1997

Creating a government that works better and costs less: A historical analysis of Civil Service reform

James William Thomas

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CREATING A GOVERNMENT THAT WORKS BETTER AND COSTS LESS:
A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

A Project
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State University,
San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Public Administration

by
James William Thomas
June 1997
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ABSTRACT

This research proposes to examine change in government. There have been certain periods in our nation's history where radical change has been made to meet the needs of the nation and serve its citizens. The timeliness of today's efforts to change the way our government works can be seen in a prophetic statement of Woodrow Wilson's more than 100 years ago.

America is now sauntering through her resources and through the mazes of her politics with easy nonchalance; but presently there will come a time when she will be surprised to find herself grown old, a country crowded, strained, perplexed, when she will be obliged to fall back upon her conservatism, obliged to pull herself together, adopt a new regimen of life, husband her resources, concentrate her strength, steady her methods, sober her views, restrict her vagaries, trust her best, not her average, members. That will be the time of change.

*The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson, Vol. I, p. 172*

Now is that time.
DEDICATION

To a Loving and Gracious God
To a Loving Wife and Three Beautiful Children for their
Love, Help, and Support
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

As times change, so government must change. We need a new government for a new century -- humble enough not to try to solve all our problems for us, but strong enough to give us the tools to solve our problems for ourselves; a government that is smaller, lives within its means, and does more for less.


This research project is about change in government. Society, because of its very nature, is dynamic and constantly changing. Therefore, the institutions which control society must be dynamic, fluid, and capable of change as well.

During the beginning of his first administration, President Clinton requested that an intensive study be done of the federal government which would represent a long-term commitment to change. This reform effort was labeled the National Performance Review (NPR) and was presented to the President by Al Gore on September 7, 1993. The preface of this document states, "it is time to radically change the way the government operates."\(^1\)

Government has been changing. Looking into the past we find government has constantly been evolving. At the turn of this century, in 1904, Professor Hart noted "American society is in a state of constant change. . . . Americans are always ready to

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take up experiments in government, and as ready to abandon a system which does not work to their minds.\textsuperscript{2} The impetus of this change, however, differs from time to time. Sometimes the influence of special interest groups has driven these changes. At other times, the driving force is leadership's response to the needs and demands of society.

\textbf{Purpose}

What this project endeavors to do is to take the complex issue of twenty-first century governmental administration and, through historic analysis using some of the classical and renowned literature of the past paint a broad brush picture of where we are today, how we got here, and where we are going. This study includes an examination of the dominate ideologies of past reform eras.

Through close examination of what writers of previous eras felt and thought about a given subject, it is hoped that a clearer understanding and analysis of contemporary issues will be gained. Therefore, rather than repeating the past, our goal is to learn from previous eras and apply those lessons to our situation today.

\textbf{Significance}

President Clinton will be the first president of the 21st century, and as such feels that government must change in order "to shape the forces of the Information Age and the global society."\textsuperscript{3}

Clinton's efforts to institute change represent an admirable set of ideals and, if accomplished, will render to the American people a "long-term commitment to

\textsuperscript{2} Albert Bushnell Hart, \textit{Actual Government} (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1904), 12.

\textsuperscript{3} President Clinton, "Inauguration Speech" 20 January 1997.
change. The effects of this reform, if successful, will likely influence the myriad of governmental institutions of today. However, the American citizen's exposure to "government" is not limited solely to the federal government. In Jesse Macy's textbook *Our Government, How It Grew, What It Does, and How It Does It*, written in 1895, Professor Macy states, "the American citizen lives under not less than five institutions called governments." These would include the school district, the civil township, the county government, the state government, and finally the federal government. Since 1895, society, life, and government have become increasingly complex. Today's educational institutions have evolved from what was commonly a single agency to a conglomerate which now includes elementary school districts, high school districts, community college districts, state college systems, and university systems, each with their own individual governing body. Furthermore, government has expanded its responsibility to include such areas as water districts, air quality management districts, fire districts, redevelopment districts, etc. Each of these governmental agencies is a unit which in some way impacts the lives of the American citizen. According to recent statistics there were 83,217 governmental units functioning in the United States in 1988.

In order to best understand and incorporate change in government as an institution which regulates and controls the general welfare of the public, we must have a more holistic perspective. As Professor Hart emphasizes in the preface of his 1904

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4 Gore, abstract.
text, "the American governmental system should be treated as a whole: state
government and the various phases of local government should come in, not as
afterthoughts to the national system, but as integral parts of one American
Government."7

If the American people want government that works better and costs less, then
they no doubt want it at all levels. This means that we must endeavor to view
government reform as a bigger picture rather than focus solely on federal reform.

But how big is the big picture? We not only have expanded in size but as we
approach the twenty first century life itself has grown exponentially more complex and
complicated. This affects the way we run our government as Aaron Wildavsky adroitly
points out in The Politics of the Budgetary Process, which has become a classic in
public administration, "Budgeting is complex, largely because of the complexity of
modern life."8

Furthermore, with the advent of the computer, government has been thrust into
what we now call the Information Age. Personal computers are being used for more
than just simple word processing. "Information technology is increasingly used in
decision making itself, not only through simulating various scenarios but through
creating situations in which indicators become trigger or threshold variables to
decisions."9 Additionally the usage of computers is likely to continue to grow. "The
ratio of computing devices to state and local government employees is about 1:200 and

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7 Hart, vii.
8 Aaron Wildavsky, The Politics of the Budgetary Process, 4th ed. (Boston: Little,
9 Larry B. Hill, The State of Public Bureaucracy (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe,
Inc., 1992), 204.
is expected to reach 1:1 by early in the twenty-first century.”

Possible effects of this technology could mean that "government workplaces will be smaller and more distributed, more flexible and changeable, and closer to the clients they serve... Others will work at home with a link to the office via the computer and telecommunications; that is, they will 'telecommute.'”

Problem

If our goal is to better understand how we can provide the American public a "government that works for the people... that does more with less, and treats the taxpayers like customers," then the problem is how do we accomplish this task. Normally, our approach to understanding and solving problems in government today involves some method of analysis, which seeks to break down large, complex issues into smaller more manageable units. But as Peter Senge points out in his book called *The Fifth Discipline*, "This apparently makes complex tasks and subjects more manageable, but we pay a hidden, enormous price. We can no longer see the consequences of our actions; we lose our intrinsic sense of connection to a larger whole." Thus synthesis on complex issues becomes more difficult. Senge states that eventually, "we give up trying to see the whole altogether."

Charles Lindbloom satirically states that the best we can sometimes hope for is "muddling through." To formulate a truly comprehensive plan with a high level of analysis and synthesis on complex issues is oftentimes unrealistic. Leonard White in his

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11 Ibid., 227.
12 Gore, 2.
14 Ibid.
A classic textbook on public administration states regarding attempts to understand the administrative systems of our government that "some day some genius may achieve a synthesis sufficiently fundamental to encompass them all."\(^{15}\)

A more realistic approach to gaining increased understanding on today's reform in government would be to look at history and learn from the past. The book of Ecclesiastes notes almost 3,000 years ago that:

> History merely repeats itself. Nothing is truly new; it has all been done or said before. What can you point to that is new? How do you know it didn't exist long ages ago? We don't remember what happened in those former times, and in the future generations no one will remember what we have done back here. (Ecclesiastes 1:9)

**Issue**

In his inaugural address for his second term, President Clinton stated, "At the dawn of the 21st century, a free people must now choose to shape the forces of the Information Age and the global society . . . to form a more perfect union."\(^{16}\) He earlier declared in his speech that "As times change, so government must change."\(^{17}\) The goal for his reform effort is to "make the entire federal government both less expensive and more efficient, and to change the culture of our national bureaucracy away from complacency and entitlement toward initiative and empowerment. . . . to redesign, to reinvent, to reinvigorate the entire national government."\(^{18}\)

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\(^{16}\)President Clinton, "Inauguration Speech" 20 January 1997.

\(^{17}\)Ibid.

\(^{18}\)Gore, 1.
Scope

As McCurdy mentions, the "student trying to understand the operation of government, a journey into the literature of public administration can be a bewildering experience." There are, however, certain authors, periods, and trends which do transcend this massive bulk of information. This research is a historical analysis of some of the classical authors and periods of time which form distinctive blocks of knowledge in the field of administration.

The scope of this historical/comparative analysis will be limited to an examination of this "change process" relative to the civil service and will focus on three critical and distinctive periods of change: the Jacksonian reform, the Civil Service reform, and President Clinton's NPR (National Performance Review) reform. The two past periods of reform will be examined, analyzed, and used as predictors of the success of Clinton's N.P.R.

Therefore the unit of analysis will be the civil service of the United States of America, using as variables the:

- Involvement of Government
- Responsiveness of Government
- Efficiency of Government
- Complexity of Government

Methodology

The methodology used in this project is unobtrusive research of some selected pieces of classical literature on government, the academic literature of the MPA

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courses, current literature on government and management (including Clinton's National Performance Review), and many of the original documents of the eras mentioned. For the historical analysis, more than 30 books on various aspects of American government have been collected over the past five years. The dates of publication for the vast majority of these documents range from 1868 to 1927. From a review of this literature, more than a dozen of these sources have been utilized. Most of what will be referenced was published in the late 1800's. From such an examination I hope to avoid the influences of any analytical biases of today's authorities and try to grasp what the observations and conclusions of the original authors were and what environmental conditions may have influenced their beliefs.

Three resources that will be used in this research have been specifically chosen to reflect perspectives which will provide valuable insight.

The first is Alexis de Tocqueville. In nearly all contemporary literature, Tocqueville is quoted and utilized for his extraordinarily acute observations of America. Tocqueville visited the United States in 1831-32 and wrote his famous *Democracy in America* in 1835 and 1840. This is significant because during his visit to the United States of America, Andrew Jackson was in office and this marked the official beginning of the Spoil System. This, too, was before many of the abuses of the system came to fruition. Also Tocqueville, being of French descent, was less likely to be biased in his "observations because there was no tradition of enmity to embarrass relations between Americans and French"\(^\text{20}\) as there was with the English.

The second is James Bryce. Bryce's *American Commonwealth* is also referenced by contemporary authorities as well as the experts of his time as a renowned

\(^{20}\text{Alexis de Tocqueville, } Democra}cry \text{ in America} (1835 \text{ and } 1840; \text{ reprint, London: Oxford University Press, 1971), xi.}\)
work. Bryce has an interesting background. He was an Englishman who was educated at the University of Glasgow, Trinity College, and University of Oxford. From 1870 to 1893 he taught at the University of Oxford. In 1880, he was elected to Parliament, and in 1886, he served as an under secretary for Prime Minister Gladstone's administration. In 1907, Bryce was appointed ambassador to the U.S. and held this position until 1913. Bryce wrote the American Commonwealth in 1888 and revised it in 1893, 1910, 1914, and finally in 1920. Because of this vast amount of experience, it is obvious that Bryce was indeed one of the foremost authorities of his time on American government. In 1921 Bryce wrote Modern Democracies, which will also be utilized in this research.

The third is Woodrow Wilson. Wilson is of course known as the 28th President of the United States serving two terms from 1913 to 1921. The significance here is that the literature which Wilson is best known for relative to American government was written well before he entered into politics. His doctrinal dissertation, Congressional Government, was written in 1885, twenty eight years before he became President while he was attending Johns Hopkins University. An interesting note to this is that in his biography by Ray Stannard Baker, Wilson states in a letter to his future wife, Ellen Axson, "if I wrote Cong. Govt. without visiting Washington, much more can I write upon the science of administration without doing so." Therefore, Wilson's commentary on government was formed without ever visiting and observing Congress. Furthermore, "The Study of Administration" which is better known among those in public administration was published in the Political Science Quarterly on June,

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1887. This was during the period when Wilson was teaching at Bryn Mawr college, but again well before he had entered politics. Both of these documents will be used.

Other noteworthy sources to be utilized include:

- **Analysis of Civil Government** by Calvin Townsend written in 1868 will be used to reflect the thoughts and impressions prevalent during the heart of the "Spoils System."

- **Our Government** by Jesse Macy, Professor of Constitution History at Iowa College, written in 1895 will be utilized. James Bryce, in his 1912 abridged edition of *American Commonwealth*, thanks Jesse Macy for his valuable assistance "whose mastery of that subject (American government), and long experience in teaching it, make him a specially competent judge."22

- An 1897 edition of the *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*. An examination of some Presidential papers of Andrew Jackson including his first inaugural address and his first annual message to the Senate and the House of Representatives.

- **American Government in 1923** by Frank Abbott Magruder will be used to reflect the perspective of Civil Service shortly after the reform era at the turn of the century. Magruder's text first published in 1917 has been used in colleges and universities up through 1964. The more recent editions have been updated by Mary Magruder Smith. An interesting commemoration in the frontal pages of the 1958 edition reads "first published in 1917, (the book) is an enduring symbol of the author's faith in American ideals and American institutions." I have found much of Magruder's insight in government revealing.

Holographic Overview

Trying to achieve "effective, efficient, and responsive government" in a democratic republic has long been the goal of the United States of America. This research project delineates the successes of our government in accomplishing these ideals in varying degrees relative to certain time periods.

To accomplish this task this project will first establish a solid foundation of what the overall goals and objectives of government are. This will include a brief examination of the constitutional framework. Following this will come an examination of the dynamics of government as it seeks to accomplish these goals in a fluid environment. This then will be followed by a narrowing of our focus to provide understanding of the causation of change and insight in efficiency as a national value.

A synopsis of the evolution of civil service from the time of George Washington to the present will be performed with a more intensive investigation and critical analysis of the three reform periods following.

The conclusion will synthesize this information and utilize this analysis to help plot the course for "steering" our government into the twenty-first century embracing the values of effectiveness, efficiency, and responsiveness.

\(^{23}\) Gore, i.
CHAPTER 2

GOVERNANCE

Purpose of Government

Today in industry and in government the use of a mission statement has become increasingly popular. It helps to provide a sense of purpose. "The aim of mission clarification is to specify the purposes of the organization and the philosophy and values that guide it."24 Unless these purposes focus on socially useful and justifiable ends, the organization cannot hope to command the resources needed to survive or the loyalty and commitment of its followers.

One of the features of the NPR is to create a clear sense of mission. Referenced in the NPR is the historical account of President Kennedy giving NASA a specific task and mission of: "Putting a man on the moon and returning him safely to the earth by the end of the decade."25 History reflects the heroic and successful efforts made by this country in achieving and accomplishing this great goal. At a recent conference which I attended in Sacramento, Governor Wilson addressed a morning session. In his speech he said that California was given a clear mission to "have every fourth grade student educated to a point of literacy."26 With this clear task steps have

25Gore, 75.
26Governor Wilson, CALBO (California Building Officials) conference, Sacramento 21 February 1997.
been taken to reduce class sizes in order to accomplish this objective. The point here being that with a specific mission, efforts can be made to focus on and accomplish the objective.

In the preamble of the Constitution, we find the mission statement for the United States as framed by our founding fathers:

We the people of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish the Constitution for the United States of America.27

Using this as our mission statement, then the purpose of our government is:

- To establish Justice
- To insure Domestic Tranquillity
- To provide for the Common Defense
- To promote the General Welfare
- To secure the Blessing of Liberty.

These will be useful to establish a baseline of values for analyzing our three periods of governmental reform.

Dynamics of Government

In light of President Clinton's effort to "reinvent government," Professor Ciglar of Penn State University has written a humorous and somewhat truthful article in the Winter edition of the Public Manager stating that:

27Constitution, Preamble.
The 1990's will be remembered as the "re_ing decade." Governments are redesigning, reframing, rebuilding, reforming, reshaping, reworking, reengineering, reorganizing, reconstructing, reconstituting, and reinventing the institutions and processes of governance -- including intergovernmental relations.\(^\text{28}\)

In her concluding comments she predicts that "the 1990s will simply be a rerun of the past."\(^\text{29}\)

Our country's foundation reflects an acute sensitivity and awareness for the necessity for change. American government truly "is a living organism developed by the people to meet the needs resulting from changing conditions . . . the Constitution of the United States is not a dead contract, but a living agreement which has developed with time and has adapted itself to economic and social conditions."\(^\text{30}\)

This necessity for change is also a tenet of our government which has deep roots. In the Declaration of Independence we read:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that government should not be changed for light and transient causes.\(^\text{31}\)

\(^{28}\) Beverly Cigler, "Governance in the Re_ing Decade of the 90s," The Public Manager, Winter 1995-96, 3.

\(^{29}\) Ibid.

\(^{30}\) Frank A. Magruder, American Government in 1923 (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1923), v.

\(^{31}\) Declaration of Independence.
This pillar of American history clearly indicates the right of the people to institute and initiate change when it becomes necessary to hold to the purposes of the nation. One of the actual conditions which prompted our nation to declare its independence from England was a condition in which government became insensitive and overbearing in its efforts to govern the people. We read in the Declaration of Independence that the King of England was charged with calling "together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures." The issue today is the public's dissatisfaction with the red tape of the bureaucratic system and the feeling that it is seeking to "fatigue them into compliance."

In Clinton's NPR reform we find an entire chapter on "Cutting the Read Tape" in government. He further states that "we need more than government programs to solve our problems. We need governance."  

Governance Defined

Professor Hinsdale of the University of Michigan in his textbook back in 1891 introduces the subject of government by defining what the word "govern" actually means. The word from which we derive govern is gubernare which primarily means to steer a ship. It describes the function of the pilot and steersman. This means constantly scanning the environment and changing direction when warranted. This is reflective of the general systems theory which sought to formulate principles of relationships between elements of living systems and their environment. Organizations,

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33 Gore, 62.
like other living systems, are open to environmental influences and seek to adapt to them by transforming energy and resources into actions or products.

The metaphor of the organization as a biological system embraces the ideal that the organization's prime imperative is survival rather than efficiency. This characteristic underscores the importance of the system finding a safe niche in its contingent environment. When such a niche is found and secured, the organization is said to be in homeostatic equilibrium, that is, a dynamic balance of forces and exchange of energy with the environment counteracts the forces of entropy, which break apart and wears down systems. Finding such a balance is largely a product of monitoring feedback, or information from the environment, and adapting to it.34

Today's leaders are becoming increasingly aware that government needs to be in tune and in harmony with its environment, and are now viewing government like a ship needing steering, rather than the rigid, inflexible institution of the past. When President Clinton announced the National Performance Review, he stated, "for too long the basic functioning of the government has gone unexamined."35 This examination phase is one of the first steps in steering process.

"As times change, so government must change."36 And change it does. The usual method of change is incremental. "A wise policy-maker...proceeds through a succession of incremental changes and as a result avoids serious lasting mistakes in several ways."37 However, there have been times in the past when the change of course that government has taken has been radical. What factors influence these type of changes and when is a radical departure warranted rather than the traditional

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34Levine, 239.
35Gore, iv.
incremental adjustment? Today we seem to be in the mist of a moderate revolution. Government is changing right before our eyes. Whether or not these changes will be incremental or radical, government has, does, and will continue to keep changing.

If change must occur in order for government to adapt to the evolving needs of society, then what forms the parameters and limits by which government can change and should change. How is the best way to "steer" or govern change?

Causation of Change

What motivates a nation to change? In the beginning of our nation's history, during the Revolutionary War, the States were "held together by their fears." Calvin Townsend further states in his book *Analysis of Civil Government*, written 1868, that a few years later because of the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation the people were motivated "with the fear, that, unless a much stronger national government could be instituted, all that had been gained by the Revolutionary struggles would soon be lost." As we shall see in examining the major reform periods, there are factors other than the fear of losing something valued that help promote and provoke radical change.

Furthermore, the frequency and the intensity of these changes needs governance as well. Townsend in analyzing this also references the portion stated in the Declaration of Independence: "Prudence, indeed, will dictate that government should not be changed for light and transient causes." In the framework of the Constitution decisions were to be made carefully and deliberately; "stability was valued

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38 Townsend, 19.
39 Ibid., 23.
40 Townsend, 41.
over innovation, but the structure assured that the government would be able to change policies to cope with new problems as they arose."^41

Efficiency as a National Value

The nation's value system shapes the way government handles problems. Efficiency seems to transcend many of the other national values as one of the most important as noted below:

Efficiency Today. Currently society "places a high value on rationality and efficiency, that is, solving problems with the least expenditure of resources and with the best information attainable."^42 President Clinton has promised in his inaugural speech for his second term to lead the nation into the 21st century "with a government that does more with less."^43

Efficiency in 1904. Earlier this century in 1904 Professor Hart addressed that the purpose of government was "efficient public service at the least cost and with the least limitation of personal liberty to that end."^44 This definition is reflective of the era in which it was written. Just a few years later when Fredrick Taylor published the Principles of Scientific Management in 1911, the momentum of the scientific management movement was well underway. Everyone was interested in efficiency and finding the "one best way."

Efficiency in 1887. Woodrow Wilson in his famous essay "The Study of Public Administration" in 1887 explains that the objective of those in public administration is "to discover, first what government can properly and successfully do, and secondly,

^41 Levine, 215.
^42 Levine, 5.
^43 President Clinton, "Inauguration Speech" 20 January 1997.
^44 Hart, 147.
how it can do these proper things with the utmost possible efficiency and at the least possible cost either of money or of energy." Wilson further in his book Congressional Government in 1885 writes that "efficiency is the only just foundation for confidence in a public officer."  

Politics of Government

Does administration really lie outside the proper sphere of politics? Is administration removed from the hurry and strife of politics? If not, what part does politics play in the way day to day government operates? Who in politics should wield the power over the administration?

A recent article in the Public Administration Review by David H. Rosenbloom affirms the tie and link that exists between administration and politics. In his article, "Have an Administrative Rx? Don't Forget the Politics!," Rosenbloom states, "In this period of calls for administrative "rebuilding," "refounding," "reinventing," and just plain "improving," it is important to remember that there has been and continues to be a politics of administrative prescription." This concept is supported surprisingly enough by Goodnow and Wilson. Larry B. Hill in his chapter in the book, The State of Public Bureaucracy, supports this:

Both Wilson and Goodnow drew analytical distinctions between political and administrative functions, but I believe they did not intend to establish the strictly dichotomous relationship between the two (or

46Woodrow Wilson, Congressional Government (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1885), 256.
between those who perform the functions) for which subsequent
generations have often blamed them. Their intent, as I understand it, in
contemporary language, was that politicians, who are principally
charged with making top-level policy, ought not to bring partisan
considerations into the administrative process; if they do so, this would
be a legitimate object of study for scholars and reformers. At the same
time, administrators, who are principally charged with making
secondary-level policy designed to flesh out the top-level policy
legitimated by politicians and with implementing both levels of policy,
should be given broad authority to do so and should be held responsible
for their performance.48

In reading through Goodnow's book, rather than focusing of certain of the classic
quotations, it can be found that he was very cognizant of both sides of this argument.
He summarizes, "the fact is, then, that there is a large part of administration which is
unconnected with politics, which should therefore be relieved very largely, if not
altogether, from the control of political bodies."49 These are the comments which
most scholars draw from, but a closer examination of the entire body of his writing
reveals that he recognized the political aspect of administration as well. Regarding
permanence of tenure Goodnow states: "Permanence of tenure in the case of the
highest executive officers entrusted with large discretionary powers is incompatible
with popular government, since it tends to further the formation of an immense
governmental machine whose very efficiency may make it dangerous to the existence
of popular government."50 He concludes his thoughts on this subject by recognizing
the need for a blend of the two perspectives, "Safety lies alone in frankly recognizing
both that there should be a control over the general execution of the law and that there

48Hill, 31.
49Frank J. Goodnow, Politics and Administration (New York: Russell & Russell,
1900), 85.
50Ibid., 90.
is a part of the work of administration into which politics should not enter. Only in this way may really popular government and efficient administration be obtained.\(^{51}\)

Wilson in 1885 in his book *Congressional Government*, written two years before his famous article on administration, stated: "One of the conditions precedent to any real and lasting reform of the civil service, in a country whose public service is moulded by the conditions of self-government, is the drawing of a sharp line of distinction between those offices which are political and those which are non-political."\(^{52}\)

Rosenbloom perhaps shows a shift to the side of making a special point of the close nexus of politics and administration: "Public administration is an intensely political process that should be responsive to interested publics and legislators."\(^{53}\)

In analyzing many of our variables in the change in government as it relates to Civil Service, it would be prudent to note the struggle for power that has occurred during this evolutionary process. The important question of who runs the Civil Service comes up here. "During the nineteenth century the center of government power gravitated to Congress, and into the 1930s very little had changed."\(^ {54} \) However, during the decade of the New Deal and the expansion of government which it brought on, the power and control began to change, and although "power has shifted back and forth between branches throughout this century, there can be little doubt that at least since 1939, power and control over the executive branch have come to reside in the presidency."\(^ {55} \)

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\(^{51}\) Ibid., 93.  
\(^{52}\) Wilson, *Cong. Govt.*, 290.  
\(^{53}\) Rosenbloom, 505.  
\(^{54}\) Levine, 224.  
\(^{55}\) Ibid., 224.
Historical Synopsis

"The intent of the founding fathers was to design a set of political structures that would guarantee the continuation of a representative democracy." However, how these policies were to be administered was not clearly spelled out in the constitution; therefore, the governmental systems of administration emerged out of necessity.

Over time, with the changes which were occurring in society, government began to change as well. The following section gives a brief overview of the evolution of the civil service which has taken place in government from the days of George Washington through to the Clinton administration.

The Era of "Gentlemen"

The first period of civil service was "the era of 'gentlemen,' which began with Washington's first administration in 1789 and ended with the inauguration of President Jackson in 1829." President Washington considered civil service to be of great importance and sought to establish precedents for a sound administrative system. The primary criteria for making his appointments was "fitness of character." He felt this could be determined best "by family background, educational attainment, honor and esteem, and loyalty to the new government." These requirements generally meant that the chosen ones were of the upper class.

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Jacksonian Reform

It has been claimed by some partisans that "patronage is the "Life-blood" of American politics."59 In 1829 President Jackson institutionalized the "Spoils System." Jackson sought to take government out of the hands of the elite and make it accountable to the people. His efforts were to "democratize the public service - to make it more representative of the entire population."60

This reform system led to a serious decline in administrative ethics, efficiency, and performance. Furthermore, an intermixing of public administration and partisan politics was introduced, which reduced the office of a civil servant to merely a reward to be given to those who helped the victorious party.

Civil Service Reform

The abuses of the patronage system eventually led to a time of reform culminating in the Civil Service Act of 1883. This bill, which called for a merit system of personnel management in the federal government, was introduced by Senator Pendleton of Ohio. "The Pendleton Act climaxed one of the most vigorous and spirited reform campaigns in American history."61 The Pendleton Act created an "independent executive agency, the Civil Service Commission to screen applicants for federal jobs by administering competitive examinations, to protect federal employees against arbitrary removal, to prevent compulsory financial contributions to political parties, and generally to implement the act."62 This period began coming to a close when challenges by the human relations school spurred by such studies as the famous

60Mosher, 62.
61Ibid., 64.
62Levine, 220.
Hawthorne experiment began to arise. This orthodox perspective began being charged with "over conformity to rules, ritualized discipline, and impersonal treatment of clients to the point of fostering arrogance and haughtiness, even when the agency's purposes would be better served by more flexibility and more responsiveness."*63

**Clinton's NPR Reform**

Mosher very clearly describes the time period from where the Civil Service Reform became less dominate to where we currently are today. "As the United States proceeded into the second half of the twentieth century, it bore a mixed and cumbersome baggage of concepts about the public service and about its role and control in a democratic polity."64

Mosher identifies this interim time period as: Government by the Efficient: 1906-37; Government by Administrators: 1937-55; and finally the trend towards Government by the Professionals. McCurdy identifies this interim period as the: Era of Description: 1945-1965; Era of Applications: 1965-1980; and A Period of Reconsideration. Clearly, government during this era was discovering, reflecting, analyzing, and seeking to adapt itself to the environment. New programs and strategies were tried and then replaced with others (see Appendix A). As a result Waldo states that administration began "suffering from an identity crisis, having enormously expanded its periphery without retaining or creating a unifying center."65

The main point here is that this "mixed and cumbersome baggage" has made it difficult to discern what direction government should pursue. Furthermore "public

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63Levine, 231.
64Mosher, 95.
65Ibid., 54.
confidence in government has sharply dropped, a phenomenon attributed in part to public dissatisfaction with government performance.\textsuperscript{66}

Clinton's NPR reform, therefore, has been introduced at an opportune time. Al Gore in presenting it to the President states that "this report represents the beginning of what must be, and - with your leadership - will be, a long-term commitment to change."\textsuperscript{67}

Our examination of the reform movements from the past will be utilized to determine what dominant characteristics were successfully utilized to predict whether the NPR will accomplish its glowing objectives.

\textsuperscript{66}Ibid., 68.
\textsuperscript{67}Gore, abstract.
CHAPTER 3

JACKSONIAN REFORM

Jacksonian Democracy represents an era during which the American people for the first time arrived at a full political consciousness. "The fierce energy with which they attacked the new problems of self-government has never since been equaled, and it made this era one of the most spirited and exciting in American politics."68

The Need for Change

What is interesting about this period is that Andrew Jackson in his first inaugural address expresses that he is sensitive to what he feels are the sentiments of the public in his "reform" response. He states:

The recent demonstration of public sentiment inscribes on the list of Executive duties, in characters too legible to be overlooked, the task that have brought the patronage of the Federal Government into conflict with the freedom of elections and the counteraction of those causes which have disturbed the rightful course of appointment and have placed or continued power in unfaithful or incompetent hands.69

As a result, he began a reform movement which ultimately evolved into what would be know as the "Spoils System."

Social and Economic Factors

The inauguration of Andrew Jackson as President of the United States coincided almost precisely with the construction of the first steam railroads and with the opening of the industrial revolution in the United States. Before the outbreak of the Civil War, the economic and social life of the American people had been transformed by the growth of manufacturing, the rise of cities, and the activities of corporations.

It was during this time that the American people "turned to their state and municipal governments for assistance in the novel problems caused by bank failures, railroad impositions, insurance agent frauds, and immigrant paupers, or by the need for municipal services in water supply, sewage disposal, vaccination, public health, police and fire protections, and the education of children." These factors were the impetus for government to change its mode of operation and become more involved in the needs of society.

Political Factors

Great forces were at work on the political scene during the 1820's and 1830's which, looked at in perspective, made the rule of rotation of offices seem inevitable. "Three of these were of primary importance: the new organization of the political parties, the exaggerated passion for office that accompanied manhood suffrage, and the democratic ideal set forth by Andrew Jackson." It was the rotation of offices that evolved into the "Spoils System."

The impact of these forces was felt at all levels of government, but because the opportunities for office were more numerous at the state and local levels, the visibility

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70 White, Jacksonians, viii.
71 White, Introduction to the Study of Public Administration, 17.
of this was more apparent there. It is for that reason that the "reader of de Tocqueville will be constantly impressed by his preoccupation with states and localities rather than with the nation."\textsuperscript{72}

**Description of the Change**

The Jacksonian Reform was based on the theory that a place in the public service was held at the absolute pleasure of the appointing authority. Furthermore, Jackson believed:

- The long tenure of federal administrators in office divorced them from the people and from an appreciation of the public interest.
- That rotation in office constituted a leading principle in the republican creed and was good for the political system.
- The long tenure of federal administrators had contributed to a serious problem of superannuation (old age) in the public service. Jackson felt that the elderly gentlemen were simply unable to rise to the tasks at hand.\textsuperscript{73}

Up to this time the previous Presidents considered tenure for the appointments of inferior officers as being practically for life and did not remove, except for some solid reason, persons appointed by their predecessors. "Washington in his eight years displaced only nine persons, and all for cause, John Adams nine in four years, and those not on political grounds. Jefferson in his eight years removed thirty-nine, but many of these were persons whom Adams had unfairly put in just before office; and in the twenty years that followed (1808-28) there were but sixteen removals."\textsuperscript{74}

However this changed and a new era began with the election of Andrew Jackson.

Though the philosophy of the Spoils System was being debated prior to his Presidency, it was Andrew Jackson who promoted it and officially instituted it. What

\textsuperscript{72} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{73} Rosenbloom, 178-179.
\textsuperscript{74} Bryce, Vol. II, 136.
is ironic about this is in his first inaugural address Jackson states that: "in administering the laws of Congress I shall keep steadily in view the limitations as well as the extent of the Executive power, trusting thereby to discharge the functions of my office without transcending its authority."\footnote{Richardson, 1000.} By virtue of his actions did Jackson transcend his authority? This is hard to tell. Possibly serving as a guideline to answering this question, Magruder in his 1923 text made an interesting point regarding the authority of more recent Presidents: "if a President should be opposed to the civil service plan he could revoke the orders of former Presidents and again bring most of the civil service positions under the spoils system."\footnote{Magruder, 181.}

Therefore what Jackson did was to act on his beliefs. He was concerned that those who hold office "are apt to acquire a habit of looking with indifference upon the public interests and of tolerating conduct from which an unpracticed man would revolt."\footnote{Richardson, 1011.}

The following section is from Jackson's First Annual Message to the Senate and the House of Representatives. It contains much insight into his concept of rotation and therefore is given here in its entirety:

Office is considered as a species of property, and government rather as a means of promoting individual interests that as an instrument created solely for the service of the people. Corruption in some and in others a perversion of correct feelings and principles divert government from its legitimate ends and make it an engine for the support of the few at the expense of the many. The duties of all public officers are, or at least admit of being made, so plain and simple that men of intelligence may readily qualify themselves for their performance; and I can not but believe that more is lost by the long continuance of man in office than is generally to be gained by their experience. I submit, therefore, to your
consideration whether the efficiency of the Government would not be
promoted and official industry and integrity better secured by a general
extension of the law which limits appointment to four years.

In a country where offices are created solely for the benefit of
the people no one man has any more intrinsic right to official station
than another. Offices were not established to give support to particular
men at the public expense. No individual wrong is, therefore, done by
removal, since neither appointment to nor continuance in office is
matter of right. The incumbent became an officer with a view to public
benefits, and when these require his removal they are not to be
sacrificed to private interests. It is the people, and they alone, who
have a right to complain when a bad officer is substituted for a good
one. He who is removed has the same means of obtaining a living that
are enjoyed by the millions who never held office. The proposed
limitation would destroy the idea of property now so generally
connected with official station, and although individual distress may be
sometimes produced, it would, by promoting that rotation which
constitutes a leading principle in the republican creed, give healthful
action to the system.78

This excerpt is fascinating because of the apparent contradictions it poses. In
the first part of this quotation, Jackson is criticizing the prior method of holding office
and accusing it of making it "an engine for the support of the few at the expense of the
many." From his perspective he was trying to give the average citizen a chance to
participate in the governmental process. What evolved was that the "Spoil System"
became just what Jackson lambasted. It became an engine of the political machinery at
the expense of the many. Also Jackson in this same section accuses the former method
of continuance in office as a potential for corruption and perversion of correct feelings
toward serving the general public. But as the "Spoils System" evolved, rather than
correcting this problem, it only promoted the corruption of office and demoralized the
officeholder.

78Ibid., 1011-1012.
In defense of Jackson, it should be noted that at the onset of his administration, life was fairly simple and agrarian. This was soon to change in dramatic proportions, but at this point in time he felt that the duties of office holders were simple enough that "men of intelligence may readily qualify themselves for their performance." Therefore his comment that he cannot "but believe that more is lost by the long continuance of man in office than is generally to be gained by their experience" is well qualified. From a modern perspective, the ideal which it appears that Jackson was promoting was that fresh people bring fresh ideas. This is oftentimes the impetus of many of today's reorganizational efforts. With today's quickly changing environment, it is deadly to be chained to an archaic structure.

The next point that Jackson makes for his reform is that it will make government more efficient and increase the over-all integrity of the office holder. The basis for increased efficiency was that a long time office holder becomes slothful and a change in office-holders will help guard against this. Once again the general principle is an accepted one in the sense that oftentimes corporations will reorganize or using today's terminology "reengineer" their management to rid themselves of the dead wood. The integrity issue is also a current one in the sense that many offices within the governmental structure are put to the vote of the people with the idea that public awareness of the position will enhance integrity.

The second paragraph emphasizes the point that the offices are created for the benefit of the people and not for the sole support of any particular persons. Therefore, when removal from office comes it should not be viewed as a sacrifice of private interests. The removed party, according to Jackson, has equal means of obtaining a living as those who never held office. He does mention "although individual distress may be sometimes produced," it would give healthful action to the system. It is
interesting to note that the human individual distress was noted by the general public. In an article in the Harper's magazine in 1852, just 23 years after Andrew Jackson first took office, a pathetic story of a 60 year old government worker being "turned carelessly adrift" rendering him "an aimless and almost hopeless wreck of a man."79 The article then turns to a appeal for those to correct this "heedless scrambling for place." The entire article is included in Appendix B for reference.

The Effects of the Change

However during this time no man expected to hold a position longer than his party held power and as a result the concepts of office changed from service to the community to a "perverted one of its being a salary paid in respect of party services, past, present, and future."80 Initially it was an opportunity for every man to have an equal chance of power and salary. The system of rotation, moreover, had such a hold on the mind of the country that it soon extended itself over state offices and city offices also.

As the Spoils System progressed, it began to distort the mechanism of politics. There began to be frequent accounts of ballot stuffing, obstruction of the polls, and fraudulent countings during the elections as the party machine sought to maintain its power. This had a tendency to lower the general tone of public morals, for it taught those in office to neglect the interest of the community.

The spoils system began being blamed for a great many things during this period. "Every evidence of dishonesty. Every display of incompetence. Every

suggestion of inefficiency. Everything low and mean and low and degrading that even occurred in the government service was blamed on the spoils system.\textsuperscript{81}

Rotation in office "has not improved the quality of the civil service."\textsuperscript{82} Besides selecting men who have not proved the most capable, the result of receiving an office from the party Boss or Ring, is that such an official does not "feel himself bound to the public, but to the city Boss or senator or congressman who has procured his appointment."\textsuperscript{83} Another result of the system of rotation is that public service cannot become or be viewed as a career.

It is noted by Bryce that until "the election of Andrew Jackson in 1828, all the Presidents had been statesmen in the European sense of the word, men of education, of administrative experience."\textsuperscript{84} In this classic chapter of his book, "Why Great Men are Not Chosen Presidents," Bryce further notes that the second period of leadership from Jackson till the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, that the "Presidents were either mere politicians, . . . or else successful soldiers whom their party found useful as figure-heads. They were intellectual pigmies besides the real leaders of that generation - Clay, Calhoun, and Webster,"\textsuperscript{85} who disapproved of Jackson's system of removals. In 1835 a committee of the Senate which Mr. Calhoun was the chairman said, "the spoils system was as perfect a scheme as could be devised for enlarging the power of patronage, destroying love of country, and substituting a spirit of subserviency, encouraging vice and discouraging virtue, preparing for subversion of liberty, and the

\textsuperscript{81}Levine, 219.
\textsuperscript{82}Bryce, Vol. II, 143.
\textsuperscript{83}Bryce, Vol. II, 143.
\textsuperscript{84}Bryce, abridged, 63.
\textsuperscript{85}Ibid.
establishment of despotism." A subsequent attempt was made to enact a law requiring the President to give a reason for his removals of offices. This attempt failed and President Jackson went on. The effects of the Spoils System "excited comparatively little attention in the country, nor did its advocates foresee a tithe of its far-reaching results." The burden which the Spoils System placed on leadership can be illustrated by a story in Bryce's, American Commonwealth:

It is related that a friend, meeting Mr. Lincoln one day during the war, observed, "You look anxious, Mr. President; is there bad news from the front." "No," answered the President, "it isn't the war; it's that postmastership at Brownville, Ohio." "The largest number of removals in proportion to presidential offices was during Lincoln's administration." According to Hart, President Lincoln had 862 "expressed removals" while in office. Some explanation was offered attributing some of these because it was a time of confusion and national danger, it was further noted that "almost every president, by removal or by expiration of commission, changes at least seven tenths of the presidential officers, even though the preceding president was of the same party." The time which was consumed by the rising tide of office seekers became enormous. Bryce further states that the system reduces the President to a "wire-puller"

89Hart, 285.
90Ibid.
and "throws work on him unworthy of a fine intellect. . . No one has more to gain from a thorough scheme of civil service reform than the President." 91

The spoils system put a premium on the creation of extra jobs - both to provide additional political currency and also to lighten the workload so that loyal political partisans would have time for their assigned political tasks.

It resulted in the employment of many individuals who were not qualified to perform the duties for which they were hired.

It tempted government officials to use their official position for personal gain, for they had generally only four years in which to reap the harvest for which they had labored long and hard in the political vineyards.

It meant that a good deal of energy went into the orientation and basic training of a new workforce every four years.

It reduced the President to the level of petty job broker, and diverted his strength and attention from important matters of state to the dispensation of hundreds of posts under the greatest of pressure. 92

The noteworthy authority James Bryce had a very dim view of Jackson's reformation. Bryce refers to Jackson as a "hot and heady leader . . . who was a rough Westerner, a man of the people. . . Penetrated by extreme theories of equality. . . . in his Message he proclaimed that rotation in office was a principle in the Republican creed, and obeyed both his doctrine and his passions by displacing five hundred postmasters in his first year." 93 The plan for using office as a mere engine in partisan warfare had already been tried in New York where an adherent of Jackson, William L.

91Bryce, abridged, 48.
92Levine, 219.
93Bryce, Vol. II, 137.
Marcy condensed the new doctrine in a phrase that has become famous: "To the victor belong the spoils."\textsuperscript{94}
CHAPTER 4
CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

The Civil Service Reform forms a distinct transition from the previous era of the Spoils System. It was a time as Mosher describes it of "Government by the Good." The past corruption brought on by the Spoils System with such outrageous actions as noted by Boss Tweed and others, set the stage for this reform movement. Woodrow Wilson, though not in politics during the beginning of this era, was instrumental in helping shape the direction of this period.

The Need for Change

The reform movement in the United States differed from the reform movement which was occurring in England because in this country "neither the Executive nor Congress began it. The call for it came imperatively from the people; it was a formulated demand of public opinion made upon Congress, and it had to be made again and again, each time with more determined emphasis, before Congress heeded."95 As early as 1853, Congress passed an Act requiring clerks appointed to the departments at Washington to pass a qualifying examination. But, unfortunately, neither this nor subsequent legislative efforts produced any improvement because those who were holding these offices were opposed to it.

95Wilson, 289.
A similar system of competitive examination inaugurated by an Act of Congress in 1871, was defeated by the same groups, but this civil service reform effort was in response to agitation building up in the mind of the general public.

In his analysis of civil government written in 1868, fifteen years before the Civil Service Act of 1883, Calvin Townsend regarding the "Spoils System" notes that:

There is great danger that a corrupt favoritism may be the result of the abuse of this power. It has long been used to punish and reward political opinion. To obtain an office, a man's political views must coincide with the appointing power. This is a flagrant abuse of official authority.

So extensive has been the practice of distributing official favors to political partisans during the last thirty years, that, with rare exceptions, a man's political sentiments could be inferred by the office he held. Public offices ought not be distributed as rewards for political opinions.  

"Mr. Hayes (1877-81) was the first President who seems to have honestly desired to reform the civil service, but the opposition of the politicians, and the indifference of Congress, which had legislated merely in deference to the pressure of enlightened opinion outside, proved to much for him."  

This facet of our governmental system seems to be an area of weakness. The legislative body responds, either willing or unwilling and usually in fear of keeping their position, and passes law in varying degrees of clarity which addresses the issue which the constituency is pushing. This effectively gets the "monkey off their back." The executive can only respond if funds have been appropriated to hire the necessary staff to enforce these issues. Hence many times just "lip service" is paid to a problem.

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96Townsend, 202.
97Bryce, Vol. II, 144.
Finally, the waste and corruption which resulted because of the Spoils System finished setting the stage for civil service reform. The phenomenal growth and change in industry also prompted the necessity for a dramatic change in the "course" of government.

Wilson describes this condition in his paper "The Study of Public Administration" in 1886. He states: "Like a lusty child, government with us has expanded in nature and grown great in stature, but has also become awkward in movement. The vigor and increase of its life has been altogether out of proportion to its skill in living."98 In addition a few years later, the emerging concepts of Scientific Management by Fredrick Taylor helped promote the cause of increased efficiency in both industry and government. He stated that "the essence of scientific management is a great mental revolution."99

It should be noted here that in light of the institution of the Pendleton Act of 1883, Wilson's essay written in 1886 had a substantial and lasting impact on government. "Wilson made several significant points that were to capture some of the major themes and contradictions of the next century."100 This was a time when our country was refocusing and redesigning government to correct the corrupt practices and hence change was in progress and his essay was instrumental in steering our government in a new direction. This time period has been described as the Classical Era of Public Organization Theory. Though the ideals began to be seriously challenged during the 1940s, the themes of neutral competence for civil servant and integrated

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98Wilson, Administration, 8.
100Levine, 221, 222.
management through executive leadership have continued to impact government even to the present. Wilson warns that "we go on criticizing when we ought to be creating."101

Description of the Change

"A real step in advance was made in 1883 by the passage of the so-called Pendleton Act."102

The general principles of this civil service reform were that:

- Candidates must pass examinations which are public, competitive, and free to all citizens;
- Appointments are made provisionally and the head of an office or department may refuse to finalize the appointment at the end of a short probation period (usually six months);
- Promotions are to be made from one grade to another on the basis of merit, seniority in service, and examination;
- No person may solicit political contributions from any civil service employee.

Part of the Pendleton Act was to create the Civil Service Commission. The Civil Service Commission as described by Magruder in 1923 consisted of "three commissioners appointed by the President and Senate, only two of whom may be of the same political party. The duty of this commission is to prepare examination questions for approximately five hundred kinds of positions, and to have examinations conducted at convenient places throughout the Union."103

101 Wilson, Administration, 10.
102 Bryce, Vol. II, 144.
103 Magruder, 182.
What made this different from previous reform efforts were these three things:
1) it was funded, 2) it established a group of men who were responsible to carry out
the task at hand, 3) it established clear guidelines as to what action they should take.
Without anyone taking ownership of this difficult assignment, this reform movement no
doubt would have been quietly disarmed by those seeking to protect their interests.

A good case in point is that an act was passed in 1853 which provided for the
appointment of clerks in Washington by examinations which were conducted by the
heads of the offices which were in need. Without the guidelines and the oversight of
the Civil Service Commission, this reform effort degenerated to a point where during
the selection process such questions as: "Where would you go to draw your salary?
How many are four times four? What have you had for breakfast? Who recommended
you for your appointment?" were being asked of candidates.

To provide the necessary direction the Civil Service Commission was given the
guidelines outlined by Rule IV of the Pendleton Act, which states:

Such examinations shall be practical in their character and, so far as may
be, shall relate to those matters which will fairly test the relative
capacity and fitness of the persons examined to discharge the duties of
the branch of the service which they seek to enter.\textsuperscript{105}

John Fiske in his book on \textit{Civil Government in the United States} published in
1890 included in his appendix an average sample of the examination papers used in the
custom service. This has been also included in Appendix C of this paper for
information. As can be seen from the questions, the level of knowledge for a clerk

\textsuperscript{104}Hart, 289.
\textsuperscript{105}Richardson, 4749.
position in the government in 1890 was substantial when delineated by the Commission.

The Effects of the Change

If there was any wavering or hesitancy in establishing civil service reform during this time, the assassination of President Garfield by a disappointed office seeker and the probable loss of power to the Democrats in the upcoming election of 1884 catapulted this effort into a reality.

Strengths. What also helped solidify this reform was the fact that "President Arthur named a good commission and under the rules framed by it progress was made." It can be said that "an agency can be judged, in part, by the persons chosen to lead it. The first commissioners were dedicated to merit reform; in fact, one early commissioner was Theodore Roosevelt. Anybody who believed Roosevelt would do less than push vigorously for reform on the entire government was either naive or did not know Commissioner Roosevelt."

Furthermore, the effects of this effort were noted by Woodrow Wilson in his doctrinal dissertation, Congressional Government, in 1885. Wilson states that the abuses of patronage from both the office of the President and from the Senate would have continued "had not recent movements in the direction of a radical reform of the civil service begun to make nominations represent, not the personal preference of the President or the intrigues of other people, but (people of) honest, demonstrated worth."

107Sylvia, 16.
108Wilson, Cong. Govt., 236.
The action of the Presidents who succeeded President Arthur was a matter of controversy, but by 1920 Bryce states that "honest efforts have been made by recent Presidents to prevent the intrusion of politics and to enforce the rule that civil servants in classified service shall not take an active part in campaigns."\(^{109}\)

The civil service reform had a great moral effect on those in government and caused "public sentiment to be more and more favourable."\(^{110}\) Furthermore, the Act of 1883 "has stimulated the civil service reform movement in States and municipalities. Between 1883 and 1910 seven States (New York Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Illinois, Colorado, New Jersey and Ohio) had adopted the merit system, which has also been adopted by nearly one hundred cities."\(^{111}\) Likewise, by constitutional design the State of New York in 1894 required all of its cities to apply its civil service reform. Both New York and Massachusetts had established an elaborate system of civil service reform by using a merit system.

By 1923, of the 550,000 persons in the federal civil service of the United States, "about 365,000 are selected by civil service competitive examinations."\(^{112}\)

As Hart bluntly states that the two essential features of this system are: "first, that unintelligent and uneducated persons shall not get in at all; secondly, that intelligent persons who wish to serve the state shall have an equal chance to seek appointment."\(^{113}\)

Another benefit of the Civil Service Reform was that some of the positions and duties performed in government oftentimes dictate the necessity for tenure. Professor

\(^{109}\)Bryce, Vol. II, 144-145.
\(^{110}\)Ibid., 145.
\(^{111}\)Ibid., Vol. II, 145.
\(^{112}\)Magruder, 112.
\(^{113}\)Hart, 148.
Magruder in his book on American Government in 1923, takes special note that the Second Assistant Secretary of the Department of State "is by custom a permanent occupant of the office. The present incumbent has held the office for thirty years, and has been connected with the diplomatic service . . . He has charge of the diplomatic business, and his knowledge of precedents makes him almost indispensable."\(^{114}\)

**Weaknesses**

The civil service reform movement had several functional problems. The distinction of inferior offices needed to be delineated. The United States Constitution states that "Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments."\(^{115}\)

Townsend in his analysis adroitly notes the "power of vesting appointments, it will be observed, is restricted to inferior officers. But what are inferior offices or officers? The Constitution does not discriminate."\(^{116}\) But Townsend earlier in his work points out in his analysis that the framers of the Constitution had considered the potentials of corruption in the assignment of these inferior offices:

If a member of Congress were permitted to assist in creating an office, than to resign his seat for the purpose of obtaining that office on being nominated to it by the President, it would throw wide open the doors to executive corruption. Numerous lucrative office might thus be created by legislation, with the understanding, express or implied, between the legislators and the Executive, that the offices so created should be distributed among those who were instrumental in creating them.\(^{117}\)

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114 Magruder, 127.
115 Constitution, art. II, sec. 2.
116 Townsend, 201.
117 Ibid., 153.
Woodrow Wilson clearly addresses this in his *Congressional Government* dissertation by stating that, "one of the conditions precedent to any real and lasting reform of the civil service, in a country whose public service is moulded by the conditions of self-government, is the drawing of a sharp line of distinction between those offices which are political and those which are non-political."\(^{118}\) In further analysis of this point, Wilson states:

> In the case of our own civil service it would, I take it, be extremely hard to determine where the line should be drawn. In all the higher grades this particular distinction is quite obscured. A doubt exists as to the Cabinet itself. Are the Secretaries political or non-political officers? It would seem that they are exclusively neither. They are at least semi-political. They are, on the one hand, merely the servants of Congress, and yet, on the other hand, they have enough freedom of discretion to mar and color, if not to choose, political ends. They can wreck plans, if they cannot make them."\(^{119}\)

He further states that this issue "is the cardinal point of practical civil service reform."\(^{120}\)

> "The Pendleton Act climaxed one the most vigorous and spirited reform campaigns in American history."\(^{121}\) It represented a complete reversal of the American practice and ideology regarding public employment and resulted in eradicating the evil "out of a system which was a disgrace to republican institutions."\(^{122}\)

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\(^{118}\)Wilson, *Cong. Govt.*, 290.  
\(^{119}\)Ibid.  
\(^{120}\)Ibid., 291.  
\(^{121}\)Mosher, 64.  
\(^{122}\)Ibid., 65.
CHAPTER 5

CLINTON'S NPR REFORM

Our goal is to make the entire federal government both less expensive and more efficient, and to change the culture of our national bureaucracy away from complacency and entitlement toward initiative and empowerment. We intend to redesign, to reinvent, to reinvigorate the entire national government.

President Clinton, Remarks announcing the NPR on March 3, 1993

The vision which President Clinton holds for our government is one "that works for people, cleared of useless bureaucracy and waste and freed from red tape and senseless rules." This vision provided the catalyst for the NPR (National Performance Review) which, as presented by Al Gore, represents an effective and innovative plan to make that vision a reality.

One of the critical components of this governmental reform effort is the perceived necessity for change.

The Need for Change

Shortly after taking office, Clinton on March 3, 1993 stated that, "Americans voted for a change last November. They want better schools and health care and better roads and more jobs, but they want us to do it with a government that works".

\(^{123}\) Gore, abstract.
better on less money and that is more responsive."124 The response was an intensive, 6 month study of the federal government.

As was previously mentioned, Clinton's stated that "as times change, so government must change."125 How extensively is this change? It is his desire to "radically change the way government operates."126

Not only does this plan call for a radical change, but it emphasizes that this must be a "long-term" and an "ongoing" commitment to change. Today's experts concur that change takes time, for instance in a large corporation a major transformation takes 6 to 8 years to fully implement. It is of interest that Frederick Taylor more than 85 years ago, before a Special House Committee, identified about the same period of time would be necessary to incorporate his ideals of scientific management into the individual American corporations.127 Clinton's plan realizes that since the federal government has more than 7 times as many employees as America's largest corporation, it will take "undoubtedly longer to bring about the historic changes proposed."128

We will now have the opportunity, as Clinton has recently been re-elected to a second term, to observe if his eight year administration will truly be able to incorporate these "radical changes."

124Ibid., 6.
125President Clinton, "Inauguration Speech" 20 January 1997.
126Gore, i.
127Taylor, xv.
128Gore, 9.
Furthermore, Clinton feels that the call to "reinvent government" is not driven by political ideology of bipartisan politics, but rather "it is driven by absolute necessity."\textsuperscript{129}

The necessity for change will be considered in two ways: 1) the perceived need, and 2) the actual need.

The Perceived Need. The perceived need comes from the perception of the stakeholder, or in this case the citizens. Public trust and public confidence are two areas that the NPR addresses. Clinton plans to prove to "the American people that their tax dollars will be treated with respect for the hard work that earned them"\textsuperscript{130} and hopefully close the "trust deficit." The necessity for public support has been noted in our analysis of the earlier reform movement at the turn of the century.

The Actual Need. Some of the dominate environmental issues of our current governmental system which necessitate the actual need for change are noted below:

- The inability of the Federal government to abandon obsolete programs.
- The natural expansion in layers of management during growth years and the inability to "de-layer" during lean years.
- The lack of periodic examinations and evaluations of the basic purposes of government. This would include an examination of the level of government involvement desired by the people.
- Industrial-era bureaucracies in an information age era.

This list is by no means conclusive but does represent areas the NPR will address.

\textsuperscript{129}Ibid., 6.
\textsuperscript{130}Ibid., i.
The Plan for Change

It is relatively easy to find fault, harder to find a solution, and hardest to implement the solution. Clinton NPR has sought to find some solutions. The approach which has been used admittedly "has much in common with other management philosophies, such as quality management and business process reengineering."\(^{131}\)

The National Performance Review has four key principles: 1) Cutting Red Tape, 2) Putting the Customers First, 3) Empowering Employees to Get Results, and 4) Cutting Back to Basics: Producing Better Government for Less.

In our assessment of the NPR we will seek to address each of these principles.

Cutting Red Tape

As Theodore Roosevelt said: "The best executive is the one who has the sense to pick good men to do what he wants done, and self-restraint enough to keep from meddling with them while they do it."\(^{132}\) Unfortunately, government has not been structured to promote this high ideal. The NPR does seek to take a stab at changing this. The concepts incorporated in Clinton's plan would shift "from systems in which people are accountable for following rules to systems in which they are accountable for achieving results."\(^{133}\) The intent is to strip away unnecessary layers of regulation that stifle innovation and liberate organizations to pursue missions. "We must clear the thicket of regulation by undertaking a thorough review of the regulations already in

\(^{131}\)Ibid., 7.
\(^{132}\)Ibid, 13.
\(^{133}\)Ibid, 6.
place and redesigning regulatory processes to end the proliferation of unnecessary and unproductive rules."\textsuperscript{134} This is much easier to say than to do.

Specifically, the NPR would seek to streamline the budget process, removing many of the restrictions that consume managers' time. Next it would decentralize the personnel policy, giving managers the tools they need to hire, reward, and fire employees. Another aspect of this part of the reform would be in the procurement process. In eliminating the red tape which was intended to guard against corruption in government an enormous savings could be made. "Originally, this approach was supposed to protect against profiteering and corruption."\textsuperscript{135}

Finally, an effort is made to improve on the rulemaking procedures and requirements. "We need better rules and more efficient rulemaking."\textsuperscript{136} This section of the NPR ends by affirming that "the money spigot in Washington is much easier to turn on than to turn off."\textsuperscript{137}

**Putting the Customers First**

This principle is one that received much attention because it involves the "injecting of the dynamics of the marketplace"\textsuperscript{138} into government. This is immediately qualified by stating that they do not mean that government should run exactly like private business, but rather that they hope to "transplant some aspects of the business world into the public arena."\textsuperscript{139}

\textsuperscript{134}Ibid, 32.
\textsuperscript{135}Ibid, 54.
\textsuperscript{136}Ibid, 118.
\textsuperscript{137}Ibid, 120.
\textsuperscript{138}Ibid., 43.
\textsuperscript{139}Ibid., 43.

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It appears the emphasis here is an "attitude adjustment." Civil Service is Public Service which here is translated into Customer Service. This involves a more holistic view of government. What is it that the citizen needs? Providing this is an area in which government should be involved, then how can it best meet the need? Though this ideology is reflective of the entire NPR, the idea here involves a "mental revolution" on the part of the civil servant. An interesting note here is that the great Scientific Management movement which Frederick Taylor was instrumental in forming, needed in Taylor's own words a "mental revolution" for it to properly function.

The NPR ends this section with a thought provoking message: "In our democratic form of government, we have long sought to give people a voice. As we reinvent government, it is time we also gave them a choice." 

**Empowering Employees to Get Results**

This section is reflective of the reengineering efforts being utilized in the private sector. One of the key facets of this model is to de-layer the hierarchy and to eliminate unnecessary supervision. In seeking to accomplish this, the trend is toward having a broader generalist rather than having a team of specialists. This is a solution, but it is also a problem and a weakness. The desire to streamline specific needs of society by having a single point of contact who could steer the citizen through the maze and ultimately lead them to the "promised land" is highly improbable. Even in less complex structures, the depth of knowledge of the system which such a person needs is procured only by a vast amount of experience. With the lack of sufficient pay and the general lack of respect by the community, the numbers of such individuals don't come

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140 Taylor, 27.
141 Gore, 64.
close to meeting the demands which this model projects. Hence the gap between the ideal and the real is too great to appear achievable.

If the first objective is truly achievable, then the next issue at hand is to "decentralize decisionmaking power." Therefore, this generalist would be given power to make decisions without having to work through the chain of command for approvals. This is a critical step in this overall process.

The excessive quantity of paperwork which has evolved over time needs some severe trimming. This is where radical change must occur. There is more time and energy necessary to eliminate rules than there is to establish them. Clinton's NPR asked an important question in this regard, "Can regulations be eliminated?" It answers this question "yes" and gives several examples of how federal agencies have trimmed back regulations. The Air Force was one example where "the Chief of Staff has established a service-wide program to streamline the organization and cut out bureaucracy. . . Under the Policy Review Initiative begun in 1992, the Air Force is replacing 1,510 regulations with 165 policy directives and 750 sets of instructions. This effort will cut 55,000 pages of intermingled policy and procedure to about 18,000 pages, clearly separating policy from procedure."\(^\text{142}\) There is an adage which states: Change is often difficult, failure to change is often fatal. If we do not change something, then the result is that "faced with so many controls, many employees have simply given up. They do everything by the book -- whether it makes sense or not. They fill out forms that should never have been created, follow rules that should never have been imposed, and prepare reports that serve no purpose -- and are often never

\(^{142}\)Ibid., 33.
even read. In the name of controlling waste, we have created paralyzing inefficiency.\textsuperscript{143}

The next step in this part of Clinton's plan is to give federal workers the tools they need to do their jobs. This neatly fits into our first point in this section about the massive knowledge that our generalist must possess. If retained and properly trained and equipped, this plan just might work. But change here is necessary. This is where "transplanting some aspects of the business world into the public arena"\textsuperscript{144} would be helpful. In 1989, the National Commission on the Public Service, headed by Paul Volcker estimated "that while private firms spend 3 to 5 percent of their budgets on training, retraining, and upgrading employees skills, the federal government spends less than one percent."\textsuperscript{145} If this were accomplished, then we might stand a chance.

This now leads us to the final part of this section, "Enhancing the Quality of Work Life." If we could train employees with a broader scope of knowledge and understanding, then the enticements of the private sector might lure them away. But by enhancing the quality of work life these same employees might become career oriented public servants. Therefore, there needs to be incentives offered to good employees that will afford them the job satisfaction necessary. "Flextime, part-time, leave-sharing, and unpaid family and medical leave"\textsuperscript{146} are some of the options which the NPR is suggesting. Moreover, recent studies which are noted in the NPR\textsuperscript{147}, suggest that our ability to recruit and retain the best employees depends on our ability to create a satisfying work environment.

\textsuperscript{143}Ibid., 3.
\textsuperscript{144}Ibid., 43.
\textsuperscript{145}Ibid., 78.
\textsuperscript{146}Ibid., 84.
\textsuperscript{147}Gore, 84.
Cutting Back to Basics: Producing Better Government for Less

This involves multi-faceted approaches to the over-all plan. The first step would be to eliminate what we don't need by eliminating the obsolete and also by eliminating duplication. The next step would be changing our approach to public services. Those who use them should pay for them. Finally, we should be investing in modern technologies to improve productivity as is done in the private sector. The use of computers and telecommunications are ways which government could be changed to improve service.
CHAPTER 6
CRITICAL COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Our country has a history of rising to the task when change is necessary. One of the earliest incidents of radical change occurred when the inherent weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation began to surface. John Fiske has coined this period of American history as the "critical period." Our founding fathers took the task to heart and in 1787 established the Constitution of the United States of America, which has formed the basis and mission for current governmental structure.

It has been stated that "Gladstone, the famous English statesman, considered this constitution the greatest work ever struck off at one time by the hand of man."\(^{148}\)

During the past 200 years, our government has been changing "course" or direction whenever the needs or desires of its citizens have prompted it. We have examined two periods in our past of what could be called "radical" change. The question which arises then, are there similar issues in today's environmental system which would give us the ability to forecast whether the NPR will constitute a "radical" change or will it be incremental at best?

Social research is interested in explanatory or causal analyses. "In the causal language of social research, it is seldom the case that one variable absolutely and completely cause another."\(^{149}\) Therefore, in our analysis, we will focus on what the

\(^{148}\) Magruder, 36.
dominate variables were that possibly caused these reformations. In Thomas Dye's book, *Understanding Public Policy*, he states regarding analysis, "Public policy can be viewed as a dependent variable, and we can ask what socioeconomic conditions and political system characteristics operate to shape the content of policy."\(^{150}\) This is what we will do here. The three periods of reform noted in this research will then be our dependent variables with the following conditions and characteristics used to examine how these variables were shaped.

- Involvement of Government
- Responsiveness of Government
- Efficiency of Government
- Complexity of Government

**Involvement of Government**

How much governance do Americans want? What areas do they want it in? Who should do it? How much should be done? Who should it be done for? These are difficult questions, but it is the job of government not only to find the answers but to implement their solutions. The level of government involvement goes from a Laissez faire, non-interference by government attitude to the active involvement seen during the New Deal period. We will now examine what forces in society cause greater or lesser levels of governmental involvement.

The level of governmental involvement in society as a variable of change is reflective of two of our three periods under consideration: the Civil Service Reformation and today's National Performance Review. This perspective will "focus

not only on government action but also on government inaction, that is, what
government chooses not to do. We contend that governmental inaction can have just
as great an impact on society as governmental action.\textsuperscript{151}

Reducing the size of government is nothing new. Bryce, writing back in 1888,
references that these maxims or principles were being incorporated into the American
culture by the introduction of the concept of "laissez faire" government. "The less of
government the better . . . the less time citizens have to spend in looking after their
officials, so much the more will the citizens and the community prosper. The functions
of government must be kept at their minimum."\textsuperscript{152} But, as Bryce notes, it may be very
well to say that the functions of government should be kept at a minimum, but then
"what is this minimum?"

The doctrine of Laissez faire, or non-interference by government with the
citizen, has two foundations. The first one Bryce notes is "sentimental ground," which
reflects the desire of the individual to be left alone and to do as he pleases. The second
foundation is described as the "rational ground." This reflects the belief that "the
desires and impulses of men when left to themselves are more likely by their natural
collision and cooperation-operation to work out a happy result for the community and
the individuals . . . than will be attained by the conscious endeavors of the State
controlling and directing those desires and impulses."\textsuperscript{153}

Bryce further notes of these two foundations the "sentimental" foundations has
been extremely strong in America stemming from the assertion of personal liberty
which is proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence. However, in Bryce's time, at

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{151}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{152}Bryce, Vol. II, 589.
\textsuperscript{153}Ibid., 590.
\end{flushright}
the turn of the century, the "rational" foundation "played no great part in the United States... it appeared in the form... of a common-sense notion that everybody knows his own business best, that individual enterprise has "made America" and will "run America," better that the best government could do."\textsuperscript{154} This feature is more characteristic of today's reform effort in that it believes that interference by government often does more harm than good.

**Responsiveness of Government**

How responsive should government be? Can government be both responsive and efficient? Who should government be responsive to and when? What level of responsiveness did the founding fathers intend? With limited resources, who should get what services? How is "voice of the people" heard? These too are difficult questions to find answers to. In the past we have seen various trends of government's sensitivity to the people. We will seek to examine and analyze what conditions have shaped government's responsiveness.

In his Gettsburg address, President Lincoln coined the famous phrase "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." Responsiveness is just this. Therefore, we conclude responsiveness to the people as a dominate variable of change is reflective of two of our three periods under consideration: the Jacksonian Reform and the Clinton Reform.

**Background.**

Responsiveness to the people is something which has deep historic roots. The question that arises is who is the government being responsive to? In regards to how

\textsuperscript{154}Ibid.
responsive government can be on an individual level and yet also represent the majority, Calvin Townsend in his *Analysis of Civil Government*, quotes George Washington as stating that "individuals entering into society must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest."\(^{155}\) In return for giving up a share of their liberty the American people have instituted our present day representative democracy. This allows the voice of the people to be heard in theory. But in reality this system has some inherit weaknesses.

If everyone was well informed and embraced the ideals of our founding fathers, then responsive government would truly represent the vast majority. But as Woodrow Wilson states, "Representative government is government by advocacy, by discussion, by persuasion, and a great, miscellaneous voting population is often misled by deceitful pleas and swayed by unwise counsels."\(^{156}\) But in spite of this, democracy still is the foremost model for responsive government.

Historically we find early in our nation's development this ideology was incorporated by the "town-meeting." In this system township laws were always made in the town-meeting, which were composed of the male inhabitants twenty-one years or over. Anyone could introduce motions or take part in the discussions; but only adult males could vote, except that women were allowed to vote on school questions. During the first few years, the colonists attempted to hold monthly meetings, but this was found to be a cumbersome way to transact business, and as early as 1635 selectmen (officers selected by the people) were chosen to administer the affairs of the township during the interval between the assemblies. "Thus government became less

\(^{155}\) Townsend, 77.
\(^{156}\) Wilson, 208.
democratic (direct rule of the people) and more republican (indirect rule of the people through representatives)."¹⁵⁷ But still the strong democratic influences were present.

But this aspect of our governmental structure is not homogeneous. The strong emphasis on democracy was not prevalent throughout the country. In the New England States and in the tier of States extending from New York to Nebraska this form of government is of "considerable importance." "In the Southern and Western States townships cannot be said to exist."¹⁵⁸ But "those who settled the southern portions were from Pennsylvania and the States to the south of the Ohio River and were accustomed to county government. Those accustomed to county government had never attended town-meetings but preferred to elect county officers and trust them with all functions of local government."¹⁵⁹ Therefore, the problem of uninformed citizens being misrepresented was blurred by geographic boundaries.

But broadly speaking early on in this country the ordinary American farmer or shopkeeper or artisan would bear a part in the local government of his township or village, or county. They generally were quite competent to discuss the questions that would arise by virtue of the simplicity of the life style. No high standard of fitness was needed "for the work of local administration could be adequately dispatched by any sensible man of business habits."¹⁶⁰ This, however, shaped a misconception that Congress was "nothing more that a larger town council or board of commissioners."¹⁶¹ The net result of this was a mindset that any honest, hard-working individual would be well suited for service in government. The implication here is that no special training

¹⁵⁷Magruder, 316.
¹⁵⁸Ibid., 319.
¹⁵⁹Ibid.
¹⁶¹Ibid.
or knowledge, other than that which a "sensible man of business habits" might have, was needed.

The Jacksonian Reform

This mindset and philosophy is what helped trigger Andrew Jackson's "Spoils System." Jacksonian Democracy really was intended to ensure responsive government as was noted in our earlier chapter, but soon degraded into the notorious Spoils System, which permeated all levels of government.

The Spoils System which rewarded party service with offices and positions in government was far more potent and pernicious in the large cities than it was in the country districts.

For in great cities we find an ignorant multitude, largely composed of recent immigrants, untrained in self-government; we find a great proportion of the voters paying no direct taxes, and therefore feeling no interest in moderate taxation and economical administration; we find able citizens absorbed in their private businesses . . . unwilling to sacrifice their time and tastes and comfort in the struggle with noisy demagogues.162

Bryce elaborates on the impact which the immigrants had on those bent on corrupting government. "These newcomers were as a rule poor and ignorant. They knew little of the institutions of the country, and had not acquired any patriotic interest in it. But they received votes. Their numbers soon made them a power in city and State politics and all the more so because they were cohesive, influenced by leaders of their own race, and not, like the native voters . . . exercising independent judgment upon current issues."163 The momentum of this movement was compounded by the fact that the leading men who "fifty years earlier would have watched municipal

162Bryce, abridged, 430.
affairs and perhaps borne a part in them, were now so much occupied with their commercial enterprises or their legal practice as to neglect their local civic duties."164 Bryce notes that 44 per cent of the population of New York were of foreign birth. Bryce also notes that in 1870 during the heyday of the boss system he happen to be visiting in New York "and saw the Ring flourishing like a green bay-tree."165 In his book, American Commonwealth, Bryce devotes nearly seventy pages to explain and embellish the facts of corruption in city government as a direct result of the Spoils System.

Wilson noted in 1886 in his "The Study of Public Administration" that the "poisonous atmosphere of city government, the crooked secrets of state administration, the confusion, the sinecurism, and corruption ever and again discovered in the bureaux at Washington forbid us to believe that any clear conceptions of what constitutes good administration are yet very widely current in the United States."166

Clinton's NPR Reform.

Responsiveness to the general public is one of President Clinton's objectives. In assessing the vote of the people he stated shortly after taking office in 1993 that: "Americans voted for a change last November. They want . . . a government that works better on less money and that is more responsive."167 Therefore, he believes "it is time for a new customer service contract with the American people, a new guarantee of effective, efficient, and responsive government."168

164Ibid.
165Ibid., 391.
166Wilson, SPA, 6,7.
167Gore, 6.
168Ibid., i.
In assessing and analyzing the responsiveness of the NPR, there are several approaches which it has taken to receive input from the people. The first occurred during the conception stage of the NPR program. Vice President Gore began by involving "thousands of federal employees," who "know government best" seeking their ideas and receiving their input. From there Gore stated that he "wanted to hear from as many Americans as possible." Therefore, he began a campaign that led him to "visit programs that work: A Miami school that also serves as a community center, a Minnesota pilot program that provides benefits efficiently by using technology and debit cards, a Chicago neighborhood that has put community policing to work, a U.S. Air Force base that has made quality management a way of life." In addition the NPR boasts of hearing from "citizens across America, in more than 30,000 letters and phone calls." They sought views from hundreds of different organizations both large and small and held national conferences for this purpose.

The difficulty here is that there does not appear to be any plan to receive direct feedback from these sources to view how these changes are working. Hence we see an admirable effort to be responsive to the voice of the people initially, but not to systematically monitor their input later. Indirectly, though, there is feedback built into these systems. The concepts of Total Quality Management encourage immediate feedback from front-line workers who deal directly with the customers and upper management. This ideal if successfully incorporated, does enhance governmental responsiveness.

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\[169\text{Ibid.}\]  
\[170\text{Ibid.}\]  
\[171\text{Ibid., ii.}\]  
\[172\text{Ibid.}\]
Efficiency of Government

Is efficiency the sole value for governmental decision making? Is efficiency in conflict with governmental responsiveness? What forces motivate government to be efficient?

This ideology of the way government should be run can be noted in all three of our time periods, which all make claims to increased efficiency.

The Jacksonian Reform.

As we have previously noted Jackson stated in his First Annual Message to the Senate and the House of Representatives:

I cannot but believe that more is lost by the long continuance of man in office than is generally to be gained by their experience. I submit, therefore, to your consideration whether the efficiency of the Government would not be promoted and official industry and integrity better secured by a general extension of the law which limits appointment to four years.173

Efficiency by Jackson's standard would be increased because those whose longevity had dulled their sharpness for efficiency would be removed and this rotation would help promote efficiency. This, once again in Jackson's defense, was said at a time (December 8, 1829) when the positions referenced were truly simple and routine.

Civil Service Reformation.

During the Civil Service Reformation Woodrow Wilson noted in his famous essay "The Study of Public Administration" in 1887, that the objective of those in public administration is "to discover, first what government can properly and

173 Richardson, 1012.
successfully do, and secondly, how it can do these proper things with the utmost possible efficiency and at the least possible cost either of money or of energy."174

"The casual approach to public administration that typified the middle nineteenth century gradually gave way as pressures of geographic expansion, industrial development, and population growth created new demands on the central government."175 The reformers created a new system of government that was organized on the idea "that the operations of government could be made to work like a machine, that is, as an apolitical and rational system based on the precepts of scientific management."176 The thought was that if there was one best way to accomplish a task, then there must also be one best way to accomplish social organization. Such principles "were assumed to exist and to be waiting to be discovered by diligent scientific observation and analysis."177

Perhaps one of Wilson's most famous comments in his reform dialog was the point that "the field of administration is a field of business. It is removed from the hurry and strife of politics."178 The proper context of this passage, written in 1887, is directly relevant to the civil service reform which was just getting started by the passage of the Civil Service Act of 1883. Wilson was promoting the clearing of "the moral atmosphere of official life by establishing the sanctity of public office as a public trust, and, by making the service unpartisan... opening the way for making it

174 Wilson, SPA, 3.
175 Levine, 218.
176 Ibid.
177 Ibid., 223.
178 Wilson, SPA, 13.
Unfortunately this quotation is not always alluded to in its proper context.

Another quotation that Wilson is heavily criticized for is also often used out of its proper context. Wilson stated: "Most important to be observed is the truth already so much and so fortunately insisted upon by our civil-service reformers; namely, that administration lies outside the proper sphere of politics. Administrative questions are not political questions." If only read to this point it could be easily misunderstood. What Wilson proceeded on to say, though, was, "Although politics sets the tasks for administration, it should not be suffered to manipulate its offices." This relates to the abuses which were common to the influences of the "Spoils System."

During this era many of the civil service positions were placed under the merit system, but still this only amounted to 46% by 1900. "Administrative efficiency was balanced with a concern for the spoils most vital to the maintenance of the party leadership and the locally based party workforce," and, therefore, was not absolute.

But these characteristics of reform are nothing new either. Woodrow Wilson in 1885 noted that because of the staggering population growth in the United States and the western expansion that, "The government of a country so vast and various must be strong, prompt, wieldy, and efficient. Its strength must consist in the certainty and uniformity of its purposes, in its accord with national sentiment, in its unhesitating action, and in its honest aims. It must be steadied and approved by open administration diligently obedient to the more permanent judgments of public

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179 Ibid.
180 Ibid., 14.
181 Ibid.
182 Levine, 221.
opinion." Wilson further states that at present, "the federal government lacks strength because its powers are divided, lacks promptness because its authorities are multiplied, lacks wieldiness because its processes are roundabout, lacks efficiency because its responsibility is indistinct and its action without competent direction." Clinton's NPR Reform

Clinton's objectives of "Eliminate Duplication" in his NPR program notes that government programs "accumulate like coral reefs - the slow and unplanned accretion of tens of thousands of ideas, legislative actions, and administrative initiatives." The NPR approach toward correcting this is to look at government as a whole, identify the areas of duplication, and then begin consolidating of programs to eliminate this duplicity. In the back of the NPR are 130 specific recommendations which include those targeted at eliminating duplicity.

To assess this action, other similar historical eras can be examined. It is to be noted that when Franklin Roosevelt asked the Brownlow Committee to look into what was necessary to increase control in his administrative capacity, two variables stoodout: the rapid growth of government during the New Deal, and the conversion of America from an agricultural to a manufacturing economy. More recently we have seen a similar swelling of government programs which began under the Johnson administration (though now we are faced with downsizing these) and the conversion of America from a manufacturing to an information economy. The Brownlow committee recommended reorganizing the executive branch and the "elimination of duplication in

183 Wilson, Cong. Govt., 317.
184 Ibid., 318.
185 Gore, 99.
organization." President Clinton's plan is also of reorganization of government by
his "Reinventing Government" campaign and his emphasis on the elimination of
duplication.

This value was seriously challenged as to its primary importance in
administrative and governmental decisionmaking during the middle of the 20th century.
During the attacks on Orthodox Administration by those in the late 1940s and early
1950s the thought was "that economy and efficiency as goals or criteria were either
too narrowly conceived or were misconceived." Furthermore the United States
Supreme court regarding the common practice of a "one-House" legislative veto for
the purposes of efficiency in 1983 ruled in the I.N.S. v. Chadha case that this practice
was unconstitutional. In the analysis it was clearly stated in the ideals of the
Constitution that "convenience and efficiency are not the primary objectives - or the
hallmarks - of democratic government." Equally important, in Justice Powell's
concurring judgment he explains "it is crystal clear from the records of the Convention,
contemporaneous writings and debates, that the Framers ranked other values higher
than efficiency."

Complexity of Government

Why are we currently facing problems which past generations didn't? Why do
we struggle with finding and implementing solutions to today's problems? The answer

186Levine, 225.
187Ibid., 229.
188Arthur Earl Bonfield and Michael Asimow, State and Federal Administrative Law,
189Ibid., 487.
in part is because of complexity. Our current government is complex, partially because this system and structure has been evolving and growing for over 200 years.

Demographic Complexity

Our governmental structure was established during a time when only 3.1 per cent of the nation was living in cities with a population of 8,000 or more. Shortly after the Constitution was formulated and put in place a major change began to occur in both the demographics and the population of this country.

From the time which Andrew Jackson had taken office to when the Civil Service Act of 1883 was established the percentage of the population living in cities larger than 8,000 more than quadrupled. "In America the cities with a population exceeding 50,000 inhabitants were in 1910 one hundred and nine with an aggregate population of about 24,500,000, little more than 23 per cent of the total population." With the advent of the automobile, a movement from the city to the suburbs began to occur which impacted the infrastructure and the revenue sources of big cities. These changes and shifts in population affected the way government operated. Racial diversity, with the associated needs and concerns, was brought to a head during the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s. More recently, global awareness has become an issue partially because of economics and partially because of increased environmental awareness. Each of these demographic components has impacted the complexity of government.

190 Ibid., 331.
191 Ibid.
Bryce noted even back in 1923 that "modern civilization, in becoming more complex and refined, has become more exacting. It discerns more benefits which the organized power of government can secure, and grows more anxious to attain them. Men live fast, and are impatient of the slow working of natural laws." The past 75 years have exponentially amplified this complexity.

Constitutional Complexity

Even when the founding fathers were framing the constitution complexity was an issue. Because the framers of the Constitution were concerned that the power did not rest in a small group or in a single person the checks and balances of the federal system were incorporated. In a letter by John Adams to John Taylor in 1814, Mr. Adams says:

Is there a constitution upon record more complicated with balances than ours? In the first place, eighteen states and some territories are balanced against the national government. . . . In the second place, the House of Representatives is balanced against the Senate, the Senate against the House. In the third place, the executive authority is, in some degree, balanced against the legislative. In the fourth place, the judicial power is balanced against the House, the Senate, the executive power, and the state governments. In the fifth place, the Senate is balanced against the President in all appointments to office, and in all treaties. . . . In the sixth place, the people hold in their hands the balance against their own representative, by biennial . . . elections. In the seventh place, the legislatures of the several states are balanced against the Senate by sextennial elections. In the eight place, the electors are balanced against the people in the choice of the President. Here is a complicated refinement of balances, which, for anything I recollect, is an invention of our own and peculiar to us.194

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194 Wilson, 12.
Technological Complexity

It has been previously noted that multiple inputs are instrumental in the change process. Technological advances represent one of these inputs. This input was particularly acute during the early part of the 19th century. "Watt had taken out a patent for his double-acting steam engine, which made large scale manufacturing possible. Fulton's steamboat (1806) and Stephenson's locomotive made easy the transportation of raw materials to the factories . . . Workmen from scattered shops, which were put out of business by the factories, had to move to the factory town and help make it a city."\(^{195}\) Therefore, government had to make the transition and adjust to address the needs of city living. The protection of the worker from the effects of "big business" was an indirect effect of this technological progression.

Technology has once again become a major factor in society. The dramatic sense of change which occurred during the period of the Industrial Revolution is being felt again as we now experience the change brought on by the Information Age. President Clinton points out that part of government's problem has been that of "Industrial-era bureaucracies in an Information Age."\(^{196}\) Today it has become necessary for workers to become computer literate. This is very succinctly brought forth in Clinton's NPR: "Failure to adapt to the information age threatens many aspects of government."\(^{197}\)

Organizational Complexity

Woodrow Wilson in 1886 was concerned with this issue of complexity. He was reflecting on the changes in society that the past 100 years had brought. "The

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\(^{195}\) Magruder, 330.
\(^{196}\) Gore, 3.
\(^{197}\) Ibid., 113.
functions of government were simple, because life itself was simple. . . . There was no complex system of public revenues and public debts to puzzle financiers; there were, consequently, no financiers to be puzzled. . . . Populations were of manageable numbers; property was of simple sorts." Can you imagine what Wilson's perspective would be as we approach the 21st century with the exponential growth which has since occurred?

One of the most notable features of the 20th century is the rise of large organizations. "Increasingly throughout this century, formally structured and legally chartered organizations, sometimes of immense scale and complexity, have undertaken both public and private enterprises." As this complexity grows the concerns on the right way to combine factors to assure stability and reliability in performance has come to the forefront.

President Clinton reflects that "government is not alone in its troubles. As the Industrial Era has given way to the Information Age, institutions -- both public and private -- have come face to face with obsolescence." When government began seeking to regulate corrupt practices, bureaucracy was instituted to keep track of the work force. But as Wilson points out that this system has from earlier times gotten out of control even in simple settings. Wilson quotes Mr. Bagehot's depiction of this sequence of events. "You erect a bureau in the province you want to govern; you make it write letters and copy letters; it sends home eight reports per diem to the head bureau in St. Petersburg. . . . The consequence of this is, to throw on the heads of departments an amount of reading and labour which

198 Wilson, SPA, 4, 5.
199 Levine, 213.
200 Gore, 2.
can only be accomplished by the greatest natural aptitude, the most efficient training, the most firm and regular industry.  

"This sounds like comments you could easily hear today from an executive from a major corporation; Bagehot wrote The English Constitution in 1867.

Bryce note that "public opinion is slow and clumsy is grappling with large practical problems. It looks at them, talks incessantly about them, complains of Congress for not solving them is distressed that they do not solve themselves. But they remain unsolved."

But, as analysts continue to study the effects that organizational "structures have on the efficiency, effectiveness, and accountability of government . . . The quest for more powerful theories must persist."

But, unfortunately, the result of seeking to develop a useful theory for organizing government using today's abstract concepts has only "perplexed and frustrated brilliant social scientists and talented practitioners." Past experiences have shown that even the most carefully planned organization can fail to produce good results. "This occurs because organizations operate in a complex and changing world, and no one can claim the knowledge and insight to design an organizational arrangement to cope with all its twists and turns." This has been compounded by the devastating attack that was made on the orthodox theories by Herbert Simon in the mid-1940s. This was followed by another by Paul Appleby which "attacked the politics-administration dichotomy as a mistaken myth that could be detrimental to the

201 Wilson, SPA, 5,6.
202 Bryce, abridged, 500.
203 Levine, 212.
204 Ibid, 213.
205 Levine, 242.
workings of government.²⁰⁶ This lead scholars of the postwar period to develop theories which emphasized the openness of organizations to influences of their environment. Economic, social, governmental, and ideological factors were among these influences. "By the end of the 1950s the attack on prewar orthodoxy was complete. . . . With the decline of the old orthodoxy, the field of public administration entered a long era of self-doubt and theoretical disunity."²⁰⁷ Mindful of the stinging critiques of the revisionist, the 1950s and 1960s saw the public administration research community retreat from the world of government.²⁰⁸

By the 1970s, after nearly two decades, "many public administration theorists concluded that systems theory was too abstract, not directly related to the constitutional or legal foundation that underpinned public organizations."²⁰⁹ This concern has recently been raised in Ronald Moe and Robert Gilmour's article "Rediscovering Principles of Public Administration: The Neglected Foundation of Public Law," in the March/April 1995 issue of Public Administration Review. "Over the past five decades, the field of public administration has gradually lost its theoretical distinctiveness. Today, public administration has largely abandoned or forgotten its roots in public law - in the Constitution, statutes, and case law - and has accepted, to varying degrees, the generic behavior principles of management as taught in schools of business."²¹⁰ Hence we are currently in a time period longing for a more defined concept of direction.

²⁰⁶ Levine, 234.
²⁰⁷ Levine, 234.
²⁰⁸ Levine, 237.
²⁰⁹ Levine, 247.
CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

We are determined to move from an industrial age government to information age government, from a government pre-occupied with sustaining itself to a government clearly focused on serving the people.

Vice President Al Gore, May 24, 1993

The present day efforts to change government have been neatly mapped out in Clinton's NPR, but will this new program cause or promote change or will it be something else that drives this change? Woodrow Wilson while teaching at Princeton University in 1900 stated that, "the nation may get a better civil service, because of the sheer necessity we shall be under of organizing a service capable of carrying the novel burdens we have shouldered." Will it be sheer necessity or careful "steering" that prompts movement to change?

Establishing a Wholesome Blend of Efficiency, Effectiveness, and Responsiveness

The Problem. Government tends to grow. During certain time periods this rate of expansion is greater than at others, but the truth of the matter is that government has been growing and expanding. This is due in part to the difficulty of terminating existing programs. "The federal government seems unable to abandon the

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211 Wilson, Cong. Govt., xii.
obsolete. It knows how to add, but not to subtract. Where has this expansion taken us?

Bryce has an interesting conclusion to his chapter on "Laissez Faire." He quotes numerous pieces of legislation illustrating government's tendency to overextend its influence in the affairs of society. Several of the more interesting pieces of legislature are:

Colorado permits no woman to enter a "wine room."

Kentucky makes it a misdemeanor to play with dice any game for money, and a felony to keep, manage, or operate any such game.

Washington punishes any one who permits a minor to play at cards in his house without written permission of the minor's parent or guardian.

Maine requires every public school teacher to devote not less than ten minutes per week to instruction in the principles of kindness to birds and animals.

Several States have recently made the smoking of cigarettes a punishable offense.

It is interesting to note that in the Declaration of Independence the King of England was charged that "he has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substances." But how often are our government programs guilty of the same?

212 Gore, 1.
214 Townsend, 42.
One of the most difficult problems governmental agencies have is their inability to abandon the obsolete. This is pointed out specifically with the federal government's Agriculture Department. The Gore report notes: "a century after industry replaced farming as America's principal business, the Agriculture Department still operates more than 12,000 field offices." This clearly shows the inability to downsize. The NPR report caustically states that "the money spigot in Washington is much easier to turn on than to turn off."  

Wilson also noted that regarding programs in general that "it is harder to run a constitution than to frame one." And part of running a program is eliminating the obsolete. Yet why is it so difficult to close unneeded programs? Clinton's report addresses this by stating "because those who benefit from them fight to keep them alive." This is where special interest groups often prevail over the general majority.

**The Blend.** Woodrow Wilson noted back in 1886, "The ideal for us is a civil service cultured and self-sufficient enough to act with sense and vigor, and yet so intimately connected with the popular thought, by means of elections and constant public counsel, as to find arbitrariness or class spirit quite out of the question." The necessity to establish a blend of organizational principles was one of the findings of the postwar critiques when they realized that there is no "such a thing as a single controlling principle or a small group of controlling principles that dictate sound organization."

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215 Gore, 1.
216 Gore, 120.
217 Wilson, 5.
218 Gore, 93.
219 Wilson, SPA, 19.
220 Levine, 232.
The open systems theory began a more scientific approach to studying organizations. Herbert Simon argued:

That the central assumption of economics is that decisions are made rationally with complete and perfect information. In the real world, he argued, uncertainty abounds, and man does not have the luxury of complete and perfect information. Therefore, rather than choosing the best course of action from among a complete list of alternatives, administrative decisionmakers merely seek to improve their situation by making "satisficing" choices among a limited number of alternatives; thus rationality cannot be perfect, but is bounded by these constraints.221

The Process. The critical question is that of how to effectively promote and institute change. Woodrow Wilson with his acute sense of perception of American democracy stated:

"Wherever regard for public opinion is a first principle of government, practical reform must be slow and all reform must be full of comprises. Whoever would effect a change in a modern constitution must first educate his fellow-citizens to want some change. That done, he must persuade them to want the particular change he wants. He must first make public opinion willing to listen and then see to it that it listen to the right things. He must stir it up to search for an opinion, and then manage to put the right opinion in its way."222

The Plan. Clinton alleges that in order to "shut down programs we must change the underlying culture of government... by exposing unnecessary programs to the spotlight of annual performance measures, and giving customers the power to reject what they do not need."223 This presidential directive if fully enacted would completely revolutionize our government. However, Clinton would be fighting the

221Levine, 237.
222Wilson, SPA, 12.
223Gore, 93-94.
battle on so many fronts that his chances of being sandbagged are enormous. In Thomas Dye's book on Understanding Public Policy, he notes regarding Clinton's Health Care plan that "the Clinton administration has chosen to restructure the nation's health care system rather than make modest, incremental reforms. But comprehensive, rational reform is threatened by the multiple demands of interest groups."224 Is the general public disenchanted with our current system enough to endorse such a crusade? Probably not. A radical change like this must be as Wilson puts it "not only plain but also commonplace before it will be seen by the people who go to their work very early in the morning; and . . . (the matter of contention) must involve great and pinching inconveniences before these same people will make up their minds to act upon it."225 In the NPR an interesting story was quoted regarding this issue:

After World War II, a British commission on modernizing government discovered that the civil service was paying a full-time worker to light bonfires along the Dover cliffs if a Spanish Armada was sighted. The last Spanish Armada had been defeated some years before - in 1588, to be precise.226

Does the United States have similar positions? No doubt. But until the general public gets word of this dead wood, either through an annual performance report or by direct exposure of the media, things will continue as usual. Yet, without radical change and new innovative ideas many employees will simply give up. They will "do everything by the book -- whether it makes sense or not. They fill out forms, that should never have been created, follow rules that should never have been imposed, and prepare reports that serve no purpose -- are often never read."227 This type of

\[224\text{Dye, 149.}\]
\[225\text{Wilson, SPA, 13.}\]
\[226\text{Gore, 94.}\]
\[227\text{Gore, 3.}\]
bureaucratic structure was a result of government's efforts to control waste in the past, but today the result is paralyzing inefficiency. With the current marketplace environment, private industry has abandoned this organizational structure and redesigned to cope with "today's world of rapid change, lightning-quick information technologies, tough global competition, and demanding customers." Shouldn't government be doing the same?

In a recent article by John L. Mica, a Florida Republican representative in The Public Manager, Mica affirms that "while American businesses adapted to become the most efficient and competitive organizations in the world, government agencies were caught in a time warp, relying on bureaucratic procedures to isolate them. Federal civil service law is substantially unchanged, in principle, from the Pendleton Act of 1883, which enshrined the merit system as a replacement for the spoils system."

Another strategy is to restructure existing programs which duplicate services. For example the NPR notes that at least four major programs are concurrently providing help for laid-off workers. These multiple programs aimed at common goals don't work well. Administrative overhead is doubled and the help for the worker is oftentimes unnecessarily delayed. "People seeking work must wait for help until the government determines which program they are eligible for." Furthermore, if the truth be known, "some programs were never needed. They exist only because powerful special interest groups succeeded in pushing them through Congress."

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228 Gore, 3.
230 Gore, 99.
231 Gore, 102.
One of the specific objectives of Clinton's NPR reform in this area is to reduce the size of the "civilian, non-postal work force by 12 percent over the next 5 years." The majority of the reductions are for those areas of "overcontrol" of agencies that now bind federal government programs. This would mean many needless supervision posts and specialists. Today's restructuring trend seeks to take the specialist position and broadened it to a generalist position to effect a more seamless organization. This is a solution, but I feel it is also a problem and weakness. The desire to streamline projects with job captains is complicated by the complexity of the "one stop shop" approach. The generalist would have to be highly trained and well versed for which the pay and the availability of such individuals is questionable.

**Deciding Factors**

From a review of the previous reform movements, three critical factors are required for radical change to occur. First, the general public has to become dissatisfied to the point where they wanted the change. Secondly, there needs to be strong, decisive leadership which is able to drive this change process. And, finally, there needs to be a clearly defined plan.

Relative to current public dissatisfaction "only 20 percent of Americans trust the federal government to do the right thing most of the time -- down from 76 percent 30 years ago." But is this segment dissatisfied enough to act? Probably not because the American public has grown complacent and apathetic.

Relative to leadership, Bryce makes a profound observation in his analysis of democracy. He states "no form of government needs great leaders so much as

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232 Gore, iii.
233 Gore, 1.
democracy." Nearly 50 years later in 1935, Chester Barnard stated that from his perspective "leadership was an essential component of organizational life." Does the Clinton Administration have either or both of these factors to the extent that change will occur? On a more functional level, will the leadership be willing to take bold new measures to reinvent our system. Clinton's plan recognizes that federal employees have in the past quickly learned "that common sense is risky -- and creativity is downright dangerous. They learn that the goal is not to produce results, please customers, or save taxpayers' money, but to avoid mistakes." But just knowing this does not solve it. The suggestion which is taken is this: focus positively on the programs that have taken a risk and have made a dynamic difference, and then promote them. The unfortunate part of this is that there does not appear to be an amnesty program addressed for those who try and fail. I believe the net result will be only a modest increase of the most "gutsy" employees who will take up this as a challenge to make a difference.

The Civil Service Reform was successful because it did appear to have a well defined plan. It created and funded the Civil Service Commission and provided clear guidelines of what they were to do.

Another innovative effort occurred in 1947 when President Harry Truman asked former President Herbert Hoover to head a commission to reorganize the executive branch. What is noteworthy of this reorganization effort was that "no single theory of administration motivated all 277 recommendations. Many of them presumed values of coherence in governmental organization, hierarchical control, centralized
authority, and organization by purpose." Of the 277 recommendations, experts were able to determine that between 100 and 150 were implemented. The success of the first Hoover Commission "represented a great breakthrough for the public administration community. Never before had a reorganization effort achieved such widespread political support." Furthermore the momentum of this effort helped influence citizen support to implement the commission's recommendations. Their motto was: "Better Government at a Better Price." It is interesting to note that the motto which Clinton's NPR carries is quite similar: "Creating a Government that Works Better and Costs Less."

Does the Clinton Administration have similar features? The answer is yes and no. The spirit is there, but not the designated personnel nor the clear guidelines. In Jasper's and Alpern's article in the Public Manager, "National Performance Review: The Good, the Bad, the Indifferent," the sub-title caption reads: "The ambitious scope of and early response to NPR are heartening. Failure of earlier reform agenda suggests more careful development of both recommendations and implementation actions." As with strategic planning, or as the case might be incrementalism, some tweaking of the goals is necessary.

Concluding Comments

After analyzing and comparing our periods of governmental change and reform, various trends and patterns have appeared. Levine sums them up:

[References]

237Levine, 235.
238Levine, 235.
239Levine, 236.

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Because no reform ever completely washes away the old rules, regulations, and procedures, vestiges of past systems carry forward to blend and conflict with new schemes. The result for the novice may be a crazy-quilt structure and doctrine seemingly conceived by a madman. For the experienced observer, however, the logic of that same organization's design may unfold in a neat pattern. Thus, the challenge is to make the transition from an awed, confused, and perhaps frustrated student of public organization to a sophisticated analyst of its twists and turns.\(^{241}\)

During the course of this research project, I have observed both the "crazy-quilt structure" and have had glimpses of the "neat pattern." As the research progressed, it was easier to distinguish the "neat pattern" of the governmental evolution.

In conclusion, American government has been evolving over the past 200 years. Previous generations with their patriotic spirit and eagerness to improve have established a precedent for our generation and for generations to come. For many who have witnessed the unfortunate ramifications and results of other forms of government and have come to this country seeking freedom, this patriotic spirit burns brightly. Perhaps this review of the past will re-kindle the patriotic flame which, at various times, in our history has burned brightly. With all of its weakness and faults, Professor Hart correctly prophesied 93 years ago that, "in general, American society with its democracy, its rapid movement, its eagerness to improve, ... its strong hold upon the past, is well suited to the institutions which it has worked out. American government is changeful and yet stable, elastic and yet firm"\(^{242}\) and has a respect for the traditions and vested rights of its constituency.

\(^{241}\)Levine, 214.
\(^{242}\)Hart, 12.
INSTITUTIONS AND PROCESSES

Changing philosophies of government management

PPB
Program, Planning, Budgeting

MBO
Management By Objective

ZBB
Zero-Base Budgeting

TQM
Total Quality Management

NPR
National Performance Review

Appendix B
A FRIEND in the South drops us a line—as we sum up what we can, to amuse our readers of every zone—that the winter, saving an overplus of rain, is the merest bagatelle of a winter; and I am writing by an open window, although it is well past the middle of December. The boys, black and white, are playing at marbles in the streets; and of the night-time are throwing off all manner of stray fireworks, in anticipation of the coming Christmas. It is rather a funny way you may think, of ushering in the great festive season of the year: but it is our way of proving a youthful light-heartedness that is earnest to make itself heard.

"By the way," he continues, "I can't say we altogether relish the manner in which 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' appears to be making its way, not only in England, but also, by last advice, upon the Continent. I don't wish you at all to think that we are insensible to such literary merit as certainly belongs to the book; but we are natural enough surely, that we, tied as we are by apparently insoluble ties to an institution that belongs to our families, and hearths, and childhood, and that has a sort of antiquity which commands reverence almost, in the persons of our old household servants, should look a little askance at such exhibition of it, as makes us play the monster in the eyes of all the society of Europe.

"I don't mean to enter now any special plea in favor of the system. But I want you, at least, and such as have regard for its whereabouts, to believe that we have hearts of flesh, like the rest of the world; and that we know how to be kind, and careful, and considerate toward those who, by the dispensation of Providence, are thrown under our hands and ownership.

"Pray, what can I do? Here are some thirty or forty poor fellows who have fallen to my lot, with a fair extent of ground in our pleasant pine country. They have been in my father's and grandfather's family for years. They are attached not only to the place, but to myself and to my wife. They throng about us when we go away, to bid us adieu; and they throng about us when we come back, to shout a most cordial welcome. Even 'Mamma,' the old nurse of the family, who held me for years in her arms, and John and Arthur who are now in their graves, scarce forbears to kiss me.

"They all work well, and they all live well; and it was with a eagery run against my better judgment to make sale of a single one, even to the kindest of masters. I believe sincerely that some of them would rather die than to learn the commonest of arts. Yet perhaps some people would count it virtuous in me to sell all of them, and go away from a country where this old 'plague-spot' is lingering. But I can not, and could not satisfy my conscience in doing this.

"What then can I do?"

"Nothing, sir, as it seems to me, save to make them as happy as possible, by encouraging systematic habits of industry, cleanliness, and correct moral action. To tell the truth, I am hoping very much for the time, when a little fuller and more complete civilization in the midst of our pine woods,

will draw very many people of the North to a winter residence under our balmy atmosphere; and then, please God, when we talk as friends about common grievances, over a common table, we may have to lay our shoulders together in a brotherly way for the amendment of whatever is wrong in our common country, whether it be Northward or Southward."

WASHINGTON, the papers tell us, is even now filling up with the firstlings of that tribe of office-seekers, who will presently overrun the capital. The old clerks who have fattened on the public granary, winning their insecure earnings by hard labor, are girding themselves up for a new cast upon the tide of life. It is at best a sorry maintenance for a man, which, at the longest, can barely outreach the four years of Presidential life; and which, at the expiration of such term leaves him, with mind and hand attuned to a clerkly organization that he can transplant nowhere.

Within our knowledge, we can recall the scant figure of an old gentleman of sixty, who, by courtesy and attention, had managed to retain place through three successive administrations—had reared his family through a dozen years upon the small income belonging to his post—saving nothing, and yielding much of independence in his endeavor to retain the place that gave bread to his household; and, at the opening of the fourth administration, when his head was white with labors, and his hand and brain cramped to his tired-nil offices, turned carelessly adrift, an aimless and almost hopeless wreck of a man. We can imagine no position more disconsolate, or more full of harassment; and we beg those concerned in the ordering of such matters, if it be possible, to arrange such disposition of the metropolitan clerkships, pertaining to the cabinets, as shall have some measure of permanence; and not invite that heedless scrambling for place, which breeds unsavory expectation, and which entails delusion and destitution.

We hear latterly of a pretty game upon the vanity of our provincial great men, which has greatly amused us, and which has greatly profited the projectors of the enterprise. Vanity is a capital mine to work; and cautiously drained, and dug over, it will yield equally well with any of the Sonora or Quarrymining companies.

Mr. A. B. (the projector in question) who is largely concerned in the arts of mezzotint and line engraving, writes a most pleasant and voluble letter about us when we go away, to bid us adieu; and they throng about us when we come back, to shout a most cordial welcome. Even 'Mamma,' the old nurse of the family, who held me for years in her arms, and John and Arthur who are now in their graves, scarce forbears to kiss me.

"They all work well, and they all live well; and it was with a eagery run against my better judgment to make sale of a single one, even to the kindest of masters. I believe sincerely that some of them would rather die than to learn the commonest of arts. Yet perhaps some people would count it virtuous in me to sell all of them, and go away from a country where this old 'plague-spot' is lingering. But I can not, and could not satisfy my conscience in doing this.

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"Nothing, sir, as it seems to me, save to make them as happy as possible, by encouraging systematic habits of industry, cleanliness, and correct moral action. To tell the truth, I am hoping very much for the time, when a little fuller and more complete civilization in the midst of our pine woods,
Appendix C
APPENDIX I.

AN EXAMINATION PAPER FOR CUSTOMS CLERKS.

Applicant's No. .

APPLICANT'S DECLARATION.

DIRECTIONS.—1. The number above is your examination number. Write it at the top of every sheet given you in this examination.
2. Fill promptly all the blanks in this sheet. Any omission may lead to the rejection of your papers.
3. Write all answers and exercises in ink.
4. Write your name on no other sheet but this.
   Place this sheet in the envelope. Write your number on the envelope and seal the same.

DECLARATION.

I declare upon my honour as follows:
1. My true and full name is (if female, please say whether Mrs. or Miss)
2. Since my application was made I have been living at (give all the places)
388 APPENDIX I.

3. My post-office address in full is

4. If examined within twelve months for the civil service — for any post-office, custom-house, or Department at Washington — state the time, place, and result.

5. If you have ever been in the civil service, state where and in what position, and when you left it and the reasons therefor.

6. Are you now under enlistment in the army or navy?

7. If you have been in the military or naval service of the United States, state which, and whether you were honourably discharged, when, and for what cause.

8. Since my application no change has occurred in my health or physical capacity except the following:

9. I was born at ——, on the —— day of ——, 188.

10. My present business or employment is

11. I swore to my application for this examination as near as I can remember at (town or city of) ——, on the —— day of ——, 188.

All the above statements are true, to the best of my knowledge and belief.

(Signature in usual form.) ——

Dated at the city of ——, State of ——, this —— day of ——, 188.

FIRST SUBJECT.

Question 1. One of the examiners will distinctly read (at a rate reasonable for copying) fifteen lines from the Civil-Service Law or Rules, and each applicant will copy the same below from the reading as it proceeds.

Question 2. Write below at length the names of fifteen States and fifteen cities of the Union.

Question 3. Copy the following precisely:

"And in my opinion, sir, this principle of claiming monopoly of office by the right of conquest, unless the public shall effectually rebuke and restrain it, will effectually change the character of our Government. It elevates party above country; it forgets the common weal in the pursuit of personal emolument; it tends to form, it does form, we see that it has formed, a political combination, united by no common principles or opinions among its members, either upon the powers of the Government or the true policy of the country, but held together simply as an association, under the charm of a popular head, seeking to maintain possession of the Government by a vigorous exercise
of its patronage, and for this purpose agitating and alarming
and distressing social life by the exercise of a tyrannical party
proscription. Sir, if this course of things cannot be checked,
good men will grow tired of the exercise of political privileges.
They will see that such elections are but a mere selfish contest
for office, and they will abandon the Government to the scram-
ble of the bold, the daring, and the desperate." — Daniel Web-
ster on Civil Service, in 1832.

Question 4. Correct any errors in spelling which you find in
the following sentences, writing your letters so plainly that no
one of them can be mistaken:

Unquestionably every federal officer should be able to spell
correctly the familiar words of his own language.

Lose her hankerchief and elivate her head immediatly or she
will spedly loose her life by strangelation.

SECOND SUBJECT.

Question 1. Multiply 2341705 by 23870 and divide the pro-
duct by 6789.
Give operation in full.

Question 2. Divide two hundred and five thousand two hun-
dred and five, and two hundred and five ten-thousandths, by
one hundred thousand one hundred, and one hundredth.

Question 3. Multiply $\frac{10}{3}$ by $\frac{7}{3}$ and divide the product by $9\frac{3}{4}$,
reducing the same to the simplest form.

Give operation in full.

Question 4. The annual cost of the public schools of a city is
$36,848. What school-tax must be assessed, the cost of collect-
ing being 2 per cent., and 6 per cent of the assessed tax being
uncollectible?

Give operation in full.

Question 5. Add $7\frac{2}{4}$, $\frac{5}{8}$ of $6\frac{3}{4}$, $8\frac{1}{3}$, $6\frac{1}{2}$ divided by $8\frac{1}{3}$, and re-
duce to lowest terms.

Give operation in full.

Question 6. The Government sold 3000 old muskets at $22\frac{1}{2}$
per cent. of their cost. The purchaser becoming insolvent paid
only 18 per cent. of the price he agreed to pay; that is, he paid
$900. What did each musket cost the Government?

Give operation in full.

Question 7. What will it cost to carpet a room 36 feet wide by
72 feet long with $\frac{3}{4}$ width carpet at $2.12$ per yard, including
cost of carpet-lining at 11 cents a square yard and 12 cents a yard for making and laying the carpet?

*Give operation in full.*

**Question 8.** A owned \( \frac{3}{4} \) of a ship and sold \( \frac{3}{4} \) of his share to B, who sold \( \frac{4}{5} \) of what he bought to C, who sold \( \frac{5}{6} \) of what he bought to D. What part of the whole vessel did D buy?

*Give operation in full.*

**Question 9.** A man bought a cargo of wool and sold seven thousand and forty-five ten-thousandths of it. How much had he left?

*Give operation in full in decimal fractions.*

**Question 10.** A merchant imported from Bremen 32 pieces of linen of 32 yards each, on which he paid for the duties, at 24 per cent, $122.88, and other charges to the amount of $40.96. What was the invoice value per yard, and the cost per yard after duties and charges were paid?

*Give operation in full.*

### Third Subject.

**Question 1.** On a mortgage for $3,125, dated July 5, 1880 (interest at 3\( \frac{1}{2} \) per cent), a payment of $840 was made April 28, 1881. What amount was due January 17, 1882?

*Give operation in full.*

**Question 2.** The Government sold an old vessel for $160,000, payable two fifths in eight months and the residue in seventeen months from the sale. What was the present cash value of the vessel, the current rate of interest on money being five per cent?

*Give operation in full.*

**Question 3.** Write a promissory note to be given by J. Brown to J. Smith, for 60 days, without grace, for $500, at 5 per cent interest, and state what amount will be due at maturity of the note.

**Question 4.** James X. Young, a contractor, had the following dealings with the Treasury Department: He furnished January 4, 1882, 14 tables at $16 each; June 6, 1882, 180 desks at $18.50 each; December 7, 1882, 150 chairs at $2 each, and July 18, 1883, 14 book-cases at $90 each. He was paid cash as follows: January 31, 1882, $224; June 80, $1,800; December 18, $800; and July 31, 1883, he was allowed on settlement $75 for cartage and charged $25 for breakages. State his account and show balance due.
EXAMINATION PAPER.

FOURTH SUBJECT.

Question 1. State the meaning of tense and of mood, and explain the difference between them in the English language or grammar.

Question 2. Correct any errors you find in the following sentences:

The boy done it, and he is as restless here as he will be if he was with you.

He had did it and spoke of doing it before we come here.

Question 3. Write a letter to Senator Jackson answering in full his letter of September 7 to the Secretary of the Treasury in which he asks: "How must my nephew proceed to obtain a clerkship in the Treasury Department, under the Civil-Service Law, and what are the requisite qualifications of a good clerk?"

FIFTH SUBJECT.

Question 1. Write without abbreviation the names of fifteen seaports of the Union.

Question 2. Name four of the principal tributaries of the Mississippi River.

Question 3. Bound the State in which you live.

Question 4. Which States are peninsular, and upon what waters are they situated?

Question 5. Name six of the principal railroads in the United States.

Question 6. Name seven of the leading agricultural products of the United States, and state in what section of the country each is most extensively cultivated.
Appendix D
I collect a few instances of legislation illustrating the tendency to extend State intervention and the scope of penal law:

New York provides that no guest shall be excluded from any hotel on account of race, creed (some had refused to receive Jews), or colour.

Wisconsin requires every hotel above a certain height to be furnished with fireproof staircases; and Michigan punishes the proprietors of any shop or factory in which the health of employees is endangered by improper heating, lighting, ventilation, or sanitary arrangements.

Michigan compels railroad companies to provide automatic car couplings. Other States direct the use of certain kinds of brakes.

Georgia orders railway companies to put up a bulletin stating how much any train already half an hour late is overdue; Arkansas requires this even if the train is only a few minutes late.

Wyoming requires railroads passing within four miles of any city to provide, at the nearest point, a depot where all local trains shall stop; while Arkansas forbids baggage to be tumbled from cars on to the platform at a depot; and Ohio permits no one to be engaged as a train conductor unless he has had two years' previous experience as trainhand.

Massachusetts forbids the employment of colour-blind persons on railways, and provides for the examination of those so employed.

Ohio requires druggists to place on bottles containing poison a red label, naming at least two of the most readily procurable antidotes.

Several States order employers to find seats for women employed in shops, warehouses, or manufactories.

Several States forbid any one to practise dentistry as well as medicine unless licensed by a State Board.

Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Illinois compel corporations to pay workmen weekly. (Massachusetts forbade employers to deduct fines from the sums payable by them for wages, but the Supreme Court of the State [by a majority] held the statute unconstitutional.)

Maryland institutes a "State Board of Commissioners of Practical Plumbing," and confines the practice of that industry to persons
licensed by the same. New York provides Boards of Examiners to
supervise plumber’s work.

Kansas punishes as a crime the making any misrepresentation to or
deceiving any person in the sale of fruit or shade trees, shrubs or bulbs;
and New Jersey does the like as regards fruit trees or briars.

Mississippi punishes with fine and imprisonment any legislative,
executive, judicial, or ministerial officer, who shall travel on any rail-
road without paying absolutely, and without any evasion whatever, the
same fare as is required of passengers generally.

Many States offer bounties on the raising of various agricultural
products or on manufactures, while California appropriates money for
the introduction from Australia of parasites and predaceous insects,
with a view to the extermination of a moth which injures orange trees.

Texas makes it a punishable misdemeanour to deal in “futures” or
“keep any ‘bucket shop’ or other establishment where future contracts
are bought or sold with no intention of an actual delivery of the article
so bought or sold,” while Massachusetts is content with making such
contracts voidable.

Michigan prescribes a system of minority voting at the election of
directors of joint-stock corporations; Kentucky prescribes cumulative
voting in like cases.

Pennsylvania forbids the consolidation of telegraph companies.

Ohio punishes by fine and imprisonment the offering to sell “op-
tions,” or exhibiting any quotations of the prices of “margins,” “fu-
tures,” or “options.” Georgia imposes on dealers in “futures” a tax
of $500 a year.

New York forbids the hiring of barmaids, and Colorado permits no
woman to enter a “wine room.”

Colorado, Kansas, and North Carolina make the seduction under
promise of marriage of any chaste woman a felony.

New York punishes with fine and imprisonment any person “who
shall send a letter with intent to cause annoyance to any other person.”

Virginia punishes with death the destruction by dynamite or any
other explosive of any dwelling, if at night, or endangering human life.

Kentucky makes it a misdemeanour to play with dice any game for
money, and a felony to keep, manage, or operate any such game.

Washington punishes any one who permits a minor to play at cards
in his house without the written permission of the minor’s parent or
guardian.

Oregon prohibits secret societies in all public schools; and California also
forbids the formation of “secret oath-bound fraternities” in public schools.

Maine requires every public school teacher to devote not less than
ten minutes per week to instruction in the principles of kindness to birds
and animals, and punishes any nurse who fails at once to report to a
physician that the eye of an infant has become reddened or inflamed
within five weeks after birth. Rhode Island in a similar statute fixes a
fortnight from birth and allows six hours for the report.

Illinois and Arizona forbid marriages between first cousins.

Virginia punishes with a fine of $100 the sale to a minor, not only of
pistols, dirks, and bowie-knives, but also of cigarettes. Twenty-four
other States have similar laws forbidding minors to smoke or chew tobacco in public. Arizona makes it penal to sell or give liquor to a minor without his parents' consent, or even to admit him to a saloon.

Several States have recently made the smoking of cigarettes a punishable offence.

Kentucky prohibits the sale of any book or periodical, "the chief feature of which is to record the commission of crimes, or display by cuts or illustrations of crimes committed, or the pictures of criminals, desperadoes, or fugitives from justice, or of men or women influenced by stimulants"; and North Dakota punishes the sale or gift to, and even the exhibition within sight of, any minor of any book, magazine, or newspaper "principally made up of criminal news or pictures, stories of deeds of bloodshed, lust, or crime."

Some States permit judges to hear in private cases the evidence in which is of an obscene nature.

Massachusetts compels insurance companies to insure the lives of coloured persons on the same terms with those of whites.

Oregon requires the doors of any building used for public purposes to be so swung as to open outwards.

Minnesota enacts that all labour performed by contract upon a building shall be a first lien thereon; and declares that the fact that the person performing the labour was not enjoined from so doing shall be conclusive evidence of the contract; while Iowa gives to all workers in coal mines a lien for their wages upon all property used in constructing and working the mine.

Alabama makes it penal for a banker to discount at a higher rate than 8 per cent.

Many States have stringent usury laws.

Pennsylvania forbids a mortgagee to contract for the payment by the mortgagor of any taxes over and above the interest payable.

Kentucky and some other States have been making strenuous (but imperfectly successful) efforts to extinguish lotteries. On the other hand, Nevada appears to have authorized one.

Some of the newer states by their constitutions, and many others by statutes, endeavour to destroy the combinations of capitalists called "Trusts," treating them as conspiracies, and threatening severe penalties against those concerned in them.

Laws purporting to limit the hours of adult male labour have been passed by Congress and in many States. None, however, appear to forbid under penalty overtime work, except as respects public servants (under the Federal Government, and in Massachusetts, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Colorado), the limit being 8 or 9 hours, railway servants (Maryland, New Jersey, Michigan), 10 to 12 hours, and coal-miners (Wyoming), 8 hours. These laws, in fact, amount to little more than a declaration that the number of hours mentioned shall (except as aforesaid) constitute a legal day's work in the absence of an agreement for longer service.

Congress and the legislatures of at least fourteen States have by statute created or provided for the creation of Boards of Arbitration in trade disputes, but have conferred very restricted powers for that purpose.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


