Accountability as Cultural Keyword

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Accountability as a Cultural Phenomenon

Words matter, and at any specified time and place some words matter more than others, not because they provide a stable foundation or focal point for our collective endeavors, but rather for the ambiguities and controversies they generate in our efforts to deal with a wide range of social, economic and political problems. Raymond Williams (1976; 1983) coined the phrase "cultural keywords" to designate those terms in a community's vocabulary that not only provide meaningful insights into the priorities and values of that society, but also play a significant role in creating the dynamic cultural milieu that connects and shapes important and problematic social arenas.[1] Thus, the significance of a cultural keyword does not come from the technical or narrow meaning of a term – i.e., the way it is defined in some authoritative source such as the dictionary – but rather from its "complex relations with other, similarly complex words" (Durant 2006, p. 4) within the dynamic cultural milieu in which it plays a central and often controversial role.

This paper focuses on a particular cultural keyword – *accountability* -- that, despite its absence from Williams' original list of 110 terms published in 1976 (or his revised and expanded list of 131 keywords published in 1983), would no doubt have been included in any revision he might have issued in the 1990s or later (Williams died in 1988).

In support of that contention, Figure 1a provides evidence of the growing frequency of the term's use in a sampling of books based on a million scanned

volumes drawn from works published in English (in the US and UK) between 1800 and 2010.[2] While accountability first appears in the plotted sample during the early 1800s, it remains a culturally innocuous term until the 1960s and 1970s, when we start to see a sharp and significant upturn in its usage. In contrast, many terms among Williams' original keyword lists (Figure 1b) show a decline in usage starting in the 1970s.

[Figure 1 HERE]

But accountability's claim to cultural keyword status starting in the past two or three decades is also based on *how* the term has been used in this period, for it has gone from a relatively narrow range of applications reflecting a simple sense of its meaning (typically indicating a condition where one party is answerable to another for some X) to an expansive, ambiguous and often enigmatic term with considerable cultural gravitas cutting across many cultural domains.

The indications of this development are literally everywhere. There is hardly any aspect of our lives that has not been touched by our growing obsession with accountability. We hold teachers accountable for the performance of their students, and presidents accountable for the state of the economy; we hold parents accountable for the behavior of their children, and police accountable for higher crime rates; we demand accountability for bankers who we believe caused a financial crises, and call for greater accountability when the potholes in our local roads go unrepaired. We react to all crimes and scandals
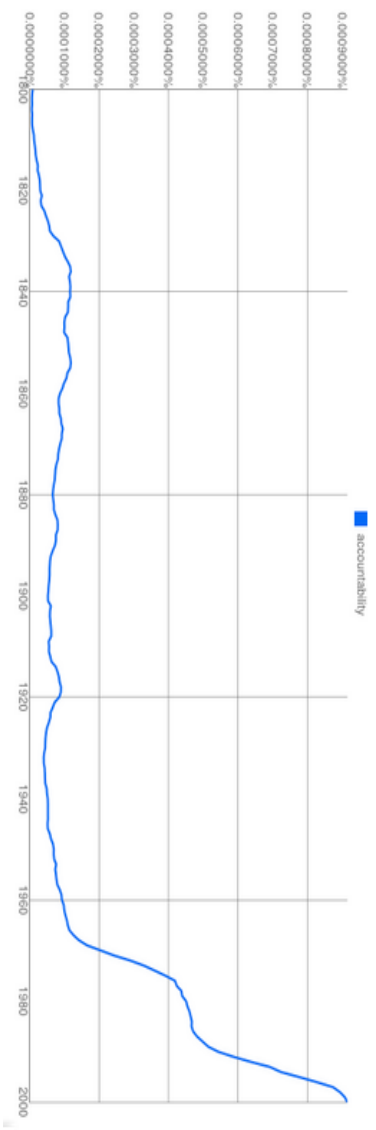
Figure 1a: Usage frequency of term "accountability," 1800-2000

accountability

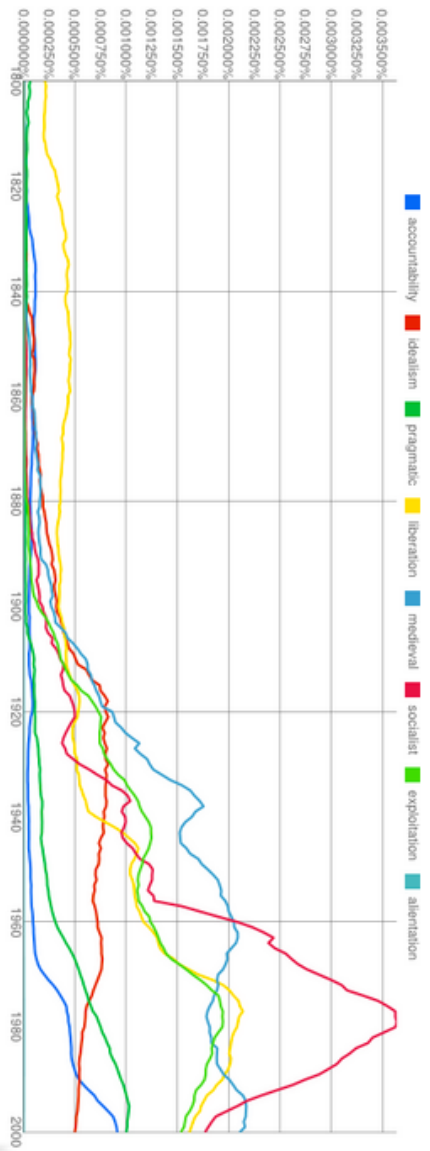Figure 1: N-gram analysis of "accountability" and selected cultural keywords, 1800-2000

Figure 1b: Usage frequency of selected "cultural keywords" (Williams 1983) and term "accountability," 1800-2000

Legend:
- accountability
- idealism
- pragmatic
- liberation
- medieval
- socialist
- exploitation
- alienation

Each of the terms (case sensitive) used in this figure are 1-gram units (unigrams). Usage frequency (vertical axis) is computed by dividing the number of instances of the n-gram unit in a given year by the total number of words in the corpus (number of scanned works) in that year. The corpus used here are scanned works published in English the US and UK for the years covered. See Michel et al. 2011.

(and even natural disasters!) by calling for someone to be held to account, and we expect there to be accountability systems in place to prevent the recurrence of just about any untoward behavior. When there is a problem, it is frequently blamed on the lack of accountability. When asked for solutions to problems, more accountability is likely to head the list. It is the rare news broadcast indeed that fails to mention accountability in at least one of its stories, and it is the rare politician who fails to include reference to accountability in her speeches or in his press releases.

Pervasive is one way to characterize our collective obsession with accountability. Pollitt and Hupe (2011) has classified it as one of the "magical words" shared widely by students and practitioners of governance.[3] To some critics the term "perversive" is a more fitting characterization. In her 2002 Reith Lectures for the BBC, philosopher Onora O'Neill was among the first to raise questions about the damaging influence of accountability, and particularly the way it is undermining social trust in institutions and the professions. A year earlier, in her Massey Lectures given for the CBC, Canadian political scientist Janice Gross Stein raised the specter of a more intrusive state comprised of a growing corps of "accountability police" committed to the imposition of standards in health care, education and other areas (Stein 2002, chapter 2). More recently, Matthew Flinders (2011) argued that the growth of accountability is associated with a decline in public confidence in our political institutions. But he also took note of the fact that his negative view of the growing influence of accountability

was a distinctly minority position, a fact reflected in the title of his piece: "Daring to be Daniel".[4]

But the relatively recent emergence of accountability to cultural keyword status is as puzzling as it is important for our comprehension of changes that are taking place in the domains of politics and governance. Here is a term that has been part of the modern governance paradigm for nearly a millennium (see Dubnick 1998 and below), but has only of late become the iconic manifestation of "good governance". While treated positively for decades as a desirable characteristic of the modern democratic states, there have been no new major theoretical breakthroughs in the study of politics or government that has pushed accountability to the foreground as the preeminent public value. Nor has its recent rise to global salience been the result of any coherent social movement or reformist ideology; in fact, the push for greater accountability seems to be a point of agreement in even the most partisan and divided political contexts. In that regard, accountability has truly become a "golden concept" (Bovens, Schillemans and 't Hart 2008).

Whatever the cause of accountability's emergence as a cultural keyword, there is little doubt that its newly gained importance as a cultural icon has transformed its form and function in governance and politics. Accountability is no longer merely a useful instrument to be pulled from the policy or management toolbox to deal with some specific problem. There is now the aura of legitimacy associated with its use, even if it is obviously an inappropriate instrument for the

job. In addition, over the past several decades there has developed a strong belief in the capacity of accountability to achieve some of our most highly valued objectives. Expressed as the "promises of accountability" (Dubnick and Frederickson 2011), these include unquestioned – and often unsubstantiated – assumptions that various forms of accountability will result in a more democratically responsive government, improvements in the efficient and effective performance of government agencies, a more ethical public sector workforce, and the enhanced capacity of government to generate just and equitable policy outcomes.

As to the alterations of form, within organizations and programs, the traditional bureaucratic mechanisms of accountability based on the creation of account-giving relationships and reporting protocols (e.g., see Kaufman 1961) have been replaced by even more dehumanizing impersonal high-stakes assessment programs driven by a logic of metrics designed to push performance forward with little consideration for the adverse impact such an approach is having on accountable agent (see Zuboff 1988 and Hummel 2008; also Ebrahim 2003, 2009).

In short, given its emergence as a cultural keyword, we can no longer rely on our knowledge of accountability in its older, simpler form. What we are dealing with is not merely a set of institutional arrangements or managerial mechanisms, but a cultural phenomenon that is dominating and consuming our traditional notions of governance. Our general objective here is to enhance our

understanding of this emergent form of accountability as it relates to the domains of governance and politics.

Williams' project had a similar purpose. His approach to the cultural keywords highlighted in his two editions was to provide short essays that explored the dictionary (most often the authoritative *Oxford English Dictionary*) entry of the term and elaborate further on their historical development, expanded usage, extended meanings and growing significance as cultural artifacts. Underlying his approach, however, was a methodological dilemma generated by the fact that he was simultaneously dealing with simple words that had attained the status of important cultural phenomena with considerable symbolic and affective value.

During the Cold War, for example, the act of calling someone a "socialist" could be a simple descriptive act, or (under certain circumstances) it can be part of a significant political performance with potentially negative social consequences for those being stigmatized with the appellation. Williams' essays attempted to bridge the demands of having to deal with the historical changes in the meaning of the word while articulating the term's emergence as a prominent keyword (see Durant 2006).

We face a similar dilemma in our efforts to understand accountability. The general approach taken here is to focus on the pedigree of accountability – that is, it historical roots and development – while analyzing its existence as an increasingly important feature of our contemporary political and governance cultures. Specifically, we consider accountability in three distinct but related cultural forms: as a word with definable characteristics; as a conceptual trope; and as a speech act.

Examining the pedigree of accountability in each of these cultural forms not only gives us insight into the broad dimensions and contemporary power of the term, but points as well to the barriers we face in attempting to understand this important keyword and it role in governance.

And Then There was "The Word"

There are three options open to those who would analyze the pedigree of any particular word. First, one can focus on the definitions offered in authoritative dictionaries or carefully collected from other sources. Second, we can explore the etymological origins of the word. Finally, we can seek insight through studies of a term's usage.

The definition: Seeking a definition for this "notoriously ambiguous" (Brooks 1995) term can prove very frustrating, and often results in adoption of a version that deemed best suited to the narrowly delineated topic at hand. Unfortunately, this tactic generates problems of conceptual omission or commission (cf., Keohane 2003).

We begin our search for meaning in the usual place, with the authoritative *Oxford English Dictionary*:

> The quality of being accountable; liability to account for and answer for one's conduct, performance of duties, etc. (in modern use often with regard to parliamentary, corporate, or financial liability to the public, shareholders, etc.); responsibility. Freq. with modifying word.

Three notable features of that definition include: (1) it is an abstract noun designating a immaterial "quality" or characteristic; (2) its definition is strongly tied to synonyms, i.e., liability, answerability, responsibility; and (3) it is often

accompanied by a "modifying word" that effectively renders it meaningful only in context. These points, individually and together, makes the task of defining accountability problematic at best.

The first problem is that upon close scrutiny one realizes that the definition begs the question of what constitutes "accountableness" rather than providing any substantive basis for a definition. What is the nature of that quality or characteristic? The state of "being accountable" would suffice if there was some way of characterizing that condition, but what we are provided is circular:[5] accountability is what it means to be accountable, and being accountable is what it means to possess accountability. This is a definition going nowhere, requiring reliance on the second feature of the definition: synonyms.

As we see below when addressing accountability as a concept, the OED definition's reliance on synonyms makes a good deal of sense in the attempt to develop a meaningful understanding of the term; but it is a weak basis for a definition that truly differentiates the word within the linguistic community. This is most evident when we try to deal with the word in translation or out of specific contexts.

Although English speakers take the term accountability for granted, few languages have an equivalent word. Until recently, romance languages translated accountability as "responsibility", and languages like Japanese and modern Hebrew relied on awkward transliterations when necessary (more on that point below). To be responsible — to possess the quality of responsibility — does not communicate what it means to be accountable, answerable, liable, obliged, etc. Synonyms are

often more similar than they are equivalent, and that gap (the dissimilarity) can prove troublesome, not only across language boundaries but also across contexts.

Which brings us to the third feature of the OED definition — its notation that the word accountability is frequently accompanied by a modifying term, e.g., political accountability, financial accountability, corporate accountability, legal accountability, etc. Here the word's definition is surrendered to its contextualized meanings, and thus to the various synonyms associated with those settings. In law, accountability is liability; in politics it is answerability and responsiveness; in finance and corporate governance, it is fiduciary relationships and fidelity; etc. Whatever substantive meaning might be in the word accountability is overwhelmed and subordinated to the demands of the specific task environment.

Interestingly, the three problems with the definition highlighted here can help explain the relative ease with which accountability was elevated to cultural keyword status. The lack of any inherent definable characteristic that can act as an anchor for the notion of accountability renders it vulnerable to assuming a broadened meaning tied to either the modifying contexts and or the synonyms with which the word is often associated.

Origins: Much insight can often be gained by turning to a word's etymology — a search for meaning in its origins and roots. But here too we confront an ambiguity fostered by the very structure (or morphology) of the word. Among students of etymology, a word such as accountability is regarded as a complex noun of two parts (e.g., in the OED, the adjective *accountable* + the suffix -*bility*) and the etymological task seems simple enough — find and combine the meaningful roots of

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each word. The next step, however, proves somewhat more challenging, for the word's roots tend to justify a much narrower sense of what accountability means than common contemporary usage implies.

For the adjective *accountable*, the roots are deep (Old French) and deeper (Latin). The deep roots are in the Old French, and are commonly cited as still another complex term, the verb *aconter* (*a-* + *conter*), to count, to reckon. This, in turn, is linked to the Latin verb *computare,* to compute or calculate. Taken literally, an accountable person is "able" (has the capacity) to offer an account or reckoning of some sort, and accountability can be seen in that rather limited light: as characterizing someone having the quality of being able to provide a response to those calling for a count or calculation.[6]

In basic terms, an accountable person is an "accountant" in the strictest, most literal and legalistic sense of that word[7]. The label was once formally applied to those individuals called to testify before the court because they maintained the books for an enterprise that was part of some legal dispute. If there is a sense of qualities usually attributed to the appellation "accountable person" (someone with accountability) —responsibility, obligation, liability, etc. — they are not inherent in the meanings derived from etymological roots. If there is any sense of designating someone with responsibility, it is the implication that the accountant will fulfill the role of offering the expected "count" on demand.

In this seemingly trivial exercise in etymology, an important point stands out: nothing in the word's origins supports its contemporary use as a higher standard by which to operate or judge individuals, groups, or nations. The characteristic of

accountability was narrowly associated with the actions of an individual engaged as a bookkeeper in the nascent professional of accounting.

Once again we can turn to the issue of translation equivalency to highlight the point. In French — the very language from which accountable and accountability are derived — the standard translations for both provide somewhat different meanings. In widely used dictionaries, the translation for accountable is *responsable*, a notable bow in the direction of meaning derived from standard English usage (see below). Look up the French translation for "accountability", however, and there is a more literal association with the Old French roots in the phrase *la reddition de comptes* — the rendering of accounts. One can hardly blame those compiling the translations in these dictionaries for the confusion this causes. Their choices reflect a term that is neither firmly defined by nor anchored in it etymological roots.

Usage: If neither dictionary definitions nor etymological analysis can help us with the meaning of accountability, we need to turn to pragmatics — the examination of meaning derived from usage. There are several analytic approaches to the study of word usage,[8] but under the heading of pragmatics are those that emphasize the role of context in shaping meaning.

The Google scanned books data (see Figure 1) can be used to indicate meanings derived from word usage at a more contextualized level. As noted in the comments about the definition of accountability, the term often derives its meaning from the adjectives it is associated with. Pursuing that logic, Figure 2 tracks the phrases "corporate accountability", "accountable government",[9] and "financial accountability" since 1890 using the English language corpus developed by the

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Google project team. The plotted patterns follow the more general trends in Figure 1 related to the unqualified term itself, but the findings also reflect some interesting variations related to the question of meaning. It is not surprising to see financial accountability emerge first and most prominently over this extended period, and we can speculate that there is some relationship between its first occurrence during a time characterized by our first major nationwide economic and banking crises. The phrase "corporate accountability" seems to have its initial boost during the 1950s when the power of corporations became a major issue, and given shifting political views during the 1960s, it is not surprising that government accountability starts to draw increasing reference during the 1970s. While the findings should be treated with caution given the nature of the dataset, each of these trend lines indicates just how sensitive the word accountability has been to political and economic conditions.[10]

[Figure 2 HERE]

Of course, noting increased frequency of usage is not the same as analyzing the meanings of words derived from such usage. The most common pragmatics approaches have been associated with the concept of "language games," a perspective developed by the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein in his later works (1968) that has had a profound effect on the study of what words "mean". As with other pragmatics approaches[11], the emphasis is on the role that context plays in determining the meaning of words and their related discourses. Moreover, he posits that there are many such games going on at any point in time and space — each

Figure 2: N-gram analysis of mediated forms of "accountability", 1890-2000

Figure 2: Usage frequency of mediated forms of "accountability," 1800-2000

Each of the terms (case sensitive) used in this figure are 2-gram units (bigrams). Usage frequency (vertical axis) is computed by dividing the number of instances of the n-gram unit in a given year by the total number of words in the corpus (number of scanned works) in that year. The corpus used here are scanned works published in English the US and UK for the years covered. See Michel et al. 2011.

creating a distinct world within which we operate, and in which we develop distinct understandings of what words and concepts mean.

The ontological implications of this perspective are significant, for in effect Wittgenstein asserts that there is no empirical "reality" to use as a reference point, only different realities reflected in — and shaped by — the language games each develops in specific social interactions.[12] It follows that the very idea that the meaning of some word or concept can be captured in a definition is absurd, and the problems of ambiguity and non-equivalance in translation are easily appreciated. Thus, the "chameleon-like" (Sinclair 1995) and "ever expanding" (Mulgan 2000) nature of accountability is just that — part of the nature of a word used in various language games.

There are many kinds of language games that use (and shape the meaning of) accountability, and those relevant to the present effort occur within the context of discourses and narratives about governance. While we use the terms in our daily lives, the concepts of "discourse" and "narrative" are analytic tools in the hands of linguists and philosophers[13] interested in human communication. For them, discourses are the most general form of language-based verbal communication produced as a means to generate a response from the receiving population.[14] Narratives are a particular form of discourse based on the use of "stories"[15] (broadly defined), and within the context of such stories of governance, we can see how the meaning of accountability has been altered from the core *OED* definition ("quality of being accountable") — a definition that all but disappears as the word is transformed through a variety of narrative means.

[Figure 3 HERE]

In some discourses, the word is *institutionalized* by being associating with constitutional and electoral arrangements designed to constrain and control the power of political authorities by rendering them more answerable and responsive. More than just mechanisms (see below), these arrangements provide a framework within which accountability is to be achieved, even if any or all the players involved lack (or never achieve) the "quality of being accountable". This is the discourse of democratic accountability, and the language game that takes place within it raises accountability to the level of the legitimizing standard (i.e., ends) for modern governance. It is supported by a narrative in which there is an implied promise that such arrangements will result in greater degrees of democratic governance.

In other discourses, accountability has been *mechanized* — that is, reconfigured as a means for facilitating control. While the institutional form is designed to achieve answerability, responsiveness, etc., here organizational arrangements (e.g., hierarchies, bureaucracies, audits, reporting) are designed to solicit obedience and greater efficiency. In this language game, to be accountable is to be subject to active control, but from the perspective of those charged with managing organizations, it fosters a positive narrative of control.

In a third type of discourse, accountability has been *juridicized* and incorporated into the language games of both criminal and civil legal systems as well as the formalized sanctioning process within organizations. Here the underlying narrative is that accountability produces justice for those victimized by malicious or damaging behavior.

Discourse focused on	Narrative	Accountability as	Examples
Institutionalization	Promise of democracy	Arrangements (usually constitutional) intended to constrain power and foster answerability and responsiveness of officials	Constitution making (Habermas 2001a, 2001b), Self-Restraining State (Schedler, Diamond & Plattner 1999); Accountability forums (Bovens 2007), Horizontal accountability (O'Donnell 1998)
Mechanization	Promise of control	Means used to oversee and direct operations and behavior within organized context.	Administrative control (Kaufman 1967); Bureaucratization (Eisenstadt 1959; Markoff 1975; Baron, Burton & Hannan 1999; Hummel 2008) Rules (Kaplow 1992), Reporting (Connolly & Hyndman 2004; Cooper & Owen 2007), Auditing (Ashton 1990; Power 1999; Schwartz & Sulitzeanu-Kenan 2002))
Juridicization	Promise of justice	Formalization (usually legal in nature) of rules and procedures designed to deal with undesirable and unacceptable behavior.	Formality (Stinchcombe 2001), Rulemaking (Kerwin 2003), Criminalization (Dekker 2011), Enforcement (Malone 2010); Truth & Reconciliation (Allan & Allan 2000; Sarkin 2000)
Incentivization	Promise of performance	Standards and metrics designed to influence behavior.	TQM (Zbaracki 1998); Performance measurement (Hatry 2006); Performance management (Dubnick 2005), Standards (Kassel 2008),

Figure 3: Discourses and Narratives of Accountability

In still another discourse, accountability has been *incentivized* — turned into a set of benchmarks or metrics against which performance is measured. Here, the meaning of accountability becomes the basis for assessment in an effort to promote (or force) adjustments in performance in order to demonstrate that one has become more accountable. The narrative is based on a view of human nature that assumes individuals will respond in a positive way to information about their performance.

What is interesting about these discourses is that they are frequently about more than descriptions of governance (public, private and third sector); they are also generating narratives of reform. Whether focused on attaining higher ends (democracy and justice) or basic means (facilitating control or enhanced performance), discursive forms of accountability is closely tied to efforts to bring about change and reflect views that accountability (however it is defined) is either lacking or insufficient under current circumstances. In this regard, within these language games, accountability carries the burden of being either the cause or cure for what ails the governance system.

We obviously learn a good deal more about the meaning of accountability by relying on pragmatics, most significantly that the word draws its meaningfulness not from its defined content, but from its context and functionality (or dysfunctionality) within the realm of modern forms of governance. Again, we can see that this tendency to be contextualized and fitted into different discursive formats helps explain why accountability was suitable of cultural keyword status. The question as to why it attained that status when it did remains unanswered.

Conceptualizing Accountability

As a cultural keyword, accountability is more than merely a distinct and "definable" term. It is also at the center of a powerful conceptual construct that plays a major role in how we perceive the operations of government. In this section we examine the nature of that conceptual construct to see if it can add to our understanding of the cultural primacy of accountability among that class of terms that shape our understanding of politics and governance.

We begin by returning to a central fact about the definition of the word accountability, i.e. it is a term characterized by an exceptionally high degree of synonymity. Whether we focus on the typical definitions or the efforts to translate this very English/anglican word, we find frequent reliance on several common synonyms — words that users or translators accept as sufficiently similar in "meaning" to substitute for accountability. What this synonymic condition implies is that our efforts to develop a meaningful understanding of accountability as a cultural keyword may require that we abandon our focus on the word per se and reset it on the more general **concept** of accountability that has emerged in recent years.

In its purest form, a synonym of one word is another term that can be used interchangeably with the first regardless of context. They are (again, in the strictest sense) identical in meaning. A "bachelor" is an "unmarried man", a "mother" is a "female parent", "car" is an "automobile", etc. But is accountability *identical* in this way to responsibility, liability, answerability, etc.? Not quite, especially in light of the contextual variation in usage of each of those terms. In our complex and

interconnected world, I can be responsible for some event (e.g., the marriage of two people who met on a bus because I did not take the seat between them) without being held to account for it (nor would I be liable for whatever miseries that might befall the couple in the years that follow). Nevertheless, there is some degree of overlap in meaning among these terms as they are put to use in everyday language games. They may not be synonyms in the "purist" sense, but they share a level or degree of synonymity.[16]

For our purposes, what is implied by the high degree synonymity characterizing accountability and related terms is the idea of a general conceptualization that ties them together despite their autonomous existence in various language games and discourses. In lieu of finding the pedigree of accountability in the word, perhaps we will find it in the conceptual category of terms of which it is part.

In its most basic use, a concept is defined as some basic unit of thought reflecting an "idea". In lexicography, it "constitutes an abstraction from a number of ideas about individual referents" that share something in common (Svensén 2009, p. 213). But to grasp the nature and importance of the concept of accountability, we need to go a bit further and determine how the associated terms relate to each other in a cultural sense.

Some analysts look for some core term around which conceptualizations develop as networks (Motter et al. 2002) or in hierarchical relationships (Wille 2002). Others see concepts emerging from a variety of metaphorical tropes (see

Morgan 1980, 1983), and for our purposes this approach proves most useful is providing insight to how the word accountability relates to its synonymic relations.

For example, the synonymic character of accountability is frequently treated metonymically, as if it is one among several interchangeable terms that roughly conveys the same meaning. We hear this conceptual device at work when reporters use the word accountability in lieu of more obtuse (at least for the layperson) terms such as legal liability or to communicate the meaning of fiduciary relationships. This approach is also reflected in efforts to find and apply appropriate translations of the term accountability, and has proven increasingly problematic as the demand for more precise language is required by and increasingly globalized economy. Thus, as Brazil became more active in the global economy and operated more and more within the legal frameworks established as part of the WTO, its trade officials and legal experts became frustrated by the lack of an equivalent term in Portuguese that captured the Anglo-American concept of accountability. The result was a successful effort to get the term accountability officially accepted as part of the formal lexicon.[17]

Another relevant metaphorical trope (synecdoche) would involve viewing accountability as part of a general family of terms that seem so closely related that any one could stand in as a meaningful representation of the more general concept that ties them together. Thus, since accountability is popularly perceived to be an inherent characteristic of democracy, it is not surprising to hear someone state that there is a lack of accountability in the policymaking process when they actually intend to highlight the lack of democratic openness or public input. This misdirected

use of the term accountability can result in confusion and misunderstandings in addition to inappropriate responses to the complaints. More significantly, the synecdoche approach begs the question of what more general concept accountability and its related terms are part of.

In addition, there remains the question of why, among this group of related synonyms, accountability currently holds such a prominent place. Certainly, there are other members of this synonymic class of words (e.g., responsibility: see Bovens 1998) that are not as parochial in their origin and are far more translatable across many languages. In addition, there are words in that synonymic class far more meaningful within specific domains as "terms of art" (e.g., liability in law). Nevertheless, at least within the past half century, it is accountability that has emerged as the salient concept – the keyword -- among this collection of concepts. One possible reason why the concept of accountability has become so prominent among its synonymic class may be its discursive association with what are perceived to be higher public values. As the concept of accountability became narratively intertwined with the promises of democracy, justice, efficiency (control) and greater administrative performance (see Figure 3), its status as a public virtue also rose, to the point that it has come to dominate its synonymic class of related concepts.[18] Whatever the relationship among the concepts in the past, the centrality of accountability is now well established.

As Mark Bovens (2010) has noted, accountability is more than a virtue; it is also a mechanism and instrument of administrative and political power that can be applied to bring about policy compliance as well as to force changes in governance.

Nevertheless, these two aspects of accountability are related. As a highly regarded (virtuous) public value, accountability has emerged as a moral force which can be — and often is — used to promote and foster the application of compliance mechanisms and instruments of change. This moral force can be brought to bear through both external pressure stressing the desirability of accountable governance (what Robert Nozick[19] called "moral pull") and managerial efforts to instill and internalize an ethical commitment to accountability within public agencies (i.e., "moral push").

In this regard, it would be a mistake to see the relationships among these related concepts as merely hierarchical or simplistically metaphorical. A more appropriate means for framing the current (keyword-based) relationship is through the substantive metaphor of genus and species, with accountability situated as the concept encompassing genus to which each species (sub-concept) relates. Such a scheme requires that we establish rules that define the relationship between accountability and its sub-concepts as well as articulate characteristics that distinguish among the different species. As illustrated in Figure 4, the different species can be sorted not only by the relevant settings within which they are likely to appear, but also by whether they are related to accountability through the process of moral push or moral pull.

[Figure 4 HERE]

This conceptual framing of accountability provides a broader sense of meaning than the earlier focus on definitions and etymology. It also addresses the enhanced (cultural) reach of the idea of accountability in recent decades, and its

	Legal Setting	Organizational Setting	Professional Setting	Political Setting
Moral Pulls	Liability	Answerability	Responsibility	Responsiveness
Moral Pushes	Obligation	Obedience	Fidelity	Amenability

Figure 4: Species of the Genus "Accountability"

elevated status within its family of synonyms. By viewing it within this genus-species framework, we are adopting the view that today the concept of accountability encompasses (rather than replaces) many of synonymic terms and ideas with which it has been associated. In common usage today, to be accountable is to be responsible, and amenable, and answerable, and obliged, etc. As important, this framing also provides a contextual basis for understanding the variations in what the concept of accountability means in various settings.

Here again the question arises as to how accountability attained its primary status among the class of synonymic terms. One explanation focuses on the fact that among the alternative terms, accountability was most compatible with the themes of the two major administrative reform movements that emerged during the 1960s and through the 1980s. First there were those who saw accountability as a means to make government more democratically responsive and socially responsible (e.g., the "New Public Administration"; see Marini 1971 and Frederickson 1976), and this was followed by a movement that regarded accountability as a vehicle for improving the performance and efficiency of government agencies and programs (e.g., the "New Public Management"; see Hood 1991, 1995; also Hood and Peters 2004). Driven to the intellectual center of those two powerful reform movements, it is little wonder that accountability became perceived as the predominant means for improving government.

There are other explanations as well. One possible answer is that in this "managerial age"[20] there is increasing awareness and appreciation of the utility of account-giving mechanisms and means within large organizations. Another

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response is to attribute the rise of accountability — particularly in its democratic form — to developmental historical trends that have led to its inevitable emergence as a standard of human progress.[21] Still another explanation relies points to globalization and a growing belief in (and often fervent commitment to) the primacy of accountability in the movement toward "good governance" in developing as well as developed nations.[22]/[23]

Finally, while the genus-species metaphor provides a coherent way to view the relationship of accountability to its related sub-concepts, it leaves little room for considering challenges to its primacy that are likely emerge from time to time. The reality, however, is that cultural keywords are subject to challenge and change. Planning, for example, would probably had made Williams' cultural keyword list in the 1920s and 1930s, but after several decades of prominence it lost its value as a central theme in the political and governance cultures (see Dahl and Lindblom 1953; also Scott 1998). Accountability can also lose it privileged position, perhaps to the reemergence of some classic keywords such as efficiency or (more likely) the idea of governance that has gained significant prominence with the academic community but has not become part of the more general culture. But at present there is little doubt that the conceptualized notion of accountability has a formidable hold on the way we think about government and politics.

Speaking of Accountability

While pedigree analysis implies the exploring of historical roots, our examination of the word and concept of accountability has thus far lacked much

historical depth. This is in large part due to the fact (reflected in part in Figure 1) that accountability is a relatively "modern" concept with written citations barely in evidence before the early 19th century. Which brings us to an interesting observation about the number of scholarly works that discuss the role of accountability in the governance of many ancient regimes as well as in other non-modern contexts.

Surprisingly elaborate forms of what we today regard as accountability-based governance have been noted to exist in ancient civilizations as different and dispersed as imperial China, Zoroastrian Iran, Mesopotamia, ancient Egypt, the Greek city states, and ancient Israel.[24] Among anthropologists, examples abound of field studies highlighting the work of accountability-like relationships in social groups from families and "primitive" tribes to modern organizations — most without any formal structures devoted to what is traditionally assumed to be "government" institutions.[25] As discussed below, it is also possible to trace the lineage of today's accountability regimes to the period from the 10th to the 12th centuries when the modern notion of government was in its nascent stages.

To deal with this open question as to the history of accountable governance, we need to shift our attention once again, this time from the concept of accountability to an even broader notion that takes into consideration the impact of its affective nature as a speech act that transcends historical boundaries.

In the study of linguistics (and the philosophy of language), some words are more than mere symbols or "signifiers" used as a meaningful reference to some

object or subject. There are words—and concepts—that function as what are termed speech acts.

At times, the utterance of words can be regarded as meaningful actions unto themselves, as when a parent screams "Don't!" to a child about to do something dangerous. These utterances, of course, imply a more elaborate warning (e.g., "Don't put your finger in that electrical outlet!"), and often they require a more fully developed sentence (e.g., the word "pass" is a speech act in the sentence "Pass the salt, please."). In the jargon of speech act linguists, the utterances "pass" and "don't" are locutionary.

Beyond the locutionary utterance, students of speech acts deal with statements that represent the performance of an action, i.e., performatives. The utterance "I promise to uphold the law" or "You have my full commitment" involve acts that require not only an utterance by the speaker, but an assumption that those hearing the utterance believe it to be credible. Such performatives are called illocutionary.

Finally, there are certain types of speech acts—termed perlocutionary—that reflect (and are constructed upon) the preexistence of some understanding on the part of the hearer regarding the likely consequences of the utterances. When a government official in charge of tax collection states "Every citizen has an obligation to pay taxes," the statement does more than declare a random opinion; it also triggers a sense of what consequences might follow if it is not acted upon. In a sense, the perlocutionary statement combines both a locutionary act ("You are obliged!") with an illocutionary act ("to pay taxes"), but at a level of mutual understanding

which requires no further elaboration to initiate the desired consequence e.g., fear generated by the implied threat of what happens to those who do not meet their obligation to pay taxes.

Whether taken as a distinct word or (more appropriately) as a general concept, accountability as applied in the realm of governance has assumed all three forms of speech acts. While only awkwardly reduced to "give an account of your actions," the concept has many imperative forms that are clearly locutionary: "Report!", "Answer!", "Respond!". Put in less demanding syntax ("Please be prepared to report on our finances," or "You might be asked to respond to some queries"), accountability is no less a speech act (in these instances, more illocutionary).

In recent years, the illocutionary (performative) meaning of the word accountability has taken an even more significant turn as the word has developed into a cultural keyword with considerable rhetorical and emotional power.[26] As Murray Edelman pointed out in a number of classic studies,[27] there are words, labels, and symbols that, when used in relevant contexts, can generate political responses from the mobilization of mass movements to the acquiescence of public opinion. Accountability — as both word and concept — has emerged, over the past three decades at least, as a prime example of Edelman's thesis. Hardly a day goes by that one does not hear some reference to accountability in news reports, and it is the rare government report, think tank analysis or political speech that does not use accountability as a performative speech act (cf., Pollitt & Hupe 2011).

Moreover, despite its anglican roots, the illocutionary power of the utterance accountability has become a significant feature of our increasingly globalized political language. This has been fostered, in part, by the emergence of English as the primary language of international relations, especially with regard to the technical and legalistic provisions of trade agreements (e.g., NAFTA, GATT, WTO) and other global institutions (Crystal 2003). The growth and expansion of the "good governance" movement has been even more important, for it has elevated accountability to the level of a standard measure for determining the legitimacy and viability of national regimes. In a real sense, accountability has become an iconic symbol — the gold standard — of national credibility in the international arena.[28]

But what of the evidence that non-modern regimes were characterized by well established systems of accountability? Are those observations merely a reflection of scholarly bias as historians and anthropologists inadvertently apply a modern conceptual lens to the historical record? Or has accountability in some other form always been an aspect of ancient and non-modern governance? If our pedigree analysis of the term accountability and its conceptual construct has not proven useful, perhaps focusing on the speech acts that underlie accountability-based behavior can.

To test this approach, I focus on what can be regarded as the circumstances that might have marked the emergence of the modern concept of accountability. The place is England and the year is 1085. William the Conqueror has just returned to England after an extended absence (attending to the demands of his Normandy duchy) to find considerable turmoil that threatened to undermine his hard-won for

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kingship. In addition to reasserting his primacy through force of arms, William took an additional step that, in hindsight, seems central to what would eventually become the early modern state.

To make sense of how William approached the problems he faced in England, one has to understand the Norman approach to governance that has developed since (as conquering Norsemen) they took hold of the northwestern French duchy in the 10th century. Building on the feudal concept of fealty,[29] the Norman rulers did more than require fidelity from the very top levels of the conquered feudal hierarchy; they required all property-holding individuals to take an oath of fealty directly to the conquering duke rather than indirectly through their local lord. This arrangement both undermined the feudal system (which tended to dispersed power) while leaving it intact through reliance on its basic component of a oath-generated fealty at all levels. Put simply, whatever oaths bound vassals and other subordinates to local lords were trumped by the more general commitment made to the duchy. Thus, while William and his predecessor dukes had faced challenges from both within and outside Normandy, they sustained and strengthened their rule through a strongly held oath fealty that required, among other things, a reckoning of accounts *(compte rendu)* by subordinates when they were called upon to do so.

Transferring such a system to an already highly "uncentralized" feudalistic structure[30] in England was no mean feat, and, in all probability, it would not have happened without the all encompassing conquest that was initiated in 1066 and lasted for many years thereafter. But as evidenced by the conditions that prevailed upon his return in 1085, conquest by force of arms was proving insufficient to

sustain his kingship for himself and his successors. Previous English kings were hardly "rulers" in the sense of that term today, and any effort by the pre-Norman Crown to assert a claim of direct authority would likely meet with indifference unless it served the purpose of the various feudal lords who comprised the English "realm".

William did, however, attempt to use the Norman approach – and approach which was essentially based on a oath-taking speech act. After reasserting his dominance through coercive means, in December 1085 he ordered the now widely acclaimed census of his conquered realm that (in composite) is called the Domesday Book. Hastily organized and hardly a worthy model of consistency in method or measure, the ongoing census was sent to Salisbury where, in August 1086, William convened a gathering of his vassals, as well as "land owning men of any account," for the purpose of both acknowledging the claims he had on all items enrolled in the census and swearing an oath of fealty to him and his royal house. This Oath of Salisbury — backed by the implied threat of putting down any counter claims — stands as the foundation for accountability as a perlocutionary speech act central to the development of modern governance.

Of course, those in attendance at Salisbury are likely to have understood quite clearly the implications of William's demand for fidelity. It did involve a strongly implied threat. At the same time, the speech act of declaring an oath was no mere formality. It had meaning at a sacramental level that is difficult for most of us to imagine.[31] Thus, it not only represented an acknowledgment of William's

dominant position, but also provided a firm foundation for the Crown to take action against anyone who broke with the sacrament.

It should be emphasized that, even with the power of oath-taking at play, it took more than a century for the supporting infrastructure for accountability (e.g., various "administrative" offices such as tax collectors and repurposed sheriffs) to develop and become institutionalized.[32] Nor was this Norman approach to governance limited to England, for we find evidence of similar consolidations of kingship authority[33] in France and Sicily where Norman influence was substantial. While the historical narratives might vary, it seems reasonable to assume that the creation of accountability-like perlocutions played a significant role.[34]

Stepping back from this particular historical case, it is possible to see the same kind of dynamic at work in other periods. Which leads to *a conjecture: wherever there has been conquest and/or the need to (re)establish rule and authority — whether in ancient, medieval or modern societies — there has been an effort to do so by instilling in the collective psyche of those subject to rule a sense of obligation, responsibility, commitment, or other forms of attachment associated with the concept of accountability*. For many societies this has been accomplished through the use of oaths and religion or sacred myths.[35] For other, more secular regimes, it is often tied to the establishment of legitimacy.[36] Michel Foucault's concept of governmentality,[37] insofar as it focuses attention on the internalized knowledge and norms of individuals and entire populations, is also relevant in this regard. Implied in each of these perspectives are perlocutionary speech acts that foster an accountability-like disposition.

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As noted, there is a growing body of work on the role that accountability played in ancient civilizations and pre-modern societies. It is possible that these studies reflect little more than imposition of an "accountability" lens on known but highly interpretable facts about operations of governance in those contexts. If that is the case, we are in danger of distorting those historical facts to fit our modern framework and perspective.[38] Therefore, at this juncture, the case for tracing the pedigree of accountability as a speech act is best seen as a conjecture requiring further examination.

And yet, a seemingly unrelated line of research seems to add credibility to the accountability-as-cultural-speech-act thesis. The growing interest in moral psychology and complementary work of neuroscientists has generated findings that may support the contention that accountability is rooted not in institutions and mechanisms of compliance which most students of governance are obsessed, but rather in our emotional and affective responses to words, concepts, and associated behavioral relationships.

This is not a new idea. In 1759, Adam Smith observed that a "moral being is an accountable being" — a statement that can be regarded as the core idea upon which a social and ethical theory of accountability can be constructed.[39] In various forms, similar observations have been central to the work of philosophers and social scientists for generations.[40] What this implies is that accountability is more than a contemporary cultural phenomenon, and may in fact be more fundamental to social and political life than we imagine. If this is the case, then a study of accountability as

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a cultural phenomenon requires us to rely on more than just the kind of pedigree analysis associated with the exploration of keywords.

Conclusion – or maybe not....

In the study of accountability -- as well as of governance in general -- an obsession with concepts and meaning is often dismissed as esoteric at best, and a wasteful academic exercise at worse. Accountability is what we think and say it is, the argument goes, so why inject bothersome but inconsequential trivialities into the process? Isn't it enough to operate with a mutual understanding as to what accountability means in the present case or circumstance?

There is much to be said for such criticisms, especially in light of the relatively minimal impact such studies have had on the use of accountability in the practice of governance. *What accountability "really means" more often than not has little to do with what it means to be perceived as accountable or to feel accountable.*[41] The fact that most efforts to deal with the meaning of accountability tend to be driven by an explicitly critical agenda — both politically, as in the case of opposition to programs such as No Child Left Behind; and philosophically, as in the case of post-modern critical theories — have pushed such studies to the periphery of the academic "mainstream," thus limiting their accessibility to wider audiences.

Nevertheless, there is significant value to continued exploration of those concepts and (in particular) "cultural keywords"[42] that play such a central role in how we think about and conduct governance in the public, private, and nonprofit arenas. A critical perspective, no matter how annoying or seemingly esoteric, can

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raise questions and issues about widely accepted practices of governance that might otherwise be overlooked.[43] They can also highlight underlying assumptions that help explain why accountability-based programs and policies often fail to achieve their intended goals.[44] Perhaps most important in the long run, they can act as an intellectual check on the tendency to overcommit to accountability (whether in the form of new public management or good governance) as THE solution to all or many of the problems of modern governance.[45]

That said, the intent of this particular exercise was focused less on critique than on a more general exploration of accountability seen in the light of cultural studies. The salience of accountability in today's governance arrangements and our daily lives is an established fact, and we function within this world of accountability as if we comprehend and fully grasp its operations and implications. But scratching the surface of accountable governance through an analysis of meaning and (in the present instance) pedigree indicates that we know little about what lies beneath the rhetoric. At some point — and the present is as good as any — we need to develop a more thorough understanding of just what we are engaged in when we submit to the urge to render all things "accountable." In short, we need to develop a useful theory of accountable governance that will inform our future choices.

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1 On the power of words in different contexts, see Bourdieu 1991, Tambiah 1968, and

2 This analysis is based on books scanned by Google as part of its effort to digitize the holdings of major libraries; see http://www.google.com/googlebooks/library.html. A major sub-project aimed at facilitating the use of data generated by the Google Books Library Project is reflected in the "N-Gram" initiative explained at http://books.google.com/ngrams/info. See Michel, et al. 2011 for further elaboration.

3 In addition to accountability, Pollitt and Hupe focus on "governance" and "networks". What these magical words share is a "high degree of abstraction, a strongly positive normative charge, a seeming ability to dissolve previous dilemmas and binary oppositions and a mobility across domains...."

4 Also see Ebrahim 2005 on the "myopic" nature of accountability with organizations.

5 See Burgess 2008 for the case for circularity in definitions.

6 The relationship of accountability to its Old French roots is clearer in Samuel Johnson's 1755 *A Dictionary of the English Language* in which he defines the word "comptible" as "ready to give an account". He notes the reference source as Shakespeare (Johnson 1755).

7 Originally (c. 15th century), in British law the term "accountant" designated any "defendant in an action of account" (i.e., anyone capable of being held to account in matters of trust, such as in financial relationships). By the 16th century it was used to designate anyone (defendant or witness) who made a living through the keeping of accounts; eventually the designation was applied to those legally certified as accountants (in contrast to bookkeepers). See Garner 2011, p. 117.

8 The Google book scan project cited earlier (see Figure 1) has opened up the possibility of a more empirically based examination of word usage that goes beyond mere frequency counts; see Michel et al. 2011. At this juncture, however, the capacity to find credible and reliable associations

among words and ideas is limited, and the significance of the analysis should be approached with caution.

9 The phrase entered into the viewer was government accountability, but that was integrated by the program with the more commonly used "accountable government".

10 For still another indication of usage patterns, we sought to find out if the word accountability — not in any translated form or transliterated — appeared in foreign language books that are part of the Google Books database. Again, with all due consideration for the limitations of this measure, it was clear that the word had crossed language barriers and become part of the discourse in at least three European languages: French, German and Spanish. Clearly during the post-World War Two period, but especially since the early 1970s, the word itself has become globalized — the result, perhaps, of Anglo-American dominance of the legal aspects of globalization as well as its influence in other aspects (cultural, social and political) of the constantly expanding international arena.

11 On the pragmatics approach, see Stalnaker 1970. While the term "semantics" is understood widely, the term pragmatics is not and suffers from confusion with pragmatism. The terms are part of a foundational trichotomy first articulated by Charles Peirce and elaborated on by philosopher Charles Morris; Sayward, 1974.

12 While the idea of language games has been applied broadly at the level of disciplines and fields characterized by paradigms (Astley and Zammuto 1992), Wittgenstein limited his examples to very detailed instances of social interactions and events (Mauws and Nelson 1995).

13 For a general overview of the logic and structure of discourse and narrative analyses, see Brockmier and Harre, 1997.

14 For example, a classic distinction in discourse studies is between the dialectical and rhetorical forms. Dialectics is a form of discourse designed to generate knowledge and truth, while rhetoric is intended to persuade. The classic text on this, of course, is Aristotle's On Rhetoric (1991).

15 On the nature of narratives and their relationship to language games, see Rudrum 2005

16 Attention to issues of synonymity and meaning reached fever pitch during the late 1940s and through the 1950s. The debate that took place was the result of questions raised about "meaning" among former members of the Vienna Circle. See Reichenbach 1951. Among the more elaborate explications was presented by Rudolf Carnap (1955) in which he distinguishes between meanings derived from "extension" and "intension", with the latter focused on synonymic meaning.

17 Brazil (and Portugal as well) has empowered some institutes and academic entities to oversee and regulate the formal Portuguese lexicon.

18 There is historical precedent for this situation in parliamentary systems in which the concept of "ministerial responsibility" became the standard measure of what we would today term "good governace"; see Barberis 1998; also Flinders 2002, 2002a

19 See his elaborate discussion of ethics in {Nozick, 1981, #2730}.

20 Perhaps no one individual is more closely associated with the rise of managerialism than Peter Drucker, whose work from the early 1950s onward (see Drucker, 1954, 1999) gave intellectual shape and direction to this age. One of his most articulate reflections on the age of management is found in Drucker, 1987.

21 This neo-Hegelian view is represented in the work of Francis Fukuyama; see especially Fukuyama 2011).

22 On the emergence of this and related ideas, see Weiss, 2000. Also see Finkelstein 1995 and Dingwerth and Pattberg 2006 on the broader concept of global governance.

23 Of course, there has been some push back among those who began to see the damage our overwhelming preoccupation with accountability has wrought (O'Neill 2002; Flinders 2011; also Stein 2002). But because of it emergence as a powerful cultural keyword, such complaints about having to deal with "too much" accountability do not get as much attention as they deserve.

24 This point is made explicitly by S.N. Eisenstadt about "Axial civilization" that "crystallized" during the thousand years from 500 BCE through the first centuries of the Common

Era; see Eisenstadt 1981, 2011. Other relevant studies of accountability in ancient civilization are found in Carmona and Ezzamel 2007; Elster 1999; Ezzamel 1997; Roberts 1982; and von Dornum, 1997.

25 Leighton and Kluckhohn, for example, found a strong "shame culture" among the Navajo which kept various actors in check, while a study of the Yahgan relted to the power of a form of "public opinion" as the basis for enforcing tribal order and rules (both cited in Friedrich and Morton 1968). Other major studies in this regard can be traced to Evans-Pritchard's (1940) work on the Nuer of Sudan. His work laid the foundation for the work of Mary Douglas and her comparative cultural work on blame and risk (see Douglas 1992) which, in turn, is the basis for cultural theory; see Thompson et al., 1990.

26 On the emotive power of words, see Macagno and Walton 2008; also Stevenson 1937}.

27 For example, see Edelman 1971, 1977, 1988.

28 It seems to share that status with "transparency" (another candidate for keyword status) and "democracy" (one of Williams' original keywords) — although one would have a difficult untangling those three symbols of national standing in the international arena.

29 Historians of medieval Europe find the notion of "feudalism" to be highly contested, and this analysis is offered with that caveat in mind. See {Barendse, 2003, #64294; White, 1975, #70783; Brown, 1974, #44121; Hyams, 1997, #45691}.

30 See the description in {Warren, 1984, #23829}. Also see {Campbell, 1975, #88607}.

31 See {Agamben, 2010, #93506}. The the historical power of auths, see {Spurr, 2001, #13818}.

32 Other factors were at work that would lead to the demise of the traditional feudal system, and the developing mechanisms of kingship filled a growing void {Thorne, 1959, #110401}.

33 On the rise of the "administrative kingship," see {Hollister and Baldwin, 1978, #9466}.

34 Paul Ricoeur's attempt to trace the pedigree of the French legal concept of responsibility provides a more generic description of the process involved. For him, the key act is that of "imputing" an obligation (or prohibition) based on some action by an agent, and if the obliged act is not completed — or the prohibited act is committed — such acts are "put on" the individual's "account" as something for which he or she can be held responsible. In an elaborating note Ricoeur highlights the major role played by the "metaphor" of an account in this process. See {Ricœur, 2000, #3081, pp. 15-16}.

35 The classic study of the role of myths in society is {Frazer, 1951, #1208}; on the "sociological function" of myths, see {Campbell, 1970, #117104}.

36 See, for example, {Bendix, 1978, #77308}.

37 {Foucault, 1991, #4169}; also {Rose, 2000, #12959}.

38 See {Popper, 1989, #77195; Popper, 1994, #54780}.

39 For a preliminary exploration of this view, see {Dubnick, 2010, #52079. The quote is from the first edition of *The Theory of Moral Sentiments,* Part III, Chapter 1; {Smith, 1759, #3480}. It reappears in various forms in all later editions except for the 6th (1790).

40 Among philosophers, accountability or a somewhat similar is the focus of considerations of how individuals are shaped by their relationships with the "Other"; for a recent version, see {Butler, 2005, #51628}. Among social scientists, one can make the case that works from grand social theories (e.g., Parsons) to behavioral economics (e.g., Kahneman, Thaler, Aierly) are closely related to Smith's central premise.

41 It is not surprising that the growing body of work on accountability in psychology and organization behavior has drawn most of the attention; see {Tetlock et al., 2007, #104884; Hall et al., 2007, #17186; Hochwarter et al., 2005, #14727}.

42 The term is used here in the cultural studies sense; see {Williams, 1985, #3934}.

43 For excellent example, see {Humphrey et al., 1993, #9618; Miller, 1994, #4338}; also {Rose, 1999, #3147, pp. 150-155}.

44 See the discussion of the"promises of accountbility" in {Dubnick, 2003, #4129; Dubnick, 2003, #4610; Dubnick and Yang, 2011, #103148}.

45 Recent history is strewn with the corpses and adverse consequences of administrative reforms elevated to the level of ideology. See, for example, {Wildavsky, 1973, #14901}.