

**THE 9 DIMENSIONS OF THE SOUL:
ESSENCE AND THE ENNEAGRAM**

By David Hey

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Reviewed by Jerry Wagner

In his book, *The 9 Dimensions of the Soul*, David Hey organizes each chapter by describing the particular essence of that Enneagram style, the fixation, how we might experience that type in ourselves, how to recover the lost essence of that type, how to reintegrate that essence, how to go about healing the woundedness of that style, what that type is like as a leader (for better and for worse), what an organization looks like that embodies the culture of that style, how to work with that type, and the collective expression of that style as expressed in different countries.

Hey begins his book by reflecting on his own life and remembering how the Enneagram provided answers to questions that were burning in him for many years. What the Enneagram revealed to David was the value and meaning of essence: "At the core of each of the personality types of the Enneagram there is an essential quality, an important aspect of our Being, which got diminished, distorted or disowned in the process of growing up."

Of all the pieces of the Enneagram puzzle, I have found the *essential qualities* of the Enneatypes to be the most esoteric and difficult to understand and describe. I'm vague about what these qualities are, but have no problem understanding the fixations of each type, as it appears I've made contact with all of them. I suppose one needs to experience these essences in order to grasp them, which is a sorry commentary on the state of my psyche.

It might also be that as we arise into the "higher reaches of human nature," as Abraham Maslow put it, we become more free, open, spontaneous, undetermined, and thus harder to control and categorize. Whereas when we descend into the downside of our type, we become more rigid, fixated, invariable, and so much easier to outline and predict.

I prefer that interpretation. Either way, I find Hey's portrayals and metaphors of the essential qualities help me realize better what these "nine dimensions of the soul" are like. I find his depictions of the fixations even clearer, perhaps for the reasons I stated above. I liked his reflections on the childhood dynamics of each type, and I thought his parallels between Mahler's stages of childhood development and the loss of essence and corresponding fall into fixation of each type quite insightful. I believe David is following A.H. Almaas in using Mahler's model.

I asked David Hey about the origin of the essences and their labels and colors, such as *Pink Essence* and *Gold Essence*. He said the essences are derived from the *Lataifs* of the Sufi chakra system. Almaas got them from the books of Ibn' Arabi and his translator Henry Corbin and brought them up to date by integrating them with modern psychology. Almaas added some qualities and David changed a few of the labels. For example, *Rainbow Essence* was originally *Point of Light*. For David there are two qualities that relate to each personality style. While Almaas uses these original qualities that were more like attributes of the divine to depict the *Holy Ideas* in his book *Facets of Unity*, David lines up the personality types with the qualities of essence.

I think the “focus of convenience” (George Kelly’s term) of the Enneagram is the individual psyche. When you expand this focus to include countries, cultures, and groups, you are going outside this range of convenience. So it gets a little “iffy” when you attempt to type groups. Nonetheless I think David’s reflections on the archetypal collective expressions of the Enneatypes as found in particular countries provide additional insights into the strengths and weaknesses of the individual psyche. When you magnify a quality or see it writ large in a community, you can see the smaller version more clearly. This is an old Gestalt therapy trick for heightening awareness.

To give the reader the flavor of this book, I am going to summarize David Hey’s thesis and his exposition of that thesis in the nine Enneagram types. In doing this, I will use many of Hey’s own words. What follows is my editing, but it’s all David’s ideas and expressions. Hopefully you will want to get the whole pie instead of just these sample slices.

Essence refers to the different qualities of Being, which is our true nature. And essence defines the different aspects of our true nature. The Enneagram is about essence and being and our subsequent separation from essence and being. The different qualities of essence are specific dimensions of being.

The *fixations* are the fixed attitudes of each personality type. They constitute different psychological styles of protection and defense. Our fixation represents a unique form of separation from essence. To try to get rid of our personality type or deny our fixation is a losing proposition. We can’t fight the ego directly. It is through the understanding of essence that we can begin to rightly understand our fixation and begin to loosen the grip it has on us.

With each *stage of childhood* development there is an experience of essence. For example Enneatype Eight, the *Boss*, strongly experiences the *Red Essence* (Strength) in the separation phase of childhood (6-12 months of age). The little Eight also experiences limitations on his or her freedom to explore, which results in anger and a preoccupation with control. Eights both experience this *Strength Essence* and feel deficient in this quality and so become preoccupied with this essential quality. And this preoccupation then becomes the core of their fixation.

Our experience in a particular phase of childhood may result in our trying to bury a certain quality of essence because the loss of this dimension of essence was so painful. Usually the stage of childhood that was especially difficult for us is where our fixation started to form.

At the moment of birth we are in full contact with being. As we pass through the various stages of childhood, we become more defined as an ego and we become less and less in contact with essence. The ego, then, tries to compensate for this loss by imitating this particular quality of essence. Unfortunately, as is the irony with neurotic solutions, it is the very ego and its activities that create this separation from being, this separation from who we really are.

The *goal of the work* with essence and the Enneagram is to loosen the grip our fixation has on us and to make essence more available to us in our daily life so we can develop the capacity to respond to the challenges of life with the appropriate quality of essence, rather than with reactivity and ego-based activity.

Enneatype One

The dimension of essence at the core of the One's being is called *Pink Essence*, a state of sweetness and innocence. When this essence is present, Ones are "in the pink," healthy, alive, playful, appreciative, and carefree. Separated from this essence, Ones see what is missing or incomplete.

In the childhood of the *Perfectionist*, the lack of holding or support in the family was experienced as a feeling of wrongness. They were criticized and humiliated by the judgments of others and felt they had to be without fault in order to be loved. Trying to get love through perfectionism, they experience anger because nothing is ever good enough. When we become over-identified with a particular point of view, we're meeting the perfectionist in ourselves.

Becoming more aware of our vulnerability and letting go into it is the start of integrating *Pink Essence*. Ones lost touch with double essences connected to Enneatype Seven: Joy and Mental Spaciousness. Getting in touch with the former will lead to spontaneity, wonder, playfulness, and innocence; connecting with the latter will lead to a wider vision and the capacity to integrate different points of view. The "principled leadership" advocated by Stephen Covey represents a One style of management. Giving conscientious feedback and appreciating a One's hard work are some ways of working with Ones. Two countries that represent collective expressions of Enneatype One are Switzerland and Japan. Both countries are famous for their reliability and self-discipline. There is a compulsive orderliness about both of these societies.

Enneatype Two

Gold Essence or *Merging Love* lies at the Two core. This is all about melting and merging, dissolving boundaries, and melting tensions, creating a sweet intimacy wherein we feel precious and valued. Healthy Twos are generous, enthusiastic,

warm, and insightful. Missing the real quality of *Gold Essence*, Twos' trade in *false Gold* and can become manipulative pleasers, giving to get.

If there is an absence of love between the parents, little Twos attempt to provide *Merging Love* to the opposite-sex parent. We meet the Giver in ourselves when we are playing the role of parent or when we experience a lack of healthy separation from our loved ones. For the child, mother is the *Gold Essence*; and as adults we might think of our lovers as *Merging Essence*. A healthy separation from our internalized mother-imaginal, when we stop idealizing or demonizing her and begin to humanize her, is the antidote to negative merging. Also when we stop asking our partner to regulate our self esteem or discharge our tensions, when we stop demanding that he or she give us the *Gold Essence*, we reconnect with the *Gold Essence* in ourselves.

When Twos are able to achieve some separation from the unhealthy bond they had in childhood, usually with the opposite-sex parent, when they are able to focus on their own needs as well as the needs of others, and when they can find activities they can do alone, they begin to reconnect with their own *Gold Essence*. By getting in touch with two essential qualities of Enneatype Four, the *True Self* and *Compassion*, Twos can reconnect with their authentic self and have real love for themselves and for others. Helping Twos feel loved and needed are ways of working with Twos. The Two style of leadership is a humanistic one, emphasizing customer service and support for employees. Italy and Thailand are archetypal Two countries. In both cultures people live in a strong fusion with family and with groups. Relating takes precedence over results.

Enneatype Three

The dimension of being at the core of the Three style is called the *Pearl Essence* or essential *Autonomy*. *Pearl Essence* is the embodiment of the soul, the embodiment of who we really are, and supplies the link between action and being. Realness, simplicity, and connectedness are elements of *Pearl Essence*. *Autonomy*, paradoxically, is a sense of individuality and independence that is totally connected to others – independent but not isolated. With the experience of *Pearl Essence*, there is no need for pretence.

While this essence is connected to all the stages of childhood and the integration of those stages, the rapprochement stage of exploration is especially crucial to the development of the *Pearl* because it represents the child's first attempt to integrate its needs for intimacy and autonomy. Healthy Threes are energetic, industrious, persuasive, and practical. When *Performers* feel deficient in their doing, their doing is never enough. They become emotionally disconnected from their actions, which represent the ego's attempt to embody independence and maturity while at the same time getting connected to others. Extremely active periods in our lives will put us in contact with the *Performer* in us.

The first step toward integrating the *Pearl Essence* is to explore our fears of separation, particularly anxiety about separation from mother. The next step is developing an aware ego, which means that we are both aware of the limitations of our ego and also have the capacity to survive, adapt, and grow. The *Pearl* is ego awareness and the capacity to contain and integrate all the qualities of essence. For *Performers*, the healing often starts when they begin to recognize that there is a gap between their inner reality and the image they are trying to project. They begin to distinguish between fake and real pearls, between action that is connected to image and role, and action that is connected to the heart and belly. Threes need to face the fears that are driving their performance and they need to face the shame and unworthiness they feel inside.

A committed long-term relationship is often very healing for the *Performer*. Two essences associated with Enneatype Six are also healing for Threes. These are *Will Essence*, which brings a sense of solidity, inner support, confidence, and at-ease-ness, and *Inner Commitment*, which helps anchor us in our truth and our spiritual path. Three leaders and companies stress high performance, efficiency, and consistency. An example of a Three-fixated company gone South would be Enron. Showing appreciation for their accomplishments and giving them an opportunity to excel are some ways of working with Threes. The archetypal Three country is the United States with the American dream of rags to riches, unending accomplishments, and getting the job done no matter what. Success and fame are idealized and the ability to successfully market oneself is prized.

Enneatype Four

The *Rainbow Essence* is our essential identity. When we integrate this essential quality, we have a direct experience of ourselves and no longer need to search for ourselves. In the *Rainbow Essence* we are the living presence of the divine, we are the individuated light of the Absolute. The lover switches on this inner light in us. This essence is often experienced in the heart as overflowing love. In touch with the *True Self*, Fours are compassionate, creative, inspired, expressive, and intuitive. Disconnected from the *Rainbow Essence*, *Romantics* are moody, temperamental, self-pitying, depressive, and envious.

We have strong experiences of the *Rainbow Essence* in childhood, especially during the practicing period (12-18 months of age) in Mahler's developmental stages. At this time we are filled with the delight and wonder of ourselves. However we gradually become conditioned away from our *True Self* and *Romantics* become obsessed by this separation. They feel shame that something is very wrong with them and try to compensate for this by being original, creative, and artistic. They seek recognition for their deep feelings and sensitivity and try to generate and reconnect with their lost *Rainbow Essence* through deep feelings. Ironically their attempts to be authentic result in an inner feeling of falseness. When we experience relationship crises that involve separation, we are often thrown into the Four fixation and we may start to idealize the past and abhor the

present. The Four's ego is on a mission to produce something that was missing in the original family. In the family of the *Romantic* there is a deficient sense of self. The young Four tries to produce an authentic sense of self to compensate for this perceived deficiency.

To integrate the *Rainbow Essence*, Fours need to examine their deep involvement in trying to fix their original family. At the core of our ego, lies the search for self. And the experience of the *True Self* ends that search. At the same time we realize our soul is here in this earthly plane to accomplish something and our energy moves toward this purpose. For the Four, working with the wounded inner child is not the way to integrate the *True Self*. The child part of us that is more appropriately connected to the *Rainbow Essence* is the magical child that is full of wonder, majesty, and enchantment. Fours need to realize that all their melancholy and inner drama has nothing to do with the *Rainbow Essence*. They need to experience the deeper feelings that live beneath their emotional dramas. Fours need to reconnect with the *Pink Essence* found in Ones. Fours angrily turned away from the nourishment available to them when they were little and now need to turn their attention to the nourishment that is available here and now. They need to direct themselves toward obtainable goals and action based on honest commitment, discipline, and perseverance.

Four leaders can have a strong personal vision and their organizations, such as Cartier and Tiffany, often fill a special high-end niche in the marketplace. Fours need to be appreciated for their sense of style and innovation, and they want to be valued for their creativity and vision. Russia is the ultimate Four country (think of such tragic romantics as Anna Karenina and Dr. Zhivago) as are many Arab countries with their artistic seekers, poets, and musicians.

Enneatype Five

Inner Guidance is about real understanding, real knowing, that does not come just from the head but from all three centers. This *Diamond Essence* is thus the capacity to know throughout the system. It is a quality of the heart, an inner voice, which enables us to act in ways that are beyond the mind, beyond our conscious understanding. In many languages of the East, the word for heart and mind are the same. This wisdom that comes from the heart is a discriminating intelligence at the level of being. Being informs intellect; intellect informs being. When Fives lose touch with this way of knowing, they confuse *Inner Guidance* with information, knowledge, and intellectual activity.

The energy of the Five child was often too much for their parents and so got channeled into mental activity. They often experienced a lack of maternal tenderness, did not feel supported in their own life energy, and didn't feel safe with either parent. So they isolated themselves and limited their own needs. We experience the Five in ourselves when we disconnect from our emotions and physical body and function solely through our mind. Life at the computer substitutes for life in the world. The path for Fives to re-experience essence is

to allow themselves to feel their deficient inner emptiness. Remaining in the presence of this *deficient emptiness* allows our defenses against this emptiness to relax. These defenses block our connection with being. This, then, opens the way to experiencing *inner spaciousness*, a quality of being. When Fives allow a full personal contact with their experience of reality, they achieve a synthesis of direct experiential understanding and conceptual understanding, which is what *Diamond Guidance* is about. This *Inner Guidance*, a moment-to-moment clarity, eventually replaces the Five's critical superego.

In childhood, Fives lost connection to their *Red Essence*, Strength. This is the line between Five and Eight. They turned their backs on the vitality, aliveness, and turned-on-ness of the *Red Essence*. This little energy bomb, that Fives feared was too much for their parents, got transformed into the cool aloof adult. Since there is usually considerable rage connected to this loss of essence, Fives need to access their rage and pain to begin their healing integrating process.

Five leaders prefer a remote control approach to management. Their authority comes from their knowledge and expertise. The Five organization is an information hierarchy: what you know often determines your status, power, and importance. In working with Fives, it is good to remember that Fives respond well to creative ideas, logic, and factual information. They resent boundary intrusions and are protective of their private space. France comes close to being an archetypal Five country. It was a Frenchman who said: "I think therefore I am." And there can be a detached intellectual and cultural arrogance in France's interaction with the rest of the world.

Enneatype Six

The *White Essence* is a relaxed confidence that gives us the capacity to trust and to surrender to what is. With this *Will Essence*, we feel grounded, centered, capable, and at ease with the challenges of life. We experience a sense of inner support and strength, and we possess an unshakable inner authority. *Will Essence* involves commitment to stay open to our own experience, dedication, perseverance, and steadfastness. This essence also involves love and friendliness and the ability to support others. Trusting ourselves and others, we can relax and go with the flow. When Sixes lose touch with this essence, they become *Skeptics* who are fearful pushers who never feel secure and never relax.

The family environment of the Six was unsafe – no one seemed there for anyone. One parent may have been unreliable; another parent was often on the verge of exploding. The agenda for the *Skeptic* became how to get safe in the jungle of life. Suspicion, doubt, and mistrust comprised their strategy. When our fears get overblown and we live in a world of projection, mistrust, and paranoia, we experience our inner Six. When we feel we really don't have what it takes to meet the challenges of life, our Six has taken hold. To re-integrate their *White Essence*, Sixes need to face their feelings of insufficiency, incapacity, and insecurity – their version of castration anxiety, which is the feeling that if we really go for what we

need or want, what really supports our own development, we will be stopped or cut down in some way. Becoming aware of an absent father presence on the outside or of a castrating superego presence on the inside, can be ways for Sixes to integrate their *White Essence*. Another way of integrating the *White Essence* is to be in alignment with our soul mission, the purpose of our life. This kind of inner strength is associated with *Inner Commitment*. For healing, Sixes need to feel their fear instead of defending against it. Sixes need to get back in touch with *Daylight Essence*, the essential quality of style Nine. This is the quality of *Universal Love*, the basic goodness of all creation. It is absolute trust and is a quality of inner and outer safety. Reconnecting to the *Living Daylight* can help Sixes relax and resolve the core panic that underlies their personality.

Six leaders are excellent in crisis situations but their doubt and indecision make it hard for them to be proactive and seize opportunities. Six organizations can be obsessed by control issues. They live on paranoia, security checks, and clearances. Sixes want to know where they stand with you and they want to know what your agenda is. They need clear rules, guidelines, and responsibilities. Germany is the country that embodies the collective expression of the Skeptic. Given the archetypal authoritarian German father figure, the strong leader, and dominant fatherland, it's no wonder Germans tend to have an ambivalent relationship to authority.

Enneatype Seven

The *Yellow Essence* is a keen sense of delight, happiness, appreciation, and curiosity. The *Joy Essence* is sheer amusement and playfulness. Joy destroys all holy rigmarole; and laughter is the highest form of prayer. When we experience the *Yellow Essence*, we look toward the light. Here we can let go of all desire to improve ourselves and we can let go of all the object relations, the archaic patterns of interpersonal relating, we carry inside us. There is a delight in discovering what is real behind these images. In touch with essence, Sevens are charming, imaginative, and spontaneous; out of touch with essence, Sevens are narcissistic, scattered, and ungrounded. Planning is the Sevens' way of dealing with fear and avoiding the present. But the Sevens' buoyancy and excitement hides a deep sense of inner desolation and lifelessness.

Sevens lost touch with the *Diamond Essence* expressed in style Five. They lost their *Inner Guidance* and may feel disoriented and lost. Often they lost the nourishing connection with mother at an early stage and decided to take care of their own needs. In the family of the *Planner* there was often a limited vision or a petty small-mindedness that Sevens experienced as poverty consciousness or an absence of freedom. The Sevens' strategy compensates for this deficiency in their family of origin. Sevens can mistake conceptual reality (which they are quick to grasp) with existential reality. When we amplify our attempts to feel good and overly desire to be interesting and optimistic, we are meeting our inner Seven. One of the things that can support the *Joy Essence* is allowing ourselves to want,

to desire. If we have introjected a negative image of mother, we may not associate being joyful with her. In fact we may feel like we are betraying her when we are joyful. Releasing these inner images may free us to feel joyful and create more inner freedom. Joy is based partly on the integration of autonomy and intimacy, the capacities to work, love, and play. The uncomfortable news for Sevens is they need to connect with their sadness and pain underneath their happy exterior. Paradoxically, the *Planner* personality, while attempting to imitate the *Yellow Essence*, disconnects us from the real qualities of delight and appreciation. Sevens need to reconnect with true *Inner Guidance*, the essential quality of the Five. They will then realize that planning is not the same as guidance. Their global mental constructs are not connected to their gut feelings or their real needs. The *Diamond Essence* can bring Sevens back to the truth of the here and now, to direct inquiry into their personal reality rather than depending on concepts and ideas.

Sevens are egalitarian leaders. They like brainstorming and innovative thinking. Individuality and experimentation are hallmarks of the Seven organization. Sevens like it when you can match their upbeat energy and enthusiasm. Give them plenty of space and lots of choices. All the countries of South America have something to do with the *Planner* fixation – Brazil and Venezuela especially. There is an atmosphere of celebration and festivity in the collective atmosphere of Seven countries.

Enneatype Eight

The *Red Essence* is vitality and strength, passion and intensity. The *Strength Essence* gives us physical, spiritual, mental, and emotional energy and strength. The *Red Essence* is fire, passion for life. This is Shakti energy, ecstatic passionate love. It's the energy we need to stand up for ourselves and be our own person. The *Strength Essence* helps us to participate fully in ordinary life. It also helps us separate from our internal parental imagos. It supports our individuation and maturity. The *Red Essence* gives us courage to face our childhood wounds. In contact with the *Red Essence*, Eights are direct, authoritative, self-confident, loyal, and dynamic; separated from the *Red Essence* they can be aggressive, bullying, destructive, and vengeful. Being strong and staying in control are life and death issues for *Bosses*.

In the childhood of Eights there was not enough freedom to explore. They felt over-controlled or held responsible for things they couldn't control. This led to a sense of injustice. Now they need to defend themselves to avoid being run over the way they were in childhood. Their superego pushes them to be stronger. Their anger is a desire for truth and justice. When we are in positions of authority, we tend to meet the *Boss* fixation in us. When we feel the need to control others, be combative, or get revenge, we are experiencing our inner Eight. Experiencing anger is crucial to integrating the *Red Essence* while disowned anger is a sign that the *Red Essence* has not been integrated. The fear of really separating from

mother, who represents the positive sweetness of the *Gold Essence*, can stop us from living the *Red Essence*. The integration of the *Red Essence* is a key to mature adulthood, giving us the courage and stamina to live and thrive in the marketplace. When *Bosses* realize that they are already strong and they don't have to prove it anymore, the healing can begin. Real strength is having the courage to face their own demons. When Eights stop confusing the *Red Essence* with anger, aggression, and control, their personality starts to relax, the war is over, and their true adult can appear. When Eights can reconnect with the *Gold Essence* or *Merging Love*, the characteristic essence of Enneatype Two, they soothe their nervous system and get in touch with their sweetness. It's all right to be receptive and soft. They can also get in touch with real pleasure and not just the satisfaction of their appetites.

Bosses are take-charge leaders who can motivate others. They also may espouse a "My way or the highway" authoritarian style. Eight organizations tend to function by decree rather than consensus. They do well in competitive environments. (Think here of Microsoft.) Eights like to be their own boss and want others to be straight with them and match their intensity. Stand your ground, acknowledging their strength and your own. Israel might be a good example of the collective expression of the *Boss* type. The Holocaust represents the horror of being run over in the past and being surrounded by enemies. This memory now gives Israel a hostile environment they have to control and dominate in order to survive.

Enneatype Nine

The *Daylight Essence* is the natural order and goodness of existence. Existence is a benediction. *Universal Love* is a state of boundless grace. The nature of existence is love. *Universal Love* is the Absolute manifesting through the heart. The awakened heart contains bliss, tenderness, and longing. *Universal Love* puts us in contact with the whole of existence. *Living Daylight* is total surrender to the boundless dimension of existence; it is total trust and supreme dignity; it is both the openness and the vulnerability of a sleeping baby and the fearlessness of the spiritual warrior. *Universal Love* is home, the ideal holding environment. In touch with essence, Nines are peaceful, patient, receptive, and empathic; disconnected from essence they can be sleepy, passive, procrastinating, spaced out, and boring. They fall asleep on the inside. For the *Peacemaker*, anger is a dangerous energy and they go numb rather than feel it.

As children Nines felt overlooked, feeling that other people's needs and desires were more important than their own. They became complacent and agreeable, contenting themselves with small comforts, easy routine, and substitutes for love. They avoid confrontation by accommodating others. They lost the capacity for inner exploration and abandoned their core needs and desires. They lost their inner direction and purpose. When we narcotize ourselves with TV, drugs, alcohol, or food, we start to enter the land of the Nine fixation. When we

deny our anger and lose touch with our passion and true feelings, we meet our inner Nine. To integrate the *Daylight Essence*, Nines need to focus on the lack of holding in their childhood environment, the lack of nurturing support. If the *Living Daylight* is our sense of home, when this sense gets broken, trust gets broken, too. So Nines need to explore their mistrust. Nines may have experienced a lack of structure or safety in their childhoods. A lack of an inner sense of safety prevents Nines from surrendering to the *Living Daylight*.

The first step in healing for Nines is realizing that their pleasant, accommodating, easygoing disposition is not the *Living Daylight*. Good relationships need conflict, disagreements, and honesty. While love can be patient and kind, it also needs to be straight. Anger has both a destructive and energizing dimension. It can deepen relationships as well as destroy them. Nines need to reconnect with their *Pearl Essence*, Autonomy. This is the link with Enneatype Three. They need to reawaken their desire to be the center of attention, to play a central role in their own life. Along with supporting others, Nines need to start doing for themselves, taking the initiative, and realizing some of their dreams.

Nine leaders tend to be genial and nondirective. They desire to create consensus and common ground. They can also be procrastinators and put others on permanent hold if they feel pressured. Nine organizations are reliable and dependable. They also can be slow moving and mired in routine, procedures, and seniority. The Post Office usually comes to mind here. Nines prefer to work in a team and are cooperative. In working with Nines, it's best to move incrementally from the familiar to the unfamiliar. India represents the archetypal Nine country. Passive resistance, karma, caste systems and government bureaucracies all express familiar Nine patterns.