Among the seven ecological factors identified by John Gaus, which three do you consider to be most critical in shaping Robertson's performance? Why? Likewise, from the Arnstein Model, what three factors are most critical to Robertson's effective performance? Why?

William Robertson: Exemplar of Politics and Public Management Rightly Understood

TERRY L. COOPER AND THOMAS A. BRYER

William Robertson presides over the City of Los Angeles' Bureau of Street Services. The bureau today consists of seven unique divisions that are charged with developing, constructing, and maintaining streets, sidewalks, and trees throughout the city. In total, the city maintains a 6,500-mile street system, with approximately 1,000 miles of failed streets. The total budget for the bureau is roughly $130 million annually, with a total staff of approximately 1,300.

Robertson's story is defined, in part, by his quick advancement through the leadership ranks in military and local government service. His story is further characterized by his independent-mindedness in work performance and career choice, his educational learning objectives without formal university education, and his choices to follow lessons and advice from people around him, including his mother. Throughout his military and professional careers, Robertson has developed and refined his general orientation to working with the public: They shouldn't be told lies, and honesty is the best policy.

Robertson's military service was marked by a rapid rise through the ranks. He enlisted in the Marine Corps; out of the 80 or so who were in each boot camp platoon, two or three were promoted early. After being chosen for advancement, Robertson was selected to lead a larger, more diverse group of men. This was his first experience leading a culturally and racially diverse group of people, as he had grown up and attended school in a predominantly white part of Los Angeles County. From there, Robertson was charged with leading a sniper group and, within two months, had his own squad in Vietnam.

Robertson believes the training and experience he gained in his military service provided a greater education than he could have received in a college classroom. For instance, Robertson reports that he learned a sense of responsibility—primarily to his military colleagues, but also to the organization. This lesson was applied recently during particularly bad winter rainstorms in the City of Los Angeles, a story we will return to later.

After completing his military service, Robertson returned to the United States and took a job as a salesman with a textile company, Milliken and Company, in South Carolina and Georgia. He worked there for three or four years but found that sales was "not my niche. I hated sales and didn't like lying to people." After this period, he returned to his childhood home of Los Angeles and bought a truck. For three or four years, he worked as a truck operator, driving through the 48 states. However, his independent trucking business did not last long; his mother did not like him doing that kind of work. At his mother's prompting, Robertson joined the City of Los Angeles' Bureau of Street Services.

Robertson's service in the bureau, like his service in the military, has been marked by rapid advancement. He first joined the bureau as a heavy-duty truck operator. After working for six months, he was tapped to serve as acting supervisor, a position he held for two years beginning in 1986. After this period, Robertson took the civil service test and placed at the top of the list. He went on to earn a street maintenance certificate at Los Angeles Trade Technical College. As a supervisor, he did not need this certification, but he chose to do so because of his interest in learning. He hoped to spread this interest to other people in the organization, which has been a challenging task. According to Robertson, "eighty-five percent of the workforce comes from the construction trade, and education is not viewed as helpful in their advancement."

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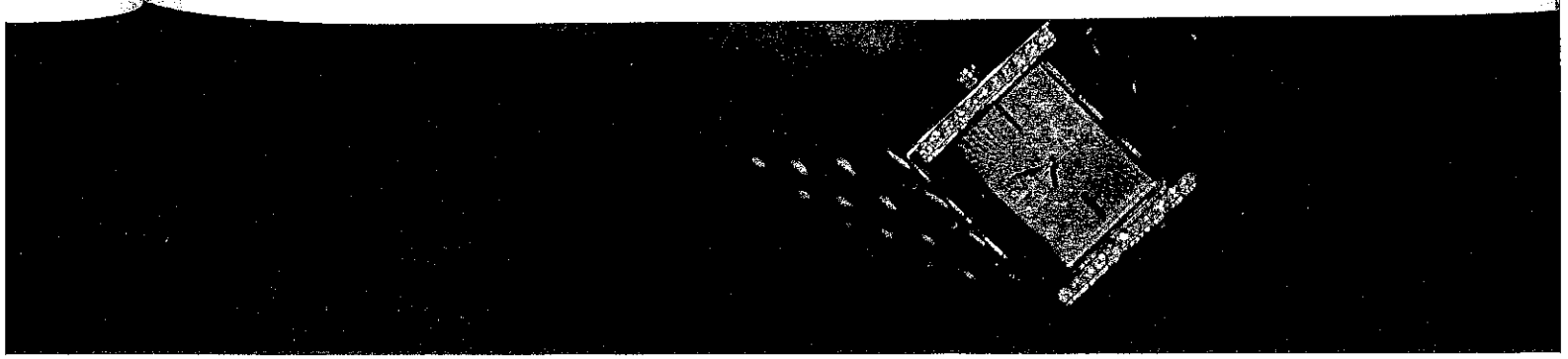


This test achievement and certification gave him the knowledge and technical requirements to serve effectively as an emerging leader in the bureau. In combination with his military service, which Robertson has described as his college experience, he began his rapid advancement without formal university education.

Robertson's advancement put him in a variety of positions with different responsibilities, including participation in an effort to reorganize the bureau, which coincided with discussion of the neighborhood council system in 1998. He ultimately rose to become assistant director of the bureau under the directorship of Greg Scott. After Scott's retirement, a new director was named but retired quickly as a result of health concerns, and Robertson was subsequently promoted to director. This last advancement was awarded to Robertson because of his proven ability to get the job done, work with competing interests, and satisfy multiple needs. One informant reported that he had been impressed with Robertson's rise through the ranks and the way he had proven himself along the way. Thus, no national search was conducted for the director's position when Robertson was there with all the necessary skills. In all, Robertson went from heavy-duty truck operator to bureau director in 18 years. According to Robertson, "People wait this long to become supervisor."

Robertson's leadership continues to be recognized today. In 2006, he was elected president of the City of Los Angeles' General Manager's Association Chosen by peers who head other departments in the city, Robertson hopes to use his two-year term to break down walls between departments and to focus on solving the city's problems collaboratively.

Politics with Integrity: The Circle of Participation

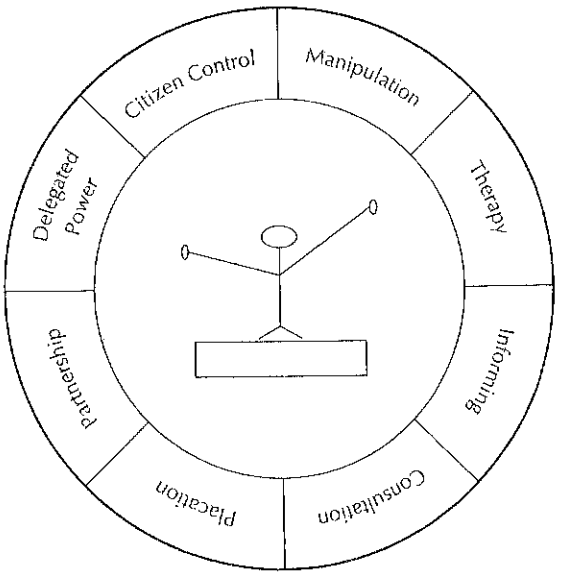
Sherry Arnstein's ladder of participation (1969) depicts the way in which citizen participation was typically framed during the 1960s: as a zero-sum power struggle between government and citizens. Providing more participation was viewed as empowering the people at the expense of administrative and political power. As one moves up the ladder from manipulation at the bottom to citizen control at the top, citizens gain increasing increments of power as government gives it up. From an administrative perspective, the dominance of efficiency and technical skill gives way to citizen discretion.

We suggest revising Arnstein's ladder to more appropriately reflect the movement toward the concepts of collaborative governance and management by turning the vertical ladder into a circle. From the perspective of collaboration, encouraging citizen participation in the public management process is not a zero-sum but a positive-sum game. A public executive such as Robertson can gain power by working with instead of against the citizenry. Through collaboration, citizens can introduce their particular knowledge and skills into the work of managing the delivery of public services. The public executive is in a key position to encourage this kind of collaboration by employing the approaches reflected in the steps of the circle of participation.

By further conceptualizing the ladder as a circle, we can visualize an administrator standing not on a rung of the ladder trying to work with citizens, employees, elected officials, and other stakeholders through a single approach, but rather on a platform at the center of the loop. From here, the administrator can easily combine strategies, such as manipulation and citizen control, and move quickly from one strategy to another depending on the needs of a situation. Figure 3.1 illustrates the circle of participation.

The stories recounted here show how Robertson has employed these approaches to produce technically

Figure 3.1 Combining Strategies in the Circle of Participation



superior and responsive services for multiple stakeholders. First, we relate stories of Robertson's interactions with citizens, particularly representatives of neighborhood councils in the City of Los Angeles. In these stories, we see how Robertson uses manipulation to convert an angry crowd into one seeking ways to help him acquire new resources for his bureau. We also see how he is able to placate citizens through information sharing and education, as well as how he partners with citizens to develop closer, more trusting relationships. These relationships, once formed, allow him to convince citizens to serve as champions for his bureau with elected officials, which can be seen as a vital resource in bureaucratic governance (Hill 1991).

Next, we relate stories of Robertson's interactions with his subordinates. His actions here reveal the use of partnership formation and delegation of power to obtain desired outcomes for the city. We also see how he manages relationships in times of turmoil and mourning through the use of information sharing and therapy. Following these stories, we offer additional examples of partnering and delegating power, though with a focus on relationships with other city managers outside his bureau.

Operating within the circle of participation, a successful administrator is one who can use each of the strategies identified by Arnstein to meet the conditions and demands presented by a multitude of stakeholders. We show how Robertson successfully operates within this circle through his actions and interactions in the City of Los Angeles' Bureau of Street Services. Based on our interviews and observations, we conclude that Robertson does not treat any single stakeholder group with a single strategy. Rather, across stakeholders, he relies on the entire toolbox of strategies to achieve his desired outcomes of technically superior and responsive service delivery.

Interactions with Citizens

In our interviews with Robertson and others, we solicited stories about him that might reveal his character, motivation, and work style.[1] Three stories provide insights into his work with citizens through the Los Angeles neighborhood council system. Citywide neighborhood councils were incorporated into the city charter approved by voters in June 1999. Many city department heads viewed this new institution for citizen participation with some wariness and skepticism; it was seen, according to one official, as an initiative that asked department officials to do more without additional funding. Robertson, however, enthusiastically embraced the new neighborhood councils from their inception.

One of Robertson's general manager peers in another department told us that Robertson attends more neighborhood council meetings than any other general manager, usually at night and scattered over the 470 square miles of the city. When we asked Robertson about this, he agreed that it may be true. What is his motivation for engaging in this time-consuming and sometimes stressful practice? According to Robertson, it is important for professionals in government to meet citizens on their own ground to show that they care and that they are willing to work with them to solve their problems and respond to their concerns. He wants to move beyond simply telling citizens that he cannot do what they want or that he does not have the money in his budget. Robertson believes that if he shows a genuine interest in finding ways to respond to demands in creative ways, or to offer interim solutions, people will accept that he cannot always do all they may want from his department. They are more likely to trust him if he shows that he takes their requests seriously and tries to respond in some way, however limited that may be.

Robertson maintains that managers need to exercise leadership in working with citizens and explains that one thing he learned in the Marine Corps is that a good leader cannot lead from behind. Leaders must be out on the front lines with the troops. He tries to teach his assistant directors, Ron Olive and Nazario Saueceda, the importance of engaging with citizens in accomplishing the work of the department by insisting that they join him on his visits with the neighborhood councils. Robertson similarly seeks to include lower-level employees in meetings with the public in order to mentor them and "to push our employees to confront their fears of working with the public." They see their boss dealing with citizen hostility and conflict, achieving constructive ends, and building trusting relationships. In this way, he models the conduct of the "citizen administrator" (Cooper 2006) for his subordinates.

Combining Citizen Control and Manipulation of Citizens

As Robertson engages with the neighborhood councils, he explains that he views honesty as central. He listens patiently to people's demands, complaints, and suggestions. He tells people what he can and cannot do and

why. At times, he finds himself challenging citizens on something they may have misrepresented. Sometimes these responses become opportunities to educate citizens about how their government works. For example, when he realized that citizens lacked essential information about how street resurfacing is done, he prepared a presentation titled "Professor Pothole Presents: Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Selecting Streets for Resurfacing in Your Neighborhood Council."

Robertson views this kind of honest exchange and sharing of information as part of the process of empowering citizens. Along with honesty, he uses a lot of humor and self-effacement. He never prepares speeches in advance but rather tries to grapple with whatever is presented to him at a particular time and place. Several of our informants reported they had observed Robertson in these community situations and indicated they had always been deeply impressed by his ability to walk into a room full of angry people and leave them at the end of the meeting thanking him and ready to collaborate.

One informant even reported a standing ovation after one such session, at which, according to Robertson, another public official had earlier been looking for the nearest exit out of fear of the hostile crowd. He accomplished this by being open and honest with the citizens and speaking to them without using technical language. He manipulated them by fueling anger and disappointment about service delivery, but he channeled this anger to create advocates for his bureau with elected officials. This strategy paid dividends, as seen in a second story.

In partnership with former Los Angeles mayor James Hahn, Robertson developed a program that earmarked $100,000 annually for each of the 87 neighborhood councils existing at the time to allocate among the services provided by the Bureau of Street Services. Furthermore, instead of simply announcing this offer, Robertson organized seven meetings in different areas of Los Angeles to meet with neighborhood council leaders to explain how this new program would work and to get their suggestions. Robertson appeared at all of these meetings and stayed until the end, even if it was quite late and even if only a handful of people remained. When asked why he had made this offer, Robertson said it was his way of showing the councils that they are important and have a role to play in shaping service delivery. It was a step toward sharing power, if even in a relatively small way.

Partnership with Citizens

The third story concerns Robertson's effort to find office space for a neighborhood council that had none. The city provides $50,000 annually to each council for basic expenses, but that does not go very far if a large portion is expended on office rent, so some councils try to obtain donated space. One of our informants was a neighborhood council board member who told us that when Robertson learned that her council had been unsuccessful in finding free space, he took the initiative to locate a room for an office in one of his facilities in that neighborhood council area. When asked why he had gone out of his way to do this, Robertson explained that it was a way of showing respect for the efforts of hundreds of citizens who work all day and then take on responsibilities for their neighborhoods during their free time. He viewed having office space as on of the essential requirements for carrying out their work and contributing to their empowerment.

Summary of Citizen Interactions

These three stories of Robertson's interactions with citizens reflect his ability to use multiple tools in his efforts to manage relationships with his stakeholders. He uses the art of manipulation to calm a crowd and turn their anger into power based on new information that he provides about the lack of resources or other constraints preventing his bureau from meeting their needs. As he stated in the context of the Collaborative Learning Project (see note1) and interactions with neighborhood councils, "There is not a lot I can do from this office, but I can help tell other people what to tell other people to tell the mayor." By wooing citizens with office space, information, or increased say in how street funds are allocated in a neighborhood, Robertson creates advocates for his bureau. An outcome of Robertson's activity is increased funds for the Bureau of Street Services through the city's participatory budget process. Increased funds, in turn, help give citizens what they want and expect.

Interactions with Subordinates

We have already described how Robertson mentors his subordinates in his interactions with members of the public. That anecdote illustrated how he pushes his employees to embrace the conflict that is inherent in

the political process; in doing so, he leads by example and develops relationships with his subordinates using the same tools in the circle of participation.

Two stories reveal how Robertson engages with his subordinates using a variety of tools, such as therapy, partnership, and delegated power. The first entails his leadership during a set of resource-intensive, catastrophic, and deadly storms during the 2005 winter season; the second entails his public response to the deaths of two Bureau of Street Services employees who were murdered at a bureau yard.

Combining Partnership and Delegated Power with Subordinates

In the winter of 2005, Los Angeles was hit by a series of heavy rainstorms that flooded streets, deteriorated infrastructure, caused devastating mudslides, and opened sinkholes on public roadways. Driving north–south just west of downtown Los Angeles required drivers to navigate a rushing body of water at the convergence of hillsides that are part of the urban landscape. Bureau employees worked in 12-hour shifts to respond to storm-related incidents.

Throughout this winter season, Robertson worked without a day off and on the street with his crew. One informant described seeing Robertson at this time "drenched in water." He worked alongside his employees in the rain, mud, and cold. His motivation to be out front in the storms—rather than in a central office—was based on his desire to lead by example.

Robertson's Marine Corps training taught him that good leaders cannot lead from the back; they need to be out in front with the troops. By doing so, Robertson seeks to accomplish two things: (1) to develop future leaders for the bureau and (2) to make more informed decisions about what the bureau needs to do on the ground. In developing future leaders, Robertson, again recalling his Marine Corps experience, knows that if he falls, the organization needs to continue functioning smoothly and without interruption. "If I die tomorrow," Robertson reflects, "Nazario will step into my office, and nobody would know I was there."

The second goal of being out in front with the troops is to acquire the most up-to-date information that is observed firsthand rather than information that is filtered through a reporting mechanism. Information acquired firsthand is grounded in the real experiences of his crew, which include observations of the challenges of accomplishing certain tasks.

In putting himself in front of his troops, Robertson has grown to know his employees by name, and they know him in the same way. One informant reported that Robertson expects integrity from all bureau employees, and he seeks to deliver the same. As such, a partnership develops between superior and subordinate that builds trust, ensures open communication, and facilitates mutual respect up and down the hierarchy. Given this orientation toward working with his subordinates, Robertson was naturally devastated when two employees were murdered in February 2005 at one of his yards.

Therapy and Information Sharing in the Face of Tragedy

On Thursday, February 24, 2005, a city maintenance worker fatally shot two employees at a city maintenance yard. One employee was the worker's supervisor; he was the target of the attack, which followed a dispute regarding work performance. The other employee was a fellow street worker, who likely was in the wrong place at the wrong time. A third employee found the bodies in the early evening of that same day.

The incident occurred in the middle of the winter storms that had Robertson and all of his employees working long days without much rest. The call came with the news while Robertson was en route from one worksite to another. He quickly changed direction and went to the scene of the murders. Privately, Robertson reflected on how he had other people to lean on. He experienced a sense of guilt, asking, "What could I have done differently to save these lives?" Publicly, Robertson stressed to bureau employees that the most important assets for the bureau are "the people who work for us." He emphasized that the bureau is a "family," a fact that he felt he was able to talk about more openly than other agency directors because he had come up through the ranks.

The murders came quickly on the heels of another tragic incident in which a street worker fell into a sinkhole during the storms and died. His response to this incident was to get out in front of any rumors that might circulate about the death of the employee with a full report about what had occurred. He gave all employees—at all levels of the organization—the freedom to seek counseling, take time off, or take any other action necessary to heal. Coming from a street worker's background, Robertson actively discouraged field crews from refusing counseling for fear of being labeled a "sissy."

Summary of Interactions with Subordinates

Overall, in his interactions with subordinates, Robertson seeks to lead by example and to develop strong, mutually supportive relationships across all levels of the organization. These relationships are defined by partnerships in which Robertson actively consults with his subordinates, empathizes with them to give opportunities for reflection and healing, and informs them of bureau policies without concern for rank. He empathizes with employees as someone who came up through the ranks and offers them opportunities to make their own decisions for their own health and for the mission of the bureau. Without this mutual respect, Robertson believes that employees would have no incentive to follow his leadership, thus limiting his ability to communicate to citizens that he is doing everything he can given current resources to meet their expectations. We see similar cultivation of relationships across agencies as well.

Interactions with Other Managers

Crises such as storms highlight the exemplary traits of leaders that might be overlooked in otherwise normal settings. The stories reported here with respect to subordinate interactions are set within the context of a crisis situation, but Robertson's behaviors and actions are not restricted to crises. The importance of relationship management for Robertson can also be seen in his interactions with his general manager peers. Here again, we see behavior oriented toward partnership. In this example, Robertson and his bureau were delegated some new responsibilities. It was hoped that the acceptance of such new responsibility would allow the favor to be returned at some future point if needed.

Partnering and Delegating Power across Government Agencies

One example is the case of dealing with a service problem that Robertson's bureau could handle functionally but that was under the jurisdiction of another department. The same rains that had allowed Robertson's leadership qualities to shine in 2005 also allowed city trees to grow at a faster rate than normal. Specifically, older or heritage trees grew faster than was typical, and Department of Recreation and Parks employees had to work fast to cut the limbs; however, some trees were chopped in the wrong war. As they grew, the limbs were weaker and threatened to fall, causing possible injury to person and property. Given this situation, a request was made of Robertson by the general manager of the Department of Recreation and Parks to provide workers from his bureau to help trim the trees appropriately. Without hesitation, Robertson agreed.

Robertson reported the situation as involving a choice. On one hand, he and the general manager could wait for the city council to authorize funds to perform the tree maintenance. Alternatively, he could move forward without authorization. He chose the latter option and adopted a perspective that he feels all city managers should adopt—citywide perspective that is not bound by departmental lines of jurisdiction. If the two managers had waited for city council authorization, damage could have been done to person or property from the falling limbs. By adopting a citywide perspective and accepting responsibility for the quality of life of all aspects of the city, Robertson demonstrated a manner of working collaboratively and across boundaries.

Using Multiple Strategies to Achieve Technical Efficiency

In addition to successfully managing relationships with a diverse set of stakeholders, Robertson promotes technical efficiency. He uses the relationships he has developed among elected officials and citizens to acquire new resources in order to improve service delivery. For instance, one technology that Robertson has successfully promoted is known as Cold In-Place Recycling, which is estimated to be 25 percent to 35 percent more effective than conventional technologies. With this technology, road surfaces are reconstructed at a single time with a single piece of equipment, which, Robertson notes, is much less invasive in neighborhoods.

Another example is the design-build process, in which bureau engineers work in conjunction with other workers to design and build a street project, without depending on the longer design period required by the Bureau of Engineering. By integrating both steps, problems that emerge during the project building process can be addressed on the spot by designers.

Despite earning victories with elected officials to acquire new technologies and attempt new processes, Robertson recognizes that politics can interfere with technical efficiency. For instance, he describes how

the paving and maintenance of streets in the city's neighborhoods cannot be completely efficient when decisions about which streets get paved are made by each of the 15 city council members rather than by human experts or computer modeling. A more efficient method would employ a grid system in which streets in a well-defined grid are identified for maintenance each fiscal year using an objective calculation system that considers road condition, road use, and other such factors. Politics can rectify inefficiencies, however, and Robertson urges neighborhood council leaders to select contiguous streets for maintenance using their $100,000 allocation. In this way, he educates neighborhood council leaders, acts honestly, and manipulates them to achieve the technical goals he sets for himself and his bureau.

Lessons Learned

What emerged from our interviews with Robertson and others who have worked with him as neighborhood council board members, elected officials, general manager peers, and subordinates is an image of a professional manager in the best sense who understands the politics of administering a very large city agency that touches the lives of citizens daily. He never sacrifices technical expertise for the sake of pacifying irate citizens or politicians, and he pays attention to the ways in which his power and knowledge can be put into the service of the people of Los Angeles. He understands that technical prowess alone will not serve the ends of democratic governance, and so he sees the necessity of building trust and collaboration with those he serves.

Robertson values partnership and knows that sharing information in a nonpatronizing manner plays a large part in achieving that goal. He exercises control as the director of the Los Angeles Bureau of Street Services but believes that control must be tempered. It must be based on professional advice and information but also must provide options and information to support citizen discretion. Consultation with citizens as partners is important for the long-range good of the department and the people of Los Angeles.

Robertson's political side can also be seen in the way he handles rules. In one interview, he opined that although rules are important, there are too many of them. He maintains that an administrator in his position must have the flexibility to get to the point of a policy in any particular situation. He insists that he never violates city policy, but he bends the rules if necessary to get to the goal of the policy. He suggests that he "can go political behind the scenes" if necessary but only to benefit the community. He is adamant about not doing so just to make elected officials look good, nor to enrich his bureau's coffers while ignoring the real needs of neighborhoods.

What about the legitimate uses of manipulation for the sake of citizen empowerment? Can such a perspective be acceptable in democratic public administration? Robertson explains that the manipulation of citizens is more legitimate when it is used to open minds. He may massage the emotions of an angry crowd in a community meeting to get them to put aside tunnel vision, prepare them to receive new information, or arrive at a fresher point of view. Robertson may woo citizens to get them to abandon a preconceived notion of the government as the enemy in order to create a more collaborative relationship. Robertson admits to engaging in this kind of manipulation as a legitimate part of the politics of administration. Is it? We think so, as long as it can stand the test of publicity. Full transparency about the motivations for his actions must accompany his decisions and behaviors, and we find this to be the case with Robertson. To conclude, we offer the following lessons for public administrators based on William Robertson's example:

1. Exemplary administrators pursue the interests of their agency, as well as the people whom the agency serves, by cultivating relationships with different classes of stakeholders, including citizens, elected officials, and administrator colleagues.
2. Successful administrators are able to use multiple political tools in the process of cultivating relationships with stakeholders, including the art of manipulation, placation, partnership, and other forms of empowerment.
3. Respected administrators exercise their political skills transparently and without bias.
4. Trusted administrators practice honesty and integrity while expecting the same from those around them.

These are only a few of the lessons that we feel readers can identify in their own reading about Robertson. We hope our observations can be used as a starting point to think more systematically about a normative understanding of administrative politics that is consistent with democratic governance.

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Note

1. As noted by one of the peer reviewers of this article, one should reveal the flaws and weaknesses of anyone who is presented as an exemplar. Without showing "warts and all," credibility suffers because we are all painfully aware of the lack of human perfection. We very much agree with this point of view and aggressively attempted to draw out this kind of material in our interviews. However, we uncovered little beyond some minor complaints about favoring one part of his department over another. This may be one of the methodological challenges of identifying living administrators as exemplars.

Chapter 3 Review Questions

1. What were the chief elements from John's Gaus's administrative ecology that Robertson drew on to run the Los Angeles Bureau of Street Services? Explain why these elements were critical to achieving his goals?
2. What was the role of stakeholders in supporting his work? Who were they? Which ones were most influential? What strategies did he employ to gain their support? Can you generalize about the impact of such groups on administrative programs?
3. Can you point out the key factors in the Arnstein Circle of Participation that Robertson employed as a public manager?
4. Compare Case Study 1, "The Blast in Centralia No. 5," with this case. Contrast how geographical distances in both cases influenced the administrative decisions that were made or not made. Can you generalize about the difficulties of undertaking effective administrative actions as the distances between the administrator and "the clientele" increase?
5. Can you generalize about the difficulties of initiating effective administrative actions as public differences over program goals intensify? How did this case compare with Case Study 2, "How Kristin Died," particularly in terms of stakeholder support versus divided support for the goals of administrative action?
6. After reviewing this case study, would you modify Gaus's ideas about the nature of modern administrative ecology? In your view, for instance, does he adequately identify the

importance of ethnic, racial, or gender differences? Media influence? Fragmented governmental oversight? Likewise, would you modify the Arnstein Model in any way? If so, how?

Key Terms

administrative ecology
physical technology
social technology
general environment
wishes and ideas
catastrophe

Suggestions for Further Reading

Gaus spent much of his life thinking about the ecology of public administration; therefore you would do well to begin by reading the entire book from which the reading in this chapter was reprinted, *Reflections on Public Administration* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1947). For an excellent summary of current literature in this field, see chapter 4 in Hal Rainey, *Understanding and Managing Public Organizations* (San Francisco; Jossey-Bass, 1997). In recent years comparative administrative scholars are perhaps the ablest group carrying on Gaus's investigations in this area; see Fred Riggs, *The Ecology of Administration* (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1967) and by the same Author, "The Ecology and Context on Public Administration: A Comparative Perspective," *Public Administration Review*, 40, (March/April 1980), pp. 107–115. As well as Ferrel Heady, *Public Administration: A Comparative Perspective*, 6th ed. (New York: Marcel Dekker, 2001). For an insightful retrospective on the comparative movement, read Ferrel Heady, *One Time Around* (Albuquerque: School of Public Administration, University of New Mexico, 1999). For other recent comparativist writings, see Jamil Jreisat, *Comparative Public Administration and Policy* (Boulder: Westview, 2002). Jon Pierre and B. Guy Peters, eds., *Handbook of Public Administration* (Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage, 2004); B. Guy Peters, *Governing*, 2nd ed. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2001); Don Kettl, *The Transformation of Governance* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), and Ali Farazmand, ed., *Handbook of Comparative and Development Public Administration*, 2nd ed. (New York: Dekker, 2001).

Biographies and autobiographies offer some of the finest observations on the interplay between social forces and public administration, and the most outstanding ones are Louis Brownlow, *A Passion for Anonymity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958). Robert Caro, *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York City* (New York: Random House, 1974); Leroy F. Harlow, *Without Fear or Favor: Odyssey of a City Manager* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977); Thomas K. McCraw, *Prophets of Regulation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984); David Stockman, *The Triumph of Politics: The Inside Story of the Reagan Revolution* (New York: Harper & Row, 1986); Bob Woodward, *Maestro* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000); David Kessler, *A Question of Intent* (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 2001); Wesley K. Clark, *Waging Modern War* (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 2001); Deborah Shapley, *Promise and Power: The Life and Times of Robert McNamara* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1993); Daniel Patrick Moynihan. *Miles to Go* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997), as well as several biographies in Jameson W. Doig and Erwin C. Hargrove, eds., *Leadership and Innovation* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987) and in Norma Riccucci, *Unsung Heroes* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1995). There are several classic social science studies of this subject, including Philip Selznick, *TVA and the Grass Roots: A Study of the Sociology of Formal Organization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949); Herbert Kaufman, *The Forest Ranger—A Study in*

Administrative Behavior (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1960); Arthur Maass, *The Army Engineers and the Nation's Rivers* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951); Milton D. Morris, *Immigration: The Beleaguered Bureaucracy* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute, 1985); Martha Derthick, *Up in Smoke* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2002); and Paul Light, *Artful Work: The Politics of Social Security Reform* (New York: Random House, 1985). For an excellent set of insightful cases at the local level, read James H. Svara and associates, *Facilitative Leadership in Local Government* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1994); and James M. Banovetz, ed., *Managing Local Government: Cases in Decision Making*, 2nd ed. (Washington, D.C.: ICMA, 1998).

You should not overlook the rich case studies available through the Inter-University Case Program (ICP) (P.O. Box 229, Syracuse, N.Y. 13210) as well as the John F. Kennedy School of Government Case Program (Kennedy School of Government, Case Program, Harvard University, 79 JFK Street, Cambridge, Mass. 02138), most of which explore and highlight various dimensions of administrative ecology. The first ICP case book, Harold Stein, ed., *Public Administration and Policy Development: A Casebook* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1952), contains an especially good introduction by Stein focusing on this topic. Also, cases available through the Electronic Hallway (halltalk@u.Washington.edu) are well worth examining.

Three short but useful pieces that should be read as well are Herbert G. Wilcox, "The Culture Trait of Hierarchy in Middle Class Children," *Public Administration Review* (March/April 1968), pp. 222–32; F. E. Emery and E. L. Trist, "The Causal Texture of Organizational Environments," *Human Relations*, 18 (February 1965), pp. 21–32; and Augustus McGarity III, "Administrative Ecology" *School Administrator*, 64 (April 2007), pp. 40–43.

Of course, the most profound ecological impact on public administration in recent decades has come from technological change. A useful overview of these institutional effects can be found in Jane E. Fountain, *Building the Virtual State* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 2001); Manuel Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996); P. H. A. Frissen, *Politics, Governance, and Technology* (Northampton, Mass.: Edward Elgar, 1999); as well as a fine case study, Barry Bozeman, *Government Management of Information Mega-Technology*, (Arlington, VA.: PricewaterhouseCoopers Endowment for the Business of Government, 2002).

Certainly *must* reading for comprehending the whole cultural-social milieu within which American public administration operates remains the two volumes of Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York: Vintage, 1945), or for that matter, several of the other historical treatments of the American Experience: James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, 2 volumes (New York: Macmillan, 1888); Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition* (New York: Vintage Books, 1948); Michael Kammen, *People of Paradox* (New York: Vintage Books, 1972); Henry Steele Commanger, *The Empire of Reason* (New York: Doubleday, 1977); and Samuel P. Huntington, *American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981), as well as his *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996).

For a theoretical look at why culture matters, read Lawrence E. Harrison and Samuel P. Huntington, eds., *Culture Matters* (New York: Basic Books, 2000).