget (OMB) drafts the president's annual budget plan and promotes those recommendations before Congress. Some of its other levers of power include legislative clearance, management oversight, and the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs (OIRA). As such, how the elite OMB (before 1970, the Bureau of the Budget [BOB]) operates has been of interest to public administration.[1] Some of its professional milestones, which are considered major events in the history of the profession, were its founding in 1921 after a long effort lobbying Congress by executive-centered good-government reformers and then the Bureau's further strengthening in 1939 based on the recommendations of the Brownlow Committee.

In-House Agency Libraries as an Element of Public Administration

While budgeting is the most prominent of the levers and functions of managerial power, there are other important and universal staff services which are essential to modern public administration. (The terminology of line vs. staff is now sometimes referred to as operational vs. functional.) These ancillary roles include HR, evaluation, performance management, IT, auditing, planning, policy analysis, public relations, and legislative relations. Such staff-oriented components of management are routinely addressed in the sub-literatures of public administration, sometimes with journals dedicated exclusively to that particular activity in the public sector. However, this has not been the case regarding agency libraries and information centers. While they are often a common staff unit in large administrative agencies, they have received little attention in the public administration literature. Yet, for example, they are a significant presence in the federal government. A recent survey by the Library of Congress's Federal Library and Information Network (FEDLINK) identified 1,112 federal libraries.[2]

It appears that notwithstanding the role of information in decision-making, public administration largely ceded the history and functioning of agency libraries to the library field, presuming the subject would be of more interest to information science faculty than their counterparts in public administration. (Early public administration gave up many other silos, including military administration, public education administration, higher education administration [of public universities], and nonprofit management.) A factor which might also be at play is the early sexism of public administration and its historians.[3] Woman's work was segregated at that time to a handful of government career tracks and may have been of less interest than the seemingly more masculine exercise of power and control.[4] But even library history has only intermittently been interested in government in-house libraries and some of that literature is quite dated. In general, the *academic* literature about libraries in the sprawling US executive branch is modest.[5] The subject is somewhat more common in the *professional* literature of librarianship, but commonly as descriptive pieces about an agency's library, often written by an employee.[6]

Given that information is power, the BOB/OMB library was one of the levers for the agency to assert its oversight and dominance over the executive branch on behalf of the president. Three articles were published about it in the librarianship professional literature, with two of them authored by its own staffers.[7] This inquiry seeks to add to the record the origins and early life of BOB's library, what it did to contribute to the agency's power, the sometimes overt sexism of the time separating female librarians from male budget analysts, and the possible significance of its chief librarian's Jewishness. Before World War II, anti-Semitism was relatively widespread and entry barriers were common in the professions, the academy and government.

Methodology

This research project was hobbled by the near-total absence of primary and archival material on the subject. BOB's agency files at the US National Archives II site in College Park (MD) contained no folders relating to the library.[8] A small amount of archival documentation was found at the Roosevelt Presidential Library, especially the papers of BOB Director Harold Smith. One relevant memo was found at the Nixon Presidential Library. The only archival material relating to Ruth Fine, BOB's longtime chief librarian, was in the archives of the American Library Association (ALA) at the University of Illinois, but these were limited to her professional activities within ALA, not her BOB work.

This absence of significant primary sources required an indirect historiographic methodology, with reliance mostly on secondary sources to *reconstruct* the history of the BOB library. McNabb has recommended the methodological approach of triangulation for historical research in public administration, especially when the archival record is incomplete (or possibly misleading and self-serving).[9] For this inquiry, I largely relied on official executive branch documents (such as the president's annual budget message), Congressional appropriations hearings, the *Congressional Directory*, and professional directories of libraries in Washington, DC.

One of the explanations for the thinness of published research about the BOB library and the lack of original sources about this important presidential agency may be related to an apparently deliberate decision by the bureau's leadership. This inclination may have been more than sexism.

From their behavior and public statements, BOB leaders seemed to give the library a low profile so as not to attract the attention of penny-pinching Congressional appropriators. The latter were invariably attracted to cutting budgets by reducing supposedly ancillary and administrative functions, such as personnel management, travel, consultants, training, public relations, and information resources.[10] This was especially true for members of Congress's conservative coalition (Southern and conservative Democrats and minority-party Republicans) who were seeking indirect ways to degrade the viability of agencies implementing the New Deal.[11]

To overcome research barriers when the absence of important or contemporaneous original sources might be deliberate, a historian of the causes of World War I suggested a research and interpretive approach called "maximum plausibility." This methodology can serve as a way to try to interpret and understand opaque historical developments.[12] The evidence for the plausible motivation by BOB leadership for hiding the library is explored as part of this inquiry.

The Initial BOB Library, 1921-1939

The Bureau of the Budget was established by Congress in 1921. It was created in part due to the lobbying of good government reformers who argued that governmental efficiency and restraints on spending would be enhanced if the president had the power to consolidate all agency budget requests into a whole and then submit his recommendations to Congress in a comprehensive package. Previously, annual budget requests were sent directly to Congress by individual agencies. The fight over executive-centric vs. legislative-centric budgeting was, in retrospect, a fight over supremacy in the American system of separate, but equal, branches of government. Executive budgeting was a major win for presidents and governors over Congress and state legislatures. The Budget and Accounting Act of 1921 created BOB as an agency within the Treasury Department, but under the direct supervision of the president, not the treasury secretary.

The earliest documentation of the existence of a library in BOB dates to 1923, when the agency was two years old. During federal fiscal year (FY) 1924 (July 1, 1923-June 30, 1924), BOB employed a full-time female Senior Library Assistant who provided reference services to BOB staff. Her annual salary was about $2,000.[13] By 1927, BOB's library had about 3,000 items in its collection, focusing mostly in the areas of finance and law. The library had one employee, Mrs. Elizabeth M. Rinker, and it was located in the Treasury Department building just east of the White House.[14]

Based on its reports to Congress, BOB ceased employing a librarian in June 1925, at the end of FY 1925.[15] This was misleading to the point of deception. The library continued functioning as before, but the librarian's civil service employment category was now as a clerk-stenographer with a salary of $1,800.[16] That this was plausibly deliberate is demonstrated in part by comparing BOB's entries in the many issues of the official *Congressional Directory* in the 1920s and early 1930s with those of the Bureau of Efficiency (BOE). Similar to BOB, BOE was a small and central management-oriented agency in the executive branch. It, too, had a modest library, also staffed by a lower-level clerk. Yet the entries for BOE in the *Congressional Directory* always listed its librarian while those for BOB never did.

Largely hidden from the gaze of federal appropriators, the BOB library continued in operation during the 1920s and 1930s.[17] A 1928 directory of capital libraries described the BOB library as "new" and praised its existence because it was "developing to fill a real need."[18] The most detailed description of the library during this period was by David Spence Hill, who had conducted an inquiry into Washington area libraries for the American Council on Education with funding from the Carnegie Corporation. The BOB library was "one large room" with a collection of about 2,450 items. The holdings were mostly official federal publications, such as Congressional documents, laws, important court decisions, formal opinions of the Comptroller General (the head of the General Accounting Office [GAO]), and annual reports of executive branch agencies. Besides these public documents, the collection focused on financial matters. By now, BOB's non-librarian librarian Rinker had been replaced by another woman, Mrs. Helen E. Mayhew. She, too, was employed as a clerk and was responsible for all of BOB's mail and files as well as the library.[19]

For reasons that are unclear, for the rest of the 1930s, Mayhew estimated the collection at 1,500 volumes, rather than the higher numbers listed by Hill and earlier ALA entries. This figure appeared in the annual lists of federal libraries issued by the new US Information Service (USIS; part of the National Emergency Council [NEC]) from 1935 to 1938 and the 1939 ALA directory.[20]

Despite this static reporting of the size of its collection, the BOB library gained momentum and grew during the 1930s. In particular, it received the library of the Bureau of Efficiency when Congress abolished the BOE in 1933.[21] BOE's library had existed at least since 1918, two years after the agency had been created by Congress.[22] By 1927, it encompassed 850 books, 1,500 pamphlets, and subscribed to five periodicals.[23] Three years later, the collection had grown to 1,000 books, 1,800 pamphlets, and nine subscriptions.[24] Congress had explicitly authorized the BOE library to spend $100 annually to buy business and accounting books as well as "textbooks, law books, and books of reference."[25] The BOE library was originally headed by Florence C. Bell, who initially used the title of "Research Assistant."[26] She was succeeded in 1921 by Gladys E. Weaver.[27] Their civil service employment category was "librarian and principle file clerk."[28] Later budget documents listed them with titles sans "librarian." The motivation for the change is unclear, but it could not have been to hide the library from view. Every BOE entry in the *Congressional Directory* editions from 1918 to 1933 listed its librarian as one of the agency's senior officials.[29]

The addition of the BOE library to BOB's holdings increased the depth and breadth of the collection. Hill noted that some of what was in the BOE library's collection duplicated what BOB already held and those duplications were distributed to other government libraries. This would have been the case for such basic federal materials as budgets and Congressional appropriations hearings. However, BOE's business and accounting books, law books, and books of reference would mostly have been additions to the BOB collection. Also, the BOE library included a full set of all BOE audits of federal agencies as well as its own annual reports. These, too, were new to the BOB collection.[30]

Two Budget Directors Decide to Reestablish the BOB Library, 1939-1941

In 1933, when the BOB library absorbed the BOE collection, the agency's director was former Congressman Lewis Douglas (D-AZ). Douglas was a fiscal conservative who embodied FDR's campaign promise of a balanced budget. He only lasted a year into FDR's presidency, resigning as a matter of principle when FDR abandoned that campaign pledge in favor of deficit spending to deal with the Great Depression. Roosevelt then appointed Daniel W. Bell, a Treasury Department civil servant as Acting BOB Director.[31] From 1933 to 1939, BOB's library continued functioning as it had in the 1920s, with little change in staffing and budgets under directors Douglas and Bell.

In the late fall of 1938, Bell decided to change the library's status quo when he was preparing the agency's own budget recommendations for FY 1940. Rather than continuing to staff the library with a non-professional, he decided that BOB should revert to its mid-1920s practice of employing a formal librarian to direct its library. The president's budget proposal to Congress in January, 1939 recommended hiring a professional librarian, though at a lower rung of civil service status. She would be in the "sub-professional" employment category, specifically a Grade 6 "Library Aide" with an annual salary of $2,000.[32]

Given the incrementalism of public budgeting, this was a change in the *status quo* and therefore would inevitably attract out-of-house attention. As was the custom, Bell was compelled to explain and justify the new librarian position to the House Appropriations Committee. At a budget hearing in February 1939, Bell detailed his rationale to the committee. He said the work of BOB was now entailing "a need for the examination of a large amount of material." Therefore, "a technically trained library aide, acquainted with these sources of Budget material will bring to the attention of the various members of the Budget staff information that will greatly facilitate the conduct of their work." He concluded by parsing his words very carefully: "We have no librarian at the present time." This was evasively accurate based on civil service employment categories, but wholly misleading because BOB had had a library for nearly 15 years. When a Democratic member of the committee (the majority party) pressed him, Bell said the agency needed "somebody who is qualified to keep track of and distribute" relevant material to BOB staffers.[33]

The BOB budget for FY 1940 was approved by Congress in May 1939. In the absence of any archival record, it appears that a library aide began employment there right after the new fiscal year began in July, although no further information could be located.[34] Meanwhile, in April 1939, FDR appointed Harold Smith, Michigan's budget director, as the new BOB director.[35] (Bell returned to the civil service ranks of the Treasury Department.) Smith was quickly attentive to the status of the library. In June, with only a few weeks left in FY 1939, he and Donald Stone (a senior BOB official and later a major figure in public administration) talked about the future of the library. Smith said that his budget agency in Michigan had greatly benefited from responsive and relevant library services. As a result, he felt "the necessity for developing a working library and tying our library system into the filing system of the Bureau." He also approved Stone's suggestion to zero out the FY 1939 library budget by quickly purchasing more materials for the library before the end of the fiscal year when an unexpended balance would lapse.[36]

One of the signal events in public administration history occurred a few months after Smith arrived. In September 1939, FDR invoked the new reorganization powers delegated him by Congress after a brutal three-year political battle (with the Congressional conservative coalition accusing FDR of seeking reorganization powers that would make him a dictator). Using the legislative veto process, he submitted a reorganization plan to Congress. Based on the recommendations of the Brownlow Committee, FDR established the Executive Office of the President (EOP) and promptly transferred BOB from the Treasury Department into EOP.[37] BOB was now even more explicitly the president's budgeting office, part of the novel concept of an institutionalized presidency. The reorganization also subsumed the previously independent Central Statistical Board into BOB.

During the fall and winter of 1939, Smith prepared his first budget for BOB for FY 1941. Preliminary plans had called merely for continuation of the library aide. But by the time the President released his budget plan in January 1940, Smith had decided on a major strengthening of the library, in part due to the incoming and substantial holdings of the Central Statistical Board. In the few published histories of the BOB library, 1940 was viewed as the year the library was established. In this conventional telling, the decision was precipitated by the merging of the collections of BOE (in 1933), BOB's legal office, and the records of the Central Statistical Board.[38] Unstated was that BOB already had had a library with a collection of somewhere between 1,500 and 3,000 items as well as a full-time library aide. In early 1940, FDR formally recommended to Congress that the BOB library staffing increase to three in FY 1941. He wanted to hire a "library assistant" (lower than a library aide, Grade 5 of the sub-professional class, salary of $1,860). Supervising them would be a (no-prefix) Librarian (Grade 1 of the professional class – same as a Junior Economist – salary of $2,300).[39]

(Who budgets the budgeteers? With BOB as the agency which imposed budgeting decisions on all executive branch departments and agencies, then who made final decisions about its own budget? In FDR's presidency, the president personally did. Smith recounted one of those times. Toward the end of preparing the annual budget submission from the president to Congress, Smith brought to FDR a page with three budget scenarios for BOB. Smith asked the president to decide which one to endorse. FDR playfully teased Smith that he would close his eyes and then put his finger on the page and whichever scenario his finger landed on, that would be BOB's budget.[40])

In April 1940, the President signed the Independent Offices Appropriation Bill for FY 1941. Smith's expansion of the library went into effect on July 1, 1940. Now, he could hire a more senior librarian to run the expanding collection and oversee its staff. As a civil service position, Smith would have to follow the detailed hiring process of the US Civil Service Commission. This took a while. It was not finalized until 1941 when Ruth Fine, the Assistant Librarian of the Labor Department's library, was appointed manager of BOB's library.

Ruth Maier Fine was born in 1907 and grew up in Pontiac (MI).[41] Her parents, Morris and Ida Fine, were active in local Jewish organizations and she was confirmed at a Detroit synagogue in 1921.[42] Fine attended the University of Michigan from 1925 to 1929. She enrolled in its relatively new Department of Library Science, which had conferred its first baccalaureate degrees in 1927 and had been accredited by the ALA in 1928 (the third in the nation).[43] In 1929, she re-

ceived a BA in Library Science with high distinction as well as graduating Phi Kappa Phi (All-University Honors).[44] Her first position was as a reference librarian at the Detroit Public Library. In late 1937 or early 1938, she moved to Washington to become the Assistant Librarian of the US Department of Labor.[45] The head of that library was Miss Laura A. Thompson.[46]

Thompson had been a pioneer in federal executive branch libraries in issuing topical bibliographies and reading lists and giving them "as wide recognition" as possible. According to one contemporary, Thompson circulated and publicized them so widely that they were the most well-known of all federal library products in the late 1920s.[47] Accordingly, while at the Labor Department Library, Fine prepared several such bibliographies, including on profit sharing and national health insurance.[48] Given the strong interest at the time by New Dealers in health insurance, she compiled a supplement on the subject a year later listing the latest publications that had been released after her original bibliography.[49]

Building a Library to Serve Budgeteers, 1941-1950

Fine's mandate was to professionalize the BOB library, expand it, and enhance its usefulness to the burgeoning agency, one of FDR's most powerful levers over the executive branch. It was a small but pivotal office with a sense of élan as the heart of the institutional presidency. When Fine became the head librarian, the collection held about 10,000 items and issued no publications. The staff consisted of two other lower-ranked librarians.[50]

Long before strategic planning buzzwords of missions and visions, one of Fine's most important contributions was to identify a clear and concise mission for the library. It would not be a passive and reactive adjunct to BOB employees, nor – given BOB's overview of the entire executive branch – would it cover all topics relating to the federal government. Instead, she saw *public management* as the focus of the library and its mother agency. This concentration on public administration proved to be a helpful perspective in defining what the library sought to collect and what not to (or what to discontinue and de-accession).

With the discipline of a well-defined goal, Fine expanded the library's collections, staffing, and services. World War II, of course, greatly stimulated the demand for information as BOB tried to ride herd over the wartime federal behemoth of old-line departments and agencies, an expanding Army (which included the air force), the growing Navy, and all manner of temporary wartime agencies. The library's collection grew to 15,000 volumes in 1942,[51] 36,000 in 1945,[52] 40,000 in 1946,[53] and 50,000 by 1949.[54]

Smith continued to be attentive to the benefits the library brought to his budget and management analysts. An opportunity to enhance the library's contributions to the agency's work occurred in 1943, when the conservative coalition in Congress defunded the EOP's National Resources Planning Board. Government should not be in the business of planning, they said. A federal planning agency sounded to them like a step toward a centralized command and control economic structure, a veritable socialist – even communist – threat to capitalism and the free market.[55] But to Smith and many others in the White House and EOP, it seemed self-evident that *during* World War II the government needed to *plan* for the transition and reconversion to a post-war

political economy. As it was, BOB already employed more and more economists for purposes of planning – budgeting needs or otherwise.[56]

What should be the fate of the Planning Board's extensive library? It was a valuable collection and, given the budgeting function's increasing overlap with economic and post-war planning, could be of significant benefit to BOB staff. Nonetheless, Smith understood that this seemingly small detail could be a touchy political subject if Congressional conservatives sought to make it so. After all, if Congress disestablished a federal agency, then would keeping its library intact be a violation of the law to *eliminate* the entire agency? Smith raised it with FDR, who was a strong believer in government planning. The president also had a finely-tuned political antenna. As a matter of practice, he always sought to minimize his fights with Congress. This was a lesson he had learned while serving as assistant secretary of the Navy in the Wilson administration, especially watching the Senate's rejection of the League of Nations treaty. Smith did not want to take over the library if FDR thought that might lead to political trouble. If FDR okayed it, then Smith understood that a suitably bland paper-trail could help put the action in as noncontroversial and justifiable light as possible.

On September 30, 1943, Smith asked the president for guidance.[57] FDR approved the idea. The next day, he signed a memo drafted by Smith directing BOB to "take custody" of the planning board's library in order for it to be available "for use by the various branches of the Executive Office."[58] This careful rationale focused on the future benefits of the planning library to the EOP agencies that had *not* been defunded by Congress. Besides, the BOB library merely would have custody of the planning library, a legal dodge emphasizing that BOB had not unilaterally taken title to any of the planning board's property.

Besides absorbing the Planning Board's library, during the 1940s, Fine also focused on expanding specific holdings that would be helpful to BOB staff. Her acquisitions included all the published and unpublished BOB reports on WWII civilian activities, federal documents relating to reorganization going back to the early 1920s (including the "relatively scarce" unpublished studies of the 1947-48 Hoover Commission), and an extensive collection of federal agency organization and procedure manuals. At the same time, the library engaged in "judicious weeding of superseded materials." She felt that a 50,000 volume library was roughly an optimal size for BOB's needs and sought to prevent unnecessary growth. However, this was a difficult goal given that 5,000-6,000 new items arrived annually.[59] Fine eventually had to give up trying to cap the collection size at 50,000. Current holdings that absolutely, positively would never be helpful again were much harder to identify than new ones that might.

Still, her discipline to avoid over-expansion beyond her library's mission was demonstrated in the years after WWII. As part of the dismantling of the war agencies, Truman abolished the Office of War Information (OGR), which included the US Information Service library. He transferred the 15,000-volume library to BOB, to be a major component of BOB's new division called the Government Information Service. The oddity of one small agency having two libraries was starkly apparent in the 1948 ALA Directory.[60] The USIS library was part of BOB for about a year, until Truman re-established the pre-war Office of Government Reports (OGR), which had been USIS's original home. Theoretically, during the period the USIS library was within BOB, Fine could have sought to merge it into hers, especially because its collection was centered on

reference services relating to the activities of Congress and the executive branch and likely would have complemented her collection, at least in part. However, even though the USIS library's reference services were sometimes provided to 'customers' in executive agencies, its main mission was to respond to *public* inquiries. Fine wanted no part of this. Her library was closed, only servicing BOB and, to a much lesser extent, other agencies.[61] Also, she had the political acumen to understand that OWI and OGR were very controversial with Congress and she had no desire to have unrelenting political criticism re-directed at her shop. (Indeed, Congress defunded it effective FY 1949.[62]) USIS's library came and went from BOB without any organizational links to Fine's.

Besides traditional volumes in the main catalog, Fine also expanded the library's ancillary collections. By 1950, the library subscribed to 513 scholarly, professional, and trade journals published in the US and 33 foreign journals. Also, in this pre-digital database era, the library developed 30 vertical files in 84 drawers on important topics relevant to BOB activities.[63]

Fine established a tradition of the BOB library issuing reading guides and other publications (similar to what she had done at the Department of Labor library) so that the budgeteers could notice new subjects which might relate to their responsibilities. In September 1943, the library issued its first list of selected references. Given the need for the bureau to look ahead and plan for the post-war era, this first reading list was on the post-WWI record of disposition of surplus materials.[64] By publishing a bibliography on this topic, Fine was able to prevent BOB staff from having to reinvent the wheel at the end of WWII and instead to learn from history. The bibliography was quickly followed up with selected reading lists on planning and budget administration.[65] Fine institutionalized the preparation and circulation of such reading lists, with about two to four lists published every year.

Fine also founded a semi-monthly publication that, given BOB's mission, she aptly titled *Public Management Sources* (*PMS*). It was a summary of recent important additions to the library's collection in public administration. Entries were categorized by standard subject matter, so that each budget analyst could quickly identify new material in his policy area of responsibility. The first issue came out in July 1945 and contained 17 pages of relevant articles, books, and other printed material (such as texts of speeches). *PMS* circulated widely, not just to BOB, but also to civil servants interested in public management throughout the federal government, as well as those interested in public administration outside the federal government. (In 2014, WorldCat listed 112 libraries with holdings of *PMS*.) Indicating how institutionalized and valuable *PMS* was to its readership, the library continued publishing it (as a monthly) for 34 years, ending in December 1978.[66]

Another of Fine's innovations was to subcontract her library's services to other EOP agencies. The newly-created Council of Economic Advisors (CEA) opted not to build a library of its own, rather to pay BOB for information services. In this way, the BOB library was earning revenue to help fund its operations. For example, in FY 1948, CEA paid BOB $6,600 for library services, enough to fund several mid-ranked library professionals.[67] (This arrangement also created a precedent that helped justify the rationale for the EOP-wide library in the late 1970s.)

In terms of staffing, Fine began with two librarians in 1941, added two more in FY 1943,[68] and by 1949 employed seven librarians and six clerks.[69] The organizational structure of the library consisted of two divisions, Reader Services and Technical Processes. The former provided reference and circulation services, including proactively routing important new material to BOB staff specializing in those subjects. To assist in penetrating the confusing maze of Congressional documents and the resulting difficulty in tracking bills, the division prepared a daily digest of the *Congressional Record* and organized all Congressional publications by subject and bill. Its purpose was to help BOB staff monitor bills in their areas of responsibility, especially given the bureau's central and exclusive role in legislative clearance of all bills according to their conformance to the president's agenda. In 1949, Reader Services answered about 7,500 reference questions and its circulation was almost 18,000 items. It was staffed by 2½ professionals and 2½ clericals.

The Technical Processes division cataloged and classified all incoming materials, handled orders and acquisitions, and supervised the binding of periodicals and other material. In 1950, Fine expressed some frustration with the "orthodoxy" of Library of Congress cataloging classifications. For the subject of public management she felt the literature "far outdistanced" the LoC classification schedules. She encouraged the division staff to be pragmatic and, if necessary, develop cataloging classifications beyond LoC's in order to serve the special needs of BOB. In 1949, the division staff cataloged and added to the collection 7,800 items and compiled 103 legislative histories from Congressional documents. That year, the division staff consisted of three librarians and two clericals.[70]

During this first of her three decades as BOB library head, Fine was active in professional activities, indicating both a commitment to the professionalization of librarianship and to raise the profile of the library of the president's executive office. In 1942-43, she chaired the Social Science Group of the Washington Chapter of the Special Libraries Association (SLA).[71] (All the officers were women.) When the SLA held its annual national conference in Washington in 1943, she was on a panel discussing wartime issues facing libraries that mostly related to finance.[72] In 1946, she was elected to a three-year term as secretary (and, therefore, an officer) of ALA's Division of Library Education. Indicating something of a gender glass ceiling in the higher echelons of her profession nationally, the photos of the six officers (including Fine's) were of four men and two women.[73] In that professional capacity, she submitted periodic reports that were published in the *ALA Bulletin*.[74]

Keeping a Low Congressional Profile, 1940s

The 1940s were a tough time politically to build an ancillary services unit in any FDR-related agency. The Congressional conservative coalition was trying to undermine the growth and expansion of the executive branch during the New Deal and then during WWII. According to Burns, one of the tactics was "to cut funds for those functions behind which no congressional bloc would rally" including planning, research, administrative management, information, and staffing.[75] The-then conservative Brookings Institution recommended to the Senate that after completion of FDR's late 1930s reorganization of the executive branch "it may be worthwhile to consider the library question" from the perspectives of consolidation, duplication, and efficien-

cy.[76] Once WWII started, the conservative coalition's opposition to FDR's expansion of the federal government was repackaged as the need to cut nonessential spending in wartime. For example, in 1942, a Senate committee dominated by conservatives criticized the recent expansion in BOB's staffing and spending. The committee stated that "the Congress has been liberal" in funding BOB, yet even with these increases the committee judged that BOB was not performing its responsibilities well. Not only was no further additional staffing and funding justified, the committee alleged that BOB's record was of "intentional or inadvertent failure to execute responsibility."[77]

In this context, it is understandable that BOB sought to avoid drawing any attention to its library, especially that of Congress. References to the BOB library in official BOB documents were, if at all, brief, uninformative, and bland. The library was as invisible as its mother agency could make it. For example, in 1941 Smith wrote two articles about BOB. He seemed to be engaging in linguistic somersaults to avoid using the "L" word. In one, the closest he came was an opaque reference to BOB's "general information service."[78]In the other, his phrasing was noun-less. He wrote of BOB sometimes being "called upon to supply many types of information."[79] Who in BOB supplied the information? It was peculiarly unstated. The passive construction permitted him to avoid naming the in-house unit providing such information. The library was also unseen in BOB's official tables of organization. Of seven charts it issued between 1921 and 1978, only one (for 1945) listed the library as an identifiable and separate unit. In all others, the library was unlisted and submerged within an amorphous central administrative services box.[80]

At the annual Congressional appropriations hearings, Smith, his successors, and other senior bureau officials seemed to bend over backwards to draw as little attention to the library as possible while still engaging in ostensibly full disclosure. For example, at a hearing in December 1943, written information submitted to the committee referred to BOB's internal "general administrative services such as library, files, accounts, pay-roll [sic] preparation, supply and messenger service."[81] Two years later, a similar submission justified increases in administrative services within the agency because "the task of providing library service, personnel service, and messenger service are all related to the number of employees in an organization."[82] There usually were no other discussions of the library's operations.

Only once during the first decade of Fine's service did BOB's verbal testimony to appropriators try proactively to justify the existence of the library. In 1950, Director Frank Pace mentioned in his opening statement that the library was cost-effective because it "provides us with the kind of qualified librarians *who can save a man*, who is making a broad-scale investigation, as much as 2 or 3 or 4 hours, or sometimes a day, in getting the material ready and available."[83] In other words, female librarians were cheaper by the hour than male budget professionals. It was an appealing fiscal argument to the tight-fisted and conservative men on Capitol Hill who controlled appropriations.

Fine and the BOB Library, 1951-1970

By 1951, Fine had been the library's director for a decade. During that period, she had shaped the institution to reflect her priorities and preferences, including a culture of helpfulness to BOB

staff, quick response times, and a low public profile. She institutionalized these values during her second and third decades at the library. Clearly, the library was her life's work, a permanent institution she had helped nurture. Largely typical of the times, to be a woman professional meant giving up on marriage and family life. She remained Miss Fine for the rest of her life.

In an article she co-authored in a library journal in 1953, Fine wrote of the mission of the BOB library in terms remarkably consistent with her earlier 1940s principles. It was to serve "the needs of budget and administrative analysts," with a focus on "basic materials in public administration, related studies from the field of industrial management, as well as official documents on the structure and operations of government." While her primary focus continued to be as an in-house service unit, she opened the door slightly by stating that its "excellent working collections" were somewhat available for public use and interlibrary loan.[84] Confirming this orientation, authors of books on BOB and EOP during that period consistently acknowledged the helpfulness of BOB's librarians in their research.[85]

The library also occasionally served all executive branch agencies. In the first year of the Kennedy administration, BOB initiated a management improvement program. In a formal circular (A-53), all agencies were directed to collect their reports related to general managerial practices and innovations and submit them to the BOB library. The library began maintaining a "special addition" to its regular collection, called the Management Clearinghouse File. The materials submitted for the collection would, in turn, become available to all departments and agencies seeking new ideas, best practices, and success stories from other agencies that could be adopted more broadly to improve management throughout the executive branch.[86]

The library's collection continued growing. In 1954, Fine estimated its holdings at 78,000 items,[87] 96,000 in 1966,[88] 109,000 two years later,[89] and 129,000 in 1970.[90] One of the factors contributing to the growth of the collection occurred in 1965, when the library became a federal documents depository.[91] The sizeable growth of the library necessitated the occasional (but reluctant) disclosures to Congress of capital expenditures on the library, such as $518 in 1960 for additional bookcases.[92] Fine also expanded the vertical files. In 1965 she reported that those holdings now measured 133 vertical feet, eventually covering 50 topics.[93]

Fine continued adapting to new library technologies and products in order to keep the bureau's budget analysts up-to-date. In the mid-1960s she bought several microfiche readers and quickly began expanding the library's holdings to this new category of material. The collection began with 169 items in FY 1965 and five years later had 723.[94] She also used this new technology for the library's own publications, issuing legislative histories of major new laws in microfiche format. The first was on the legislation creating the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations and was prepared by the library in 1959.[95] The series continued into the 1960s.

Fine also maintained the routine of issuing reading lists on relevant topics. For example, given the rising interest in policy analysis and program evaluation, the library prepared several versions of a selected bibliography on the subject.[96] Showing an appreciation of the political calendar, in December 1960, the library issued an annotated bibliography on the scope and work of the EOP in order "to assist the President in the conduct of his responsibilities." It was intended for the in-

coming staff of the Kennedy White House who might not be familiar with EOP's agencies and services.[97]

Staffing for the library during these two decades slightly decreased compared to the halcyon days of WWII, but then stabilized. In 1952, BOB reported the library had eight employees.[98] Twelve years later, Fine reported having a staff of seven.[99] A detailed report for FY 1965 identified four of the seven as librarians and the other three in the category of "non-professionals."[100] The library's annual budget for 1952 was $42,315, increasing only modestly (given inflation) to $66,745 in 1965.[101]

During the 1950s and 1960s, BOB and Fine continued the policy of giving the library as little visibility as possible. For example, in 1964 and 1965, BOB published a detailed brochure for public dissemination on the agency's role, activities, and structure. In both versions, the only reference to the library was within a laundry list of the internal administrative activities in the Office of the Director.[102] In a submission to House appropriators in 1968, BOB described it as a "specialized library" that served "as a reference source in the professional work of the Bureau's staff."[103] A year later, when BOB provided the Appropriations Committee with a list of the activities overseen by its Director of Administration, the library was listed last of nine areas.[104]

Regarding her professional activities, during this period, Fine was elected president of the SLA's Washington chapter, her term ending in 1953.[105] In the 1960s, she was the national SLA's representative on the ALA's Advisory Committee for its Statistics Coordinating Project.[106]

Two major changes for Fine and the library occurred in 1970. First, she and Assistant Librarian Elizabeth S. Knauff were accepted into the Law Librarians' Society of Washington, the local chapter of the American Association of Law Librarians.[107]This was an indirect recognition that the BOB library now fit in the professional category of a law library as well as the more common classification of in-house federal agency libraries as "special libraries." Second, as an initial step in a reorganization of the federal government, in 1970 President Nixon reconstituted BOB as the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) through his Reorganization Plan No. 2. The change was intended to strengthen the role of the agency in presidential *management* of the executive branch, not just his power of the purse. BOB had had a small unit focusing on administration and management, but this change was intended to elevate the agency's management function to equal that of its budget function.

Epilog and Conclusion

In 1970, Fine was in her 30th year as the BOB's chief librarian and was 63 years old. She had dedicated her professional life to leading the library. After Nixon's reorganization, Fine became the OMB Librarian. She stayed on for slightly more than a year, if only to keep her institution on course through the change. She retired in January 1972, during her 32nd year at the library and now 65 years old. She was succeeded by Knauff, her deputy.

After Fine's retirement, she continued her membership and involvement in library organizations, especially as a life member of the local SLA chapter. She died on April 23, 2000, at age 92.

Without any immediate family (still "Miss" at her death) and having outlived most of her contemporaries, no obituary or death notice appeared in the *Washington Post*. Her will demonstrated how central government librarianship had been to her: it had been her whole life. Fine's estate designated substantial donations to three library groups.[108] She donated $200,000 to her alma mater, the University of Michigan's School of Information, to endow a scholarship in the name of her parents. The scholarship was intended to promote the student's commitment to public service.[109] Fine also donated $264,000 to the SLA for a scholarship fund and a similar amount to the District of Columbia Library Association for no-interest loans to low-income graduate students seeking library careers in the Washington area.[110] The funds continue to grant awards to this day (2014).

Fine's career represented three important hallmarks. First, she led the rebirth of a permanent and invaluable information support center for an elite presidential agency. She had molded an institution that has outlived her. That is a demonstration of the success of her work. Second, her long and successful career also represented an historical era, the opening during FDR's presidency of federal careers to Jewish professionals, who up until then had been largely excluded due to invisible restrictions and quotas, given the overt anti-Semitism which was socially acceptable in the 1930s.[111] Third, Fine represented the era when women professionals often had to sacrifice marriage and family in order to have a career in their chosen profession. It was – cringingly – the era of the spinster librarian. Despite such adversity, she succeeded and overcame institutional, religious, and gender obstacles. Her accomplishments indicate skills as a librarian, as a public manager, and as a leader in her profession.

What of the OMB library after Fine's tenure? In early 1973, at the beginning of President Nixon's second term, his staffer in charge of White House management sought to create a "central reference library for [the] White House and Executive Office Building." For reasons that are unclear, the plan included CEA's (now separate) library and those of several other EOP agencies, though – inexplicably – not OMB's.[112] Still, the logic of the Nixon consolidation plan was obvious. Why so many separate libraries in the EOP? However, the onset of the Watergate scandal in 1973 distracted White House staff from implementing many of Nixon's ambitions for an even stronger presidency in his second term,[113] including the plan for consolidation of EOP agency libraries.

The independent OMB library existed for only four more years after that. In 1977, President Carter pursued the idea when he signed Executive Order 12028 reorganizing the EOP. One of the changes was to merge all the libraries within its far-flung agencies into one and placing it organizationally within EOP's new Office of Administration. Reflecting the beginnings of the information revolution, the merged library was retitled the Information Management and Services Division, later called Library and Research Services. It continues to this day (2014), organizationally under EOP's Chief Information Officer.[114]

One of the goals of this inquiry was to place and examine the role of an in-house agency library in the larger context of public administration. As budget directors, Bell and Smith took actions that demonstrated their recognition of the value of a strong library to accomplishing BOB's mission. They understood that information was indeed power and that libraries were purveyors of information. Given what Bell's and Smith's actions conveyed, and given the importance of

BOB/OMB in public administration, it is somewhat perplexing that the literature has shown so little interest in agency libraries and information centers in general and BOB's in particular.

Inarguably, budgeting is more important than libraries in the larger picture of public administration. But libraries make a contribution to the implementation of an agency's mission.
One is struck by the nagging possibility that gender ghettos and stereotypes perhaps played a role in this imbalance in public administration's attention. Early academic public administration was almost exclusively male, as was the budget staff of BOB. That librarianship was a female-dominated activity in government agencies may have contributed to an automatic downgrading of its importance by these early public administrationists. Men were interested in manly things – like control, budget showdowns, and the exercise of power over others. Libraries were the sedate realm of supposedly gentle, quiet and unobtrusive women. No power there.

Whether this gender-based explanation is roughly right or not, public administration historians could look further into the emergence and role of in-house agency libraries as part of the rise of the modern administrative state. Similarly, perhaps this study will also prompt theorists to examine the ongoing role of information services as an element that contributes to current public administration. There is much to study and report.

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Endnotes

[1] In reverse chronological order: Matthew J. Dickinson and Andrew Rudalevige, "'Worked Out in Fractions': Neutral Competence, FDR, and the Bureau of the Budget," *Congress & the Presidency* 34:1 (April 2007) 1-26; Paul L. Posner and Denise M. Fantone, "Assessing Federal Program Performance: Observations on the US Office of Management and Budget's Program Assessment Rating Tool and Its Use in the Budget Process," *Public Performance & Management Review* 30:3 (March 2007) 351-68; John B. Gilmour and David E. Lewis, "Does Performance Budgeting Work? An Examination of the Office of Management and Budget's PART Scores," *Public Administration Review* 66:5 (September/October 2006) 742-52; Matthew J. Dickinson and Andrew Rudalevige, "Presidents, Responsiveness, and Competence: Revisiting the 'Golden Age' at the Bureau of the Budget," *Political Science Quarterly* 119:4 (Winter 2004-05) 633-54; Aaron B. Wildavsky and Naomi Caiden, *The New Politics of the Budgetary Process*, 5th ed. (New York: Pearson/Longman, 2004); Patrick J. Wolfe, "Neutral and Responsive Competence: The Bureau of the Budget, 1939-1948 Revisited," *Administration and Society* 31:1 (March 1999) 142-167; David G Mathiasen, "The Evolution of the Office of Management and Budget Under President Reagan," *Public Budgeting & Finance* 8:3 (Autumn 1988) 3-14; Frederick C. Mosher, *A Tale of Two Agencies: A Comparative Analysis of the General Accounting Office and the Office of Management and Budget* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984).
[2] "Federal Library Directory," Federal Library and Information Network (FEDLINK), accessed October 5, 2014: http://www.loc.gov/flicc/fedlink/index_fedlink.html. Not all the libraries listed in the directory are in-house agency libraries. Some are more akin to public libraries, such as federal libraries abroad and those located on military bases to serve the families residing there.
[3] Hindy Lauer Schachter, "A Gendered Legacy? The Progressive Reform Era Revisited," in Robert F. Durant (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of American Bureaucracy* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. 2010) and "Women, Progres-

sive-Era Reform, and Scientific Management," *Administration & Society* 34:5 (November 2002) 563-78; Camilla Stivers, *Bureau Men, Settlement Women: Constructing Public Administration in the Progressive Era* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000).

[4] BOB's budget analysts were exclusively male and sometimes casually referred to as "the Budget boys" (letter from William H. McReynolds, Administrative Assistant to the President, to Frank Yates, General Accounting Office, January 27, 1943; File: CSC – 1943, Box 1, McReynolds Papers, FDR Library).

[5] In chronological order: Verner W. Clapp and Scott Adams (eds.), "Current Trends in Libraries of the United States Government," *Library Trends* 2:1 (July 1953) 3-170; Wilmer H. Baatz, "Library Service in the Veterans Administration," *Library Quarterly* 19:3 (July 1949) 166-77; Alan E. Fusonie, "The History of the National Agricultural Library," *Agricultural History* 62:2 (Spring 1988) 189-207; Mordecai Lee, "Clara M. Edmunds and the Library of the United States Information Service, 1934-1948," *Libraries & the Cultural Record* 42:3 (2007) 213-30.

In 1957-58, *Library Quarterly* published a series on federal departmental libraries (in chronological order): Paul Jean Burnette, "The Army Library" 27:1 (January 1957) 23-37; Paul Howard, "The Department of the Interior Library System" 27:1 (January 1957) 38-46; Foster E. Mohrhardt, "The Library of the United States Department of Agriculture" 27:2 (April 1957) 61-82; Isabella S. Diamond, "The Library of the United States Treasury Department" 27:2 (April 1957) 83-87; Ellen Commons, "The Libraries of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare" 27:3 (July 1957) 173-86; Arthur B. Berthold, "The Library of the Department of State" 28:1 (January 1958) 27-37; Dorothy M. Schullian and Frank B. Rogers, "The National Library of Medicine I" 28:1 (January 1958) 1-17 & Part II, 28:2 (April 1958) 95-121.

[6] In chronological order: Claribel R. Barnett, "Relation of the Agricultural College and Experiment Station Libraries to the Library of the Federal Department of Agriculture," *ALA Bulletin* 9:4 (July 1915) 156-59, "Government Libraries—Old and New," *Special Libraries* 9:10 (December 1918) 214-19, "The Special Library Profession and What it Offers: [Part] 9. Federal Department and Bureau Libraries," *Special Libraries* 26:7 (September 1935) 202-06; Nanele A. Kees, "The Libraries of the United States Public Health Service," *Special Libraries* 26:7 (September 1935) 207-09; Wilmer H. Baatz, "Federal Aviation Agency Library Program," *D.C. Libraries* 33:1 (January 1962) 8-12; Dwight E. Gray and J. Burlin Johnson, "Services to Industry by Libraries of Federal Government Agencies," *Library Trends* 14:3 (January 1966) 332-46; John M. Madden, "The Defense Intelligence Agency Library," *MELA [Middle East Librarians Association] Notes* 19 (February 1980) 14-15; Mary E. Lassanyi, "Information Centers of the National Agricultural Library, US Department of Agriculture," *Journal of Agricultural & Food Information* 3:1 (1995) 47-57.

[7] Anna Belle Winter, "The Government Library," *College and Research Libraries* 10:1 (January 1949) 64-66; Ruth Fine, "The Bureau of the Budget Library: A Public Management Reference Service," *D.C. Libraries* 21:3 (April 1950) 57-59; "Profiles of Washington Law Libraries: The US Office of Management and Budget Library," *Law Library Lights* 16:2 (November 1972) 3-4.

[8] US BOB Record[s] Section, "Guide to the Archival Records of the Bureau of the Budget, revised December, 1960" (located at NARA library); emails to the author from: Jeffrey Hartley, Chief Librarian, Archives Library Information Center, NARA, July 18, 2013 and Tab Lewis, Reference Section, National Archives II, July 11, 2013.

[9] David E. McNabb, *Research Methods in Public Administration and Nonprofit Management*, 3rd ed. (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2013), 412, 415. Another public administration methodological guide recommends triangulation for research, but not specifically for historical studies (Sandra van Thiel, *Research Methods in Public Administration and Public Management* [London: Routledge/Taylor & Francis, 2014], 52-53).

[10] Richard F. Fenno, Jr., *The Power of the Purse: Appropriations Politics in Congress* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1966), 122, 336, 382; Elias Huzar, *The Purse and the Sword* (Westport, CT: 1971 [1950]), 211-14.

[11] James McGregor Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox* (New York: Smithmark, 1996 [1956]), 370.

[12] Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (New York: HarperCollins, 2013), 48.

[13] US House, *Message of the President of the United States Transmitting the Budget for the Service of the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1926*, H. Doc. 444, 68th Cong., 2nd sess., 1924, 752.

[14] *American Library Directory, 1927* (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1927), 39.

[15] US House, *Message of the President of the United States Transmitting the Budget for the Service of the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1927*, H. Doc. 65, 69th Cong., 1st sess., 1925, 880.

[16] US House, Committee on Appropriations, *Treasury Department Appropriation Bill, 1929*, public hearings, 70th Cong., 1st sess., 1928, 176.

[17] *American Library Directory, 1930* (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1930), 252.

[18] Dorsey W. Hyde, Jr. and Miles O. Price (eds.), *Handbook of Washington's Informational Resources* (Washington, DC: District of Columbia Library Association, 1928), 9.

[19] David Spence Hill, *The Libraries of Washington* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1936), 87-88.

[20] US Information Service, National Emergency Council, *Libraries of the United States Government in Washington, D.C.* (mimeograph): 1935, 9; 1936, 9; 1937, 6; 1938 (February), 6; 1938 (September), 6. See also *American Library Directory, 1939* (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1939), 68.
[21] Mordecai Lee, *Institutionalizing Congress and the Presidency: The US Bureau of Efficiency, 1916-1933* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006), 143-45. Congress did not merge BOE into BOB; rather it terminated BOE and only transferred to BOB the BOE's files, library, and furniture.
[22] *Congressional Directory*, 1st ed. (December 1918), 65th Cong., 3rd sess., 277.
[23] *American Library Directory, 1927*, 40.
[24]*American Library Directory, 1930*, 252. Confusingly, two years earlier, another directory estimated the BOE library as holding 2,350 books (Hyde and Price, *Handbook of Washington's Informational Resources*, 17).
[25] US House, Committee on Appropriations, *Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriation Bill, 1921*, Part I, public hearings, 66th Cong., 2nd sess., 1920, 119-20.
[26] Florence C. Bell, "Library of the US Bureau of Efficiency," *Special Libraries* 126 (June 1921) 121.
[27] *Congressional Directory*, 67th Cong., 2nd sess., 1921 (December), 294.
[28] US House, *Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury Transmitting Estimates of Appropriations Required for the Service of the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1920*, H. Doc. 1430, 65th Cong., 3rd sess., 1918, 32; *Message of the President of the United States Transmitting the Budget for the Service of the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1923*, H. Doc. 126, 67th Cong., 2nd sess., 1921, 27. The latter also listed BOE's employment of a second librarian, with the title of "assistant librarian and file clerk."
[29] For example, see *Congressional Directory*, 2nd ed., 72nd Cong., 2nd sess., 1933 (January), 337.
[30] Hill, *Libraries of Washington*, 88. Apparently relying on information from Mayhew, Hill said "the greater part" of the BOE library duplicated what the BOB library already had. This may have been an exaggeration, perhaps reflecting a desire by Mayhew to conflate the BOB collection vis-à-vis BOE's. It is understandable that there was some duplication, but that the duplication was a *majority* of BOE's collection strains credulity. This latter interpretation is strengthened by a 1972 source which identified the BOE library as one of three major collections of former federal agencies that were amalgamated into the BOB library in the 1930s and which led to a significant expansion of the BOB library's collection ("Profiles of Washington Law Libraries," 4).
[31] Because Bell did not want to give up his civil service status, his title was 'acting' throughout his service in this position. Despite the longevity of his BOB service, he apparently was not a good fit for FDR's fluid operating style or political values. In 1948, Bell was asked to contribute reminiscences or personal papers to the incipient FDR library. By then a banker, he demurred because the subject "is liable to be too personal to me" (letter from Bell to Grace Tully, Executive Secretary, Roosevelt Memorial Foundation, January 22, 1948; File: IV.A.4. Bell, Daniel W., Box 18, Roosevelt Memorial Foundation Papers, Roosevelt Library).
[32] US House, *The Budget of the United States Government for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1940*, H. Doc. 29, 76th Cong., 1st sess., 1939, 648.
[33] US House, Committee on Appropriations, *Treasury Department Appropriation Bill for 1940*, public hearings, 76th Cong., 1st sess., 1939, 940-41, 952.
[34] US House, Committee on Appropriations, *Independent Offices Appropriation Bill for 1941*, Part 1, public hearings, 76th Cong., 3rd sess., 1940, 17.
[35] Smith was a major figure in early public administration, working for closer ties between practitioners and academics. He was especially interested in empirical research that would improve practice. While state budget director in Michigan, he was a member of the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council (located at Brownlow's Public Administration Clearinghouse in Chicago). After he arrived in Washington in 1939, Smith was one of the leaders in the founding of the American Society for Public Administration later that year (Mordecai Lee, "Colluding to Create the American Society for Public Administration and the Consequent Collateral Damage," *Public Voices* 14:1 [2014]).
[36] Entry for June 7, 1939, 2-3. File: Daily Memoranda, April-June 1939, Box 1, Harold Smith Papers, Roosevelt Library.
[37] Also as part of the reorganization, Roosevelt renamed the National Emergency Council as the Office of Government Reports and placed it within the new EOP. USIS was a unit within NEC and then OGR (Mordecai Lee, *The First Presidential Communications Agency: FDR's Office of Government Reports* [Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005]). For a discussion of the USIS library when it was briefly within BOB, see later discussion.
[38] "Profiles of Washington Law Libraries," 4; Fine, "Bureau of the Budget Library," 57.
[39] US House, *The Budget of the United States Government for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1941*, H. Doc. 529, 76th Cong., 3rd sess., 1940, 34.
[40] Entry for December 14, 1939, 3. File: Conferences with President Roosevelt 1939, Box 3, Harold Smith Papers.

[41] Throughout her professional career, Fine never used her middle name or even her middle initial. Maier was probably her mother's maiden name. A plausible explanation could be that, given the anti-Semitism of the era, she felt "Ruth Fine" was a less identifiably Jewish name and, therefore, less of a hindrance – especially early in her career – to professional advancement.
[42] Abe Lapides, "History of the Jewish Community of Pontiac, Michigan," *Michigan Jewish History* 17:1 (July 1977) 4-5; *Year Book of Congregation Beth El, Detroit, Michigan,* vol. 10 (1920-1921), 44.
[43] At that point in the development of the American library profession, the baccalaureate degree was considered the basic and widely-accepted credential for employment. The shift to an emphasis on a graduate degree as the dominant professional credential began a bit later, in the 1940s.
[44] *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, University of Michigan*, 1926-1929, 1024; *1929 Michiganensian*, vol. 33, 63.
[45] "Class Notes," *The Michigan Alumnus* 44:16 (March 12, 1938) 304.
[46] "In Memoriam: Laura A. Thompson, 1877-1949," *Social Service Review* 23:3 (September 1949) 401-02.
[47] Caroline B. Sherman, "Making Government Libraries Better Known," *Library Journal* 52:5 (March 1, 1927) 231.
[48] Ruth Fine (compiler), US Department of Labor Library: *Profit-Sharing: Selected References, 1923-1939* (mimeograph), October 1939; *The National Health Program and Medical Care in the United States: Selected Recent References* (mimeograph), June 1940.
[49] Ruth Fine (compiler), US Department of Labor Library: *The National Health Program and Medical Care in the United States: Selected Recent References Supplement* (mimeograph), August 1941.
[50] Fine, "Bureau of the Budget Library," 57.
[51] *American Library Directory, 1942*, 63.
[52] *American Library Directory, 1945*, 65.
[53] *Library and Reference Facilities in the Area of the District of Columbia*, 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1946), 11.
[54] Huberta A. Prince (ed.), *The Washington Book Mart* (New York: Oceana, 1949), 112.
[55] Marion Clawson, *New Deal Planning: The National Resources Planning Board* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press for Resources for the Future, 1981).
[56] A planning function had been one of the three central managerial activities that a chief executive should control, the Brownlow committee had recommended in 1937. The other two were budgeting and personnel. In his 1939 reorganization and executive order, FDR had converted his National Resources Committee into the Planning Board and made it one of the original five EOP agencies.
[57] Memo for the President from Smith (re NRPB's library), September 30, 1943. File: Appendices, White House Executive Office 1941-1945, Box 4, Official Files 50: White House Matters, Roosevelt Library.
[58] Presidential memo to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget and Director, National Resources Planning Board, October 1, 1943. File: ibid.
[59] Fine, "Bureau of the Budget Library," 57.
[60] *American Library Directory, 1948*, 79.
[61] Fine's strong preference that the BOB library only serve internal clientele became institutionalized in the library's standard operating procedures and long outlived her tenure. In 2002, the EOP library continued to be "not open to the public" (letter to the author from Susan C. Hawthorne, Supervisory Librarian, EOP library, December 18, 2002, author's files).
[62] Lee, "Clara M. Edmunds."
[63] Prince, *Washington Book Mart*, 112; *Library and Reference Facilities in the Area of the District of Columbia*, [1st ed.] (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1943), 9; Rose L. Vormelker (ed.), *Special Library Resources* (New York: Special Libraries Association, 1946), 178.
[64] US BOB Library, *Disposition of Surplus Materials, World War I: A List of References* (mimeograph), September 1943.
[65] US BOB Library (mimeograph): *Administrative Planning in the Federal Government: A Selected Reading List*, October 1943; *Budgetary Administration in the Federal Government: Selected References*, December 1943.
[66] The last issue explained that the hard-copy version was being discontinued, but might be revived in another format based on the results of a survey of the information needs of users and the automation of library materials (*PMS* 3412 [December 1978] 17). This was an early harbinger of the rise of electronic communication and publishing in information science.
[67] US House, Committee on Appropriations, *Independent Offices Appropriation Bill for 1948*, Part 1, 80th Cong., 1st sess., 1947, 754.

[68] US House, Committee on Appropriations, *Independent Offices Appropriation Bill for 1943*, Part 1, 77th Cong., 2nd sess., 1941, 1089.
[69] US Senate, Committee on Appropriations, *Independent Offices Appropriation Bill for 1950*, 81st Cong., 1st sess., 1949, 289.
[70] Fine, "Bureau of the Budget Library," 58-59; Winter, "Government Library," 64-66.
[71] "Social Science Unit of Libraries Group Chooses Officers," *Washington Post*, November 3, 1942.
[72] "Business Briefs of D.C. Interest," *Washington Post*, June 4, 1943.
[73] Lewis F. Stieg, "The Division of Library Education," *ALA Bulletin* 41:1 (January 1947) 2-5.
[74] Ruth Fine, "Division of Library Education": *ALA Bulletin* 41:9 (September 15, 1947) P48-P52; 42:9 (September 15, 1948) P47-P49.
[75] Burns, *Roosevelt*, 370.
[76] US Senate, Select Committee to Investigate the Executive Agencies of the Government, *Investigation of Executive Agencies of the Government*, S. Rep. 1275, 75th Cong., 1st sess., 1937, 524.
[77] US Senate, Committee on Appropriations Subcommittee on S. Res. 223, *Transfer of Employees, Conserving Office Space, Relief in Housing Conditions, and Promotion of Economy and Efficiency*, 77th Cong., 2nd sess., S. Rep. 1554, 1942, 28.
[78] Harold D. Smith, "A Day in the Federal Budget Bureau," *Municipal Finance* 13:3 (February 1941) 9.
[79] Smith, "The Bureau of the Budget," *Public Administration Review* 1:2 (Winter 1941) 114.
[80] Larry Berman, *The Office of Management and Budget and the Presidency*, *1921-1979* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979), 136-42.
[81] US House, Committee on Appropriations, *Independent Offices Appropriation Bill for 1945*, public hearings, 78th Cong., 2nd sess., 1944, 929.
[82] US House, Committee on Appropriations, *Independent Offices Appropriation Bill for 1947*, public hearings, 79th Cong., 2nd sess., 1946, 22.
[83] US House, Committee on Appropriations, *Independent Offices Appropriations for 1951*, Part 5, public hearings, 81st Cong., 2nd sess., 1950, 1511, emphasis added.
[84] Ruth Fine and Vincent Eaton, "Public Functions," *Library Trends* 2:1 (July 1953) 40-41.
[85] Edward H. Hobbs, *Behind the President: A Study of Executive Office Agencies* (Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press, 1954), v; K. W. Knight, "Administrative Secrecy and Ministerial Responsibility," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 32:1 (February 1966) 83n7; Percival Flack Brundage, *The Bureau of the Budget* (New York: Praeger, 1970), xiii.
[86] US BOB, Circular A-53, Subject: Management Clearinghouse File, May 13, 1961. Reprinted in US Senate, Committee on Government Operations, *Interagency Coordination of Information*, Part 1, public hearings, 87th Cong., 2nd sess., 1963, 81-84.
[87] *American Library Directory*, 20th ed., 1954, 103.
[88] *Library and Reference Facilities in the Area of the District of Columbia*, 7th ed. (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1966), n.p., entry no. 39.
[89] *1968-1969 American Library Directory*, 26th ed., 137.
[90] *1970-1971 American Library Directory*, 27th ed., 148.
[91] US Senate, Committee on Appropriations, *Legislative Branch Appropriations for Fiscal Year 1971*, public hearings, 91st Cong., 2nd sess., 1970, 59.
[92] US House, Committee on Appropriations, *General Government Matters Appropriations for 1961*, public hearings, 86th Cong., 2nd sess., 1960, 115.
[93] *Survey of Special Libraries Serving the Federal Government* (Washington, DC: National Center for Educational Statistics, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1968), 27; *1970-1971 American Library Directory*, 27th ed., 148.
[94] Ibid.
[95] US BOB Library (compiler), *Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, PL 86-380* (Washington, DC: Microcard Editors, 1959), 6 microfiches.
[96] US BOB Library, *Program Analysis Techniques: A Selected Bibliography* (May 1965). The library updated and reissued it in 1966 and 1969.
[97] US BOB Library, *Executive Office of the President: An Annotated Bibliography* (December 1960).
[98] US House, Committee on Appropriations, *Legislative Branch Appropriations for 1953*, public hearings, 82nd Cong., 2nd sess., 1952, 62.
[99] *American Library Directory*, 24th ed., 1964, 155.
[100] Frank L. Schick, *Survey of Special Libraries Serving the Federal Government, 1965* (mimeograph), Table 1A.

[101] US House, Committee on Appropriations, *Legislative Branch Appropriations for 1953*, public hearings, 82nd Cong., 2nd sess., 1952, 62; Schick, ibid.
[102] US BOB, *The Bureau of the Budget: What it Is; What it Does* (Washington, DC: US BOB, 1964), 11; (1965), 11.
[103] US House, Committee on Appropriations, *Departments of Treasury and Post Office and Executive Office Appropriations for 1969*, Part 3, public hearings, 90th Cong., 2nd sess., 1968, 37.
[104] US House, Committee on Appropriations, *Departments of Treasury and Post Office and Executive Office Appropriations for 1970*, Part 3, 91st Cong., 1st sess., 1969, 320.
[105] *Library of Congress Information Bulletin* 12:19 (May 11, 1953) 18.
[106] "ALA Organization and Information, 1963-64," *ALA Bulletin* 57:10 (November 1963) 939.
[107] "New Members," *Law Library Lights* 14:1 (September 1970) 9.
[108] Shirley Loo, "Fabulous Feds," *Federal Librarian* 22:2 (Winter 2003) 4.
[109] *Proceedings of the University of Michigan Board of Regents*, Meeting of September 2001 meeting, 32, accessed October 2, 2014: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/u/umregproc/ACW7513.2001.001/32.
[110] "Money Matters," *Information Outlook* 5:5 (May 2001) 48; "DCLA Salutes Past President Ruth Fine," District of Columbia Library Association, accessed October 4, 2014: http://dcla.org/history/ruthfine.html.
[111] Lynne Olson, *Those Angry Days: Roosevelt, Lindbergh, and America's Fight over World War II, 1939-1941* (New York: Random House, 2013), 380-83.
[112] Memo from Bruce Kehrli, White House Staff Secretary, February 27, 1973, Subject: Central Reference Library for White House and Executive Office Building. The "To" line of the memo listed 11 addressees, including senior White House and presidential aides (such as John Dean and Ron Ziegler) and heads of affected EOP agencies. File: February 1973, Chronological Files, Box 74, Memoranda Files, Staff Secretary, White House Special Files, Nixon Presidential Library, National Archives, Yorba Linda, CA. Why did Kehrli exclude the OMB library from his merger plan? It is possible that most of the OMB library was by now in the *New* Executive Office Building (a block from the White House and outside the fenced compound), while Kehrli apparently focused only on libraries located in the *Old* Executive Office Building, i.e. within the White House compound. Also, President Nixon maintained a "working office" in the Old EOB, treating the Oval Office as a mostly ceremonial venue. This might have had the effect of limiting Kehrli's orientation to White House and Old EOB libraries. It is also possible that the OMB library dwarfed all other EOP libraries in collection size and would have dominated a merged one. Perhaps Kehrli wanted a merged library which would be much more presidentially oriented and dominated.
[113] Mordecai Lee, *Nixon's Super-Secretaries: The Last Grand Presidential Reorganization Effort* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2010).
[114] *Library and Reference Facilities in the Area of the District of Columbia*, 10th ed. (White Plains, NY: American Society for Information Science and Knowledge Industry Publications, 1979), 67-68; "Office of the Chief Information Officer," EOP Office of Administration, accessed October 5, 2014: http://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/eop/oa/divisions/ocio. For 2012 photos of the EOP library in the Eisenhower [Old] Executive Office Building (the location of the BOB library after 1939) see: http://shaneemurrain.blogspot.com/2012/07/office-of-administration-executive.html (accessed October 3, 2014).

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Art Exhibit Review

Review of *AIDS in New York: The First Five Years*

New-York Historical Society, New York,
June 7, 2013 – September 15, 2013

Reviewed by *Jonathan Woolley*

Even before I first read Gilman[1] I had already become interested in the parallels between the outbreak of AIDS in North America that began around 1980 and the outbreak of syphilis in Europe that began in the 1490s. Both diseases were sexually transmitted but were feared by the public to be transmitted by other means, both spread rapidly from city to city, both initially gave no warning as to who might be a carrier either to the carrier himself or to the carrier's partner, and both prompted a hysterical fear among the public that a person could easily become infected just through surface contact. Europeans seemed to have deduced anecdotally fairly early on that syphilis was a New World disease – it is even mentioned in a chapter of *Candide* – and modern research seems to have borne them out. But public fears about its transmissibility that mirrored the public's initial reaction to the AIDS outbreak reoccurred during every large syphilis outbreak right into the twentieth century.[2]

But AIDS (Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome) does differ from syphilis in one major respect: it can be and often is transmitted nonsexually. Indeed, it was the disease's ability to infect people through nonsexual means – infected needles and blood transfusions – that helped make the disease so threatening in the popular imagination during the 1980s (and today), because it created the possibility that even the most unlikely person could be a carrier. (Who in 1991 had expected Magic Johnson to say he was HIV positive?) A person walking down the street in New York – or any other large North American or European city – would have a hard time knowing whether or not a passerby was a member of the so-called four H's (homosexuals, hemophiliacs, Haitians, and heroin addicts) that characterized the standard types of infectees,[3] unless the passerby had already begun to exhibit symptoms of the disease.

This, of course, could lead to a panicked reaction among people – and often did. These public fears were often increased by the lack of scientific knowledge about the disease's cause and treatment, which characterized the early years of AIDS' appearance upon the scene (a 1983 *New York Times* article could only describe the public health community as making educated guesses about the disease: "Health officials believe that AIDS may be transmitted by an infectious agent, perhaps through sexual relations or through infected needles or contaminated blood" [4]). It fell to

the medical and public health communities to combat these public fears while, at the same time, trying to research the disease and cure patients – and prevent further transmission of the disease. Not surprisingly, this was no easy task. And as the disease became an epidemic, it became harder still.

On the whole, epidemics have a way of starting out unremarkably. They don't always appear like Hitler's troops preparing to invade Poland, an army of lined-up viruses marching forward to attack numerous targets en masse all at once. Rather, they are often more like the first shots of World War I. First, Archduke Ferdinand and his wife were shot, which was followed by some investigation and some discussion (which became more heated as time passed), then, two months later, more shots were fired, then Germany invaded Belgium and suddenly it became retrospectively clear the deceased royal couple had become the first of millions of casualties in a world war. So it was with the spread of AIDS in New York. Hundreds of people didn't suddenly get sick and die all on the same day. Instead, a few people died in the late '70's who were not even suspected of being immunosuppressed until long afterwards, then someone died in December 1980 of an infection he should have been able to fight off, a few more the following year (along with a number of other hospital admissions of people with diseases they should have been able to resist), and, suddenly, the disease was raging in earnest among those groups it initially targeted: homosexuals, intravenous needle users, their partners, and, subsequently, blood transfusion recipients.

For the public health and medical communities during the early years of AIDS, as with the outbreak of any new disease, the problems they faced could be distilled into seven. First, they had to spot that something was happening. Second, they had to figure out what it was – was it a new disease, a mutation of an existing disease, or something else entirely. Third, if it was a new disease (as they came to realize it was), they had to figure out its cause and mode of transmission. Fourth, they had to determine if it could be treated. Fifth, they had to implement prevention measures to stop it from spreading. Sixth, they had to reassure a nervous public who were suddenly afraid that anything – such as touching a school desk – could result in infection. And Seventh - and most importantly of all – they had to do all this in real time as the epidemic gained strength. There was no longer time to do practice drills first.

These seven problems, and how they were dealt with, is the subject of the exhibition "AIDS in New York: The First Five Years" at the New-York Historical Society. Curated by Jean Ashton, and using a combination of vintage posters, photographs, morbidity reports, newspaper articles, and similar materials, it covers both the disease's appearance and spread and the response to it from 1981 through 1985. The exhibit is laid out chronologically, with some minor exceptions. It starts with a little background on the sexual liberalism of Manhattan in the 1970's (then the center of the city's homosexual community), and then progresses to the initial cases of young men dying of unexpected causes and the medical community's realizing that what was happening was not just due to random chance. From there, it chronicles both infection / morbidity reports ("surveillance sheets" in the parlance of the city's health department) and, of more interest to public health researchers and practitioners, the initial response: public education campaigns targeting young gay men (One eye-catching poster advises men to use a condom and avoid risky activity using the headline "Great Sex! Don't Let AIDS Stop It"). The last rooms of the exhibition, covering the period from 1983 to 1985, emphasize the reaction to the AIDS epidemic of the two

groups of the public—the general public and the health care professionals—and the attempts to make the issue a political priority. Information on the isolation of the HIV virus is also presented, in layman's terms, in these rooms.

Even though the disease was killing people, the exhibit tells us, the public's response to the victims wasn't always positive. The issue was primarily one of transmissibility. Since the medical / scientific community had not yet identified the disease's method of transmission with certainty, people feared secondary contact could cause them to be infected. The curator has divided people's reactions into two separate categories: that of the health care community and that of the general public. This is a wise choice: even though health workers had the same instinctive reactions as the public at large (they are, after all, human beings like the rest of us), the issues and settings they dealt with brought them into contact with AIDS patients in ways the general public never was. The exhibit shows how health care workers became nervous about working with people who carried a transmissible disease with no known cure by quoting one doctor who remembers seeing untouched food trays stacked outside an AIDS patient's hospital room because the staff members would not take the food inside for fear of contracting the disease. Also, afraid of getting infected by inadvertently puncturing themselves with the needle, some doctors were nervous of injecting medication into infected patients. Funeral homes, the exhibit also documents, would similarly try to avoid handling deceased patients.

At the same time, the public at large, too, worried about the disease's transmissibility – if there is a potentially HIV-positive teacher at my child's school, should I continue to send my child there? However, the general public's attitude was also shaped by the initial groups affected by the outbreak; drug users, homosexuals, recent Haitian immigrants (a classification that was later rescinded by the government), and transfusion recipients. Of these groups, all but the latter were looked down upon by society. The exhibit does a very good job of showing how the homosexual community's ultimately successful attempt to focus government research funds on AIDS research was met by a hostile public reaction – one particularly memorable photograph shows an anti-gay protestor with a sign saying all of Manhattan Island should be put in isolation. Similarly, the exhibit documents how a proposal that New York City implement a needle exchange program for intravenous drug users – designed to prevent the transmission of both AIDS and hepatitis C through infected needles – became a controversial move, since the intravenous drugs being used were illegal and, therefore, a needle exchange program was perceived as actually helping people break the law. As Heller and Paone put it, "entrenched beliefs for criminal justice approaches to drug policy were dominant" in the 1980's, so any "[p]roposals to relax these restrictions and improve access to sterile syringes were subject to great controversy."[5]

Thus, the exhibit touches upon issues public health administrators would have to deal with in the event of a new epidemic. The nervousness caused by the spread of AIDS required the public health community to launch a public education campaign and a very controversial needle exchange program. Both measures worked, but, as the exhibit teaches, took time to have an effect. The greatest lesson public health administrators can draw is that public education campaigns need to be clearly presented, widespread, seem trustworthy (especially now that the Internet bloggers can make a falsehood seem true), explain safe behaviors, and be repetitive. Repetitiveness is important: the first time one saw an AIDS public education poster, whether it was directed at members of affected groups or at the public at large, its message might not sink in. Con-

tinually reinforcing the message, this exhibition makes clear, is how public health officials succeeded both in calming public fears and in teaching safe behavior.

Similarly, the exhibit's documentation of the rise of an interest group dedicated to AIDS research and treatment serves as a good case study for teaching both public health administration researchers and practitioners how citizen activist groups can influence agency priorities. The homosexual community's role in raising AIDS on the research agenda of government health departments is well displayed. Instructors wishing to teach students about the role of activist pressure may want to take pictures of some of the items on exhibit for use in their classroom presentations.

From a public health standpoint, there are two drawbacks to this exhibition. One is its lack of emphasis on the public's stigmatization of Haitian immigrants. For a while, they were listed among those most likely to be afflicted – and thus to spread the disease to others. While this was later rescinded by the government, and the exhibit states why (most AIDS-positive Haitian immigrants had either touched an infected needle or had engaged in intercourse with an infected person), the suspicion lingered. Indeed, as late as 2006 I personally heard a man say Haitians are a risk factor for catching AIDS. (The lesson here is that wrong information can become perpetuated in the public's mind, so public health officials should make sure they tell the public the truth.) The exhibition does a fine job of persuasively demonstrating the stigmatization of homosexuals, who often bore the brunt of the public's fear of the disease, – but more attention to the effect of this erroneous public health classification would be instructive to future city health officials.

Similarly, the exhibition initially states that AIDS was not the first epidemic to hit New York City and lists several previous ones, including cholera. Most of those listed occurred in the 19th century, and all of them had their major outbreaks before World War II. The second drawback, in my mind, is that the exhibition fails to note those were primarily outbreaks of contagious diseases – in other words, ones more easily (and differently) transmitted than is AIDS. From a public health researcher's viewpoint, it might have been better to have listed outbreaks of sexually transmitted diseases, whether or not they occurred in New York City. Syphilis comes to mind – future historians of AIDS' epidemiology ought to compare it with that of syphilis in European cities in the 1490s and early 1500s (syphilis was probably spread by a sailor, AIDS by a flight attendant, both appeared in cities prior to rural areas).[6] The New-York Historical Society probably wanted to put AIDS in the context of other New York epidemics that would be familiar to the casual museum-goer, which is understandable, but comparing AIDS to a sexually-transmitted or needle-transmitted disease (such as syphilis or some forms of hepatitis) would have been more appropriate.

Nonetheless, this exhibit is presented by a historical society, rather than by a public health or medical society, and so is designed to capture the effects of the epidemic upon the city rather than serve as a catalyst of epidemiological research. (An exhibit comparing AIDS and syphilis is more likely to be staged at a medical museum, such as the Mutter in Philadelphia, or perhaps at a science-related museum, such as the New York's American Museum of Natural History.) It achieves this purpose quite well, and visitors will come away with a better appreciation of Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome's initial effect upon the city and the public's reaction to it.

Both public health researchers and curators of museums in other cities wishing to depict the effect of the disease upon their city (or the public's reaction to it) will find the information presented here quite interesting.

The history of AIDS is necessarily tied in with the history of the mostly marginalized groups which became the primary carriers of the disease during its early years; whether one is concentrating on New York City or on the nation as a whole, one cannot study the public's reaction to the disease without studying public attitudes towards the groups that initially bore the brunt of it, since their rates of infection so greatly exceeded that of the general population that it encouraged stereotyping on the part of the general population. Therefore, the public response to AIDS, is an excellent example of the social construction theory of public policy in action. (The theory "that the definitions of problems and the characterizations of target populations influence policymaking" and vice-versa.[7]) Donovan has noted "that the most important variables determining the instance and shape of targeted policies are how public problems are defined and understood and how they are then linked to populations."[8] These variables complicated public policy responses at all three levels of government (local, state, and federal) since "All approaches to the AIDS problem [were] complicated by its connection with socially disapproved forms of pleasure seeking"[9]. At the federal level, for instance, Senator Helms of North Carolina was able to limit some potentially-promising policy responses because of "where gays and IDUs [drug users] were linked in the causal chain that stretches from problem definition" to policy solutions;[10] few in Washington were willing fund programs that might encourage promiscuous sex or heroin use. AIDS sufferers and activists in New York City faced similar issues at the local level, particularly as the method of infection had not yet been fully determined – as has been noted earlier – and the middle and latter portions of the exhibition do a fine job of illustrating both the public's views on this matter and activists' difficulties in overcoming this to bring AIDS research to the political agenda.

A professor teaching about either the history of AIDS or about social construction theory would be well advised to include a visit to this exhibition in their lesson plan. There are various ways of doing this, depending on the purpose of the course and the method by which it is being taught. But, to provide one example, a professor might start with Schneider and Ingram's 1990 article on policy tools[11] as well as readings by Wachter[12] and Kleiman[13] to discuss the political aspect of AIDS in its early years. Following these by Schneider and Ingram's 1993 article on social construction theory (which mentions AIDS policy once or twice)[14] would, in turn, serve as a good background for a class discussion or writing assignment on Schroedel and Jordan's article on AIDS policy during late 80's and early 90's[15]. Combining this background both with a visit to the exhibition and with Donovan's book on the target populations of AIDS and drug policies[16] would provide a professor with a fine springboard to discuss both the history of needle exchange programs (which is also the subject of an article by Heller and Paone[17]) and the lessons to be learned from this in dealing with future issues involving groups that have been labeled derisively by society at large.

A visit to this exhibit would particularly benefit students who learn better through experience and / or visually than they do through textual reading. Both the exhibits themselves – newspaper articles, photographs, posters, etc. – and the accompanying descriptive text provide a good deal of information on how public views of drug users and (particularly) homosexuals colored early re-

sponses to the problem as well as how the homosexual community (and others) organized politically to lobby for funding regarding research and treatment. An in-the-field lecture by a professor conducting a walking tour of this exhibition would serve to bring issues discussed in the readings to life, thus allowing students to visualize the issues in a stronger manner than textual readings alone could provide.

In addition to professors, this exhibition is useful to two types of public health researchers and practitioners: those who are interested in public health or medical history and those who are tasked with planning for a possible outbreak of an as yet unencountered disease. The issues of how to identify a previously unknown disease, how the community will react to the news of its existence, how to disseminate public information to the community, and the political pressures that may result are all discussed in this exhibition. Thus, there are many lessons one can learn by viewing it. Medical and public health historians can use these lessons as a standard of comparison when analyzing the handling of other disease outbreaks (or of other outbreaks of AIDS since "[t]he different stages of the New York City epidemic have occurred in [intravenous drug using] populations in many other areas of the world"[18]). Public health administrators tasked with preventing the next epidemic can use these lessons when designing plans to handle future outbreaks.

Health administrators (and medical practitioners) who currently deal with HIV-positive people will find the exhibition interesting but less relevant, as a combination of greater public awareness about the disease and antiretroviral drugs – both products of the public education and research that began in the 1980s – have made AIDS-related programs different now from what they were in the '80s. However, they may still benefit from the exhibition. They may yet have to work with patients of a future epidemic, and so might have to face the same problems health and medical officials dealt with in the 1980s. After all, as the exhibition points out, what made AIDS so striking in both the public's and the health care community's minds during the 1980s was its mystery – no one knew what it was, what caused it, or how to avoid it. The next mystery disease will have the same features.

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Endnotes

[1] Sander L. Gilman, "AIDS and Syphilis: The Iconography of a Disease," *October* 43 (Winter 1987): 87-107.

[2] See: Allen M. Brandt, "AIDS in Historical Perspective: Four Lessons from the History of Sexually Transmitted Diseases," *American Journal of Public Health* 78 (April 1988): 367-71.

See also: Allen M. Brandt, "The Syphilis Epidemic and its Relation to AIDS," *Science* 239 (1988): 375-80.

[3] Michael S. Gottleib, Jerome E. Groopman, eds., *Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome: Proceedings of a Shering Corporation-UCLA Symposium* (Park City, UT., February 5-10, 1984. New York: Liss, 1984) cited in: Op. Cit. Gilman,. 87.

[4] Dudley Clendinen, "AIDS Spreads Pain and Fear among Ill and Healthy Alike". *The New York Times* (June 17, 1983): B4.

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Op. Cit. Gilman, 104-06.

Op. Cit. Brandt, "AIDS in Historical Perspective: Four Lessons from the History of Sexually Transmitted Diseases", 367.

[5] Daliah Heller and Denise Paone, "Access to Sterile Syringes for Injecting Drug Users in New York City: Politics and Perception (1984-2010)," *Substance Use and Misuse* 46 (2011): 141.
[6] There is a field of literature discussing the two diseases and some writers, such as Felman and Gilman, have already specifically discussed these two outbreaks. (See for instance: Op. Cit. Gilman., Yehudi M. Felman, "Syphilis: From 1495 Naples to 1989 AIDS," *Archives of Dermatology* 125 (December 1989): 1698-1700., Op. Cit. Brandt, "The Syphilis Epidemic and its Relation to AIDS"). I feel it is a subject with which future epidemiological historians ought to continue further.
[7] Mark C. Donovan, *Taking Aim: Target Populations and the Wars on AIDS and Drugs*. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2001: 2.
[8] Op. Cit. Donovan, 86.
[9] Mark A.R. Kleiman, "AIDS, Vice, and Public Policy," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 51 (Winter 1988): 315.
[10] Op. Cit. Donovan, 88 top
[11] Anne Schneider and Helen Ingram, "Behavioral Assumptions of Policy Tools," *Journal of Politics* 52 (May 1990): 510-29.
[12] Robert M. Wachter, "AIDS, Activism, and the Politics of Health," *New England Journal of Medicine* 326 (January 1992): 128-33.
[13] Op. Cit. Kleiman, 315-68.
[14] Anne Schneider and Helen Ingram, "Social Construction of Target Populations: Implications for Politics and Policy," *American Political Science Review* 87 (June 1993): 334-47.
[15] Jean Reith Schroedel and Daniel R. Jordan, "Senate Voting and Social Construction of Target Populations: A Study of AIDS Policy Making, 1987-1992," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 23 (February 1998): 107-32.
[16] Op. Cit. Donovan.
[17] Op. Cit. Heller and Paone
[18] Don C. Des Jarlais et al., "HIV among Drug Users at Beth Israel Medical Center, New York City, the First 25 Years," *Substance Use and Misuse* 46 (2011): 136.

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Case Study #8:

Warriors of the Gentle Dreams

by Ann M. House and Karen E. Rigley

Developed by *Kenneth Nichols*

What should you do when you suspect a coworker of serious wrongdoing? What if the coworker is your boss? And what if you need your job to support yourself and your family? These are a few of the questions that the protagonist in "Warriors of the Gentle Dreams" must determine.

"Warriors" is a fantasy-based short story that looks at trust, law, justice, and the confluence of dissimilar personal beliefs inherent in our multicultural society. It is also a mix of contemporary Western and detective story.

The authors write, work, and live in the American West — Ann House on a ranch in the Southwest and Karen Rigley in a suburb along the edge of the Rockies. Enjoy their short story and a small part of the world they know.

The Selection: *Warriors of the Gentle Dreams*

(Ann M. House and Karen E. Rigley. "Warriors of the Gentle Dreams." In *Spirit of Poe: A Charitable Anthology*. 2012. Literary Landmark Publishing. This is copyrighted material. The story appears here in slightly modified form by permission of the authors.)

Oh no!

Jena Capers sat up in bed, fighting off the clinging webs of a vivid nightmare. She'd thought such nightmares behind her, left along with her childhood in the past. Though she tried to tell

herself this was just a bad dream, she knew better. It had that same quality those long-ago dreams did. But what could such a dream mean?

Sighing, she lay back down. The monster burned into her mind, evil with strangely changing features to resemble a bear, wolf and mountain lion at the same time. As if faces on the totem poles had come to life and blended.

The totems. The curator had unpacked them that morning at the museum, prize artifacts to add to the Native American display. About three feet long, the totem sticks bore carved animal heads at each end: one of a bear, one a wolf, and the third stick a mountain lion. Savagery twisted the faces so they didn't look normal. They appeared almost—depraved.

Jena shuddered. Then flipping back the covers, she padded into the kitchen to make a cup of herb tea. She was just being dramatic, imagining those totems had inspired her to start crazy premonition dreams again. Terrible memories flooded back, ones she'd buried long ago. She couldn't bear to face that trauma again. Besides, it had to be just a nightmare, brought on by those awful looking sticks. No such beast existed. Overtired, an overactive imagination, museum burnout—she needed a vacation. The dream, the beast and this feeling would all seem silly by the light of day.

Jena almost convinced herself of that until she saw the totems again when she arrived at work the next morning. Herbert Mansley, the curator and her boss, had already placed the sticks on display. Though that was Jena's job, he did that occasionally when particularly taken with an item. Which he certainly seemed to be with these totems, having acquired them himself.

She walked over to inspect them. They lay side-by-side: the bear, the wolf and the mountain lion. It looked wrong somehow. Jena resisted the impulse to rearrange them at first, thinking Mr. Mansley might not take kindly to it. But finally she couldn't stand it and opened the case to stare critically at the totem poles, then started moving them this way and that.

Nothing looked right. No matter how she laid the totems, the arrangement looked wrong. She placed them back in the original order just as Mr. Mansley walked up.

"Beautiful, aren't they?" he said, gazing fondly at them.

"Yessss, but. . . ."

One bushy eyebrow climbed up toward his receding hairline. "But?" he prompted.

"They're so . . . savage looking. Cruel." She hugged herself unconsciously. "I wonder what they represent."

"Indian lore is filled with legends and spirits. They had totems for everything. These were probably used to scare off evil spirits."

"They look more like the evil spirits themselves."

"Whatever, they're here now in the museum."

Jena glanced up at him. He looked so satisfied, so smug, as if he'd pulled a real coup. He'd returned from a field trip with the totems, among other things. But these were his prize trophies for the excursion. It made Jena uncomfortable wondering if he had taken these from Indian land. Though she had no proof, she suspected other displays might have been "liberated" without permission from the reservation. But what could she do, run around bleating that Herbert Mansley, respected museum curator and amateur archaeologist might be an artifact thief? About the quickest thing she'd accomplish would be getting herself fired.

That evening at home, Jena made herself a tuna sandwich and carried it in to the living room, switching on the news. When a news story about the killings came on, she nearly dropped her plate.

"A second victim of the Slasher was discovered on the Redrock Indian Reservation this morning by two school children," the anchor reported. "The viciousness of the murders has generated debate about the perpetrator—whether a human could do such gruesome damage. Speculation has attributed the killings to various animals, such as a bear or mountain lion. Authorities intend to organize a hunt to track down whoever—or whatever—is doing the killing. Any such hunt will be hampered by the rugged terrain in and around the reservation."

Why would a newscast send cold chills racing up Jena's arms? She rubbed herself, her hair practically rising on her neck. Deciding to distract herself from the reservation murders, she switched to a comedy. She didn't need to see any more about slasher murders, not after that dream of the night before.

Once in bed, the nightmare washed over Jena as strange voices chanted, "beast-who-devours roams once more." Again the beast reared up from a cave, its form continually changing until she couldn't be sure what animal lurked there. At times it almost appeared to have wings and a beak. But in all forms, blood dripped from the thing's wicked fangs and its eyes glowed with an evilness she felt targeted her. She awoke covered in sweat and tangled in the bedcovers, a scream frozen on her lips.

"Did you hear the newscast about the reservation killings?" Jena asked Mr. Mansley the next morning.

"Something about a slasher, right?" he murmured, his attention focused on the papers on his desk.

"They don't know what's doing it," she said, dropping mail into his IN basket and taking files from his OUT basket. "But the killer must be vicious." Then to her own surprise, Jena blurted, "Mr. Mansley . . . you're sure those totems . . . ah . . . that they don't come from the reservation? I mean, they're legal, aren't they?"

He glared at her, his eyes large behind his thick glasses.

"Are you accusing me of something, Jena?" His voice held a touch of defensive danger. "Forget it, I bought those totems from an old Indian. Understood?" His round cheeks reddened.

"Right," she said, making a hasty exit. What a reaction! It served to confirm her suspicion that he'd stolen them. Mr. Mansley and his Indiana Jones complex. He and his cronies probably raided historical sites on the reservation, pretending to loot the Temple of Doom. Jena didn't like it, but she didn't know what to do about it, either. No one would accept a lowly assistant's unsubstantiated word over that of the long time curator.

"You'd think the Indians would complain," she mumbled to herself, sitting down to work.

Another vivid nightmare assaulted Jena that night following a newscast that announced a third murder. Tired and nervous, she arrived at work early the next morning to stand and stare at the totems. She felt as if the totems were trying to tell her something through her dreams, but she couldn't grasp it.

Jena needed to escape the totem sticks. They made her crazy. Maybe she'd been working too hard. Feeling desperate to get away, she approached Mr. Mansley about a vacation.

"Well," he said, "it's slow right now. Might be a good time for you to take off, so fill out your request form and I'll approve it." He smiled broadly, proud of his generosity.

"Thank you, Mr. Mansley," she said with an answering smile. Yes, a vacation would help no end. Just getting away from Herbert Mansley would help!

That night the beast-who-devours haunted her dreams, a vile changeling of grizzly, mountain lion and wolf. Hollow-eyed and anxious, Jena rose at dawn to pack her bags with urgency. She felt determined to head out to the reservation, just as if she'd planned a trip for months.

She arrived at her destination in the late afternoon, a bit over eight hours of driving. Tired and thirsty, she stopped and checked into a motel in town before continuing on out to the reservation. A curio shop sat beside the road at the entrance gate and Jena pulled in there, not really sure what she wanted to do.

Why was she here, anyway? What had compelled her to make this trip? Could she be going insane? Jena shook off unfortunate memories of dreams past, climbed out of the car and went inside.

A young Indian woman tended the counter. She looked quite lovely, with eyes like midnight set in her oval face accented by sculpted cheekbones, and long black hair braided into two gleaming ropes decorated with beads and feathers. She wore a white fringed buckskin dress that set off her dusky beauty perfectly. Jena wondered if she dressed to impress tourists or was totally oblivious to her effect.

"Hello," Jena said, smiling. The girl nodded slightly but offered no smile in return. Jena looked around. Suddenly her gaze riveted to a totem stick hanging on the wall behind the counter. It ap-

peared shockingly similar to the three at the museum, yet this was an eagle totem pole. A curved beak of the changling beast from Jena's nightmare flashed into her mind. She moved closer to the counter, still staring.

"That totem," Jena said, pointing.

"It's not for sale," the Indian girl responded, refusing to glance up from the turquoise earrings she was arranging.

"Who does it belong to?" Jena persisted.

"My people."

Jena had to grit her teeth against impatience. Why didn't the girl want to talk to her'? Did she treat all tourists this way? Yes, Jena decided, watching the salesgirl deal with a couple who walked up to the counter. They spent a great deal of money, but the Indian girl appeared unimpressed and aloof. Polite, courteous, but definitely aloof. When they left, Jena tried again.

"I need to ask about the totem pole."

"Not for sale," the girl repeated.

"That's not what I want to know—-"

Another Indian woman entered the shop from the back: shorter, heavier, older. "Sue," she said, "it's time."

The girl looked around and nodded, then stared at Jena. "You must leave now. The shop closes at five."

Frustrated, Jena returned to her car and drove back to the hotel. She should get up the next morning, head home and not waste more vacation time on a silly impulse. Where did the impulse get her so far? On dangerous territory where some mystery Slasher had been ripping people to pieces. Wonderful. Yes, tomorrow morning she'd head home. Jena wished she'd never seen the blasted totem poles.

Jena stood on a featureless plain, wind blowing her honey blonde hair into streamers behind her. She could hear roars and crashes in the dark forest flanking the plain. As she looked around for a place of safety, she saw the Indian girl at the edge of the wood. "Get away from there," she called urgently, motioning for the girl to run. "A beast lurks in those woods!" The girl paid no attention.

"Sue!" Jena cried desperately, hearing the growls and roars grow louder. Upon hearing Jena call her name, Sue walked forward until she stood before Jena, gazing at her.

"Sister-who-dreams," she said in her husky contralto, "Why have you come here?"

"To warn you. That—that monster will catch you if you don't escape!"

"It will catch many of us. The Beast-that-devours has been loosed once again upon my people."

Jena seized Sue's arms. "We must stop it."

"How?"

"I-I don't know."

Sue handed Jena the eagle totem.

"Perhaps together we shall learn."

Jena sat up in bed, clutching the sheet and surprised not to find the totem stick still in her grip. So much for going home. She could never leave after that dream.

Jena walked into the curio shop and stood silently looking at Sue.

"Sister-who-dreams," Sue said. "I know you now. I am Sue Dancing Crow."

"My name is Jena Capers. I must talk to you about that totem stick."

Sue nodded. "Yes. We have much to discuss."

The same woman from the day before entered the shop. She wore a deep purple prairie skirt, dark gold blouse, and red sash. Her long hair hung straight and unadorned.

"This is Moon Woman," Sue said. "She will work in the shop today so I may go with you."

Moon Woman inclined her head. "Sister-who-dreams."

"Come," Sue said, and Jena followed her out. They got into Jena's car and raced through the reservation entrance and down a road that became bumpy from disrepair within a quarter of a mile. Following Sue's directions, Jena turned in beside a small frame house and parked.

Though sparsely furnished, the house appeared clean and neat. Sue put a kettle on the stove and took out a jar of instant coffee. Jena sat down at the little table. She noticed Sue wore jeans and a bulky-knit pullover sweater instead of the buckskin dress.

Sue's long hair, unbraided today, hung nearly to her hips. Jena ran her fingers through her own blonde hair that reached well below her shoulders, which she previously thought of as long—before seeing Sue and Moon Woman.

The kettle whistled. Sue filled two fat mugs and brought them to the table.

"Thank you," Jena said, wrapping her hands around the mug and sipping. Sue watched her, sipping her own coffee. Jena felt awkward, as if something was expected of her and she didn't know what.

"Last night you dreamed of me," Sue said, as if sensing her discomfort. Jena nodded. "I shared your dream. That is how I came to know you. Many people become enamored with our signs and symbols, they even steal our things for their own gain. But our shared dream proved your heart is true."

Jena gave her a startled look. "You shared my dream?"

"This surprises you? Have you not shared dreams before?"

"No. I . . . no." She shook her head. "But lately I've had some real crazy dreams. . . ."

"You call them 'crazy' because you do not understand them. Tell me, Sister-who-dreams. Tell me what you have dreamed."

Jena sat in silence for a moment, gripped by shyness. Had they actually shared a dream? From Sue's actions, Jena couldn't help but believe it, no matter how outlandish it sounded.

Hesitantly at first, but with increasing confidence at Sue's close attention, Jena related her series of dreams about the beast, and how it resembled the totems all blended together. "Then when I saw the eagle totem hanging behind the counter, well. . . ." Jena took another sip of her coffee. "Can you interpret my dreams? What do the totems mean?"

"The totems were part of a spell to imprison the Beast-that-devours, a spirit monster unleashed upon our people long ago. I've often heard the story of my several times great grandmother, Brown Spider, a Medicine Woman of our people, who used those totems to cast the imprisonment spell. The spell is broken and evil spirits rejoice, because a white man stole three of the totems and dropped the fourth one in the woods. Little Bear found that, but alone it has no power."

"Why do the totems haunt my dreams?" Jena moaned.

"Because you are a dreamer," Sue stated firmly, "and you must know something to help fight the evil. Among my people dreaming is not strange, but your soul has been stifled by your culture and its beliefs. Do not worry, Sister. Tonight we shall dream again, and perhaps learn what must be done to recapture the Beast-that-devours." She stood. "Now we must go into the countryside. A hike, to commune with nature." For the first time, Sue smiled.

Jena explained about the museum curator and the other totems, then hiked mostly in silence with Sue pointing out a special view, plant or animal. They climbed to the top of the red ramparts that gave the reservation its name and found a spot beside a panoramic overlook to have lunch. The wind blew wild and free, tossing Jena's blonde hair. Sue, having braided hers before starting out, plaited Jena's.

Jena could feel tension draining from her mind and body as she gazed out over the hazy blue distance and breathed the fresh sweet air. Twilight shadowed the valley by the time they returned to Sue's house.

"Do you live here alone?" Jena asked, looking around.

"No, my mother, two younger sisters, my young brother Little Bear, and my great-aunt live here. But they are visiting relatives. Many leave because of the Beast-that-devours."

It appeared a small house for so many residents. Though she was embarrassed to admit it, Jena had pictured tepees and hogans with befeathered Indians gathered around a campfire. These resembled houses in any rural neighborhood. A disadvantaged neighborhood. She certainly 'knew' Indians were disadvantaged, some living in abject poverty, but it had never seemed real before. But then, she had never been inside the reservation before.

Moon Woman arrived soon after they returned, accompanied by two other women. Dove was a dumpling, petite and round, her thick wavy hair just brushing her shoulders. Tall Cloud appeared the eldest of the group; whip thin with sharp narrow features and gray streaking her black hair, which she wore tied back with a rawhide thong.

"I brought the eagle totem," Moon Woman said, laying it on the table.

Sue picked it up. "Shall we go to the Sacred Cave?"

They trouped out in a group, enveloping Jena as if she had been with them forever. She felt a touch of fear. It was getting quite dark. Weren't they afraid of the monster? They didn't seem to be, following a path in the darkness Jena would have completely overlooked, left on her own. Even as the moon rose she couldn't see well enough to find her way alone, so she kept close to Sue, who walked ahead of her, leading the procession. Dove followed immediately behind Jena with the other two women single-file behind Dove. She didn't know who brought up the rear, afraid to look around too much for fear she'd miss her footing and trip.

The Indian women moved so silently, so fluidly, that Jena felt clumsy. She decided if the beast found them, it would be thanks to her crashing and stumbling.

Eventually they came to a bluff, where Jena needed intense concentration to place her hands and feet in the right holds to climb up behind Sue. Then Sue disappeared over a ledge and reached back to clasp Jena's arms. From below the others offered a boost and Jena found herself at the mouth of a very dark cave. The moonlight barely illuminated the opening.

Tall Cloud produced a lantern, lit it, and handed it to Sue. Together, they proceeded into the cave.

The passage narrowed, forcing them to stoop to pass through, then it opened up into a round chamber with a large rock right in the center.

"The Spirit Rock," Sue said. "For ages it held the Beast-that-devours prisoner, placed within by the Medicine of my many-times great grandmother, Brown Spider."

"Released by a plunderer," said Moon Woman.

"To kill again," Dove added.
"And now must be recaptured," Tall Cloud finished.

They encircled the rock as they spoke, joining hands, including Jena in the circle. They dropped hands and Sue picked up the eagle totem and placed it on the rock. Raising her arms she chanted,

"O, Spirit rock, show us the way we can recapture the evil Beast-that-devours into your depth, to hold its foul breath still within your solid heart once again. Hear us, Spirit Rock, the Warriors of the Gentle Dreams. Hear me, Dancing Crow."

"Hear me, Moon Woman."

"Hear me, Dove."

"Hear me, Tall Cloud."

Jena suddenly realized it was her turn. "Hear me, ah . . . Sister-who-dreams." She glanced at Sue for approval and Sue gave her a slight nod.

"We shall dream now." Sue reached a hand to Jena and sank to the cave floor. Jena sat down beside her, her hand warm in Sue's. Then Sue lay back and Jena did the same, feeling just a bit foolish.

"May you dream true," said Tall Cloud, lighting three sticks of incense and handing two to Moon Woman and Dove. The three of them sat down flanking Jena and Sue. Jena glanced over at Sue, who had released her hand to cross her own hands over her breasts. Her eyes closed. Jena did likewise, wondering if Sue actually intended to fall asleep. After a few moments, she cracked her eyelids and peered out. A spot on her back itched. Her nose tickled. Her lips felt dry. Sleep? Not likely. Still she closed her eyes and tried to think peaceful thoughts. But it wasn't working. She couldn't seem to get serious. This seemed like a game to her, something children would play.

"Sister, why are you resisting?" Sue asked gently, and Jena opened her eyes to see Sue propped on an elbow, gazing at her.

"I'm not resisting," Jena protested. "I'm just having a problem relaxing."

"I feel your resistance. Are you afraid?"

"Afraid? Afraid the beast might come, you mean?" Jena said, old memories of childhood taunts lapping at her mind.

"No. Why are you afraid to dream?"

The others moved closer. "Tell us why," Moon Woman said.

Jena sat up. "I don't know how you dream," she said. "I've never done anything like this before."

"But you have dreamed?" Dove insisted.

"Yes, about the totems. And about the monster."

"Before that. You once dreamed other dreams," Tall Cloud whispered.

Memory rose up like a beast and Jena frowned. "When I was young, I had . . . crazy dreams sometimes."

"Tell us," Sue commanded softly.

"Often I'd dream something and it would come true." Jena sighed, a lump in her throat. "My family made fun of me and teased me about being a witch. Then I dreamed my older brother, who was a football star at our school, sat out an important game and our team lost. The day before the game he got hurt and couldn't play. We lost. Tom got very angry and blamed me. He told everyone at school I was a witch and had cursed him. They all ridiculed me. It hurt so much. I . . . fought my dreams after that."

"You stopped telling about them, stopped believing in them, and they went away, right?" said Moon Woman.

"Uh huh. I guess I *am* afraid to . . . rekindle. . . ."

"Don't be afraid, Sister-who-dreams," Sue said, placing a hand on her shoulder. "We will guide you. We will protect you. Let yourself dream. You must, for without you, we cannot hope to learn how to recapture the beast."

"But I'm only a white woman!" Jena protested. "How can I be so important?"

"The totems called to your soul, warned you of the danger unleashed, and guided you to our people. You possess a link. You are one with us, our sister. You are a dreamer, no matter your race," Sue said. "Will you trust us? Trust me? Let yourself dream."

Jena composed herself and this time she relaxed her body and emptied her mind, inhaling the spicy fragrance of the incense, letting her thoughts drift, picturing the totems in their display case, thinking of where they belonged, here in this Sacred Cave. . . .

Jena opens her eyes and stands, looking down at herself lying on the cave floor. Dancing Crow rises to stand beside her, also leaving her body. The other three women sit cross-legged, heads bowed, eyes closed.

"The others are our guides and will show us the way back," Dancing Crow says.

Together they leave the cave and this time Sister-who-dreams has no difficulty seeing. She knows they seek the beast, for only in confronting the Beast-that-devours, can they learn how to recapture it. They reach the featureless plain and begin across to the forest on the other side. Once again Sister-who-dreams hears roars and growls. She feels satisfaction rather than fear, because their quarry is close. The Beast-that-devours will reveal its own downfall.

They enter the wood, cautious but determined, pressing on toward noises they would ordinarily flee. They find the beast pacing in a small clearing. Sister-who-dreams steps forward on silent feet with Dancing Crow at her side. She knows she must look upon the beast in the moonlight. Sensing them the monster moves forward as the moon washes light over its evil form. At first it appears like it does in her other dreams, with features blending and flowing until it becomes four creatures at once. But Sister-who-dreams forces her eyes to focus sharply, makes herself see the Beast-that-devours as it really is, and yes! She sees true, now.

> *The cougar guards north.*
> *The bear guards south.*
> *The wolf guards west.*
> *The eagle guards east.*

Dancing Crow lightly touches her shoulder. "Sister, do you see?"

"Yes. I see."

"Come, we must return."

Sister-who-dreams turns to follow Dancing Crow but the Beast- that-devours roars a challenge and charges across the clearing, more hideous and savage than ever. It lunges. Sister-who-dreams pushes Dancing Crow forward and leaps to distract the Beast.

"No, Sister!"

Sister-who-dreams hears Dancing Crow but she is caught by the beast now, can smell its fetid odor and feel its hot breath on her neck as it prepares to pierce her throat with ripping fangs.

"Run!" she screams at Dancing Crow. "Run!" And then she is screaming and screaming as her life is ripped from her. Again and again she is clawed.

"No, Sister! Come back!"

Jena's eyes fluttered open to see not the Beast's ravenous fangs and claws, but Sue's desperate face. Sue's hand had administered sharp slaps. The other women were grouped around her, massaging her arms and legs, calling to her. Jena began to weep.

"It's okay," Sue crooned, cradling her and rocking her gently. "You're safe now. You're safe." Jena sat up, swiping at her eyes, looking around at the others. "We must get the other totems," she said. "We don't have time to prove they're stolen and reclaim them legally." She took a deep breath, hiccupping like a child. She felt battered and sore. Touching her neck she was surprised to find no slashes there. She could feel the concern of the other women and it made her stronger. Part of her wanted to study this experience and sort out her feelings. But right now, she had some totems to steal.

Jena and Sue left immediately on the eight-hour drive back to the city. Dawn had already arrived by the time they got there, but today was Monday, the day the museum stayed closed. What a break. They need not wait for darkness to steal the totems.

She parked several blocks away and they walked quickly to the back entrance where Jena used her key to enter. She shut off the alarm system, before they explored the dim museum.

"Sue, don't touch anything except what I hand to you," Jena said. "We'll make this look like a real burglary. And you might as well get back some other stolen artifacts while we're at it."

Sue gave her a triumphant thumbs-up. First, the totem sticks. Then they 'shopped around,' picking out other things Sue recognized. Jena broke the glass cases, using a hammer wrapped in a cloth. She carefully wiped her own prints from the hammer, not worried that they would show up elsewhere, since she worked there and touched most things daily. Still she acted cautiously.

When they left the museum, Jena left the alarm system turned off, then used a brick to break a rear windowpane to establish forced entry.

Jena snickered. With her gone, Mr. Mansley was responsible to lock up and turn on the alarm. Wouldn't he have a fit to discover it off? His fault; his oversight. Knowing Mr. Herbert Tippler Mansley and his handy nip-bottle he stowed in his desk drawer, he'd probably be too buzzed to be positive he did turn it on. Caught chuckling, she had to explain to Sue the source of her merriment.

Placing their loot in the trunk, they headed back on the long return drive to the reservation. They finally arrived feeling strangely elated, instead of exhausted. Sue wanted to speak to Moon Woman, who was tending the shop. Two patrol cars were parked outside and the officers had gone in to buy soft drinks from the dispenser. Jena didn't think it a good idea to be spotted there at the reservation, so she dropped Sue off and drove on to the house.

"We need to eat, Sister," Sue said, when she joined Jena at the house. The Indian girl opened the little ancient fridge and peered inside. "We'll need strength."

Jena hadn't even thought of food. They had stopped only to buy gas, grab a soft drink and a package of chips. She watched Sue make sandwiches, far more than she thought the two of them could eat, so it didn't surprise her when the other three women arrived.

Darkness had fallen by the time they'd finished eating and Sue had gathered up the totem sticks, plus what she explained were a Medicine Shield and Medicine Pouch. Jena tried to travel with more confidence tonight but still had to place her feet with caution.

The cave felt different; no longer merely a hole inside a bluff, as strange whispers sighed along the passageway and Jena could almost feel the presence of others. A chill chased its way down her spine. Sue explained that much Medicine had been practiced in this sacred cave, until Brown Spider first imprisoned the Beast-that-devours. Jena felt the weight of ancient ghosts upon her soul.

"Sister," Sue said, facing her and placing a hand on her shoulder. "Last night you almost got lost in the dream. That is because you are young at dreaming. You don't yet know how to use the guides, to let them hold your spirit. I hesitate to put you back into danger."

"Perhaps the authorities will kill it," Jena suggested.

"It cannot be killed," Tall Cloud said. "It is a spirit being, and must be dealt with in ways of the spirit. The Beast- that-devours does not feed on blood, bone and flesh, but on pain and fear."

Jena recalled the news reports about the condition of the victims' bodies, but no parts were actually consumed. And if the Beast could be hunted down in a conventional way, the Indians themselves would do so. "But now that we know how to place the totems, why do we have to dream again?"

"To learn the movements. Motion is everything. It is how a spell is shaped. Placing the totems means nothing if not done with the proper movements. Movement gives life to a spell," Moon Woman told her.

"There is danger," Sue warned again.

Accepting their wisdom, Jena knew she must participate. "I choose the danger," she said, trembling inside.

Each woman embraced her in turn. "You are truly our sister," they each said, and she felt the truth of it.

The women surrounded the Spirit Rock as they had the night before. Sue lifted her arms.

"O, Spirit Rock, guide us, the Warriors of the Gentle Dreams, in the paths of Power and Great Medicine. Hear me, Dancing Crow."

"Hear me, Moon Woman."

"Hear me, Dove."

"Hear me, Tall Cloud."

This time her voice rang strong and true. "Hear me, Sister- who-dreams."

Reciting words in a language Jena didn't understand, Sue placed the items she had brought in a certain order, then arranged the totems around the Spirit Rock to guard the proper directions, as had been revealed to Jena in the previous dream.

"We will leave the east open to receive the soul of the Beast as we lure it here," Sue explained. "Now we leave the cave to begin our dream. Our bodies and guides must not be here when the Beast comes."

That sounded sensible to Jena. She followed Sue out, and the others came behind. They made their way to a wide ledge beneath an overhang where Sue and Jena lay down, their arms touching. The others surrounded them: Moon Woman beside Jena, Tall Cloud beside Sue, and Dove kneeling at their heads. Dove placed a hand on each of their shoulders and Moon Woman laid her hands on Jena's arm and thigh. Tall Cloud did likewise to Sue.

"This time, our young sister, we shall anchor you with all our strength," Moon Woman assured her.

Perhaps Jena should have been afraid, but she wasn't. The three guides began an even, low chant. Though the words held no meaning to her, she let the rhythm wash over her, sing in her blood and soul. . . .

Sister-who-dreams rises along with Dancing Crow. Together they leave their sleeping forms and their guides behind. Sister-who-dreams moves along with ease in the moonlight, her steps sure and quick as she follows Dancing Crow down the narrow path. As she knows they will, they reach the plain and cross it, the night wind whispering in the grasses. Already she hears the snarls of the Beast.

Tonight, she thinks, tonight we'll see your downfall. She feels the Medicine of many ancient spirits within her and strength flows through her dream body. She looks forward to the confrontation. She can tell by Dancing Crow's firm stride that her companion also feels strong. Dancing Crow will know the movements. And when the time comes, so will Sister-who-dreams.

They find the Beast in the clearing, as if it has been waiting for them, ready to take revenge upon them for denying it the succor of a kill the night before.

Sister-who-dreams and Dancing Crow split to flank the Beast, Dancing Crow starting the motions to weave the capture spell. Sister-who-dreams watches her, follows her motions perfectly, effortlessly. They are one as the spell grows and fills the clearing. The Beast-that-devours roars, raging this way and that, as the Medicine of the spell grows stronger. The Beast's desire to kill is a tangible force, pushing against the walls of the spell.

Without needing to speak, Dancing Crow and Sister-who-dreams whirl and race toward the cave, across the wind-tossed plain, up the narrow path, pursued by the roaring Beast. Exhilaration fills Sister-who-dreams until she almost laughs aloud. Her feet are winged. She runs tireless and unafraid. She knows they will conquer the Beast.

They enter the cave and Dancing Crow leaps atop the Spirit Rock through the open east. She begins swinging the Medicine Pouch back and forth, like a pendulum, chanting words that Sister-who-dreams understands only with her heart. But it is not necessary for her to understand the words, only that they serve to draw the Beast.

She can smell its stench before it enters the chamber but she still feels no fear. The lantern casts long shadows that dance on the cave walls like ghosts. At last it is there, horrible, slavering, eyes red in its changeling face.

"Sister!" Dancing Crow calls, "when I jump free, place the eagle totem and close off the east."

Sister-who-dreams moves into position. Dancing Crow with the swinging Medicine Pouch holds the Beast's attention. It lunges toward the Spirit Rock through the open east and Dancing Crow whirls, preparing to leap out, but the Beast hooks a claw/talon in her long hair, yanking her back. It roars/screams its triumph and dips its head to sink fangs/beak into her throat.

"Close the east!" Dancing Crow cries, knowing if the Beast escapes, it will not be caught again. She is prepared to make the sacrifice.

But Sister-who-dreams is not. With a great war-cry she lunges forward, brandishing the Medicine Shield, crashing it again and again on the head of the Beast. It is the power contained in the Shield and not the Shield itself that weakens the Beast's hold on Dancing Crow. Sister-who-dreams grabs Dancing Crow and as she does, she feels other hands on her body, the hands of the spirit guides bringing them out. With her last thought, she slams the eagle totem closed on the east.

Jena's eyes fluttered open. She lay in Moon Woman's arms while Dove massaged her limbs. Turning her head, she saw Tall Cloud ministering to Sue, then Sue opened her eyes and looked at Jena with a soft smile. Tall Cloud and Moon Woman helped them sit up. They had built a fire, so Jena and Sue both leaned toward it, warming chilled hands.

"We recaptured the Beast-that-devours," Sue said. "Without you, we couldn't have done it. Due to your bravery—foolish though it may have been—I can sit before this cheery fire, instead of being locked forever in a death dance with the spirit beast." Sue clasped Jena's hand. "You are truly a Warrior of the Gentle Dreams."

Jena gazed around at them, blinking back tears. "Thanks, I receive that honor with great pride—though my dreams were far from gentle."

Sue squeezed Jena's hand. "But, Sister, we are *Warriors*, after all, right?

For Students

Questions

1. *Whistleblowing.* Before an employee takes that big step of informing someone *outside* the organization about apparent wrongdoing *inside* the organization, it is important to try working within the organization to get the problem noticed, acknowledged, and solved. That's especially tough in the situation in this story because the organization is very small.

    a. How much evidence — or how strong a suspicion — does an employee need to decide to "blow the whistle"?
    b. What are some risks of whistleblowing? What are some risks of *not* whistleblowing when probably you should?
    c. If Jena had confided in you near the beginning of the story, how would you advise her to proceed? Why?

2. *Ethics.* Ethics dilemmas are typically not conflicts between right and wrong. Instead, they are often conflicts between right and right — or even wrong and wrong.

    a. Is it ethical for Jena to remove the artifact from the museum?
    b. What factors support the argument that it is ethical?
    c. What factors support the argument that it is not ethical?
    d. What would a court of law be likely to judge?

Exercises

1. *Law Enforcement.* You are a law enforcement officer in the county where the museum is located. You have received a detailed tip from a nervous young employee at the museum who is concerned that some artifacts on display may have been stolen from a Native American tribe elsewhere in the region. The employee is suspicious that her boss — the museum's curator — may be implicated. The employee is also concerned about her own anonymity and job security. You believe her suspicions and concerns may be well founded. Outline a series of steps you will take to begin the investigation while preserving the employee's anonymity and the safety of the artifacts.

2. *Personal and Professional Development.* You are an employee in museum. It is a small museum with a paid staff that includes the curator, yourself, and the maintenance worker, plus a dozen or so unpaid part-time volunteers. Your job is to train and coordinate the volunteers, keep the books, and more-or-less run the museum on a day-to-day basis. The job doesn't pay well, but you love the work and dream of someday heading a larger museum or private gallery yourself.

    Establish a plan for doing just that: First, set "Curator, mid-sized museum" as your ten-year goal. Second, list the qualifications and experience a person would need to be selected for that kind of job. Third, list your own strengths and weaknesses with respect to

each quality you have just identified. Fourth, sketch a multi-year plan with a series of short-term goals for gaining the knowledge, skills, and abilities you recognize that you will need. Use the form below to begin your self-evaluation and add to it as needed.

Areas of Qualification	**Target Position: *Curator, mid-size museum***	**Self-evaluation**		**Prof. Development Plan**	
		Existing Strengths	**Need More Developing**	**Development Objective**	**Target Date**
Formal educ. & degrees					
Experience					
Knowledge, broad-based:					
Knowledge, specialties:					
Skills:					
Abilities:					

Other Works by the Authors

Beyond the award-winning story, "Warriors of the Gentle Dreams," collaborators Rigley and House have written a dozen books between them, as well as short stories and poetry. Among their fantasy and science fiction stories are these:

In *Catfantastic*, an anthology series edited by Andre Norton and Martin H. Greenberg, "Supercat" (volume 1); "Quest of Souls" (volume 2); "Snake Eyes" (volume 3).
"Godron's Daughter" in Andre Norton's *Tales of the Witch World*, vol. 3.
"Stones of Sharnon" (by Miller [House]) in Norton's *Tales of the Witch World*, vol. 2.
"Study Aid" (by Rigley) in *ComputerEdge* Magazine.
"Second Shift Joe" in *Grit* and *On the SingleSide*.
"Att: Complaint Department" in *Galaxy*.
"Sisters of Tarlyn" in *Magic Within,* an anthology.
"Serpent Cove" in *Magic*, an anthology.

Internet Sites

NAVAJO NATION — The largest Native American tribe in the Southwest is the Navajo Nation. As with a state, city, or other political entity, the Navajo Nation has its own government. The official web site is at *http://www.navajo-nsn.gov*.

BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS — *http://www.bia.gov* — The U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, an agency within the Department of the Interior, administers federal programs that

apply to 566 Native American tribes and, thereby, "approximately 1.9 million American Indians and Alaska Natives."

OFFICE OF TRIBAL JUSTICE — *http://www.justice.gov/otj* — "The Office of Tribal Justice is the primary point of contact for the Department of Justice with federally recognized Native American tribes, and advises the Department on legal and policy matters pertaining to Native Americans."

WHISTLEBLOWER ORGANIZATIONS — People who report wrongdoing in within their organizations are frequently subject to retribution by others within their organization, even though retribution is illegal. Several support organizations are available to support whistleblowers and, in some instances, to take civil action on behalf of the employee who has spoken out. Two such organizations are the National Whistleblower Center (*http://www.whistleblowers.org*) and the Government Accountability Project (*http://www.whistleblower.org*).

INSPECTORS GENERAL — *http://www.ignet.gov* — Congress has mandated federal departments and agencies have an Office of Inspector General to be on the lookout for government fraud, waste, and abuse. Many IG offices have special telephone hotlines for whistleblowers. Unlike most officials within the Executive Branch of the federal government, the IG for each agency reports directly to the agency head and to Congress.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION — *http://www.fbi.gov* — The U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation is charged with investigating federal crimes. Specifically, the FBI's mission "is to protect and defend the United States against terrorist and foreign intelligence threats, to uphold and enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and to provide leadership and criminal justice services to federal, state, municipal, and international agencies and partners."

For the Instructor

"Warriors of the Gentle Dreams" is a short story written in 1992 by Ann M. House and Karen E. Rigley.

Discussion Points and Themes

- Dominating this story are the themes (■) of ethics, law enforcement and justice, and diversity and multiculturalism. Also major (■) is the theme of communication. Important minor themes (▪) are personal development and group behavior.
- Implicit but readily recognizable are concerns about whistleblowing, creative (and unlikely) variations on and alternatives to whistleblowing, and the intended and unintended consequences of whistleblowing when compared with the status quo.
- The genres of fantasy and science fiction have many branches and sub-branches. This story involves fantasy rather than science fiction but it develops its plot and characters in ways more often associated with detective fiction.

Themes

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

Questions

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

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

	Question (from student section)	**Comment**
1.	Whistleblowing. *Before an employee takes that big step of informing someone outside the organization about apparent wrongdoing inside the organization, it is important to try working within the organization to get the problem noticed, acknowledged, and solved. That's especially tough in the situation in this story because the organization is very small.* *a. How much evidence — or*	The amount of evidence should be compelling for a given situation or, alternatively, less compelling but chronic over a period of time; however, situations should always be considered on their individual merits. Whistleblowing's risks largely focus on problems for the employee and include being shunned or ostracized within the organization, losing the confidence of one's peers and superiors, loss of promotion opportunities and even the job itself, and, in extreme cases, threats to personal safety to the employee and the employee's family (such as the Karen Silkwood incident). Laws exist to protect employees from these actions, but sometimes they happen nonetheless.

Question (from student section)	Comment
how strong a suspicion — does an employee need to decide to "blow the whistle"? *b. What are some risks of whistleblowing? What are some risks of not whistleblowing when probably you should?* *c. If Jena had confided in you near the beginning of the story, how would you advise her to proceed? Why?*	Risks of *not* whistleblowing involve other employees and the public. Those risks frequently include harm of potential harm to employees, clients, or the public at large (such as unprotected employees working with harmful substances, illegal dumping of environmental pollutants); unnecessary financial burdens placed on the public or outside parties (such as $800 toilet seats); and, occasionally, criminal activities that could otherwise elude law enforcement authorities.
2. Ethics. *Ethics dilemmas are usually not conflicts between right and wrong. Instead, they are conflicts between right and right — or even wrong and wrong.* *a. Is it ethical for Jena to remove the artifact from the museum?* *b. What factors support the argument that it is ethical?* *c. What factors support the argument that it is not ethical?* *d. What would a court of law be likely to judge?*	The courts might hold that, motive notwithstanding, Jena is also guilty of theft: After all, two wrongs do not make a right. That said, a court decision could well go either way, depending on how the two sides present their cases. The seeds of those arguments are what students can offer in their responses to 2.b. and 2.c.

Exercises

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

The commentaries below describe the potential utility of each exercise:

Exercise (from Student Section)	Comment
1. Law enforcement. *You are a law enforcement officer in the county where the museum is located. You have received a detailed tip from a nervous young employee at the museum who is concerned that some artifacts on display may have been stolen from a Native American tribe elsewhere in the region. The employee is suspicious that her boss — the museum's curator — may be implicated. The employee is also concerned about her own anonymity and job security. You believe her suspicions and concerns may be well-founded. Outline a series of steps you will take to begin the investigation while preserving the employee's anonymity and the safety of the artifacts.*	This exercise asks the student to shift viewpoints and consider how an official law enforcement investigation might proceed. The specific steps are less important than the realignment in perspective.

2. Personal and professional development. *You are an employee in museum. It's a small museum with a paid staff that includes the curator, yourself, and the maintenance worker, plus a dozen or so unpaid, part-time volunteers. Your job is to train and coordinate the volunteers, keep the books, and more-or-less run the museum on a day-to-day basis. The job doesn't pay well, but you love the work and dream of someday heading a larger museum or private gallery yourself.*

   Establish a plan for doing just that: First, set "Curator, mid-sized museum" as your ten-year goal. Second, list the qualifications and experience a person would need to be selected for that kind of job. Third, list your own strengths and weaknesses with respect to each quality you've just identified. Fourth, sketch a multi-year plan with a series of short-term goals for gaining the knowledge, skills, and abilities you recognize that you will need. Use the form below to begin your self-evaluation and add to it as needed.

The exercise gives students an opportunity to explore what it means to set a professional goal and make practical decisions about achieving that goal. You may prefer to ask students to research the qualifications expected of a museum curator (for example, GS-1015, Museum Curator Series, at *http://www.opm.gov/policy-data-oversight/classification-qualifications/classifying-general-schedule-positions/#url=1000* within the website of the federal Office of Personnel Management), or you may prefer to allow students to fabricate those qualifications. As a variation, you may wish to ask students to pick their own target position and fill out the self-development form accordingly. You may also wish to modify the row headings (qualification elements), which are very general on the form.

Below is a copy of the self-analysis form that appears in the student section:

Areas of Qualification	**Target Position:** ***Curator, mid-size museum***	**Self-evaluation**		**Prof. Development Plan**	
		Existing Strengths	**Need More Developing**	**Development Objective**	**Target Date**
Formal educ. & degrees					
Experience					
Knowledge, broadbased:					
Knowledge, specialties:					
Skills:					
Abilities:					

Other Classroom or Online Activity

1. CODES OF ETHICS: DETERMINING HOW A GROUP SHOULD OPERATE

How should students deal with apparent violations of ethics within their classroom? First, have students research the ethics standards promulgated by the university, the department, their fraternities and sororities, and relevant professional organizations (for example, the American Society for Public Administration posts its code of ethics on line at *http://www.aspanet.org/public/ASPA/Resources/Code_of_Ethics/ASPA/Resources/Code_of_Ethics/Code_of_Ethics1.aspx*). Second, have students brainstorm issues that might occur and that a classroom code of ethics ought to address. Third, divide these into categories and have teams work out a set of standards for each. Fourth, establish an additional team whose task is to define the sanctions and appeals process. Fifth, have the class as a whole review, modify, and ratify the proposed code. Sixth, have a volunteer transcribe the final version; post or circulate it for everyone.

Bottom Line. This activity provides students with a chance to experience what is involved in developing a code of ethics.

2. SHIFTING PERSPECTIVES: APPRECIATING MULTICULTURE

The mix of students in most classes provides an excellent opportunity to hear from and about people with other heritages.

- *Option 1:* Have students draw from multiple sources – such as news headlines, institutions such as the U.S. Census Bureau (http://www.census.gov), literature about people and events chronicling the country's evolving diversity, and people they know themselves – to form a foundation and "inventory" of diversity in the United States, in terms of type and extent.
- *Option 2:* Have your students "inventory" the class: Begin with yourself; then, to the extent individual class members are comfortable doing so, have volunteers briefly identify their religion, race, ethnic heritage, disabilities, and other aspects of their lives that make them feel different from the mainstream. Capture the information on chalkboard, electronic media, or through a volunteer note taker. Typically, participants begin cautiously but quickly get into the spirit of the inventory; consequently, at the end of this step, give students who wish to do so the opportunity to amend and expand on their initial statements. Often, even students who appear outwardly similar may find significantly varied backgrounds.

When the inventory is complete, ask to what extent the experiences of different groups differ and to what extent they seem similar. Then ask the students to look more deeply: Where experiences differ, to what extent do they differ in pretty much the *same* way? (For example, although specifics vary, false and hurtful myths are likely to circulate about lesser-known ethnic backgrounds, about religions not common in a person's locality, about sexual preferences and identities, and so forth.)

Close by having students discuss the strengths of mixed-culture situations.

Variation: Based on the results of the inventory, team students into groups of three to five persons, tasking each team to represent at least two backgrounds. Have each team put together a brief two-column comparison of how those backgrounds differ and how they resemble one another in various ways. Bring teams together in sets of two or three to share their findings; or, if time permits, invite each team to address the class as a whole. Then return to the closing analysis of the similarities *of* differences and the strengths that come with cultural diversity.

Bottom Line. This activity encourages students to consider —

- the situation of someone else from that person's perspective.
- their own situations through the eyes of someone else.
- their own situation in terms of broader aspects of cultural diversity.
- the strengths of diversity.

Further Reading

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

Akers, Richard L., and Christine S. Sellers. 2012. *Criminological Theories: Introduction and Evaluation*, 6th ed. Oxford University Press.
This comprehensive survey of criminology outlines the central concepts of biological and psychological theories, social learning theory, Marxist and critical theories, asocial disorganization, anomie, conflict theory, and feminist theories — to name several.

Florida, Richard. 2002. *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community, & Everyday Life*. New York: Basic Books.
An affirming look at the synergy between diversity in its many forms and a new urban dynamism.

Hillerman, Tony. Hillerman's award-winning mysteries featuring police officers Joe Leaphorn and Jim Chee blend Navajo folklore, religion, science, and the culture of the Southeastern U.S. into much-loved fiction. Hillerman's titles include *Dance Hall of the Dead* (1973), *People of Darkness* (1980), *The Dark Wind* (1982), *The Ghostway* (1984), *Skinwalkers* (1986), *A Thief of Time* (1988), *Talking God* (1989), *Coyote Waits* (1990), *Sacred Clowns* (1993), and *The First Eagle* (1998).

Hollinger, David A. 2006. *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism*. New York: Basic Books.
Hollinger presents a dissenting view of the multicultural movement. According to the author, ethnic groups should value one another's differences and individuals should feel free to either celebrate or ignore their cultural heritage. This historical study of contemporary racism argues that traditional toleration of established groups has become counterproductive, and that multiculturalism is contributing to a more fragmented society.

Liswood, Laura A. 2009. *The Loudest Duck: Moving Beyond Diversity while Embracing Differences to Achieve Success at Work*. Wiley.

Liswood illustrates how understanding differences in the workforce is key for managers wanting to tap its potential richness.

Wilson, James Q., and Richard J. Herrnstein. 1998. *Crime and Human Nature.* Free Press.

The authors — whose fields include both government and psychology — take on the challenge of fashioning a complete theory of crime causation, making use of the extensive number of observations and correlations made by criminologists in the past hundred years.

Discussion and Essay Questions

The questions and exercises in the student section are adaptable for online or classroom discussion and as examination questions. Other possibilities:

- Anthropology and criminology sometimes join forces to solve important questions in contemporary and past criminal activity. What government agencies might be involved in such an endeavor?
- Compare the moral (or basic theme) in the short story "Warriors of the Gentle Dreams" with the moral in Shel Silverstein's poem "Somebody Has To." What is a fundamental difference between the two selections?
- Use "Warriors of the Gentle Dreams" and Poe's "The Masque of the Red Death" to discuss problems encountered in heterogeneous (diverse) societies.
- James Thurber's "The Unicorn in the Garden" and House and Rigley's "Warriors of the Gentle Dreams" both deal with the alleged wrongdoing in everyday people's daily lives. Still, the two situations have fundamental differences. With respect to the potential crimes involved and the roles of administrators who are involved or could become involved, what do the situations have in common? How are they different?

Case Study #9:

My Last Duchess

by Robert Browning

Developed by *Kenneth Nichols*

"My Last Duchess" is a poem with a strict rhyme structure. But if you read it aloud and follow Robert Browning's punctuation, the rhymes are almost undetectable. The poem is actually one side of a conversation about the duchess. What you read is the duke's side of his conversation with an emissary who has come representing a family potentially interested in having their daughter marry the duke and become his next duchess. After you read what the duke has to say, would you want your sister or daughter to become his next duchess?

The duke and duchess rule the mythical duchy of Ferrara in an Italy of long ago. That makes them the executive officers, chief administrators, and designated heads of government over the people within the duchy: A pair of top cats. For us, what is interesting about this pair is the strong contrast of their leadership styles. The duke is autocratic and direct; the duchess he describes is quite the opposite — and, at least for the duke, unsettlingly effective.

As you read this remarkable poem, compare how the duke handles authority and responsibility, how he pursues his goals, with how the duchess goes about inspiring her people and, in doing so, achieves what she desires — at least up to a point. Through his conversation, the duke gives us lots of clues. Who do you think is the better leader?

The author of "My Last Duchess" is Robert Browning. He and his wife Elizabeth Barrett Browning were, arguably, the foremost poets of the Victorian Age in English literature. Their love for one another was the stuff of legend and ended tragically with Elizabeth's untimely illness and death. Robert continued writing well into his retirement years — but he never found another "duchess." However, he certainly left us the one you're about to read.

The Selection: *My Last Duchess*

(Browning, Robert. 1895. My Last Duchess. In *The Complete Poetical Works of Robert Browning,* edited by Horace E. Scudder, p. 252. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company.)

Ferrara

That's my last Duchess painted on the wall,
Looking as if she were alive. I call
That piece a wonder, now: Fra[1] Pandolf's hands
Worked busily a day, and there she stands.
Will't please you sit and look at her? I said
"Fra Pandolf" by design, for never read
Strangers like you that pictured countenance,
The depth and passion of its earnest glance,
But to myself they turned (since none puts by
The curtain I have drawn for you, but I)
And seemed as they would ask me, if they durst,[2]
How such a glance came there; so, not the first
Are you to turn and ask thus. Sir, 't was not
Her husband's presence only, called that spot
Of joy into the Duchess' cheek: perhaps
Fra Pandolf chanced to say, "Her mantle[3] laps
Over my lady's wrist too much." or "Paint
Must never hope to reproduce the faint
Half-flush that dies along her throat:" such stuff
Was courtesy she thought, and cause enough
For calling up that spot of joy. She had
A heart — how shall I say? — too soon made glad.
Too easily impressed: she liked whate'er
She looked on, and her looks went everywhere.
Sir, 't was all one! My favor at her breast,
The dropping of the daylight in the West,
The bough of cherries some officious fool
Broke in the orchard for her, the white mule
She rode with round the terrace — all and each
Would draw from her alike the approving speech,
Or blush, at least. She thanked men, — good! but thanked
Somehow — I know not how — as if she ranked
My gift of a nine-hundred-years-old name
With anybody's gift. Who'd stoop to blame
This sort of trifling? Even had you skill
In speech — (which I have not) — to make your will
Quite clear to such an one, and say, "Just this
Or that in you disgusts me; here you miss
Or there exceed the mark" — and if she let
Herself be lessoned so, nor plainly set
Her wits to yours, forsooth,[4] and made excuse,
— E'en[5] then would be some stooping; and I choose
Never to stoop. Oh sir, she smiled, no doubt,
Whene'er I passed her; but who passed without

Much the same smile? This grew; I gave commands;
Then all smiles stopped together. There she stands
As if alive. Will't please you rise? We'll meet
The company below, then. I repeat,
The Count your master's known munificence[6]
Is ample warrant that no just pretence
Of mine for dowry will be disallowed;
Though his fair daughter's self, as I avowed
At starting, is my object. Nay, we'll go
Together down, sir. Notice Neptune,[7] though,
Taming a sea-horse, thought a rarity,
Which Claus of Innsbruck cast in bronze for me.

For Students

Questions

1. The Duchess and the Duke are both "managers" of the Duchy of Ferrara, although the Duke is senior of the two. How would you use McGregor's Theory X and Theory Y to describe the pair?
2. If you were working in the royal court at Ferrara, would you rather have the Duke or the Duchess as your manager? Why?
3. Both the Duke and the Duchess are able to use reward power to gain what they want. What are examples of reward power for each of them? How do the kinds of rewards differ?
4. Who would you say is the more charismatic leader, the Duchess or the Duke? What does Robert Browning say to make you see things that way?
5. Use Maslow's hierarchy of needs to set up a continuum of needs. Where would you place the Duke on that continuum? Where would you place the Duchess? What clues does the poem offer about the personal needs of each character?

Exercises

1. You are the emissary with whom the Duke is negotiating the proposed marriage to his next duchess. The Duke's tour and self-description have been most convincing as to his material wealth and erudition; nevertheless, you sense that he might not be entirely kind or generous when it comes to the young lady from your employer's family who would become Duchess. You tell the Duke that you and your employer will study the proposal and that you will return in two weeks' time with the final contract proposal.
   a. Outline the investigation you plan to undertake during that two-week period and explain what you hope to confirm or uncover.
   b. Briefly set out alternative courses of action based on your findings.

2. You are a monk in a northern Italian monastery, two days' travel by mule from the court at Ferrara. As a student of management and administration, you have chosen Ferrara as

the case study for your *magnum opus* (in this instance, that means "big project"). In the monastery library, through a fluke of time displacement, you have found an illuminated manuscript that appears to be two chapters from *Inside Bureaucracy*, a twentieth century monograph (i.e., book) by someone named Anthony Downs. The fragment in your possession describes the five types of personalities found in organizations: Climber, conserver, advocate, zealot, and statesman or philosopher. Is this piece of writing a joke being played on you by an older monk, or does it contain true wisdom? Perhaps field observation can help you decide.

You offer the Duke several casks of the wine from the monastery's celebrated vineyard if he will allow you to observe him and interview other officials in his court; to your surprise, the Duke agrees.

a. Create a half-page profile of the Duke and a half-page profile of his last Duchess, portraying their personalities in terms of the five types that Downs describes. (A given individual may display a combination of types.)
b. Be sure to illuminate the first letter of each paragraph in your treatise according to the style of the day. Share this document with several novices (or classmates) in the monastery, and compare notes.

Other Works by the Author

Along with "My Last Duchess," Browning penned other dramatic monologues, including "Andrea del Sarto," "Fra Lippo Lippi," and "The Bishop Orders His Tomb at Saint Praxed's Church."

The Ring and the Book, a four-volume work published in 1868-69, is his most highly regarded collection. It synthesizes Browning's enduring interests: the Italian scene, moral casuistry, and the complexity of human personality.

Other volumes of poetry: Among the poetic selections in *Dramatis Personae* (1864), "Caliban upon Setebos" and "A Death in the Desert" illustrate Browning's concern with nineteenth-century religious problems; in *Balaustion's Adventure* (1871) and *Aristophanes' Apology* (1875), Browning draws on the realm of classical literature; and in *Red Cotton Night-Cap Country* (1873) and *The Inn-Album* (1875), he elaborates on his concern with crime and criminal psychology. Beyond those collections, Browning published *Dramatic Idylls* in 1880 and *Asolando* in 1889, the year of his death.

Internet Sites

THE POETRY ARCHIVE'S SITE ON ROBERT BROWNING: *www.emule.com/poetry/* The site includes bibliographic information on Browning, text of dozens of his poems, plus the works of other classical poets.

SELECTED POETRY OF ROBERT BROWNING:
library.utoronto.ca/www/utel/rp/poems/browning1.html. The site is part of an online publication called *Representative Poetry On-line* and is prepared by the Department of English at the University of Toronto. The site includes the text of nearly three dozen of Browning's poems, links to criticism, and an index.

FIRSTGOV.GOV: *firstgov.gov/* The United States government is far more complex than that of the Duchy of Ferrara. FirstGov.gov provides an on-line entryway into the labyrinth of Federal programs, agencies, and, to an extent, the individuals who head them.

Special Analysis: A Contrast in Management Styles

Outside of public administration circles, the big question, of course, is, did the Duke kill the Duchess, or at least have her eliminated? The implication is certainly there, along with strong psychological motives on the part of the Duke. But the Duke never quite admits to a murder; he just serves up hors d'oeuvres to our suspicions. So, is the Duke shrewd or is he a fool? As for the Duchess, is she insipid or is she keenly perceptive?

Our unnamed Duke and Duchess are the two major characters in Robert Browning's poem, "My Last Duchess." The poem, a dramatic monologue, first appeared in print in 1842 in *Dramatic Lyrics, Bells and Pomegranates*, No. III., where at that time Browning titled it "Italy."[8] It is today the best known of Robert Browning's works, occupying, according to literary critic David Shaw,

> the same position in Browning's canon a *Hamlet* does in Shakespeare's. Its power resides in its endless suggestiveness, its play of enigmatic forces that continue to seduce its subtlest critics.[9]

A major poet. A major poem. Mythical members of Renaissance Italian nobility. What have they to do with the study of public administration? The answer is that the multifaceted poem can also be evaluated as a case study in management behavior. The Duke and, to a lesser extent, the Duchess manage a sizable organization — their duchy, which Browning implies is in the province of Ferrara.[10] And their administrative styles are resoundingly distinct from one another. An analysis of their contrasting approaches to organizational management is both useful and interesting.

The poem itself is not long — only 56 lines — and is presented as a single stanza. Although it is written in couplets, the rhyme scheme is gracefully obscured by Browning's clever penchant for seldom ending a major phrase at the end of a line. It is written in first-person present tense, from the point of view of the Duke. The Duke has shown his castle and art collection to the emissary of a count whose daughter the Duke is negotiating to marry. The Duke tells us much as we listen to his side of the conversation.

Foundation of Authority

Max Weber identifies and describes three ideal types of authority in his seminal work, *The theory of Social and Economic Organization*: legal-rational authority (also known as bureaucratic authority), traditional authority, and charismatic authority.[11] Though the governmental institutions in present-day Italy and in most of the Western World are based on legal-rational authority where obedience is to written law rather than to individuals, such was not the case in Europe dur-

ing the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. Rather, what Weber defines as traditional authority formed the basis for the kingdoms, principalities, duchies, and fiefdoms of that period. The Duke, with his "nine-hundred-years-old name," (line 33 of the poem), owes his position to the happenstance of his parentage and the entrenchment of traditional authority during his day. Weber characterizes traditional authority as claiming legitimacy based on the "sanctity of order"; on obedience being owed to the person in authority, not to rule (as differentiated from custom or tradition); and on applying precedents and the leader's prerogative to handle new situations.[12]

Weber goes further, dividing traditional authority into several subcategories. The first of these he calls gerontocracy (leadership by the elders), and it does not really apply here.[13] The second, patriarchalism, "is the situation where, within a group . . . authority is exercised by particular individual who is designated by a definite rule of inheritance"; obedience, nevertheless, "is owed to the chief only by virtue of his traditional status."[14] Patriarchalism is a step in the direction of describing the basis of authority for our Duke, but the description doesn't go far enough: Browning leaves the definite impression that the Duke's subjects obey his orders at least as much from fear as they do from respect for his ancestral right to give those orders. For example, line 11 has the Duke saying ". . . they would ask me, if they durst. . . "; and lines 45-46, the poem's climax: "This grew; *I gave commands; / Then all smiles stopped* together." (Emphasis added.)

The third subcategory of traditional authority is the one that most closely approximates the Duke's position:

> Where authority is primarily oriented to tradition but in its exercise makes the claim of full personal powers, it will be called 'patrimonial' authority. Where patrimonial authority lays primary stress on the sphere of arbitrary will free of traditions, it will be called 'Sultanism.'[15]

Weber points out that this is best described as a patrimonialism-Sultanism continuum, rather than as two pockets of traditional leaders. Most critics of "My Last Duchess" contend that the Duke forcibly rid himself of his duchess — probably by murder, possibly by sequestering her in a convent or an asylum; for this, for his "overweening pride," and for his gross insensitivity, he is often characterized as being blind or sick or insane.[16] The Duke, then, edges toward the Sultanism end of Weber's continuum.

This is not the case, however, with Browning's duchess. Falling somewhat shy of the Duke's own position at the hierarchical apex, the Duchess' position is still one of considerable prestige and authority. As with the Duke, the role of the Duchess, too, is one set solidly on a foundation of traditional authority, albeit closer to the patrimonial end of the spectrum than is her husband. But the Duchess' followers — whether they be portrait artists or "officious fools" (line 27) — are her willing subjects because the charming lady also possesses, to some degree, a charismatic aura.

A leader displaying charismatic authority, Weber tells us, is:

> met apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are . . . regarded as of divine

> origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader . . . What alone is important is how the individual is actually regarded by those subject to charismatic authority, by his 'followers' or 'disciples.'[17]

Her followers perceive the Duchess as having qualities that are exceptional and exemplary. "She liked whate'er/ She looked on, and her looks went everywhere. / Sir, 'twas all one!" the Duke observes unhappily in lines 23-25; in lines 29-31, he adds that, "All and each / Would draw from her alike the approving speech, / Or blush, at least." Even the Duke himself, who has grown to revile and, I think, envy his wife, is caught and held by "the depth and passion of (her) earnest glance" (Line 3).

Although the Duchess in no way shares her trait of charisma with her husband, it is clearly he who is the more powerful of the two. In French-Raven terms, both parties can offer reward power: the Duchess rewards with smiles, with thanks, and with obvious joy; the Duke with commissions (such as for the Duchess' portrait and for the bronze Neptune), with hollow friendliness ("Nay, we'll go / Together down, sir." from lines 53-54) and flattery ("your master's known munificence," and "his fair daughter's self" being examples), and, of course, with his own fine name.[18]

As for coercive power, while both the Duchess and the Duke are in position to mete it out, Browning provides no evidence that the Duchess, with her heart "too soon made glad, / Too easily impressed" (lines 22-23) ever thought of doing such a thing. Not so, the Duke: ". . . No, just pretence / Of mine for dowry will be disallowed," is an almost pleasantly worded threat the Duke makes to the Count's emissary. He also would like to have made his "will / Quite clear" to the Duchess (without stooping) about how disgusted he is that she is as pleasant toward others as she is toward him, and he finally gives commands so severe that he demoralizes his entire court (lines 35-46). Thus, if French and Raven can be said to mean that "power is latent influence; while influence is power in action," the Duchess, then, exhibits only power, and the Duke makes use of influence as well when it comes to coercive power — not quite the antithesis of their positions with respect to reward power.[19]

The Duke and Duchess possess legitimate power based on Weber's concept of traditional authority. Here again, though, the Duke maintains an edge, this time for a compound reason. The Duke has inherited his title (i.e., managerial position), whereas the Duchess received hers by marriage — an inferior and less stable means of acquiring a station. That places the Duke first in pecking order, and therefore in position to delegate some of his power to the Duchess. But, given his opinion of the Duchess — that she is "too easily impressed" (line 23), that she is not discriminating (lines 29-34, for example), and that she is difficult (lines 35-43) — Browning's duke is hardly of the mind to shower this Duchess either with responsibility or authority.

One reason for the Duke's covetous jealousy regarding the Duchess (he even keeps his departed wife's portrait screened from view) is that he realizes his subjects feel genuine warmth for, and affinity with, their Duchess — an empathy they in no way direct toward their Duke. This translates to referent power for the Duchess but not for the Duke. The Duke, on the other hand, possesses considerably more expert power than does his wife: He is used to running his duchy, he knows what he wants and who he wants it from, and he thinks he knows how to get it. (I am not,

in this context, referring to the Duke's self-acclaimed expertise in art.) The Duke is so used to being an effective manager that his failure with the Duchess (although he would be unlikely to couch it in those terms), combined with his "overweening pride. . . drives him to unconscious self-revelation which, we feel certain, must prove destructive to his matrimonial plans."[20] From this we might conclude that even experts of the Duke's caliber have their limitations.

French and Raven, then, distinguish five types of power they call reward, coercive, legitimate, referent, and expert. Another analyst of management behavior, Amitai Etzioni identifies three kinds of power: Coercive power, which he describes as physical sanctions or the threat thereof; utilitarian power, meaning material reward; and normative power, in which he includes more abstract rewards such as prestige, esteem, love, and acceptance.

> All other things being equal, at least in most cultures, the use of coercive power is more alienating to those subject to it than is the use of utilitarian power, and the use of utilitarian power is more alienating than the use of normative power. Or, to put it the other way around, normative power tends to generate more commitment than utilitarian, and utilitarian more than coercive.[21]

Robert Nisbit would telescope Etzioni's observation, and change the labels a little, to say that elements tending to alienate fall under the concept of power, whereas elements reinforcing commitment come under the concept of authority.[22]

These distinctions can be usefully applied. By Etzioni's yardstick, the Duke makes more use of coercive and utilitarian power; in contrast, the Duchess relies almost exclusively on normative power. Both Nisbit and Etzioni would agree that the Duke's approach to management encourages alienation in his subjects, and that the Duchess' style follows the opposite track, fostering considerable loyalty toward her from those same subjects. Finally, Nisbit would describe the Duchess as bearing authority, the Duke as wielding power.

The opposing and overlapping definitions employed in discussing power, authority, influence, and their relatives can be confusing. (Shakespeare, his intoxicating rose in hand, would be appalled.) But Weber, French Raven, Etzioni, and Nisbit never got together to iron out semantic bugs. Still, their ideas form a rich mosaic for studying the roots of authority in management, and "My Last Duchess" provides classic managers to serve as mannequins. So, having reviewed the foundations on which their authority rests, and the manner in which the couple uses that authority, the natural question then becomes, "Why do the Duke and Duchess handle their roles so differently?" And that brings up the subject of motivation.

Mechanisms of Motivation

In 1943, psychologist Abraham Maslow published a theory of human motivation that was based on a hierarchy of needs. In it, he identified five sets of needs, which he called "physiological, safety, love, esteem, and self-actualization."[23] Maslow felt these needs — or sets of goals, as he called them — were hierarchical because his and other clinical observations had shown that, in sequence, one set of needs had to be pretty well satisfied before the next set became important, and that once a set of needs had been satisfied, its effectiveness as a motivating force dropped

sharply. An interesting theory, Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs; what can it tell us about the Duke and Duchess of Ferrara?

First we can say that the noble couple wants neither for physiological needs — such as today's food or shelter or clothing — nor for safety needs — such as "freedom from fear of external threat" or, some add, tomorrow's food/shelter/clothing.[24] One might argue that the Duchess' safety needs were not met since the Duke himself implies strongly that she is dead: "That's my last Duchess painted on the wall, / Looking as if she were alive," he says in lines 1-2, reiterating in lines 46-47, "There she stands / As if alive." Good point, but Maslow counters that it is perceived needs, rather than reality, that determines motivation.[25] Yet the Duchess does not seem to fear for her life or even physical abuse: ". . . if she *let / Herself* be lessoned so, nor *plainly set / Her wits to yours*, . . ." the Duke says in lines 39-41 (emphasis added) as he complains that the Duchess didn't necessarily take kindly his lucid enumerations of what in her disgusts him. The Duchess may well have thought she could handle the Duke.

Next come the love needs, which behavioralists have sometimes rechristened "social" or "affiliation" needs.[26]

> If both the physiological and the safety needs are fairly well gratified, then there will emerge the love and affection and belongingness needs, and the whole cycle will repeat itself with this new center . . . (The person) may even forget that once, when he was hungry, he sneered at love.[27]

And after love comes esteem. Esteem needs include both self-esteem and also recognition and respect by others, and usually the self-respect must be reasonable well-rooted in reality.[28] This is a tricky part of our analysis of the Duke and Duchess (as it would be with real individuals) because the motives behind their actions are difficult to deduce.

Does the Duke hunger for this lady's love or for her respect? He is (in lines 32-34) upset that the Duchess seems to have "ranked / My gift of a nine-hundred-years-old name / with anybody's gift." He is upset that, while the Duchess treats him as warmly as she treats anyone else, she does not show him any special reverence. The Duke's feelings, therefore, wax stronger regarding his thirst for her esteem or respect, than for his desire to share love

Still, if asked, the Duke might not look at it that way. Instead, he would probably say that he certainly placed more emphasis on self-actualization needs than on esteem needs, and he would cite his leadership role as well as his art connoisseur role as examples. The Duke fancies himself "a cultured Italian nobleman," but Crowell does not agree: "He is a collector of *objets d'art*, and at the same time he is blind to beauty."[29] This self-image is obviously very important to the Duke for he has spent some amount of time showing the Count's emissary his collection of art, and has yet to broach the marriage negotiation — it's his collection that is important. Notwithstanding his interest, he displays a callous insensitivity to the substance of his collection; Neptune taming a sea-horse is described (in lines 54-56) in terms of who it was created by and for, not in terms of intrinsic artistic qualities it may possess.

According to Maslow's theory, the fact that the Duke's self-esteem, at least in this area, is not solidly based, can be a factor in any psychological instability from which the Duke may be suffering. Maslow also warns that

> Any thwarting or possibility of thwarting of these basic human goals, or danger to the defenses which protect them, or to the conditions upon which they rest, is considered to be a psychological threat . . . A basically thwarted may man actually be defined as a 'sick' man, if we wish . . . It is such basic threats which bring about the general emergency reactions.[30]

It is reasonable under these circumstances to conclude that the Duke's warped self-esteem biased his perceptions of others' opinion of him, and especially his wife's appreciation. Her own outgoing personality further distorted the Duke's comprehension of the situation, causing him to feel so threatened by the Duchess that his reaction to this "emergency" may well have been homicidal.

The Maslowian approach, applied to the Duchess, has another twist. The Duchess might be explained in terms of dominance of either self-actualization needs or of love needs. Dominant self-actualization needs is the more likely of the two because the Duchess gives an abundance of love and, as mentioned, fears little for her safety.

In fact, as Crowell notes, she was wonderfully alive:

> She undoubtedly was a woman of simple tastes and unusual capacity for joy. She had the *joie de vivre* in uncommon measure, and she loved the elemental beauty of like. Flowers, sunsets, and cherry blossoms delighted her heart, and she thanked men in heartfelt sincerity for small acts of kindness.[31]

Maslow states it less effusively: "What a man *can* be, he *must* be. This need we may call self-actualization."[32]

But just as there are various ways to categorize power and authority, there are also ways other than Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs for examining the factors of motivation. Anthony Downs provides numerous insights in his book called *Inside Bureaucracy*.[33] *Inside Bureaucracy* profiles five basic types of bureau officials. Two of these types Downs characterizes as purely self-interested officials: these are the Climbers, who cherish power, income, and prestige above other goals; and Conservers, who seek convenience and security — or just holding on to what they have achieved. The other three types of officials Downs attributes with mixed motives: Zealots, who pursue their sacred policies; Advocates, who have broader (and more malleable) organizational loyalties; and Philosophers or Statesmen, the most altruistic, whose loyalty is toward society in general. Proclivity toward one of these personality types is innate, as Downs views it, but the individual's situation within a bureau has a strong effect on which personality type actually dominates.

An interesting cast, these five, but which of them best fits the Duke, and which the Duchess?

The Duke sees things and acts on them largely in terms of how they affect him. This is not zealotry, though, for the Zealot's cause tends to be outside himself. Aggrandizement would appeal to the Climber and would appeal to the Duke; as he speaks he is trying to enhance his reputation as an art connoisseur in the emissary's eyes, and he is about to negotiate for a "munificent" dowry with which he hopes to increase his prestige as well as his wealth (lines 48-51). The option of a promotion is not open to the Duke, so in that area he is stuck with what he's got — that's a Conserver characteristic. But so proud is he of his lineage, that he must want to perpetuate it; yet he makes no mention of children by his last duchess, so the marriage negotiation could prove beneficial to him there, as well. For the present, then our Duke is more of a Climber than anything else. In the future, if his new marriage plans fall through (as they are likely to do when the emissary reports to his Count regarding the Duke's virtual confession), the Duke could well fulfill Downs' predictive theorem that a Climber with no place to go is likely to become a Conserver.[34]

Browning's duchess fits a different mold. For her, the Statesman's role is a natural. Statesmen are rarely driven people, unlike Climbers, Zealots, and Advocates; and the Duchess is not. Statesmen, Downs observes, are "doomed to be misfits in office"; our Duchess has been removed from office and the Duke is interviewing for a replacement.[35] The Duchess can be described as a vivacious, self-actualized Statesman, who ultimately did not fare well in the organization.

Downs' pictures of the mechanics of motivation are colored much differently than are Maslow's images. But they are not really as far apart as they seem. We see through Maslow more deeply into why people act the way they do, what basic drives are involved — needs that must be acknowledged and that may, to a degree, be controlled for organizational purposes. Through Downs we see motivation *in situ*, more as it operates within the organizational environment. Prime among Downs' axioms is that "every official is significantly motivated by his own self-interest even when acting in a purely official capacity."[36] And that self-interest can be studied in terms of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs. Both views, and others as well, are in fact needed in order to appreciate the multidimensional nature of motivation not only in Browning's Duke and Duchess, but also in ourselves.

Styles of Leadership

If the same factors of motivation useful in evaluating why someone acts a certain way were consciously applied by one person in order to influence another individual, that would be an act of leadership. In one instance, the factors are being used as analytic tools; in the other, they serve as building tools. They can cut both ways.

What motivates an individual manager, and what is the basis of the manager's authority? Both questions have an inevitable impact on the manner in which the manager will lead others. Other factors, such as the structure of an organization, the purpose of an organization, the type of work performed — these and myriad other things affect leadership style. And, although there are many styles of leadership, these styles can be typed and labeled for more convenient study in much the same way as we have seen done with authority and with motivation. Take, for instance, Douglas McGregor, who created a typology he referred to as Theory X-Theory Y. When

first published in 1957, it cast a bright light on what had been a shadowy, fairly complacent area of administrative theory.[37]

McGregor's Theory X postulates that people are by nature lazy, self-centered, resistant to change, and not too bright. Consequently, subordinates ought to be tightly controlled, closely supervised, and their work should be highly structured. Until well into this century, that had been the reigning philosophy in organizational leadership. But then McGregor presented, side by side with Theory X, a lower-key alternative that had been around for a while but had kept to the fringes of the discipline. Theory Y, as he called it, held that most people were not nearly as bad as Theory X portrayed them, and that when they were properly motivated and were provided with adequate training and facilities, they can (and are eager to) do a fine job almost undirected. The difference between the theories, notes McGregor, "is the difference between treating people as children and treating them as mature adults."[38]

Now back to our Duke and Duchess. The Duke exhibits a firm Theory X approach to managing the duchy and the Duchess; and the Duchess shows herself to be a Theory Y manager in fine form. The Duke demands and commands, and a subject who respond well is not reprimanded. The Duchess takes an opposite path, appreciating what is done for her and engendering voluntary activity from her people.

Since McGregor's work was published, others have expanded the X-Y theory, quite literally, into other dimensions. Rensis Likert is one such researcher. Other behavioral scientists involved in expanding the theory include Paul Hersey and Kenneth Blanchard. Their situational leadership theory adds considerable flexibility and dynamic variation to the X-Y approach. Under situational leadership, managers can emphasize the X-end of an X-Y continuum, the Y-end, neither end, or both ends. That is because managers can emphasize the task-oriented (or X) end of the spectrum independently of whether or not the relationship (Y-end) between subordinate and the manager is being reinforced. Also, depending on the experience and maturity of the subordinate, different combinations of emphasis may be appropriate at different

The Duke gives us an example of this. When he gives commands and all smiles stop together, he is displaying a high task/low relationship style of leadership — one that comes naturally to the Duke and which he is apparently in the habit of using. However, when dealing with the Count's emissary, he switches to a high task/high relationship style: He still controls exactly what's going on, but in this situation he makes a great effort to be friendly.

Browning's treatment of the Duchess indicates that her basic managerial styles are high relationship/low task and low relationship/low task. She tends not to bother people, but when she engages them it is the individual she shows an interest in, not how they should be doing their work. So one again, the Duke and Duchess show as opposite sides of a coin. He is night, she is day. And yet neither of them is flexible enough to deal effectively with the other.

Conclusion: Not Great Leaders, But Magnificent Archetypes

The Duke and Duchess have their limitations as examples of managers. They do not, for instance, provide an opportunity to examine leadership in a dynamic situation. All the same, the richness of the material that Browning has fabricated is magnificent.

Neither the Duke nor the Duchess is a particularly good manager. Certainly, they were not good enough to work effectively with each other. But, probably, if they had been all that great, they would not have been so useful or so interesting to use as literary guinea pigs for the study of management behavior; or, for that matter, for the more general study of just plain human behavior.

For the Instructor

"My Last Duchess" is a poem by Robert Browning.

Discussion Points and Themes

- Dominating this poem is the theme (■) of leadership. Also major is the theme (■) of ethics. Important minor themes (▪) are decisionmaking, diversity/multiculturalism, performance evaluation, personal development, and human resources management.
- This poem is excellent read aloud in class. It is also available on audio tape.

THEMES

- ▫ Organizational/Societal Change
- ▫ Functions of Government
- ▫ Democratic Principles
- ■ Ethics
- ■ Leadership
- ▪ Decisionmaking
- ▫ Planning/Budgeting
- ▪ Performance Evaluation
- ▫ Policy Development/ Evaluation
- ▫ Law Enforcement/Justice
- ▫ Communication
- ▫ Organizational/Group Behavior
- ▪ Diversity/Multiculturalism

Questions

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

The commentaries below are brief reflections on each question; additional observations can be found in the special analysis section further below.

	Question (from Reader)	Comment
1.	*The Duchess and the Duke are both "managers" of the Duchy of Ferrara, although the Duke is senior of the two. How would you use McGregor's Theory X and Theory Y to describe the pair?*	Basically, the Duke is a Theory X manager and the Duchess is a Theory Y manager. See special analysis.

	Question (from Reader)	Comment
2.	*If you were working in the royal court at Ferrara, would you rather have the Duke or the Duchess as your manager? Why?*	No right or wrong answer, but the questions helps students work through the pros and cons of each management style.
3.	*Both the Duke and the Duchess are able to use reward power to gain what they want. What are examples of reward power for each of them? How do the kinds of rewards differ?*	The Duke relies on tangible rewards (e.g., commissions and titles); the Duchess on intangible rewards (e.g., smiles). See special analysis.
4.	*Who would you say is the more charismatic leader, the Duchess or the Duke? What does Robert Browning say to make you see things that way?*	Although the Duke may be the more flamboyant of the two, the Duchess is decidedly the more charismatic. She makes people feel appreciated and influences them to *want* to help her.
5.	*Use Maslow's hierarchy of needs to set up a continuum of needs. Where would you place the Duke on that continuum? Where would you place the Duchess? What clues does the poem offer about the personal needs of each character?*	See special analysis.

Exercises

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

The commentaries below describe the potential utility of each exercise:

	Exercise (from Reader)	Comment
1.	*You are the emissary with whom the Duke is negotiating the proposed marriage to his next duchess. The Duke's tour and self-description have been most convincing as to his material wealth and erudition; nevertheless, you sense that he might not be entirely kind or generous when it comes to the young lady from your employer's family who would become Duchess. You tell the Duke that you and your employer will study the proposal and that you will return in two weeks' time with the final contract proposal.* *a. Outline the investigation you plan to undertake during that two-week period and explain what you hope to confirm or*	The exercise lets students plan an investigation and consider different layers of information — what the Duke says, what the emissary sees, what other parties confide, etc.

Exercise (from Reader)	Comment
uncover. *b. Briefly set out alternative courses of action based on your findings.*	
2. *You are a monk in a northern Italian monastery, two days' travel by mule from the court at Ferrara. As a student of management and administration, you have chosen Ferrara as the case study for your magnum opus (in this instance, that means "big project"). In the monastery library, through a fluke of time displacement, you have found an illuminated manuscript that appears to be two chapters from* Inside Bureaucracy*, a twentieth century monograph (i.e., book) by someone named Anthony Downs. The fragment in your possession describes the five types of personalities found in organizations: Climber, conserver, advocate, zealot, and statesman or philosopher. Is this piece of writing a joke being played on you by an older monk, or does it contain true wisdom? Perhaps field observation can help you decide.* *You offer the Duke several casks of the wine from the monastery's celebrated vineyard if he will allow you to observe him and interview other officials in his court; to your surprise, the Duke agrees.* *a. Create a half-page profile of the Duke and a half-page profile of his last Duchess, portraying their personalities in terms of the five types that Downs describes. (A given individual may display a combination of types.)* *b. Be sure to illuminate the first letter of each paragraph in your treatise according to the style of the day. Share this document with several novices (or classmates) in the monastery, and compare notes.*	This variation on the case study involves students through a degree of role-playing. It uses Downs as another way of considering at the motivations of individuals.

Other Classroom Activity

1. OFFICE PSYCHOLOGY

Explain the four axes used in the Myers-Briggs personality type. Divide the class into three or more groups. Have each group develop a likely personality type for the Duke and for his last Duchess, and keep notes on their rationale for each element (e.g., "The Duke is a strong *J* as demonstrated by his quickness to conclude that the Duchess was, at least in her heart, unfaithful and, consequently, his determination to inflict severe punishment"). Reconvene the groups and have each write their Myers-Briggs score on the chalk board or flip chart sheets. Compare and discuss. Challenge students to explain why Myers-Briggs is a useful tool in organizations.

Bottom Line. This activity gives students a chance to get the feeling for a well-used tool in organizational development.

2. SHIFTING PERSPECTIVES

Assign students, individually or in teams, to write a complementing poem to Browning's "My Last Duchess." Students may take the viewpoint of any observer or participant other than the Duke, offering that individual's perspective of the conversation as well as thoughts, observations, concerns, and discoveries. Choices include the Duke's last duchess, the next duchess, the emissary, a servant, or a member of the royal court. To the extent practical, students' poems should touch on management, leadership, and ethics themes. The poems may be of any length and employ whatever stylistic conventions the students like.

Students' poems can be amazing. "The Duchess Speaks" (see box) is a response poem from a mid-career graduate student who works with victims of domestic abuse.[39]

The Duchess Speaks

Can you hear me? I call to you from 'in
    My cold, fresh grave. The Duke, you see, must win;
He cannot own my soul, and so I die.
    It is no use to grovel or to try
To appeal to conscience with such a man.
    Now it is left to you to thwart his plan
And save another girl from my sad fate.
    Please warn her that she lacks the means to sate
His need to be worshipped above all men.
    She may think herself a good wife, but then
She will find that good is not good enough,
    That her every word will be met with rough
Rebukes. Obedience will not suffice.
    The Duke will demand to control her life,
To keep her on display like those artworks
    He showed you with such pride. Know that his quirks
May well be fatal to his bride. Warn her:
    His ancient name torments him like a burr
Digging into flesh. He cannot escape
    Its burden. He wears it like the dark drape
With which he conceals the paintings of those
    Who, thinking themselves blessed, agreed to pose
To have their portraits painted. Did you think
    That I was the only Duchess to drink
From the fountain of the Duke's promised wealth?
    Many have drowned while drinking to his health
Without the gusto that the Duke demands.
    And now I tell you, it is in your hands
To save your master's daughter from the hell
    That will befall her should she choose to sell
Herself for status (ironic, that, since
    He who gets the dowry will not evince
Awareness that his prize in fact pays him).
    I leave you now. My spirit's growing dim.
This Duchess rests, for she has spoke her piece
    In hopes to save another from the beast.

— Dorathy Chocensky

As part of the subsequent class period, have the students read their poems aloud, then go through each verse explaining its meaning. Invite comparisons and discussion. (*Variation:* Have students suggest several "best" categories, offer nominations, and vote winners. Possible categories include shortest, longest, funniest, darkest, best-rhymed, most perceptive, most creative, most unlikely or impossible, most management-oriented, and overall best — the more the better.)

Bottom Line. This activity encourages students to —

- Examine situations from a different perspective than what is presented.
- Reinterpret portions of the poem and look for administrative concepts.
- Gain experience in speaking before peers.
- Participate in evaluating and critiquing peers.

3. PARSING GOVERNMENT

Ask students to consider what kind of government structure and offices would have been needed to run the Duchy of Ferrara. Have students construct a simple organization chart of those offices and, for each office, label and define one or two programs for which that office would be responsible. (This may be done individually, in groups, or as a classroom exercise.)

Variation One: Add a contemporary government-access component to the activity by having students use web-authoring software to create a simple, dummy web site for the Duchy of Ferrara. (You may first wish to acquaint students with a federal web site such as FirstGov.gov or with their local or state government web site.) The student-developed site could contain a home page with links to each office and/or program, plus a message from (or brief biography about) Ferrara's leader, the duke himself. The site may also incorporate other features that can range as widely as the students' imaginations. Possibilities: a rogue's gallery of imagined prior duchesses, with thumbnail descriptions of each; a vacancy announcement for the position of "Duchess"; a tourist's guide to Ferrara; an invitation to "contribute" to the Ferrara Museum of Art and Sculpture, housed permanently in the Duke's castle; an audio file of students singing the Ferrara national anthem.
Variation Two: This variation is comparable in substance to Variation One. The difference is that students prepare and present a graphics presentation (using slide show software or handmade overhead transparencies) rather than create a web site.

Bottom Line. This activity provides students with an opportunity to examine the structure of government, how programs and organizational components relate to one another, how to provide electronic access to government functions and services, and how public relations is an integral part of what an organization must do. It also offers an opportunity to work with organization charts and with information presentation software.

Further Reading

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Discussion and Essay Questions

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

- Max Weber identifies three bases of authority: traditional, charismatic, and legal-rational. Where do the Duke and Duchess come out using Weber's typology?
- Distinguish between Nisbit's coercive power and referent power. Use "My Last Duchess" to illustrate each.
- Describe the Duke's behavior in terms of Hersey and Blanchard's situational leadership.

Notes

1 Fra — Latin for brother; the title for an Italian friar or monk.
2 durst — Archaic past tense of *dare*.
3 durst — Archaic past tense of *dare*.
4 forsooth — Archaic term for in truth or *no doubt*.
5 E'en — Poetic form of *even*.
6 Munificence — generosity.
7 Munificence — generosity.
8 Norton B. Cromwell, *A Reader's Guide to Robert Browning* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1972), p. 49.
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10 Robert Browning, "My Last Duchess," *The Complete Poetical Works of Robert Browning*, Horace E. Scudder, ed. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1895), p. 252.
11 Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, trans. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1947), p. 329.
12 Weber, pp. 341-342.
13 Weber, p. 346.
14 Weber, p. 346.
15 Weber, p. 347.
16 Crowell, pp. 58-64.
17 Weber, pp. 358-359.
18 Described in William G. Scott and Terence R. Mitchell, *Organization Theory: A Structural and Behavioral Analysis*, 3rd ed. (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1976), pp. 270-271.
19 Scott and Mitchell, pp. 270-271. Italics omitted from quote.
20 Crowell, p. 58.
21 Amitai Etzioni, *Modern Organizations*, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1964), pp. 59-60. Internal footnotes have been omitted.

22 Scott and Mitchell, p. 272.
23 Abraham H. Maslow, "A Theory of Human Motivation," *Psychological Review* 50 (July 1943): 370-396. Reprinted in *Classics of Public Administration*, Jay M. Shafritz and Albert C. Hyde, ed. (Oak Park, Illinois: Moor Publishing Company, 1978), pp. 80-95.
24 Scott and Mitchell, p. 115; Paul Hersey and Kenneth H. Blanchard, *Management of Organizational Behavior: Utilizing Human Resources*, 3rd ed. (Englewood cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1977), pp. 30-31.
25 Maslow, p. 89.
26 Hersey and Blanchard, p. 31.
27 Maslow, pp. 58-59.
28 Maslow, p. 86.
29 Crowell, pp. 58-59.
30 Maslow, p. 93.
31 Crowell, p. 62.
32 Maslow, p. 86.
33 Anthony Downs, *Inside Bureaucracy* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967).
34 Downs, p. 98.
35 Downs, p. 111.
36 Downs, p. 2.
37 Douglas Murray McGregor, *The Human Side of Enterprise* (New York: McGraw-Hill), 1960.
38 McGregor.
39 Dorathy Chocensky, "The Duchess Speaks," course exercise as part of a master of public administration program at the University of Maine, Orono, Maine, April 2001. Cochensky is membership services director for the Maine Coalition to End Domestic Violence.

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Public Voices Symposium

Government at the Margins: Locating/Deconstructing Ways of Performing Government in the Age of Excessive Force, Hyper-Surveillance, Civil Disobedience, and Political Self-Interest – Lessons Learned in a "Post-Racial" America

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Call for Manuscripts, Poems, Fiction, and Book Reviews

Recent events in Missouri, South Carolina, and Baltimore offer examples of social inequalities that exist in the delivery of government services to those who find themselves profiled and relegated to the "margins" of society. Reactions to fatal police interventions have resulted in civil unrest and civil disobedience. Government actors frequently find the legitimacy of these interventions and their inability to demonstrate cultural competency questioned and challenged.

Farmbry (2009)* argues that "the public servant of the future will have to work with an increasingly diverse population in mind and with a better understanding of his or her processes of constructing images of the Other as someone influenced by his or her actions." Intervention can occur across multiple settings including the scholarly, the academic, and the practical.

This is a call for papers that locate, interrogate, and deconstruct the ways in which government actors "perform" government in the delivery and implementation of rules, regulations, and services to those groups who are labeled as "Other" or those who are categorized and/or located at the "margins". This symposium aims to explore the multiple and complex dimensions of diversity encountered in the delivery of public services.

Whether through hip-hop culture, immigration reform, the Occupy movement, or the hypercriminalization of black bodies, this symposium asks responders to locate and examine the political, social, and economic context of social equity as it is performed and/or advanced by government administrators and as relative to, on one hand, increased marginalization and exclusion and, on the other, normative calls for social equity, more inclusive bureaucracies, and more culturally competent administrators.

The goal of the symposium is to solicit articles that investigate and question and ultimately lead to imagining new and useful strategies for intervention and impact. In the spirit of the mission of *Public Voices* to publish unorthodox and controversial perspectives on bureaucracy in particular and the public sector in general, one aim is to identify lessons learned and to theorize and predict future trends and useful strategies.

*Farmbry, K. 2009. *Administration and the Other: Explorations of Diversity and Marginalization in the Political Administrative State*. Lexington Books, xxiv.

More information:

spaa.newark.rutgers.edu/pv

Public Voices

Call for Manuscripts, Book, and Film Reviews

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

All submissions will be evaluated on a blind, peer-reviewed basis.

Cosponsored by the Section on Historical, Artistic and Reflective Expression (SHARE) of ASPA and published by the National Center for Public Performance (NCPP), ***Public Voices*** is now accepting submissions for volume XV.

For manuscripts, submit an electronic copy, with the author's name and affiliation provided on a separate cover page, to:

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Proposals for symposia, as well as photographs and artwork should be sent to:
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Submissions received by **October 1st** will be considered for a winter issue, while those received by **April 1st** will be evaluated for a summer issue.

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