

THE FEDERAL CIVIL SERVANT AS HERO:
THE CALLING TO GOVERNANCE

by

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Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Public Administration

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December, 1989
Blacksburg, Virginia

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(ABSTRACT)

The morale of the federal workforce is probably at an all time low. The malaise that shrouds the federal workforce is primarily caused by a sense of alienation that many federal workers feel. They feel alienated from themselves and from a community. In this book I approach the problem of alienation from theoretical, personal and empirical perspectives.

To gain a deeper understanding of the alienation of the organizational employee, one must look at the individual holistically. Using Carl Jung as my guide and employing his theories of the unconscious, spirituality, individuation and psychological type, I develop what I call an organizational personality typology. This organizational personality typology is contrasted with the more conventional and more one-dimensional organizational role typologies developed by organizational theorists such as Anthony Downs in Inside Bureaucracy and Robert Presthus in The Organizational

of contact with their environment and themselves, a sense of meaninglessness and alienation, and an obliviousness to messages from their unconscious.

Other people choose the journey of heroism. The heroic journey as portrayed in the heroic myth serves as a model for those people in search of psychological health and spiritual sustenance. It is a journey that has three primary stages: the calling, the encounter with death, and the return to the community. Each of these stages has applicability to the American public administration tradition.

The heroic journey is not merely confined to the world of myth. The heroic journey, as practiced in the public service, has current exemplars in both novels and in real life. Furthermore, it is a journey that is open to both the GS-3 clerk and the agency administrator. It is an attitude reflective of a life-affirming stance towards oneself and others.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation would have not been possible without the assistance of several people. I would especially like to express my thanks to some of them.

My wife and children , and deserve special credit for allowing me to spend long nights and many weekends working on my dissertation and courses throughout the long road towards my doctorate degree. They were very tolerant and understanding of my long absences.

I would also like to thank my committee for seeing me through this ordeal. Jim Wolf, my chairman, was an invaluable source of inspiration and more than occasionally moderated my excesses. I would like to thank Orion White for coaching me throughout my graduate career and providing me very helpful advice on my dissertation. Gary Wamsley was extremely helpful in providing me detailed comments on my paper. Many thanks are also due to Cynthia McSwain and Michael Harmon for taking time from their duties at George Washington University to assist me on my journey.

I would also like to thank my friends at the U.S. Environmental Protection who provided me support throughout my quest for my doctoral degree, including , , and .

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

After having worked for more than ten years in the federal government, one of my most startling observations was how many people dislike their work. Working in the federal government is viewed by many federal workers as a loathsome chore --- an unpleasant but reliable way of providing for one's material, if not one's spiritual needs. While many federal workers may have initially been attracted to the federal government by a rigorous idealism or a need to wield power over people and resources, most of these same people reach a point in their lives when they find their idealism vanquished and their use of power reduced to an empty exercise.

The discontent of the unfulfilled federal worker is manifested in several ways. For those federal workers who do not find fulfillment in their work, leaving the federal government becomes a hoped for dream and for some people, sometimes almost an obsession. Discontented federal workers may dream of buying a business after retirement or perhaps, if they are anxious enough, they may cash in their retirement fund early and leave the federal government before they reach

their golden years.

Other federal employees may try to escape from their weariness of the federal government while they remain at work. I have known some employees who have covertly and sometimes not so covertly run part-time businesses from their desks at work.

Others seem to give up hope and withdraw into their shell. They slowly and sadly resign themselves to a slow countdown to 30 years and out. They choose to block out their work, resigning themselves to seeking joy primarily from their families and their extra-curricular activities.

For all of these people the federal government resembles a gilded cage. The pay is adequate; the benefits are attractive; the retirement package keeps people in the system, but they seldom find their work fulfilling. Their creative dynamism and energy are wasted by yearning for an idyllic future, as they ignore their only reality --- the present.

On the other hand, there are a significant number of federal workers who throw themselves into their careers with such vigor that we call them workaholics. They passionately attend to the details of their career. They appear to be content, but pity these people, if they become derailed by a dissatisfied superior or a missed promotion. Their happiness is very tenuous.

The desire of many federal workers to either escape the federal service or else become enmeshed in the psychology of careerism indicates that conditions are far from satisfactory in some divisions and agencies within the federal bureaucracy. Not only do many federal workers dislike their work, but the general public in a number of polls have indicated a generalized discontent with the federal workforce.

In the introduction, I focus on these related problems from both a theoretical, personal and empirical perspective. The introduction is broken into five sections. The first section focuses on why I am writing this dissertation. In the second section, I discuss the central theoretical problem of this dissertation --- the problem of alienation --- and review how this concept is used in this dissertation. The third section approaches the discontent of the federal worker from a personal perspective and also indicates how my personal work experience in the federal government presumably has affected my perceptions. The fourth section employs an empirical perspective and in it I discuss how federal bureaucrats are perceived by the general public and also how they perceive themselves. Finally, the fifth section focuses on the concepts of the calling and the community. These two concepts were put forward in the Blacksburg Manifesto, a polemic on public administration written by the public

administration faculty of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

Why I Am Writing This Dissertation

The federal government is in crisis. It is a quiet, often forgotten crisis, but a crisis nonetheless. Not only does the general public hold federal workers in low regard, but many federal workers themselves hold the federal government in its totality in low regard. Given this mindset, morale in many federal agencies is abysmal. As a consequence, the federal service is neither a valued nor much sought after work option.

This morale problem raises several issues. Why would idealistic young people with their eyes set on making a difference choose to work in the federal government? And how can long-term federal employees make sense of their lives and find fulfillment in the federal government? Are many federal workers merely destined to suffer with little hope for relief? In this dissertation, I don't offer them a balm for their suffering, but I do try to provide federal workers with a way of better understanding and enduring their life in the federal government.

Unfortunately, there have been few efforts on the part of scholars in public administration to address the problem of alienation in the federal workforce. In graduate schools,

we provide our MPA students with knowledge and techniques regarding management process, such as budgeting, personnel management and policy analysis, but we provide them with little information on how to cope with the organizational malaise that many of them will encounter. One of the few people who has tried to make some sense of the federal government's image problem and the feeling of malaise of many federal workers was Wycliffe Allen who in an article entitled "I Am a Bureaucrat" addressed some of the negative stereotypes directed at federal employees. Allen wrote puckishly:

According to both the press and the Congressional Record, I am the one who gormandizes at the public trough. I am the incarnation of all the sloths through all the ages. I live off the hardearned salaries of neighbors and profits of tax-paying industries.

For this parasitical existence, I give, apparently little value. I am supposed to put in, each day eight hours of cat naps intermingled with pen-pushing; I am believed to manufacture red tape in amazing quantities and to protect myself from reformers by any means. The movie industry, like the cartoonists, find me a fit subject for ridicule. 1/

Given this popular disdain for federal bureaucrats, which unfortunately has grown significantly since 1951, why do people, then and now, choose federal service as a work option? Speaking as a federal bureaucrat, Allen believed

that most of his colleagues had a commitment to serving the public, although he did concede that "there are a few drones among us bureaucrats, but surprisingly few." 2/ Allen concluded his polemic by emphasizing the common bond that federal bureaucrats share with other Americans. He wrote:

Your federal government is the largest corporation on earth... Working for such a corporation is a challenge which requires considerably more than eight hours a day, bureaucrat though I be. You would be shocked at the pleasure I get from snipping red tape, here and improving a process there. For I am a taxpayer too. 3/

Thus, Allen in his defense of the federal workforce, challenged some of the popular stereotypes of federal workers; emphasized the federal bureaucrat's purported commitment to service; and emphasized the common concerns that federal bureaucrats share with other taxpayers. What Allen didn't address was some of the problems that beset the federal bureaucracy from within. Buried within each stereotype, there usually contains at least some truth. Allen was undoubtedly reluctant to acknowledge some of the bureaucracy's internal problems, given that he chose to play the role of the defense lawyer for the downtrodden and frequently maligned federal workforce.

The reluctance to acknowledge the internal problems of the federal workforce by the public administration community

is even greater today, given the barrage of criticism directed toward it by senior officials in the Carter and Reagan administrations. Public administration scholars and practitioners have grown weary of the increasingly bitter attacks on federal workers. Quite naturally, some of them have grown rather defensive and as a result have taken an increasingly uncritical view of the federal service. As an example, in recent years some of the speeches at national meetings of the American Society for Public Administration more resemble pro-federal worker pep rallies, rather than reflective critiques.

This dissertation runs counter to that trend. Although, it takes a critical view of the federal workforce, acknowledging some of its warts, it is not intended to reinforce some of the negative stereotypes that the public holds. Although this dissertation takes a long hard look at the dark side of the federal bureaucracy, it is not another broadside against the federal workforce. It is my intention to rejuvenate the federal service, not further weaken it. In this light, I hope that this dissertation provides federal workers with an alternate way of understanding their life in the federal government --- a life that in recent years has become increasingly desperate for many federal workers.

In Chapter 1, I set up the problem of this dissertation. The problem is alienation and I examine it from a

theoretical, personal and empirical perspective. However, don't be confused. This dissertation does not merely dwell on the woes that face federal workers. It also attempts to provide its readers with an alternative to alienation. My alternative, which I describe in Chapter 4, is heroism. As I note in Chapter 4, heroism is a stance towards life that is not confined to the battlefield. It is a stance that also can be manifested in the federal organization. However, before I prescribe my solution to a far too typical form of modern day angst, I must first describe the problem. Hence, my discussion of alienation.

The Problem of Alienation --- The Theoretical Perspective

As a former federal employee and an observer of human processes, I have been bothered for some time by the question of "Why do so many federal employees dislike their work?" This dissertation is the result of a long quest for an answer to that question. Indeed, if I were to briefly summarize this dissertation, I would say that it is about why so many people apparently feel discontented about their work in the federal government and secondly what they can do about it.

The unhappiness that many federal workers experience is no minor issue. Aristotle stated in The Ethics that happiness is "the highest of all practical goods." 4/ Is a

person capable of leading a happy non-work life, while at the same time being miserable at work or at the very least derive no meaning from it? I doubt if many people can so effectively compartmentalize their lives. Aristotle stated that "happiness demands not only complete goodness but a complete life." 5/ Work can and should provide a person with an important source of fulfillment and meaning, which leads to a more complete happiness. Herbert Marcuse was on the right track when he suggested in One Dimensional Man that people should exercise their "polymorphous perversity" 6/ and transform work into play --- making it an outlet for creativity and self-development.

To understand the discontent of many federal workers, one must think theoretically. Their unhappiness is a symptom of a pervasive phenomenon. That phenomenon is alienation. Ever since Erich Fromm popularized the term in the 1950s in The Sane Society, the concept of alienation has been used to characterize a variety of modern disorders. It has become so common in modern parlance that Richard Schacht, the author of Alienation wrote:

Using the term 'alienation' without explaining any further what one has in mind communicates little more today than does tapping one's glass with one's spoon at a banquet; neither does much more than attract attention. 7/

Although the concept of alienation may be an overused way to describe modern day angst, it is an important phenomenon worthy of study.

How have writers on the subject described the concept in general terms? Arnold Kaufman described the alienated person as one whose "relation to something else has certain features which result in avoidable discontent or loss of satisfaction." 8/ Lewis Feuer suggested that alienated behavior is "any behavior in which the person is compelled to act self-destructively." 9/ Kenneth Keniston held that "[m]ost usages of 'alienation' share the assumption that some relationship or connection that existed, that is 'natural,' desirable, or good, has been lost." 10/ Since the concept of alienation has been used to describe a number of conditions, it is important that I explain how I use it in this dissertation.

To be alienated, one must feel a sense of separation from something. Walter Kaufman suggested several things and people that the alienated person could feel separate from.

An individual (for example, one's father, wife or child); a group (perhaps one's family, fellow employees, fellow students, teachers, employees, colleagues or neighbors); other people in general; the society in which one lives (for example American or Soviet society); oneself (perhaps especially one's body or some particular aspect of one's character or of one's past); nature (hardly a univocal term, but possibly in

the sense in which we speak of nature lovers); or finally, the universe. 11/

When I refer to the concept of alienation in this dissertation, I use it in one of two contexts: alienation from oneself (self-alienation) or alienation from a community. In describing these forms of alienation, I borrow from Karl Marx, Erich Fromm, R.D. Laing and Edward Edinger, each of whom wrote extensively on this topic.

Self-Alienation or Alienation From Oneself

What does it mean to be self-alienated? R.D. Laing in The Politics of Experience captured the nature of this condition by likening it to "being asleep, of being unconscious, of being out of one's mind." 12/ Self-alienated people live life within a narrow band --- like ancient peoples' they fear that anything that lies beyond the horizon bodes ill for them. They stick closely to a life script that provides no room for improvisation.

Similarly, according to Richard Schacht, Karl Marx described self-alienation in this way:

A man is self-alienated for Marx if his true 'human' nature is something alien to him --- if his life fails to manifest the characteristics of a truly human life. There are three such characteristics for Marx: individuality, sociality, and cultivated sensibility. 13/

Erich Fromm gave the concept of self-alienation a slightly different twist. For Fromm, to be self-alienated "is to fail to be the kind of 'self' one should be." 14/ In other words, self-alienation stands in the way of a person's individual development.

Edward Edinger conceived of self-alienation as a separation of the conscious ego from the self of which the unconscious was an important component. Edinger noted that it was vital to the individual's psychic health for the individual to avoid impairing what he described as the "ego-Self axis." 15/ Edinger, an adherent of Jungian psychology, wrote:

The connection between ego and Self is vitally important to psychic health. It gives foundation, structure and security to the ego and also provides energy, interest, meaning and purpose. When the connection is broken the result is emptiness, despair, meaninglessness and in extreme cases psychosis or suicide. 16/

Self-alienated individuals find their work neither meaningful nor fulfilling. They regard their work as an instrumental means to another end. The end becomes all important, whether it is money, career success or prestige. Marx wrote that the self-alienated individual avoids work "like the plague" whenever circumstances allow. 'It is not part of his nature' that is, has no connection with his own

interests, and is no expression of his personality." 17/ Having little or no interest in the intrinsic nature of their work, self-alienated individuals view themselves at work as merely another instrument of production. In their futile search for meaning, they usually choose either to try to rigidly separate their work life from their non-work life or else throw themselves into their work with a neurotic fervor.

Alienation From a Community

In this dissertation, the concept of alienation also refers to alienation from a community. In this context, alienated people stand separate and apart from others. They are the supreme egoists, preoccupied with their own self-interest. In his analysis of Marx, Schacht wrote:

Instead of regarding other men as his fellows, therefore he regards them as his rivals and adversaries. Accordingly, he is hostile to them. His antagonism toward them is mitigated only to the extent that enlightened self-interest suggests cooperation with them to be desirable, and shows him that they may be of use to them...

It is grounded in self-centeredness which attends only to private advantage and in a self-conception which excludes any idea of sociality. 18/

People who are alienated from a community cannot know fellowship. They value colleagues, subordinates and superiors only to the extent that their associates might

enhance their careers. All relations with people take on an instrumental basis. They have no true friends, only contacts. Nevertheless, as Fromm wrote, such a person "is not 'asocial,' but rather is indiscriminantly social." 19/ They may maintain a wide assortment of personal relationships, but they are not part of a community, because they are unwilling to give of themselves to others. They are, instead, merely members of a mass. Unthinking, uncaring, the alienated person, in Fromm's words, is an "automaton conformist," 20/ whose needs and wants are indistinguishable from the rest of the mass.

My Work Experience at ACTION and EPA --- A Personal Perspective

Since this dissertation was prompted by my own personal experience in the federal government, I will make a personal digression. Being a person with a subjective orientation, I readily admit that my impression of the federal government may be partially a projection of my own past discontent with bureaucratic systems. Perhaps I may have been overly influenced by other discontented people who, in the past, sought me out knowing that I might lend a sympathetic ear. My perceptions may also have been influenced by the fact that I have always worked on the management side of federal organizations. It is my guess that people who provide

administrative support in federal agencies generally feel removed from the mission of those agencies and consequently often feel less involved in their work and less happy.

On the other hand, I have spent most of my federal career at two federal agencies known for their idealistic missions --- ACTION and the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency. I describe my experience at these two agencies as a means of relating some of my subjective biases or in common parlance to let my readers know "where I'm coming from."

I launched my work in the federal government at ACTION where I served as a budget analyst, administrative officer and management analyst during 1975 - 1979. At the time, ACTION personnel administered both the Peace Corps and several domestic programs, including primarily Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) and the Older Americans Volunteer Programs (OAVP). These years were interesting times at ACTION and I served there during both the Ford and Carter administrations. ACTION was a federal agency plagued by a significant amount of political combat that permeated its ranks. This degree of conflict was in part related to the numerous political appointees or friends of political appointees who were employed at all levels of the agency. In 1978, the same agency that employed "Hanoi" Marge Tabankin, the anti-war activist and former head of the National Student Association, also employed leftover

Republicans recruited by henchmen of Bob Haldeman, Nixon's former chief of staff.

During the Nixon Administration, like in other federal agencies, ACTION political appointees were coached regarding how they could circumvent normal hiring practices and bring in their own people. Partly as a consequence of this politicization of the hiring process, ACTION during the Ford and Carter administrations was often the site of political warfare between the 1960s activists and the Nixon/Ford Republican "moles" who disagreed about the course the agency should take.

During the Ford administration, the Peace Corps and OAVP underwent small increases in funding. Both of these programs were fairly non-controversial and thus acceptable to the Republican powers that ruled at the time. On the other hand, the Ford administration did not take such a benign view towards VISTA, a domestic anti-poverty program that infuriated some state and local officials because of the occasionally bold actions taken by VISTA volunteers. In one instance during my tenure, VISTA volunteers were so brazen as to file a law suit against the state of Texas. To put it mildly, VISTA was not a part of either the Old Right or the New Right agenda and the Ford administration made a frontal assault on the program.

During the Carter Administration, under the tutelage of

Sam Brown, former anti-war activist and head of the Student Mobilization Committee, ACTION programs were almost killed with kindness. Various program initiatives were launched, but few seemed to reach fruition. Furthermore, there were vague promises made by management that ACTION would be transformed from a hierarchical federal organization into an experiment in "workplace democracy." There were some small successes in democratizing the workplace. One that is worth remembering was when ACTION senior management mobilized ACTION employees to assist local residents in the aftermath of the Johnstown Flood in the late 1970s. However, Brown's reforms were more typically as empty and meaningless as the mission statements drawn up and soon forgotten by task forces brought together by senior management.

My most memorable experiences at ACTION were in the New York Regional Office (Region II), where I served as the regional office's administrative officer. Before my arrival, the New York Regional Office had been a troubled office. Racial acrimony divided the staff; \$25,000 in program funds were unaccounted for and presumed stolen by ACTION employees; financial management files were largely non-existent; and, in a rare move, ACTION Headquarters had fired four of Region II's mid-level managers just before my arrival.

As a rather naive 25 year old, I took the position in order to gain management experience and landed it because

nobody else wanted to put up with the headaches that came with the position. As Region II's budget and financial, property, personnel and volunteer services officer, I was confronted with various ways that federal government employees tried to "rip off" the government. Some Region II employees knowingly falsified timesheets and travel vouchers; other employees devised methods of obtaining first class travel on airlines, in contravention of government rules, while on government business; and other employees stole government property.

Following my occasionally disheartening experience at ACTION, I worked two stints at the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency. First during the Carter administration from 1979 to 1981 and secondly during Reagan/Bush administrations from 1984 through 1989. During both periods, I worked in the office that provided management assistance to other agency offices.

During the Carter administration, I worked in the Immediate Office of the Assistant Administrator for Planning and Management. Most of the senior management in the office were Ivy League graduates in their 30s, who were long on arrogance, but short on management skills. This senior management team seemed to be engaged only by an atmosphere of crisis. Meetings were regularly held on weekends and often late in the evening on issues great and small. This

team seemed to believe that working long hours was evidence of one's machismo. And since senior management worked long hours, they expected the same of their subordinates, particularly those in the budget and planning divisions. Furthermore, because senior management relied so heavily on these offices for management information, they were frequently called upon to supply it to them at any time of the day or night. The lives of the budget and planning people were not their own and as a result, these offices suffered from a high rate of turnover. It was not unusual for people in these offices to transfer after having worked there for only 3 or 4 months. Indeed, seasoned veterans were those who had lasted one year.

I was fortunate to have missed the negativism that Ann Burford, the Reagan administration's first EPA Administrator, inflicted upon the agency. It was a period at EPA that was marked by especially high turnover throughout the organization and very low morale. (Between 1981 and 1984, I fulfilled one of my long held fantasies when my wife and I purchased a country inn in rural New Hampshire.) Burford was thoroughly disliked by most EPA employees and I was told that her photograph which used to hang on the wall in the EPA headquarters building lobby was frequently spat upon by anonymous EPA employees. The spitting only stopped when the photograph was moved behind a guard's desk and put out of

range of liquid projectiles.

During my second stint at EPA, the management was somewhat more benign and professional. I worked in EPA's Budget and Resource Management Divisions and eventually became the Office of Administration and Resource Management's Human Resource Coordinator. By the mid-1980s, human resource development had become the newest fad within the organization. Managers and employees became very adept at learning the language of human resources, if only infrequently actually practicing it. Form usually took precedence over substance. For example, EPA's Personnel Division was expanded and the name changed to the more trendy sounding Office of Human Resources Management. Furthermore, organizational development gurus were hired to administer the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator; promote more open communication between offices and within offices; and develop profound, high sounding mission statements. The apparent lustre of this human resources effort, upon closer scrutiny, more closely resembled a faint glitter. The emphasis on human resources was often no more than a slick attempt to be out in front of one of the latest management waves. Many managers talked human resources, but more likely continued to practice a traditional top-down management style that was largely oblivious to human concerns.

My experience at EPA and ACTION may have been more

colorful and diverse than what other people experience in the federal government, but I do not believe that it was atypical in that I encountered and experienced a great deal of alienated behavior. At times, like many federal workers, I felt a lack of fulfillment in my work and I noted that many of my colleagues felt likewise. I observed that many people quietly adjusted to their unhappiness towards their work in federal agencies and accepted it "as the way life is." I would have preferred it if they had struggled with their unhappiness by trying to transform their experience into something meaningful. All organizational employees are subjected to organizational experiences that are less than desirable. What they should understand is that negative experiences can have a positive impact on their lives. They can choose to be overwhelmed by the unpleasantries that often beset them at work or they can seek to transform their negative experiences into a positive, developmental experience for both the individual and the organization.

The work environment that I experienced at ACTION and EPA was generally dismal. There were instances of heroism --- proud moments when individuals rose above their parochial, egoistic concerns, but unfortunately they appeared to be few. Before entering the organization, I expected something different from ACTION and EPA. Presumably both of these agencies should have been marked by a high level of

enthusiasm. However, I sensed a high level of discontent in both agencies. Senior management was a part, but not all of the problem. Middle management, program analysts and clerks frequently let themselves feel emasculated by the actions of their supervisors or they frequently ascribed blame to what they blithely referred to as "The System." Rather than being agents of change, many of them chose to become victims.

I have related this personal odyssey in order to make the concept of alienation real to you. Too often the concept of alienation appears to be a distant and alien concept with Marxist overtones that, at best, applies to someone else. Nevertheless in every organization in which I have been employed, I have witnessed symptoms of alienation both within myself and my colleagues. Rather than identifying the root cause of our discontent, we usually blamed it on inconsiderate supervisors, poor working conditions or boring and repetitive work. We seldom pinned the blame for our discontent on our own self-estrangement or lack of community-mindedness. How much easier it is to blame the other fellow or heap abuse on the "insensitive" organization. Thus, instead of confronting the cause of our discontent, we usually tried to escape from it by switching jobs which provided only a temporary balm for our suffering. In my experience within federal organizations, the problem of alienation is both real and pervasive. It is not merely a

problem for people of the Left. It is a concept that is of relevance to everyone.

The Image of the Federal Service from Outside and Within ---

The Empirical Perspective

The View from Outside

The image of the federal service has taken a pounding in recent years. Federal bureaucrats are typically portrayed by the press and politicians as being almost universally craven, lazy, incompetent and/or nefarious. Given its soiled reputation, it is rather amazing that some young people continue to choose federal service as a work option, although they are doing so in reduced numbers. Bruce Adams identified some of the reasons for the increasingly tarnished image of the federal service. He wrote:

It is not possible to pinpoint exactly where the destructive spiral starts, but the fact that a number of elements reinforce each other in negative ways is easy to demonstrate: public confidence in government is low; the news media playing to this lack of public respect, search for the controversial and the negative; interest groups escalate their rhetoric in order to attract attention from the public and the media; candidates for elective office overcriticize and overpromise. Talented people are not attracted to an institution that is not admired by the public, salaries are held down, the push and pull of lobbyists and bureaucratic rivals wear people out, the performance of government falls, interest groups and the news media step up their

attacks, public attitudes worsen, and the falling spiral repeats itself. 21/

The largely negative image of the federal service has become such an important issue that the National Commission on the Public Service was formed by a group of concerned citizens to investigate the problems besetting the federal service. Their report entitled Leadership in America devotes one of its five task forces to looking at public perceptions of the federal service. The task force concentrated in some depth on the subtleties of American public opinion concerning the federal bureaucracy and how those opinions are shaped by historical experience, the rhetoric of American political leaders and the impact of press coverage.

The writers of Leadership noted that unlike other cultures, such as Japan, American culture does not place a high premium on "integration, teamwork, consensus --- qualities that a bureaucracy requires." 22/ The report noted that, as a people, we seem to value these cooperative values only in times of severe economic downturns or wars. Our ideal is the rugged individualist, not the smooth running, cooperative team. Thus, many Americans have an almost inherent distrust of government. Many Americans distrust public service institutions and public servants, because they embody values that run counter to the individualism that we have, in part, inherited from John

Locke. Knowing this, some politicians, most notably Ronald Reagan, built their political careers by bashing bureaucrats. Others, like Jimmy Carter, although they did not owe their careers to this theme, used this issue when it served their political purposes, most specifically when he was campaigning for passage of the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978. The writers of Leadership noted:

It has been traditional in American politics to run on a 'throw-the-rascals-out' platform. Recent administrations, particularly the Carter and Reagan Administrations, have embellished this old plank by running campaigns that not only strongly criticized Washington but also attacked the people who work for the government.

The rhetoric was sometimes extreme. President Reagan remarked 'When you are up to your eyeballs in alligators, it's sometimes hard to remember that you came here to drain the swamp.' President Carter said, 'The Civil Service system has become a bureaucratic maze which rejects merit, tolerates poor performance, permits abuse of legitimate employee rights and mires every personnel action in red tape, delay and confusion.' 23/

Presidents Carter and Reagan lorded over the federal bureaucracy like imperious Sheriffs of Nottingham over a doleful peasantry. Their actions ranged from the petty to the malicious. For example, in the name of energy conservation, during the energy shortage of the late 1970s, President Carter cut off hot water in federal office

buildings. President Carter and Alan Campbell, Carter's chief of the Civil Service Commission sold the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 to the public and the Congress principally by promising that the Act would make federal bureaucrats more accountable and by implication get them "off their duffs."

President Reagan's attacks against the federal bureaucracy surpassed those of President Carter's. In the name of budget balancing, President Reagan in his FY 1987 budget request to Congress recommended that federal pay be reduced by five percent. Furthermore, throughout his administration, President Reagan seemed to delight in providing anecdotal evidence about alleged bureaucratic bungling and ineptitude. Thus, the federal bureaucrat was frequently portrayed by Reagan as the fool exemplar.

By themselves, none of these assaults upon the federal bureaucracy were particularly important. However, the cumulative impact of these attacks further tarnished the image of federal workers in the minds of the American people. In particular, President Reagan's verbal jabs against the federal bureaucracy appeared to be part of a larger strategy "to get the federal government off the backs of the people." Implicit in his barbs seemed to be the belief that if he couldn't dismantle all of the social programs he disliked, at least he could launch a backdoor attack against these

programs by transforming the federal workforce into a national laughing stock.

However, bureaucrat bashing has not been confined to 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. On occasion, the press also picks up on this theme. As the authors of Leadership noted:

Good government issues typically do not make good newspaper stories, and general news stories about the public service tend to settle to the back of newspapers when they run at all. It is the story calculated to make the reader's blood boil that attracts the most attention and hence wins the greatest prominence. 24/

Stories that highlight so-called "bureaucratic bungling" are legion in the press. There are stories of those long since deceased who continue to receive their Social Security check, while seemingly deserving recipients are forced "to battle through a sea of red tape." Other stories focus on government excess, like boondoggles to foreign hideaways by high level federal officials or lavish perquisites of office like chauffeurs, chefs and limousines. The negative press coverage caused one federal bureaucrat to complain in The Bureaucrat:

Think Washington is too remote from the rest of the citizenry? Blame 'the bureaucracy.' Frustrated by federal regulations? Blame 'the bureaucracy.' Got a tough election coming up? Blame 'the bureaucracy.' 25/

The negative rhetoric directed against the federal workforce by the White House and the press has helped shape public opinion on this topic. Although the authors of Leadership noted that "[p]ublic assessments of government performance are decidedly mixed," 26/ the public consistently ranks the performance of the private sector higher than that of the public sector. For example, a 1978 Roper survey that compared the private and public sectors noted:

58 percent said business attracts the best people, 71 percent said business is run more efficiently, 52 percent said business attracts the best middle and lower level employees and 42 percent said that business contributes more to making people's lives better. 27/

Louis Harris, in another 1978 poll, detected a similar feeling of discontent among the general public with the federal service. He noted:

By 69-18 percent, a majority do not think that the best people are attracted to serve in public life. By 84-10 percent, a landslide majority think we do not have a federal government that is almost wholly free of corruption and pay-offs. By 61-26 percent, a majority do not think the guiding principles of the federal government are put to the good of the country above the special interests. By 59-24 percent, a majority do not think that government is now the most exciting place to work. By 51-36 percent, a majority do not think that most public officials are dedicated to helping the country than being out for themselves.

Most serious of all, by 48-38 percent, a plurality feels that most public officials do not really care what happens to the people. 28/

On the other hand, in a more recent poll conducted in 1985 by CBS News and the New York Times, it was noted that "[f]ully 80 percent... responded favorably when asked how they would feel about a young person choosing to become a federal employee." 29/ However, on the other hand, the authors of Leadership noted that "when Roper asked adults in 1973 what field they would most like for their son or daughter to enter, only 4 percent named federal service." 30/ Perhaps the occasional travails of government service are best reserved for someone else's children.

The public relations assault against the federal workforce by the Carter and Reagan Administration and by the press has reinforced many American's unease with government. It is little wonder that many mid-level and senior officials have opted to leave the federal government. Furthermore, many of those people who choose to stay, do so in order to merely wait out retirement. The joy of service has almost completely left the federal government. Those who remain are faced with the problem of trying to recruit young people to a largely discredited institution. The authors of Leadership noted:

For the past 20 years, both the institution of the public service and those who serve have been the targets of nearly constant attack by federal officials. There is absolutely no doubt that the negative image of the public service thus created is a serious detriment to efforts to recruit. Overcoming this image will be a test of national and political will. 31/

The difficulty in recruiting new employees was put even more dismally by the authors of Civil Service 2000 who wrote:

As public esteem for Federal employment has eroded fewer of the most talented individuals have entered government service. This has left the government to hire what some have suggested, only half jokingly, is the "best of the desperate." 32/

The View From Within

Federal workers have taken note of the relentless attack upon themselves and the institutions that they represent. Some reveal their discontent by voting with their feet, while others stand in place, often smoldering in silence. In a June 1987 article in Government Executive one author noted:

The Twentieth Century Fund's Task Force on the Senior Executive Service reported recently that 40 percent of the Senior Executive Service left federal employment between the time the SES was established in 1979 and mid-1983. 33/

Another disturbing finding that the article reported was

that in a survey conducted by the Federal Executive Alumni Association "61 percent of 1,364 managers now in government said they would not suggest a federal career to young people --- an increase of 10 percentage points above a year earlier." 34/

This view was echoed by an extensive, but non-random survey, conducted by Government Executive in 1988 of government employees. They reported that "57 percent of the 3,900 respondents would not recommend a government career to young people." 35/ On other issues related to alienation, in the same poll, 59 percent of the respondents reported that their own morale had declined during the Reagan administration. Similarly only 9 percent of domestic agency employees and 17 percent of Department of Defense employees reported that morale at their agency had improved during this period.

Few federal workers seem to feel captured by the idealism that, in many cases, initially drew them to the federal service. For many federal workers, federal service has been reduced to "just another job." This is both unfortunate and surprising, since federal service should provide some respite from the often doggedly self-interested behavior that marks much of the private sector. Federal service should be an uplifting experience, appealing to the better side of our natures. It should make its workers feel

good about themselves as they help others. Unfortunately, nowadays federal service usually evokes little esprit d' corps or a sense of community among its workers. Furthermore, given that federal salaries are generally lower than for comparable positions in private industry and that the prestige of federal workers is at a low ebb, the federal service faces a crisis. How many people entering the workforce would want to embark upon a lifetime of service in the federal government given these liabilities? And what about the lifers in the federal government who are more moved by their impending pensions than their spirits or hearts as they make the slow countdown to thirty years and out.

Nevertheless, alienation is not an inevitable consequence of organizational life. Organizational life can be an enlivening kind of experience that can be both meaningful and fulfilling. Some of these positive aspects were emphasized by a group of public administration scholars in The Blacksburg Manifesto which I describe in the next section.

An Alternative to Alienation --- The Concepts of the Calling and the Need for Community

The authors of The Blacksburg Manifesto wrote about two very important concepts --- the calling and the community --- that are central to the American public administration

tradition. These concepts provide an alternative to the federal employee troubled by the separation that alienation engenders. As a means of countering this alienation, the authors of The Manifesto boldly declared that public service should be a calling. It should be a profession that attracts those people who want to serve the common good. It is a proposition that I heartily endorse, but I was also bothered by it, because my personal experience in the federal government reflected a much different reality. The commitment to the common good is a noble concept that is frequently bandied about in official pronouncements and political speeches, but in my personal experience it was infrequently used as a criterion for making both great and small decisions in the federal government.

Why are so many federal civil servants seemingly so cravenly self-interested? Haunted by the fear of failure in the increasingly competitive world of career; and verbally abused by ambitious politicians who have labeled them lazy and inefficient, many federal bureaucrats have lost sight of their responsibility to see to it that the public is served. Instead, many of them have fulfilled the expectations of public choice theorists and behave like "economic men" --- drowning in a sea of self-interested egoism. This overconcern for the self inevitably results in alienation. For all their grasping and career success, the so-called

"economic men" are unhappy. They lack a calling and a sense of connectedness that comes from being part of a community.

In our secular age, the concept of the calling has fallen into disuse. The concept of the calling, like other concepts of sacred origins, has been leveled by this society's preoccupation with Lockean individualism --- an ethic that celebrates self-interested egoism over community. In the Lockean frame of reference, one works for the purpose of engaging in the process of exchange, thus presumably enhancing one's material prosperity. On the other hand, one engages in a calling for a higher purpose. Robert Bellah, et. al. in Habits of the Heart, referring to the calling, wrote:

It [the calling] subsumes the self into a community of disciplined practice of sound judgment whose activity has meaning and value in itself, not just in the output or profit that results from it. 36/

Although most people who work in large organizations do not regard their work as a calling, this problem is particularly acute in the federal service. Rather than viewing their work as a calling, most federal workers seemingly regard it as merely a job --- with alienating overtones --- or a career marked by an often unconscious narcissism.

James Wolf and Robert Bacher wrote in "The Public Administrator: The Worlds of Public Service Occupations,"

that the job holder accepts the perception that "a job is not coterminous with real life work." 37/ The relationship between the job holder and his employer embodies the principle of exchange established by John Locke. The relationship takes on this form. "I agree to provide you services for a set fee. I perform the services and they meet your specifications. You pay me. End of relationship!" The level of performance relates strictly to the terms of the contractual agreement.

Unlike the concept of the job, the concept of career has more recent origins. It is a product of this society's preoccupation with professionalism and upward mobility. Wolf and Bacher wrote that the career concept focuses "on personal growth, self-actualization, and sometimes a 'do your own thing' ethic." 38/ The person who takes up the career gauntlet is another version of "economic man." They studiously calculate their interests and show little lasting regard for their organization, because it is only a rung on the career person's ladder to success.

Similarly, our sense of community has fallen on hard times. The American people are slightly uncomfortable about the concept of community because it clashes so harshly with our ingrained Lockean individualism. And yet, our longing for community has occurred throughout American history and it is well documented in Habits. Nevertheless, recently our

desire for Lockean individuality seems to be taking precedence. Bellah, et. al. noted:

What has failed at every level --- from the society of nations to the national society to the local community to the family --- is integration: we have failed to remember "our community as members of the same body," as John Winthrop put it. We have committed what to the republican founders of our nation was the cardinal sin: we have put our own good, as individuals, as groups, as a nation, ahead of the common good. 39/

As we will see later, the lack of a community is also pronounced in the federal workforce.

In summary, many federal workers do not enjoy and derive fulfillment from their work. To use an often ambiguous term, they feel alienated. In this dissertation I use the term "alienation" to mean that they feel separate from themselves and others. This feeling of alienation has been exacerbated by the political attack waged on the federal workforce by the Carter and Reagan administrations. However, the feeling of being alienated is not solely a result of these political attacks, because it is a phenomenon that pervades all of American society. People heighten their feeling of alienation when they view their work through the individualistic lens of either the job or the career. An alternate way for people to regard their work is to view it as a calling and in so doing see themselves as members of a community.

CHAPTER II

A REVIEW OF ORGANIZATIONAL ROLE TYPOLOGIES

In the first chapter, I tried to make some sense of what organizational life and behavior is like in the federal government from a theoretical, personal and empirical perspective. Obviously I am not alone in this endeavour of trying to understand organizational life. Other organizational theorists have tried to make sense of organizational life and behavior by developing what I call organizational role typologies.

This chapter is, in part, a literature review of several organizational role typologies. These organizational role typologies highlight primarily the employee's behavior at work. However, these typologies also play another role in this dissertation. They stand in sharp contrast to my organizational personality typology that I develop in Chapters 3 and 4. In order to understand the phenomenon of alienation as described in Chapter 1, one must confront organizational employees as complete people rather than merely examine the masks that they don at work. Unlike the more conventional role typologies described in this chapter, my organizational personality typology is a view of

employees beyond their organizational roles. Furthermore, using a Jungian perspective, I probe both the conscious and unconscious aspects of the organizational employee's personality.

However, before I present my organizational personality typology, I want to review five representative organizational role typologies. Scholars representing three literature streams have noted remarkable similarities in roles that frequently appear within organizations. The three literature streams from which I have chosen organizational role typologies are organizational theory/sociology, leadership studies and public administration. This review is by no means exhaustive, but will provide the reader with a glimpse of organizational role types from each field.

Within the organizational theory/sociology literature stream, I review William Whyte's The Organization Man, Anthony Downs's Inside Bureaucracy and Robert Presthus's The Organizational Society. In the leadership studies literature stream, I review Michael Maccoby's The Gamesman. Finally within the literature stream of public administration, I look at Eugene Lewis's Public Entrepreneurship: Toward a Theory of Bureaucratic Political Power, which chronicles the public lives of Robert Moses, J. Edgar Hoover and Hyman Rickover.

The authors I review provide the reader with a startling

picture of life in the contemporary bureaucracy. Their detailed descriptions of organizations paint a dismal picture of organizational life. Most of the role types detailed by these authors are alienated from both themselves and from others. Life in large organizations, according to these authors, may not be as nasty, brutish and short as that existence endured by people within Thomas Hobbes's Leviathan, but it certainly has little to recommend it for those people interested in enhancing their self-development or serving the common good. As a whole, these typologies offer few reasons why people would want to work in large organizations and many reasons why people should avoid them.

Organizational Theory/Sociology Literature Stream

The Organization Man by William Whyte

William Whyte in The Organization Man, wrote with great passion about the condition of the modern organization and its people. Whyte sounded like a troubled and weary Moses trying to lead a reluctant people out of the desert. Whyte's desert was the conformity that organizations impose upon their members --- a conformity that stifles creative thinking and the power of action. Setting an evangelical tone, one gets the impression after reading Whyte's book that he was more interested in arousing the denizens of organizations to action, rather than merely adding to the academic community's

knowledge of large organizations.

Not surprisingly, The Organization Man became a classic. It was a must-read among sociologists of the 1950s and their students. In it he warned about the stultifying conformity that characterized American life in that era. (It was a point of view later articulated by David Riesman in The Lonely Crowd and Robert Bellah, et. al. in Habits of the Heart.) Whyte minced no words in his criticism of mass conformity; indeed, his language throughout the book is rich with cynicism. For example, in describing the modern executive, he wrote, " Listen to them talk to each other on the front lawns of their suburbia and you cannot be struck by how well they grasp the common denominators which bind them." 1/

This collectivism was most evident within the large organization, that subtly compelled its employees to extinguish their individualism. The pull towards conformity was couched in the language of human relations --- a language much more seductive and much less traditional than the dull monologue provided by Henri Fayol, the French organizational theorist, who gave us the dry and uninspiring acronym of POSDCORB. In his call to battle, Whyte believed that the lines of combat were clearly drawn, it was the individual on one side and the collective on the other side. Sounding like an anti-organizational guerilla, he wrote:

Precisely because it is an age of organization, it is the other side of the coin that needs emphasis. We do not need to know how to co-operate with The Organization, but, more than ever, so do we need to know how to resist it. 2/

Although Whyte accepted the assumption that "individualism is as possible in our times as in others," 3/ he did believe that most people would succumb to this new ethic in which "we have come close to deifying it [the organization]" 4/ In Whyte's mind, the inevitable decline of individualism brought with it, the decline of other institutions, most notably the family. Whyte's organization man could not brook dual allegiances. In Whyte's world, individuals marry the organization and promise to love, honor and obey it. Their world is a workhouse and they willingly volunteer to be one of its interchangeable parts.

William Whyte saw little hope for the modern organization or for American society as a whole. American individualism was being crushed and the individual could only conduct a seemingly quixotic battle to resist it. The rewards, the prestige, the social acclamation all were directed towards people willing to submerge their individuality. In his dire analysis of organizational life, Whyte like other organizational theorists, at least implicitly, accepted the assumption that the organization is inherently alienating. However, unlike the other

organizational role theorists I discuss, he was less willing to accept this dismal state of affairs.

Whyte flirted with the tenets of Critical Theory. His analysis of life in the age of the organization closely mirrored that of Herbert Marcuse in One-Dimensional Man who decried the rise of "one-dimensional thought and behavior." 4/ Furthermore, like the Critical Theorists, Whyte provided a less than satisfying prescription for resisting the pull of conformity. Whyte's analysis implicitly confronted his readers with two basic questions. Is resistance to the organization a pathway to personal self-development? Is the organization and the larger society served by individuals who resist the organization within its walls?

Inside Bureaucracy by Anthony Downs

Anthony Downs, in Inside Bureaucracy, applied some of the tenets of economics to the field of organizational theory. As an example, he interpreted the superior-subordinate relationship in the following way:

These superior-subordinate relationships are especially important because every official's chances for improving his position in the bureau --- including promotion, higher salary, and success in furthering policies he favors --- are usually heavily dependent upon the way his immediate supervisor evaluates him. This is an inescapable consequence of the lack of markets in which each man's output can be objectively evaluated. 5/

Similarly, he applied the conventional wisdom of economics to one of his book's basic assumptions, namely that the organizational employee is primarily a "utility maximizer." ^{6/} Downs lived in a paradigm dominated by an ethos of interest. From Downs' perspective, to understand bureaucrats, is to know them as people who are primarily self-interested, but who may, on occasion, indulge themselves by engaging in what I call group-interested behavior. Downs broke his organizational role typology into five groupings. They were: the climbers, the conservers, the zealots, the advocates and the statesmen. Although Downs' climbers and the conservers are exclusively self-interested, he believed that the zealots and advocates, while primarily guided by self-interest, are also capable of engaging in group-interested behavior. For Downs, the statesmen, who work on behalf of the entire organization, are an anomaly.

The Climbers

The climbers are primarily energized by the drive to get ahead in the rough-and-tumble career world. Downs wrote that, "[c]limbers consider power, income, and prestige as nearly all-important in their value structures." ^{7/} They are driven people, who are most likely to speak the language of career. Downs' climber closely resembles Whyte's

organization man. Both role types consider career success to be their foremost life goal. Family, relationships and passions all take a back seat to the climber's work, as these individuals speed down the highways of life, rarely slowing down or stopping to sample life's pleasures. The climber is Herbert Marcuse's quintessential one-dimensional man.

The climber would be very much at home in the world of the robber barons. The climber, in fact, is their heir in the modern, sleek, public relations-conscious organization. The climber's use of power may not be quite so overt as that of the robber baron, but both of them manifest a similar primal aggression. The climber is the modern master of technique, reflected in the slick presentation, the carefully manicured appearance and the polished speaking voice.

The Conservers

Another organizational personality in Downs' lexicon is the conserver. If the climber reflects the often radical impetuousness of youth, the conserver reflects the more conservative, tired nature of old age. Downs believed that the conserver was frequently a frustrated and aging climber. As many climbers eventually realize, there are few paths that lead to the top of the organization. Many climbers find the path too steep and too treacherous, eventually preferring to retrench themselves, rather than taking on greater perils and

suffering additional disappointments. With little empathy, but perceptively, Downs described the conservers as "middle-aged officials who have lost their youthful energy." 8/

Rather than seeking new worlds to conquer, conservers are satisfied with merely maintaining their past conquests. Desiring to maintain their holdings, rather than increase or lose them, Downs claimed that conservers are "change avoiders." 9/ Finding comfort and stability in an organization's rules, conservers may often devote themselves to the rules with a religious dedication. In their mind, any deviation from the rules seemingly represents a form of heresy. Downs wrote:

... many conservers eschew even the slightest deviation from the written procedures unless they obtain approval from higher authority. This rigid rule following acts as a shield protecting them from being blamed for mistakes by their superiors and even from having to obey any orders that conflict with "the book." 10/

The Zealots

The third organizational personality is slightly less self-interested than the two previously mentioned ones. Downs believed that zealots promote both their own self-interest and the interest of the narrow program or issue that they represent with extraordinary energy and aggressiveness. Zealots closely resemble a narrowly defined special interest

group, except that they operate on the inside of the organization, rather than trying to influence it from the outside. They become partisans for one issue and pursue that issue with a single-minded attention. Because of their fixation with one issue, Downs believed that zealots "are almost never assigned to high-level administrative or command positions." 11/ They sit on the sidelines of the corridors of power, barking out criticisms or exhortations when their favored program or issue appears to falter.

On the face of it, the zealot's behavior appears to be less self-interested than that of the climber or the conserver. After all, although zealots promote their own self-interest, they also promote the interests of their narrowly-defined issue. Nevertheless, Downs acknowledged that what appears to be altruism may simply be a case of ego inflation. In other words, zealots may become so closely intertwined with the programs they champion that they may not be able to separate themselves from them. If the program they represent falters, they also falter. If their programs receive adulation, they also receive adulation. Downs aptly noted that "there is a nearly universal tendency to impute an inflated degree of social significance to one's job as a subtle means of massaging one's ego." 12/

The Advocates

Advocates maintain a broader organizational view than zealots. Rather than merely focusing on one issue or program, advocates promote a broad array of programs, albeit those that fall under their control. Advocates seem to have a little of the political ward boss in them. They assiduously cultivate programs and issues within their domain --- always interested in expanding their span of control. Downs wrote that "each advocate tends to promote everything under his own jurisdiction. He does so because his incentives are focused upon his overall performance, rather than on any one part of his 'empire'." ^{13/} Eschewing the narrow provincialism of the zealots, the advocates seek to include as many programs and issues as possible under their wing, rather than confine their ministrations to one small area.

The Statesmen

The most problematic of any of Downs' personality types is the statesmen. This type is problematical for Downs, because the traditionally understood concept of the statesmen is inconsistent with Downs' understanding of human behavior in the modern organization. Statesmen stand above the fray. They consider the organizational big picture and the part they play within it. In Downs' typology, the statesmen,

as an ideal type, are selfless to a fault. They do not seek glory for either themselves or their part of the organization. They are people who seek to fulfill the common good. Downs finds such a stance barely credible. He finds the vainglorious bureaucrat, who would put himself ahead of the common good, much more believable. He wrote:

Officials who naturally incline to be statesmen face a nearly overwhelming obstacle to exercising that inclination. By definition, a statesman is loyal to the nation or the society as a whole. But the specialization inherent in all bureaus tends to create pressures upon the occupant of almost every position to be an advocate, loyal to some particular bureau or bureau section. 14/

Because of Down's assumption that bureaucrats promote their own parochial interests, Downs claims that "consistent statesmenlike behavior is extremely rare." 15/

One gets the impression that Downs would truly prefer relegating the concept of the statesman to the field of public administration, for which he shows mild disdain. The concept of the statesman is inconsistent with Downs' notion that organizational actors are almost exclusively self-interested. Thus, Downs almost tried to excommunicate the statesman from his typology by making him appear to be less than believable. In Downs' analysis, the statesman became a straw man. He wrote that "in the vast majority of cases, the statesmen are doomed to be misfits in office."

16/ It seems quite possible that Downs was actually using the concept of the statesman as a surrogate for attacking the normative focus, which is highlighted by some scholars in the field of public administration.

The Organizational Society by Robert Presthus

Robert Presthus in The Organizational Society, like Whyte and Downs, portrays an organization wracked by dismalness, although his portrayal lacks Downs' matter-of-fact tone. If you read between the lines of Presthus' analysis, it becomes clear that he believes that the modern organization is Taylorism incarnate. Organizational employees are valued to the extent that they fulfill an instrumental role within the organization. Presthus wrote:

The intended rationality of the organization is similarly instilled in its members. Not only are its structures and procedures designed to enhance predictability, but individuals too become, insofar as possible, animated instruments. 17/

In order to be an effective instrument, Presthus argued that "[a]pproval and acceptance tend to be exchanged for loyalty and conformity." 18/ Like Whyte, Presthus emphasized the herd-like quality of modern organizational life.

In his analysis, Presthus distinguished between three organizational personalities. They are the upwardly mobiles, the indifferents and the ambivalents.

The Upwardly Mobiles

There are many similarities between Presthus' upwardly mobiles and Whyte's organization man and Downs' climbers. At least on the surface, the people represented by this personality type proudly profess the tenets that the organization holds most dear. Using a religious metaphor, Presthus summed up the upwardly mobiles' attitude towards their organization, when he wrote, "[t]he organization tends to resemble a church, which needs champions to endorse its values and increase its survival power. No dissenters need apply. The demand is for conformity." 19/

Presthus typified upwardly mobiles as being "highly committed to traditional values of hard work and success," 20/ but nevertheless "their commitment to work may be instrumental rather than intrinsic." 21/ In other words, they effectively go through the motions at work in order to receive their desired goals of status, money and power. Otherwise they are remarkably oblivious to values. One gets the impression that they would be just as satisfied building death camps as they would be cleaning up the environment. Generally lacking values, beyond those associated with status, wealth and power, they revel in their career-mindedness. In a description, well worth quoting, Presthus described them as

People without a 'calling,' they bring little passion to their work. Rather, the

upward mobile tends to become, in Balzac's phrase, a 'quill-bearing mammal,' a dealer in means for whom the paraphernalia of organization outweigh claims of 'mission,' creed, and party. 22/

Nevertheless, given their instrumental orientation --- their ability to "get the job done," Presthus concluded that this role type is the one most likely to attain career success in the modern organization.

The Indifferents

Presthus believed that the indifferents "are found among the great mass of waged and salaried employees who work in a bureaucratic setting." 23/ Presthus described the majority of indifferents as coming from "working-class or lower middle-class origins." 24/ Indifferents are unlike any organizational personality I have reviewed in this dissertation. They stand apart in their unwillingness to compete for organizational rewards. They thumb their noses at those people who are so anxious about their careers that they will do almost anything to enhance them. For indifferents regard their work as nothing more than a job --- a way of putting food on the table and providing for other material necessities.

Indifferents try to rigidly compartmentalize their lives between work and non-work. At work they carefully leave

part of themselves at the door. They strongly resist the temptation of becoming caught up by the ethic that characterizes their organizations. They spurn attempts by their supervisors to manipulate them through the use of cash incentives and non-monetary rewards. A deep underlying aggressiveness lies just beneath the often placid serenity of the indifferent. On occasion this serenity is interrupted when the indifferent's latent aggression boils to the surface and their war cry becomes similar to that popular country classic "Take This Job and Shove It!" Indifferents believe that our organizational society provides few opportunities for independence in the work setting and thus they, at least, mentally withdraw from the world of work. They prefer to save their emotional energies for their non-work life. It is only there that they feel they are able to find personal fulfillment.

Of the three organizational role types, Presthus was most sympathetic with the indifferent. Unlike the other two types, the indifferent actively rejects the dominant organizational values and sets his own journey. He wrote:

In a sense, indifferents are the most 'normal' of individuals. Emancipated from the puritan heritage that honors work and accumulation, escaping the commitments of the 'true believer' and the anxiety of the neurotic striver, they receive big dividends in privacy, tranquillity and self-realization through

their extravocational orientation. 25/

Thus, Presthus pronounced that the organizational employees who are most alienated from their work are the ones that are least psychologically troubled. Truly, such an analysis does not bode well for the organization.

The Ambivalents

Presthus described the ambivalents as "a small residual category" 26/ within an organization. They are usually "introverts with intense intellectual interests." 27/ Accordingly, they are "[s]ensitive, emotionally undisciplined individuals" 28/ and tend "to view authority figures as threatening." 29/ It is not surprising that Presthus found that ambivalents in a collectivized society "are perpetually out of step." 30/

The ambivalents perhaps most closely approximate Downs' statesman or the organizational resistor that Whyte pined for. And yet, they are not only the most psychologically conflicted personality in Presthus' typology, but also the most conflicted personality of any of the ones reviewed in this chapter. Ambivalents are unable to completely reject the enticing rewards that the organization offers them, but on the other hand, they are also unwilling to "play the roles required to compete for them." 31/ Presthus concluded his description of the ambivalent by writing that

they are "somewhat tragic figures in the bureaucratic setting." 32/

Leadership Studies Literature Stream

The Gamesman by Michael Maccoby

Michael Maccoby's The Gamesman was the most hopeful of the organizational role typologies that I reviewed. Unlike the other typologies, Maccoby came closest to establishing a transcendent type --- a role type capable of leading their fellows out of the organizational malaise aptly described by Maccoby and the other previously mentioned authors.

Maccoby based his typology on a series of interviews he conducted with mid-level and senior-level managers from twelve major private companies. On the basis of his research, he saw four personality types clearly emerge. They are: the craftsmen, the jungle fighters, the company men and the gamesmen.

The Craftsmen

As the name implies, the craftsman is probably more at home in a pre-industrial age, than today's age of organization. What made pre-industrial craftsmen distinctive was that they were careful to place their imprimatur on their work products. Furthermore, unlike Presthus' modern alienated worker, the pre-industrial craftsmen carefully

used their instruments, they were not transformed into the instrument itself.

Maccoby's craftsmen, however, probably feel a bit uncomfortable in the modern organization. Given another age, less prone to large organizations, they probably would be more content making shoes or hooping barrels, rather than developing budget requests or evaluating subordinates. The craftsman works dutifully within the organization, but generally refuses to play the corporate games, thought by many, necessary to achieve real power. Maccoby wrote that "the craftsman does not compete against other people as much as he does against nature, materials, and especially against his own standards of quality." 33/ As Maccoby noted, the craftsman "fits easily into a system of masters and apprentices." 34/ It is a system in which craftsmen serve as masters of their craft, but since they usually work within a hierarchical organization which honors the chain of command, they also serve as a kind of apprentice to their supervisor.

Like Whyte's organization man, most of Down's personality types and Presthus' upwardly mobile, craftsmen seek control over their environment. However, unlike these types, they seek to control a much more limited part of it. Rather than seeking to control an organization, craftsmen are usually more content with shaping an individual project.

Let the organization men or the upwardly mobiles war over the control of a large organization, craftsmen are usually most happy when they are left alone to expertly shape a project from its beginning to its completion. They are not usually big picture thinkers, but more likely slow and steady plodders. Maccoby wrote that "[m]ost of the craftsmen we interviewed are quiet, sincere, modest and practical." 35/

The Jungle Fighters

The jungle fighters are the most ruthless of any of the personality types I have reviewed. The jungle fighters' first commitment is to win and they are consumed by that goal, despite the psychological costs to themselves and the effect such narcissistic behavior might have on their organizations. Teamwork is anathema to them. Like spoiled and aggressive children, they are only satisfied when they "have it their way." Using strong language, Maccoby wrote that the jungle fighter is "[t]oo suspicious and sadistic, he is unable to cooperate with strong peers in highly interdependent teams." 36/ Their single-minded devotion to the virtues of competition is best summed up by the following quotation by Maccoby, "They had no comrades, only accomplices and servants." 37/

This type of "Lone Ranger-like" behavior can be extremely dysfunctional in the modern organization which, at

least in theory, stresses cooperation and teamwork. Although the other personality types may be just as self-interested as the jungle fighter, none are as brazen as this type in their lusty grab for power, typified by their seemingly insatiable need to control people and resources. While, the other types, at least, appear to be team players, the jungle fighters avoid even the pretense of cooperation. Thus, the jungle fighter usually stands alone --- ill at ease within the organizational setting. As a consequence, Maccoby noted that although the jungle fighter may thrive and serve a useful role in a crisis situation, "in the long run, he becomes a liability to the company because he foments hostility and undermines the community." 38/

The Company Men

Maccoby likens the company man with Whyte's organization man. Furthermore, both Maccoby and Whyte agree that the company or organization man is the most prevalent personality type found in modern organizations. Indeed, Maccoby believed that "[c]ompany men are essential to the functioning of large corporations." 39/ Their unflagging optimism and teeming enthusiasm frequently contributes to an organization's esprit d' corps. They identify so much with the organization they come to believe that if their organization prospers, they also prosper.

However, despite their commitment to the team, company men have significant flaws in their characters, so as not to serve as a transcendent ideal. Company men, like Willie Loman or George Babbitt before their falls, lack the self-conscious awareness to seriously consider their role both within the organization and their larger society. They are much "too fat and happy," to be so contemplative. Unreflective, provincial, uncreative --- they can easily become organizational yes-men. Rather than challenging an organization's direction, they are much too eager to merely "go along for the ride."

The Gamesmen

The gamesmen are often an organization's movers and shakers. They are most happy when they are able to move people to action through their acceptance of their organizational visions. They are unbound by organizational convention, indeed, Maccoby believed that "[t]he modern gamesman is best defined as a person who loves changes and wants to influence its course." ^{40/}

As their name implies, gamesmen view their world of work as a game and given their sportsmanlike aptitude they tend "to classify people as winners or losers." ^{41/} They may be just as competitive as the hard-nosed, often brutal, jungle fighter. However, unlike the jungle fighter, the

gamesmen have sufficient civility, after the battle, to bury the hatchet, and not necessarily in their competitor's back. This careful detachment can be both a boon and an obstacle, because as Maccoby wrote:

The fatal danger for gamesman is to be trapped in perpetual adolescence, never outgrowing the self-centered compulsion to score, never confronting their deep boredom with life when it is not a game, never developing a sense of meaning that requires more of them and allows others to trust them. 42/

Gamesmen become so absorbed by the rules of the game, so wedded to winning, that they become unwitting prisoners of their own instrumental approach to life. Rarely seeing beyond the game, gamesmen are fairly hollow, one-dimensional individuals. In the end, Maccoby believed that gamesmen were most guilty of exploiting themselves. In their attempt to fully develop their mental faculties, they seriously wound their powers of feeling.

Nevertheless, Maccoby saw some hope for the gamesmen. He admired their creativity, spunk and skills of manipulation, but he remained troubled by their lack of commitment and their obliviousness to ethical values. Maccoby's prescription for the gamesman was similar to that prescribed for the man of straw in The Wizard of Oz --- the gamesman needed a heart.

The role type that fulfills that condition is what

Maccoby called the creative gamesman. Creative gamesmen, unlike the ordinary gamesmen, manifest a sincere interest in their employees. Their interest in their employees is not a shallow, dead-ended concern that is born solely from a human relations textbook. Furthermore, creative gamesmen do not park their social conscience at the corporate door. They express social concerns reflective of a coherent life philosophy. Their life and work are guided by a kind of praxis. Describing the creative gamesman, Maccoby wrote:

I see them as a kind of managerial mutant, a new corporate type, the gamesman who develops his heart as well as his head and who could become examples for leadership in a changing society where the goal is economic democracy and the humanization of technology. 43/

Public Administration Literature Stream

Public Entrepreneurship: Toward a Theory of Bureaucratic Political Power by Eugene Lewis

Eugene Lewis in Public Entrepreneurship looked at the public lives of three prominent public, career bureaucrats: Hyman Rickover, J. Edgar Hoover and Robert Moses. For those people who ascribe to the theory of neutral competence, these individuals are anomalies. Each of them wielded more power than non-elected, career bureaucrats are supposed to exercise, at least according to the theory of neutral

competence. They were, as Lewis called them, public entrepreneurs. Lewis defined the public entrepreneur as "a person who creates or profoundly elaborates a public organization so as to alter greatly the existing pattern of allocation of scarce public resources." 44/ His public entrepreneur combines several of the traits of organizational personalities I have reviewed. Lewis's public entrepreneur is a megalomaniac --- a trait also present to a lesser degree in Downs' climbers and Presthus' upwardly mobiles. The public entrepreneur also manifests the ruthlessness and solitary behavior of Maccoby's jungle fighter. Lastly, in their support of everything within their domain, the public entrepreneur could be likened to Downs' advocate.

Lewis's synopsis of the public entrepreneur's career development can be divided into three stages. During the first stage, the public entrepreneur is introduced to the organization. It is an introduction that closely resembles a cold shower --- both bracing and uncomfortable. Lewis believed that public entrepreneurs tend "not to give into the 'go along get along' values and the clubbiness of fraternal association." 45/ The public entrepreneur is a bit of a loner, often socially inept. While others score points within the organization by being affable at office parties, providing slick briefings or carefully currying the favor of senior management, the public entrepreneur

demonstrates a genius for operating outside of the normal track. Public entrepreneurs do not conform to existing conditions; they have the vision to create new conditions. During the early stages of their careers, the public entrepreneur is like a roller coaster which ascends the hill, just before the big dive. They demonstrate energy, drive, a devotion to their ideals and an almost fanatical single-mindedness.

During stage two, the public entrepreneur creates "an apolitical shield to protect and buffer the entrepreneurial leap." 46/ Like the "good" bureaucrat, who is supposed to profess and act in a way that demonstrates "neutral competence," the public entrepreneur "serves to obscure what otherwise might be widely understood as political acts." 47/ They are adept politicians who by skillfully employing artifice, appear to play the part of the statesman.

During the final stage of their development, the power of the public entrepreneur is ascendent. It includes the following three aspects "the reduction of uncertainty in task environments, the spanning of boundaries for purpose of domain expansion, and finally, institutionalization and the problems of ultra-stability." 48/ During this period, they play a domineering role in the organization.

Hyman Rickover

Hyman Rickover was the father of the American nuclear navy. This diminutive Jew from New York City kept the WASP-controlled Navy reeling throughout his lengthy tenure. Rickover was renowned as a hard worker, "who would know more about more things than anyone." 49/ True to his engineering background, "he was a stickler for detail and for performance." 50/ However, unlike many engineers, he also demonstrated an immense depth of vision and woe to the individual or institution that stood in his way. Being "an incredibly successful publicist and image-maker," 51/ Rickover was usually able to depict battles with his opponents as a contest pitting the forces of light against the forces of darkness. And if one was to judge Rickover from his press releases, it was always clear that he fought on the side of the angels, sometimes seemingly single-handedly.

However, perhaps Rickover's singularly most important characteristic was his devotion to his organization's mission. The mission was always pre-eminent for Rickover. Furthermore, as a successful leader he was also able to instill a devotion to the organizational mission in his loyal coterie of assistants with a similar frame of mind.

J. Edgar Hoover

Few people who were politically conscious from 1950 through the 1970s feel neutrally about J. Edgar Hoover. For some people, he was a person who inspired fierce admiration, while in others he generated great hate. The reputation and public life of J. Edgar Hoover further lends doubt to the concept of the "neutrally competent" bureaucrat. Few people would question Hoover's competence, but on the other hand few people, who knew him closely, would subscribe to Hoover's neutrality, despite his public pronouncements to the contrary. The man who investigated the extramarital affairs of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson and threatened their exposure for the purpose of making himself indispensable, was a political operator of the first order.

Although Hoover's reputation as a political blackmailer, particularly among people left-of-center, began to tarnish his carefully contrived image in the 1960s, "[d]uring the 1930s and 1940s in particular, Hoover managed to instill an esprit d' corps which was the envy of managers throughout the land." 52/ In the heyday of the Theory X manager, Hoover set the standard. According to Lewis, Hoover ran the FBI like his personal fiefdom. Very seldom has a public institution been so associated with its founder that one cannot say the acronym FBI without thinking of its founder. The FBI was J. Edgar Hoover and in order to maintain his authority over that institution, Hoover ensured that "the indoctrination and socialization of FBI people were so thorough and so uniform

that the Bureau had, to a large extent, become the mirror reflection of J. Edgar Hoover." 53/ During his tenure, his supremacy was so total that "[t]he slightest impropriety, disagreement or overheard criticism of the Director was also cause for instant disciplinary action." 54/

Robert Moses

Robert Moses, alias the "Power Broker", was also "a man who moved mountains." Like Rickover and Hoover, he was a slave to his work --- known for regularly putting in 12 to 16 hour days. Furthermore, like other public entrepreneurs, Rickover and Hoover, Moses maintained a close and constant surveillance over his organization. He used this detailed knowledge in his never ending quest to "build highways, housing, and public works of all sorts, and like a twenty-year old, he demanded action now and chased after his goals with seemingly unrelenting energy." 55/

Lewis classed Moses as a "brilliant manager," 56/ managing to attract a creative and energetic staff. Like many people driven to succeed, he "did not suffer fools gladly," largely because they delayed him in pursuing his grand designs.

In summary, public entrepreneurs are driven, single-minded movers and shakers who pursue a fiercely independent course. Such devotion to their work, leaves them little

time or energy for anything else. Indeed, Lewis believed that "[n]ot one of the public entrepreneurs could be called 'well-adjusted or 'well-rounded'." 57/

This characteristic is not uncommon. We are very aware in the 20th Century of organizational employees who forego all else for the purpose of enhancing their careers. What was unexpected was Lewis's classification of the public entrepreneur as a hero. Indeed, he was the only writer that I have reviewed, who classified any of his personality types as such. He wrote:

The idea of an 'heroic bureaucrat' seems an obvious contradiction in terms when one remembers that the heroism does not result from some remarkable personal act; it results from what has come to be seen as the routine performance of duty. But 'heroic' is precisely the term to describe Hoover's persona inside the FBI and out for at least thirty years. And one must not overlook the fact that the term 'bureaucratic' fits Hoover and the FBI as well as it fits anything. 58/

As you will see in Chapter 4, my concept of heroism differs significantly from Lewis's understanding of the term. For me, it is not an "obvious contradiction" that heroism can be manifest in the life of a career bureaucrat. Indeed, in my understanding of heroism, it is less likely to be manifested by a "remarkable personal act" and is more likely to be revealed by a particular stance towards life.

An Analysis of Organizational Role Typologies

Is Organizational Life Inherently Alienating?

There is an overriding theme that runs through all of the previously mentioned authors' works. None of them paint a picture of organizational life that is very appealing. With the exception of Maccoby's creative gamesman, the other organizational personality types that are depicted reveal debilitating, alienated traits. Their alienation is revealed by their extreme self-interestedness and their lack of concern for community. Indeed, most of them appear to be so consumed by self-interest that any "other-directed" behavior on their part seems to occur only by accident.

Similarly, organizations that are managed by these alienated personalities are depicted as being, at best, effective in an instrumental sense. Goals get accomplished, workers are paid, the organization continues on, but only at a great psychic and spiritual cost to its members. Work in large organizations is closely associated with most of the standard forms of alienation that beset modern people: status anxiety, cutthroat competition and boredom.

Nevertheless, I would be remiss in my analysis, if I didn't mention that this dismal view of organizational life is not universally accepted. It stands in sharp contrast to the views espoused by mainstream organizational theorists

such as Chester Barnard, Douglas McGregor, Robert Blake and Jane Mouton. These authors held a distinctly more positive conception of organizational life --- an almost pollyanna-like conception of organizational life. They uniformly advocated a normative model that emphasized cooperation rather than conflict.

For example, Barnard believed that organizations were cooperative systems whose members shared a common set of goals. In commenting on Barnard's philosophy that organizations were cooperative systems, Charles Perrow noted that "[s]uch a goal could not fail to be moral because morality emerges from cooperative endeavours." 59/

Similarly, although McGregor acknowledged the existence of what he called a Theory X manager, who was conventionally authoritarian, he also emphasized a similarly positive theme. According to McGregor, within the organizational environment, the Theory Y manager develops a process "primarily of creating opportunities, releasing potential, removing obstacles, encouraging growth, providing guidance." 60/

Finally, Robert Blake and Jane Mouton developed what they referred to as a "managerial grid," which depicted on two linear scales a manager's concern for both production and people. It was Blake and Mouton's contention that the ideal manager is the one who scores highly on both scales. They are the so-called team managers, who emphasize both

cooperation and "getting the job done."

Resisting the Organization From Within

It was Whyte's basic premise that large organizations are inherently alienating and it is the duty of the free people to resist them. This pattern of thought stands in direct contradiction to that of the early organizational theorists, specifically Henri Fayol and Frederick Taylor. They believed that the principles of chain of command, the primacy of efficiency and the "one best way" of task completion were not only good, but necessary principles that were necessary to the effective functioning of the modern organization. As a response to this unreflective, implicitly pro-management set of principles, its dialectical opposite has taken shape. Several theorists, like Whyte, decry authority of any kind. They would turn the principles of Fayol and Taylor on their heads. Authority is to be damned, not praised. Modern organization employees should resist management's subtle attempts to woo them and cool their rebellious spirits.

Whyte is similarly pessimistic about the possibility that a sense of genuine community might result from an organization's group life. Indeed, when he referred to group life, he frequently called it "the collective." He predicted that group life is transforming our society into

a "generation of bureaucrats." 61/ Whyte couldn't understand how group life can have a positive community-like quality. In Whyte's mind, if a community were to exist it would undoubtedly be populated by a swarm of Babbitts rather than a cohesive coming together of independent free-thinking individuals.

A community can and should contribute to an individual's self-development, rather than serve as a means of stifling a person's individuality. Just as the community can help people satisfy their needs for growth and affiliation, the individual has an obligation to make a contribution to community life. I am not suggesting a Lockean tit-for-tat, because in this scenario, the individual is not bound by a contract. When a person works for the benefit of a community, they also benefit. Their work provides them meaning.

One way people can contribute to their community's life is through their work in an organization. The organization should not serve as a means for channeling an individual's personal aggressions, but instead should be seen as an opportunity for furthering the common good.

Other Techniques for Coping with Organizational Malaise

Presthus and MacCoby basically seconded Whyte's concerns. Presthus was particularly disturbed about the

effect that organizational society had upon people. He found the organization stifling --- demanding an unreasonable level of conformity among its members. Like Whyte, he believed that the organization was inherently alienating.

Maccoby was especially bothered by the excessive careerism existent in modern bureaucracies. This emphasis on careerism not only led the organization away from its fundamental mission, but it also had a deleterious impact on the organization's members. Maccoby believed that careerists are anxious fellows, who feel themselves frequently buffeted by the happenstances of fate, the whims of their supervisors and environmental conditions internal and external to the organization over which they may have little or no control. Careerists live lives of fear, frequently dreading that they have either worn the wrong colored tie or inadvertently made an inappropriate comment to the boss's wife. Their life is not their own. They choose to react to circumstances, rather than create possibilities.

On the other hand, Downs and Lewis appeared to be fairly oblivious to both the issues of careerism and alienation in organizations. Both scholars approached the study of organizations with a cool dispassion, reducing them to a mere object of study. They preferred to provide descriptive analyses rather than normative solutions. In particular, Downs believed that self-interestedness was endemic to

organizational life rather than normative solutions. In particular, Downs believed and didn't seem to be bothered that such a stance would undoubtedly result in alienation.

The Search for a Solution

Are organizations a necessary evil, but an inevitable component of 20th Century life? Must they force conformity and contribute to alienation or can they contribute to an organizational member's self-development and serve as the basis for community? With the exception of Maccoby, each of the authors, at least implicitly, subscribe to the former contention.

Although each of the authors provide a useful description of organizational life, none of them provides the reader with a particularly satisfying solution to the organizational malaise that they detailed. Only Maccoby attempts to provide a solution. His creative gamesman is the only transcendent role type that emerges. What do I mean by transcendent? The Oxford English Dictionary defines transcend as "To pass or extend beyond (a non-physical limit); to go beyond the limits (of something immaterial); to exceed" 62/ In my description of heroism, which is discussed further in Chapter 4 and serves as a model for transcendence, heroic individuals journey beyond the limits of their egos. They view themselves as members of a

community, quite different from alienated individuals who stand apart from their colleagues and their true selves, separate and alone.

Organizational Resistance Is Not Fulfilling

The solution that Whyte arrives at is resistance from within the organization. Such an approach runs counter to the needs of the organization and the individual. One can acknowledge that many organizational workers have become like the deafened, insensate organization man --- a person whose behavior is as predictable as it is conformist. However, on the other hand, one can believe that organizational life need not be alienating. Rather than preaching resistance, as Whyte does so eloquently, I would argue that individuals should instead seek to transform themselves and their work environment.

Continual resistance to the powers-that-be does not lead to self-development, but instead blocks it. Resistance to authority is a reactive, rather than a proactive approach to life. Resistors, whether they realize it or not, remain caught within the power of the individual or group they are resisting against. The person who desires transformation seeks a new gestalt --- remaining out of the aura of the powerful person or group.

Checks and Balances Alone Will Not Make for Good Governance

Downs' organizational model was also dismal --- one that offers little chance for transforming an organization. He gave form to an organizational role type that had transcendental potential, but instead of developing this role type, he chose to abandon it and suggest its inherent absurdity. In Downs' world of self-interest, other-directed behavior is either compensation for some psychological defect or patently ridiculous. In his disdain for the concept of the statesman, Downs demonstrated that he would prefer to stick to the method of scientific description, rather than offer normative cures.

Nevertheless, Downs did consider it problematic, at best, that organizational bureaucrats could be primarily self-interested. Downs seemed to be troubled by the following questions: If everyone within an organization is primarily self-interested, how can the public be served? Why don't organizations become dysfunctional because of the overwhelmingly self-interested behavior of most of its members? If Downs failed to provide his readers with a normative solution to these problems, at least he offered a sort of mechanistic solution. Without acknowledging it, Downs sounded very much like Publius in Federalist Number 51, who wrote that the Founding Fathers should create

a system of governance in which "Ambition must be made to counteract ambition." 63/ Downs wrote:

If society has created the proper institutional arrangements, their private motives will lead them to act in what they believe to be the public interest, even though their motives like everyone else's are partly rooted in their own self-interest. 64/

Although Downs may have unknowingly incorporated some of the Founding Fathers' views into his own philosophy, he neglected other views of the Founders that were equally important to them. As David K. Hart noted:

Most of them [the Founding Fathers] took a magnanimous view of the purpose and meaning of human life, in that the intrinsic worth of each individual was actualized through the intentional embodiment of virtue in every endeavor. The result was to be individuals of exemplary moral character who would staff all institutions: political, economic, social and religious. Those institutions were to be the media or the actualization of individual virtue. The moral psychology attendant upon this interpretation of the Founding values is expressed in the two following propositions: first, all individuals have an innate need to love self; and second, all individuals have an innate need to love others. 65/

Nevertheless, Downs only acknowledges the individual's need to love himself. In Downs' world, we are to be governed by selfish bureaucrats, oblivious to virtue. Our only protection against their potential excesses in the federal

system of government, are Downs' so-called "proper institutional arrangements" or the checks and balances as prescribed in the Constitution. Our system of checks and balances extends not only to relationships between the judicial, executive and legislative branches of government, but also within the executive branch itself. These checks and balances tend to moderate the self-interest of individual organizational actors, but these mechanisms alone do not lead to a government dedicated to the furthering of the common good. The common good is often approximated when officials from one branch of government clash with officials from another branch of government within a constitutional framework. (The Watergate scandal was an excellent example. In that case, the legislative and judicial branches checked the power of the Chief Executive.)

Checks and balances are also operative within the executive branch. For example, the Office of Personnel Management tries to maintain a check on other federal agencies, ensuring that they sustain a fair, open and competitive system of hiring and promotion. Another example is the General Services Administration, which tries to maintain and enforce standards in the purchase of property by federal agencies. Similarly, the Inspector General within each federal agency was installed to ensure that employees do not engage in "fraud, waste and abuse." These and other

checks are usually effective as long as the watchdog is on guard. However, as any seasoned federal worker knows, there is usually at least one way around any rule that serves as a check. As long as organizational employees, or in this case federal employees, are primarily motivated by their own self-interest, they will, on occasion, seek a way around the rules, often to the detriment of the common good. The checks that are in place play a limited role in furthering the common good.

Such an approach toward enhancing the common good springs from a negative view of human nature. It presupposes that people will primarily be self-interested. The best that can be hoped for is that their self-interest can be effectively channelled. I subscribe to a more positive view of human nature. An overconcern for the self is not a person's natural state, but it is a central element of our overly individualistic society. The common good is furthered when organizational employees become less self-interested and put more effort in working for the betterment of their community.

Although this view is not universally held within the field of public administration, I believe that the common good is most likely attained when organizational employees transform their intentions, but not primarily through the working of "proper institutional arrangements." People

change their intentions because they regard their work less like a nine-to-five job or a career and more like a calling. When people regard their work as a calling it is reflected in both large and small ways. It can be manifested when an employee in an inspector general's office uncovers a major procurement fraud. It can also be reflected when a secretary answers the telephone in a courteous manner. People who feel called to public service regard their work with a special commitment, not merely as a party to a contract.

Withdrawl from the Organization Will Not Solve
the Problem of Alienation

Presthus's solution was less explicit than the solutions proposed by Whyte or Downs, but it is carefully woven throughout his text. Presthus's message was borrowed from the 1960s --- if you can't beat the System and you don't want to join it, then drop out. Indifferents typically do not join a commune in search of an alternative life style, rejecting most of society's folkways, but they do practice a kind of sullen withdrawl at work. If there is any transcendent personality in Presthus's typology, it is the indifferent, who resists the pressures to conform by merely "serving time" on the job.

If Presthus's analysis is correct, this is clearly a tragic situation. Is it unlikely, if not impossible, for

people to find work in a bureaucratic setting fulfilling? Must we merely store up our emotional energies for our non-work hours? Must we live only half a life and simply endure the other half? As I suggest later in this dissertation, work can be fulfilling within an organizational setting. However, work is unlikely to be fulfilling when people regard themselves as mere instruments. They can choose to be happy, conforming instruments steady in the hands of their supervisors or they can be sullen, "work-to-rule" instruments --- blunt, occasionally unreliable. Presthus would have us believe that these are organizational employees' only options. However, I would suggest that people can rise above this tiresome choice between conformity and brooding compliance. Organizational employees needn't be as passive within an organization as Presthus believes they must be. Organizational employees can choose to empower themselves and press for organizational renewal. People can change organizations, rather than be merely changed by them. The choice is theirs.

The Transcendent Individual Must Lead a Complete Life

What distinguished Maccoby from Whyte, Downs and Presthus was that he explicitly posited a transcendent organizational role type --- the creative gamesman.

Nevertheless, Maccoby was no starry-eyed idealist. Indeed, some might characterize his view of organizational life as exceedingly jaundiced. But, who better than the cynic to propose a prescription for organizational renewal.

If creative gamesmen have a serious flaw, it is the lack of balance in their lives. They have a tendency to become so absorbed in their subtle machinations at work that they become startlingly unininvolved in their non-work lives. The creative gamesman, like Presthus's indifferent, attempts to find meaning by living only half a life. However, unlike the indifferent, the creative gamesman tries to find meaning at work, rather than in non-work pursuits.

Maccoby's model for the creative gamesman is the presumably fictitious Jack Wakefield. Wakefield is a young fast-rising star in his organization, seemingly destined for a senior management position. Wakefield is portrayed as a leader who is both sensitive to his employees' needs, able to inspire others, and willing to take risks. Unfortunately, Jack, like many creative gamesman, has great difficulty getting his personal life in order. The superstar at work becomes a recluse at home, spurning his wife's emotional support and growing more distance from her.

The Organizational Hero Works For the CommonGood

Lewis was the only theorist who explicitly referred to a described role in heroic terms. Although it is one of the major theses of this dissertation that bureaucrats can be heroes, I question whether Lewis's public entrepreneur falls within this category. It is true that public entrepreneurs, unlike the vast majority of organizational workers, regard their work as a calling or mission, rather than as a job or a career. In that way, their journey is similar to that of the hero which I describe in Chapter 4. However, the journey of the public entrepreneur diverges from the hero in at least one significant aspect. Heroes upon the completion of their journeys recognize their bond with other people and thus become more fully integrated within a community. This community-mindedness is partly manifested by a devotion to the common good. For Lewis, it is problematical, whether that is the goal of the public entrepreneur. He wrote:

In part, the acts of public entrepreneurs can be seen as counter-bureaucratic. But the question remains as to whether the extremely powerful organizational creations of public entrepreneurs serve the public interest however it is defined. 66/

Are these organizations, most importantly, a reflection of the people, who created them? Do hard-driving public

entrepreneurs unconsciously try to work out their psychological conflicts by commanding great power in an organization?

Summary of the Organizational Role Typologies

The authors that I have reviewed in this chapter reveal a universally dismal view of organizational life. At best, organizations are portrayed as a necessary evil that must be endured in an increasingly complex world. In their minds, the organization appears to be an absurd Kafkaesque invention --- alienating, dysfunctional and no way out. Given this grim scenario, the only alternative is seemingly the idyllic early Marxian return to nature.

In Chapters 4 and 5 I provide an alternative solution. Unlike the previously mentioned authors, I provide a transcendent alternative --- the hero. My conception of heroism is more bold than Lewis's conception. Organizational heroes are not pure, but neither are they beings who are psychologically wounded and spiritually barren. They take a more holistic approach to life, denying neither their life at work, nor their life away from work. Both aspects of their life provide them meaning and fulfillment.

CHAPTER III

A JUNGIAN-BASED PERSONALITY TYPOLOGY

All of the role typologies that I have reviewed reveal interesting information about organizational life. The authors generally agreed that organizational employees can be understood as being almost wholly self-interested. Whether it is Whyte's organization man, Presthus's indifferent, Downs's zealot, Maccoby's jungle fighter or Lewis's public entrepreneur each of them carefully calculates costs and benefits before undertaking action or inaction.

Furthermore, although each of the authors whom I discussed in Chapter 2 concluded that organizational life is dismal, each of them offered a different solution. Whyte preached a quiet kind of rebellion --- advocating a kind of anti-organization man. Downs believed that in an institutional environment of checks and balances each person's self-interestedness would be counteracted. Presthus advocated a kind of mental withdrawl from the world of work. Maccoby posited a transcendent role type that was effective at work but unable to establish a fulfilling non-work life. Finally, Lewis described his

transcendent public entrepreneur as a hero, but was unsure whether this role type establishes organizations that fulfill the public interest. In my view, none of the authors provided particularly satisfying solutions to the organizational malaise that they described.

The authors, with the exception of Whyte, generally limit their scope of analysis to individuals in their workplace. That is why I call this genre of organizational literature --- the organizational role typology. Their focus is primarily on the individual's role in the workplace as either a manager, scientist, clerk or organizational administrator. These roles are separate and distinct from what those employees might assume in their non-work lives, such as a Little League manager, parent, part-time artist or friend. My typology takes a different approach --- a more holistic look at the personality of the organizational employee, not simply a probing of the employee's role in the organization. In doing so, I explore the concepts of alienation and transcendence as issues that do not begin or end at the office door, but affect all aspects of a person's life. Thus, my approach does not impose such a rigid separation between work and non-work. In my frame of reference work is not separate from life, rather it is a potentially exciting and fulfilling aspect of life.

To look at the individual more holistically, I use

Carl Jung's theories of the human psyche. Jung's theories are a useful mechanism for shedding some light on the psychology of organizational employees in their interactions both within and outside the workplace.

The first section of this chapter is a discussion of portions of Carl Jung's theories which provide an explanation for why alienation is so rampant in organizations and why transcendence is so uncommon. Specifically, this discussion focuses on Jung's theory of the importance of the unconscious and archetypal images; his belief regarding people's inherent spirituality and the need for meaning in their lives; and his theory of individuation.

The second section focuses on Jung's theory of psychological type which serves as a basis for developing my organizational personality typology which I also discuss in this chapter. My organizational typology includes five personality types. Four of the organizational personality types which I discuss in this chapter, are alienated from themselves and others. I label them the self-seeking careerist, the regulator, the manipulator and the philistine. These alienated personality types stand in contrast to my transcendent personality type --- the hero --- which I discuss in Chapter 4.

Jung's Theories on the Unconscious and Archetypal Images,
People's Inherent Spirituality, Individuation and
Psychological Types

The Unconscious and Archetypal Images

The unconscious is a vast, unexplored wilderness. Edward Whitmont described it in The Symbolic Quest as "a dimension of so far unfathomed and terrifying energy potential, equally capable of destroying as well as of aiding us." 1/ It is an elemental force that Carl Jung wrote "is not a demonic monster, but a thing of nature that is perfectly neutral as far as moral sense, aesthetic taste and intellectual development go." 2/ The unconscious remains outside of our conscious control, but it plays a vital factor in our lives, whether we are conscious of its existence or not.

However, despite the power that it wields over our lives, we never really know our unconscious. Truly understanding it will always be just beyond our grasp. It is unknowable --- a force that we should stand before in awe and can only understand metaphorically.

The conscious and the unconscious constitute what Jung called the self. According to Whitmont, Jung believed that the self was a "superordinated personality which encompasses and directs conscious as well as unconscious functioning."

3/. Unlike other cultures, particularly those that we often identify as primitive cultures, the West is fairly oblivious to the power of the unconscious --- emphasizing instead, a person's conscious mind. For most people in the West, the concept of the unconscious is of little consequence. Either they remain ignorant of it or, if they are cognizant of it, they choose to ignore it. Some people may be oblivious to their unconscious, because as Jung wrote, "[i]t seems a positive menace to the ego that its monarchy can be doubted."

4/

If the people of the West truly stand in marvel of anything, it is in the power of science. Scientists have unlocked so many of the world's mysteries and seem braced to solve so many more. Given our devotion to science, ours is a rational, thinking-oriented culture --- as a people we put our trust in cause and effect. Edward Whitmont stated this point quite well, when he wrote:

recent Western development has overstressed abstract, rational thought. It has concerned itself predominantly with the practical utilization of external things and external needs and has in our day culminated in fact- and logic-oriented positivism. It has largely disregarded --- or at least relegated to a position of lesser importance --- the emotional and intuitive sides of man. 5/

This overemphasis on the rational side of our being has meant that as a people we have devoted little emphasis upon

developing what Jung referred to as the feeling side of our nature. Particularly in the world of the organization, the thinking side is much more highly valued than the feeling side. In this light Maccoby emphasized in The Gamesman that the head takes emphasis over the heart in the modern organization.

There are other implications to our culture's emphasis on thinking. By emphasizing thinking, we devote much of our energies into developing better mechanisms of control. To understand cause and effect relationships --- to truly know a process allows one in many instances to control it. Indeed, you could say that we in this society live by the dictates of a control ethos. This ethos is manifested in several ways. In our natural environment we try to control nature through the use of insecticides, the construction of hydroelectric dams and the harnessing of the atom. In the modern organization we try to control people through management innovations like management by objectives, performance evaluations, productivity improvement and some efforts at organizational development.

An overemphasis on control often has deleterious side-effects. For example, chemical companies produce insecticides that not only are effective in killing insects, but also kill birds causing significant damage to the ecology and increasing the cancer risk among humans. Within the

organization some attempts by organizational development professionals to improve organizational communication only serve to bury and increase the resentments felt within an organization. We have become so inured to this control ethos that we consider it as matter-of-factly as a fish considers the water it swims in --- at least until it is rudely tossed ashore by a hungry fisherman.

The unconscious is like that hungry fisherman. It can shake us rudely out of our matter-of-fact reality. Furthermore, try as we might we cannot effectively resist the powers of the unconscious, because they fall beyond our conscious control. The unconscious cannot be controlled, but its raw, elemental force can be transformed. This is probably the main reason why Western people so often disregard, play down or criticize the concept of the unconscious. Its reality runs counter to the dominant control ethos.

A person's unconscious is always calling out to them. It serves as a wellspring for an individual's heretofore repressed drives. Individuals can either choose to listen and learn from the calling of their unconscious or they can choose to ignore it and suffer the neurotic consequences. This is so because we can never effectively repress our drives. When we try to repress them we only bury them temporarily within our unconscious.

Thus, the unconscious can play a constructive role in a person's life or it can wreak havoc on it. The unconscious plays a constructive role by attuning us to new possibilities. Jung wrote that "the unconscious has a strong attraction, not only for the sick, but for healthy constructive minds as well --- and this in spite of its alarming aspect. The psychic depths are nature, and nature is creative life." 6/

Conversely, it can play a destructive role in a person's life if its signals are ignored. When people ignore their unconscious, the unconscious searches for a means of expression. When a person's unconscious seeks expression, the individual is never able to maintain conscious control over it. One could say that they are caught in its grip. They are not themselves. The unconscious, according to Jung, "is the Achilles heel of even the most heroic consciousness: somewhere the strong man is weak, the clever man foolish, the good man bad, and the reverse is also true. 7/

Given that the unconscious is unknowable and yet plays an important role in a person's life, are people doomed to being in the grip of unconscious forces? Life would certainly be grim if we found ourselves boxed into such a tight corner. Jung offered a solution to this potential problem --- the dreaming process.

Containing seemingly innocuous, distorted themes, dreams offer people a window upon their unconscious. Many people dismiss dreams as a mere collage of unrelated images, but Jung thought differently. He wrote:

No amount of scepticism and cultural reserve has ever enabled me to regard dreams as negligible occurrences. Often enough they appear senseless, but it is obviously we who lack the sense and the ingenuity to read the enigmatical message from the nocturnal realm of the psyche. 8/

It is primarily through the process of dreaming that the unconscious conveys signals to the conscious mind. Jung believed that "[t]he dream gives a true picture of the subjective state, while the conscious mind recognizes it only grudgingly." 9/

Within a dream, mixed among a person's individual experiences are contained archetypal images that are common to all people and have been present in the psyche throughout history. The archetypal images portrayed in the dream are eternal. Jung wrote that "archetypes are not disseminated only by tradition, language and migration, but that they can rearise spontaneously, at any time, at any place, and without any outside influence." 10/ Archetypes are like instincts --- our birthright from the beginning of time. They help define the human experience. They serve as symbolic representations of unconscious forces at work in

our lives.

In the fourth chapter, I discuss one particular archetype --- the heroic archetype. For many people in our overly rationalistic age, the heroic archetype, as represented in heroic myths, seems to have little relevance in their lives. We are often led to believe that heroic myths and myths representing other archetypal material have no place in an organizational society. They are thought to be merely quaint artifacts of a pre-scientific past. However, by ignoring their archetypes, modern individuals pay a heavy price. Jung wrote:

Whether he understands them or not man must remain conscious of the world of the archetypes, because in it he is still a part of Nature and is connected with his own roots. A view of the world or a social order that cuts him off from the primordial images of life not only is no culture at all but, in increasing degree, is a prison or a stable. 11/

People's Inherent Spirituality and Their Search for Meaning

It was Jung's belief that the modern individuals' embrace of what they believe to be rationality has increasingly cutting them off from their spiritual being. Jung saw a sharp division growing between logic and faith, with faith being the loser.

From Jung's viewpoint, most people have become

spiritually stagnant. They are largely unaware of unseen forces beyond their control. In his view, even most of those who count themselves as members of a particular religious denomination have become spiritually bereft. They manage to retain the symbols that at one time nurtured an authentic religious experience, but these symbols, in Jung's view, have become increasingly outmoded --- no longer representing the primordial religious experience. In most cases, their creed has lost its vitality. Jung wrote that the religious denominations are forced to make "compromises with mundane reality." 12/ In addition, rather than assisting their flock on their spiritual quest, the churches seemed more obliged to undertake a "progressive codification of their views, doctrines and customs." 13/

Furthermore, the religious experience, as interpreted by most of the traditional religious organizations, seldom lacked for pomp, but was largely meaningless. This would not have been so problematical for Jung had he not believed in the centrality that meaning held in people's lives.

In describing Jung's philosophy, Whitmont wrote:

The one thing we can under no circumstances tolerate is a lack of meaning. Everything, even death and destruction, can be faced so long as it has meaning. Even in the midst of plenty and fullness the lack of an inner sense of meaning is unbearable. 14/

How do people compensate for the lack of meaning in their lives? Jung indicated one way that is particularly evident within organizations. He called it "work-addiction, the manager disease," which he described as "the compulsive need of always having to do something in order to appear busy." 15/ I would argue that all of the role types discussed in Chapter 2 suffer from a lack of meaning. For example, Downs's jungle fighters try to find meaning through an obsessive need to amass power and lord over their peers. Presthus's indifferents withdraw from their work in the hope that they will find meaning during their non-work hours. Whyte's organization men search for meaning by being docile members of the organizational herd. Maccoby's gamesmen futilely grasp for meaning when they overindulge their competitive urges. Finally, Lewis's public entrepreneurs look for meaning by being lord and master over their organizations. Each of these alienated organizational role types have an inherent, but often unacknowledged need for meaning in their lives, but end up settling for a less satisfying, hollow substitute --- what Jung called a psychoneurosis. Describing this condition, he wrote:

A psychoneurosis must be understood ultimately, as the suffering of a soul which has not discovered its meaning. But all creativeness in the realm of the spirit as well as every

psychic advance of man arises from the suffering of the soul and the cause of suffering is spiritual stagnation, or psychic sterility. 16/

The sense of meaning that is derived from the psychoneurosis is extremely fragile. It does not provide fulfillment, but only heightens a seemingly insatiable desire, whether it is for power, order, conformity or lasciviousness. If for some reason they are unable to fulfill this desire, their sense of meaning is radically threatened. What would jungle fighters do if they found themselves locked in a dead-end job? What solace would indifferents find if they lost interest in their non-work pursuits? How would organization men react if they felt themselves excluded from the club? What is the gamesmen's recourse when they lose their competitions? How would the public entrepreneur handle a dethronement from power? Given any of these situations the affected individuals would undoubtedly be in the grip of unconscious forces far beyond their feeble control.

Modern people would be less buffeted by the perils of organizational life if they lived life in more of a mythological context. Unfortunately, modern people have largely forgotten what it is like to learn about life through the medium of myths. Whitmont wrote:

But the fact is, we no longer understand mythological significance and have repressed the myths which characterize our time and our present-day religious tradition. This situation is no less catastrophic than that which existed in pre-Freudian days when instincts were repressed and their significance denied... The loss of the mythological context results in the feeling of meaningless existence which lurks everywhere today as the result of our positivistic outlook and education. 17/

Conditions were much different for pre-modern people. They lived in a world of metaphysical certitude. Borrowing a term from the anthropologist Levy-Bruhl, Jung believed that pre-modern people lived their life in a state of "participation mystique," --- a primordial state of being. It was Jung's belief that modern people needed to reactivate this primal religious experience.

The unconscious can assist modern people in restoring their metaphysical bearings. According to Jung, the unconscious is "the only accessible source of religious experience." 18/ Although the unconscious cannot restore people to a naive, pre-conscious state in which they are able to block out the recent advances of civilization and restore their primitive animism, it can put them in touch with the archetypal images discussed in the last section. The unconscious calls people to undertake a religious experience that takes on the characteristics of a journey. Jung wrote:

This path to the primordial religious experience is the right one, but how many people can recognize it? It is like a still small voice, and it sounds from afar. It is ambiguous, questionable, dark, presaging danger and hazardous adventure; a razor-edged path, to be trodden for God's sake only, without assurance and without sanction. 19/

Just as the unconscious issues a call for the person to express their repressed drives, similarly, the unconscious also issues a call to individuals to express their spirituality. The call from the unconscious to express one's repressed drives is a call that can result in psychological health. The call from the unconscious to express a person's spirituality is a call for re-enactment of the primordial religious experience. The need for psychological health and the need for an authentic religious experience are two concepts that are inextricably linked in Jung's writings. As we will see in Chapter 4, these two concepts are represented in the heroic myth --- a myth that represents personal self-development and spiritual growth.

The Theory of Individuation

The call from the unconscious urging the person to attain spiritual peace and psychological health was what Jung called the individuation urge. Jung described the pull towards individuation as "a compelling urge to adapt to what one is meant to be --- to one's inner truth ---

which, may have little or nothing to do with one's conscious ideas or purposes." 20/ Edward Edinger described individuation in Ego and Archetype as "the innate urge of life to realize itself consciously." 21/ Mario Jacoby in Longing for Paradise saw the process of individuation as directed towards a goal. In describing individuation he wrote:

Man must be in the world for some purpose; there must be some ideas or images that have sufficient quality of summons and or challenge, that transmit to man some glimmer of life's meaning and or purpose. That is humanity's specific situation in the cosmos. A human being must pursue a goal-oriented course which seems meaningful somehow. 22/

As I wrote earlier, Jung believed that a person's being and behavior was not merely a result of assorted environmental stimuli. Most importantly, people were influenced by a pre-conscious condition, typifying certain in-born traits. As Edward Edinger put it:

The notion that one's identity has an a priori existence is expressed in the ancient idea that each person has his own individual star, a kind of celestial counterpart, representing his cosmic dimension and destiny...

The process of achieving individuality is the process of individuation which leads to the realization that one's name is written in heaven. 23/

People find themselves on the right journey that leads towards spiritual peace and psychological health when they recognize this individuation urge and experience it.

However, the process of individuation is not an easy journey. The person who takes up the journey must be willing to endure suffering. As Jung wrote, modern people face essentially two choices in life. They can choose to seek individuation and endure suffering or they can choose neurosis and be forever anxious. As I indicate in Chapter 4, the hero chooses individuation --- the journey of suffering. The neurotic individual chooses the journey of anxiety. The journey of anxiety, unlike the journey of individuation, is characterized by myriad dead ends, because the neurotic person remains static and oblivious to self-development. I describe some of the personality types that take up this life course later in this chapter. Their behavior could be characterized as follows:

Unconscious individuality expresses itself in compulsive drives to pleasure and power and ego defenses of all kinds...

We demand from others only what we fail to give ourselves. If we have insufficient self-love or self-prestige, our need expresses itself unconsciously by coercive tactics towards others. And often the coercion occurs under the guise of virtue, love, or altruism. 24/

Following the journey of individuation usually puts one

at odds with one's peers. The person seeking individuation does not necessarily openly rebel against "the ways things are," like William Whyte advocated in The Organization Man. However, people in search of individuation often find themselves in opposition to community norms. Edinger noted:

Any step in individuation is experienced as a crime against the collective, because it challenges the individual's identification with some representative of the collective, whether it be family, party, church, or nation. 25/

Nevertheless, even in their opposition to community norms, people seeking individuation do not stand apart from the community of which they are a member, but rather they transcend that community.

Jung believed that it was particularly important and difficult in these times for people to choose the journey of individuation. Indeed, he was very disturbed by the emergence of what he called mass man and his role in society as "an interchangeable unit of infinitesimal importance." 26/ He believed that most people were more likely to accept the call from the herd rather than heed the call from the unconscious. People who heed the call from the unconscious can play a transcendent role in their organization and/or community. In expanding on this theme, Jung wrote:

Individuation is always to some extent

opposed to collective norms, since it means separation and differentiation from the general and a building up of the particular --- not a particularity that is sought out, but one that is already ingrained in the psychic constitution. The opposition to the collective norm, however, is only apparent, since closer examination shows that the individual standpoint is not antagonistic to it, but only differently oriented. 27/

Before I discuss individuation any further, I want to contrast individuation from individualism. Individualism is one of those collective norms in this society that stands in the way of people trying to seek individuation. Individuation stands in sharp contrast to individualism, a position that William Whyte advocated in The Organization Man. Individualism, the rock upon which American society was founded, promotes individual over community interests. It is a world view that contributes to the atomization of people. As I noted earlier, its viewpoint is exemplified by Anthony Downs' Inside Bureaucracy, who emphasized an individual's utility maximizing behavior. Through the lens of individualism, each of us is a separate unit with little holding us together but binding contracts. We stand isolated, alone --- insensitive to the pull of community.

Individuation, on the other hand, although its focus is on individual self-development, also stands for relatedness. People seeking individuation have failed, if they have not also integrated themselves into a

community. Jung wrote:

It is obvious that a social group consisting of stunted individuals cannot be a healthy and viable institution; only a society that can preserve its internal cohesion and collective values, while at the same time granting the individual the greatest possible freedom, has any prospect of enduring vitality. As the individual is not just a single, separate being, but by his very existence presupposes a collective relationship, it follows that the process of individuation must lead to more intense and broader collective relationships and not to isolation.

28/

Indeed, it is through the individuation process that both the individual and society changes. However, Jung did not believe that real change could be effectuated by manning the barricades or conducting sit-down strikes. He would rather have us change society by transforming ourselves. The journey of individuation is the way to conduct such a transformation.

Jung believed that the individuation process could be aided if people became more aware of their natural, innate tendencies which, in some cases, may be contrary to societal norms. Rather than repressing natural tendencies Jung believed that people should express these tendencies, while at the same time remaining cognizant of the less developed side or unconsciously expressed sides of their psyches. The journey of individuation is well illustrated

by the journey of the hero. Indeed, the journey of the hero is a metaphorical representation of issues of personal development that all of us are confronted with in our lives. The person choosing the heroic journey confronts these issues, whereas the person who spurns that journey chooses an alienating non-life and desperately tries to avoid these issues. In the next section I show how Jung complemented his theory of individuation with a theory he called the theory of psychological type. I use Jung's theory of psychological type to develop my organizational personality typology.

The Theory of Psychological Type

In his theory of psychological type, Jung wrote that each person has certain in-born tendencies. He referred to these tendencies as attitudes and functions. The two attitudes were extraversion/introversion. The four functions were sensation/intuition and thinking/feeling. Isabel Briggs Myers, who popularized Jung's theories in her widely used Myers-Briggs Type Indicator or MBTI, added two additional attitudes: judging/perceiving. To understand the concept of psychological type, it is best to think of the two sets of attitudes and the two sets of functions as four continuum. Thus, the more people are extraverted, the less they are introverted or the more thinking oriented

people are, the less they are feeling oriented. Let me briefly explain what these terms mean.

--- Extraversion and Introversion ---

Extraversion/introversion refers to where people get their energy. Extraverts get their energy by associating with other people, whereas introverts draw their energy by being focused inward. The extravert tends to be active, gregarious and people-oriented. Introverts are more likely to keep to themselves, preferring a quiet, more withdrawn existence. As Jung and Myers realized, Western culture, is an extraverted-oriented culture. Furthermore, it is extraverts that are usually judged as being more valued by their peers than introverts. (This is not surprising, since according to Jung and Myers' theory, an extraverts' best ability is expressed outward, whereas an introverts' best ability is expressed inward.)

According to the conventional wisdom of the past, the extravert was judged "normal" and the introvert was judged "abnormal." Indeed, until the introverted Jung and Myers tried to dispel this misconception, it was an accepted dictum in many psychological circles that introverts displayed pathological behavior.

Not surprisingly, extraverts are generally more favored by society for several reasons. Isabel Briggs Myers in

Gifts Differing noted:

The advantages of starting with the outer situation are obvious and much esteemed in the present Western civilization, which is dominated by the extraverted viewpoint. There are plenty of reasons for this domination: extraverts are more vocal than introverts; they are more numerous, apparently in the ratio of three to one; and they [introverts] are not readily understandable even to each other, and are likely to be thoroughly incomprehensible to the extraverts. 29/

--- Sensation and Intuition ---

Sensation and intuition refer to how people acquire information. Sensate people are adept at acquiring information through their five senses, while intuitive people are more in touch with their unconscious. Sensate people are a bit distrustful of anything they can't see, hear, touch, taste or smell. Gordon Lawrence noted in People Types and Tiger Stripes:

With good type development, the expertise in sensing can lead to a differentiated awareness of present experience, acute powers of observation, a memory for facts and detail, and a capacity for realism, for seeing the world as it is. 30/

While intuitive people may while away their time dreaming of possibilities, sensing people are focused on the here and now.

Unlike sensate people, intuitives can be remarkably

oblivious to their environment. Their minds are often focused elsewhere. Intuitive people are particularly in touch with their unconscious. Thus, although they often lack good contact with their five senses, they are particularly in tune with their sixth sense. Always searching for the "big picture" the intuitive is very likely to trip over the details.

Frequent conflicts occur between intuitives and sensors. Indeed, David Keirsey and Marilyn Bates noted in Please Understand Me:

Although extraversion and introversion are important differences in understanding ourselves and others, especially others we live with, these preferences are minor compared with sensation and intuitive ways of thinking about things. The two preferences of sensation and intuition are, of any of the preferences, the source of the most miscommunication, misunderstanding, vilification, defamation, and denigration. This difference places the widest gulf between people. 31/

Some of these animosities are reflected in some of our culture's most common cliches. For example, the cliche "she has her head in the clouds" was undoubtedly developed by a sensor to describe an intuitive. Conversely, the expression "he can't see the forest for the trees" was probably developed by an intuitive to describe a sensor.

Among the general population, sensing types predominate.

According to Keirsey and Bates, sensing types constitute approximately 75 percent of the population, whereas intuitive types make up only 25 percent of the population. 32/

--- Thinking and Feeling ---

The thinking/feeling function refers to how people make decisions. While the thinking person relies primarily on logic and analysis in decision-making, the feeling person is more likely to use person-centered values as a basis for decisions. Thinking people try to detach themselves from the situation and make an "objective" decision on the basis of the "cold, hard facts." These terms are frequently misunderstood. Otto Kroeger and Janet M. Thuesen in Type Talk discussed a source of this misunderstanding.

Unfortunately, Jung used terminology --- Thinking and Feeling --- that in our society denote intellect and emotion. As a result there often are misunderstandings about the meanings of these preferences. It is important to remember that Thinking types do not have a corner on the intellectual market and Feeling types don't necessarily wear their hearts on their sleeves. Let us make it perfectly clear: Thinkers feel and Feelers think. What we're talking about is the process one prefers [emphasis added] in making a decision. 33/

When I consider the thinking function I am frequently reminded of Sergeant Joe Friday's continual refrain on the

television show Draqnet. At least once during each episode, he would remind an hysterical or overwrought witness, who was usually female, that he wanted "Just the facts, ma'am." How coolly Joe was able to detach himself from the situation.

The feeling person often finds the thinking person's dogged reliance on analysis and objectivity as symptomatic of their unawareness of the human situation. Feelers place supreme importance on human relationships and it is natural for them to consider this factor before they make a decision. Thus, when faced with a decision, they seem almost compelled to throw themselves into a situation, rather than detach themselves from it.

There is little question which of these two qualities is most favored by our culture. The feeling orientation is conventionally viewed as being too soft. Not surprisingly, the thinking/feeling function is the only function which is gender related.

According to Keirsey and Bates, among the general public the number of thinkers and feelers are roughly equally divided. However about 60 percent of all women are feelers and 40 percent are thinkers, while on the other hand, 40 percent of all men are feelers and 60 percent are thinkers.

--- Judgement and Perception ---

Finally, judgment and perception refer to the lifestyle a person adopts in dealing with the outside world. Those people with a judging attitude tend to live a planned and ordered existence. On the other hand, the perceptive attitude denotes a more flexible and spontaneous approach towards life. People who assume a judging attitude have a great desire to seek closure on an issue and "get it behind them," while people with a perceiving attitude prefer to put off making decisions --- "keeping their options open" as long as possible.

Given the judges' penchant for discipline, they like to impose deadlines upon themselves and others. As Isabel Briggs Myers noted in Gifts Differing:

Judgement is eternally coming to conclusions --- with the finality that the word implies. Judgement really likes to dispose of things, even without the spur of necessity. Frequently judging types settle not only what they are to do themselves, but what others are to do. Given a little provocation, they settle what others are to think. 35/

This need for order makes the judge appear as being a bit compulsive to the perceiver, whereas, on the other hand, the judge views the perceiver as being both dizzy and irresponsible.

On the other hand, the perceiver prefers to remain open

to possibilities. Thus, the perceiver's life is much more flexible and spontaneous than the judge. Making a decision can be a painful decision for the perceiver, because it means closing off potential options. It was undoubtedly a perceiver who developed the phrase "Decide in haste. Repent in leisure." Keirsey and Bates believe that judges and perceivers are approximately evenly divided among the general population. 36/

--- Summary of Psychological Type ---

After having read the various psychological functions and attitudes described, one may have the question, why is the theory of psychological type applicable to my organizational personality typology? And why not rely on the organizational role typology that Maccoby, Downs, Presthus, Whyte and Lewis employ for understanding organizational life? The theory of psychological type looks at people holistically. It examines their personality both at home and at work and also takes into account conscious and unconscious processes. In other words, it goes beyond their mere role at work.

It is important to move beyond role in the understanding of organizational life, if one accepts the assumption that alienation is a pervasive phenomenon among American organizations. People come to their positions with certain

psychological predispositions. Some people derive meaning from their work, while others approach it as mere drudgery, often quite apart from the qualitative nature of their work. Organizational employees are not the blank slates that many role theorists would have us suppose. Many of the problems and solutions of organizational life have their origin in psychology. The theory of psychological type is a tool for gaining greater understanding of these issues.

Psychological Temperaments

As a prelude to my discussion of my organizational personality typology, let me explain how the psychological functions or attitudes are referred to in shorthand. Each of the functions or attitudes are represented by a letter. They are signified as follows:

Extravert = E	Introvert = I
Sensation = S	Intuition = N
Thinking = T	Feeling = F
Judgement = J	Perception = P

There are sixteen possible psychological types. They are:

INTJ	ISTJ	INFJ	ISFP
ENTJ	the	ENFJ	ESFP
INTP	NTs	INFP	the
ENTP	ISFJ	SJs	ISTP
	ESFJ	ENFP	SPs
			ESTP

In my analysis of psychological types, I have grouped them

the same way that Keirsey and Bates did. The sixteen psychological types are grouped into four temperaments: the NTs, the SJs, the NFs and the SPs. There are numerous ways in which the sixteen psychological types can be grouped. For example, in A Guide to the Development and Use of the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator, Isabel Briggs Myers and Mary McCaulley indicated 24 ways in which the various types can be grouped. In an organizational context one of the ways to meaningfully type people is by grouping the third and fourth letters. This results in the following combination of letters and their corresponding labels: the TJ (the logical decision makers), the TPs (the adaptive thinkers), the FPs (the gentle types) and the FJs (the benevolent administrators).

Similarly, a case could be made for combining the second and third letters. That combination results in the following groupings of letters and personality types: the ST (the practical and matter-of-fact types), the SF (the sympathetic and friendly types), the NF (the enthusiastic and insightful types) and the NT (the logical and ingenious types.)

The grouping that I have chosen for my typology is less systematic. In two cases, it groups the second and fourth letters and in the other cases, it groups the second and third letters. Using the ancient Greek Hippocrates's four

temperaments (the sanguine, choleric, phlegmatic and melancholic) as a starting point, Keirsey and Bates built upon his theory with contributions from Jung, Kretschmer, Freud, Adler, Sullivan and Maslow and developed four temperament types: the NT, the SJ, the NF and the SP. I chose this grouping to form the basis of my own organizational personality typology, because, when I thought of organizational employees who I have known, they seemed to fall easily into these categories.

A Junqian Based Organizational Personality Typology

When I developed my organizational personality typology, it was not my intention to defame any of the personality types. Carl Jung and Isabel Briggs Myers correctly noted in their discussion of the theory of psychological type, that no one psychological type should be preferred to another. Consistent with this philosophy, psychological type professionals work from the perspective that "I'm okay and you're okay too." Every psychological type in an organization can make a worthwhile contribution to organizational life. It is not an inconsistent position to acknowledge the worth of each of the personality types, while at the same time acknowledging that each type can have pathological tendencies.

This organizational personality typology is similar to

the organizational role typologies that I have previously reviewed in Chapter 2 in that both typologies proceed from the assumption that organizational life is generally dismal. However, unlike most of the other theorists, I do not accept the assumption that organizational life is inherently dismal.

In several ways my personality types resemble the role types developed by the other authors. The following table indicates which types are roughly parallel.

<u>Organizational Personality Types</u>	<u>Organizational Role Types</u>
The Self-Seeking Careerist (The Alienated NT)	The Climber (Downs) The Zealot (Downs)
The Hero (The Transcendent NT)	The Advocate (Downs) The Public Entrepreneur (Lewis) The Upwardly Mobile (Presthus) The Ambivalent (Presthus) The Jungle Fighter (Maccoby) The Gamesman (Maccoby)
The Regulator (The Alienated SJ)	The Conserver (Downs) The Craftsman (Maccoby)
The Hero (The Transcendent SJ)	
The Manipulator (The Alienated NF)	The Organization Man (Whyte) The Company Man (Maccoby)
The Hero (The Transcendent NF)	The Statesman (Downs)
The Philistine (The Alienated SP)	The Indifferent (Presthus)

The Hero
(The Transcendent SP)

In the following discussion of my organizational personality typology, I discuss each of the four temperaments identified by Keirsey and Bates and follow up each subsection with an analysis of each type's alienated characteristics. I also compare and contrast my personality type with the role types identified on the previous chart. The four alienated personality types that I discuss are intended to be illustrative of alienated organizational personalities. I do not claim that this typology captures all alienated organizational personality types, but they do represent pathological tendencies found in each psychological type.

The Intuitive Thinker or NT and the Self-Seeking Careerist

The Intuitive Thinker or NT

Keirsey and Bates likened the intuitive thinker or the NT to the Greek mythic figure Prometheus, the Titan who against the wishes of Zeus provided people with the gift of fire and thereby provided them with an advantage over the animals. In providing people with the gift of fire, Prometheus was not only a risk taker in defying the lord of

the universe, but according to legend, "Prometheus whose name means forethought, was very wise, wiser even than the gods..." 37/

The modern day NTs' wisdom is manifested by their penchant for acquiring information and thereby attaining competence. NTs judge themselves and others by their own and other peoples' level of competency. They can become very uneasy, if a desired competency eludes them. Thus, it follows that Keirsey and Bates believed that "[t]he NT is the most self-critical of all the styles. He badgers himself about his errors, taxes himself with the resolve to improve, and ruthlessly monitors his own progress." 38/ They are the most driven of any of the four temperaments. This drive often provides them that extra energy to attain great heights, but it also can drain them of their ability to enjoy life and cultivate human relationships.

NTs are also the most forward looking of the four temperaments, which can be both a strength and a weakness. They can have great powers of perception, easily piecing together the big picture, while others are still trying to sort out the pieces. They are the master of the big picture, a conceptualizer with a futuristic orientation. However, since NTs so frequently are peering forward, they not only often miss the details, they also miss living life in the present. Unfortunately for the NT, the future is

never with us, we only have the present.

Given their propensity to push themselves ever farther with their forward looking stance, it follows that many NTs frequently find themselves on the top of the organizational pyramid. Many NTs, especially the extraverted NTs, derive pleasure from finding themselves on the top of the organizational pyramid. They delight in ruling over others. Indeed, the ENTJ is referred to as the field marshall personality by Keirsey and Bates. On the other hand, the introverted NTs are less interested in ruling others, than they are in controlling processes. Despite their differences in style, both the extraverted and introverted NTs are the primary proponents of our society's implicit control ethos. Although, they number only 12% of the American population, 39/ their influence is greatly disproportionate to their numbers. Especially within the organization, the NTs usually reign supreme.

The Self-Seeking Careerist

What happens when the NT lacks a compass? How do they express their personality, when they allow themselves to be victimized by alienation? First, many of them seek power. Although self-seeking careerists, like Down's zealot, may often carry out their machinations under the cover of pursuing the common good, they often covertly

further their own personal agenda. Power becomes their primary source of ego-gratification. Like the jungle fighter, it serves as their life blood --- a libidinal urge that knows no moderation. Their need for power desperately requires satisfaction.

Secondly, the self-seeking careerist, as their label denotes, lives in the anxious world of career. If they are to fulfill their desperate grab for power and more power, they must become adept at playing the requisite organizational games. They must be like Maccoby's gamesman --- knowing when to fold, when to bluff, when to cut their losses and when to bet the family jewels. Self-seeking careerists tailor everything in their lives for the sake of their careers. If they pay single-minded attention to the icon of career, like Whyte's organization man, they will marry the right person; live in the right neighborhood; send their children to the right schools; and harbor the right views. The career viewpoint is very demanding and the self-seeking careerist becomes a slave to it. Speaking to the bondage imposed by the career orientation, Maccoby wrote:

From the moment a person starts treating his life as a career, worry is his constant companion. Careerism can begin at age five, fifteen or later. Why do children become careerists? Parents start the ball rolling by evaluating all their children's actions in terms of usefulness to career. Is he smart enough? Is his personality right?

Can he sell himself? 40/

Thirdly, in the pursuit of power and career goals, the self-seeking careerist values the ethic of "usefulness." In so doing, they become, as the Critical Theorists would say, instrumentally rational. By that term, I mean that they value what works, barely considering what should be. Normative values are but a petty nuisance to them. In their minds, normative values are best left within the domain of the pettyfogged philosopher. They are primarily interested in searching out the most efficient means for satisfying their goals.

Finally, the self-seeking careerist displays many of the characteristics of the spoiled child. Like the spoiled child or Maccoby's jungle fighter, self-seeking careerists are apt to make their intentions known by blurting out a "Gimme!" or a "Me first!," albeit within an adult context. Their behavior is decidedly narcissistic. They are the most isolated and alone of any of the four alienated personalities that I describe. Self-seeking careerists find themselves locked in a community of one. Rather than deriving meaning from a sense of relatedness with other people or contributing to the common good, self-seeking careerists indulge themselves in the non-relenting pursuit of power and control. Their satisfactions are fleeting,

their obsessions are never ending.

The Sensate Judger or SJ and the Regulator

The Sensate Judger or SJ

Keirsey and Bates believed that sensate judges take their cues from the mythic Greek Epimetheus. Epimetheus was charged by his brother, Prometheus to take care of a jar that harbored the ills of the world.

And he gathered together all the evil things that were in the earth, war and quarrel, hatred and greed, pains and disease, and put them into a large jar; he put a lid on the pot, and sealed it, and gave it to his brother Epimetheus. 'Take care of this, my brother,' he said, 'and never leave it of your charge. 41/

Unfortunately, Epimetheus was unsuccessful in keeping the jar from being opened. His wife, Pandora, released the evils of the jar upon the world. Nevertheless, Epimetheus, the dutiful husband, continued to stand by his spouse despite her willfully harmful action.

The SJ shows a similar devotion to duty. Indeed, their devotion to duty permeates their whole lives, whether it is as a parent, a manager or a member of a fraternal organization. The flip side of their devotion to duty is reflected in their regard for authority. In our age, when authority figures are increasingly being questioned, the SJ

usually resists that tendency. Many SJs regard authority with a certain sanctity. Their last impulse would be to question it. They can sometimes be so transfixed by the concept of authority that they are much too willing to march in lockstep, carefully heeding their commands regardless of the human or organizational consequences.

Similarly, the SJ is the great stabilizer. It is probably a safe assumption that a SJ never led a great world revolution. It is very likely that SJs were undoubtedly die-hard supporters of the "ancien regime." However, those revolutions that succeeded, undoubtedly relied on SJs to ensure that the newly created system worked and that the "trains continued to run on time." Given the SJs' penchant for stability, they also show an adoration for "the rules," whether they are societal or organizational ones. The SJ is a great codifier --- delighting in the regularity brought about by standard operating procedures. Like all strengths, this organizational aptitude can also be a weakness, if taken to extremes. In some cases a devotion to standard operating procedures can make one particularly blind to changed conditions.

According to Keirsey and Bates, the SJs constitute approximately 38% of the general population 42/ and make up more than 50% of the members of most organizations. With their attraction to hierarchy and order, the SJs flock to

organizations "like bees to honey." Indeed, three of the four SJ personality types have titles, ascribed to them by Keirsey and Bates, with a decidedly organizational connotation. The ESTJ is called the administrator; the ISTJ is referred to as the trustee; and the ISFJ is called the conservator. Within the organization, SJs often have the responsibility for making processes work. At their best, they are solid, nuts and bolts managers who are essential to an organization's smooth functioning. A world without SJs would be a world in chaos.

The Regulator

The alienated SJ or regulator suffers from obsessive neuroses. In effect, the regulator becomes the obsession --- unable to unleash themselves from its grip. In describing neurosis in general, David Shapiro in Neurotic Styles wrote that "the neurotic person is moved or in the grip of forces that result in manifest behavior of which he is merely a passive witness." 43/

On a personal note, I must confess that some SJs have, at times, really gotten under my skin. Sometimes they still do, but now I try to handle my anger a little more philosophically. Having grown up in the conservative Midwest and having worked in government organizations for more than ten years, I have known many SJs. Indeed, at times I have

felt overwhelmed by them --- oppressed by them. Most of my grade school and high school teachers were SJs; SJs predominate in my large extended family; my mother-in-law is a SJ; and most of my supervisors were SJs. When I reflect on my past animosity towards SJs, it is evident to me that I was projecting some of my own SJ tendencies upon them. As Whitmont noted:

Ask someone to give a description of the personality type which he finds most despicable, most unbearable and hateful, and most impossible to get along with, and he will produce a description of his own repressed characteristics --- a self-description which is utterly unconscious and which therefore always and everywhere tortures him as he receives its effect from the other person. 44/

The SJ combines an ability to comprehend reality with a facility to make decisions. These two abilities run awry in the regulator personality. Not only does the regulator display a fascination bordering on reverence for authority and an organization's rules, but they also display a kind of "I told-you-so" attitude towards others. Thus, the regulator is often too ready to offer mundane advice, drawn from the reservoir of conventional wisdom, whether the advisee solicited the advice or not.

This inattention to human relationships makes the regulator a frequent source of public outrage. It is my

belief that the regulator has more than any other organizational personality type contributed to the bad reputation of large government bureaucracies in the mind of the public. They are the inflexible bureaucrats who, when a person's Social Security check is stolen are too rule-bound to seek out ways to issue another one. They can be the faceless, soulless bureaucrats of 20th Century lore, who display as much flexibility and humanity as a Communist apparatchik. The regulator can recite a rule appropriate to any work-related situation, while remaining completely oblivious to the human situation or the purpose for which the rule was intended. They are an organization's gatekeepers who transform themselves into an organization's armed guards.

Consistent with their devotion to the rules, the regulator, like Downs' conserver, also hold an abiding respect for hierarchy. At first, this quality may seem refreshing, since in recent times the concept of authority has been under increasing fire both from intellectuals and the general public. I am not one of those who rejects the concept of authority out of hand, however, I am wary of those who embrace it without question. The regulator seems always to be searching for the leader with whom they can obsequiously follow. One is reminded of Adolf Eichmann, the bureaucrat, who was said to have made evil banal. After

all, he was just following orders.

The regulator, like the self-seeking careerist, lives by a similar control ethos. Both derive meaning from an ability to shape their environment. However, unlike the self-seeking careerist, who usually seeks control over a broad environment, the regulator seeks control over an area of much smaller breadth. Instead of trying to control an entire organization, regulators will usually content themselves by trying to control a division, branch, procedure or rule. They do not transform this urge for control into a positive force; it merely becomes another self-destructive weapon in their arsenal.

The Intuitive Feeler or NF and the Manipulator

The Intuitive Feeler or NF

Keirsey and Bates likened the intuitive feeler to the Greek god Apollo. Edith Hamilton, a chronicler of ancient Greek myths wrote that Apollo was "the most Greek of all gods." 45/ Hamilton believed that Apollo epitomized a less morally ambivalent stance towards life than the other Greek gods. She wrote:

Apollo at Delphi was a purely beneficent power, a direct link between gods and men, guiding men to know the divine will, showing them how to make peace with the gods; the purifier, too, able to cleanse even those stained with the blood of their kindred. 46/

This quotation captures well the spirit of the intuitive feeler, because the NF often has easy access to the unconscious and thus serves as "a direct link between gods and men". NFs, like NTs, are particularly attuned to their unconscious side. Not surprisingly, their flights of imagination direct many NFs towards the field of the creative arts.

Similarly, they show an overriding concern for human relationships as typified in the aforementioned phrase "able to cleanse even those stained with the blood of their kindred." A concern for human relationships runs through the thought process of most NFs when they are faced with making a decision --- a concern that is often disregarded by many non-NFs. Nevertheless, this concern for human relationships can, on occasion, get in the way of the NF. By being so sensitive to the feelings of others, some NFs may totally disregard other considerations when making a decision. They try to remain oblivious to the reality that everyone cannot be pleased all of the time with their decisions. Sometimes the NF could use some of the toughness of the more resolute NT or SJ.

NFs are also particularly attuned to values. They are of supreme importance to them. Tread on the values of NFs and you are likely to raise their ire. During the counterculture movement of the 1960s, the NFs' concern for

values were brought to the fore. The NFs raised a voice in protest to the presumed value-free nature of instrumental action, that was prized by the largely dominant NT/SJ culture. In reaction to this instrumental action orientation, the countercultural NFs, urged other Americans "to get in touch with their feelings." From this increased awareness with feelings eventually arose the organizational development and other related movements that placed their focus on individual and group development.

NFs are much less common in organizations than the NTs or the SJs. Many NFs have a tendency to find organizations too stifling. Unfortunately, organizations often tend to block the expansive spirit of the NF. For the NF, the organization often epitomizes this culture's preoccupation with instrumental rationality and many of them want nothing to do with it. They have a different agenda --- the human agenda. Nevertheless, organizations could use more of them to balance the instrumental orientation of the NTs and the SJs. If they are found within organizations, NFs are most likely involved in the area of human resource development. It is this sort of work from which NFs often derive their energy.

The Manipulator

The manipulator or alienated NF has great difficulty

saying "no." In their overwhelming desire to please everyone, they often end up pleasing no one. When people within an organization make a decision, they seldom can limit the consequences of that decision to merely one person. For example, a decision-maker may please one person by offering that person a job and at the same time alienate ten others who were interested in the same job. Or similarly, they may devise a policy that favors one person or constituency within an organization which may do harm to another group. Organizational decision-making often involves tough choices. Sometimes decision-making in an organization more closely resembles a zero-sum game --- I lose to the extent that you win and vice versa. The manipulator often has a hard time accepting that reality. In order to avoid this reality, manipulators often fall back on their knowledge of human relationships and attempt to manipulate people. They often know just which emotional buttons to push to achieve their objectives.

Sometimes, like Maccoby's company man, the manipulator uses the skill of what some people in organizations crudely refer to as "sucking up." On occasion, their "sucking up" knows no bounds. They are the master of the flattering comment --- a purveyor of the insincere word. At times, their insincere comments appear so genuine and sincere that their dishonesty is often only detectable to the person who

is not the object of their attention. Manipulators transform themselves into a kind of latter day court jester --- always willing to entertain or please their bosses with a well-timed, self-serving comment.

Manipulators can be just as driven as the self-seeking careerist, but they achieve their objectives in a different way. Whereas, self-seeking careerists are more prone to use the stick --- bullying their opponents into submission --- manipulator are more likely to use the carrot. Despite their differences in style, both personality types are united in their disregard of the common good. Although self-seeking careerists may appear more brazen in their power grabs, the manipulator is equally craven.

The Sensate Perceiver or SP and the Philistine

The Sensate Perceiver

Free spirit, thy name is Dionysos, the Greek god that Keirsey and Bates associated with the sensate perceiver. 47/ Dionysos was a happy wanderer and a lover of adventure who provided mankind with the gift of wine. To be Dionysian is to be a lover of life, a characteristic that allows one to fully enjoy the present moment.

Such is the case with the sensate perceiver. The other personality types, at times, wonder how SPs can

throw themselves into their activities with such wild abandon. Keirsey and Bates captured the impetuousness of the SP, when they wrote that "[h]e tends to live life at the level of a gourmet feast." 48/ And, in this light, the SP more than any other personality type, is most capable of play. Given their seemingly limitless capability for enjoyment, SPs can transform the most mundane, boring routine into a playful exercise. Like the NFs, many youthful SPs found comfort in the rebelliousness of the 1960s. However, while the NFs were preaching about the enhancement of human relationships, the SPs were usually focused on more physical, less cerebral enterprises. Perhaps the rallying cry of the SPs during the 1960s was sounded by former anti-war activist and hellion-at-large Jerry Rubin who declared, "If it feels good, do it!" Unfortunately, sometimes this emphasis on physical sensation took a wrong turn --- drug addiction and sexual abandonment.

Consistent with their joyful philosophy, most SPs believe that work can and should become playful. Such an attitude runs counter to our society's more dominant, dour, Calvinist countenance that holds that work is a painful, but necessary activity. Our society can use more of the SP's 'joie de vivre,' unfortunately some SPs can use a little less of it. Their frolicking in their youth is spirited, however, their antics in middle age are often sad

and ridiculous.

Given their playful orientation, the SP more than any other type is grounded in the present. For the SP, the present is the most important concern and for some SPs, their only concern. They are both bored and confused with the other types' future orientation. It was undoubtedly a SP who coined the phrase, "Forget about tomorrow, it will take care of itself."

The SP, like the NF, often does not fit easily into the modern organization. Like the NF, the SP disdains the modern organization's frequent commitment to instrumental rationality. However, they dislike this orientation for a different reason than the NF. While the NF usually opposes instrumental rationality, because of its disregard for human values, the SP often stands four square against instrumental rationality, because of its tediousness. It runs counter to their life philosophy. Thus, since they frequently oppose, what often amounts to an organization's dominant ideology, the SP frequently is blocked from attaining power in the organization --- not that this usually bothers them. The SP is usually too busy enjoying life to get locked up in the hang-ups of career.

The Philistine

The philistine is an apt term to describe the alienated

SP. I borrowed this term from Ernest Becker, who in his tome The Denial of Death wrote:

For Kierkegaard 'philistinism' was triviality, man lulled by the daily routines of his society, content with the satisfactions that it offers him: in today's world the car, the shopping center, the two-week summer vacation.

49/

The philistine equates trivial pleasures and satisfactions with happiness. They try to substitute their search for meaning by indulging themselves in an endless stream of baubles and ephemeral physical satisfactions. Their commitment to consumerism keeps the capitalist engine busy.

Philistines derive little pleasure or meaning from their work. For the philistine, work is only something to be endured for the sake of material pleasures like a bigger stereo system or a Datsun ZX with power windows and four on the floor. They find the careerist's orientation crazed and wouldn't even consider regarding their work as a calling. Philistines will always regard their work as just a job. Their job will seldom seize their imagination; it will almost never move them; and they will generally not experience a sense of community from it. Their expectations regarding their job are low --- they usually lack any sense of empowerment or meaning with regard to their work. Their stifled sense of meaning often gives them an unattractive,

sullen quality.

Philistines, more than any of the other alienated personality types, are most likely to regard their work as merely a job. Like Presthus's indifferent, they invest little emotional commitment in their work. Although they disdain the organization's commitment to instrumental rationality, they are very likely to view their relationship to the organization in that light. This attitude creates a conflict within them, sometimes causing them to be sullen and disinterested at work. If they can't afford to physically drop out of society, at least they can mentally withdraw from a job that is neither fulfilling nor meaningful to them.

Despite their often sullen discontent, the philistine will seldom, if ever, rise up against "the System." Within the organization the philistine is often the prototypical passive-aggressive. The philistines' passive-aggressiveness will take several forms. They may answer the telephone with a nasty edge to their voice; they may sometimes "forget" to tell a colleague about an important meeting; they may take drugs on the job; or they may intentionally mistype memorandums.

Philistines will never quite find a line of work that suits them. In their mind, their discontent is always someone else's fault. In some cases they believe that the

boss doesn't understand them. In other cases they hold their fellow workers in contempt, believing that their colleagues are plotting against them. Still in other cases they find the nature of their work either too slow or too fast. What is true in all these cases is that philistines do not hold themselves responsible for their discontent. They are blameless. It is the world that is cruel.

Summary of Argument

My argument to this point is as follows. Many federal workers are alienated from themselves and lack a sense of community. These people are not motivated by a calling to service, but instead view themselves as mere careerists or jobholders. This makes for a dismal environment in the federal government, which has only been worsened by the political attacks launched against the federal workforce by the Carter and Reagan administrations.

Other organizational theorists, including William Whyte, Anthony Downs, Robert Presthus, Michael Maccoby and Eugene Lewis, portray equally dismal organizational environments through the medium of what I call the organizational role typology. What these organizational role typologies reveal are individuals primarily motivated by self-interest who lack a calling. They are alienated from themselves and experience little or no sense of

community. Their individual anxieties are compounded within the organization and result in a collective malaise.

In Chapter 3 I explained why so many organizational employees experience alienation. They have ignored their inherent spirituality and have spurned the journey of individuation by which they can realize their true selves. In Chapter 3 I used Jung's theory of psychological type as a basis for developing a more holistic framework for understanding the alienated organizational worker. To understand the alienation of individual workers, one must look beyond the organizational roles that they adapt to in their work life. As a means of gaining this understanding, I use Jung's theory of psychological type as a basis for developing my own organizational personality typology which provides four illustrative examples of alienated personalities. The fifth organizational personality type --- the hero --- which I discuss in the next chapter provides people with life information that is relevant even within the seemingly instrumental world of the organization.

CHAPTER IV

THE HEROIC JOURNEY AS CELEBRATED IN MYTH

This chapter contrasts the alienated organizational personality types developed in the last chapter with a transcendent organizational personality type --- the hero. I build on Joseph Campbell's concept of the hero as developed in The Hero With a Thousand Faces and his other related works. This chapter continues the flow of the third chapter which primarily focused on Jung. In this chapter I switch authors, but not paradigms. I primarily focus on the work of Joseph Campbell, the mythologist and theologian, who was a devotee of Jung. Indeed, Campbell edited The Portable Jung.

Joseph Campbell conducted much of his research for the purpose of expanding Jung's notions of the relevance and importance of myth to people's lives, placing much emphasis on the heroic myth. Campbell was a college professor who taught for more than thirty years at Sarah Lawrence College. As a life long student of mythology, he demonstrated through his writings the relevance that myths have for modern people. He was an inspiring writer who wrote approximately 20 books in his lifetime. His most prominent works were The Hero With a Thousand Faces, Myths To Live By and the four part

volume The Masks of God. He received national prominence shortly after his death in 1987 when Bill Moyers featured six one-hour interviews with him that were broadcast on the Public Broadcasting System. As a result of those interviews, The Power of Myth (a transcription of the interviews), The Hero With a Thousand Faces and Myths To Live By each rose to the top of the New York Times Paperback Bestseller List simultaneously during 1988.

Chapter 4 is divided into two sections. The first section builds on Jung's theory of the unconscious that was discussed in the third chapter and relates that discussion to the importance of myths in people's lives. The second section discusses, in some depth, a particular myth --- the heroic myth.

The heroic myth is a universal and ageless myth that imparts stories of individuation and personal self-development. Furthermore, contained within the heroic myth are three important themes that are relevant to American public administration: the concept of the calling, the importance of accepting one's own death and the concept of community. A primary goal of this section is to provide a theoretical underpinning for these concepts that have relevance to the practice and theory of American public administration.

The Relevance and Importance of Myths

Campbell wrote that myths "are public dreams; dreams are private myths." 1/ Like dreams, myths communicate unconscious, archetypal material to the conscious mind, albeit within a collective context. Furthermore, since myths are reflections of the unconscious and the unconscious can never truly be known, myths are not direct representations of life. They can, however, be appreciated for their value as metaphors.

Moreover, as metaphors, myths can be appreciated on a variety of levels. In our largely demythologized world, we usually view myths as being directed primarily towards children. Children's myths are called fairy tales. They are usually delightful stories that provide a moral lesson and are usually sanitized with a happy ending. The protagonists do not usually die in fairy tales, instead they usually live happily ever after with their beloved ones.

However, myths can also be appreciated on another level. They can also provide guidance to adults. Indeed, myths can profoundly move adults --- shake their lives. Campbell noted:

mythology is no toy for children. Nor is it a matter of archaic, merely scholarly concern, of no moment to modern men of action. For its symbols (whether in the tangible form of images or in the abstract form of ideas) touch and release the deepest

centers of motivation, moving literate and illiterate alike, moving mobs, moving civilizations. 2/

As messages of great profundity, myths are both parochial and universal. Thus, they include both a message directed at a particular culture and they relay a universal message that is timeless. Campbell wrote that "[e]very mythology has to do with the wisdom of life as related to a specific culture at a specific time. It integrates the individual into his society into the field of nature." 3/ For example, Campbell pointed out that the Western culture's myths reflect strong dualistic struggles: people against nature, god against people, right against wrong, etc. On the other hand, Eastern myths tend to be less dualistic, emphasizing people's integration with nature and the complementary nature of the polar opposites.

Myths are universal in that they reflect archetypal images present since the beginning of time and they exist in some form in every culture. Campbell believed that the heroic myth is just as meaningful today as it was centuries earlier. Campbell wrote:

The hero, therefore is the man or woman who has been able to battle past his personal and local historical limitations to the generally valid, normally human forms... The hero has died as modern man; but as eternal man --- perfected, unspecific, universal man --- he has been reborn. 4/

Each myth embodies one and sometimes several archetypal images that still powerfully affect the human psyche. There are myths of the earth mother, the trickster, the virgin and for our purposes --- the hero.

Yet despite their universality, American culture has largely rejected the plausibility and significance of myths. Myths, after all, cannot be understood rationally and since rationality, or at least instrumental rationality, is one of the hallmarks of our culture, most people within our culture tend to discount myths as rather quaint artifacts of the past. They associate them with primitive peoples, unschooled in the wonders of science and technology. Many people in our rationally-oriented culture do not feel that they need to be concerned about unconscious material, represented in myths. They would prefer to confine the message of the myth to either the child or the medicine man. By ignoring myths, they ignore a mode of perception that provides them a window upon their unconscious. As I mentioned in Chapter 3, Jung believed that when people ignore their unconscious side, they risk severe psychological damage. Furthermore, as I noted earlier, Jung believed that peoples' conscious minds represent but a fraction of their total selves. People need to listen to their unconscious side. One way to listen is through myths.

Myths can profoundly affect our perceptions, sometimes

unconsciously. Myths are a representation of the unconscious that can profoundly affect even the seemingly most rational individual. On this theme, David Feinstein and Stanley Krippner in their book on depth psychology entitled Personal Mythology wrote:

Your personal mythology acts as a lens that colors your perceptions according to its own assumptions and values. It highlights certain possibilities and shadows others. Through it, you view the ever-changing panorama of your experiences in the world.

People often live their lives with very little awareness of the lens through which they are looking. 5/

Through a particular lens, myths can serve as models that help people better understand and relate to their world. As a lens, myths impart important truths. They can play a central part in a person's self-development. Campbell wrote:

The big problem of any young person's life is to have models to suggest possibilities. Nietzsche says, 'Man is the sick animal.' Man is the animal that doesn't know what to do with itself. The mind has many possibilities, but we can live no more than one life. What are we going to do with ourselves? A living myth presents contemporary models. 6/

People should listen to and try to understand myths. They can be the key that unlocks mysteries peculiar to the human situation. Although there is a great diversity among

cultures, there are also certain regularities in the human situation. Myths help us better understand and cope with those regularities that occur across time and across cultures. Although each myth is representative of a particular culture, it also represents life themes that are common to all cultures. For example, myths offer people a guide for dealing with significant life events like childbirth, marriage and death. They confront important life questions like "How am I supposed to live?" and provide models for living that point to the wisdom of life. By studying myths, individuals expand their consciousness.

Edward Edinger noted:

Myths promote consciousness providing the relevant connections with our own personal life. One must always ask, "How does this relate to me?" It sometimes happens that finding one's own particular myth or the particular myth that's operating at a given time in given circumstances can be a very moving experience that carries with it a kind of shock of recognition, a sudden realization that that is I that's looking back at me from the collective mythological symbols. 7/

Myths are also useful in awakening a person's latent spirituality --- a medium by which the individual can come in contact with the ineffable, the great unknown. Campbell noted that myths provide "clues to the spiritual potentialities of the human life." 8/ They remind people of

their linkage to humanity by highlighting the similarity of the human condition --- making people more aware of their common bonds. One important way that myths make people more cognizant of their common humanity is by focusing on people's temporality on earth. Death eventually captures all of us and the theme of the inevitability of death is strewn throughout mythology, particularly heroic mythology. Campbell wrote that the "recognition of mortality and the requirement to transcend it is the first great impulse to mythology." 9/ In the next section I discuss the forging of a community and the recognition of death both of which are themes that are central to the heroic journey.

The Heroic Myth

The heroic myth recurs throughout history and across cultures. The heroic myth is a reflection of a heroic archetype --- a representation of the collective unconscious or objective psyche which Whitmont described as a "dimension of the unconscious psyche that is of an a priori, general human character, rather than merely the precipitate of personal repressed material." 10/ (The collective unconscious is similar to an animal's instinct in that both provide clues to behavior throughout the particular species.) The heroic myth provides a model for those individuals in search of psychological health and spiritual

sustenance --- two attributes often missing in our age, marked by instrumental rationality. For the hero not only attains psychological health through individuation, but the hero also attains spiritual sustenance through a symbiotic union with a community.

Although I have always been drawn by the simplicity, clarity and power of the heroic concept, writing a dissertation on it can be fraught with problems, since the hero is a theme that pervades our society's mythology.

Robert Bellah, et. al. noted in Habits of the Heart that a "deep and continuing theme in American literature is the hero who must leave society, alone or with one or a few others, in order to realize the moral good in the wilderness, at sea, or in the margins of settled society." 11/ This concept of the hero is firmly established in the consciousness of the American people. Consequently, it is a challenging, but interesting exercise to try to re-interpret such a widely held concept. Consistent with this dissertation's reliance on the philosophy of Carl Jung, I use Joseph Campbell's conception of the hero as expressed in The Hero With a Thousand Faces and his other related works. However, given the widespread use of the heroic concept, many people would undoubtedly reject Campbell's conception of the hero. Some people would reject the concept of the hero altogether.

The Rejection of the Heroic Concept

Some people would clearly prefer an age without heroes. For these people heroism is a concept best exemplified by the Third Reich --- a concept best left buried there. For them, heroism represents the individual's subjugation to an often malevolent authority figure. It is their belief that people, given their inherent weakness, are inevitably drawn to people who are charismatic and are able to touch other's unconscious sides.

This perspective is perhaps best represented by Ernest Becker. Becker was a Freudian and author of the Pulitzer Prize winning book The Denial of Death. He believed that the average person's attraction to the concept of heroism represented a dangerous tendency that boded ill for humanity. It was Becker's assumption that most people were attracted to heroism, not out of idealistic impulses, but rather as a refuge that they desperately cling to in their denial of death. He believed that people were attracted to heroism because

The real world is simply too terrible to admit; it tells man that he is a small, trembling animal who will decay and die. Illusion changes all this, makes man seem important, vital to the universe, important in some way. Who transmits the illusion, if not the parents by imparting the macro-lie of the cultural *causa sui?* The masses look to the leaders to give them just the untruth

that they need; the leader continues the illusions that triumph over the castration complex and magnifies them into a truly heroic victory. 12/

Becker believed that when average people embrace a hero, they, in effect, deny their own death. Unable to cope with the knowledge of extinction, they grasp for the illusion of the hero --- embracing the hero's superhuman qualities --- in a futile attempt to deny their own mortality.

Becker's view of heroism is representative of Freudian psychology. It is a world view distinctly different than the one expressed by Jung. I noted in Chapter 3 that Jung believed that people had an inherent need to undertake a life-long search for meaning. For Becker and his philosophical guide Freud, people can best be understood as a collection of primal drives --- sex, food, power --- that are continually in need of satisfaction. From this viewpoint repression, not expression, is a necessary behavior for maintaining a modicum of order in a civilized society. In the Freudian/Becker conception, people are little more than sublimated beasts who share more in common with their fellow primates than with the angels. The paradox for Becker was that although people were victims of their primal drives, unlike animals, they were also cognizant of their own eventual deaths. For Becker this knowledge is a perpetual source of a person's misery becoming an inevitable wellspring

of alienation. Thus, since individuals are constitutionally incapable of dealing with the inevitability of their own deaths in a positive way, they seek to avoid the pain by unconsciously identifying with a mythic figure greater than himself --- the hero often represented by a popular charismatic leader. They flee from the knowledge of their own death, seeking comfort by enmeshing themselves with a heroic figure.

Thus, Becker's view of humanity is profoundly negative. He described man as a "horde animal led by a chief." Furthermore, the chief or hero, according to Becker, is "a dangerous personality, toward whom only a passive-masochistic attitude is possible, to whom one's will has to be surrendered." 13/ From Becker's perspective the heroic concept is to be scorned --- a reflection of a person's unresolvable existential angst. Becker provided no solace for the individual standing on his lonely vigil, awaiting death.

The Popular American Conception of the Hero

American popular culture often paints a different picture of the hero. In the American tradition, the hero has taken on several forms. There is the hero of the American West, armed with a six-shooter belted to his waist who battles the desperados, wins the girl and eventually

"tames" nature which is often symbolized by a hostile Indian tribe. There is the superhuman hero, embodied in the comic book figure of Superman, who "ascends tall buildings in a single bound" and became a model for a generation of pre-pubescent American crime fighters. There is the hero of capitalism represented by Horatio Alger who "pulls himself up by his bootstraps" with only five cents in his pocket and with perseverance builds a multi-million dollar enterprise. Finally, there are also real-life historical figures that have become mythologized. In elementary schools George Washington often attains larger than life proportions as the "father of his country" and Abraham Lincoln is frequently lionized as "the savior of the Union."

In most American popular accounts of heroism, heroes are usually white males; they display enormous strength or cunning; they are victorious; and they are beloved by their contemporaries. Nevertheless, I would be oversimplifying the popular American conception of heroism, if I did not mention one exception, at least to the last part of this model. In the popular film classic High Noon, starring Gary Cooper as Cain, the town marshall, the hero is a much lonelier figure. He is not lionized by his community, instead he is scorned and blamed by them for having the courage to stand up to a band of ruthless outlaws who are in danger of taking over the town. Everyone of the townspeople

finds a convenient excuse for not standing by their marshall. Singlehandedly, he defeats the outlaws without the aid of his fellow townspeople. Sometimes heroism, even the popular American conception of heroism, can be a lonely experience.

For those people who lionize their heroes, the weighty mantle of heroism falls only upon the shoulders of an elect few. These real and fantasized figures usually demonstrate their heroism through the performance of great acts, sometimes so-called superhuman acts. This view of heroism is a holdover from an earlier, less critical time. In popular heroic accounts, seldom are the hero's blemishes and failures exposed along with their valor and accomplishments.

A Feminist's Conception of Heroism

The American popular conception of the hero almost always reflects traits that are associated with masculinity. They are powerful, they seek control, whether it is over nature, criminals or wild Indians. Such a conception is anathema to many feminists. The traditional American popular conception of heroism is clearly a male ideal that excludes women. In The Hero Within: Six Archetypes We Live By, Carol Pearson noted

In our culture, the heroic ideal of the Warrior has been reserved for men --- usually only white men at that. Women in this plot are cast as damsels-in-distress to be rescued, as witches to

be slain, or as princesses who, with half the kingdom, serve as the hero's reward. 14/

In this light, is heroism an inherently male concept? Can women also draw some meaning from heroism? Answering these questions thoroughly would require another dissertation, but let me add some thoughts on these questions. Pearson believes that both men and women can experience heroism, albeit usually in different contexts. In commenting on Joseph Campbell's work she wrote:

Joseph Campbell's The Hero With a Thousand Faces, assumed either that the hero was male or that male heroism and female heroism were essentially the same. Now, with the development of women's studies and widespread interest in feminist scholarship, many theorists have begun studying women's journeys patterns and how they differ from men's. 15/

Pearson's book did not contradict Campbell's concept of the hero. Her primary contribution, as I see it, was to further expand Campbell's concept. In her book Pearson, like Campbell, likened the heroic quest to a journey. However, Pearson held that the journey of the hero takes six variations, as represented by the innocent, the orphan, the martyr, the wanderer, the warrior and the magician. It is Pearson's contention that male and female heroic journeys differ in that most females usually identify with the martyr,

while most males usually identify with the more conventional heroic figure of the warrior.

Nevertheless, Jung appeared to hold a different view. For him heroism was associated with the male. In commenting on ancient symbolism, he wrote:

The symbolism is plain: sun = phallus,
moon = vessel...

The heroes are usually wanderers, and wandering is a symbol of longing, of the restless urge which never finds its object, of nostalgia for the lost mother. The sun comparison can easily be taken in this sense; the heroes are like the wandering sun, from which it is concluded that the myth of the hero is a solar myth. 16/

I am not sure whether this dissertation speaks primarily to men, but I have consciously decided to be careful in my use of language. Reflecting this unanswered question, you will notice that throughout this dissertation that when I refer the hero, I am gender neutral.

Although in my mind it is problematical whether the concept of heroism applies solely to men, I believe with more assurance that it has more relevance to people in the second half rather than the first half of their lives. As Edinger noted in Ego and Archetype, during the first half of life the individual struggles to develop a separate identity. 17/ After working through this necessary stage,

the individual is ready to undertake the process of individuation --- a process during which individuals work on the less developed sides of their personalities. Jung wrote:

What must be regarded as regression in a young person --- feminization of the man (partial identity with the mother) and masculinization of the woman (partial identity with the father) --- acquires a different meaning in the second half of life. The assimilation of contrasexual tendencies then becomes a task that must be fulfilled in order to keep the libido in a state of progression. The task consists in integrating the unconscious, in bringing together "conscious" and "unconscious." I have called this the individuation process. 18/

Thus, what is anti-developmental at one stage of life contributes to development at another stage of life.

An Introduction to Campbell's Conception of the Hero

Like Pearson, it was Campbell's belief that the hero could wear various masks. He wrote that "the hero is the unconscious vehicle of the terrible, wonderful Law, whether his work be that of butcher, jockey or king." 19/ I take this statement to mean that heroes are not so much distinguished by their actions, as they are by their stance towards life. Heroes take an active stance. It is a stance that is characterized by contact with their

environment and engagement with their unconscious. Their engagement with their environment can be revealed through the execution of epic acts, but it also can be revealed through a sincere concern expressed towards others or by selflessly devoting themselves to a cause greater than themselves. Given many Americans' conception of heroism, they would undoubtedly find this position to be absurd. They believe that, in most cases, the hero is a person who performs epic acts on life's grand stage. According to their compass, heroes are first and foremost a leader of great import who often display their valor on the field of battle --- a person capable of moving lesser people. Using this standard --- Hercules was a hero; Jason was a hero; most federal bureaucrats certainly are not.

However, I believe that Campbell's conception of heroism includes both warriors who stand tall on the battlefield and federal workers who conduct some of their battles at the privacy of their desks. Campbell's conception of heroism is depicted as a journey. It expands upon Jung's theory of the unconscious, archetypal images, people's inherent spirituality and individuation.

The journey has three central events. Campbell wrote:

A hero ventures forth from the world of the common day into a region of supernatural wonder: fabulous forces are there encountered and a decisive victory is won: the hero comes

back from this mysterious adventure with the power to bestow boons on his fellow man. 20/

This section concentrates primarily on these three central events which I characterize as the calling, the journey and the encounter with death, and the return and integration within a community.

--- The Calling ---

Heroes begin their journey with a "call to adventure."

The "call to adventure" has been a recurrent theme in myths throughout history. Accepting the call is the first and most important step of a life-long, often perilous journey for the hero. Who issues the call to the person aspiring to herohood? And why does the hero accept the call? In traditional myths, the "call to adventure" usually emanated from a god. As devout, but occasionally reluctant servants of their God, heroes were called to service in the God's name. For example, Moses accepted the Hebrew God's calling to lead his people out of Egypt and into the Promised Land. Similarly, Mohammed, Jesus Christ and the Crusaders of the Middle Ages all felt that they were called by god to undertake a divine mission.

However, the spiritually devout have also felt called by God to pursue more secular undertakings. In the American public administration tradition, as I note in the next

chapter, John Winthrop, the first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, accepted the Christian God's calling to work in the public service. Indeed, the early Puritans believed that one of humanity's primary responsibilities was to respond to the calling of their almighty God. This view was expounded by the Puritan theologian William Perkins, when he wrote:

The author of every calling is God himself, and therefore Paul saith; as God hath called man. let him walk, vers. 17. And for this cause, the order and manner of living in this world is called a vocation, because every man is to live as he is called of God. 21/

Nevertheless, although the author of the calling was usually a divine being, there have been cultures which believed that the call or caller was secular in origin. These cultures believed that people were called to serve the state. As Phillip Schorr noted in "The Public Service as a Calling," the calling sometimes emanated from non-sacred sources.

Spartan society develops a sense of mission --- not the sacred or divine mission of the Hebrews or early christians, as received from God --- but rather the pagan military mission of a single-purpose society. 22/

Similarly in a modern context, many of Roosevelt's New Dealers and Kennedy's New Frontiersmen felt called to public

service not by a distant God, but by the American state, as embodied in the American President. The New Dealers were called to serve the American society and bring the country out of a numbing economic downturn. Similarly, President Kennedy issued a call, primarily to America's young, to serve others by joining the Peace Corps. The concept of the calling in the 20th Century took on a more secular tone but it retained a messianic spirit.

Unfortunately, as I documented in the first and third chapters, few people seem to experience a sense of calling in the United States during the latter part of the 20th Century. This lack of calling is particularly evident in that institution that perhaps more than any other signifies our age --- the organization. Work in the organization instead of being experienced as a calling is usually viewed, at best, as a kind of narcissistic adventure, neither a calling from God nor the state. Indeed as I documented in Chapter 1, many federal workers rather than feeling called, get the distinct impression that their services are not wanted. Thus, nowadays, the caller seems to be non-existent even though it is still there.

Although most people no longer feel called by either a God or the state to public service, people can still experience the "call to adventure." This concept is still relevant if one accepts the assumption that the unconscious

is the source of the primal religious experience --- or what Campbell called "the region of supernatural forces." The "call to adventure" is a manifestation of this primal religious experience --- an emanation from the unconscious. Thus, it could be interpreted that it was Moses' unconscious that called him to lead the Hebrews out of Egypt; or it was his unconscious that called John Winthrop to public service; and similarly it was the unconscious of governmental leaders that moved them as representatives of the American state to call people to federal service in the mid 20th Century. To experience the calling is to engage in a spiritual experience. It is a spiritual experience, because it puts one in touch with one's unconscious and the unconscious, according to Jung, is the primary source of a person's spirituality.

As the primary source of supernatural wonder, Campbell believed that the unconscious could be likened to the God within. Campbell's philosophical position was more closely aligned with Eastern religions than those religions practiced in the West. Western religions hold that a strict separation exists between God and people, while the Eastern religions reject this rigid dualism, holding that god is manifested in people. Campbell wrote:

the people of the Orient are not in exile from their god. The ultimate divine mystery

is there found immanent within each. It is not 'out there' somewhere. It is within you. And no one has ever been cut off. The only difficulty is, however, that some folk simply don't know how to look within. 23/

To listen and accept the calling from the unconscious is to open oneself to the God within.

How does the calling affect our lives? First, the calling from within urges people to take account of the unconscious forces at work in their lives. It urges people to, at least, partially turn away from the taken-for-granted reality that governs most people's normal existence. Robert Denhardt in In the Shadow of Organization described many people's willingness to neglect their calling, in this way:

If we are to recover our primary sense of heroism, we must first acknowledge the call by which we are summoned to adventure. The call may come in many ways --- through our hopes and ambitions, through our failures and defeats --- but it will come. Too often, however, we are so wrapped up in the immediate that we fail to hear or to heed the call. But if we are open to possibilities that we may encounter and if we respond to the opportunities that they present, then we may engage in adventures far beyond what we might expect in the ordinary world. 24/

The person in touch with their unconscious has one foot firmly planted in the conscious world and other foot dangling within the unknown unconscious sphere. To make an effort to understand the unconscious and to accept the calling

implicitly follows the teachings of the early Greeks who urged people to "know thyself." We can never truly undertake this journey unless we reflex with our unconscious because the unconscious profoundly affects our behavior. As Morris Berman wrote, "on a conscious level we largely spend our lives finding out what we already know on an unconscious level." 25/

The unconscious calls each one of us. It is like a relentless master and we are like an often bashful, unskilled apprentice. The unconscious unceasingly tries to grab our attention, but unfortunately most people refuse to heed their calling, preferring to repress its message. By choosing to repress its message, these people choose a life of anxiety, buffeted by life-negating neuroses, instead of a life of creative suffering as embodied in the heroic myth.

The myths abound of individuals who have refused the calling of the unconscious, preferring to concentrate on life's banalities. Campbell wrote that those who refuse the call are

Walled in boredom, hard work, or 'culture,' the subject loses the power of significant affirmative action and in this way: Just as Jonah, in the biblical account, ran away from his call from God and ended up in the belly of the whale, many individuals avoid their inner calling and find that their vitality begins to atrophy." 26/

The calling from the unconscious also urges people "to give up what one takes to be one's own interests." 27/ To accept the calling is also to accept a diminution of one's ego. Campbell wrote that the acceptance of the heroic journey always involves "some sort of dying to the world." 28/ However, accepting the call from the unconscious, not only involves dying, it also involves rebirth or to use the words of the modern day fundamentalist, the hero is "born again." It is a kind of spiritual rebirth that awakens individuals to the bonds that they share with the rest of humanity.

Everyone undertakes a journey in life. All of us, like it or not, are confronted by life crises that force us to alter our expectations and our approach towards life. What differentiates the heroic journey from what I call the journey of the anxious is that the hero accepts and heeds the calling of the unconscious. By heeding the call from their inner selves, heroes endeavour to lead lives of contact and engagement. They maintain in contact with their environment and engage in a reflexive relationship with their unconscious. Rather than choosing to avoid life's difficulties and become trapped in a cell of anxiety, like the alienated personality types discussed in Chapter 3, the heroes confront their demons that lie within them.

Individuals seeking herohood withdraw from the world and reflex with their unconscious. They seek to be engaged by the "ultimate divine mystery" through what Campbell calls "willed introversion." Campbell described willed introversion as "one of the classic implements of creative genius and can be employed as a deliberate device. It drives the psychic energies into the depth and activates the lost continent of unconscious infantile and archetypal images."

29/ One form of "willed introversion" practiced extensively in the East is yoga. However, looking within needn't be so esoteric a process. People can also reflex with their unconscious by maintaining a journal of daily events that have touched their lives and also by analyzing their dreams. The unconscious can also be experienced less directly through the study of myths, because the images contained within the myths are universal and affect all of us.

In a society that places a great value on extraversion, willed introversion can be a particularly unknown and difficult part of the heroic journey. As I noted in chapter 3, most people are extraverted and many extraverts have not sufficiently developed their powers of looking inward. Indeed, in this society, the person who spends much time looking inward is often regarded as being anti-social.

The pervasive noise of modern society adds to the difficulty of looking inward. Many people are surrounded and

actually seem to welcome a world of noise that invades their personal space. They are constantly bombarded by the clamorous din of televisions, automobile horns, boom boxes, state-of-the-art stereo systems, telephones and Muzak on elevators and grocery stores, as noise invades our work and leisure. Furthermore, even many of our leisure time activities, with their emphasis on accomplishment, rob many people of the time to reflect. How disappointed Aristotle would be with a civilization that rejects the joys of contemplation. So little time to reflect and even less time to nourish the development of a rich inner life.

Nevertheless, developing a rich inner life involves some psychic risks. Who knows what repressed anxieties we will find deeply embedded in our unconscious? To confront and understand these repressed anxieties is a way to know thyself. However, most people would prefer not to undertake this foray and live a life characterized by contact. They would prefer to leave their repressed anxieties buried in the unconscious --- deep in the recesses, rather than take up the often perilous journey that leads to personal development. To confront the unconscious is to take a risk. Morris Berman noted "[t]he danger in tapping the unconscious is that one will get more than one bargained for; that the repressed unconscious will overwhelm the conscious as a hole is poked in the dike separating the two." 30/

However, by choosing not to confront their unconscious, some individuals choose the journey of anxiety or the avoidance of contact. Within an organization such an individual may assume some of the neurotic characteristics of the organizational personalities that were discussed in Chapter 3. Not neurosis in the clinical sense, but what Victor Frankl referred to as a "sociogenic neurosis" which results from a person's frustration over a lack of meaning in the individual's life. Sociogenic neuroses are life-debilitating --- they stand in the way of personal growth. They provide individuals with temporary solace in enabling them to avoid critical life issues like the acceptance of death. In describing the pattern of many neuroses today, Frankl wrote:

Every age has its own collective neurosis, and every age needs its own psychotherapy to cope with it. The existential vacuum which is the mass neurosis of the present time can be described as a private and personal form of nihilism; for nihilism can be defined as the contention that being has no meaning. 31/

Ernest Becker provided another description of neurosis, he called it "the miscarriage of clumsy lies about reality."

32/

On the other hand, those people who confront their unconscious, but do it unsuccessfully fall into even a more

dangerous trap --- the trap of psychoses. Psychosis occurs when the individual doesn't just learn from the archetypal material contained within the unconscious, but actually identifies with the archetype. In our context, affected individuals feel that they actually have become the archetypal hero --- a supreme example of ego inflation. Such people are so tapped into their unconscious that they lose contact with reality. R.D. Laing noted in The Politics of Experience that the schizophrenic's journey closely resembles the journey of the hero, except that the schizophrenic never returns to the world from the comfort of the unconscious. However, on the other hand, not to tap the unconscious means living only half a life.

Fortunately, most people effectively shield themselves from the delirium of psychosis, but unfortunately these same people frequently have difficulty tapping their unconscious energy. It is more difficult to tap into that unconscious energy when one is guided by an outer, rather than an inner compass. Those people guided by an outer compass are less likely to accept the calling of the unconscious because, in many cases, they have inadequately developed their powers of looking inward. Given this incapacity, they have partially or totally blocked their understanding of the unconscious.

Unless these people open themselves up to new possibilities, they will never discover the often lonely

heroic journey. They will continue to meander through life on a seemingly safer, more commonly followed journey that discourages contact. They undertake the journey of anxiety.

On the other hand, as heroes proceed along their journey, they labor on behalf of the community, even though the community will often not appreciate and, at times, scorn them. They remain a member of the community, but they also transcend their community. Thus, in order to continue on the correct journey, heroes need to have a strong inner focus and not allow the whims of their peers to divert them. They must be able to resist the pull of conformity. As Jung stated throughout his works and Herbert Marcuse indicated in One Dimensional Man, the pressures upon modern people to conform --- to become "mass men" --- are enormous. Consequently, adhering to the heroic journey, in these times, becomes that much more difficult.

--- The Journey and the Confrontation with Death ---

The heroic journey is not only a journey inward. It is a journey that occurs in both our unconscious and conscious worlds. To deny the unconscious world is to disregard the submerged, but often potent part of our personality. However, on the other hand, to deny the conscious world is to disregard reality. The hero, a person in search of psychological health and spiritual satisfaction, is in touch

with both worlds. People who successfully follow the heroic journey are able to incorporate the messages from their unconscious and apply them to their conscious world. Campbell characterized the hero's dual journey in this way. "The hero whose attachment to ego is already annihilated passes back and forth across the horizons of the world, in and out of the dragon, as readily as a king through all the rooms of his house." 33/

One of the ways in which the heroic myth is made manifest in a hero's conscious life is in their relationship with a "protective figure (often a little crone or old man) who provides the adventurer with amulets against the dragon forces he is about to pass." 34/ This protective figure is a person of wisdom, whose "amulets" provide heroes with the wisdom, necessary to help them navigate between the often perilous obstacles on their journey.

In the modern organization, the protective figure is actualized in the mentor who has provided many organizational heroes with sage advice. The concept of mentoring is common throughout the federal government. Many, if not most, senior executives in the federal government owe their position to a mentor who helped guide them. The concept of mentoring has been institutionalized in many developmental programs in the federal government that are designed to nurture junior and mid-level employees. However, the concept of the mentor did

not originate in modern organizations. It owes its birth to the Greeks, having originated in Greek mythology. Werner Jaeger, wrote in Paedeia: The Ideal of Greek Culture:

This idea seems to derive from the custom of sending a guardian with every noble youth when he left his home on a journey. Mentor watches every step his pupil takes, and helps him at every turn, with kindly words and wise advice. He instructs him in the forms of courtly behavior, when he finds himself in novel and difficult situations. 35/

The individual, who takes up the heroic journey within an organization, is likely to face numerous "novel and difficult situations." They will frequently be confronted by people who do not share their life view and who may place obstacles along their journey. They will face people who are so tied to the organization's rules that they have lost sight of the organization's mission. Heroes will confront people so intent upon increasing their power that they will trample anyone in their career path. They will supervise the chronic malcontent, seemingly upset with any course of action that the hero chooses. In these types of situations, the mentor can provide aspiring heroes with invaluable aid in dealing with their problems.

As heroes continue along their journey, they face a number of trials. Campbell described this phase of the journey in this way:

The adventure is always and everywhere a passage beyond the veil of the known into the unknown; the powers that watch at the boundary are dangerous; to deal with them is risky; yet for anyone with competence and courage the danger fades. 36/

These trials prepare heroes for their greatest test. In the traditional myth they may face monsters, witches or two-headed snakes. In the modern organization, aspiring heroes also face a series of trials. Some of these trials will test their competence --- are they skillful in their work? Other trials will test their courage --- do they support their subordinates and colleagues in situations of stress and organizational turmoil? Other trials test their leadership --- can they successfully motivate and provide constructive guidance to others? Still other trials will test their compassion --- are they capable of forgiving the failures of their colleagues?

Aspiring heroes will not succeed in all of these trials. Indeed, they may fail miserably in some of them. However, if heroes are to ultimately succeed, they must continue to remain engaged with their unconscious and stay in contact with their environment throughout the course of their journey. They should confront and remain in contact with the problems that beset them. (An issue I discuss in Chapter 6.) They need to learn from their failures and similarly not be overcome by hubris as a result of their

successes. Indeed, Edward Whitmont described individuation as a continuing process in which the individual goes through a cycle of inflation, caused by successes, followed by alienation, caused by encounters with reality.

Edinger describes inflation in the following way:

We can identify a state of inflation whenever we see someone (including ourselves) living out an attribute of a deity, i.e., whenever one is transcending proper human limits. Spells of anger are examples of inflated states. The attempt to force and coerce one's environment is the predominant motivation in anger...

Practically all of us, deep down have a residue of inflation that is manifested as an illusion of immortality. 37/

In Greek mythology the symptom of inflation is best epitomized in Icarus. Using his new found wings, Icarus ignored his father's advice and flew too close to the sun, thus melting his wings and causing him to fall rudely to earth. In Icarus rise and subsequent fall to earth, he symbolized each person's cycle of inflation and resulting alienation.

As I noted in Chapter 1, according to Edinger, alienation occurs when the conscious ego is disconnected from the self which encompasses both the ego and the unconscious. In the course of the individuation process,

heroes, like everyone else, go through a continuing process of inflation followed by alienation. As they mature, they temper their inflations and in so doing lessen the resulting alienation. Their separation from the self is temporary and once again they seek engagement with their unconscious.

On the other hand, neurotics remained locked in a state of alienation --- they spurn self-development. Like the organizational personality types discussed in Chapter 3, they take on stunted, egocentric characteristics. In describing these people, Edinger noted:

Inflation or alienation become dangerous conditions only if they are separated from the life cycle of which they are parts. If either becomes a static, chronic state of being, rather than a part of the comprehensive dynamism, the personality is threatened. 38/

Thus, the hero truly undergoes a journey. It is a journey characterized by a series of psychic trials. The heroic journey is not about ease, it is about contact with one's environment and engagement with one's unconscious. The individual on the heroic journey seeks individuation.

It would be much easier for the hero to avoid these trials and take the easier, more traveled road --- the journey of anxiety. Perhaps it is a misnomer to call it a journey, because this journey is best characterized by an

often frantic running in place, a journey that goes nowhere.

Heroes confront these trials and face their most significant enemy. In most myths the hero crosses a "magical threshold" and confronts a most dangerous enemy, usually represented by a dragon, monster or some representation of another people. The hero's nemesis is a malicious creature of great magnitude --- very capable of striking great fear into most people. The creature that heroes face are much more powerful than any enemy they face in the conscious world. Their nemesis is, in fact, a representation of an enemy within --- an enemy that often does not make itself known, but preys upon our unconscious. The heros' nemesis symbolizes their own fear of death.

In the remarkable television series on the life of Robin Hood, shown on the Public Broadcasting System, this encounter is revealed. Throughout the series Robin Hood and his "band of merry men" have for several years successfully eluded the evil Sheriff of Nottingham. Robin has defeated the Sheriff in Sherwood Forest, the Sheriff's own backyard and has consistently defied enormous odds. During this period the Sheriff and his band of mercenaries have provided Robin and his men with a series of difficult trials. These trials help prepare Robin for his final encounter with death. At the peak of his success, Herne, the forest god and Robin's

faithful mentor, warns Robin that he must prepare for the last trial --- his acceptance of death. Herne tells Robin that death is like a silent partner, always standing just behind his right shoulder. After some initial hesitation, Robin accepts his fate courageously and is slain at the hands of the evil Sheriff's men.

If heroes are to complete their journeys, like Robin Hood, they cannot attack death head on or run away from it in fear, but rather they must learn to submit to it. Thus, in the heroic myth, heroes often confront their own fear of death by allowing themselves to be swallowed up by some great beast. Campbell wrote:

The idea that the passage of the magical threshold is a transit into a sphere of rebirth is symbolized in the worldwide womb image of the belly of the whale. The hero, instead of conquering or conciliating the power of the threshold, is swallowed into the unknown and would have appeared to have died. 39/

In the belly of the whale, the hero experiences a rebirth or as Campbell put it "the passage of the threshold is a form of self-annihilation." 40/ Heroes become new people, having successfully confronted their greatest fear.

The presence of death is always with us. Death is our constant companion, quietly influencing our actions. It is a reality that everyone must eventually face, but most people,

specifically those who have taken up the journey of anxiety, prefer to avoid. Unlike the hero, they would prefer to avoid dealing with the inevitability of their own death. For the anxious person, death is simply too dark a prospect. Our culture, more than most, is especially fearful of death and sanctions several forms of behavior in order to mask its terror and inevitability. For example, many people avoid the use of the word "death", preferring to say that someone "passed." Funeral parlors, with their studied primping of corpses, futilely try to maintain the illusion that the deceased is merely settling in for a long nap. Furthermore, multi-millionaire building magnates construct gigantic skyscrapers and name the structures after themselves in order to lessen death's sting.

Campbell believed that most people prefer to avoid death, because he thought that mortality is the "secret cause of all suffering." 41/ Those people who try to avoid confronting their own fear of death usually employ one of two strategies, either they attack it head on and thereby deflect it upon others or they try to flee from it in the hope that they can blot out the pain.

Those people who choose to attack death were depicted in Elias Canetti's Crowds and Power, when he wrote:

The threat of death hangs over all men and, sometimes forgotten, it affects them all the

time and creates in them a need to deflect death however disguised it may be, and even if it is on to others. 42/

He also noted:

There are, as it were, declared times of death, times when it turns on a definite, arbitrarily selected group as a whole. It is 'Death to the French' or 'Death to the English'. The enthusiasm with which men accept such declarations has its root in the individual's cowardice before death; no one likes facing it alone. 43/

Of course, people deflect their fear of death upon others in situations other than the battlefield. People also project their fear of death upon others in organizational settings. The alienated organizational personality who probably struggles hardest with their fear of death is the self-seeking careerist. In their obsession with rising to the top of the organization, the self-seeking careerist tries to lessen death's pain. In their struggle to attain satisfaction, they accumulate the symbols of success --- the prestigious windowed office at the corner of the building; the well-mannered, beautiful secretary; and the highest of all honors, the executive bathroom. The fear of death is the primary reason why self-seeking careerists so avariciously accumulate these and other symbols of success. They cling tenaciously to a career treadmill, always fearing that they will fall off. For the self-seeking careerist,

work instead of becoming an opportunity for personal fulfillment and community building, becomes like a sedative that dulls consciousness.

Similarly, self-seeking careerist's imperious use of power within the organization is a representation of their elemental, unconscious death fear. Through their power to give orders, the self-seeking careerist becomes like the survivor on the battlefield, their subordinates like the enemy conquered. In the mind of the self-seeking careerist, power is not primarily used to fulfill legitimate organizational goals, but rather to fulfill often unconscious needs of the ego. For the self-seeking careerist, order giving takes on the character of an implicit threat of death. Canetti noted:

Beneath all commands glints the harshness of the death sentence. Amongst men they have become so systematized that death is normally avoided, but the threat and the fear of it is always contained in them; and the continued pronouncement and execution of real death sentences keeps alive the fear of every individual command and commands in general. 44/

Regulators also struggle with their death fears, but in a different way. Regulators try to lessen death's sting by being married to an organization's routines and regulations. The order that the regulator tries to impose on their environment may provide them with satisfaction, but

other organizational members probably find it stultifying --- often standing in the way of needed change. As in the case of self-seeking careerists, regulators do not blindly adhere to an organization's existing rules and routines for the sake of greater efficiency or because they are sincerely interested in furthering the common good, but rather they usually assume their stance as an attempt to fulfill their neurotic obsessions. Like the self-seeking careerist, regulators refuse to accept the inevitability of their own death. This failure to accept the inevitable has negative consequences for both the individual and his organization.

Those people who choose to flee from the inevitability of their own death take an equally futile and unsatisfying course. Within the organization the person probably most likely to flee their own death is the philistine. Philistines often try to avoid their death fears by being a modern day bacchanalian. By engaging in an endless stream of hedonistic pleasures, they blur their consciousness. For such a person, death appears absent in a life of endless revelry. They avoid contact with their environment and a reflexive relationship with their unconscious by being devotees of sensual pleasures.

Work usually provides little satisfaction or meaning for the philistine. They often find life in the organization confining --- only a boring waystation between parties.

Such a life course is ultimately dissatisfying. As Victor Frankl noted in The Doctor and the Soul:

When we set up pleasure as the whole meaning of life, we insure that in the final analysis life shall inevitably seem meaningless. Pleasure cannot possibly lend meaning to life. For what is pleasure? A condition. The materialist --- and hedonism is generally linked up with materialism --- would even say pleasure is nothing but a state of the cells of the brain. 45/

Manipulators also flee from their death fears. They do so by refusing to acknowledge and deal with organizational conflict. The manipulator wishes that organizational conflict would just go away. They usually prefer not to deal with it. If they are forced to deal with conflict, they try to soften it by pleasing as many people as possible --- a course which usually pleases no one. Their frequent incapacity to say "no," in effect, is an attempt to treat a sore, gaping wound with band-aids. This is the technique that manipulators unconsciously employ to bypass their death fears and avoid contact with their environment. Despite their reluctance to deal with conflict, the manipulator cannot wish it away. Indeed, their reluctance to deal with the source of conflict usually only exacerbates the problem. Much as the manipulator would prefer to ignore it, conflict is a central element even within those organizations

which are fortunate enough to maintain a sense of community. By refusing to acknowledge organizational conflict, manipulators are really running away from their personal dragons.

The self-seeking careerist, the regulator, the philistine and the manipulator all refuse to acknowledge the inevitability of their own death. This failure to do so leaves them with an important void in their lives. By failing to adequately confront their death, they also fail to adequately confront their lives and thus deprive their lives of meaning. They desperately follow the journey of anxiety always trying to shore up their sense of meaning, which lies on the edge of the unconscious ocean like shifting sands. The self-seeking careerist's will to power, the regulator's will to order, the philistine's will to pleasure and the manipulator's will to tranquillity provide each of their lives with a shallow and elusive meaning.

None of these personalities affirm life. Instead, they are caught in the grip of their unconscious --- a power beyond their control. They let their fear of death bind them. As a result, they block off possibilities; place limits on human relationships; engage in self-destructive, neurotic behaviors; neglect the common good; and contribute to an organization's dismalness and lack of hope.

The contrast between the hero and the alienated

personalities is stark. Heroes, rather than deflecting their own fear of death upon others or fleeing from it, accept and submit to their own deaths. Indeed, the heros' acceptance of death is the culmination of their life-adventure. The hero's brush with death infuses meaning into the heroic adventure. It infuses meaning because, according to Campbell, the hero always provides the world with a gift. For me, the gift that heroes provide the world is their calm acceptance of death. For the hero --- death has lost its sting. They do not allow their fear of death to force them into the arms of a seemingly comforting, but ultimately life-negating neurosis. All of us should take note and can benefit from the hero's courageous example. As Joseph Campbell noted:

The conquest of the fear of death is the recovery of life's joy. One can experience an unconditional affirmation of life only when one has accepted death, not as contrary to life, but as an aspect of life. Life in its becoming is always shedding death, and on the point of death. The conquest of fear yields the courage of life." 46/

By coming to terms with death, the hero also comes to terms with life. Unlike those who choose the journey of anxiety, the hero chooses to affirm life. How does the hero affirm life? Alfred Killilea in The Politics of Being Mortal suggested several ways in which death consciousness can

improve our lives in the here-and-now. He wrote:

The key to an individual's acceptance of death is a series of new perspectives on mortality. These new perspectives would emphasize the importance of death to a person's life in promoting honesty, a release from egoism, and an appreciation of the value of limits. 47/

He also added:

In facing death in common, we know we are all incomplete and fragile and experience a neediness that has been the basis of community throughout history. We know deep within us the anxiety and struggle each other person has to go through in coming to terms with death and affirming life. 48/

Let me expand on the nature of this gift --- the value of this perception. When people acknowledge their own death, they promote honesty throughout their whole lives, because it is a recognition of one of life's central realities --- a reality which most people would prefer to avoid. It causes us to focus our attention less on life's banalities and more on life's essentials. It spurs our individuation urge, helping us realize what we were meant to be, rather than blindly complying with societal dictates. Indeed, in his writings Campbell acknowledged that the heroic journey could be a way of understanding the individuation process.

Individuals who confront their death experience a diminution of ego. They also experience an increased sense of connectedness with others. They experience this connectedness within the context of a community. People with this perspective find satisfaction in integrating themselves into their communities. Through this integration they attain a kind of immortality, because their influence will not only be felt by the existing community, but will continue to be felt by succeeding generations. Rather than destroying a community by letting one's fear of death negatively affect one's behavior, death conscious people allow their death fears to propel them and their community forward. They do not try to repress their death fears. They express them and in doing so transform these fears from a force that can negatively affect others and themselves into a positive force that render them psychologically healthy and spiritually sustained and the community improved. The community's good becomes their good.

Finally, death consciousness contributes to our appreciation of the value of limits. Killilea noted that our society, which subscribes to the values of capitalism, is particularly oblivious to the importance of limits. Death is the great limiter and therefore many people choose to ignore it, because it is inconsistent with their ideology of unceasing growth, continued expansion and unrestrained

competition. This ideology contributes to many of our modern day compulsions --- bigger salaries, higher GNPs, better grades, faster cars --- and robs people of their joy of living. The practice of this ideology can begin just after the child "graduates" from diapers. In an organizational setting, it is first exhibited in pre-school, when anxious parents fear that since their three year old daughter hasn't mastered her colors yet, she will never enter the ranks of the Ivy League. It reaches its zenith in the workplace, in the ulcer-ridden self-seeking careerist, who will never feel fulfilled, always seeking greater career heights.

Thus, as Killilea put it, the fear of death can be like a "nightmare that intrudes upon us directly but pervasively in feelings of insecurity," ^{49/} or it can render our lives meaningful and connected. The hero chooses the latter option. It is a choice that we all must face.

--- The Return and Integration Within a Community ---

Heroes are tempted to remain within their unconscious,
but are called back to the community. How much easier it is for individuals to remain within their unconscious and say "The world, be damned!" Applying the lessons of the unconscious in the conscious world is infinitely more difficult. Herohood is much more easily talked about than practiced. Mere goodness is not enough. As Campbell wrote,

"mythology does not hold as its greatest hero the merely virtuous man." 50/ Heroes fail in their journeys, if they do not share their insights and engage in praxis (action guided by theory) in the conscious world.

Nevertheless, many a would-be hero, resists the call to return to the world. Myths are replete with many would-be heroes, who preferring the comfort of their inner world, have to be retrieved. One can understand the hero's reluctance to return since the world, after all, includes many self-seeking careerists, regulators, philistines, manipulators and neurotics of other stripes. Some would-be heroes would prefer to suffer alone, silently, rather than in the company of their unenlightened brethren. These people, who do not return to the conscious world, forego the heroic journey at this point and some of them, never truly become consciously reengaged with the world. We call them schizophrenics. As I noted earlier, R.D. Laing in The Politics of Experience likened the heroic journey to the journey of the schizophrenic --- the difference being that the schizophrenic does not return to engage in praxis in the conscious world, preferring a kind of vapid unconsciousness.

Fortunately, many people choose to return to the world, albeit sometimes reluctantly. As Campbell put it, "The hero may have to be brought back from his supernatural adventure by assistance from without. That is to say, the world may

have to come and get him. For the self-scattering of the wakened state." 51/ The world is a better place, because these people choose to return. It is good that they choose the conscious world, because as the social philosopher D.M. Dooling wrote "this world we live in needs our heroism as it has never before been needed in man's memory." 52/

Heroes returns to the world and feel spiritually integrated with the rest of their community. The culmination of the heros' journey --- their return to their community --- is evidence that their journey into the hidden recesses of their unconscious is not an idyllic escape into narcissism. Heroes sublimate their ego for the sake of the community's good and destroy some of the barriers that stand between them and others. This approach to life requires nothing less than a transformation of consciousness --- a transformation induced by their encounter with the great unknown within. When the hero re-encounters their community, Campbell wrote that they realize that their "true reality is in our identity and unity with all life... The hero is the one who has given his physical life to some order of realization of that truth." 53/ During the journey, the hero becomes more of an individual, but less of an individualist in the Lockean sense. Heroes move beyond Maslow's hierarchy of needs, rather than being merely self-

actualized, they achieve integration with their community and a resulting diminution of ego.

In addition to putting the community good ahead of their own personal good, heroes also provide their community with a gift. As I mentioned in the previous section, one of the gifts they provide their community is their stance toward death and their stance towards life. In the next chapter I explore how heroes can play a significant role in the organizational life of federal agencies, no matter what their rank. The hero's entire life can serve as an example to others. The organizational hero serves as an example to others by emanating what Jung called "mana," a capacity that allows the hero to touch other people's unconscious beings. (In the next chapter, I demonstrate how the hero's mana is manifested in the modern organization.) The organizational hero is an individual who is self-empowered and is capable of serving as an agent for change. They are not brought down by the malaise of others, instead, they have the capability of helping other people realize their own potential.

The hero embodies Campbell's life-affirming philosophy. To change the world, or at least a small part of it, heroes focus on themselves and live their lives as an example to be emulated. Campbell wrote that "[a]ll societies are evil, sorrowful, inequitable; and so they will always be. So if you really want to help this world, what you will have to

teach is how to live in it." 54/

I have been using the term community fairly often, but what do I mean by it? After all, the concept of community, like the concept of heroism is often ambiguous. A community is an intimate collectivity in which each member strives to improve the common good. To experience community is to recognize one's connection with others. Campbell wrote:

that you are two aspects of one life and that your apparent separateness is but an effect of the way we experience forms under the conditions of space and time. Our true reality is in our identity and unity with all life. This is a metaphysical truth which may become spontaneously realized under circumstances of crisis. For it is, according to Schopenhauer, the truth of your life. 55/

This society, possibly more than any other society in the history of civilization, prizes individualism over community. And although we may, as a society, have produced and accumulated more things and provided for more material pleasures by following this course, we also suffer from a pronounced lack of community. Particularly in our capitalistic society, many people become victims of their overwhelming desire to produce and possess. Rather than trying to reach out to their neighbors and colleagues, these people ceaselessly try to outdo each other by producing and possessing more. It is through this means that many people

try to foist meaning into their lives. Such a course only results in anxiety and alienation.

The individual who is a member of a community is less likely to be so afflicted. As a member of a community, the individual is provided opportunities to grow spiritually and become more psychologically secure. Within the context of a community, individuals grow spiritually by feeling enlivened by a sense of worth --- knowing that they are working for something greater than themselves. Cochran noted that "[c]ommunity and common good are intimately related --community being defined as a society relative to a common good." 56/

Secondly, the member of a community also has the opportunity to become more psychologically secure. The individuation urge, the desire of people to be what they are meant to be, is incomplete unless the individual furthers that process within a community. The person seeking individuation cannot fulfill this process in a void --- separate and alone. A community can assist individuals in their individual growth by providing them models of personal development.

If one accepts the premise that communities are desirable, where in our individualistic society does one find a community? Many people's concept of community are rather outmoded and have not adjusted to current realities.

One new form of community or should I say, an old form that is in need of being rediscovered, is the community of the federal service. The federal service rather than being that malaise-ridden collective of alienated individuals, as depicted in Chapter 1, can and should be a community of committed individuals dedicated to the common good. The federal service can provide an ideal environment for living the heroic life. It can provide an opportunity to respond to the calling from the unconscious and apply the lessons learned on the heroic journey in service to the community and the furtherance of the common good. People in the federal sector should strive to establish communities, regardless of their external and internal environment. They should remain committed to community, whether or not the sitting president decides to wage war on the bureaucracy. Likewise their tenacity to this ideal should hold, whether or not they are saddled with an alienated supervisor or incorrigible subordinates. Too many people underestimate their own power to affect changes within the federal organization. It is very easy to resign oneself to life as it exists in the federal bureaucracy. It is very easy to become so cynical that one blames one's own unhappiness on poor supervisors, the pay gap between the federal and private sectors or the inequities of the federal government's current performance evaluation system.

It is more difficult to resist these forces of negativism and attempt to further the common good and to serve others despite the obstacles placed on one's journey. Heroes do not merely react to existing conditions, they create a new gestalt. The empowered individual who follows such a journey is a force to be reckoned with. Heroes realize that their destiny is to a great extent of their own making. Joseph Campbell wrote:

Freud tells us to blame our parents for our shortcomings of our life, and Marx tells us to blame the upper class of our society. But the only one to blame is oneself. That's the helpful thing about the Indian idea of karma. Your life is the fruit of your own doing. You have no one to blame but yourself. 57/

Heroes are people who are very this-worldly. They move between their conscious and unconscious worlds with ease. They are able to reflex with their unconscious, but also remain in touch with the conscious world. Campbell wrote:

To become --- in Jung's term --- individuated to live as a released individual --- one has to know how and when to put on and off the masks of one's various life roles... But this finally is not easy, since some of the masks cut deep. They include judgement and moral values. They include one's infatuations. It is a common thing to be overly impressed by and attached to masks, either some mask of one's own or the mana-masks of others. 58/

The popular conception of the hero is a person of extraordinary gifts who is fully exposed on life's grand stage. One thinks of Hercules or Odysseus. However, as the ancient Greek Hesiod pointed out in Works and Days, the hero can also be a person of ordinary talents --- a steady plodder. Hesiod's hero was a rather ordinary farmer. He was a person who served his god and his community by tilling the soil. So too, can ordinary people within federal organizations take up the heroic path. The heroic journey is open to anyone willing to bear the ordeals of the journey.

As D.M. Dooling pointed out:

Every man is a potential hero, even ourselves, and every society, even our own, is a potential ground for those who recognize and accept their role. This recognition may be buried deeply in the subconscious, yet it expresses itself today in our torn and dying world as it has throughout time, if we can learn to decode the messages of myths, ancient and modern, of our own customs, our own actions and our own dreams. 59/

In the federal organization, heroes can be GS-3 clerk-typists or agency heads. Their position is less important than the attitude they hold towards their positions. They are people who first and foremost dedicate themselves to the common good and thus work for something greater than themselves. The myths make clear that the warrior or slave, artisan or housekeeper, can serve as a model for heroism.

In the federal organization, the average person is not usually confronted by decisions or crises of great import. Even heads of organizations are more often than not confronted by the routine and the mundane situation. Heroism in the federal organization is seldom visible and apparent. In fact, sometimes the most heroic act is performed by the person who is never recognized --- the so-called "hidden Christs." It can best be understood as a stance manifested by an attitude --- an attitude that reflects a commitment of service to the community.

In this chapter I indicated the basic elements of the heroic journey. Heroes respond to the calling of their unconscious; engage in willed introversion; accept the authority of a mentor; engage in a number of trials; accept their death; and return to their communities. That is the hero's journey as related in myths. But how can heroism be manifested in the modern organization? How can we be heroes when we sit behind our desks? The following chapter provides some illustrations of how the heroic journey is relevant to American public administration. As I point out in the next chapter, elements of the heroic journey can be found in the lives of public administrators, in contemporary fiction of public administrators and in public administration theory.

CHAPTER V

THE HEROIC JOURNEY AS RELATED IN BIOGRAPHY, THEORY AND FICTION

Descriptions of the heroic journey, both conscious and unconscious, are not confined to the field of mythology. Since the heroic journey is an important part of life, it is manifested all around us. Consequently, the heroic journey is also played out in the field of public administration. This chapter provides examples of how the heroic journey shows up in the lives of American public administrators, public administration theory and fiction that pertains to public servants.

The first section indicates how the concepts of the calling and the individual's integration within a community are integral to the tradition of American public administration. In this country the calling was first experienced by the early Puritans, most notably John Winthrop, the first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Winthrop felt that he heeded his "particular" calling by serving God in the public service. I also draw from some more current examples. Both Frances Perkins, the Secretary of Labor during FDR's administration and George Hartzog,

Director of the National Park Service during the 1960s and 1970s reveal through their writings how they felt called to the federal service and how they experienced the federal service as a community.

In the second section I indicate how these concepts are also part of the intellectual tradition of American public administration. In this section, I rely primarily on the Blacksburg Manifesto and related works that emphasize the importance that the concepts of the calling and the community have for American public administration.

The third section provides illustrative examples from popular movies and novels regarding how the individual takes up the heroic journey within the modern organization. The hero is a universal archetype, reflected in myths spanning all historical periods and among all cultures. It is also played out in our age. Fictional heroes are not just characters that lived exclusively during the days of the ancient Greeks and Romans --- they also live today in our literature, sometimes within an organizational setting.

The Calling and the Community --- Concepts Central to the American Public Administration Tradition

As I noted in Chapter 4, the concepts of the calling and the community are two critical stages of the heroic journey. These concepts are not empty vessels that remain divorced

from a person's everyday life. They can have meaning and have had meaning to people throughout the history of American public administration.

In this section I want to make Campbell's theory of the hero real to you and show how it applies in the public sector. Indeed, the concepts of the calling and the community are central to the American public administration tradition, among both public administration practitioners and intellectuals. Although a concern for the concepts of the calling and the community have ebbed and flowed throughout the years among public administration practitioners and intellectuals these concepts have recently undergone a rebirth, at least among some scholars. In an effort to re-focus public administration's moral compass, the writers of the Blacksburg Manifesto re-introduced the public administration community to these concepts in their polemic. In my effort to show how the concepts of the calling and the community fall within the intellectual tradition of American public administration in the latter part of this section, I draw from authors who have expanded upon the ideas expressed in the Blacksburg Manifesto.

I begin this section by providing three examples of American public administrators from different periods of American history who felt called to public service and also saw themselves as part of a larger community dedicated to

furthering the common good. Each of these individuals serve as a model for heroic action in the public sector. My exemplars are John Winthrop, the first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony; Frances Perkins, the Secretary of Labor during Franklin Roosevelt's administration; and George Hartzog, the Director of the National Parks Service during the 1960s and early 1970s.

American Public Administrators Who Have Been Influenced
by the Concepts of the Calling and the Community

--- John Winthrop ---

Historians have frequently commented on the profound impact that the values of the early Puritans have had on contemporary values. Their values touch our lives in many ways. For example, the Puritan work ethic may be only a faint glimmer of its former self, but it still profoundly affects some segments of American society. In addition, many Americans' sexual attitudes were strongly influenced by the Puritans' tradition of abstemiousness, at least until the sexual revolution of the 1960s unhinged our society's sexual mores. Similarly, we inherited from the Puritans an ethic of public service. In this regard, the Puritans and other like-minded Calvinists felt that they had inherited from the Roman Catholics, the mantle of God's Chosen People. (The Roman Catholics, of course, believed that they had also

inherited that mantle earlier from the Hebrews and were not of a mind to relinquish their alleged favored status with the Almighty.) As God's Chosen People, the Puritans felt that they were called by God to serve him in all aspects of their lives. As Phillip Schorr noted in "Public Service as a Calling: An Exploration of a Concept. Part II:"

This 'New Israel,' founded by the Puritans, is designed to fulfill Calvin's tenets regarding a society of the elect dedicated to God. These earliest settlers in America treat their calling seriously, for in the eyes of Protestants every occupation is a calling. 1/

Thus, the Puritans felt that they served God, both in the world of religion and in the world of work. They scorned the cloistered life of the Roman Catholic monk, because they believed that God was not served by a life devoted solely to contemplation. The Puritans held a very worldly stance towards their faith. God was best served, when His servants, the Puritans, heeded His calling and practiced their faith in the everyday world.

It was their belief that every God-fearing person followed two callings. In the words of the Puritan theologian, William Perkins:

Thus much of the two general rules. Now follow the parts and kinds of vocations. And they are of two sorts: general or particular. The general calling is the

calling of Christianity, which is common to all that live in the Church of God. The particular is that special calling that belongs to some particular men, as the calling of a magistrate, the calling of a minister, the calling of a master, of a father, of a child, of a servant, of a subject, or any other calling that is common to all. 2/

To heed their "particular" callings and also serve their fellows, the Puritans engaged in a conscious praxis. Individual Puritans were guided by a code of ethics, dictated to them by their church and they were also expected to practice these strictures in the world of work.

A person who symbolized the Puritan mind was John Winthrop, the first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. He felt moved by his calling from God and also demonstrated a commitment to community service. John Winthrop's character is not only revealed through his numerous letters to his colleagues and relatives, but also by his biographer, that equally renowned Puritan, Cotton Mather. Cotton Mather in his book The Life of John Winthrop stretched the medium of biography to describe a public leader, who in Mather's opinion, symbolized those values that Mather's contemporaries should try to emulate. Sacvan Bercovitch in The Puritan Origins of the American Self wrote that Mather's description of Winthrop "conforms neither to the principles of hagiography nor to those of secular biography." 3/ Indeed,

Cotton Mather likens John Winthrop to an American Nehemiah, calling him "Nehemias Americanus." (Nehemiah, it will be recalled, was famous in the Bible for leading the Israelites out of Babylon and back to their promised land.) Although Mather's description of Winthrop was undoubtedly overly laudatory Bercovitch believed that Mather's biography was primarily intended to serve as a model for Mather's contemporaries. Mather's biography of Winthrop provides us with a window upon the Puritan mind.

The parallels between the archetypal hero as portrayed by Joseph Campbell and Cotton Mather's John Winthrop are marked. Both the archetypal hero and John Winthrop are called to serve the common good. Both heroes are not merely good, but they also provide their communities with a gift. Bercovitch wrote that Winthrop "is more than an ethical leader: he is one of the elect... As his vocation was a summons from God, so his belief led him to do well in public office." 4/

Furthermore, Mather even described Winthrop in heroic terms. In describing Mather's depiction of Winthrop, Bercovitch wrote:

Mather's method issues in a peculiarly self-contained concept of heroism. Mythographers tell us that the heroic "superindividual" provides a model of tribal identity, and that mythic rituals, by reenacting the exploits of the

patriarchs, transform biography (in Levi-Strauss's phrase) into a form of history of a higher power than itself. 5/

Not only can Winthrop's journey be likened to the heroic journey, but the spiritual journey of the Puritans, as represented in their devotional exercises includes the central elements of the heroic journey, namely the calling, the acceptance of death and the return to the community. The parallels between the Puritan's devotional exercises and the heroic journey include the following similarities. The Puritan's devotional life centered on contemplation, an activity that opened up the individual to his calling. In their contemplative states, the Puritans sought "illumination," whereas facing a similar threshold, archetypal heroes accept their death. Finally, at the last stage of the devotional exercise, the individual sought "union with Christ," whereas in a variation on this theme, heroes seek union with their community.

--- Frances Perkins ---

Frances Perkins, the only person to hold the office of Secretary of Labor during Franklin Roosevelt's four terms, also felt called to public service. Although Frances Perkins was religiously devout, unlike John Winthrop, none of her writings revealed that she felt called to the federal service by the Christian God. Nevertheless, as a staunch

Epsicopalian, she continued the Protestant tradition of government service initiated by Winthrop and other early Puritans. She regarded public service as an important civic responsibility. Thus, although Perkins and other federal workers of her era were usually not inclined to believe that they were working for the greater glory of God in their travails in the public sector, they continued the Puritan tradition of public service.

The 1930s and 1940s was an era when many Americans regarded public service as a calling. In addition, many federal workers experienced the federal government as a kind of community. During the 1930s, millions of Americans were unemployed, hundreds of banks had failed and the country's manufacturing and agricultural sectors had suffered a severe relapse. The times called out for drastic action. Furthermore, during the early to mid 1940s, the United States was forced to confront the evil menace of the Axis Powers. This adversity tended to bring people together. It fostered idealism. One of the ways that people could realize that idealism was by working in the federal service. In recalling this period of American public administration, Frank Sherwood noted:

The talented coming into the Federal government in the thirties and forties were truly impressive. We may not yet know how much we gained as a society

from the contributions of these people, nor how much we may be losing as disincentives to federal service continue to mount for young people. 6/

Before Franklin Roosevelt's administration, the federal government played a comparatively limited role in most people's lives. The federal government was mainly responsible for mobilizing the troops in times of national emergencies; delivering the mail; collecting taxes; coining money; maintaining diplomatic relationships with other countries; and performing numerous housekeeping functions like registering patents. Franklin Roosevelt permanently changed the nature of the federal government. Under his leadership the federal government was transformed from a part-time caretaker into a dynamic agent for change.

One of the persons who was charged with transforming the federal government was Frances Perkins. One can sense her commitment and devotion to her mission in her affectionate recollection of those years entitled The Roosevelt I Knew. Like many of the people that Roosevelt attracted to work in the federal government, Perkins felt empowered. She knew she could make a difference and she did by playing a critical role in helping launch the Social Security Program, the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Recovery Act. This feeling of empowerment is reflected in a comment she made about the National Recovery

Administration.

Looking back on those days, I wonder how we ever lived through them. I cannot, even now, evaluate the situation. One thing I do see --- it was dynamic. It was as though the community rose from the dead; despair was replaced by hope. Certainly an enormous number of good enterprises grew out of NRA [National Recovery Administration] whether or not it was itself successful. They were not only new enterprises in governing but new attitudes among businessmen. The laissez-faire and stick-in-the-mud type began to disappear from the leadership of business thinking, and younger, better educated and more informed men came to have influence. Organized labor took a new lease on life. And what is perhaps of most importance to the future, business and labor began to participate with public officers in developing a sound, socially just economic and industrial pattern. 7/

--- George Hartzog ---

George Hartzog, the Director of National Park Service from 1964 to 1973, was another real life public servant that was moved by a calling and the pull of community. George Hartzog's life reads like a modern day Horatio Alger. He was the son of a poor South Carolina farmer who became a minister at age 19 and passed the South Carolina Bar at the young age of 22. In 1946 he joined the National Park Service as a ranger and by 1964 became its director. He was only the second director of the National Park Service who had worked his way up through the career ranks.

As Director of the National Park Service, it was not

uncommon for him to rub elbows with Senators and Congressmen in order to further the goals of his bureau. During his tenure he was reportedly on a first name basis with 300 Senators and Congressmen and had a reputation around Washington of being a wily political operator. Frank Sherwood quoted Wallace Stegner, the former Chairman of the Secretary's Advisory Board on National Parks as saying that Hartzog was "a man of principle who knew how to play politics... [Hartzog] proved himself one of the toughest, savviest, and most effective bureau chiefs who ever operated in that political alligator-hole." 8/

Nevertheless, after reading his memoirs entitled Battling for the National Parks and other accounts about him, I did not get the impression that Hartzog was like the self-seeking careerist drunk with power, as described in Chapter 3. Hartzog seemed to be a federal worker sincerely interested in preserving and expanding the Nation's park system and not primarily interested in simply furthering his own career. Indeed, he seemed willing to put his own career on the line, when his principles were at stake. As an example, he ended his work with the National Park Service and the federal government when he was fired by President Nixon, because he refused to accord special privileges in a national park to a crony of Nixon's, the infamous Bebe Rebozo.

Drawing from personal accounts and his own writings, Hartzog comes across as a rough-hewn man of great passions --- passions that reflected his commitment to a community that existed within the National Park Service and a national community. In discussing the national parks, he wrote:

Parks are an attribute of sovereignty and, of course, were known for hundreds of years prior to the establishment of America's first national park....

In the United States, the people are sovereign. America's national parks are the special creations of the people through their elected representatives in the Congress. These national parks belong to the people. 9/

Before his government service, Hartzog noted that National Park Service employees exhibited a high level of esprit d' corps. It was this esprit d' corps that early in his work life drew him to the National Park Service. In describing his initial impressions of national park rangers, he encountered before joining the National Park Service, Hartzog wrote:

They were tolerant and understanding. These were 'people' people who each year served tens of thousands of tenderfeet like me who visited the parks. As the discussion ebbed and flowed their personalities came through --- individualistic, tough, self-reliant men bound to a common code of service above self. Their camaraderie was

spontaneous and catching. By the end of the meeting I had found my career. I didn't know the parks but I knew these park service people and it was among them that I wanted to be. 10/

Later as Director of the National Park Service, he tried to contribute to this esprit d' corps by creating an atmosphere in which his employees felt that they were empowered. Employing a management innovation that was largely unknown in the 1960s and 1970s and ran counter to the existing organizational culture in the federal government, Hartzog with the help of the staff from the Federal Executive Institute encouraged more participation in decision-making by his staff. In describing Hartzog's break with the tradition of hierarchical management, Sherwood wrote:

It was within this circumstance that he [Hartzog] made a highly unusual proposal to me, then the Director of the Federal Executive Institute. He asked that our faculty provide the Park service with consulting help in order to foster 'organized subversion' (his term) by his top staff... Consciously or not, the incident shows a rare commitment to power sharing on the part of a manager, with perhaps one special twist. Instead of seeking an answer to the diminishment of his own power, Hartzog sought to empower his subordinates. He undertook to create the best of all worlds, one where everyone feels powerful. 11/

The Concepts of the Calling and the Community Fall Within the Intellectual Tradition of Public Administration

--- The Calling ---

The concepts of the calling and the community are not only reflected in the public lives of some key American public administrators, but they are also a part of the American public administration tradition. This tradition was revived in the 1980s by the authors of the Blacksburg Manifesto who were concerned that the American tradition of viewing public service as a calling had been drowned out by a chorus of derision led by political officeholders in the Carter and Reagan administrations. In an effort to give new life to that old tradition, the writers of the Blacksburg Manifesto wrote:

In spite of the inevitable human frailties of a few, despite its erosion by careerism and the fragmenting pressures of specialization, and in spite of its current detractors, The Public Administration has been and remains a vocation given meaning in the service of a 'cause.' In the everyday words of public administration, this cause is characterized as being a 'civil servant,' 'career executive,' or 'public employee.' With a self-conscious shift in the American Dialogue we feel that the sense of a calling will grow and flourish in the Public Administration and Public Administrators as never before --- more will live 'for' it as a cause and fewer

'off' it from less noble impulses. 12/

One of the authors of the Blacksburg Manifesto, James Wolf, collaborated with Robert Bacher to further develop this theme. In "The Public Administrator: The Worlds of Public Service Occupations," they indicated that public administrators view their occupations as one of three "worlds." They are the worlds of the job, the career and the calling or vocation. As I noted earlier in this dissertation and as these authors affirmed in their paper, the worlds of the job and the career fit into the individualistic ethos that locks our culture in a relentless stranglehold. In contrast to this predominant ethic, Wolf and Bacher believe that the world of the vocation or calling provides the individual with a "sense of transcendence," and "an opportunity to be part of a humanist social enterprise, to experience meaning in work, and the feeling of altruism."
13/ Accordingly, Wolf and Bacher pointed out that people who follow their calling, unlike the job holder or the careerist, are committed to something greater than themselves. They become a force working for the betterment of the common good.

Another author, Philip Schorr in "The Public Service as a Calling: An Exploration of a Concept" also chose to further expand on the concept of the calling. In his two part paper,

he explored whether the concept of the calling has any relevance to American public administration. Schorr traced the concept of the calling from the ancient Greeks and Hebrews to Martin Luther, John Calvin and his American representatives, the Puritans. Schorr concluded in Part One that "a redefined sense of the calling can serve as a powerful motivator for those who desire to strive for self-excellence; while the sense of a calling can restore the sacredness of public service as a public trust." 14/ Nevertheless, he appeared to hedge this statement slightly in Part Two, when he asked the rhetorical question: "In contemporary American society with its heavy emphasis on instrumental, material values, how compelling, or relevant, is the notion of a calling for the workforce, and especially for those employed in the public sector?" 15/

I trust that the concept of the calling will continue to be explored by public administration scholars. It is part of the practitioner's tradition in public administration and thus, it should remain part of the intellectual tradition as well.

--- The Community ---

The concept of community also was an important element of the Blacksburg Manifesto. The writers of the Manifesto saw federal employees as part of a community first initiated

by the Founding Fathers. They wrote:

As a critical first point, we need to remind ourselves that the Public Administrator takes an oath to uphold the Constitution of the United States --- not the whims of the powerful. This oath initiates administrators into a community created by the Constitution and obliges them to know and support constitutional principles that affect their official spheres of public service. 16/

Thus, the Constitution established a common system of principles which serves to bind all federal employees together in a common purpose.

Gary Wamsley, the principal author of the Blacksburg Manifesto, expanded on the theme of community in "Imaging the Public Organization as an Agency and the Public Administrator as Agential Leader." The building block upon which the concept of community stands in the federal agency is what Wamsley called the agency perspective. In his paper Wamsley expanded upon the agency perspective which was first introduced in the Blacksburg Manifesto. The writers of the Manifesto claimed that there is an agency perspective, because "[a]gencies are repositories, and their staffs are trustees of, specialized knowledge, historical experience, time-tested wisdom, and most importantly, some degree of consensus as to the public interest relevant to a particular societal function." 17/

Wamsley believed that the federal agency adheres to the

agency perspective when it stands for "a sincere search for consensus on the common good within the realm of the substantive policy concerns that fall within the agency's ambit." 18/ In Wamsley's scenario, the federal agency responds to the common good, rather than to the needs of special interests or the agency's own interests, because the agency not only constitutes a community in itself, but feels itself part of a larger national community. Such a community is not formed and sustained so much by geographical parameters as it is by the shared values of its members. If one accepts this proposition, then perhaps the concept of community also has meaning for workers in the federal sector. Federal workers, after all, share some values in common, because they are required to take an oath pledging their allegiance to the principles set forth in the Constitution. Given that federal workers subscribe to a common set of values, federal agencies should provide a conducive setting for the formation of communities.

Unfortunately, both Wamsley and this writer have sadly concluded that the idea of a federal community although rich with potential, still remains only a distant possibility. Despite Wamsley's enthusiasm for communitarianism, he is not oblivious to the spectre of interest group pluralism that currently dominates our politics and, in his words, has

"virtually annihilated the concept of active citizenship."

19/

The Public Servant as Hero in Movies and Novels

Not only are elements of the heroic journey a part of the real lives of public servants and also found in the public administration literature, but public servants are also represented as heroes in the movies and novels. The idea that public servants would be lionized in fiction seems amazing in this era of bureaucrat bashing. Particularly, since the 1960s, the public servant and the bureaucracy has usually been depicted in fiction as a sinister force. This trend in fiction reflects the increasing distaste among the intellectual community and the general public for bureaucratic organizations and their representative, the bureaucrat. Indeed, perhaps these fictional accounts provide people with a fairly harmless outlet to vent their aggressions against the organizational society.

Given this trend, the so-called anti-hero has attained prominence. They are people, alienated and alone, beset by evil forces that try to break their will and compromise their principles. In these fictional accounts the anti-hero usually either chooses to withdraw from the bureaucratic setting or hopelessly rebels against it. Unlike heroes, anti-heroes choose to reject rather than embrace the

community with which they maintain a tenuous connection. Fictional accounts that have popularized the organizational anti-hero include many popular works like Catch-22, One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest and Something Happened.

On the other hand, H.J. Friedsam in "Bureaucrats as Heroes" described a journey that takes an alternate course --- the journey of the hero as it occurs in novels in a bureaucratic setting. For Friedsam there is an inevitable tension between people who choose heroism and the forces that beset them in the modern organization. He wrote:

The bureaucratic hero is one who fails to develop the necessary degree of 'trained incapacity.' Over and over the thesis is repeated the price of bureaucratic success is the sacrifice of self, that prostitution by any other name is still not sweet. This is not to say that the ideal bureaucrat, looking on his office as a calling, full of expertise and devoted to the impersonal end of the bureaucracy, is missing from these novels. On the contrary, in many of them the hero is presented in just this way at the outset; but plot development in these cases is concerned with the difficulty of remaining a bureaucrat even when one wants to be one. 20/

Several other themes are played out in novels which feature bureaucratic heroes. Friedsam noted that the young hero usually enters the organization fresh with a healthy dose of naivete and idealism. Nevertheless, they frequently soon discover that the dominant values of their

organizations differ markedly from the values they hold. Sounding very much like Presthus, Downs or Maccoby, Friedsam wrote that "the importance of knowing the right people, of the right school tie, of dancing with the boss's wife, laughing at the boss's jokes, and the 'yes man,' or their equivalent are recurrent symbols in these novels." 21/ Shortly after the young hero's initiation to the organization's mores, according to Friedsam, bureaucratic heroes experience a "dawning awareness" --- a period in which they are awakened from their naivete. After attaining this higher level of consciousness, in Friedsam's scheme, bureaucratic heroes either remain true to their values and are often fired or they learn to adjust to the situation by internalizing their conflicts which typically result in either ulcers or alcoholism.

I would suggest two additional possible scenarios --- heroes can rebel against the organization and voluntarily leave it and thus become anti-heroes or they can continue to work within the organization and despite overwhelming frustrations continue to work for the common good. The latter theme is evident in three films: The Hospital, Paths of Glory and Mr. Smith Goes to Washington.

--- The Hospital ---

Dr. Herbert Bok, played by George C. Scott, faces a

seemingly impossible situation. He is the department head of a major public hospital in New York City, which is plagued by pilferage; severe administrative problems; a serious overload in the emergency room; a band of angry demonstrators who complain about the hospital's planned expansion, which would displace low-income tenants; and an unknown assailant who is killing hospital personnel.

In addition to his problems at work, Bok also faces innumerable personal problems. He has recently separated from his wife of 24 years, relieving himself from what he refers to as a "masochistic relationship;" he threw his son out of his house, because he is a "shaggy-haired Maoist;" and his daughter has recently been arrested for selling drugs. His reaction to his turmoils at work and at home is not healthy --he relies heavily on alcohol to dull the pain.

The self-described "boy genius" and "brilliant eccentric" has a hard time dealing with his problems both at work and at home. During one impassioned scene he complains "I'm tired. I'm very tired and I hurt and I've got nothing going for me anymore. Do you also understand that the only admissible matter left for me is death." 22/

During the course of his heroic journey during which he encounters near-impossible odds, Bok contemplates three escapes. His first escape through alcohol provided him only temporary solace and proves unsatisfying. His second escape

involves self-annihilation --- injecting himself with a lethal dose of potassium. His third escape is the most tempting --leaving New York City behind and taking up permanent residence in rural Mexico with the beautiful daughter of a demented patient. Like Christ, Bok lets his three temptations pass. On the brink of flying off to Mexico to commune with nature and his beautiful lover, he chooses to remain duty-bound to the hospital, because as he says to his lover, "I suppose if I am married to anything it's to this hospital." ^{23/} Bok felt called to his work, despite the enormous stress he faced. Furthermore, he felt part of a fragmented, but vital hospital community.

Bok's travails in The Hospital exemplify the heroic journey in the modern organization. As a talented and idealistic young internist, he passed by a more lucrative private practice in order to work in a chaotic, frequently maddening public hospital for less pay and lower prestige. By making this decision, Bok heeds his calling.

Nevertheless, by heeding his calling Bok pays a heavy price. He not only feels alienated from his wife and his two children, but also from his work. As I noted in Chapter 4, Victor Frankl believed that human love and a commitment to one's work are two primary ways in which people find meaning in their lives. Thus, feeling bereft of meaning, Bok contemplates suicide. He considers fleeing from his problems

and foresaking his heroic journey. This is a deviation from the heroic journey because in considering this alternative, Bok does not accept death, but instead he rejects life. By accepting death, the hero affirms life rather than rejecting it.

At the end of the movie, Bok chooses to affirm life by deciding to stay with the public hospital. As a life-affirming hero, Bok provides his community with a gift. That gift is his stance towards life. He has confronted the demons that were within him and emerged as a person re-committed to the common good.

-- Paths of Glory --

In Paths of Glory, qualities of heroism and alienation are highlighted. The setting is World War I. The combatants are the French and the Germans, fighting a war in which success is measured by hundreds of feet won from the enemy. The hero is represented by Colonel Dax, played by Kirk Douglas --- dedicated to his men and fearless in his execution of orders. In contrast to Colonel Dax, are two cognac sniffing generals who dance graciously and live stylishly while their troops huddle in dark, dank tomb-like barracks on the battlefield.

The action of the movie centers around the assault of an enemy position known as The Anthill. The Anthill is a

heavily fortified position which is virtually impregnable. It is the commanding general's secret hope that if his troops are able to take the Anthill that the press and the senior command will look more kindly upon him and thus provide his career with a needed boost. He delegates to the less senior general the responsibility for planning and implementing the assault.

Unfortunately for both generals, the assault upon the Anthill is unsuccessful. Hundreds of Dax's troops die in a valiant, but futile attempt to take the position. The perfidy of the junior general is revealed during the battle, when he orders his battery commander to fire on his own troops because they are unable to advance due to heavy enemy fire. After the battle, the generals meet to try to assign blame for the loss. It is their joint conclusion that the fault for not taking the Anthill rests clearly with their troops, not the impossibility of the assignment. Thus, they force their troops to assume responsibility for the failed assignment by insisting that a dozen of Dax's troops be tried for cowardice under fire. In a gesture that smacks of the generals' false magnanimity, through Dax's intercession, the number of men charged is reduced to three.

The rest of the movie centers on the trial of the three enlisted men and its aftermath. Of the three men selected --- one is chosen by lot; one is chosen because he is

considered socially undesirable; and one is chosen because he had previously witnessed a cowardly act by his immediate superior. Colonel Dax puts his career at risk and serves as the accused mens' attorney at their trial. In a stirring defense, he tells their judges "[t]o find these men guilty would be a crime that will haunt you until you die." 24/ When the three defendants are, not unexpectedly, found guilty by the military tribunal, Dax tries to gain their pardon by threatening to blackmail the less senior general by revealing to the press that he ordered his battery commander to fire on his own troops. Unfortunately for Dax and his men, the blackmail threat proves unsuccessful and the three men are executed.

After the execution the generals meet with Dax to discuss the execution. Regarding his men as mere pawns and revealing his alienation from his troops, the senior general remarks, "The men died wonderfully. There's always a chance that they'll do something that will leave a bad taste." 25/ Later on in the conversation, the senior general, attempts to deflect blame from himself, by telling the junior general that he will be subject to a court of inquiry for ordering his battery commander to fire on his own troops. In a fit of mock indignity, the accused general blurts out "So that's it. You're making me the goat --- the only completely innocent man in the whole affair." 26/ After the junior

general leaves the room, the commanding general compliments Dax for, what he believes, is his brilliant machination --- discrediting a superior in an attempt to obtain a promotion. As a means of rewarding his supposed manuever, the senior general surprisingly offers Dax a generalship. Dax is taken aback that his motives have been questioned. He was prepared to be reprimanded and possibly stripped of his command for his blackmail attempt, but instead he is offered a higher rank because of his alleged guile. Clearly this was a case in which the accusing general engaged in a positive projection --- illuminating himself upon Dax. In the heroic tradition, Dax refuses to accept the generalship. He executed the blackmail threat for the purpose of saving his men, not because he sought a higher rank. The commanding general finds such a reason damnable and patronizingly calls Dax an idealist.

Nevertheless, despite the perfidy of the senior command, Dax does not foresake the organization and for the sake of his community, he assumes his old position. He chooses to remain within the Army, because of a sincere concern for his troops. His troops formed his community --- a community that he led and felt responsible to help maintain.

What does this plot reveal about bureaucratic heroes? First, as Friedsam revealed in his analysis, bureaucratic

heroes, if they are to remain true to their calling must stand by their principles, even if such a stance results in their possible dismissal. Dax remained true to his calling in his failed blackmail attempt. His motives behind the blackmail attempt proved to be consistent with his calling when he refused a promotion as a result of that attempt.

Secondly, the bureaucratic hero often must work side-by-side with people in the organization who are venal and petty, much like the alienated organizational personalities revealed in Chapter 3. The generals were clearly oblivious to the suffering of their men, regarding them as mere pawns on a chessboard. How much easier it would have been for Colonel Dax, if he had chosen to withdraw from the organization or accepted a promotion to general and taken a sharp detour from the heroic journey.

Thirdly, the plot reveals that the successful hero is the one who is practiced in the ways of the world. Although Dax was unsuccessful in preventing the execution of his men, he did employ a crafty tactic and as a result did rid the French Army of one of their insensitive generals.

--- Mr. Smith Goes to Washington ---

Mr. Smith is a motion picture classic. Jimmy Stewart plays Jefferson Smith, a young, naive idealist and political unknown who is appointed U.S. senator by his state's governor

to complete the term of a recently deceased party stalwart. In justifying Smith's appointment to his political benefactor, the state's party boss Jim Taylor, the governor explains that Smith, who is head of an organization called the boy rangers, is "a hero of 50,000 boys and 100,000 parents," 27/ Although Jim Taylor is initially skeptical of the appointment, the state's other senator Joe Paine heartily agrees with the appointment. He chortles "[a] young patriot that recites Jefferson and Lincoln --- let loose in our Nation's Capital. I think it's great." 28/

Shortly after his appointment, Smith shows an unabashed adoration for Paine. Indeed, at least initially, Paine becomes Smith's mentor. As a former close associate of Smith's father, Paine's relationship with Smith resembles one of father to son. Smith humbly tells Paine "I don't think I'll be of much help to you there in Washington. I'll do my best." 29/ Given his naivete and reverence for the elder Senator Paine, Smith seems to be the perfect choice to replace the deceased senator --- easily manipulable in the hands of the state's political machine.

However, shortly after his arrival in Washington and his swearing in as a United States Senator, Smith has his innocence despoiled. In Friedsam's words this is Smith's period of "dawning awareness" --- a realization that his ideals differ markedly from the community of which he has

accepted membership. After several weeks of frustration, Smith tries to actively assert his idealism by proposing the creation of a national boy's camp. The site for the proposed government-supported national boys camp is coincidentally the same site that his state's political machine has chosen to construct a dam. The construction of this dam is a high priority for the state's political machine and Paine is assigned the job of trying to convince Smith to alter his plans for the boy's camp. In an attempt to divert Smith from his heroic journey, Paine tells his junior colleague, "I've compromised. I've had to play ball. That's how states and empires have operated since time began." 30/ Rather than submit or fight his newly discovered nemesis, Smith's first inclination is to leave Washington and give up the fight. However, despite some initial hesitation, like the standard hero of myth, Smith decides to heed his calling and battle for his principles.

In this movie the Senate is portrayed as an institution given to cynicism and political hardball. Smith's secretary, an idealist turned cynic named Saunders, sums up the institution's character in this way. She said, "When I came my eyes were big blue question marks. Now they're big green dollar signs." 31/ When Smith refuses to be compliant and "play ball," Paine launches an all out effort on the Senate floor to expel him. Making the false claim that Smith owns

the land on which he wants to establish the boy's camp, Paine is initially successful in discrediting Smith with his fellow senators. Waging an apparently quixotic attempt to reclaim his credibility and beat back the charges, Smith conducts a one man filibuster on the Senate floor. After arguing his case unremittingly, he collapses, seemingly defeated by the forces of evil. Nevertheless, in the end Smith triumphs, when a grief stricken Paine confesses his transgressions before a collapsed Smith on the Senate floor.

Mr. Smith includes many of the basic elements of the heroic journey. First, he is called, in this case, by his governor to public service. Secondly, when he encounters obstacles on his journey, he is initially tempted to flee and reject his calling, but ultimately he chooses to continue toward his goal. Thirdly, when Smith fell exhausted on the Senate floor, one is reminded of the hero's acceptance of death. Finally, Smith, as prototypical hero, does not choose to reject his newly found community, but rather chooses to try to reform it.

These movies and novels provide additional evidence that the heroic journey as described by Joseph Campbell is eternal. The heroic journey takes on different story lines depending on the time and place, but continues to maintain a fairly consistent pattern. In ancient Rome, the heroes are

portrayed as gladiators. During the Middle Ages, the Crusaders took on heroic proportions. In our current organizational society, our heroes often take on a less familiar form. Today, they don't slay monsters or Saracens. They often work behind desks --- engaging in the often mundane tasks of allocating budgets; performing program analyses; and making personnel decisions. What they share in common with the more traditional hero is the acceptance of their calling; their life-affirming acceptance of death; and their commitment to the common good. Most other details of the heroic journey represent cultural particularities. Our culture, like any culture, presents opportunities for heroism --- we simply must remain open to our inner calling by reflexing with our unconscious and when it rings out to us, we should heed the call.

How can people heed their calling and adhere to the heroic journey? They must reflex with their unconscious and become more in contact and aware of their environment. Drawing heavily from the work of Frederick Perls, in the next chapter I describe some common behaviors that stand in the way of accomplishing these objectives. Furthermore, I indicate a number of physical and mental exercises, suggested by Perls, that promote a better mind/body connectedness and thus enhance reflexivity with one's unconscious and promote contact with one's environment.

CHAPTER VI

UNBLOCKING AND ESTABLISHING CONTACT

UNBLOCKING

The philosophy and techniques of gestalt theory can provide people with a useful map for their path along the heroic journey. Indeed, gestalt theory can provide the would-be-hero with the necessary mental and physical exercises that can be used to heighten consciousness; enhance personal development; and promote a sense of community --- three forms of personal development that also occur on the heroic journey. By applying gestalt techniques, heroes can put themselves in better contact with their world and provide them with an opportunity to reflex with their unconscious. The heroic journey is more than an elegant theory. It also has relevance for people in their everyday lives both within and outside the organization. It can serve as a model for action, both for people at the top and the bottom of an organization's hierarchy.

In Chapter 4, I detailed Joseph Campbell's concept of the hero as revealed in heroic myths. In this chapter I show specifically how heroes can engage their unconscious and establish contact with their environment. Chapter 6 is

broken into two sections. In the first section I show how gestalt theory can help individuals remove blocks that stand in the way of their heroic journeys. In this section I also describe several common behaviors that stand in the way of personal development. In the second section I show what strengths and weaknesses the four temperaments described in Chapter 3 bring to the heroic journey.

How Gestalt Theory Can Assist Individuals on Their Heroic Journeys

Gestalt theory provides alienated individuals with several techniques for overcoming what Frederick Perls, the founder of gestalt theory, referred to as blocks. By overcoming these blocks, people can open themselves up to new possibilities in their lives. Gestalt theory holds that individuals should engage in physical and mental exercises as an intensive form of self-discovery for the purpose of encouraging individuals to confront and deal with their neuroses which are induced by blocks. Perls believed that neuroses are a pervasive phenomena that are present in varying degrees within each of us. The concepts and exercises of gestalt theory can be a useful tool for waking the organizational neurotic from his lethargy --- a prerequisite for evoking the hero within. In this section I show how gestalt theory can in Fritz Perl's words "help you

to heighten your feeling of what is actual." 1/

Parallels with the Heroic Journey

The techniques of gestalt theory are relevant for heroes in the course of their journeys, particularly during the second stage of their journeys when they confront their own fear of death. Heroes at this juncture of their journeys have confronted one of life's greatest horrors and rather than slinking away from it or attacking it head on, they choose to accept it. They place themselves in contact with death. By placing themselves in contact with death, heroes also place themselves in contact with life and their environment. They place themselves in contact with life, because the recognition of death makes them cognizant of life's limitations. It jars their sense of priorities and has the effect of making them more present-oriented. Encouraging people to be more present-oriented is also one of the goals of gestalt theory or as Fritz Perls put it, having a heightened "feeling of what is actual." He noted:

Whatever is actual is, as regards time, always in the present. Whatever happened in the past was actual then, just as whatever occurs in the future will be actual at that time, but what is actual --- and thus all that you can be aware of --- must be in the present. Hence the stress, if we wish to develop the feeling of actuality, on words such as "now" and "at this moment." 2/

Rather than being lost in a neurotic fog, heroes at this stage of their journey are in contact with the present. Unfortunately, too many people in our culture fall out of contact with "what is actual," --- they ignore the reality of the present.

Living in the present is a state of consciousness that is more often talked about than actually experienced in our culture. Given our culture's preoccupation with testing the limits --- prizing the bigger GNP and the fatter bottom line --- many people, most specifically the self-seeking careerist, live by the dictates of a futurist orientation. This futurist orientation has its roots in the Calvinist work ethic, which advises us that "a penny saved is a penny earned," and thus preaches the value of deferred gratification. It is perfectly sound to plan for the future, however, an obsessive preoccupation with the future can also put one out of contact with the present. As Perls noted, "[p]eople who live futuristically never catch up with the events for which they have prepared and do not reap the fruits of their sowing." 3/

Being in contact with the present, reveling in what is, is one of the great benefits of adhering to the heroic journey and living by the tenets of gestalt theory. It is a re-awakening with a greater focus on the here-and-now. It can help spur personal development, causing a radical

transformation within the individual. Perls wrote:

To reacquire the full feeling of actuality is an experience of tremendous impact, moving to the core. In the clinical situation patients have cried out, 'Suddenly I feel like jumping into the air!' and 'I'm walking, really walking!' and 'I feel so peculiar --- the world is there --- really there.' 4/

Understanding Blocks

What keeps people from being out of contact with the "full feeling of actuality" and with others? Perls believed that people create self-imposed "blocks" that impede personal development. Unfortunately, all of us face blocks that stand in our way, seemingly forcing us to reject options that, in fact, remain open to us. People may try to repress some aspects of their personalities, or block them out, because at some point in their development, they rejected those parts of their self "that were causing too much trouble." 5/ Perls believed that these blocks are actually "conflict situations --- and furthermore, the conflict is between one part of your personality and another." 6/ Perls wrote that a person's blocks when revealed expose a "secret or hidden self." 7/

If not confronted, blocks can also alienate individuals from themselves and others and impede their search for meaning. Blocks can serve as impediments on the heroic journey. Perls wrote that "[m]any people feel that their

lives are empty when in fact they are merely bored and blocked from doing what would eliminate their boredom." 8/ Blocks can affect all aspects of a person's life. For example, some peoples' need for job security may block them from investigating a new, more satisfying line of work. Other people may be blocked in their ability to communicate effectively, because of their unease with groups.

The four alienated organizational personality types that I described in Chapter 3 may exhibit the following kinds of blocks. The regulators' inability to see beyond the rules may block them from furthering the organization's mission. The self-seeking careerist may be blocked, when they find that their overwhelming need for power standing in the way of developing meaningful human relationships. Manipulators may be blocked when their desire for a harmonious office takes on such importance that the office more closely resembles a country club and consequently, the quality of the office's work products suffers. Finally, philistines may be blocked in demonstrating a commitment to their work, which conflicts with their normal freewheeling attitude. Perls advocated several techniques that were intended to dissipate these and other blocks and promote a greater relatedness between mind and body.

Techniques that Promote Mind/Body Relatedness

Throughout his works Perls emphasized the symbiotic relationship that exists between the workings of the mind and the body. In this vein he advocated the use of a number of techniques that were intended to lessen the emphasis that this culture puts on the mind-body dualism. It was his intention to improve the individual's contact with his environment and thereby remove blocks that impede his personal development. Some of the techniques that Perls prescribed are: sharpening the body-sense, the experiencing of emotion and the technique of verbalizing experiences.

-- Sharpening the Body-Sense --

Intuitives, in particular, are prone to be fairly unaware of their bodies. They have a tendency to be so in tune with their unconscious selves that they neglect their five senses and thus fall out of touch with their physical side. Unlike the sensate person, the intuitive understands the world primarily through its symbols. According to Perls, people who remain unaware of their bodies "live in a permanent trance so far as non-verbal experience is concerned and since nearly all that they are aware of is a tremendous amount of verbal thinking they take such verbalizing as being nearly the whole extent of reality." 9/

This tendency to separate mind from body is especially

evident in this society with its emphasis on the separation of subject from object. Mind and body are not separate, rather they complement each other. They are part of a synergistic whole. As a means of re-integrating these two capacities, Perls advocated an experiment in which individuals concentrate on their "body sensation as a whole. Let your attention wander through every part of your body. How much of yourself can you feel? To what degree and with what accuracy and clarity does your body --- and thus you --- exist? Notice pains, aches and twinges ordinarily ignored."

10/ Among social scientists Perls was not alone in advocating a greater emphasis on physicality. Herbert Marcuse also believed that people should place greater emphasis on experiencing their physical side.

--- The Experiencing of Emotion ---

Just as people who favor their intuition, often neglect their body, thinking people are less likely to fully experience their emotions. As I noted in Chapter 3, our society shows a marked preference for thinking over feeling or emotion. Agreeing with Jung, Perls indicated that "emotion is grossly maligned in our society... Calmness is prized as the very antithesis of emotion, and people strive to appear 'cool, calm and collected.'" 11/ In order for people to confront their feeling side, Perls suggested

the following experiment:

Attempt to mobilize some particular pattern of body-action. For instance, tighten and loosen the jaw, clench the fists, begin to grasp. You may find that this tends to arouse a dim emotion --- in this case, frustrated anger. Now, if to this experience you are able to add the further experience --- a fantasy, perhaps --- of some person or thing in the environment which frustrates you, the emotion will flare up in full force and clarity. 12/

In this experiment, as in the previous experiment, Perls urged his readers to utilize both their bodies and minds in their search for the hidden self.

--- Verbalizing Experience ---

Finally, there is a tendency among some people to verbalize without really saying anything. Such people find themselves alienated from even their own words --- words become more like a smokescreen than a medium for communication. Perls believed that intellectuals, in particular, are subject to excessive verbalizing. To counter this tendency, he suggested that affected people be more aware of their utterances.

Listen to your own production of words in company. If you have an opportunity, have your voice recorded. You will be surprised, perhaps chagrined, at how it sounds. The more your concept of your self differs from your actual personality, the more unwilling you will be to recognize your voice as your

own. 13/

Behaviors that Block Awareness

In the previous subsection I discussed some techniques for promoting awareness. However, what can be done for those individuals, who not only are subject to blocks, but to a greater or lesser degree, display neurotic symptoms? People in the grip of a neurosis must first serve the needs of their seemingly uncontrollable obsessions, rather than attend to the trials of the heroic journey. Gestalt theory can be used as a process that can help break the grip of neurosis. It can aid people in taking their first step on the heroic journey.

In this section I investigate three forms of behavior that are characteristic of the alienated organizational personalities discussed in Chapter 3. The three types of behavior are: retroflection, introjection and projection. All of these behaviors emanate from unresolved conflicts that occur within the individual. Perls described the problem and the solution in this way:

A major problem for all forms of psychotherapy is to motivate the patient to do what needs to be done. He must return to 'unfinished business' which he left unfinished in the past because it was so painful he had to flee. 14/

--- Retroflection ---

According to Perls, "[w]hen a person retroflects behavior, he does to himself what originally he did or tried to do to other persons or objects." 15/ People who retroflect repress their behavior, but fail to extinguish the behavior that they originally focused outward. Instead, retroflecting people try to satisfy this drive by turning it inward. Focusing their aggressive drives against the self they hold themselves hostage to their unconscious drives.

People who retroflect place themselves in a kind of unconscious straitjacket since they are unable to control their environment. They are victims of any number of life-draining obsessions. The alienated organizational personality that is most likely to display this behavior are regulators. With their fixation on rules and procedures, regulators may be a great source of frustration to anyone within the organization who do not share their particular obsessions. However, the pain they cause is, first and foremost, self-inflicted. Regulators do not only impose a logic-defying, inflexible regimen in their sphere within the organization, but they also impose a similar regimen on their whole life. Indeed, the personality of regulators can best be understood by their obsessions, because they become their obsessions --- they cannot be separated from them.

What physical/mental exercise would Perls prescribe for the person subject to retroflection? Perls would have us consider the headache. Rather than prescribing an aspirin that serves only to dull the pain, Perls suggested that people should instead deal with its underlying cause --- the source of tension that caused the pressure.

Apply to a headache or some other symptom the method of the concentration-experiment... If you can accept the pain, it serves as a motivating interest; it is a concerned sensation. The important thing in dissolving the pain is to wait for development....

The pain will shift about, expand or contract, alter in intensity, transform itself in quality and kind. Try to feel the shape, size and direction of particular muscles which you contract. 16/

--- Introjection ---

In the case of introjection, the individual "ingests" another person's ideas, forms of behavior, or even their entire world view, without first critically examining them. By not critically examining what they are ingesting, people who introject do not truly assimilate these behaviors, ideas, etc. into their lives. They remain only ingested foreign objects. The values that they espouse are not really their own, but only the "partially digested" conceptions, adopted from another person. Introjected values are one of

the reasons that a person's espoused values often differ significantly from those values that a person actually uses.

The alienated organizational personality who is most likely to introject is the philistine. The philistine is not prone to original thinking. Instead they usually adopt an uncritical attitude towards life, frequently accepting as their own the dominant values of their society or the groups with whom they associate. They are particularly lured by the promises offered by Madison Avenue. The philistine is the ideal consumer --- easily suggestible, vulnerable to artifice. They work in the organization, not as a means of finding meaning in their lives, but in order to fulfill their ever-present need to consume. They mindlessly march in lockstep adhering to the jingles of our consumer society. The philistine, probably more than any of the other alienated types is Marcuse's "mass man" par excellence --- uncritical, conformist, consumer-oriented.

For people who introject, Perls proposed an experiment which focused on chewing. Perls hoped that such people would be less likely to introject ideas, if they learned to properly chew and avoided introjecting their food. He wrote:

Concentrate on your eating without reading or 'thinking.' Simply address yourself to

your food. Meals have for us become social occasions for the most part...

Notice your resistances to addressing the food. Do you taste the first few bites and then fall into a trance of 'thinking,' daydreaming, wanting to talk --- meantime losing contact with the taste. 17/

--- Projection ---

When people project, in the psychological sense of the term, they actually attributes to others, behaviors or attitudes that they find within themselves. Other individuals serve as an "appropriate screen" upon which those who project unconsciously identify with characteristics that are present in both themselves and others.

Projections can be either positive or negative. In a positive projection, people admire characteristics in others that are also present in themselves. This often occurs during job interviews, when many interviewers take a liking to those applicants that are most like themselves. Negative projections are usually more conspicuous. In those cases, people unconsciously identify with characteristics in another person that they do not admire in themselves.

Nevertheless, every positive or negative comment directed towards another person is not necessarily a projection. Projections can be distinguished from feedback or other comments in that projections are always emotionally charged. Rather than dealing with their own inner conflict,

people who project focus their conflict on another person.

The alienated organizational personality most likely to project is the self-seeking careerist. In their compulsive need to reach the top of the organization, self-seeking careerists occasionally try to step over people standing in their way. Friendships, loyalties, and commitments all take a second place to the self-seeking careerist's will to power. How natural it is for self-seeking careerists to rationalize their often ruthless behavior under the guise of projections. Through the power of a well-aimed projection, self-seeking careerists are able to convince themselves that their behavior is correct. They rationalize their actions in this way. "I am not ruthless or behaving badly, instead the person who I am competing against is an incompetent ass-kisser, undeserving of the position we are both seeking."

In one of Perls' experiments regarding projections, he encouraged people to take more responsibility for their actions and attitudes by taking careful note of the language that they use. He wrote:

Examine your verbal expressions. Translate, as if they were in a foreign language, those sentences in which "it" is subject and you are the object into sentences in which "I" is the subject. For instance, "It occurred to me that I had an appointment" translates into "I remembered that I had an appointment." Furthermore, setting yourself in the center

of sentences that concern you, look for concealed indefinite expressions. Often, for instance, "I must do this" means either "I want to do this" or "I am keeping from doing something else." 18/

Establishing Contact

How the Heroic Journey Can Have Meaning to People of Different Temperaments

Writers of theoretical dissertations, like this one, always face the danger of becoming so taken with their creative flights of imagination that reality is frequently ignored. Thus, we make ourselves vulnerable to the charge by people of a more sensate predisposition that our theoretical tomes have little relation to reality. I am sensitive to this concern. Much of this dissertation has focused on theory. However, the heroic journey is not just a sojourn for those with an intuitive bent, because its themes are not only eternal, but they are also universal.

There are elements of the heroic journey that appeal to the NT, the NF, the SJ and the SP. Conversely, people representing each of the four temperaments also have their less developed sides tested by other elements on the journey. Thus, people representing each temperament are both attracted and repelled by the heroic journey. They are attracted by those elements of the journey that are easy for them to master and are like "second nature" to them; and conversely

they are repelled by those elements that are difficult to master and test the less developed sides of their personalities. A behavior that is a strength to a person of one temperament, often is a weakness to a person of another temperament.

The heroic journey can be understood as a metaphor for better understanding the life-long course of self-development that people can set for themselves. The course of self-development resembles the heroic journey in that both the dominant and less developed sides of the individual's personality are tested.

--- The NT and the NF ---

Many NTs and NFs are naturally attracted to the heroic journey. They find the heroic myth appealing because they are frequently drawn to broad theoretical constructs. The NT, in particular, often derives pleasure from mental jousting. Thus, even if NTs may not agree with the theory which forms the foundation of the heroic myth, at least they can receive some satisfaction by disputing it.

Secondly, both the NT and the NF often enjoy tapping into their unconscious. Through the medium of dreams and idyllic fantasizing, they have a remarkable ability to shut off the outside world, seemingly at will and as I stated in Chapter 3, they use their unconscious like a sixth sense.

At times, it appears that some NTs and NFs become so reliant on their unconscious that they neglect the other five senses. They can derive solace from the heroic journey, because it is a journey that occurs in both their conscious and unconscious worlds.

Nevertheless, there are other elements of the heroic journey that both temperaments may find forbidding. As I wrote in Chapter 3, NTs and NFs are often great planners. Sometimes their propensity for looking ahead puts them out of contact with the present. They have a tendency to ignore the here-and-now by forever contemplating the future. The second stage of the heroic journey --- the acceptance of death --- can help them focus on the present. When individual NTs and NFs choose the heroic journey and courageously face death, their consciousness can be dramatically altered.

Not surprisingly, many people choose an alternate course. When they face their greatest fear --- extinction --- their first instinct is to seek comfort. Thus, rather than facing their own death, they prefer to derive comfort from behaviors that are common to their temperament. These behaviors can become obsessive --- an end in themselves which provide the individual with a hollow kind of meaning. However, harmful these behaviors may be to the formation of community and individual self-development, they provide the individual with a shield against accepting

the inevitability of death. They are perhaps the primary reason, why most people refuse to heed their calling.

The awareness of death is a reminder to NTs that they too are subject to limits. Death is a person's most formidable limitation. Many NTs find it particularly worrisome, because death limits their often overpowering need for control. As I mentioned in Chapter 3, many NTs have a great need for control, whether it is over people, processes or things. This need for control often dominates the lives of NTs. One of the hardest lessons for NTs to learn is that some processes remain outside of the domain of their control. If NTs are to engage in self-development, they must learn from the less developed side of their natures and be willing to submit and accept some of life's inevitabilities --- like death. If they learn the lesson of the hero, they will not try to conquer death and thus fall unconsciously under its control, but rather submit to it --- allowing himself metaphorically speaking, to be "swallowed by the whale."

The awareness of death can also alter the consciousness and behavior of the NF. If the NT can often be understood as a person, who derives meaning from the need for control, the NF can often be understood as a person, who derives meaning from the need for harmony. Sometimes, as I indicated in Chapter 3, the NF seeks harmony at all costs. Indeed, on

occasion, the NF may try to cover up or ignore constructive conflict for the purpose of trying to maintain a mutually unhappy compromise. Healthy communities do not thrive by ignoring conflict among their members. When NFs choose the journey of heroism, they must learn to acknowledge and deal with conflict within their community and in so doing contribute to its development.

NTs often have a preference for detachment. For example, NTs often try to detach themselves from a situation, when they make a decision --- seeking to objectively weigh an issue's pros and cons. They also have a tendency to remain emotionally detached and isolated from other people. In their minds, thinking and objective analysis takes precedence over feeling and community building. The last stage of the heroic journey --- the hero's integration into a community tests the NT's less developed feeling side. The heroic journey is a dead end trail, if individuals do not recognize their linkage with others. If NTs are to complete their heroic journey, they must come to terms with their feeling side by expressing their fellowship within the context of a community.

--- The SJ and the SP ---

The SJ and the SP can also feel a sense of relatedness to the heroic journey. As I stated in Chapter 3, both the

sensing types usually are focused on the present. They use their five senses to put themselves in contact with the here-and-now. Given their present orientation, they are unlikely to be futuristic dreamers. This present-mindedness can aid them on the heroic journey. SPs, in some instances, may be more accepting of death because they, more than any other temperament, live for the present. For them, death may not be so fearsome, because they often adhere to the life philosophy that "the future will take care of itself."

Furthermore, both the SJ and the SP temperaments are endowed with a strong practical sense. If a SJ or a SP chooses to take up the heroic journey, they have a facility for applying their lessons learned to their everyday lives. Like the industrious ant, they have a strong practical sense and make good use of that which is provided by their environment.

SJs also might be drawn to take up the heroic journey because of their strong sense of duty and responsibility. Their attraction to duty and responsibility is often manifested by their penchant for joining organizations. Indeed, many SJs seem unfulfilled, unless they become an active part of an organization. They derive meaning from their membership, like Epimetheus they are often duty-bound. Although the heroic journey does not always coincide with organizational membership, it does tap a similar emotion.

The heroic journey is not an easy road. It always involves personal sacrifice. Indeed, heroes are often tempted to give up their journey and take an easier path. By adhering to the heroic journey, individuals are duty-bound --- they stay the course. They enhance their self-development and contribute to the common good of the community.

Nevertheless, SJs and SPs also encounter pitfalls on the heroic journey. Like the NTs and the NFs, who choose the heroic journey, the SJ and the SP are required to use parts of their personality that are less developed. For example, SJs and SPs are often only dimly aware of their unconscious. Indeed, many SJs and SPs often show an arrogant disregard for the unconscious and, in some cases, are not even aware of its existence. Thus, they often hobble through life, oblivious to a force that profoundly affects their behavior. As I pointed out in the last chapter, the heroic journey is both a conscious and unconscious journey. One cannot remain oblivious to the unconscious and take up the heroic journey. Thus, SJs or SPs who choose herohood must push themselves into the unknown regions of their personalities.

SJs, probably more than any other temperament, are most likely to be ruled by instrumental rationality. When this occurs, their sense of duty gets misdirected into a commitment to means. Within the context of an organization,

they become so absorbed in an organization's means that they frequently ignore its ends. When means become more important than ends within an organization --- maintaining efficiency takes precedence over adhering to the program mission and following the rules becomes more important than providing service. Furthermore, by accepting the tenets of instrumental rationality, the SJ also accepts everyday life as it is, which stunts intellectual creativity and makes people feel less empowered. On the other hand, heroes, unlike many of their peers, do not blindly accept life as it is. They see themselves as independent and contactful agents who labor within the context of a community but also, on occasion, transcend that community. Thus, if SJs take up the heroic journey, they must struggle with their tendency to accept the conventional wisdom. They must be willing, if the need arises, to be different and, if necessary, spurn the more accepted way of doing things.

Other temperaments can learn much from the SPs, particularly their playful spirit. I have noted that when NTs and SJs play games, they are frequently transformed into fierce competitions. They would be enriched if they approached games the way that many SPs engage in them --- for fun. Conversely, SPs can learn much from people with different temperaments than their own. Many SPs equate fulfillment with an endless round of hedonistic pleasures.

SPs make a mistake when they equate happiness with physical sensation. Such fulfillment is both fleeting and insatiable. If SPs are to undertake the heroic journey, they must realize that it is not a playful lark; it requires a seriousness of purpose --- a seriousness that is often lacking in SPs.

Up to this point, I have explained the heroic journey fairly abstractly. It is an elegant theory, but does it have any relevance to organizational life or for that matter to life outside organizations? Some readers might ask the following questions: "If I am to be serious about taking up the heroic journey, provide me some examples of heroic behavior? What concrete steps can federal agency managers take to aid their employees on their heroic journey? Furthermore, what attitudes should employees themselves adopt to adhere to the heroic journey?"

In the next chapter I try to answer these concerns. Drawing from my own experience in the federal service and from other authors, I try to construct what I believe a heroic existence would be like as practiced in the federal government. Nevertheless, let me preface my comments by stating that I am not sure if I know the answers to these questions. Perhaps each person's heroic journey is unique and not replicable. I humbly provide these examples as possible illustrations of heroic behavior.

CHAPTER VII

EVOKING THE HERO FROM WITHIN

The seventh chapter is broken into two sections and is intended to show how the heroic journey is relevant to the lives of people who work in modern-day organizations, most specifically federal organizations. This dissertation would be less than complete, if it provided only a theoretical underpinning for the heroic journey, which includes the calling the encounter with death and the integration within a community.

In the first section I indicate ways in which the organization can foster personal development and thus encourage individuals to take up the heroic journey. This section focuses on ways that the organization can encourage people to view their work as a calling and contribute to an organization's sense of community. It provides a number of suggestions, intended to change or establish existing policies in the areas of performance evaluations, developmental opportunities for the group and the individual, ways of working, and other personnel

policies.

In the second section I discuss what it means for the individual to take up the heroic journey in the modern federal organization. It starts with the premise that the heroic journey is open to anyone. This section also provides examples of how heroic behavior can be manifested within an organization.

How Federal Organizations Can Foster Heroism in Their Employees

Theoretical formulations and details about the lives of civil servants, both mythic and real, can provide us with models for heroic action, but how can individuals respond to their callings in the modern federal organization? On a related point, how can leaders in federal organizations foster heroism? In order to create the conditions for a heroic, mission-oriented organization, there are some federal management programs that should be discontinued; other programs that should be expanded; and still other programs that should be initiated. My plan for change is based on several assumptions about the motivations that guide people and how federal organizations can tap into this source of energy. My assumptions are the following:

1.) Most people want to do good work.

2.) People who are chronic underperformers probably do

- not derive meaning from their work and feel blocked.
- 3.) People continually search for meaning in their lives and an important source of meaning is their work.
- 4.) Both the organization and the individual benefits, when the individual derives meaning from his work
- 5.) Organizations can contribute to the individual's sense of meaning by encouraging teamwork and self-empowerment.

If these assumptions about human nature and organizational performance are valid, what management programs should federal organizations abolish or seriously modify? Secondly, what programs should be expanded or initiated?

Federal Management Programs that Should Be Abolished or Modified

--- Performance Evaluations ---

As a former federal employee, I know of no program that has contributed more to lowered morale than the current performance management system practiced by federal agencies and mandated by the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978. The Act which links pay to performance for federal employees in mid-level grades should be seriously revised. Performance evaluations should not only be decoupled from pay increases, but the whole concept of performance evaluations should also

be radically re-formulated. Although the current "pay for performance" system has only minimally affected mid-level salaries during the past ten years, because federal pay has increased so little, the current system has done much to create rifts between employees and their supervisors and among employees themselves. The "pay for performance" system fosters competition among federal employees when it should be encouraging teamwork and community. By promoting individual interests over group interests, the common good suffers and the growth of community is stifled.

My experience with performance evaluations coincides with the views of W. Edwards Deming, the respected expert on quality improvement who played a pivotal role in transforming the Japanese way of managing business operations after World War II and has recently achieved acceptance and fame in this country. Deming was so strongly opposed to performance evaluations that he included them among his so-called "seven deadly diseases." The so-called "disease" of performance evaluations is described by his associate Mary Walton in this way:

First, performance evaluations encourage short-term performance at the expense of long-term planning. They discourage risk-taking, build fear, undermine teamwork, and pit people against each other for the same rewards. On a team, it is difficult to tell who did what. The result is a company composed of prima donnas, of sparring fiefdoms. People work for themselves,

not the company. 1/

I cannot conceive of a more perfidious technique for creating disunity among federal employees and contributing to bad government than the "pay for performance" program currently in place. Thayer noted that the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 and most specifically the "pay for performance" codicil is indicative of a KITA or kick-in-the-ass management style. 2/ The pay for performance model is based on the assumption that people perform well at work when they are simultaneously tempted by the carrot and/or threatened by the stick. This view of human motivation discounts the possibility that people might view their work as a calling and are relatively oblivious to external motivators. This provision of the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 is perfectly consistent with the negative diatribe against federal workers that has emanated from the White House during the past two decades.

Pay and performance should not only be de-coupled, but the nature of performance evaluations should also radically change. First, the annual performance of federal workers should not be assigned a numerical or quantitative score. Consistent with this society's penchant for quantification, those people who monitor performance agreements and evaluations often require employees and their supervisors to

quantify those aspects of an employee's work which, in many cases, cannot be meaningfully quantified. As an example, customer service is sometimes measured by the number of telephone calls answered or efficiency may be calculated by the number of reports issued. Thus, performance evaluations are too often reduced to quantified drivel --- quantification for the sake of quantification. Such meaningless quantification would be unnecessary if pay were decoupled from performance.

Rather than a forced accounting of often meaningless quantified scores, performance evaluations can and should serve as an honest and beneficial form of feedback. This is not a revolutionary idea. Indeed, performance evaluations as they are currently constituted are supposed to provide employees with constructive feedback on their performance. However, when pay is linked to performance, feedback becomes a very minor component in the performance evaluation process as compared to the numerical or qualitative score that the employee receives. Ideally, employees should receive feedback both from their supervisors and their fellow workers. After the feedback session, employees should work out a plan jointly with their co-workers and their supervisors that detail not only what the employee does well, but how individuals can improve their performance and what opportunities their supervisors and their co-workers

will provide them for improving and broadening the employees' skills. This process of feedback is supposed to be an integral part of the current performance review process, but it is usually of little consequence because the emotionally charged issue of pay for performance looms like a storm cloud over the entire process.

Finally, individuals should not only be evaluated individually, they should also be evaluated as members of a group. Whenever possible, the leaders of federal agencies should reinforce the team nature of many projects. As a former federal worker, I frequently heard federal employees declare that they were reluctant to work on a special task force, because it was not in their performance agreement. and thus they would not get credit for their service. In this regard, leaders of federal organizations should work to the best of their ability to squash the institutionalized competition that pervades federal organizations. Less attention should be focused on the individual's performance and more attention should be focused on the group's performance. By emphasizing cooperation rather than competition, leaders can nudge their colleagues towards community and perhaps introduce them to an active form of heroism.

--- Organizational Development ---

In many federal organizations, organizational development is currently in vogue. Various forms of organizational development have taken a foothold in the federal workplace. I have known some federal executives to trudge off to California to learn the gospel from Charlie Peters; others take their staffs on caving adventures in the hope of fostering teamwork; while others hire a management guru to teach them Myers-Briggs. Although, I am encouraged by the increased interest in this form of management and team development, I am also disturbed by some of its applications. When a form of organizational development becomes trendy often times many managers are participating in it for the sake of appearing progressive when, in fact, they may have little or no commitment to the process.

Unfortunately, this was my observation of most organizational development exercises that I participated in within federal organizations. In these exercises most of the participants appeared to be gaming themselves and the facilitator. In these instances organizational development which is supposed to be an intense, developmental experience, was transformed into a superficial, make-believe exercise. It became something to get through --- a process in which behavior which appeared to be authentic was merely carefully crafted artifice. An independent observer, unfamiliar with

the organization, would probably seldom realize that a charade had just taken place. After the organizational development event, people often bubbled with enthusiasm, shouting the praises of their facilitator and promising to apply the principles they had just learned. However, in most cases, a few short weeks after the session, the afterglow faded and it was a return to business as usual. The rivalries remained unresolved; the dissatisfaction lingered; and the complaints remained bottled up. The organizational development session was reduced to merely an opportunity to get out of the office and play "Let's start communicating." It is better not to engage in organizational development at all, than participate in a charade and call it organizational development.

A successful organizational development session is one that evokes contact with one's environment and reflexivity with one's unconscious. An organization's members and the organizational development practitioner delude themselves about the success of an exercise if it aims at anything less. Organizational development sessions should jar people's consciousness, forcing organizational members to confront themselves. By creating a climate where contact is welcomed, rather than actively discouraged and where people are encouraged to reflex with their unconscious, organizational leaders will point their colleagues towards the heroic

journey.

Organizational development professionals and senior managers who are sincerely interested in making organizational development a transforming experience should beware. Seasoned bureaucrats can be both cautious and unrevealing. They can be skilled gamesmen, since often their survival and career advancement depends on it. Organizational development professionals should not be fooled by the seemingly sincere facade of some of their clients. Sometimes federal managers and their employees really need to be shaken up --- awakened from their lethargy. Organizational development professionals should be willing to take risks. By doing so they might uncover previously suppressed and debilitating behaviors and help facilitate lasting and positive change within the organization.

--- Dealing with Problem Employees ---

Much time and effort is often expended by federal managers with the problem of dealing with so-called problem employees. Indeed, many people inside and outside of the federal government blame the difficulty of firing problem employees for many of the federal government's ills. Alan Campbell, the former head of the Civil Service Commission and the principal salesman for the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978, railed against the difficulty of firing federal

employees before Congressional committees. Indeed, the popularity of the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 was greatly enhanced by selling it primarily as a means of firing federal employees more expeditiously. As the National Commission on the Public Service noted in their report Leadership for America:

Few Washington observers had given the Carter Administration much of a chance of winning civil service reform. It is typically difficult to attract political support and popular enthusiasm for management issues, so the Administration's victory confounded capital cynics. The Carter Administration beat the odds, in part, by transforming the image of the bill from a good government and whistleblower protection measure to a proposal to make it easier to fire incompetent civil servants that many newspapers columnists believed were everywhere. 3/

Despite the Carter administration's success at changing civil service policies, this effort to weed "dead wood" out of the federal bureaucracy has not resulted in substantially more casualties. The traditional prescription for dealing with problem employees still remains operative --- they are assigned to a secluded office with nothing to do and in the words of one federal employee, "they are put in charge of the broom closet."

Surely there is a more humane and productive approach of dealing with people who have not found their niche, short of trying to fire them or shunting them off to a corner. Much

of the problem lies with the lack of creative leadership. W. Edwards Deming, in a statement intended to raise the hackles of American management claimed that 85% of the problems that American industry faces can be attributed to management. I won't swear by this percentage, but I agree that some of the so-called "problem employee" issue in the federal workforce can be laid at the feet of federal managers.

How can this problem be corrected? First, it is my impression that many federal managers have a misplaced sense of priorities. Many of them spend so much time "managing up," angling for their next promotion, that they frequently fail to motivate and lead their employees. Warren Bennis and Burt Nanus in Leaders wrote that leaders provide their employees with a vision. It is a vision that touches the unconscious. Unfortunately, too few federal managers view themselves as leaders. They often unconsciously view themselves as the heirs of Frederick Taylor. When a problem occurs with their employees, they approach them as they would approach a machine in need of service. Dr. Deming had a much different approach to the work of management. In describing his philosophy, Mary Walton wrote:

Leadership is the job of management. It is the responsibility of management to discover the barriers that prevent workers from taking pride in what they do. 4/

Government managers would be infinitely more effective, if they spent less time being career conscious and spent more time motivating their staff. By doing so they would probably enjoy their own work more too.

Secondly, federal managers should devote more effort to matching people with work that they find interesting. Employees who feel locked in a position that does not interest them generally become both unhappy and unproductive. W. Edwards Deming believed that the matching of people with positions is one of management's central functions. Indeed, he included this objective as one of his famous Fourteen Points. In describing Point 11, Walton wrote:

The job of the manager is to lead, to help people do their jobs better. In hiring people, management takes responsibility for their success or failure. Dr. Deming contends that most people who do not do well on their job are not malingeringers, but have simply been misplaced. If someone has a disability or is incapable of doing a job, the manager has an obligation to find a place for that person. 5/

Thirdly, why not match a particularly dynamic leader with those people that an organization has "put out to pasture" and organize them into a group. The leader should attempt to capture their interest through a group project that has meaning and is not simply makework. Such a program would help troubled employees unblock themselves and has the potential of improving the morale of an entire organization.

It is not healthy for either the organization or the individual, when dozens of people in the organization are pushed aside and ignored by being assigned meaningless work. Take the malcontents out of the closet and try to revitalize them --- renew their sense of meaning. Few people are beyond hope. Behind every dear countenance, there is a creative spirit hoping to spring out.

Federal Management Programs that Should Be Expanded
or Initiated

--- Work Rotational and Developmental Programs ---

As a federal employee at the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, I managed two programs that provided employees opportunities for personal development. One of the programs that I launched and managed was EPA's Management Intern Program. It was designed for recent college graduates and is similar to the Presidential Management Intern Program (PMIP). Like PMIP, EPA's Management Intern Program encouraged interns to undertake rotational work assignments and engage in a variety of group training experiences. Interns were also encouraged to select a senior level manager who would serve as their mentor. The government mentor, like the mentor that heroes encounter on their heroic journeys, in many cases, provides invaluable advice to their younger associates.

I also briefly ran a similar program for mid-level employees called the Mid-Level Career Development Program. This program was very similar to the management intern program and allowed mid-level managers and project leaders the opportunity to undertake rotational work assignments; work on group task force assignments; and participate in group training.

These types of programs can prime people for the heroic journey in several ways:

1. They encourage individual development by allowing people to broaden their skills by learning new tasks while on rotational assignments and participating in group training. Thus, they are provided opportunities for developing the dominant and less developed sides of their personalities.
2. By working on assignments throughout an agency, they provide people with a broader perspective, which often makes them feel more connected with the agency's overall mission. This may inspire them to take up the call from their unconscious.
3. These programs promote esprit d' corps and help build community when individuals work on group task force assignments.

The federal government needs more of these type of

programs, because as I noted in Chapter 1, many people view a federal government position as a less than desirable work option. As a former recruiter for the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, I know that many talented and committed college graduates, even from schools of public administration, spurn work in the federal government.

Federal managers interested in revitalizing their offices with young people can no longer expect talented and committed potential recruits to pound at their doors. They must search them out. Unfortunately, in recent years the federal government effort at reaching out to college graduates has been abysmal. At a time, when a special effort should be made to recruit new entrants, little effort has been expended. Quoting from a recent study conducted by the Merit Systems Protection Board, the writers of Leadership for America noted:

... the federal government's ability to hire recent college graduates was limited by three factors: a perception that federal jobs pay less than do comparable jobs in the private sector; a lack of general information on federal career opportunities combined with limited on-campus recruitment efforts; and the negative public image of the federal bureaucracy. 6/

To overcome these handicaps, I have found that many people need an additional enticement --- entry level development programs. If the federal government cannot compete in the

areas of pay and prestige, at least it can provide recent college graduates and current federal workers with developmental opportunities that instill in them a sense that they are supporting a mission that is larger than themselves.

--- Productivity Investment Funds ---

I launched another program at the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency that was intended to empower people. For several years I served as the agency's productivity improvement coordinator and was responsible for instituting a productivity improvement program mandated by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). Unfortunately, the program as conceived by the Office of Management and Budget would have been the envy of Frederick Taylor. Given my humanistic philosophy and disinclination to reduce people and program goals to inputs and outputs, I was often frustrated by its primary emphasis on quantification and efficiency. Despite, what I believed was OMB's misguided emphasis on the measurement of inputs and outputs, the productivity improvement program provided me an opportunity to empower EPA employees through the creation of what we called productivity investment funds.

The productivity investment fund concept was initiated by the Department of Defense in 1977. In 1987 the U.S.

Environmental Protection Agency and the Departments of Interior and Commerce under the sponsorship of the President's Council for Management Improvement, a council of senior political appointees, initiated productivity investment funds at their agencies. Productivity investment funds are a simple, but effective concept --- intended to empower people.

At EPA, the Fund worked in this way. Each year a call letter was sent out to offices throughout the agency which requested that individuals in their offices submit proposals for funding. Applicants were asked to submit a pre-printed one page form. Project proposals were limited to \$50 thousand. In addition, applicants were required to return to the Fund, in the year subsequent to funding, anywhere from 5% to 50% of the money that they had received. Although, this policy was ostensibly instituted to partially replenish the Fund, a more important reason for its institution is to make the Fund more acceptable to Republican political appointees who wanted to gain points with the Reagan administration by ensuring that the Fund was consistent with the "principles of business."

Despite the need to make the Fund compatible with the philosophy of the Republican Party, the Fund did serve as a positive force. Indeed, it proved to be very popular. We received project proposals from throughout the agency and

from all levels of employees, including clerks, scientists, and mid-level managers. Over a two year period, we funded approximately 40 projects at a cost of \$1.6 million in the areas of human resource development, ADP hardware and software, industrial engineering studies and laboratory equipment.

I say with some pride that people genuinely seemed to be excited about the Fund. Not only did it provide them, in some cases, with badly need resources but more importantly the Fund engendered in them a sense of empowerment. Most of the fund applicants were non-supervisors or mid-level supervisors who usually have little or no control over resources. Through this management innovation, they had the opportunity to originate a project proposal; submit it for funding; and then manage it to completion.

The productivity investment fund concept is an example of how senior management can empower their employees. If given a chance, most people want to contribute to an organization's mission. They can find meaning and fulfillment when they work for something greater than themselves. It should be one of management's central tasks to provide people with this kind of opportunity for growth. Even an arcane, misdirected program like President Reagan's Productivity Improvement Program, can be transformed into a liberating and humanizing force.

-- More Training Opportunities --

The need for providing employees with adequate training seems self-evident. Unfortunately, many federal agencies fail miserably in this area. Deming considered training to be of such importance that he made it his point number 13. In describing this point, Walton wrote:

It is not enough to have good people in your organization. They must be continually acquiring the new knowledge and the new skills that are required to deal with the new materials and the new methods of production. Education and retraining --- an investment in people --- are required for long-term planning. 7/

In the squeeze to fund high priority needs, like employee pay raises; new program initiatives that the boss wants; or other "high priority" items, employee training often gets short shrift. By neglecting training the federal agency forfeits long-term development for short-term goals. Noting the inadequacy of the federal government's training effort, the writers of Leadership in America indicated:

The most recent published estimates report that total expenditures on federal training are about \$550 million for 2.2 million federal civilian workers (excluding the U.S. Postal Service). This sum amounts to approximately 0.8 percent of the amount spent on federal payroll. In contrast, one estimate for all Fortune 500 firms places training expenditures at 3.3 percent of payroll, and many progressive firms spend 5 to 10 percent of payroll on employee training and development. 8/

Few federal managers will deny, at least publicly, that their employees need at least a modicum of training. Unfortunately months pass, sometimes even years, before some employees receive adequate training to do their current work, let alone participate in training that might prepare them for new work. Lack of funds is not always the obstacle. Sometimes managers and even employees feel that they are so indispensable at work that they cannot possibly attend training events.

Federal employees in coordination with their supervisors should develop a one to two year training plan and be held accountable for sticking with it. Furthermore, I agree with the recommendation of the National Commission of the Public Service that "80 hours of continuous professional education every 2 years could be extended to all civil service professionals." 9/ If anything, I wish that the Commission had made a stronger statement and actually recommended that training be mandated and extended to everyone in the organization.

Training provides employees with the opportunity to work on skills that emanate from the less developed sides of their personalities or else improve skills that are related to their dominant sides. As I noted in Chapter 4, the heroic journey is a journey of self-development. An organization's senior management can assist individuals on their heroic

journeys by providing them the opportunity to make contact with the less developed sides of their personalities or improve their more developed sides.

By implementing these recommendations, federal agencies would be healthier, more productive and undoubtedly more desirable places to work. This list of recommendations is by no means exhaustive, but I include them as a possible way of how agency managers can facilitate heroism in their organization. Nevertheless, many organizations, federal and otherwise, are not blessed with enlightened, heroic leadership. Following the heroic journey in these types of organizations is more difficult, but not impossible. In the next section, I suggest some ways that individuals, whether they are GS-3 clerks or senior managers can follow the heroic journey, regardless of their work environment.

What It Means to the Individual to Take Up the Heroic Journey

The popular conception of the hero is a person of extraordinary gifts who stands fully exposed on life's grand stage. One thinks of Hercules or Jason. However, as the ancient Greek Hesiod illustrated in his chronicle of a farmer in a work entitled Works and Days --- the hero can also be a person of ordinary talents --- a steady plodder. The heroic journey is open to everyone. As one student of heroism noted:

Every man is a potential hero, even ourselves, and every society, even our own, is a potential ground for those who recognize and accept their role. This recognition may be buried deeply in the subconscious, yet it expresses itself today in our torn and dying world as it has throughout time, if we can learn to decode the messages of myths, ancient and modern, of our own customs, our own actions and our own dreams. 10/

In the federal organization, the average person is not usually confronted by decisions of great import. Even leaders of organizations are more often confronted by routine and mundane problems, rather than consequential decisions that profoundly affect their organizations. As a consequence, heroism in the federal organization is seldom visible and apparent. It can best be understood as a stance manifested by an attitude --- an attitude that reflects a commitment to the common good. The common good can be served in small ways by courteous telephone service or a well-written memorandum, just as it can be served by momentous decisions that affect entire organizations. Such manifestations of heroism do not trivialize or make all-inclusive the concept of heroism. For most importantly as Joseph Campbell noted, heroes at the end of their journeys always provide the world with a gift. For me, that gift symbolizes enlightenment. It is a gift that serves as an example for others.

The myths make clear that the warrior or slave, artisan

or housekeeper, can provide models for heroism. In fact, sometimes the most heroic acts are performed by people who are never recognized by their peers. In the federal organization heroes can be GS-3 clerk-typists or agency heads. Their positions are unimportant. What is important is their attitudes towards their positions. They are people who first and foremost dedicate themselves to the common good and work for something greater than themselves.

Heroism is manifested in the modern federal organization in various ways. The following section can serve as a kind of primer that an aspiring hero can use as a guide for action. I make suppositions regarding the heros' relation to authority; their use of power; their expression of leadership; their integration of their work and non-work life; their attitude towards their work; and their willingness to take risks.

-- Relation to Authority --

Prior to the 1960s in America, authority was a concept that seemed virtually impregnable. Most people acknowledged that, on occasion, authority could be abused, but few people questioned the validity of the concept itself. Given most American's reverence for authority, it was inevitable that eventually it would fall from grace. It began its fall in the 1960s --- indeed it seemed to crash. During the 1960s

large segments of the young believed that authority should be questioned rather than humbly accepted. Abbie Hoffman, former Chicago Seven defendant and youth movement guru, advised his cohorts "Don't trust anyone over 30," and tried to stand authority on its ear.

This revulsion against authority was an immature reaction to an overly rigid society. (At least, it seems that way now, especially after I passed age 35.) Authority should neither be shunned nor slavishly followed. In both these cases, individuals do not exercise their independence --- they react rather than create a new gestalt. The Blacksburg Manifesto described a better way for the individual to relate to authority. The writers of the Manifesto stated:

We need to note first, that the traditional point of view was incorrect to the extent that it sought to base obedience to authority purely on the basis of deference, and depicted the use of managerial authority as a tool by which managers could improve the performance (the 'shape up or ship out' position). This perspective was correct, however, in depicting the human situation as one requiring authority to check our sometimes capricious tendencies. In particular, the traditional view is correct in seeing that encounter with authority is an essential and positive part of the maturation process, not only in adolescence but throughout life; and is so for superiors and subordinates alike. 11/

This relation to authority is the one that the hero

adopts. During the course of their journey, heroes both learn from authority and serve as an authority. As I wrote in Chapter 4, heroes learn from authority when they accept assistance on their journey from a mentor. Mentors provide heroes with guidance and serve as authorities, against which heroes measure themselves. In the latter part of their journey, more seasoned heroes who have returned from the jaws of death serve as authorities themselves. As I wrote in the previous chapter, heroes provide the world with a gift --- the gift of enlightenment. This gift of enlightenment allows the hero to be a wise authority. They are people who help to check a less mature person's "capricious tendencies." They too, become a mentor.

--- The Use of Power ---

Power, or at least centralized power, was another related concept that fell from grace during the 1960s. The cry "Power to the People!" was the chant of the militant Black Panthers and the Students for a Democratic Society. However, the disgust with centralized power was not confined to radical political groups. It pervaded all of American society. Due to social inequities and the horrors of the Viet Nam War, many young people, at the time, focused primarily on the negative uses of power. Power in the hands of a few was seen by some as a tool of oppression, not as a

potential force for good.

As an alternative to centralized power, many people wanted to further diffuse power. The 1960 and early 1970s experiments in communal living were a venture in this direction, using the direct democracy of the New England town meeting as a kind of rough model. The communitarianism of this period slowly faded away --- most of the communes are long disbanded and many of their members have adopted the hollow passions of their parents and have become avid upwardly-mobiles. Nevertheless, the tumult of the 1960s has left its mark. Many organizations have become slightly less hierarchical and more democratic than those that were in place before the 1960s. Despite this democratic trend, it has been my observation that many senior managers are very wary of this experiment in power-sharing. For these managers, the old ways of "I give you the orders and you follow them, or else," seems to ring more true.

This move towards more power-sharing in the organization is in accord with the heroic journey. Remember George Hartzog. He is an excellent model. He was more than willing to exercise power. Indeed, he seemed to relish conducting negotiations with influential Congressmen in the hope of furthering his agency's goal of establishing more national parks. However, he was also willing to empower his staff. It takes mature managers, like Hartzog --- people willing

to take risks --- to share power with their subordinates. By sharing power, managers also are willing to share with their staff, their office's successes and its failures. Such people do not become obsessed with power. They use it as a means for furthering the common good, not merely as a means of aggrandizing their own careers.

--- Expressions of Leadership ---

Within traditional organizations most people usually expect to find leaders among persons holding mid-level or senior management positions. Unfortunately, many mid-level or senior federal managers are not leaders. However, although these managers may have abdicated their leadership responsibilities, leadership can still be exercised at the lower ranks of an organization. Leadership does not pertain as much to the position that a person holds as it does to the qualities that a person possesses.

The person who displays leadership qualities can be either a GS-3 clerk or an agency administrator. Although leaders differ in rank, they do share an important characteristic, according to Carl Jung, they have "mana-like" qualities. Jung provided the following description of "mana:"

What does lie within our reach, however, is the change in individuals who have, or create, an opportunity to influence others

of like mind in their circle of acquaintance. I do not mean by persuading or preaching --- I am thinking, rather, of the well-known fact that anyone who has insight into his own action, and has thus found access to the unconscious, involuntarily exercises an influence on his environment. The deepening and broadening of his consciousness produce the kind of effect which the primitives call 'mana.' It is an unintentional influence on the unconscious of others, a sort of unconscious prestige, and its effect lasts only so long as it is not disturbed by conscious intention. 12/

Imagine how dynamic an organization would be if people at both its lower and higher ranks were in touch with their unconscious. Leadership and a sense of self-empowerment would emanate from throughout such an organization.

Like the person who follows the heroic journey, leaders are in touch with both their unconscious and other people's unconscious. By being in touch with unconscious processes, leaders are able to impart a vision. (Evoking a vision will probably be more difficult for people with a sensate disposition than those who are intuitively inclined, because as I noted in Chapter 3, sensate people are less attuned to unconscious processes than intuitives.) Warren Bennis and Burt Nanus in Leaders described the relationship between leaders and their visions in this way:

To choose a direction, a leader must first have developed a mental image of a possible and desirable future state of the organization. This image, which we call a

vision, may be as vague as a dream or as precise as a goal or mission statement. The critical point is that a vision articulates a view of a realistic, credible, attractive future for the organization, a condition that is better in some important ways than what now exists. 13/

Within an organization, visions vary widely --- from the limited in scope to the far-reaching. For example, a clerk-typist can have a vision for the best way to organize the purchase of office supplies, just like an agency administrator can have a vision that can guide the development of an agency's Five Year Plan.

--- Relation of Work to Life ---

As I mentioned earlier, particularly since the onset of the Industrial Revolution, people in this society have had a tendency to rigidly compartmentalize their work life from their life away from work. This distinctly 20th Century attitude towards work leads to two dominant viewpoints. If people regard their work as a job, they try to block out all thoughts of their work, once they pass beyond the threshold of the factory or the office door. For this person work is a burden that is best separated from more enjoyable pursuits. Epitomized by the organizational personality type that I labeled the philistine, these people are likely to associate their work life with pain, boredom and hopelessness. They hope that their home life and leisure activities will provide

them with an escape from the anxiety they experience at work.

On the other hand, people who view their work as a career are forever dwelling on it. They never truly escape from its grasp. The organizational personality type that I called the self-seeking careerist best fits this mold. The work of the self-seeking careerist is their life. They take pride in the number of hours they works per week, the number of meals they miss and the number of times they are called from work while on their vacations. For this type of person, even many of their so-called leisure time activities are chosen for their value as a totem of status. Their family life, their acquaintances, their interests --- all are carefully managed for the sake of their careers.

Neither of these life courses are desirable --- both impede the individuation urge. One cannot adhere to the heroic journey without maintaining a balance between one's life at work and one's life away from work. By maintaining this balance, individuals can enhance their sense of meaning. As Victor Frankl indicated in his writings, two of the primary ways that people achieve meaning in their lives is through their work and by loving other people. Heroes block their life-long path towards individuation, if they neglect one of these significant aspects of their lives at the expense of the other.

-- Attitude Towards Their Work --

Before much work was de-personalized by the Industrial Revolution, many people regarded themselves as craftsmen. In today's age, craftsmen are rare. The work processes instituted during the Industrial Revolution, emphasized routine, standard operating procedures and a reliance on interchangeable parts. These emphases have had a great effect on people's attitude towards their work and have had profound implications that extend far beyond the factory floor. One major implication of this development is that the craftsman has been largely replaced by the laborer both in the factory and in the government office environment.

How does the craftsman differ from the laborer?

1. Craftsmen feel empowered. They set their own specifications; work their own hours; and are, alone, responsible for the end product. The laborer is a disemboweled extension of the machine --- merely another interchangeable part.
2. Craftsmen take pride in their work. When they complete an assignment, they are proud to put their imprimatur on it. In their work, they stay in contact with their environment. On the other hand, laborers remain emotionally uninvolved with the products of their work. They could care less about quality --- they

are more likely to fret about missing their car pool.

3. Craftsmen are enlivened by their work. For the craftsman, it takes on the nature of play --- their hands glide over their work products like a master performer's hands over a piano keyboard. On the other hand, laborers regard their work as little more than mere drudgery. This perspective is perhaps best captured by Simone Weil's experience in a Renault factory. In describing her experience, John Cary wrote, "What Simone Weil experienced in the Renault factory was in effect her work becoming labor, her initiative of selfdedication and affirmation turning automatic, alien, oppressive." 14/

4. Craftsmen impart a spiritual dimension to their work. Through their work, they seek communion with their inner being. Laborers regard their work instrumentally. For the laborer, work is merely a means to an end.

Can people who work in modern organizations regard their work as a craft? Or did the notion of the craftsman die out with the Industrial Revolution? Others have pondered this question. One writer speculated:

Is there a craftsmanlike way of working that is available not only to the worker in the workshop, but to the worker wherever he works,

whatever his work is --- in a factory or bank, in an executive office or houseful of children; even here in a noisy advertising agency?

Today I want to know for myself if there is still a way of working that would not only support me physically, but would also support this inner hunger that I feel now: a hunger actually to be here at my job, more awake, instead of dreaming at it, swept along from one crisis to the next, from paycheck to paycheck. 15/

The author eventually answered his question by writing

Perhaps, if I attend to the reality that is in front of me moment by moment --- phone, machine, pencil, boss, coffee --- constantly failing, accepting to fail and to begin again --- this perfectly ordinary work, might even become my craft. 16/

The hero chooses the way of the craftsman. Heroes are naturally inclined to become craftsmen, because it provides them opportunities for becoming self-empowered; staying in contact with their environment; engaging in play; and enhancing their spiritual development. Through their work, heroes as craftsmen put themselves in closer contact with the great unknown --- their inner selves.

--- Willingness To Take Risks ---

One stereotype of federal workers generally holds true. Many of them are risk averse. Afraid to make a miscue and undermine a much-desired promotion, many federal bureaucrats

prefer to withdraw like a turtle into its shell and play it safe when faced with uncertainty. Furthermore, this type of risk averse stance is reinforced by conventional wisdom. It is a widely held assumption that more promotions in the federal government are gained by cautious inaction rather than by incautious action.

The individual who takes up the heroic journey soon learns that it contains many crags and pitfalls. Unlike Downs' conserver, who prefers to follow an organization's well worn paths, heroes occasionally follow paths that lead them along the edge of a precipice. The person aspiring to herohood must be willing to take risks. A willingness to take risks is consistent with Deming's Fourteen Points. In Deming's words, the organization should make it a goal "to drive out fear," or conversely the individual should be open to risk taking. Why are organizational employees often unwilling to take risks? In describing Deming's philosophy, Walton explained many organizational employee's reticence in this way:

People are afraid to point out problems for fear they will start an argument, or worse, be blamed for the problem. Moreover, so seldom is anything done to correct problems that there is no incentive to expose them. And more often than not there is no mechanism for problem-solving. Suggesting new ideas is too risky. People are afraid of losing their raises or promotions, or worse, their jobs. 17/

How much easier it is to play it safe. When people place so much emphasis on their individual interests, they often choose to remain quiet when they should be screaming out. They remain oblivious to the inequities, inefficiencies and poorly formulated decisions that occur around them. On the other other hand, when heroes take a risk, they often put their individual interests on hold, battling the forces of the conventional wisdom for the sake of the common good.

What types of risks does the organizational hero take? Organizational heroes provide support to their colleagues, supervisors and subordinates when they face work-related or personal problems. They are willing to suggest and implement new programs that others might find too daring. They are prepared to say "no," when the majority of their colleagues are eager to say "yes." They support their colleagues, subordinates and superiors, even when it is unpopular to do so. Unlike the anti-hero, they transcend their community, but remain an integral part of it.

Some Concluding Thoughts

Recently the National Commission on the Public Service conducted a survey of 865 of the Nation's top college students. The survey revealed that "the Class of '88 are motivated primarily by intangible rewards, such as

challenging work and the opportunity for personal growth, rather than pay and promotion." 18/ Unfortunately, these same individuals also indicated that they "do not see the public service as providing those intangible rewards that are most important to them." 19/ The response to this survey epitomizes the problems and the opportunities that confront the federal service and public service in general in the years to come.

On the debit side, the public service and the federal service, in particular, faces an image problem in the mind of the general public. As I noted in the first chapter, there is prevalent impression in the mind of the general public which has been reinforced by previous presidents and the press that federal workers lack the "right stuff." This image problem only exacerbates the real problems that actually exist --- problems of low morale which are compounded by relatively low pay, as compared to the private sector, and a pervasive careerism that focuses excessively on the self.

On the credit side, given the right leadership at either the presidential, agency, office or branch level, federal service can be an exciting and fulfilling opportunity that can provide an individual with a sense of meaning and fulfillment. Furthermore, given an individual with sufficient maturity and insight, federal service can also

provide opportunities for meaning and fulfillment, whether or not an agency's formal management structure establishes an atmosphere that encourages personal development and community. The federal service is in a special position to offer these opportunities of meaning and fulfillment because the federal service, at least, in theory is supposed to work for the common good.

People who take up the heroic journey find themselves when they serve others. We can never truly inject a sense of meaning into our lives when we are bound by an overconcern for ourselves that restricts our need to establish true friendships and inhibits our progress towards common objectives. Alienation --- separation from ourselves and others --- is one of the greatest problems of our age. Through institutions like the federal service, we can help to tear down some of the walls that separate us and realize our true selves.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER 1

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