THE ROOTS OF THE DISCIPLINE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION: A NARRATIVE ANALYSIS OF PROGRESSIVE ERA CHICAGO

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For Max, Bella and Emma

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ABSTRACT

In *The Administrative State*, Dwight Waldo challenges the discipline of Public Administration to remember the purpose of or meaning behind the discipline. In response to Waldo's question "efficiency for what?", this dissertation interprets the motivating values of the calls for reform to the process of governance at the turn of the twentieth century in Chicago. The research uses a narrative analysis of archived and published texts of Progressive reformers from the City of Chicago. Philip Selznick's concept of the process of institutionalization, or to infuse with value, merged with Anthony Giddens's concept of contextuality guides the interpretation of the actions of the reformers. The concept of institution as a process that infuses a social structure with values at a specific time in a specific place allows for an interpretation of the motivating values of reformers within a physical environment or community. The motivating values of reformers reflect the meaning of the calls for reforms in Chicago.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ABSTRACT vi

LIST OF FIGURES xi

CHAPTER

I. INTRODUCTION 1

The Research Process 3

The research question 3

The research parameters 4

II. LITERATURE REVIEW – THE DOMINANT NARRATIVE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND SOME PROMINENT DISSENTS 11

The Dominant Narrative 12

Prominent Dissents from the Dominant Narrative 19

III. LITERATURE REVIEW – THE CONCEPT OF INSTITUTION AND PHILIP SELZNICK'S THEORY OF THE PROCESS OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION 26

The Concept of Institution 27

Philip Selznick 29

TVA and the Grass Roots 29

Leadership in Administration 32

Conclusion 43

IV. LITERATURE REVIEW: ANTHONY GIDDENS'S THEORY OF STRUCTRATION AND THE CONCEPT OF CONTEXTUALITY AS A FOUNDATION TO INTERPRET HUMAN INTERACTIONS 45

The Duality of Structure 48

Contextuality 50

A Theory of Institution to Frame the Narrative Analysis 55

V. RESEARCH METHOD: NARRATIVE ANALYSIS 57

Step One: Develop a research question 60

Step Two: Determine an appropriate research method 62

Step Three: Identify my prejudices 63

Step Four: Identification of stories via storytellers 64

Jane Addams: Hull House co-founder and peace activist. 65

Anna E. Nicholes: Women's activist. 66

Charles E. Merriam: Professor, politician, and public administrationist and administrator. 66

Alice Hamilton: medical doctor, Hull House resident, healthcare and work place safety advocate 67

Daniel Burnham: city planner and architect. 67

Sophonisba Breckenridge and Edith Abbott: Hull House residents and safe housing advocates. 68

Step Five: Read, consider, and annotate the stories 68

Step Six: Interpret and draw conclusions 69

VI. RESEARCH METHOD: EXISTING RESEARCHER PREJUDICES70

Notions of the Meaning of Public Administration 71

The City of Chicago 74

The Progressive Era.....76

Conclusion on my Prejudices 78

VII. NARRATIVE ANALYSIS: CALLS FOR CHANGES TO THE EXERTION OF HUMAN AGENCY 79

Jane Addams.....80

"Pragmatism in Politics", *The Survey,* 1912 81

"Why Women Are Concerned with the Larger Citizenship: Philanthropy and Politics", *The Woman's Citizen Library* - 1913 84

Anna E. Nicholes: "How Women Can Help in the Administration of a City", *The Woman's Citizen Library,* 1913 ..89

Summary.....96

VIII. NARRATIVE ANALYSIS: CALLS FOR CHANGES TO SOCIAL STRUCTURES.....99

Charles Edward Merriam 99

"Investigations as a Means of Securing Administrative Efficiency", *The Annuals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 1912 100

"Outlook For Social Politics in the United States", *American Journal of Sociology*, 1913 106

Alice Hamilton - "Lead Poisoning in Illinois", *American Labor Legislation Review,* 1911 111

Daniel Burnham, *Plan of Chicago,* 1908 114

Sophonisba Breckenridge and Edith Abbott: "Chicago's Housing Problem: Families in Furnished Rooms", *The American Journal of Sociology,* 1910 118

Summary 123

IX. CONCLUSIONS 126

Conclusions on the Discipline of Public Administration and the Theory of the Process Institutionalization 127

Ideas for Further Consideration 130

X. BIBLIOGRAPHY 131

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Page

1. The duality of structure 50

2. Contextuality: the convergence of actors co-present (BEING), interaction (DOING), and setting. 52

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The origin of public administration as an academic discipline began in the cities at the turn of the 20th century. Progressive reformers looked for ways to "improve" municipal governments by "re-defin(ing) the powers and scope of urban government" (Flanagan, 2002, p. 4). Many accounts of the development of public administration present the reformers as proverbial heroes (objective, systematized, professional civil servants) swooping in to save America from the corruption and chaos known as the spoils system.

The dominant narrative, or the telling of the history of public administration, presents the development of a method of governance that is a rational, scientific process. This one best method is measurable, applies to different problems and circumstances, and adheres to the values of neutrality and efficiency. However, as Samuel Hays stated in a 1964 *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* article, "the rational and irrational, the efficient and inefficient, do not square with political practice" (Hays, 1964, p. 157). The notion of a neutral and efficient method of administration seems contradictory to the belief that, as a social institution, government, particularly a representative democracy such as the United

States, responds to many different issues and develops different policies to solve those issues.

In addition to the contradiction that exists in the notion of a neutral and efficient method of the administration of many different policy solutions, there seems to be an inherent contradiction in the conceptualization of the idea that there is only one neutral and efficient solution to any policy issue. In the process of developing scholarship, there are varying approaches to examine, explain, perceive, and understand concepts or varying frameworks of inquiry. These varied approaches depend upon the ontological and epistemological perspective of the scholar who is developing the research. The acknowledgement that there are different frameworks with which to view the world seems to contradict the fundamental notion of the dominant narrative that there is a neutral and efficient method to governance. If there are different frameworks of inquiry that rely on one's perspective of reality and one's interpretation of the acquisition of knowledge, then it seems reasonable to suggest that there may be different approaches to the administration of government.

It is these two underlying contradictions of the dominant narrative and the notion of a neutral and efficient method of administration that leads some public administration scholars to question the dominant narrative. These questions most often call for a discipline that recognizes its own shortcomings, for a process to governance that does not create questions of legitimacy, or for an expansion of the history of public administration to include marginalized populations or values other than neutrality and efficiency. In response to the calls for an expansion of the history of public administration to include values other than neutrality and efficiency, this research project conducts a narrative

analysis to interpret the purpose or the meaning of reform to reformers. The remainder of this introductory chapter details the research process.

The Research Process

What follows is an outline of the process by which this project was developed and conducted. The first step in the research process was the development of a research question. The second step was the identification of the research parameters. An explanation of the research parameters follows the research question and chapter two, three, and four present a literature review to ground those research parameters in existing public administration literature.

The research question determines the research method and chapter five details the method used, a narrative analysis. Chapter six and seven examine the actions interpreted in the analysis. The final chapter draws conclusions from the actions interpreted.

The research question

The dominant narrative of the founding of public administration describes reform during the Progressive Era as the need for a neutral and efficient process of administration. In the dominant narrative, the terms “neutral” and “efficient” represent the values of reformers or the purpose of reform. By maintaining that reformers sought only a neutral and efficient process of administration, the dominant narrative narrows the scope and definition of the field to these two values or purposes. However, the Progressive Era remains a complex time in American history. The claim that reformers had two primary purposes of reform seems an over-simplification of the issues and subsequent solutions. It seems unlikely that the complex problems of the Progressive Era could be solved with the implementation of a neutral and efficient process of

administration. Additionally, it seems unlikely that the goal of reform intended for municipal government to be narrowed to a neutral and efficient process.

If the dominant narrative over-simplifies the past, then it seems there is a need for further examinations of the past. These examinations should question the purpose or the intent of the reform to determine if the reformers held values other than a neutral and efficient process of governance. Broadly stated, to re-examine the past, this research questions the meaning of reform to reformers. Specifically, this research analyzes the actions of reformers in the City of Chicago during the Progressive Era to interpret the purpose or the intent of the reforms. The following section details the development of the specific parameters of the research: Progressive Era Chicago, a framework to examine meaning, and a narrative method.

The research parameters

To conduct and understand a feasible research project, it is necessary to unpack the statement "the meaning of reform to reformers". This research uses three parameters to unpack the meaning of reform to reforms. One parameter is to choose the reforms and the reformers. A second parameter is the development of a framework that allows for the identification of meaning. A third parameter is an appropriate method to examine meaning. In this project, the first parameter determined is which reformers and reforms to examine.

The desire to examine the meaning of reforms to reformers at the founding of the discipline of public administration denotes an historical evaluation. One may argue that a re-examination of the past is not necessary and that missing values in the story of public administration are irrelevant. However, the past shapes the present and the future. The

dominant narrative of the beginning of Public Administration is a large, influential factor to subsequent ideas within the discipline. Simply stated, the dominant narrative shapes the concept of Public Administration (Waldo, 2007). It is from this narrative that practitioners and scholars derive an understanding of the purposes, develop the processes, and implement practices of administration.

As an historical examination the first attribute for a parameter to identify reformers and reforms is time. As an examination of the founding of the discipline of public administration, the timeframe to study is the Progressive Era. However, the Progressive Era is a broad criterion for an analysis. To address this broad criterion, it seems most of the accounts of the founding of public administration narrow the analysis with an additional criterion of a concept, such as efficiency, a specific type of organization, such as a research bureau, or an individual reformer, such as Charles Merriam. However, if one of the driving forces of Progressive Era municipal reform was political corruption in the *setting* of burgeoning cities and the consequential changes to municipal government, then a logical criterion to guide the selection of reformers and reforms seems to be the study of actions and interactions of individuals within a specific city.

The idea of a city, or a place, as a criterion for an historical study is not necessarily a new or novel one. There are many projects that examine the actions of individuals in a specified location during a specified time. However, most of the studies germane to public administration focus on a temporal and linear telling of the history with the lens of an additional criterion such as a concept within the city during that timeframe. The first event exposed the concept, the second event reinforced the concept,

the third event continued to reinforce the concept, etc. An example that presents a temporal and linear telling of a specific concept in Chicago is Mary Flanagan's *Seeing With Their Hearts: Chicago Women and the Vision of the Good City, 1871-1933* (2002).

In her book, Flanagan analyzed the focus of women's social movements to create a "good city" in Chicago during the timeframe of 1871 to 1933. Flanagan (2002) explained that the women's social movements conceptualized the city as a home, or a place in which people live, rather than the city as a municipality or, a place of government institutions. Flanagan's examination tells the story of women's social movements developing and presenting the concept of the "good city". The concept of a "good city" becomes the link from one event to the next. The story of women's social movements and the concept of the "good city" are compelling and add perspectives to the dominant narrative of public administration. However, because Flanagan's story is about women's social movements, the City of Chicago, as a setting and as a backdrop of social institutions that reflects the values of the individuals within it, is secondary to the story. By focusing on the concept of the "good city", the analysis of social movements as examples of social institutions becomes secondary.

By focusing on a single concept, the story loses intersections or over-laps of other concepts and perspectives that lead to the revelation of the values of the larger social system. The intersections or the over-laps of concepts and perspectives reveal commonly held values. It seems that examinations of specific cities as settings that create social institutions are missing from the dominant narrative of public administration. Using the setting as a criterion allows for the examination of different concepts and perspectives to uncover common values of individuals who lived together in the same place. Specifically,

an analysis of the actions and interactions of individual reformers as evidence of the values of social institutions in a specific city (or the setting) during a specified time and the consequence of those actions and interactions on public administration seems to be lacking. To address this potential gap in the dominant narrative, this research examines the actions and interactions of reformers in a specific city. The next attribute of the parameter to identify the reformers is to determine which setting or city to examine during the Progressive Era.

Most presentations of the dominant narrative describe the development of the Municipal Research Bureau movement. This movement, originally funded by Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller, began in New York City in direct response to the corruption of "Tammany Hall" (Hays, 1964). The municipal administration of "Tammany Hall" exemplified the blatant municipal corruption occurring at the time. To combat the corruption and to maintain the control of society (Hays, 1964), the Municipal Research Bureau developed processes that kept the business of government to educated elites (Hays, 1964). The notions of control and the "business" of government become foundational concepts during the naissance of the discipline. These two notions establish the discipline's perpetual search for a "one best way" or a neutral and efficient process of governance.

Presenting the Municipal Research Bureau movement as the beginning of a formal method of administration and the link of the movement to New York City seems to imply that the founding of public administration occurred in New York City. Yet, there were corrupt practices in many other cities. As such, it seems unlikely that corruption in different places was the exact same as it was in New York City and the solutions to the

corruption in those different places followed the exact path of the solutions to the corruption in New York City.

In sum, the response to municipal corruption laid the foundation for public administration as a discipline. As time passed and a story developed to explain the founding, the story began to focus on two values. These two values, neutrality and efficiency become the parameters of the dominant narrative. Neutrality and efficiency are most often linked with the Municipal Research Bureau movement. The Municipal Research Bureau movement began in response to the corruption of "Tammany Hall". It seems with the passage of time and the development of a dominant narrative to explain the founding, that the story might have excluded some of the reforms and the purpose of those reforms in other cities. Because there may be parts of the narrative missing, it is reasonable to argue that there is more to the story then the dominant narrative presents.

Combining the previously stated observation and argument leads to the identification of the second attribute of the parameter. Missing from the dominant narrative of the founding of public administration is an analysis that centers on a setting and occurs somewhere other than New York City. To address the need to examine settings other than New York City, the second attribute of the parameter to determine which reformers to examine is the City of Chicago.

Chicago is a clear and a personal choice. Choosing Chicago is a clear choice because of its importance in the development of the United States. Chicago is a uniquely American city, whose history reflects the broader history of the United States. It developed post-Revolution, making it solely an American city with no remnants of colonization. Settled as a trading post on the banks of Lake Michigan, as the economy of

the country transitioned from an agrarian to an industrial society, Chicago became the central hub between the east and the west. The history of the City of Chicago reflects of the history of the United States, which makes it an obvious choice for a setting.

Chicago is a personal choice because of the association of the city to the life of Jane Addams. Addams represents strong, intellectual, innovative women. During a time when women did not have the right to vote, Addams became influential in changing the way in which social politics are understood and addressed. Her settlement house, Hull House, is an exemplar of the settlement house movement in the United States. Her story extends from movements for playgrounds for children within the city limits to calls for peace around the world and receiving the Nobel Peace Prize.

The second parameter for this research is the development of a framework that allows for an examination of meaning. The concept of meaning has multiple definitions and uses. Many scholars in public administration rely on the pivotal work of Philip Selznick in *Leadership In Administration* to explain meaning. In this work, Selznick developed a theory of the process of institutionalization. Selznick argued that institutionalization occurs as an organization becomes "infused with value". The infused values give purpose to the individuals of the organization. This research uses Selznick's theory of the process of institutionalization to equate meaning to purpose. To include the parameter of a setting in the framework, this research adds Anthony Giddens's concept of contextuality from the "Theory of Structuration" to Selznick's theory of institutionalization. Chapter Three and Four detail the fusion of these two contemporary theories of institutions into a framework that allows for an examination of actions to uncover the purpose of those actions in an historical place and time.

The final parameter of the research is to determine an appropriate method. To return to the research question, this research asks what reforms meant or what was the purpose of reforms. Uncovering meaning relies on interpretation and, as such, this research question leads to an interpretative method of research. As a question that relies on interpretations, an appropriate research method to uncover meaning or purpose is a narrative analysis (Frank, 2002). A narrative analysis identifies and uses stories to interpret the meaning of actions. The narrative analysis in this research uses the published works of six reformers, Jane Addams, Anna Nicholes, Charles E. Merriam, Alice Hamilton, Daniel Burnham, and Sophonisba Breckinridge and Edith Abbott. Chapter Five details the research method employed.

After a detailing of the method used, Chapter Six and Seven present the interpretation of the stories by the reformers. The first chapter of the interpretation describes reforms that looked to change the actions the individuals living within the city. Chapter Seven examines reforms that called for changes to social structures. The final chapter of the dissertation draws conclusions from the narrative analysis.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW – THE DOMINANT NARRATIVE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND SOME PROMINENT DISSENTS

Most students of public administration learn the dominant narrative of the discipline in introductory public administration courses. As stated, the dominant narrative focuses on the specific values of neutrality and efficiency. Over time, with each new presentation of the dominant narrative, the values of neutrality and efficiency become reinforced. The emphasis on these two values creates a story that potentially loses some alternative values that motivated the initial developments in the discipline and may add to the purpose of public administration.

This chapter begins with a telling of an abridged version of the dominant narrative of Public Administration and concludes with the presentation of some of the scholarly works that question it. The dominant narrative is the ideas, events, and values included in the telling of the history of the discipline that most students learn and scholars teach in introductory courses on public administration. These ideas, events, and values shape the primary and contemporary concept of Public Administration (McSwite, 1997, Waldo, 2007). It is from this story that practitioners and scholars derive an understanding of the purposes and develop processes of administration. The abridged version of the dominant

narrative presented in this chapter relies on two introductory public administration textbooks as primary sources. Where appropriate, this abridged presentation of the dominant narrative utilizes additional secondary sources, such as Barry Karl's 1976 *Public Administration Review* article, "Public Administration and American History: A Century of Professionalism".

The pieces chosen for the dissent from and critiques of the dominant narrative begin with Dwight Waldo's *The Administrative State,* which is considered the first major work to question the dominant narrative. The additional critiques and dissents are well-established scholars in the discipline of public administration whose criticisms of the dominant narrative are well known. These critiques and dissents argue that the dominant narrative does not explore the inherent contradictions of an administrative state in a representative democracy, fails to properly place the administrative state in the American conceptualization of a representative democracy, or excludes marginalized populations and values other than neutrality and efficiency.

The Dominant Narrative

"It is government in action" – Woodrow Wilson, "The Study of Administration", 1887, p. 6

The story of public administration, as is found in most "Introduction to Public Administration" textbooks, begins with what many categorize as the orthodox period. According to J.M. Shafritz and A.C. Hyde (2008), this early period is roughly the 1880s through to the beginning of the Cold War. Most often the story of the history of public administration begins with the assignation of President Garfield by a disgruntled office seeker. Garfield's assignation initiated the passage of the Pendleton Act in 1883

(Brownlow, 2008). The Act quashed the spoils system and established a merit based civil service (Shafitz & Hyde, 2008) centered on the values of elitism and method (Karl, 1976).

In 1887, Woodrow Wilson wrote "The Study of Administration". This essay is often cited as the first to argue for a formal approach to administration. As an observer of and in response to the developments of an elite civil service reform, Wilson called for a unique discipline that moves away from theories of statehood, which is the primary focus of political science, towards theories that develop a process for the "government in action" (Wilson, 2008, p.6). Specifically, Wilson's essay argues that the process of governance needs standards or an administrative science that can be taught to the merit based civil service. As such, there needs to be an academic discipline of public administration that focuses on the building and the application of administrative sciences (Stillman, 2005).

An administrative science is best implemented by administrators who are educated, elite individuals with specialized skills for a rational, scientific method of public management and who are motivated by merit not political favors. The development of an administrative science creates a method that would remove administrators from the influence of politics and the whims of the party bosses. According to the dominant narrative, elitism and method become the primary parameters of subsequent developments within the discipline (Karl, 1976) and lead the discipline to focus on the values of neutrality and efficiency. The value of neutrality developed from the need for a civil service of elites that remains removed form politics. The value of efficiency developed from the need for a method. The two founding tenets of Public

Administration derived from the values of neutrality and efficiency. The value of neutrality lead to the tenet of the separation of politics and administration and the value of efficiency lead to the tenet of a goal to develop a "one best way" or a rational, scientific method of administration.

As the dominant narrative explains, the first tenet, the politics administration dichotomy, was the defining concept for all successive developments during the early period in the discipline's history. Frank Goodnow's (2009) *Politics and Administration* laid the foundations for this tenet. As John Rohr wrote in the introduction to the 2009 publication of the book, "*Politics and Administration* captures the spirit of an era" (Rohr, 2009, p. xiii). Observing the contemporary processes of administration in European countries, Goodnow concluded that the process of administration could be the same in different forms of governments (Goodnow, 2009). The conclusion that one process of administration suited many forms of government leads Goodnow to develop what is now called the politics administration dichotomy.

Goodnow began his argument by noting two distinct functions of government. Politics is the *expression* of will and administration is the *execution* of policy (Goodnow, 2009). If government has two distinct functions, then theories around and approaches to those two functions must also be distinct. Goodnow used the corrupt practices of partisan politics as an example to support his argument (McSwite, 1997). According to Goodnow, the party bosses had the most control at a municipal level. Each municipality had its own party "rules", much like the various governments in Europe had their own systems of law. If a single process of administration could be developed that satisfies the needs of

the various governments in Europe then a single process of administration could be developed to satisfy the various municipalities.

Having the same process of administration across many municipalities would neutralize the affect of the party boss on administration. Removing administration from politics allowed for the development of a process to governance that could be used in every municipality. The process developed would be generic or neutral. Goodnow (2009) believed that as administrative processes became more neutral, the influence of political parties would decline.

Although Goodnow did not necessarily mean for there to be a strict line between politics and administration, the dominant narrative explains that the scholars of the early years use Goodnow's politics-administration dichotomy as the foundation for all subsequent developments in the field. Until the end of the orthodox period, scholars continued to argue that politics should not influence the processes of administration. The presumption was that an elite civil service remained neutral provided politics and administration was separate. The acceptance of this presumption became the foundation for the second tenet, a one best way.

Progressive Era reformers believed the process of administration should be neutral. As a consequence of this belief in a neutral approach to administration, the notion of a generic process of administration emerged. However, neutrality began to be interpreted as more then the idea that one process of administration works for different municipal governments. Neutrality also implied that there was one process of administration in the public and the private sector.

At the time of the founding of public administration, the private sector was at the height of a new mechanized industrial age. In calls for greater work place efficiency, a Philadelphian named Frederick Taylor developed a streamlined process of manufacturing known as scientific management. The precepts of scientific management describe individual workers as cogs in the machine of the factory. Optimizing these cogs produces the greatest results. The greatest results are the most efficient. Ultimately, Taylor declared that there is "one best way" to produce the one best outcome.

To the newly developing field of public administration, embracing the precepts of scientific management seemed the proper approach to improve the municipal administrative process. There were two fundamental reasons to apply the processes of the private sector to the public sector. First, if the "one best way" worked for business, it would work for government. Second, the reformers presumed an increased support for changes in the public sector from the private sector if municipal administrative processes reflected business administrative practices (Shafritz & Hyde, 2008). As such, the search for "one best way" became the guiding principle for the remainder of the orthodox period.

As the focus on the search for a "one best way" intensified, Taylor's idea that an optimal process was an efficient process began to equate with the concept of democracy. By many accounts, one of the fundamental goals of Progressive Era reforms was to improve democracy. "From the development of pragmatism as a philosophy to the industrial theories of Frederick Winslow Taylor, American methodologues argued the inherent democracy of things that worked precisely" (Karl, 1976, p. 491). A precise or efficient government better served the needs of its citizens (Karl, 1976). As the civil

service expanded to respond to the influx of immigrants at the turn of the 20th century, it became apparent that American administration needed a guiding set of principles to bring order to an un-organized and unpredictable society (Stillman, 2005). Democracy improved with a process of government or a method of administration that worked efficiently. Efficiency equaled democracy.

To affirm the values of neutrality and efficiency as the driving values of the founding of the discipline, the dominant narrative uses Leonard White's influential textbook *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration*. Published in 1926, White's textbook focused on management (Shafritz & Hyde, 2008) or teaching students of administration "how to's" rather than "how come's". For White, "public administration is the management of men and materials in the accomplishment of the purposes of the state" (White, 2008, p. 50). Attempting to isolate a "one best way", White explained that administration is a unitary process (i.e. there are no differences among local, state or federal levels); is a study of management, not law; currently an art but should transform into a science; and is the central problem for modern government.

Nine years after Leonard White published his textbook and near the end of the orthodox period, Luther Gulick published *The Papers on the Science of Administration* (*The Papers*). In *The Papers*, Luther Gulick argued for a logical sequence of "good" steps for "good" administration (Stillman, 2005). Gulick began with "Notes on the Theory of Organizations" and developed the concepts for the best process of administration, which relies on a division of work, the coordination of work and organizational patterns. In a similar argument to Frederick Taylor, Gulick claimed this process is necessary because men differ in nature and gain dexterity with specialization (Gulick, 2008). Later in *The*

Papers, Gulick developed POSDCORB. The logical sequence of planning, organizing, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting and budgeting creates a framework for a cohesive approach to the emerging field of public administration (Stillman, 2005). As Richard Stillman (2005) explained, POSDCORB allowed the field "to begin, grow, and even flourish" (p. 20). At the time of publication of *The Papers,* POSDCORB was thought to be an efficient process to administration. However, later generations of public administrationists would come to see POSDCORB as unscientific, value-laden, time bound, and rigid (Stillman, 2005).

The peak of the orthodox period is the "President's Committee on Administrative Management" or the Brownlow Committee (Lynn, 2001). The impetus for the examinations of the Brownlow Committee was that the Founding Fathers failed to establish a process to put democracy into action (Brownlow, 2008). To solve this failure, the committee focused on developing a process of democracy in action. The authors of the report, Louis Brownlow, Charles E. Merriam, and Luther Gulick, claimed the inefficient machine of the government needed revisions to meet the new challenges of the Great Depression, the increasing immigrant population, and social ills (Brownlow, 2008). "There is a need for improvement of our government machinery to meet new conditions and to make us ready for the problems just ahead" (Brownlow, 2008, p. 89). To optimize the function of the machine, it was necessary to: 1) increase the power of the chief executive, 2) consolidate and strengthen the administrative agencies that are departments of the executive branch, 3) measure performance on merit for all positions and 4) revise the fiscal process to best utilize private and government administrative practices. The result of the committee was an unprecedented increase in executive power that has since

become a matter of course in American politics (Shafritz & Hyde, 2008). With the recommendation of the increased power in the executive branch, the discipline of public administration began to shift its focus. Although the values of neutrality and efficiency remain foundational to the field, the Brownlow Committee marks the end of the orthodox narrative.

The dominant narrative of the orthodox period lays a foundation that limits the scope of public administration to the values of neutrality and efficiency. However, the limiting the field to the values of neutrality and efficient fails to recognize the complexity of public administration as a social institution. A one-size fit all philosophy of a neutral and efficient process creates a discipline that, at times, seems to fail to understand its importance and falls short of being able to sufficiently achieve its purpose.

Prominent Dissents from the Dominant Narrative

"Efficient for what?" – Dwight Waldo, *The Administrative State*, 2007, p. 202

In the century since the discipline's naissance, scholars have argued the purposes of public administration. Scholars who search for the discipline's purpose hope to identify an effective future for public administration, "one in which purpose joins practice and in which Waldo's 'efficiency for what?' question replaces the search for one best way as the field's most fundamental foundation" (Stivers, 2000, p. 17). To examine its purpose, scholars reconstruct the story of public administration to include layered events, contexts, and philosophies. These reconstructions of the dominant narrative create a useable past and build alternative solutions. The following are examples of critiques that argue the field of public administration fails to appropriately examine the purpose of governance and, as such, fails to fully understand itself.

In the mid-twentieth century, the young scholar Dwight Waldo wrote *The Administrative State*. This book is the first major work to challenge the foundation of the field. Waldo contended, "American public administration has evolved political theories unmistakably related to unique economic, social, governmental and ideological facts" (Waldo, 2007, p. 3). To understand the discipline of public administration, one must examine the ideologies of administration within their proper contexts. Removing the proper context creates a warped perception and a false understanding of purpose. "If they are to be understood, political theories must be construed in relation to their material environment and ideological framework" (Waldo, 2007, p. 3). To fully understand the development of a political theory, one must consider the ideologies or the values of the social institutions and the social issues prevalent during the time and in the place of the development of that political theory.

The actions of individuals within a specific social structure affect and reflect the ideological framework of that social structure. The ideological framework of a social structure limits the responses to the material environment and simultaneously the material context creates a setting for re-interpretation of the ideological framework. In addition, ideological frameworks can reshape the stories of the past. These reshaped stories of the past create boundaries around how we explain and understand our past and ourselves.

As explained in *The Administrative State* (2007), to understand the American approach to public administration, one needs to begin with the American notion of government, democracy. Waldo (2007) explained that democracy is a constitutive presumption and the ideological framework of American government. The American ideological reliance on the constitutive presumption of democracy is tantamount to a

religion (2007). Americans believe in democracy and readily accept all of its underlying assumptions without examining them or indeed even knowing what they are. As an ideological framework, American's faith in democracy must always be considered as part of a contextualized, material environment.

Waldo explained Public Administration as a political theory that developed to perpetuate a political vision of the "Good Life". This vision relies on the democratic ideals of individualism, materialism, peace, liberty and equality, and urbanization (Waldo, 2007). To protect and promote democracy, the "Good Life" needs fundamental laws, progress, efficiency, and science (Waldo, 2007). By contextualizing the political theory of Public Administration in terms of a faith in democracy, Waldo (2007) explained that the orthodoxy of Public Administration equated true democracy with true efficiency.

Equating true democracy with true efficiency resulted in a value-laden idea of Public Administration (Waldo, 2007). This value-laden idea of Public Administration needs to be recognized as a theory of government, not as an ideal approach to a process of administration (Waldo, 2007). There is no optimal efficiency. Efficiency is a value. Once scholars accept the orthodox idea of efficiency as a political theory in practice, the field will be able to expand beyond the self-imposed limits of efficiency and begin to question whether indeed efficiency and democracy should or can be equated. For Waldo, the field is so focused on an efficient approach to governance that it has moved beyond being able to comprehend itself and has lost its true purpose.

Others have expanded on Waldo's groundbreaking critique to include observations beyond the "Good Life". In 1992, Guy B. Adams explained why public administration lacks legitimacy in the United States.

> "The tension between … democratic politics and an expert specialized administration . . . remains at the forefront of any possible claim to legitimacy for public administration in the American state. An atemporal public administration has considerable difficulty even addressing this question, because in its very essence it is an historical question" (Adams, 1992, p. 370).

The idea of democracy is that many if not all citizens participate in government. However, the field of public administration argues that there needs to be experts to implement the processes of government. This argument creates a "tension". Mass participation and elite specialization are inherently contradictory terms. The "tension" creates questions around the legitimacy of the actions of administrative experts. To address these issues of legitimacy, Adams (1992) argued that public administration should re-examine and re-construct its history. The re-examination and re-construction of its history will reveal the complexity of public administration and provide scholars with a foundation on which to begin to unwind the tension.

In a similar critique, O. C. McSwite's *Legitimacy in Public Administration* contends that early scholars of public administration created a conundrum known as the legitimacy question. "The literature of the field as created by the members of the original movement quickly took administrative good government away from its populist, pragmatic sources and configured it instead as a kind of technocratic utopianism" (McSwite, 1997, p. 17). The field of public administration is chasing an unattainable goal of absolute efficiency. The result is a field of professional experts that directly conflicts with the democratic notion of participation. The focus on a science of administration creates a field that is unable to properly place itself in American political culture. Thus, the field will always struggle to be considered a legitimate form of governance within the confines of a democratic ideal.

Camilla Stivers's *Bureau Men and Settlement Women* (2000) presents a two interrelated arguments. First, Stivers explained the undeniable role of women and the Settlement House Movement on the development of early public administration. The dominant narrative of public administration relies on the Municipal Research Bureau's efficient approach to economic issues. In contrary, the Settlement House Movement, mostly comprised of women, focused on the social needs of individuals. Individuals within the Settlement House Movement focused on improving the conditions of people's lives. Stivers argued the movement is undeniably a missing element in the story of public administration. The Settlement House Movement as a missing element in the story of public administration supports the second argument in *Bureau Men and Settlement Women*. The contemporary discipline of Public Administration must look to the objectives of the Settlement House Movement and learn from it. "Progressive Era social reformers … would caution that improving the condition of people's lives ought to be the first concern of those who care about what government should do and how it should be done well" (Stivers, 2000, p. 136). As a subjective variable that requires individualized solutions, the conditions of people's lives cannot be improved with "one best way".

Arguing that the field limits itself because of the dominant narrative, James Svara, explained, "if we continue to accept the simple notion that public administration began as a separate instrumental entity confined to a narrow sphere of activity, we do a disservice to the past, and we run the risk of legitimizing a true dichotomy of policy formation and contracted service delivery" (2001, p. 180). Most contemporary scholars within the field of public administration accept that Goodnow's politics administration dichotomy was not intended as literal description of the structure of government. However, as the field

developed and focused on a neutral and efficient method, the field became more and more disconnected from the political realm. This continued development of a true dichotomy creates an administration that loses its effectiveness. The administration becomes less and less effective the more it becomes disconnected from the will and/or wants of the populace.

In a broader argument, Lawrence Lynn (2001) argued the dominant narrative makes false or unsubstantiated claims. Lynn noted that some of the crucial literature claimed by the dominant narrative, such as Woodrow Wilson's "The Study of Administration", is never referenced in any of the works that were written during the orthodox period (Lynn, 2001). There seems little to no proof that the early scholars were answering his call to create a science of administration. As such, looking to Wilson's essay to explain later developments serves no purpose.

These critiques of the dominant narrative explain that reducing the field to the two values of neutrality and efficiency misses the point or creates an illusion of the real purpose or meaning of public administration. An underlying theme in all of the critiques is that to fully understand the purpose of the reforms, one must contextualize the actions of reformers. "Human attempts at purposive action are situated in contexts of social relations, cultural understanding, and historical pathways" (Heclo, 2008, p. 58). The idea that history is contextual is not a startling revelation. However, in addition to the context of historical events, one must consider the ideological framework that creates the boundaries of the story.

The critiques presented challenge the dominant narrative and argue that there needs to be re-examinations of the founding of the field that considers the ideological

framework in which the reforms occurred. Ideological frameworks are bound by the values of the individuals within that social structure. A narrative creates a history by which individuals within a social structure come to understand themselves. To challenge an exiting historical narrative, one must re-examine events from the past that includes different contextual perspectives within the same the ideological framework. As such, the relevant question in public administration becomes the identification of missing or unique contexts of the story of its founding within their ideological framework.

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW – THE CONCEPT OF INSTITUTION AND PHILIP SELZNICK'S THEORY OF THE PROCESS OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION

As a multi-disciplinary concept, a common or singular definition of the concept of an institution is difficult, if not improbable (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991, Heclo, 2008, Scott, 2014, Thelan, 1999). However, as Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaggio (1991) explained in their introduction to *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*, converging institutional ideas is "not merely a return to scholarly roots, but an attempt to provide fresh answers to old questions about how social choices are shaped, mediated, and channeled by institutional arrangements" (p. 9). As stated in the introduction, this research uses a theoretical framework that infuses two contemporary theories of institutions to allow for the examination of the past. The framework relies primarily on Philip Selznick's theory of the process of institutionalization. To complete the framework, Anthony Giddens's concepts of the duality of structure and contextuality in the "Theory of Structuration" are infused into Selznick's theory. This theoretical framework allows for the identification of the values of reformers or the purpose of reforms in a specific place during a specific time. This chapter and the next are a literature review that defines the concept of institution, the process of institutionalization,

and the concept of contextuality. The literature review concludes with the development of the theoretical framework.

The Concept of Institution

As Hugh Heclo explained in *On Thinking Institutionally*, it seems every one understands what an institution is until they begin to consider and to articulate a definition (he also stated that even the term definition can create a long academic debate (Heclo, 2008)). The concept of institution depicts comprehensive and different parts of social life. It includes cultural concepts, religious bonds, and legal relationships such as marriage and the purposes and internal operations of brick and mortar formal organizations such as the university. In these two examples, the concept may be understood as a social guideline, but the magnitude of the differences between the two examples is obvious. The first is a pledge or an agreement between two individuals and the second is a physical setting established for furthering ideas and learning new ones. Yet, both are understood as institutions. Institutions exist within a depth of the factors of social life.

In addition, there is a breadth of different academic disciplines that examine institutions. These varied approaches and definitions within different academic disciplines that examine institutions is nothing less than monstrous (Alvesson and Spicer, 2018). However, it seems that all definitions of the concept of institution incorporate at least a portion of the notion "that organizations and the individuals who populate them, are suspended in a web of values, norms, rules, beliefs, and taken-for granted assumptions" (Barley and Tolbert, 1997, p. 93). Institutions exist to provide a sense of

stability in social structures. Yet, over time, institutions change. As such, it seems appropriate to understand institutions as a social process.

Public administration is an academic discipline that examines the administration of government. As scholars of a practical discipline developed to examine a central part of the contemporary social world, the process of organized governance or the administrative state, public administrationists often look to other disciplines to add to their understanding of the social world. To understand the institutionalized values of public administration, the field often looks to the discipline of Organizational Studies. Rooted in Sociology (Scott, 2014), "*Organization Studies* aims to promote the understanding of organizations, organizing and the organized, and the social relevance of that understanding" (Organization Studies, 2019). Organization Studies examines the purpose of institutions rather than just rules or conventions that guide behavior.

By focusing on the taken-for-granted practices of human agents, theories in Organization Studies examine the process of "socialization, education, on-the-job learning, or acquiesces to convention" (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991, p. 18). In the sociological approach to institutions, individuals rely on social observations and experiences (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991). Because individuals rely on social observations and experiences, theories of Organization Studies argue that institutions cannot be "understood outside of the cultural and historical frameworks in which they are embedded" (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991, p. 18).

Studies of institutions and organizations within the field of public administration often employ the use of Selznick's research, namely his two formative studies, *TVA and*

the Grassroots and *Leadership and Administration: A Sociological Interpretation*. The remainder of this chapter details the influential work (Scott, 2014) of Philip Selznick.

Philip Selznick

Philip Selznick's idea that the process of institutionalization occurs as an organization becomes "infused with values" is foundational to the development of the concept of institution (Scott, 2014, Heclo, 2008, Powell and DiMaggio, 1991, Zucker, 1987) and is a cornerstone of the concept of institution in public administration. Selznick's two most influential works, *TVA and the Grass Roots: A Study in the Sociology of Formal Organizations* and *Leadership in Administration: A Sociological Interpretation* guide the development of the concept of institution to be used in this dissertation.

TVA and the Grass Roots

Philip Selznick's first notable and influential work is his study of the Tennessee Valley Authority. For students and scholars of public administration, Selznick's *TVA and the Grass Roots (TVA)* study immediately brings to mind the concept of coöptation. The examination of the TVA explored how grass roots efforts created a democratic process of administration. In the introduction, Selznick explained that control of an industrial system is the ultimate goal of modern society (Selznick, 1949). To understand this control, it is necessary to study "the character and direction of the new instruments of intervention and constraint" (Selznick, 1949, p. 3). Selznick chose the TVA because it was a "contribution to a new synthesis, one which would unite positive government – the welfare or service state - with a rigorous adherence to the principles of democracy" (Selznick, 1949, p. 4). Created by Congress in 1933, the Tennessee Valley Authority permits administrative

discretion in the development and implementation of policy (Selznick, 1949). This administrative discretion allows for the consideration of the social consequences of specific activities by the TVA.

With the passage of the TVA Act, the Tennessee Valley Authority became responsible for the production and distribution of electricity and fertilizer on two properties in Muscle Shoals, Alabama. According to Selznick (1949), the Act represents a possible solution to a debate about the "principle of government versus private ownership" (Selznick, 1949, p. 4). For Selznick, the TVA is "an ordered group of working individuals, as a living institution" (Selznick, p. 7). To best understand the behavior within and purpose behind an organization, it is necessary to view the organization as a living social institution (Selznick, 1949).

In *TVA,* Selznick explained that studies of administration should consider three things. First, to understand the administrative process, one must consider the underlying implications of an organization's official doctrine. The mission of the organization or agency is the starting point for any administrative process. Second, the researcher should not limit observations to the formal structure. Organizations naturally develop informal structures. The relationships within the informal structure are just as influential to the administrative processes as the formal. The final consideration for studies of administrative processes is the environment of the organization or the agency. In addition to the informal structures of an organization, organizations change and adapt because of interactions within an environment of social structures.

The key concept from Selznick's TVA observations is coöptation. In *TVA* Selznick developed the concept of coöptation to explain the relationship between the

TVA and its local institutional environment (Selznick, 1949). Selznick stated, "coöptation is the process of absorbing new elements into the leadership or policy-determining structure of an organization as a means of averting threats to its stability or existence" (Selznick, 1949, p. 13). From the outset, TVA was to develop processes that supported its mission but maintained democratic ideals. Selznick's study concludes this balance of administrative process with grass roots democracy occurs when an organization coöpts to its environment.

The TVA is an example of democratic planning and a public government organization working with private interests. As such, the particulars of the study are not germane to this dissertation. However, Selznick's argument that "(w)e can best understand the behavior of officials when we are able to trace that behavior to the needs and structure of the organization as a living social institution" (Selznick, 1949, p. 10) is an important assertion in *TVA* that is germane to this dissertation. A living social institution is one that changes and adapts as it responds to its environment and as the environment changes and adapts to reflect the institution. In addition, it is necessary to consider the informal social structures within an organization to understand its administrative process. An organization's informal social structures also reflect the institutional values of the organization.

The theme of the adaption of institutions is important in later presentations in this dissertation of embedded human agency and the recursive relationship between human agency and structure. The following section reviews Selznick's *Leadership In Administration*. In this study, Selznick developed his concept of institution as a process that infuses values into organizations.

Leadership in Administration

As stated, in the discipline of public administration, a cornerstone of institutional inquiry comes from Philip Selznick's *Leadership In Administration: A Sociological Interpretation*. Selznick (1984) argued that there are many studies of organizations that focus on improving the process of specific tasks and making organizations more efficient. However, at the time of his study, there seemed to be little attention to or few studies of problems beyond efficiency (Selznick, 1984). The purpose, or the "larger picture", of an organization is not explained or understood through examples of or improvements to efficient tasks. In a similar admonition to Dwight Waldo's "Efficiency for What?" in *The Administrative State*, Selznick (1984) asserted a "more comprehensive understanding of social organizations" (p. 4) comes from an examination of "the organization as a whole, including its changing aims" (p. 5). To uncover the purpose of an organization, one must understand it as an institution. To understand the organization as an institution, it is necessary to explore the organization's process of institutionalization.

Selznick's definition of organization. Organizations exist "as a formal system of rules and objectives (with) tasks, powers and procedures . . . designed (as) a technical instrument for mobilizing human energies and directing them toward set aims" (Selznick, 1984, p. 5). As technical instruments, organizations are a rational and efficient system of predetermined means designed to achieve specific goals. By themselves, organizations are "an expendable tool, a rational instrument engineered to do a job" (Selznick, 1984, p. 5). As a tool, an organization only regulates specific tasks to be performed by the individuals of the organization.

By only regulating specific tasks to be performed by individuals, an organization does not necessarily fulfill some personal emotional need for or give some life-defining purpose to the individual performing the task (Selznick, 1984). In addition, an organization, "as a rational instrument engineered to do a specific job", does not necessarily convey the relevance or purpose of that job to the larger social system (Selznick, 1984). Organizations are expendable. For Selznick, the question becomes why do some organizations exist for a long period of time and why the longer an organization exists, the more it seems to reflect certain values. An organization's longevity seems to be proportional to the degree to which it fulfills needs for and provides meaning to individuals and conveys its purpose to the larger social system.

In *Leadership In Administration*, Selznick explained how an organization becomes more than just its formal set of tasks, rules, and procedures. The longer an organization exists, the more it reflects the interactions of the individuals within it and the environment around it. Selznick argued, "that in attempting to understand large and relatively enduring organizations we must draw upon what we know about natural communities" (Selznick, 1984, p. 13). Selznick (1984) viewed organizations as adaptive social structures. As adaptive social structures, ideas that explain tendencies in social communities or what he termed "natural communities" may be applied to explain the tendencies within an organization.

Selznick listed three tendencies of social communities that add to our understanding of organizations beyond viewing them as formal structures of tasks, rules, and procedures. The first is maintaining social order. In natural communities it is necessary to develop certain "doctrines" (Selznick, 1984). The equivalent to a doctrine

that maintains a social order in an organization is an administrative ideology. Administrative ideologies create an organizational philosophy or identity that allows for some continuity of process and a sense of integrity (Selznick, 1984).

A group of elites is the second tendency of natural communities or the social world that lends an understanding to organizations. In natural communities, elites develop, represent, and preserve the values of their social structures (Selznick, 1984). As an organization's identity is strengthened, elites are necessary to maintain the continuity of process and a sense of integrity in the organization. These elites embody the identity of the organization and "play a vital role in the creation and protection of (organizational) values" (Selznick, 1984, p. 14).

The last tendency of natural communities that helps to explain the interworking of organizations is competing interest groups. In the social world, different groups of individuals contend for power. This power allows for a group to be a dominant influence within society (Selznick, 1984). In an organization, different units vie for control. "(T)here is normal day-to-day contention, and there is the attempt to become the dominant or "senior" unit, as when a personnel department replaces an accounting unit as the source from which general managers are recruited" (Selznick, 1984, p. 15). Each conflict and resolution among the competing interest groups within the organization potentially changes the continuity of processes, the sense of integrity, the elites, and the identity of the organization.

These three tendencies of natural communities exist in relation to one another. Ideologies rely on elites. Elites come from the most powerful unit. The most powerful unit produces the elites, which in turn, influences the administrative ideology. It is these

interrelated tendencies that make an organization a reflection of natural communities, which Selznick understood as an adaptive social structure.

As adaptive social structures, organizations are constantly changing, yet it seems some organizations maintain a level of "institutionalized" continuity of processes, sense of integrity, and identity. Some of the changes, or adaptions, that organizations make become repeated actions. The adaptions that become repeated actions derive from and are a reflection of the values of the organization. As an organization adapts repetitive actions that derive from and are a reflection of a set of social values, it begins the process of institutionalization. The following section expands on Selznick's concept of the process of institutionalization.

The process of institutionalization. Organizations infused with value. This section explores the specifics of Philip Selznick's development of a process of institutionalization. The process of institutionalization explains how an organization changes to reflect the individuals within and the environment around it. These changes make the organization fulfilling, purposive, and meaningful to the individuals within and the environment around it. Selznick (1984) explained that making an organization fulfilling, purposive, and meaningful or infusing it with value becomes an end for the institution.

Selznick's theory of the process of institutionalization relies on the presumption that organizations are social communities or social structures. From this presumption Selznick developed the three main ideas to explain of the process of institutionalization. First an organization has two social communities, an internal and an external. Next, the organization becomes infused with value to become an institution. Last, three

components, action, history, and recursive influence, guide the process of institutionalization.

An organization's two social communities. The changes that occur in the process of institutionalization reflect a social need and pressure (Selznick, 1984). The social need and pressure has a source. These sources are the community of individuals within the internal administrative structure of the organization and/or the external community, or the environment, of other social structures. Institutions result from a "stream of influences" (Heclo, 2008, p. 63) of the individuals within an organization or from the environment around it. To uncover the influences or the values that drive institutionalization, it is necessary to examine both the internal and external communities of an organization. The internal and external communities of an organization originate the changes that bring about the process of institutionalization.

The individuals of what Selznick termed the "natural internal community", or the informal, internal social community, perform the actions that infuse the organization with values. Unlike the organization, these individuals are not completely rational, efficient and objective. They bring their own lived experiences to the community. As Selznick (1984) explained, "(t)he formal or official design . . . never completely accounts for what the participants do. It is always supplemented . . . as the individual brings into play his own personality, his special problems, and interests" (p. 8). The individual consciously or unconsciously performs the tasks of an organization with his or her own prejudices that come from the individual's own lived experiences.

Selznick (1984) was not arguing that the prejudices or values of every individual, in an organization are able to change the organization into institution. *Leadership in*

Administration is about the role of leadership in the process of institutionalization. Selznick (1984) explained that the individuals within an organization "have their own needs for self-protection and self fulfillment – needs that may either sustain the formal system or undermine it" (Selznick, 1984, p. 8). Human beings live in a social world comprised of smaller social communities of collective values or social norms. It becomes the responsibility of the leaders within an organization to direct and link the actions of the individuals within an organization to the collective values. With effective leadership, the individual recognizes that his or her needs for self-protection and self-fulfillment are being met by the actions performed. As such, Selznick (1984) argued that the function of leadership within organizations is to develop administrative procedures that reflect the collective values, or social norms, that individuals bring with them to a rational organization. An effective leader symbolizes the collective values of the individuals within the organization.

The second community that influences the process of institutionalization is the external environment. Selznick explains that to study something as an institution it is necessary to examine how "it has been influenced by the social environment" (Selznick, 1984, p. 6). Grounded in a normative theory of the concept of institution (Scott, 2014), the process of institutionalization also derives from adaptions to the social values, or norms, of the organization's external (social) environment.

There are three ways to examine how an organization has adapted to its environment. One is the organization's relationship to "centers of power within the community" (Selznick, 1984, p. 6). An examination of the interplay and/or influence of formal structures, such as laws, with the organization reveal the process of

institutionalization. The second way is the organization's source of leaders. To study an organization as an institution one could ask from "what strata of society its (an organization's) leadership is drawn and how this affects policy" (Selznick, 1984, p. 6). The final way to examine how an organization has adapted to its environment is to identify the role that the organization fulfills for the larger community (Selznick, 1984). To identify the role that the organization fulfills, one must pinpoint the specific clientele of the organization, or who uses the goods or services of the organization, which becomes a "secure source of support" (Selznick, 1984, p. 7).

In sum, the process of institutionalization begins with the two social communities of an organization. The internal and external social communities develop social needs and pressures that require the organization to adapt its processes. These adaptions begin the process of the infusion values. Thus, these two naturally occurring social communities are the source of the values that become institutionalized. The following section explains how Selznick defines values.

To infuse with value. Understanding how an organization infuses with values requires examining Selznick's presentation of the two concepts of social value and meaning. As with the concept of institution, the concepts of value and meaning have multiple definitions and uses. These multiple definitions and uses are also grounded in one's perspective of the nature of reality and the social world. For example, a value in rational choice theory is whatever produces the greatest or best output. As a normative theory, Selznick's process of institutionalization relies on norms, morals or ethics. In the process of institutionalization, norms, morals, or ethics are an end when examining administrative process as the means to an end. Values or meanings vary and are

organization dependent. Organizations within the same environment may have overlapping attributes of specific values, but as a whole, those values may not be represented in precisely the same manner within each different organization.

The identification of values and the development of processes that reflect those values are the responsibility of the organization's leadership. The values chosen must support the goals and principles, or the mission, of the organization. "The setting of institutional *goals* cannot be divorced from the enunciation of governing *principles*" (Selznick, 1984, p. 144, emphasis in original). In a footnote in *Leadership and Administration*, Selznick clarified how a leader chooses a particular value from among a field of many. He stated, "(t)his may be compared with individual moral experience, where-in the individual existentially chooses self-defining values and strives to make himself an authentic representative of them, that is to hold them genuinely rather than specifically" (Selznick, 1984, p. 60). After the leader chooses a value that reflects the goals and principles of the organization, the role of the leader becomes the development of an organization that embodies the values chosen (Selznick, 1984).

As an end, values give meaning or purpose to the process. Because values are specific to an organization, so too is meaning. These meanings rely on the organization's goals or standards (Selznick, 1984). "This includes any set of goals or standards that can form the basis of shared perspectives and group feeling" (Selznick, 1984, p. 121). The individuals within the organization, as part of the social environment, derive meaning from the distinctive service that the organization provides to the community (Selznick, 1984). In turn, "organizations become infused with value as they come to symbolize the community's aspirations, its sense of identity" (Selznick, 1984, p. 19). The reliance of the

social environment on the distinctive characteristics of the organization strengthens the identity of the organization.

The three components of the process of institutionalization. The process of institutionalization has three components. First, infusing an organization with values lies with the actions and interactions[1] of human agents, especially leaders. Institutionalization occurs with repetitive, definitive, responsive actions that fulfill a need for, reflect a purpose of, or give meaning to the individuals within it and/or the social environment in which it survives (Selznick, 1984). Second, to study an organization as an institution is to "pay some attention to its history" (Selznick, 1984, p. 6). The third assertion is that institutionalization recursively occurs as an organization becomes "infused with values" (Selznick, 1984). As the responsive actions become institutionalized practices, they begin to constrain or limit future actions of individuals within the organization. As Hugh Heclo (2008) explained, "by freeing up people for action within constraints, institutions can be simultaneously vehicles of control and of empowerment" (p.57).

As a process, the first component of institutionalization is action. Institutionalized actions differ from organizational tasks. As stated when describing Selznick's concept of an organization, an organization is an expendable tool. "An 'institution' . . . is more nearly a natural product of social needs and pressures – a responsive, adaptive system" (Selznick, 1984, p.5). At times, organizational tasks adapt to a social need or pressure. The actions that precipitate the process of institutionalization are responses to a social need or pressure that the organization does not meet (Barley & Tolbert, 1997, Burns,

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1 In Selznick's work the terms "action" and "interaction" are interchangeable. This is not necessarily true in other theories, particularly the work of Anthony Giddens.

1997, DiMaggio & Powel, 1997, Heclo, 2008, March & Olsen, 1989, Pettigrew, 1997, Selznick, 1984, Weick, 1997). The responsive action is customized to meet the internal or external social need or pressure. It is no longer the originally prescribed task of the organization. These adapted tasks are definitive, responsive actions (Selznick, 1984). Although a one-time definitive, responsive action might be necessary to meet a specific social need or pressure, it does not begin the process of institutionalization.

As a responsive, adaptive system, an institution requires the definitive, responsive action to be repeated or patterned (Selznick, 1984). As the prescribed task repeatedly adapts to the internal and external social need or pressure, a responsive action replaces the original prescribed task. As the responsive action is repeated, it begins to infuse the organization with the value that meets the social need or pressure. As the values infuse into the organization, it is no longer the rational, expendable tool.

The patterning of the definitive, responsive actions is the second component in the process of institutionalization, history. As Philip Selznick (1984) explained, "organizations have a history; and this history is compounded of discernable modes of responding" (p. 16). To perform a definitive, responsive action repeatedly or as a pattern requires some passage of time or history. Patterned, or repetitive, definitive, responsive actions are an organization's historical mode of responding. As distinctive historical modes emerge from the rational system of the organization, they become characteristics specific to the organization (DiMaggio & Powel, 1997, Heclo, 2008, March & Olsen, 2006, Pettigrew, 1997, Selznick, 1984, Weick, 1997).

In addition to its history, to study something as an institution it is necessary "to see how institutional change is produced by, and in turn shapes the interaction of

individuals in day-to-day situations" (Selznick, 1984, p. 4). The process of institutionalization is recursive. The individuals within an organization are the naturally occurring internal social community that presents the organization with needs and pressures. The needs or pressures of the individuals within an organization change the organization with repetitive, definitive, responsive actions. With each adaption, the interactions of the individuals within the institution changes. Once institutionalized, the institutionalized values change the individuals of the organization. The interactions of the individuals within an organization now embody the values of the institution.

The recursiveness of the process of institutionalization is also evident in the second naturally occuring community, an organization's environment (Barley & Tolbert, 1997, DiMaggio & Powell, 1997, Hannan & Freeman, 1997, Pettigrew, 1997, Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003, Pugh, 2003, Selznick, 1984). The environment of an organization consists of external institutions that have commonalities, such as production firms in a similar industry or organizations in the same place. These external institutions exist at the same time as the organization.

The natural external community or social environment may be any type of institution. "(I)t is generally accepted that contexts, organizational environments, are important for understanding actions and structures" (Pfeffer and Salanick, 2003, p. 233). The actions of organizations within the social environment pressure the other organizations within the environment to adapt and change. "Context refers to the antecedent conditions of change, . . . broad features of the outer context of the firm from which much of the legitimacy for change is derived" (Pettigrew, 1997, p. 462). An action that responds to a need or a pressure of the external community and becomes a repetitive,

definitive, responsive action begins the process of infusing the values of the social environment or the natural external community into the organization. Conversely, at times, an institution presents a need or a pressure to the external community or the other institutions within its environment, which then adapt a repetitive, definitive, responsive action in response to the need or pressure. Multiple institutions within the same environment begin to reflect one another as they become infused with the values of the external social structure (DiMaggio and Powell, 1997, Selznick, 1984).

Conclusion

As presented above, Philip Selznick (1984) developed his concept of the process of institutionalization in his influential study *Leadership In Administration.* In the study, Selznick distinguished an organization from an institution. Organizations are rational, expendable tools. Institutions are organizations that become "infused with value". The infusion of value creates a social structure that reflects its natural internal and external communities.

Selznick's three components of the process of institutionalization are key for this project. The patterned actions of the individuals studied in this dissertation reveal the underlying values or motivating factors of the Progressive Era reforms in turn of the twentieth century Chicago. If a repetitive, definitive, responsive action meets a social need or a pressure from either of an organization's natural communities, then an analysis of these repetitive, definitive, responsive actions reveals the underlying value or motivating social need or pressure. The question becomes how to identify repetitive, definitive, responsive actions. Anthony Giddens's Theory of Structuration offers two assertions about institutions that help identify repetitive, definitive, responsive actions.

First, Giddens's foundational assertion of the duality of structure expands on Selznick's component of recursiveness. The second concept, contextuality, adds to Selznick's assertion that an organization's natural communities are the source of institutionalization. The following chapter, the third and final chapter of this literature review, explores Giddens's two assertions that are relevant to the concept of institution as it is used in this project. The chapter following the literature review describes the research method of narrative analysis.

CHAPTER IV

LITERATURE REVIEW: ANTHONY GIDDENS'S THEORY OF STRUCTRATION AND THE CONCEPT OF CONTEXTUALITY AS A FOUNDATION TO INTERPRET HUMAN INTERACTIONS

Most traditional sociological theories of social systems focus on the importance of and the relationship between two separate concepts: human action and social structure (Scott, 2014). As seemingly contradictory terms, the two are often explained with a linear causal relationship. Either actions create structures or structures determine actions. However, in *The Constitution of Society*, Anthony Giddens (1984) broke from this tradition of conceptualizing separate concepts (Scott, 2014) and developed the "theory of structuration".

According to Ian Craib (1992), in the Theory of Structuration, Giddens compiled a theory of social reality from a collective of 20th century social theories. Giddens attributed hermeneutic phenomenology with developing a new perspective of social systems and social theories that allows for a re-conceptualization of human agency and social institutions (Giddens, 1984). In *The Constitution of Society*, Giddens combined concepts from differing sociological theories and ontological perspectives, such as those

of Talcott Parsons and Erving Goffman, into a comprehensive theory of human agency and social institutions grounded in hermeneutic phenomenology.

For Giddens, traditional theories of social systems fail by examining action and structure as paradoxical or as dualisms. In addition, because they rely on a linear or casual analysis, traditional theories exclude, or fail to understand, the crucial concept of contextuality in the development of social systems (Giddens, 2007). As Giddens explained, "(s)pace is not an empty dimension along which social groupings become structured, but has to be considered in terms of its involvement in the constitution of systems of interaction" (Giddens, 2007, p. 364). For Giddens, the time-space, or the contextuality, of human actions and social structures, explains the meaning of human interaction.

Structuration is a complex, contentious, and at times confusing, theory (Craib, 1992). As such, this dissertation does not intend to examine or employ the entirety of Giddens's theory. This dissertation integrates Giddens's concept of contextuality, which derives from the concept of the duality of structure, to Selznick's theory of institutions. In *Institutions and Organizations: Ideas, Interests, and Identities,* W. Richard Scott (2014) explained to supplement or add missing concepts to a theory of institutions, a scholar may borrow a concept from a different theory of institution (Scott, 2014). The theories as a whole will not be identical, but concepts from each may be considered together to create a different perspective from the original theory of institution.

Giddens's theory of social systems seems to parallel the previously explained process of institutionalization conceived by Philip Selznick. In Selznick's theory of institution, the process of institutionalization occurs with adaptive actions that are in

response to some social need or pressure. The adaptive actions provide meaning or give purpose to the processes of any type of organization. This research accepts that the process of institutionalization occurs as an organization becomes "infused with value". However, the question of how the individual or organization comes to know of the social needs or pressures and how can the specific social needs or pressures be identified remains. In Selznick's theory, there seems to be no way to identify the impetus for the adaptions. Anthony Giddens's theory of structuration offers an answer, which is the concept of contextuality or time-space.

This research accepts the concept of the duality of structure and integrates the concept contextuality from Giddens's theory of structuration into the previously detailed theory of institution from Philip Selznick's definition of "to infuse with value". The concept of the duality of structure is the foundation for the concept of contextuality. Contextuality adds to Selznick's theory that social structures change during a specific time and in a specific setting. This research identifies some of the underlying or motivating values, as explained by a frame of institutionalized actions, of Progressive Era reformers in the City of Chicago. As such, it is necessary to explain in the process of institutionalization the significance of time (Progressive Era) and setting (Chicago).

The concept of contextuality in Giddens's theory offers the identification and exploration of specific interactions of individuals. Specific interactions explain how social structures change and infuse that social structure with value. To understand the concept of contextuality it is helpful to first state the fundamental presumptions of Giddens's theory. There are two presumptions to accept to understand Giddens. First, reality and being are not separate concepts. Second, as a theory grounded in hermeneutic

phenomenology, structuration looks to uncover the meaning of the interactions of human agents.

The Duality of Structure

The key to the theory of structuration is how Giddens conceived of the relationship of human action and social structure. Like traditional sociological theories, Giddens grounded structuration in the two fundamental concepts. However, in the theory of structuration, the concepts of human action and social structure, or social institutions[2] (Barley & Tolbert, 1997, Giddens, 2007), are not mutually exclusive independent concepts with a causal relationship. Instead, they are inter-related, recursive dualities. Actions create structures and, in turn, structures limit actions. Structures confine actions; yet structures transform with repetitive actions. The duality of structure is the term used by Giddens to describe the dualities within and between human action and social structure.

In most traditional sociological theories, one concept contradicts and/or causes the other; but in the theory of structuration each concept is the consequence of the other. In addition, the concepts of human action and social structure are dualities. Human action and social structure exist as a duality in relation to one another and each of the concepts contains a duality of concepts. The concepts of human action and social structure are explained by the dualities of "human being and human doing (human action), social reproduction and social transformation (social structure)" (Giddens, 2007, p. 16,

[2] It is important to note that Giddens equated social structures with social institutions. "In speaking of the structural properties of social systems I mean their institutionalized features" (Giddens, 2007, p. 24).

parentheses not in the original text). To exist (be) as a part of society, one must act (do) in the "co-presence" of another. To act (do), one must exist (be). The social transformation of structural properties occurs with each socially reproduced action because each social reproduction of an action strengthens or alters existing structural properties. It is the consequential and recursive relationship among all components of action and structure that separates Giddens from most traditional theories.

As Giddens explained, "(s)tructure is a medium and outcome of the conduct it recursively organizes; the structural properties of social systems do not exist outside of action but are chronically implicated in its production and reproduction" (Giddens, 2007, p. 369). The notion that social systems are chronically implicated with all actions is the foundation of Giddens's theory. Action and structure are dualities; there is no action without structure and no structure without action. Furthermore, embedded within the concept of action is the duality of being and doing, where doing is actually the concepts embedded within the concept of structure, the duality of reproduction and transformation. "(T)he moment of the production of action is also one of reproduction" (Giddens, 2007, p. 56). The tied-together relationships among being, doing, transforming and reproducing are the "duality of structure". The duality of structure is not that actions *create* the structure, but that actions *are* the structure. Figure 1 illustrates the recursive inter-related, "chronically implicated" relationship.

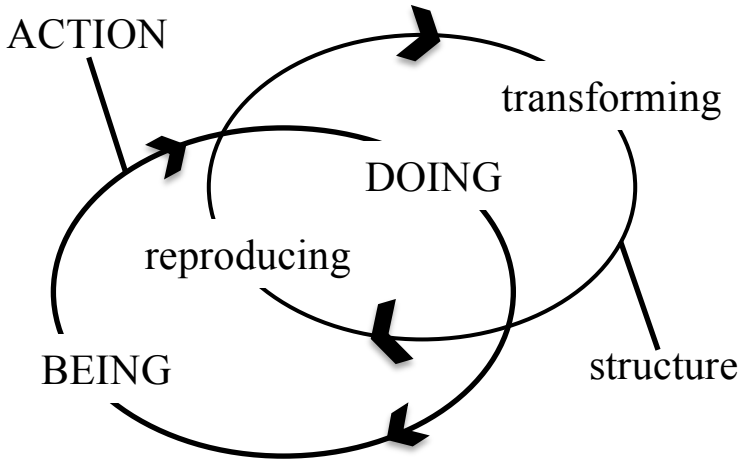


Figure 1. *The duality of structure*

Contextuality

As stated in the introduction to this chapter, Giddens believed that traditional theories of social systems miss the crucial component of space by relying on linear accounts of history. Giddens stated, "(h)istory is the structuration of events in time and space through the continual interplay of action and structure" (Giddens, 2007, p. 359). For Giddens, history is more than just a passage of time and a story of sequential events. Historical events result from recurrent actions that occur when individuals repeatedly converge in the same space. As such, the component of space must be considered when examining social systems (Giddens, 2007).

To uncover the structuration of events, or history, one must look to the intersection of action and structure (Barley & Tolbert, 1997). Giddens explained, "(t)he important concept in social organization and social reproduction is context. Structural properties are institutionalized features of social systems, stretching across time and

space" (Giddens, 2007, p. 201). Recall Giddens's concept of the duality of structure. As a duality of action and structure that is chronically implicated in reproduction and transformation with human being and doing, a social system exists where there is interaction. Whether reproductive or transformative, doing is the structure. To uncover where the intersection of action and structure occurs, Giddens developed the concept of contextuality.

Contextuality is the convergence of time and space. Specifically, it is "the situated character of interaction in time-space involving the setting of interaction (*Chicago*), actors co-present (*Reformers*) and communication between them (*archived or published texts*)" (Giddens, 2007, p. 369, parentheses not in original text). The convergence of three components, actors co-present, interaction or communication among the actors, and setting, leads to the contextuality of a social system. Because action is structure and actions occur with the co-presence of actors, structures only exist where individuals come together. As such, to understand human action and social structure, one must look to the actors co-present, the interaction, and the setting. Figure 2 illustrates the concept of contextuality as the convergence of actors, action, and setting.

The first two components of contextuality are relatively simple. As stated earlier, in order to do, one must be and to be one must do. However, in the theory of structuration, doing happens in the presence of another. Of course people move and do when alone, but mere movement is not how Giddens defined doing. The influence of social structures is not as strong when one is alone and has complete autonomy of self.

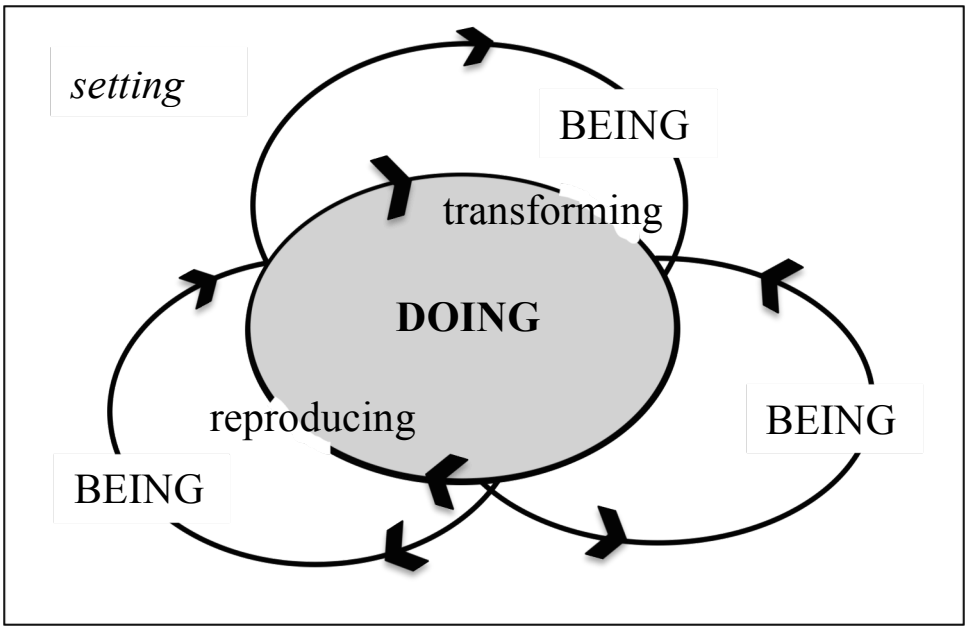


Figure 2: *Contextuality: the convergence of actors co-present (BEING), interaction (DOING), and setting.*

To be a part of a social system, one must act in the presence of another. "All social interaction is expressed at some point in and through the contextualities of bodily presence" (Giddens, 2007, p. 302). One acts in accordance with typifications, that "acquire the moral and ontological status of taken for granted facts, which in turn, shapes future interactions and negotiations" (Barley and Tolbert, 1997, p. 94) with others. To identify the values of a social structure, it is necessary to consider the interactions of actors that are co-present.

In the theory of structuration, the setting of interaction adds a third component to the consideration of interactions of actors that are co-present. This third component, the setting, along with the interactions of actors that are co-present is the term contextuality. Contextuality enhances Selznick's theory of the process of institutionalization by adding the consideration of where interactions occur. The component of setting of interaction or,

to use Giddens's term, locale, provides a way to identify what Philip Selznick defined as the social needs or pressures of the internal and external natural communities that lead to repetitive, definitive, responsive actions and begin the process of institutionalization. Locale, as a setting of interactions, is the component of space (Giddens, 2007) in Giddens notion of time-space. To further examine the importance of space, what follows is a detailed analysis of the component of locale.

The concept of contextuality includes three concepts: co-presence, interaction and setting. As stated earlier, the production of action is also the reproduction of structure, which reflects daily social life and is influenced by the context of the action (Giddens, 2007). As a setting for interactions, a locale links a physical setting and adds the component of space to the construction of social systems. A simple restatement of the concept of contextuality is actions happen between actors somewhere. Locale is the somewhere.

Locales are "a physical region . . . having definite boundaries which help to concentrate interaction in one way or another" (Giddens, 2007, p. 369). A locale is a delimited setting, or physical place, of co-presence for human action. "Contexts of co-presence . . . can be described as settings, and settings have to be reflexively activated" (Giddens, 2007, p. 155). As a reflexively activated component, settings of interaction become locales when actors are co-present. If there are no actors co-present, then the setting is an empty space. Of course, the physical space does not disappear. However, it is no longer a component of the social structure when no one is present. Locales are defined with the concept of contextuality or as the setting of interaction. With the occurrence of the other two components of contextuality, co-presence of actors and

interaction, a physical place or the setting becomes the locale of the social system (Giddens, 2007).

Giddens purposefully described locale as the physical *setting* of interaction that is *reflexively* activated. "(T)he settings and circumstances within which action occurs do not come out of thin air, they themselves have to be explained within the very same logical framework as that in which whatever action described and 'understood' has also to be explained" (Giddens, 2007, p. 356). How individuals perceive the significance of the setting, where the setting is physically located, and what the setting's role is within the social system determine the appropriate actions by the actors in co-presence. Where they are, what it means, and what's expected is how individuals will interact in a specific setting.

To illustrate the concept of locale, Giddens (2007) used the example of a schoolhouse. Students understand the "rules and regulations" of attending school and act in some accordance with those "rules and regulations" while they are in the building during school hours. The physical building becomes the locale known as a schoolhouse when there are co-present actors (students and teachers) and interactions (lessons, recess, socialization). The building only truly becomes a "schoolhouse" when individuals are there and interacting in accordance with the appropriate interactions for the social structure of attending school. A clichéd example is the concept of a house versus home. A house is a type of physical building in which individuals live. A home explains the social structure of the house. The house becomes the locale of a home because of the interactions of the individuals that live in it.

The actors within the social system inveterately know the institutionalized social structure (Giddens, 2007). However, the actors are not necessarily conscious of the influence that the social structure has over ordinary human action (Giddens, 2007). An examination of the actors and interactions that occur within a locale uncovers the behavior, or values, that bind and alter the social structure of that locale.

A Theory of Institution to Frame the Narrative Analysis

From Philip Selznick's theory of institution as a process of "infusing an organization with value" and Anthony Giddens's theory of structuration's concept of contextuality, the actions of human agents reveal institutionalized values. These institutionalized values give meaning to the actions. From Selznick, institutionalization originates in actions that are in response to a social need or pressure from an internal or external community. The process of institutionalization occurs with the repetition of a responsive action. From Giddens, the physical setting of the interaction, or locale, also provides meaning to the interaction. The process of institutionalization gives meaning to the actions of the individuals within the organization and to the environment it is in.

Framing the narrative analysis with a theory of institutions ties the method of interpretation to a theory of social structure. Interpretations look to uncover meaning. In organizational theory, which is the literature on the concept of institution on which this research is grounded, institutions provide meaning or give purpose to human agents. The concepts of and relationship between human agency and social structure describe the concept of institution. A narrative analysis of archived or historical texts provides a method with which to look at historical actions and interpret meaning or the purpose of the actions. Since one cannot physically observe historical, historical texts may be

equated to actions in interpretive research (Ricoeur,1973). The following chapter details the research method of a narrative analysis.

To understand the meaning of reforms to the reformers or the purpose of the reforms, I will examine what the reformers said or wrote when in the specific locale of Chicago. The following chapters are the execution of this research. Chapter five describes the method of narrative analysis used. The sixth chapter details the acknowledged prejudices that I bring to the research. The next chapter explores actions of reformers intended to change human agency. The eighth chapter examines calls by reformers for changes to social structures. The concluding chapter presents some conclusions on the meaning of reform in Progressive Era Chicago and the discipline of Public Administration.

CHAPTER V

RESEARCH METHOD: NARRATIVE ANALYSIS

A narrative analysis interprets patterns, regularities, and themes in texts to uncover the meaning of those texts. A narrative is a compilation of stories, which are the units of analysis, derived from specified texts of identified storytellers (Feldman, Sköldberg, Brown and Horner, 2004, Frank 2002, Franzosi, 1998). As a compilation of stories, a narrative is not measurable or quantifiable but experiential and qualitative. Stories reveal value and meaning or "what matters" (Frank, 2002). As Jay White explained in a 1992 *American Review of Public Administration* article, an interpretation of text, or a narrative analysis, seeks "a" knowledge or "an" understanding of the text to the speaker (if the text is a speech) or writer (if the text is an essay).

As experiential and qualitative, the "a" knowledge or "an" understanding of a text is contextual and subjective. Different people can interpret the same statement differently. No one is able to fully understand what someone intended though interpretation. However, experiential and qualitative or contextual and subjective provide insight into the question of what the purpose or the meaning of an interaction was to the individuals who participated in the event or exist during that period of time. "Things come to matter and continue to matter insofar as they instigate stories that affirm those

things in relation to how lives are lived" (Frank, 2002, p. 113). Stories are how individuals express values that are important and are how individuals relive interactions (Frank, 2002). Telling the stories of a larger narrative "provide(s) meaning and coherence to, and perspective on, experience and one's social traditions" (Smith, p. 328). In Giddens's terms, the stories of a larger narrative explain the interactions of actors in co-presence or the contextuality of institutions.

Narrative analysis is not stating or detailing factual events. The conclusions drawn from a narrative analysis can only apply to the analysis conducted. A narrative emerges from patterns, regularities, and themes of the actions in a collection of stories that describe a set of events (Franzosi, 1998). The actions of the individuals who are part of each of the stories reflect the purpose of those stories to the storytellers (Franzosi, 1998). Stories provide "insights not only into what is happening but also into the understandings of the participants about why and how it is happening" (Feldman, et al., 2004). Narrative analysis provides a method that allows for the examination of the life of real people. As a retrospective and historical process, a narrative analysis is how events are remembered (Freeman, 2015) and how people existed (Freeman, 2015).

In this research, the narrative analysis focuses on texts by select reformers that desired to incite change to institutionalized values in the City of Chicago at the turn of the twentieth century. As Arthur Frank (2002) explained, "(p)eople do seek what is better and they form communities based on agreements about what is better" (p. 115). Archived and published texts from the period studied describe the changes that each respective storyteller or narrator deemed desirable or necessary to improve the conditions of the city. Specifically, this research examines stories that call for changes that are in response

to social needs and pressures and as such, according to Philip Selznick, affect institutionalized values.

Uncovering the meaning of municipal reform to Progressive Era reformers in Chicago is the goal of this research. As a project that looks for meaning, the interpretation of the actions of the reformers will be within a frame of the concept of institution. In Selznick's theory of the process of institutionalization, an institution is an organization infused with value by actions that are in response to a social need or pressure. Value gives purpose or meaning to the actions that are carried out by individuals of the organization. A social need or pressure is a deficiency in the existing institution. Addressing the deficiency meets the social need or pressure. Reformers identified deficiencies in exiting social institutions and proposed changes. These deficiencies are divided into two types of actions. The first are arguments or persuasions to change other actor's actions or human agency. The second type of deficiency argues for changes to formalized institutional structures, such as laws.

A narrative analysis in an institutional framework puts actors and their actions at the forefront of the interpretation. Language, as a way to communicate meaning, is also a way to interpret the knowledgeability of agents. "Within institutional settings stories are often found in speeches, organizational histories, newsletters, and individuals conversations" (Green Jr. and Li, 2011). This research asks: "what did reform mean to the people who called for it?" Examining what they said is one way to interpret how they proposed to change existing institutionalized values in Progressive Era Chicago.

To develop my method, I relied on multiple articles and book chapters that describe the process and steps of a narrative analysis. The terms narrative and narrative

analysis or inquiry are broad terms that describe different approaches to interpretative qualitative research. The breadth of approaches means it is essential to detail as clearly as possible the steps a researcher uses in their research to interpret the selected text. As a qualitative method that uncovers meaning and relies on interpretation, the soundness of the interpretations of a narrative analysis is judged by what Mark Bevir describes as "epistemic legitimacy" (Bevir, 2006, p. 289) or what seems feasible and reasonable.

Detailing the process of the selection of stories and the identification of pattern, regularities, and themes within those stories provides information that allows for the reader of the researcher's interpretations to assess the feasibility of the interpretations (Bevir, 2006). In this research project, stories are the primary unit of analysis and these stories are found in formal speeches and written works by identified storytellers that lived in the City of Chicago during the Progressive Era. The remainder of this chapter details the method of inquiry employed for this project.

Step One: Develop a research question

Every research project begins with the development of a question. The academic discipline of public administration began as a response to corrupt municipal practices as the American economy transitioned from an agrarian to an industrial one. This time, known as the Progressive Era, presented numerous dilemmas to a burgeoning urban setting. These numerous dilemmas led to the development of other social science disciplines, such as city planning. Regardless of why the other disciplines developed, such as in response to a need for controlling and improving the development of the physical urban environment, it seems there is some link or progression of intellectual thought during the Progressive Era that led to the development of those disciplines.

In addition to the dilemmas of the Progressive Era, there were many challenges to institutionalized social values as a result of the changing human condition within an emerging urban society. The recognition of the development of many different social science disciplines and the implications of extensive challenges to existing social values led to a fundamental concept of this research, meaning. The social challenges of the Progressive Era needed solutions. Progressive Era Reformers proposed solutions. The solutions proposed had a specific purpose. The specific purpose reflected the values of the reformers. The values of the reformers reveal what actions and social were important or what reform would mean.

A project that identifies the meaning of Progressive Era reform in the city is extremely broad. To narrow the scope of the research, it seemed logical to identify a specific city. I chose Chicago. To expand on the explanation of selection of Chicago in introductory chapter, many of the social science disciplines being developed simultaneously with public administration are often associated with the University of Chicago. Second, as previously stated, Jane Addams's Hull House was located in Chicago and is often considered the exemplar of the Settlement House Movement. In addition, Charles E. Merriam, a member of the influential public administration study, the Brownlow Committee, was a citizen of and alderman for the City of Chicago and a professor at the University of Chicago.

Lastly, it seems so many studies of public administration that examine the Progressive Era or the discipline's naissance focus on the Municipal Research Bureaus or the academic developments at Columbia University where John Burgess and, more importantly, Frank Goodnow were professors. These bureaus began and Columbia

University resides in New York City. The Bureaus and Goodnow argued to separate politics from the process of administration and focused on developing the most efficient process. However, Progressive Era reforms developed in many cities across the United States and examining a city other than New York seemed intriguing and offered a potential alternative perspective on municipal reform.

Chicago is different from New York City because it was settled after the Revolutionary War and does not necessarily have any institutionalized values associated with colonization. At the cusp of the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era, Chicago had to re-build itself because the Great Chicago Fire of 1871 had destroyed 25% of the city. Lastly, during a visit to Chicago in 2009, I learned during an audio tour of the then Hancock Tower that the City had earned its nickname, "The Windy City", because of the practice of party politics. The party politicians were full of "hot air" and considered "wind bags".

Step Two: Determine an appropriate research method

During my first class as a doctoral student, I was taught that the research question leads to the research method. Certain types of questions require certain types of methods. As a question of meaning, my research question requires an interpretive method. Meaning, specifically purpose, needs to be interpreted from action or text. To identify the meaning of reforms, I decided to rely on a theory of institutionalized values. To include the significance of an urban environment, I decided to rely on Anthony Giddens's concept of contextuality. A narrative analysis was chosen because narrative analyses uncover meaning through an interpretation of language (Craig, 2005).

Step Three: Identify my prejudices

After developing a question and deciding that a narrative analysis is an appropriate method to answer the question, the next step was to try to identify any researcher prejudices or biases. Narrative analysis involves the process of interpretation. There are no right or wrong interpretations. There are feasible and unfeasible interpretations (Bevir, 2006). However, it is important that the researcher acknowledge previously held beliefs around the texts to be examined.

A scholastic researcher should acknowledge that preconceived notions exist around any study. However, in a narrative analysis, preconceived notions or too much knowledge of how other scholars have interpreted the actions or texts could unduly influence the researcher's interpretations of the text. The best-case scenario for a narrative analysis would be to examine actions or texts of which the researcher has no prior knowledge. However, as scholars grounded in a field of knowledge, it is unlikely that a researcher brings no prior knowledge about or the context of the stories being analyzed to a study. The challenge in a narrative analysis is to not have unacknowledged presumptions about the stories or the storytellers in the analysis. As such, to identify potential influences on the interpretation, the researcher should contemplate and detail existing knowledge of the stories.

For this dissertation, I decided to include my detailed prejudices in a chapter for two reasons. First, as a novice scholar who is being critiqued for the ability to create, conduct, and understand the processes of scholarship, I decided my research process and narrative analysis should be as transparent as I am able to present it. Second, a chapter of

my prejudices allows the reader to determine if I am interpreting a story on its merit or if I am searching for support of my ideas in the text of the story.

Step Four: Identification of stories via storytellers

The unit of analysis in narrative as a method is the story. Limiting or choosing specific storytellers and stories is a difficult task. The Progressive Era was a time of great change in American social institutions. The influx of immigrants diversified the population rapidly. The industrial age altered the class structure by expanding the opportunity to improve one's station in life. The urban environment forced people to live and work closer together. The result of all the simultaneous transformations to the fundamental way of life was many social activists and movements that called for changes to social institutions to accommodate the new society..

The impetus for this research led to the identification of the first three storytellers: Jane Addams, Charles E. Merriam, and Daniel Burnham. These three storytellers are exemplars of reform in Progressive Era Chicago. Although I had pre-existing knowledge of these storytellers, I wanted to develop my own interpretations of their stories. To develop a research question, I read many studies on and examinations about the Progressive Era and the City of Chicago. In the process of developing a research question, I uncovered the remaining three storytellers: Anna Nicholes, Sophonisba Breckenridge and Edith Abbott (considered one storyteller), and Alice Hamilton.

Once the storytellers were identified, the next step was to choose at least one "story" written by each of them. In addition, I wanted stories that complemented one another and that had been written within a close timeframe of two years to be consistent with the component of time in Anthony Giddens's concept of contextuality. For instance,

Daniel Burnham's *Plan of Chicago* was completed in 1909. To complement his idea of a "City Beautiful", I selected Sophonisba Breckenridge and Edith Abbott as a storyteller and include their study of housing conditions in Chicago conducted in 1910. The remainder of this section briefly presents the included storytellers and explains why some notable storytellers are excluded. They are listed in the order in which the interpretations of their stories will be presented.

Jane Addams: Hull House co-founder and peace activist.

Jane Addams is the most obvious choice of a storyteller in Progressive Era Chicago and it seems that any study of Progressive Era Chicago includes her. Addams's name is synonymous with the development of the Settlement House Movement in the United States during the late 19th century. As a life long citizen of Illinois and founder of Hull House with Ellen Gates Starr in 1889, many scholars have reviewed Addams's texts in numerous studies. For these reasons, I have the most prejudice about Miss Addams.

The obvious choice for a story in a narrative analysis of municipal reform in Progressive Era Chicago by Jane Addams is her oft-quoted "Problems of Municipal Administration" (1904). However, this piece is readily known and as been read and interpreted prior to this research by the researcher for an assignment in doctoral coursework. As such the piece, although an important perspective on the issues of municipal government during the Progressive Era, holds too many preconceived notions for the researcher and, frankly, many readers, and is not included.

I chose two stories from Addams's extensive list of work. The first text is from the philanthropic pamphlet *The Survey* in 1912. It is titled "Pragmatism in Politics" and expresses Addams's perspectives on political institutions. The second is a speech that is

directly linked with the second storyteller's text. It is a part of a twelve-volume collection of essays, *The Woman's Citizen Library*. The work is titled "Why Women Are Concerned With The Larger Citizenship – Philanthropy and Politics".

Anna E. Nicholes: Women's activist.

Prior to this research project, I never knew of Miss Anna E. Nicholes. As I conduct the research, I still know very little about her or her life as a Chicagoan. I learned of her when reading Mary Flanagan's 2002 book *Seeing with their Hearts: Chicago Women and the Vision of the Good City, 1871-1933.* Nicholes was an activist who was involved in many women's organizations in Chicago in the early 20th century, such as the Woman's City Club. She is an excellent candidate for a storyteller for this project because I know little about her or her work. For this research I am interpreting her essay, "How Women Can Help the Administration of a City". This essay is part of the same twelve-volume compilation of essays as one of Jane Addams's stories, *The Woman's Citizen Library* published by the Civics Society in 1913.

Charles E. Merriam: Professor, politician, and public administrationist and administrator.

The second obvious choice for a storyteller was Charles E. Merriam. In response to the rapid growth of the Federal government during the New Deal, Franklin Roosevelt authorized the President's Committee on Administrative Management to examine the practices of the executive branch of government. The three members of the committee were Louis Brownlow, Charles E. Merriam, and Luther Gulick. The findings of this committee, often referred to as the Brownlow Committee, remain influential in the contemporary perception of the role of the executive branch in the process of governance,

the conceptualization of Public Administration, and a "classic example of government reorganization" (Sharitz and Hyde, 2008, p. 68). The crucial influence of the Brownlow Committee on Public Administration and Merriam being a Chicagoan during the Progressive Era necessitates Merriam's inclusion in this study. As a member of the Brownlow Committee, his ideas and work continue to influence public administrationists and administrators.

Alice Hamilton: medical doctor, Hull House resident, healthcare and work place safety advocate.

Dr. Alice Hamilton intrigues me. She was one of the first female physicians in the United States. As a Hull House resident, she worked directly with the immigrant population of Chicago. From her work at Hull House she became an advocate for worker safety. This advocation led to her participation on committees that studied "the dangerous trades". Two of her studies are interpreted. The first is a study of midwives and illegal abortions. The second is a study on the lead poisoning of factory workers.

Daniel Burnham: city planner and architect.

Daniel Burnham was the first storyteller identified for this study. As I understand the progression of urban planning in the United States, the University of Chicago or the "Chicago School" is one of the first formalized approaches to urban planning. It seems to me that a study of Progressive Era Chicago needs to include some examination of urban planning. In July 1909, Burnham and his partner, William Bennett, presented the *Plan of Chicago* to the Merchants Club of Chicago (Schaffer, 1993). The study remains a quintessential example of the "City Beautiful" movement in urban planning.

Sophonisba Breckenridge and Edith Abbott: Hull House residents and safe housing advocates.

I know very little about the lives of these two women. As I researched the criteria of my research question, I kept reading the name Sophonisba Breckenridge. I learned that she was a professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago and a Hull House resident. It seems she conducted many studies of housing conditions in the immigrant neighborhoods of Chicago. Her fellow Hull House resident, Edith Abbott assisted her with these studies. Their study "Chicago's Housing Problem: Families in Furnished Rooms" published in 1910 compliments Burnham's vision of the "City Beautiful"

Step Five: Read, consider, and annotate the stories

Reading the text is simultaneously difficult and simple. For most, reading is quite simple. However, as one reads to conduct a narrative analysis, the researcher must stay mindful of his/her prejudices. There are two issues with prejudice. The first issue is the potential to interpret a text to support your presumptions. For instance, broadly, I am answering Dwight Waldo's admonition in *The Administrative State* of "Efficient for what?". As such, I may look for words or interpret text subconsciously or intentionally to mean something other than efficiency. Conversely, the second caution is to be mindful of reading text looking for support of or answers to "for what?" rather than reading the text and interpreting it on its own merit.

Reading the texts multiple times allows for a method to relieve some prejudice. In this study, I read through the text, sometimes two or three times. After just reading the text, I would allow myself at least a day before I began to annotate the text. After annotating the text and choosing direct quotes from a story, I would read the text in its

entirety once more. After an entire reading after annotation, I began to write my interpretations.

Step Six: Interpret and draw conclusions

The final step in the narrative analysis is to interpret the text and draw conclusions. After reading, annotating and considering the stories, the researcher writes an interpretative analysis of the meaning of each of the texts. After all of the stories are analyzed, themes from each are compiled and analyzed to determine if those themes are patterned in other stories. The pattern of themes becomes the larger narrative that, in this research, reveals the meaning of reforms.

The following chapter details my prejudices. Following the chapter on existing prejudices are two chapters that detail and interpret stories of the chosen storytellers. The first interprets stories of storytellers that argue for changes to human agency. The second chapter interprets stories of storytellers that sought to change institutional structures. The final chapter of this dissertation identifies patterns and develops the larger narrative of the included stories. The final chapter concludes with a section on conclusions of the narrative process and lessons learned while conducting this research.

CHAPTER VI

RESEARCH METHOD: EXISTING RESEARCHER PREJUDICES

Narrative analysis is a method that relies on interpretation. This reliance on interpretation makes it impossible for the researcher to claim objectivity. To identify some of the researcher's prejudices in a narrative analysis, it is helpful to detail as much of the information and knowledge the researcher has about the subjects prior to beginning the actual process of interpretation. This detailing can be in a notebook for the researcher or included as part of the research. It is also helpful to identify prejudices around the potential conclusions of the interpretations prior to conducting the examination of stories. The process of "flushing out" prejudices allows the researcher to become aware of her or his prejudices before reading the text and to not search through the text looking for certain themes, for example, in this research the theme of efficiency.

For this project, an appropriate example of researcher prejudice may be a bias towards the interpretation of Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*. For scholars of public administration, *The Jungle* is most often equated with the passage of two influential food safety legislative acts: the Meat Inspection Act of 1906 and the Pure Food and Drugs Act 1906. As such, when one reads the novel with preconceived notions of the passage of two food safety acts, the horrendous and filthy practices of the slaughtering of animals in the

Chicago stockyards might be considered the center of the story. As the center of the story, one may interpret that the purpose of the novel is to expose the unhealthy practices of slaughtering animals and the meat packing industry. The reader's prejudice, or pre-judgment, of the purpose or meaning of the novel clouds the reader's ability to see other portions of the story, like the living conditions near the stockyards or the challenges of immigrant families that are so detailed in the novel. In simple terms, sometimes individual's interpret text to mean what they want it to rather than trying to interpret text for what the author intended.

This chapter, although not always included in narrative analyses, explains some of my prejudices about public administration, the City of Chicago, and the Progressive Era. The purpose of a dissertation, as I understand it, is to demonstrate one's ability to produce scholarship. By detailing my prejudices, I am attempting to present the knowledge that I brought to the research. This chapter is not a well-researched and developed perspective. It describes the knowledge of my subject that I learned as a student and as I developed the research question for this dissertation.

Notions of the Meaning of Public Administration

This section explores the notions I bring to the research about the meaning of the discipline of public administration. As explained in the prior chapter, this project started with my desire to return to the beginning of the discipline of Public Administration. After reading Dwight Waldo's (2007) *The Administrative State,* it became apparent that at times, the field of Public Administration fails to recognize its uniqueness as a discipline that supports the public, or to paraphrase C. Wright Mills, make personal troubles into public issues (Frank, 2002).

Waldo conceptualized the entirety of the discipline as a political philosophy. This political philosophy is grounded in, what Waldo claimed, is a religious like belief in democracy (Waldo, 2007). In addition, Waldo (2007) explained that Public Administration equates democracy with neutrality and neutrality is maintained by an efficient process. The focus on an efficient process leaves out the meaning of the democratic administrative state or as Waldo (2007) stated, "(e)fficient *for what*? Is not efficiency for efficiency's sake meaningless? *Is efficiency not necessarily measured in terms of other values*?" (p. 202 emphasis in original).

When asked by individuals outside of the field the question what is public administration, I respond with Woodrow Wilson's explanation of public administration as the "government in action". Expanding on Wilson's statement, I conceive of public administration as the connection of citizens to their government or in lay terms, where citizens and the government meet. For me, public administration exists in actions. As such, it seems fitting to analyze the actions of individuals to uncover the meaning of public administration.

In addition, it seems to me that scholars should consider Waldo's admonition as they advance scholarship. Americans have a strong dislike and distrust of administration; more generally, Americans have a strong dislike and distrust of institutions (Heclo, 2008). This dislike and distrust often puts the efficiency of the administrative state at the forefront of many political campaigns. Most recently, President Donald Trump campaigned on "draining the swamp", which was his description of the Federal government in Washington, DC. His point was that the Federal government does not work and needs a drastic change, such as a complete removal of everyone who's work is

inefficient. Another example from the 1990s is Vice President Al Gore's implementation of the "Reinventing Government" movement. This movement focused on the inefficient practices of the Federal government and tried to re-invent the government by making the process of administration more efficient.

Yet, the administrative state continues to exist and Americans continue to dislike and distrust it, regardless of any changes to the efficency of governance. But, fundamentally, the administrative state can only be truly efficient if it is meeting its purpose or continues to fulfill the deficiencies in institutionalized values it was developed to fulfill. Its existence implies the need to know its purpose. For me, its purpose is best understood in its founding. There are many reasons for the continued existence of the administrative state. Its beginning helps us understand why the administrative state was created. It reminds us of how our history as a discipline began to unfold. To borrow from Martin Heidegger concept of being, our being, as a discipline, relies on how our history as discipline unfolds. The discipline of public administration formally begins during the reform movements of the Progressive Era. To understand its purpose or its for what, it is necessary to return to where its history began.

I am not the first scholar to think that returning to the discipline's founding leads to a better understanding of its purpose. However, I believe that the Municipal Research Bureaus, which seem to dominate previous examinations of the discipline's founding, explain a small part of the story. It seems the real need in Progressive Era cities was control. Everything was in a state of chaos. Governments were corrupt. Health systems did not exist. Immigrants were living in horrid conditions. The environment was quickly eroding. One of the results of this need for control was an increase in academic

disciplines, namely social science disciplines. Perhaps the true roots of the administrative state stretch beyond the discipline that Waldo described as Public Administration and include other social movements. An example is the social welfare system. The history of social welfare, such as the Settlement House Movement, is most often included with the Sociological sub-discipline of social work. However, it is undeniable that social welfare is part of the contemporary administrative state. Efficiency cannot occur if components of the administrative state are excluded. In addition, as a piece of the public realm, the administrative state must mean something more than efficient process.

The City of Chicago

This section describes my perspectives on the City of Chicago during the Progressive Era. It seems to me that Chicago offers an excellent perspective to Progressive Era reform movements because of its position in the American landscape. Situated in the upper mid-west, the city rests on the western boundary of Lake Michigan. Settled post-Revolution and simultaneous with the development and expansion of the west, Chicago develops unlike major urban settings on the Eastern American seaboard. "Chicago is an ideal site . . . because the city embodied the economic and demographic growth that characterized the United States in the decades following the Civil War. Chicago's population growth, economic expansion, and rapid change were common characteristics of the industrial city" (Mack, 2015, p. 8). Chicago's location and the timing of its settlement make it a uniquely American city. For me, this uniqueness seems to offer a potential for a different set of institutionalized values during the Progressive Era than the institutionalized values of New York City during the Progressive Era, which

seems to be most often associated with the founding of the discipline of public administration.

Although unique because of its place in the American landscape and timing of its settlement, Chicago was like most industrial cities at the turn of the 20th century. "Chicago presented a concentration of the social and economic challenges of modernity" (Mack, 2015, p. 8). As the American railroad system's hub between the east and the west, the city was central to the changing American economy. Its centrality to the quickly industrializing American economy brought many challenges to Chicago's urban setting. The city's high demand for labor attracted immigrants from Europe and migrants from the southern United States. The labor demand and subsequent population increase changes the city from a small trading post in the 1830s to the second largest city in the United States (Mack, 2015). The city triples in population between 1860 and 1870 and more than triples between 1870 and 1890 (Mack, 2015).

With its centrality to the national economy and its exploding population, the City of Chicago faced many if not all of the issues associated with capitalized industrial development. However, there seems little description of or focus on the challenges of Chicago in the literature of or associated with the development of public administration. As I consider Progressive Era Chicago, I immediately recall Jane Addams and Hull House, which is associated with social work. In addition to Addams, I recall the *Plan of Chicago,* which is associated with urban planning. I do not recall Charles E. Merriam, at least not when considering Progressive Era reformers in relation to Chicago.

Conversely, when I consider Progressive Era New York City, I recall Frank Goodnow and the politics administration dichotomy. I recall the exemplar of corruption,

Tammany Hall and Boss Tweed and developing a new structure of party politics with the short and secret ballots, the fire at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company and developing fire safety rules, and the tenements and developing housing guidelines. Lastly, I recall the development of the New York Municipal Research Bureau as the first organization created to study and quantify the process of governance to make the process more efficient. All of these examples seem to be stories of the development of public administration. But, public administration also developed in Chicago, which is why I want to examine what reform meant to the people of Chicago.

The Progressive Era

The Progressive Era is a turning point in the American way of life and is most often understood as the time between the Gilded Age and World War I, or roughly 1890 to 1918. As one of the most studied times in American history, the Progressive Era brings forth visions of grassroots activists known as reformers battling corrupt economic and political systems to save the democratic way of life. There were movements to bust trusts or monopolies, muckrakers wrote exposés, women assembled, and immigrant workers staged strikes against employers.

However, describing the Progressive Era is much like defining institutions. There is extensive literature and historical analyses available. This study is centered on public administration and as such, the Progressive Era is understood as a beginning, not necessarily a change. The beginning of public administration as a formal scholarly discipline arises from a fundamental change in institutionalized values during the Progressive Era. This change calls for improving the democratic processes of governance. The changes that occur during the Progressive Era begin with the idea of

making things better. However, with a focus on the changes, the things that needed changing are, at times, forgotten.

Chicago was not an outlier or facing unique problems. In fact, for the fundamental changes in institutionalized values it seems to be the center. In *Bureau Men and Settlement Women,* Camilla Stivers explained, "(t)he times spawned two impulses, one in the direction of social justice and improving the lives of the unfortunate, and the other toward rationalizing and regulating organizational, institutional, and societal process" (Stivers, 2000, p. 5). It seems to me that Chicago focused on finding a method to respond to human challenges or as Stivers explained social justice and the lives of the unfortunate.

Because social equity was claimed by social work, it removed the responsibilities of social issues, resulting solutions, and values of social equity from public administration (Stivers, 2000). However, the importance of social equity in public administration is undeniable. Public administration needs to include the philanthropic endeavors absorbed by and the expanded roles of municipal, state, and federal governments that occurred simultaneously with its founding as a discipline.

In Chicago, it seems there were two different types of movements that focused on reform. One focused on changing the exertion of human agency. These movements asked that the citizens of Chicago become active and assert their autonomy as members of a democracy. The second focused on changing institutional structures. These movements argued that by changing institutional structures, the lives of the citizens of Chicago would improve. These two movements are how I organized my interpretations of the stories by the identified storytellers.

Conclusion on my Prejudices

I believe that the discipline of public administration has moved away from its original intent. I understand why some argue that the discipline should focus solely on a neutral and efficient process to governance. This understanding is because I conceive of public administration as the action of administering public policies. From this conception, it seems quite logical that neutral and efficient actions lead to effective administration. However, as the discipline developed, it seems the quest for neutral and efficient actions came to outweigh the resulting outcomes, which are the purpose of actions.

To remedy what seems to be a shift away from purpose, I think it necessary to return to the beginning of the discipline. The beginning of the discipline is during the Progressive Era. During the Progressive Era "(s)ocial issues were everywhere: immigration, ethnicity, race, 'the woman question', exploitation of labor, the plight of the cities, the crisis in education, trade policy, a growing gap between rich and poor" (Scaff, 2011, p. 14). These issues are eerily familiar and the statement could be describing contemporary American society. The continued existence of these issues leads me to wonder if the methods developed within the discipline of public administration are efficient.

CHAPTER VII

NARRATIVE ANALYSIS: CALLS FOR CHANGES TO THE EXERTION OF HUMAN AGENCY

The literature review of this dissertation develops a framework to examine social systems. The framework combines established public administration literature on the process of institutionalization with a sociological theory of social systems. It argues individuals, their repetitive actions, and their setting create institutions or social systems and history. Specifically, social systems exist with the actions of co-present individuals in a specific time and place.

This research conducts a narrative analysis within that framework of a theory of the process institutionalization. Chapter five explains the method used to conduct the analysis and chapter six details my existing prejudices about the meaning of public administration, the City of Chicago, and the Progressive Era. This chapter begins the interpretations of the meaning of reform to selected storytellers. To explain the stories within a framework of a theory of the process of institutionalization, I divide the stories between calls to reform the exertion of human agency and calls to reform social structures.

The concept of institution exists in an understanding of the relationship between human agency and social structure. As Philip Selznick explained, the process of institutionalization begins in response to a social need or pressure. In this research, I equate identified calls for reform with a social need or a pressure. This chapter focuses on calls for reform that were to increase the exertion of an individual's human agency and change institutionalized values by increasing that exertion of human agency. The following chapter details six stories by four storytellers who looked to reform institutional structures.

The first storyteller presented is Jane Addams. I interpret two of Miss Addams's "stories". The first story is "Pragmatism in Politics" and the second story is "Why Women Are Concerned with the Larger Citizenship: Philanthropy and Politics". They were published in 1912 and 1913 respectively. The second storyteller is Anna E. Nicholes. Her story along with Miss Addams's second story was published as part of a larger twelve volume periodical, *The Woman Citizen's Library*.

Jane Addams

Although there were other notable leaders and activists in Progressive Era Chicago, Jane Addams is likely the most distinguished. She knew all of the actors in this study. Her fellow residents at Hull House included Anna E. Nicholes, Alice Hamilton, Sophinsba Breckinridge, and Edith Abbott. She had a common friend with Charles Merriam (Karl, 1974). She knew members of the "City Club of Chicago", which was the organization that funded Daniel Burnham's *Plan of Chicago*. In turn of the 20th century Chicago, it seems almost all social movements involved Jane Addams.

In her autobiography, *Twenty Years at Hull House*, Addams explained that from an early age she recognized her economic privilege as a member of the upper middle class yet believed that economic privilege did not equate to social superiority.

> "My mind was busy, however, with the old question eternally suggested by the inequalities of the human lot. . . . receiving the reply that it might never be righted, so far as clothes went, but that people might be equal in things that mattered much more than clothes, the affairs of education and religion, for instance" (Addams, 1910, p. 17).

For Addams, affairs of education and religion were examples of "things" that created social equity. She argued that all individuals have common important life events, such as birth and death and that all individuals long for the same emotional bonds, such as love and family. These events and bonds outweighed economics in importance and a community that focused on ensuring these events and bonds would be equal. In turn, the individual had a social responsibility to participate in the community.

What follows is an examination and interpretation of two stories that represent the actions of Jane Addams in Progressive Era Chicago, which were directed at altering human doing in the process of institutionalization. The first, "Pragmatism in Politics" appeared in *The Survey* in 1912. The other, "Why Women Are Concerned with the Larger Citizenship" appeared just before the second storyteller, Anna E. Nicholes's, contribution to the ninth volume of *The Women's Citizen Library* in 1913.

"Pragmatism in Politics", *The Survey,* 1912

The first story by Addams, "Pragmatism in Politics", appeared in the 24th volume of *The Survey: A Journal of Constructive Philanthropy,* published by The Charity Organization Society of New York City (COS) in 1912. Jane Addams served as an associate editor of this volume. Founded in 1882, the general mission of the COS was two fold. It acted to meet the need of those affected by poverty and worked to eliminate

poverty (Brandt, 1907). As Lillian Brandt explained in a 1907 article describing the society's history, the organization supported any charity that acted to relieve the community of poverty, not by relegating "paupers" to specific areas within larger communities, but by eliminating the cause of poverty (Brandt, 1907). Addams's article appeared under the heading of the "Editorial Grist". As an editorial in a journal by a society of charity organizations, Addams wrote the article knowing members and supporters of private philanthropic organizations would read it. The themes found in this story are voter education and/or participation, the self-righteousness of institutions, and adhering to one's values or purpose.

The last statement in Addams's article summarizes its point. "When the ideas and measures we have long been advocating become part of a political campaign, which is after all but an intensified method of propaganda, would we not be the victims of curious self-consciousness if we failed to follow them there?" (Addams, 1912, p. 12). At the time of the article, some philanthropic work was slowly transitioning from the private sphere to the public sphere, or in Addams's terms "institutions". The transition was making poverty and social issues discussions of political campaigns.

Addams was concerned that the public sphere or government institutions would, at some point, forget the purpose of their actions. "It is not difficult for an institution to think so much of its future usefulness as to forget the cause it is serving and for which it is founded" (Addams, 1912, p. 12). Addams argued that the public sphere needed to continue the same level of care for social issues that the private sphere had provided. Individuals who participated in philanthropic endeavors needed to continue to participate in those endeavors once "institutions" began administering the actions. In terms of the

framework of a theory for the process of institutionalization, according to Addams, if philanthropists wanted to ensure that the human doing of the public sphere maintained the values of the private sphere, then those philanthropists needed to continue to participate in that human doing.

She explained that "(a)n institution which stands in the minds of the community for the 'good works' is in danger of substituting the unreal activities of being good to people for the sterner task of ascertaining their genuine needs and of ministering to them in all humility of spirit" (Addams, 1912, p. 12). As social issues became the responsibility of government, there was a risk that the government would focus more on process than outcomes. Addams (1912) worried that "institutions" focus more on self-preservation or in her terms "self-righteousness". According to Addams (1912), the "gravest danger which besets a well-established institution is subtle self-righteous tendency to substitute the smaller good for the larger good" (p. 12). To combat the tendency of self-righteousness in "institutions", the philanthropist needed to remain involved in the process or at least remain educated on and influential in the work of the institution.

The participation of private philanthropists in public actions would help to transition not only the actions of the private sphere, but also the institutionalized values of the private sphere. She wrote, "(l)iberty has come to be a guarantee of equal opportunity to play our parts well in primary relations, and the elemental processes of birth, growth, nutrition, death are great levelers that remind of us the essential equality of human life. No talk of liberty or equality 'goes' that does not reckon with these" (Addams, 1912, p. 12). The equal opportunity to play our parts well was to recognize that

liberty equaled social equity, which is access to the elemental processes. Philanthropists do not lose their responsibility to society when "institutions" or the public sphere take over the social issues that create liberty.

"Why Women Are Concerned with the Larger Citizenship: Philanthropy and Politics", *The Woman's Citizen Library* - 1913

This story appeared in the ninth volume of the twelve volumes of *The Woman's Citizen Library* (WCL). This twelve volume periodical was compiled to educate and prepare women for full citizenship or the right to vote. The subtitle for the entire twelve volumes was "A Systematic Course of Reading in Preparation for the Larger Citizenship". As the WCL's editor Shailer Matthews, wrote in the introduction,

> "It is in the belief that politics, both scientific and practical, can be presented briefly, interestingly, and yet be made to meet the present demand, that The Woman Citizen's Library is issued. There are many books treating of politics, but no one of them includes the discussion of political questions from the viewpoint of women. That is the particular approach of these volumes". (Matthews, 1913, p. 16).

The purpose of the "course" was to meet the call of women's organizations by educating women on the processes of formal social systems, such as municipal government. The outcome would be that women understood the general social condition and would know how to participate in formal social systems to help improve that general social condition. The active participation of women in the social system ensured that their values would be part of the process of institutionalization. The themes found this story are voter/citizen education and participation, a pattern to the transition from private to public, and the inability of the public sphere or public agencies to effectively administer "citizen well-being".

Much like the first story, Addams began the second story by explaining that the first decade of the 20th century saw much private philanthropic work taken over by municipal government. At the time Addams wrote the story almost two-thirds of child welfare work was done by public agencies and almost all of that child welfare work started as private philanthropy. Addams observed that there seemed a pattern to the transition from private to public.

First, private philanthropies seemed to be laboratories for public agencies. Once the work of the private philanthropy was proven useful by meeting a public or a social need, the municipal government would take over the responsibilities of the philanthropic organization. Second, if the individuals who conducted the private philanthropic work were women, once the work moved to the public sphere, the women were no longer directly involved. Third, during the transition from private philanthropy to public agency, there was a time period when the transition was obvious and shown to be incomplete.

Miss Addams provided the juvenile court system in Chicago as an example of the pattern she observed in the transition from private to public. The juvenile court system started at Hull House. Prior to the public juvenile court system, everyday a resident of Hull House went to the local police station. The officer in charge of the station would release into the care of the Hull House resident all of the delinquent children that had been brought into the station previous day. Soon, following the lead of Hull House, other settlement houses in Chicago began to care for delinquent children while they were being processed by the court system.

As the care of delinquent children spread and more settlement houses were involved, it became apparent that something should be done on a larger scale. Miss

Addams did not explain specifically why or how it becomes apparent that something should be done on a larger scale. She wrote "these philanthropies are experiment stations, and when they provide their usefulness by showing that they meet a genuine need, it is not difficult to persuade the public to take them over" (Addams, 1913, p. 2124). Two social needs led to the development of the juvenile court system. One was the realization that delinquent children should not be tried in the same manner as adult criminals. The other was the realization that delinquent children should not be kept in the same facilities as adult criminals.

After the city recognized the social needs for a public juvenile court system, the transition from private philanthropy to public agency occurred in stages. During the first stage of the transition, the city could not supply a home for the children, so private philanthropy did. However, the city provided a public school teacher to the home that cared for the delinquent children. The public-private partnership continued with transportation from the home to the court. The philanthropy provided the carriage; the city provided the horses. As Addams (1913) described, "I can well remember when the two horses were attached to the omnibus belonging to the Juvenile Court Committee. The ill-matched pair and the new vehicle illustrated the awkward relation between politics and philanthropy" (p. 2126). The horses and the omnibus explained the relationship between politics and philanthropy. The horses, supplied by the government, are old and one was larger than the other. They were the minimum required to get the job done. The omnibus supplied by the private philanthropic organization was new. The organization saw a need and found an appropriate solution.

As the transition continued, a philanthropic organization paid probation officers to care for the delinquent children until the county was able to pay the probation officers as civil servants. In addition to working with the children, those same probation officers helped transition the private philanthropy to a civil service system.

Addams continued, "philanthropic people gradually have their activities in behalf of delinquent children absorbed by the county and paid for out of county funds" (Addams, 1913, p. 2127). The women who work in philanthropy were not necessarily working towards a solution for a specific cause; they were working for the broader cause of helping children. Prior to the contemporary trend of the transition of the work of private philanthropy to public agencies, what Addams described as "citizen well-being" was outside of the responsibility of the government. The responsibility of "citizen well-being" had been with private philanthropy. Most of the philanthropists that cared for children were women. Addams argued that the government would benefit if women were allowed to share in the development and administration of some of the transitioned programs. "Some of us feel very strongly that all such undertakings would be infinitely benefitted if women were taking a natural and legitimate share in the development and the administration of government activities" (Addams, 1913, p. 2130).

Addams continued her descriptions of the transition of citizen well-being from private to public with a study of work place environments. The study uncovered that unsafe work environments increase poverty. When a work place was unsafe, workers were injured or aged quickly. An injury or pre-mature aging led to a man being unable to work. The study found that on average 15,000 workers killed and 500,000 injured each year because of unsafe work place environments. Yet, it seemed nothing was being done

to create safe work place environments. Addams stated, "(o)f course, if fifteen thousand men were deliberately destroyed in the country in any other way we would all be very much alarmed" (Addams, 1913, 2132). However, Addams was not suggesting that safe work place environments were the necessarily responsibility of private philanthropy or of public agencies.

Addams believed that the cost of worker safety should be back on the industry. "It ought not to come out of the taxpayers' money; it ought to come out of the stockholders who are profiting by the labor of this man, who was killed because he was not properly safeguarded" (Addams, 1913, p. 2132). However, Addams argued that there was a second social need if industry was responsible for an injured worker. With industry being held accountable for injured workers, the care of widows and children is removed from philanthropy. Industry would do whatever was most profitable. "We know, of course, that if profits are automatically reduced whenever a man is killed, if there is so much of a charge upon that industry that it is very, very unprofitable to kill a man, employers will be willing to spend more money in guarding the machinery and in putting in the improved machinery" (Addams, 1913, p. 2135). The care of a workers family needed to be protected with social insurance.

When Addams wrote her piece for *The Women's Citizen Library*, the state of Illinois had granted women the right to vote in local and Presidential elections. Addams explained that through participation in private philanthropic organizations women had become great activists that worked for solutions to social problems. Women participated in private philanthropic organizations to procure solutions for the rising disparities

evident in city life. The contemporary trend was the transition of private philanthropy to public agency.

Addams made a point to state that she was not arguing that whether private or public is the better solution. “The line is wavering between philanthropic action and governmental action. There is perhaps no one thing in American life at present which is changing so rapidly as the dividing line between private beneficent effort and public governmental effort; and for that reason it is wise to discuss these questions not only from the viewpoint of philanthropy but from the viewpoint of our common political relations” (Addams, 1913, p. 2140). Addams’s point was that if women did not participate in the process of politics, they would lose all influence over those ideas and social problems that they had worked so hard to combat and had become the responsibility of the municipal government (Addams, 1913). “(W)e are trying to urge it from the viewpoint of the things which the government is undertaking, more and more those intimately human affairs which have to do with daily life and daily experience” (Addams, 2013, p. 2138). In terms of the framework of a theory of the process of institutionalization, Addams argued that if women did not participate in politics by human doing, then they risked losing the influence that their work in philanthropy had on institutionalized values.

Anna E. Nicholes: “How Women Can Help in the Administration of a City”, *The Woman’s Citizen Library*, 1913

Not much is known of Anna E. Nicholes other than she was a middle-class, white female resident of Chicago and Hull House. Scholars who have studied *The Women’s Citizen Library* or the Women’s City Club of Chicago (WCCC) may know of Nicholes.

But, unlike the other actors in this study, she has not appeared in multiple studies across varying disciplines. Although not many studies have included her perspectives, her work explained the crucial link between municipal government and the individual, which was quite germane to movements that argued for civic education and citizen participation. She developed a poignant argument for the conception of the city as a place in which people work and live, or as a home. As a resident at Hull House, Nicholes interacted and worked with Jane Addams, Sophinsba Breckinridge and Edith Abbott, and Alice Hamilton. Charles Merriam and she participated together in the City Welfare Exhibit, which was the subject of her article in *The Women's Citizen Library*.

As the Superintendent of the Women's City Club of Chicago, Nicholes organized the development of the City Welfare Exhibit, which expounded the undeniable link between the responsibilities of municipal government to the home. Because of the success of her efforts, Nicholes was asked to contribute an essay, which was part of the broader collection compiled to educate women for full citizenship, to *The Women's Citizen Library*. Nicholes's essay, "How Women Help in the Administration of a City", detailed the impetus for and construction of the City Welfare Exhibit to share with women's organizations in other cities across the US. The themes found in this essay are the link of the municipal government to the home and voter/citizen education and participation.

The first goal of the City Welfare Exhibit was to present a re-conceptualization of the city as a home. Nicholes (1913) argued that at first, during the rapid industrialization of the cities, it was necessary to conceive of the city as a business. In response to the rapid growth, the city provided needed services such as transportation, waste removal,

water and sewer, and street lighting with municipal contracts. According to Nicholes (1913), because of this role, municipal government was perceived as merely collecting funds and distributing expenses, much like a business. Yet, into the city "has come woman with little children to make the home in the community" (Nicholes, 1913, p. 2146). Industrialization marshaled populations into the cities; modernity altered not just how individuals worked, but also how individuals lived.

Conceiving the city as a business was a contradiction to the city as a home. "The city is becoming conscious of itself as a city of homes, as a place in which to rear children to live joyous lives, stimulated to high endeavor by a noble environment" (Nicholes, 1913, p. 2151). The Women's City Club of Chicago sought to remind city residents, particularly women, that the city was also a home. As Nicholes (1913) wrote "(a) city home-maker must believe that, whether she likes it or not, the 'outside has come inside to stay'" (p. 2145). The WCCC wanted to educate women on their important and changing role in the industrial age. According to the Women's City Club of Chicago, women needed to develop a city sense.

The WCCC hoped to enlighten individuals and initiate change by "developing a 'city sense,' … a sense that the city is not alone a business corporation, paying necessary expenses …, but the city is … a city of homes" (Nicholes, 1913, p. 2151). The industrial city changed the way life is lived. "(T)he self-sufficing independent living of the cottage home has been exchanged in the city for a common dependency from which there is no escape" (Nicholes, 1913, p. 2149). The economic structure of the city required that women rely on others to complete the daily tasks of home making. The WCCC argued that as the responsibilities of municipal government expanded, women needed to learn

about the structure of municipal government because municipal government directly affected their daily lives.

The contradictions between the conceptions of the city as a business and the city as a home were not limited to how the municipal government affected a resident's life. The contradictions between the concepts were also evident in what residents of the city conceived of as priorities for the city. In the essay, Nicholes described two different statements and/or observations made by city residents, a banker and an immigrant homemaker. The banker smelled the stench from the Stock Yards and thought "dollars"; conversely, the immigrant homemaker, who lived in the "Back of the Yards" stated she would exchange the newly built play ground for a solution that would rid the neighborhood of the smell (Nicholes, 1913). A city sense required the understanding that "the city and the home are tied up in the most intimate and important events of life" (Nicholes, 1913, p. 2143). Each new endeavor by municipal government increased the inextricable connectedness between the government and the individual.

The City Welfare Exhibit, which presented the concept of a city sense, was developed to educate the entire "body of the electorate in Chicago" (Nicholes, 1913, p. 2153). The members of the WCCC noted the distinct similarities between the needed skills to solve the social issues of the city and the skills to create an individual home. Nicholes (1913) explained, " to connect the technical expert knowledge of city and community government with the human need that it is designed to serve, seems to be distinctly women's part" (p. 2163). Nicholes continued with what seems to be, although historically impossible, a direct answer to Waldo's "efficiency for what?".

> "The grip of the community on her home and children is so close that she is never in danger of losing the effect in the cause, of becoming lost in the intricacies of

> administration, and forgetting the final goal – the welfare of the citizens" (Nicholes, 1913, p. 2163).

The traditional role of women as homemakers allowed for them to easily understand the link between city and home. More importantly, the traditional role of women as homemakers meant that women considered the purpose of an activity, which as a homemaker was the welfare of the family.

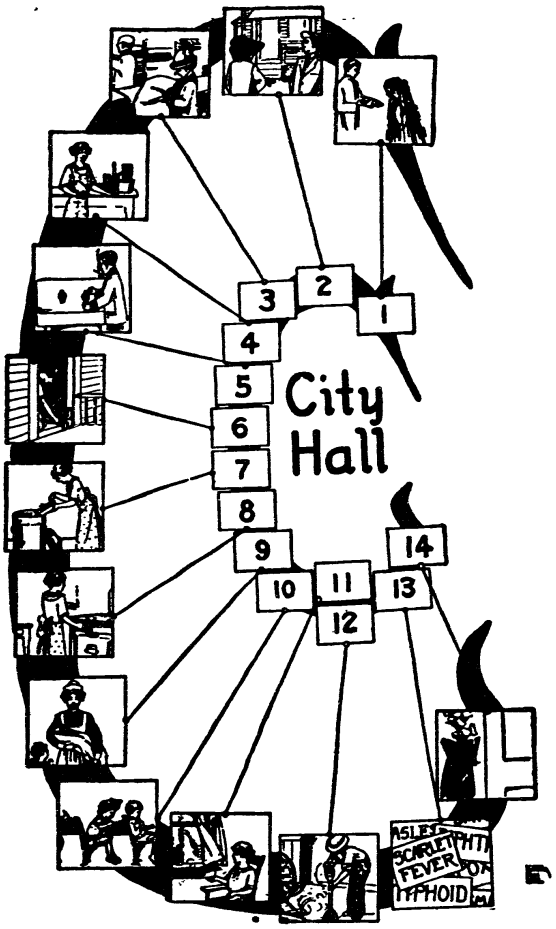
To detail the role of municipal government in an individual's life, the WCCC used data gathered by the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy. The WCCC categorized the data by the wards it represented. Each ward of the city had a specific issue it was facing. As the Exhibit travelled around the city, the data specific to the ward was displayed. The specific issues focused on the health and safety of children and families, such as infant mortality and preventable disease. By presenting issues specific to the ward, the Exhibit illustrated what was believed to be a larger city problem was actually the individual's problem and vice versa.

In addition to the screens, the WCCC assembled various leaders to lecture or present specific health and safety issues. Before the lectures, there would be entertainment, such as folk dancing, and while the adults were being given a civics lesson, the children were being entertained in a separate room. "It has been felt on all sides that these exhibits aroused throughout the city a new spirit of responsibility, and a strong appeal that the city no longer be regarded as an opportunity for exploitation for the personal profit of those who are lucky enough to get into places of power, but as an object of self-sacrifice and loyalty" (Nicholes, 1913, p. 2162). Overall, the WCCC believed the exhibit to be a success.

An example of the panels in the City's Welfare Exhibit was "Madam, Who Keeps Your House?" (see Image 1). This panel explicitly connected the functions of the municipal government to an individual's home. As stated on the panel, it displayed "the dependency of home and family on the politics of city hall" (Nicholes, 1913, p. 2144). The graphic on the panel had two varied sized letter "C"s. A larger "C" surrounded a smaller "C". The larger "C" represented life in the city and had pictures of 14 different life events. The experiences were connected to numbers on the smaller "C", which corresponded to the description underneath the graphic. Each number represented the department in city hall responsible for regulating, improving, or cataloging the experience. The life events ranged from the beginnings of family life to issues of pollution and waste removal.

It seemed to Nicholes that regardless of an individual's beliefs, municipal government was undeniably and directly linked to the lives of city residents whether those residents wanted it or not. The municipal government had developed services and regulations that could curtail or prevent many social issues suffered by the residents. As such, Nicholes's exhibit educated the residents of the city about developments in the process of municipal government aimed at improving the general welfare of its citizens. It seemed to Nicholes that the residents of Chicago needed to understand the connectedness of the government and the individual even if the individual did not want to participate in its existing or expanding responsibilities. In particular, women needed to at least understand how the municipal government worked and what the municipal government was able to do. According to Nicholes, because women ran the home, they understood the social issues that the municipal government was beginning to combat.

MADAM, WHO KEEPS YOUR HOUSE?



HELP IN THE MUNICIPAL HOUSEKEEPING

1. Marriage License Bureau. 2. Dept. of Building and House Sanitation. 3. Health Dept. Factory Inspection. 4. Health Dept. Foods, Markets, Weights and Measures. 5-8. Commissioner of Public Works. 6. Health Dept. Milk Inspection. 7-12. Dept. Streets and Alleys, Sanitary Inspection. 9. Registry of Births by County Clerk, Health Dept. 10. Board of Education, Health Dept. 11. Special Bureau of Smoke Inspection. 13. Health Dept. Bureau of Contagious Diseases. 14. Health Dept. Bureau of Medical School Inspection.

EFFECTIVE POSTER ISSUED BY WOMAN'S CITY CLUB, SHOWING DEPENDENCY OF HOME AND FAMILY ON THE POLITICS OF THE CITY HALL

(Nicholes, 1913, p. 2144)

Summary

All three stories presented promoted participation in and attentiveness to social issues. Jane Addams and Anna E. Nicholes sought to increase the exertion of human agency through civic participation. With increased exertion of human agency, both storytellers believed that individuals would influence institutionalized values. However, they differed slightly in their arguments around why individual's needed to increase their human agency. Addams argued that individuals who have been involved in philanthropic organizations needed to be involved in the public agencies of the municipal government designed to combat social issues. Nicholes argued that individuals needed to learn about the process of municipal government because with industrial development and the changes to how life is lived, the government was directly linked to the individual.

Addams and Nicholes believed that the municipal government would forget the purpose of social reform. Addams argued that institutions eventually forget their purpose and begin to be more concerned with survival. This is similar to the argument that Hugh Heclo (2008) develops in *On Thinking Institutionally*. To prevent institutions from forgetting their purpose, Addams explained that the individuals who cared about social issues, like poverty, needed to be the people who continued to work towards the amelioration of the issues. Nicholes explained that the city as a home contradicts the city as a business. The conception of the city as a business placed the focus on the technical aspects of municipal government, such as revenues and expenditures. The city as a home placed the focus on the social aspects of the municipal government.

Nicholes developed a civic education program, the City Welfare Exhibit. The ultimate goal for the Exhibit was to illustrate that the city is a home. The concept of the

city as a home directly contrasted the concept of the city as a business or an efficient working entity. This contraction between the city as a business and the city as a home conflicts the dominant story of public administration. Calling the city a home did not exclude the importance of municipal government. Calling the city a home expressed the intertwined relationship between a setting and the individuals who live in the setting. People work and live in a city. The city is not only a place to develop an economy, or a business, but it is also a place to develop humanity, or a home.

Nicholes argued that the residents of the city, to properly understand the expanded home that exists in the city, needed a city sense. With a city sense or an understanding of the process of municipal government, residents of the city would be able to remind the government of the purpose of agencies that addressed social issues. Although designed to educate the entire population of the city, Nicholes's exhibit was meant to empower women. According to Nicholes's story, women seemed more naturally inclined to understand social issues such as infant mortality, availability of healthy food, and pollution.

Although different in presentation, Addams and Nicholes believed that as the responsibilities of municipal government expanded, the citizens of the city who were affected by or devoted to social issues needed to participate. In particular, both storytellers noted the different concerns of men versus women. Women, they argued, are better suited to work with social issues. They agreed that women would not forget the purpose of the reforms. Participation was the only way to ensure that the purpose was not forgotten.

In the framework of the process of institutionalization, asking for individuals to alter their behavior changes the institutionalized values around citizen participation. This is true on two levels. First, in the framework, every action either reinforces or changes the social structure. By merely asking for participation, Addams and Nicholes changed the institutionalized values of the social structure of Chicago. Every time they repeatedly asked for participation the values around participation were reinforced in the social structure. Second, by considering participation or allowing themselves to be educated, the residents who read or listened to the stories of Addams and Nicholes changed the institutionalized values of the social structure. Participation and education are actions. The challenge was not to introduce the value of participation or education, as soon as Addams and Nicholes argued for participation or education, the institutionalized values changed. The challenge became the acceptance of participation by actors outside of those actors who were co-present with Addams and Nicholes.

A critique of Addams and Nicholes is the naivety with which they presented their arguments. Although both were well intended, it seems as though they failed to consider the hurdles to participation. Neither Addams nor Nicholes was addressing the larger populations when they argued for participation in these stories. A woman in Progressive Era Chicago would have to care for her family, which was not an easy task. It would be even more difficult for lower or working class women to forgo other responsibilities to participate.

CHAPTER VIII

NARRATIVE ANALYSIS: CALLS FOR CHANGES TO SOCIAL STRUCTURES

Charles Edward Merriam

As stated earlier, Charles E. Merriam was an important figure in the development of the discipline of public administration. In Progressive Era Chicago, Merriam was a professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago, Chicago city alderman in 1909 and 1913-17 and a member of numerous public and private organizations and committees that focused on the reform of the administration of municipal government.

In addition, Merriam was a member of the 1937 "President's Committee on Administrative Management" or the Brownlow Committee. This committee was a cornerstone in the development of Public Administration and its observations of and recommendations for the role of the Executive Branch marked the end of the Orthodox period. Merriam's various roles during the founding and subsequent periods of the discipline's history made Merriam influential in the reforms of municipal government.

For this research, two of Merriam's many articles were stories to be interpreted. The selection of the stories began with a Google scholar search for articles authored by Merriam. The first, published in 1912, "Investigations as a Means of Securing Administrative Efficiency" included the term efficiency in its title. Noting the term led to

the conclusion that perhaps the value of efficiency that is so prominent in the dominant narrative would be explained in this article. The second article was published within a year of the first. The tile of the article, "Outlook for Social Politics in the United States", led to the conclusion that the article could potential present a value other than efficiency.

"Investigations as a Means of Securing Administrative Efficiency", ***The Annuals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,*** **1912**

The first story, or published article, authored by Merriam included in this study described an independent investigation of the expenditures of the municipal government of Chicago. As evidenced in its title, the primary theme of this story was efficiency. Throughout the story, Merriam detailed varying expenditures of the municipal government of Chicago, such as the excavation of shale rock, and identified areas in which specific items utilized or processes implemented by the municipal government were changed as a result of the investigation or identified as still needing to be changed, such as replacing existing with modernized equipment.

Merriam began the story by explaining the impetus for an investigation into the expenditures of the municipal government. In 1906, appointed by the City Club of Chicago, Merriam conducted an investigation of the municipal government. Although useful, the investigation conducted by Merriam in 1906 only examined revenues. There was no examination of the expenditures. Subsequently, during two different Charter Conventions, Merriam twice secured resolutions that called for an investigation of the expenditures of the city. However, no action was taken to conduct the investigations. Similarly, in 1909, members of various private organizations, including the City Club of Chicago, wanted to follow New York City's lead and found a Bureau of Municipal

Research. With a goal to increase the efficiency in municipal government, this Bureau would have continually investigated the revenue and expenditures of the city. However, much like Merriam's attempts during the Charter Conventions, efforts by the private organizations to found a Bureau of Municipal Research failed.

Merriam did not detail in the story why all previous efforts to conduct an independent investigation into the expenditures of the municipal government failed. But, Merriam did explain his influence after being elected to serve as an alderman on the Chicago city council in 1909. As an alderman, Merriam argued for the need of an independent commission to investigate the expenditures of the municipal government of Chicago. To convince his fellow aldermen of the necessity of an independent commission and investigation, he linked the city's expenditures or its spending to the city's citizens. "If the finances of the city were in good condition, the people should be so informed; and if in bad condition the voters were equally entitled to the information" (Merriam, 1912, p. 282). Regardless of the outcome of the investigation, the citizen's of Chicago should know where and how city revenues, or their tax dollars, were spent.

Merriam continued that prior to the calls for investigations into the revenues and the expenditures, or the processes of municipal government, reforms focused on corrupt politicians and administrators, or the individuals of municipal government.

> "Our American cities have been seriously afflicted with corrupt or unrepresentative councils and with dishonest or inefficient administrations. Until recently public interest has centered around efforts to secure honest councils or honest administrators. Only within the last few years has attention been directed to the importance of efficiency as well as honesty in the administration" (Merriam, 1912, p. 281).

The focus and meaning of municipal reform had expanded. The initial purpose of reforms was to replace dishonest aldermen and municipal administrators with honest aldermen

and municipal administrators. However, Merriam (1912) explained that honest alderman and municipal administrators did not necessarily alter the processes of or the methods used by municipal government.

The purpose of reform in this first story was efficient process or method. Merriam detailed which processes or methods an independent commission recommended to change to achieve efficiency in the Chicago municipal government. Merriam explained that Chicago was not alone in its shift in focus from individuals to process. "More attention has been given to the subject of efficient administration in our American cities during the last ten years than in any previous period of our history, and striking results have been obtained in many of our cities" (Merriam, 1912, p. 281). A further understanding the purpose of reform in this first story lies with how Merriam defined the term efficiency. Although he did not clearly state a definition of the term, Merriam believed efficiency equaled a system that detailed the allocation and improved the use of city funds. The article detailed the changes made by the commission that were believed to improve efficiency.

There were 21 reports written by the independent commission. In the story, Merriam summarized the reports in nine categories of observations and recommendations: 1) City Budget, 2) Contracts and Purchase, 3) Shale Rock, 4) Pay Roll and Labor, 5) Lax Administration of the Building Department, 6) Special Assessments, 7) Civil Service Methods, 8) Favoritism Not Eliminated, and 9) City Pension Systems. The story concluded with the outcomes of the commission. Merriam detailed the following: Results Secured, Criminal Prosecutions, Sources of Loss, Chicago Bureau of

Public Efficiency, and Importance of Continued Investigations. The common solutions for and recommendations of efficiency in the 21 reports were detail and scrutiny.

The first recommendations of the commission concerned the city budget and are the clearest examples of the recommendation of detail by the commission. Two processes were identified for revision. First, the commission noted that city agencies received monies in lump sum. The second process that was identified as needing revisions was the city's appropriation and disbursement of actual funds.

For the first observation, the commission recommended and secured a detailing of the budget by each agency rather than lump sum allotment. Merriam (1912) explained, "(a)ccounts were set up corresponding to the different subdivisions of appropriations" (p. 285). Each agency would detail how money would be spent or in contemporary terms develop a line item budget.

The second noted change to the city budget process was the appropriation and disbursement of city funds. Prior to the commission's inquiry, "it had been customary to appropriate a much larger amount than would be available during the year" (Merriam, 1912, p. 285). The commission noted that this practice rewarded the agency that spent funds early in the fiscal year and devalued the process of saving money. As Merriam stated, "(t)his system placed a premium upon early expenditure of funds by a bureau of department. The chief who carefully conserved his appropriation for supplies or labor might discover in October or November that the city funds were exhausted, while the careless head who spent his funds early in the season met with no such disappointment" (Merriam, 1912, p. 285). The city was promising agencies more funding than money was

available. If an agency did not spend their appropriations early in the year, there would be no actual money to disburse later in the year.

The observations of and recommendations around the contract process described the need for scrutiny. “This inquiry covered the drafting of the specifications, the bidding upon the specifications, and the actual enforcement of the terms of the contract” (Merriam, 1912, p. 286). The issues uncovered in the contract and bid process were split requisitions, unbalanced bids, and lax inspections. Expenditures were not detailed unless the amount was greater than $500 (approximately $13,000 in current dollar value). Rather than secure a contract through the bidding process, an agency would request amounts less than $500 multiple times. Unbalanced bids were difficult to identify and required scrutiny beyond the agency granting the contract. One example of an unbalanced bid showed the city paid $2,997.91 for work that should have cost $11.88. “It showed the existence of conditions which were enormously expensive to the taxpayer, and a disgrace to the city” (Merriam, 1912, p. 286). The final issue that required greater scrutiny was the inspection process. “The enforcement of the contract requirements was defective, as the inspection of the work was shown to be grossly inadequate” (Merriam, 1912, p. 287). To resolve the issues uncovered by the commission, it was recommended and implemented that “the auditing of bills was transferred to the comptroller’s office, and provision made for central audit in that department” (Merriam, 1912, p. 298).

In a concluding paragraph, Merriam explained that the municipal administration needed to be efficient because it was natural to want an efficient municipal government.

> “Men naturally prefer to head an efficient bureau or organization rather than an inefficient one, and if political or private pressure is removed or counteracted, they will take a degree of pride in the public work entrusted to their charge” (Merriam, 1912, p. 302).

In addition to efficiency being natural, Merriam stated that a neutral administration led to men being able to take pride in their work. It seems, on some level, Merriam equated efficiency and neutrality to happiness. However, by explaining that men naturally prefer working in an efficient bureau seems to fail to ask if an efficient process produces the needed outcome.

It also seems that removed political or private pressure is a direct contradiction to tax payer scrutiny, although, perhaps Merriam equated political and private pressure with graft and nepotism. In the framework of the process of institutionalization, Merriam argued that to improve the processes of a social structure, i.e. municipal government, individuals needed specific, formal, rules of the process of municipal government. The formal rules would restrict the behavior of the individual.

To describe the importance of the changes, Merriam wrote, "(t)he consequence was that last year we had much more effective control over the city finances than ever before" (Merriam, 1912, p. 285). Merriam continued, "(w)e were successful in having the entire budget of the city reorganized . . . giving us the most scientific and up-to-date budget which we have ever had" (Merriam, 1912, p. 285). As clearly stated in the title to this story, the purpose of reforms was efficiency. Merriam equated efficiency to the terms he used to describe the "successful" changes to the budget. In this instance, efficiency is achieved with detail, scrutiny and standards.

"Outlook For Social Politics in the United States", *American Journal of Sociology*, 1913

This story describes the contradictions in or the tensions between a capital economy and social community. Merriam observed that in contrast to the 18th century approaches of natural law or *laissez faire*, there was a movement toward the conservation of natural resources. Merriam believed that the conservation movement created a shift from the political and economic theories of the 18th century that argued for limited government intervention to support for social politics.

> "The idea of conservation by the government of interests belonging to the whole society has been extended to the conservation of human resources as well. Having familiarized the public with the idea of conserving timber as a matter of national economy, it was an easy step to the idea of conserving human beings and human energy as a smatter of practical economy as humanity" (Merriam, 1913, p. 684).

For Merriam, to combat the contradiction in and tensions between capital economy and social community, social politics needed to be developed rationally. The conservation movement served as an example of a rational approach.

In statements that summarize what would later become the broad understanding of the Progressive Era, Merriam wrote "(i)n congested cities like New York and Chicago the 'let alone' policy of government becomes untenable and impossible . . . When the fathers founded the Republic, the United States was a rural nation . . . [now] 46.3 per cent of our people [are] living in urban communities . . . the rapid growth of great industries in the United States has tended to precipitate this problem" (Merriam, 1913, p. 684). In response to these problems, there had been some developments of social politics at the city, state, and federal levels of government. These developments led Merriam to conclude, "it seems likely that we may expect a regime of social politics in the United States within our day and generation" (Merriam, 1913, p. 683). However, the inherent

contradictions in or the tensions of a capital economy and social community needed to be acknowledged and remedied.

Broadly understood, 18th political and economic theories feared the interference of government into private life (Merriam, 1913). The political theories focused on "giving as little power as possible to those in positions of authority" (Merriam, 1913, p. 676) and preventing a return to a monarchal structure of government (Merriam, 1913). Merriam argued that the political theorists of the 18th century ideals did not provide or "distinguish between this specific purpose and the general limitation of the powers of the government for all purposes, and in later times the doctrine and the machinery intended to prevent monarchy were applied against all forms of government action or interference even in the interest of the community" (Merriam, 1913, p. 676). The 18th century theories on which the United States government is grounded created two problems. First, the political theories focused on the prevention of a monarchal structure and did not expand on the role of government in society beyond that prevention. Second, without a detailed explanation of the role of government in society, the notion of the prevention of a monarch was applied to all functions of the government. This narrow scope and focus on prevention made it difficult to develop solutions for social issues that were clearly needed.

In addition to the political theories, the economic theories of the 18th century slowed the development of social politics. As Merriam explained, "(o)ur political economists have set their faces against interference with the 'natural laws' of trade on the ground that such intervention is more likely to hinder than to help social progress" (Merriam, 1913, p. 677). The *laissez-faire* approach to economics believed that social

issues would be addressed through a "natural" progression of society. This belief curtailed the ability of the government to respond to social issues.

Merriam noted that some progress had been made towards remedying the contradictions and tensions. There had been developments in "the treatment of the school problem, the park problem, the sanitary problem, the juvenile court, the city-plan question" (Merriam, 1913, p. 680). Merriam wrote of the city planning movement, "in short they constitute an attempt on the part of the city to regulate and control its own growth and development" (Merriam, 1913, p. 679). City planning controlled the environment much like efficient methods controlled expenditures. From Merriam's perspective, city planning complimented the idea of efficiency in municipal government.

In addition to city planning by municipal governments, many state governments had developed laws to protect laborers. About these developments, Merriam wrote, "(t)hey (the labor regulations) are the forerunners of a general and comprehensive plan of social legislation" (Merriam, 1913, p. 681). Although labor legislation had improved some conditions for laborers, the issues surrounding industrial conditions were in no way solved. He explained,

> "(w)hile these laws are in no sense and in no place complete and are not to be compared in completeness and scope or in vigor and efficiency of administration with much European legislation, yet they constitute a striking advance" (Merriam, 1913, p. 681).

In addition to claiming the developments in labor regulation incomplete, this statement reinforced the need for efficiency. What was not clear was the reconciliation of the tension between scope and efficiency. In the previous story, efficiency required detail. Scope implied the need for more policies. Detail was necessary for control. It would be

reasonable to conclude that control would become increasingly difficult as scope broadened.

Merriam also noted that there had been some developments in social politics at the Federal level. These developments in social politics seemed to be because it was easier for the Federal government to develop policies that were intended to alleviate social issues. Interestingly, to support this claim, Merriam quoted and paraphrased Frank Goodnow, the author of *Politics and Administration* and the scholar credited as the first to assert the need for the separation of politics and administration. Merriam quoted and paraphrased from a book authored by Goodnow that is not often cited in public administration literature. The book was titled *Social Reform and the Constitution*. Merriam wrote:

> "(i)n his recent volume on *Social Reform and the Constitution*, Professor Goodnow has stated that in general there is less constitutional difficulty in the way of a national policy of social reform than is found in the various states. For example, he (Goodnow) has indicated that there are no constitutional objections, so far as the federal government is concerned, to the establishment of far-reaching plans of social insurance, while in the separate commonwealths these same measures might encounter fatal constitutional objections" (Merriam, 1913, p. 682).

The Founding Fathers intentionally loosely worded the Constitution of the United States. Goodnow observed that the Constitution assigned budget appropriation decisions to the Congress. In contrast, state constitutions and municipal government charters expressly outlined the role and abilities of government.

Merriam explained that developments in science made arguments for developments in social politics stronger.

> "Another reason for the development of these policies is the advance of science . . . (t)he effects of modern industrial methods and processes upon life, safety, and health have been studied and made plain during the last ten years and in response to this there has come a flood of legislation" (Merriam, 1913, p. 685).

For example, the scientific examination of the effects of certain industries on worker health or child labor on child welfare created a sound argument for government regulations. Scientific examinations of industrial hygiene, women's work conditions, and even anatomy and physiology led to the formulation of social policy (Merriam, 1913).

Although the developments in social policy may have seemed inevitable and necessary, there was opposition. According to Merriam, there were two well-known groups that opposed the developments. The first was the "standpatters". Standpatters preferred the *lassez-faire* approach to government. They believed that changes in the social condition were not urgent and that progress towards alleviating social issues would occur naturally. As such, there was no need for government intervention. In a distinctly different perspective, the syndicalists believed the developments that had been made at the city, state, and federal level were developed to continue to suppress the lower or working class. "They (the syndicalists) have argued that these plans as thus far worked out involve nothing more than a highly intelligent efficiency system on the patriarchal basis" (Merriam, 1913, p. 686). The syndicalists believed that efficiency, as it was being used to describe developments in social politics, actual benefited the middle and upper classes more than society in general.

Although there were critics, it seemed to Merriam that developments in social politics were inevitable.

> "The practice question is whether these changes shall be made scientifically, wisely, and with sufficient deliberation to insure the maintenance of the social equilibrium, or whether they will be made ignorantly, rashly, and with the blind fury that characterizes revolutionary movements. The mutterings and rumblings of discontent are a warning that changes must come and that the real choice lies, not between change and no change, but between rational and gradual change on the one hand, and sudden and revolutionary change on the other" (Merriam, 1913, p. 688).

Social politics needed to be developed systematically. A clear system of change ensured the legitimation of the changes. The value of a system was consistent with the value of efficiency. However, what Merriam did not fully address was the contractions of a capital economy. If a laissez faire approach explained the primary value of a capital economy, then it would seem that the value of neutrality would legitimate an approach to social politics. Merriam discussed the development of science, which could be considered support for the value of neutrality. However, other than stating that the science of the conservation movement likely increased support for social politics, he did not mention the value of neutrality when describing social politics.

Alice Hamilton - "Lead Poisoning in Illinois", *American Labor Legislation Review,* 1911

Alice Hamilton was a medical doctor that advocated for workers health and safety. She also was a resident at Hull House. For this research, one article by Hamilton was interpreted. The article appeared in the *American Labor Legislation Review.* It described her study of lead poisoning in the industrial trades. This work would later become the subject of her book *The Dangerous Trades*. At the time she conducted and wrote the study, worked for the Illinois Commission on Occupational Diseases. As a public administrator, Hamilton conducted the investigation for the State of Illinois. Although not explicitly stated in Charles Merriam's article on social politics or in this article, Hamilton's work was an example of the use of the scientific method in the study of social issues and most likely directly contributed to the development of labor legislation in the United States.

Dr. Hamilton conducted the investigation detailed in the story for her employer, the Illinois Commission on Occupational Diseases. The investigation focused on the chemical element of lead and included all 28 industries that involved the use of lead products or the "lead trades". The use of the chemical element of lead by industry had had been linked to lead poisoning. To conduct the study, Dr. Hamilton observed and detailed the process of work. She determined there were two fundamental causes of lead poisoning that could be addressed. The fundamental causes of lead poisoning in the lead trades were the specific methods of production process and the conditions of the work environment in which the work was conducted. Not all environments were factories. One of the largest trades linked to lead poisoning was painting.

The first fundamental cause was the specific methods of the production process. "(T)here are processes in use in America which are in themselves dangerous and expose workmen to lead-poisoning and these dangers could be removed by a change of method" (Hamilton, 191, p. 18). At the time of Hamilton's investigation, there were no regulations that required specific precautionary methods in a production process that used lead, like requiring laborers to wear gloves. "None of the factories visited were found to be using all possible precautions to protect the men" (Hamilton, 1911, p. 20). Each factory had a unique method and the unique method focused solely on the outcome of increased profits. Hamilton supported this claim by comparing two new factories, both of which were built the same but utilized two different methods of production. One factory had 1 case of lead poisoning; the other had 11 cases of lead poisoning. (Hamilton, 1911)

It was acknowledged that some of the needed changes in specific methods reflected the changing industrial economy and would come with further technical

development in the standardization of work. “It is gratifying to note that the evils in the lead trades tend to grow less instead of greater, because machinery is everywhere being introduced and displacing hand work” (Hamilton, 1911, p. 25). Many factories had begun adopting mechanized processes that reduced a laborers exposure to lead.

One of the simple precautionary methods recommended was centered on hygiene. For example, providing an area for laborers to wash their hands prior to eating lunch or change their clothes (Hamilton, 1911). Many lead trades, particularly painting, could have limited the occurrence of lead poisoning by simply educating the workers of general hygiene. It was widely believed that lead poisoning in the painting trade was caused by the absorption of paint through the skin. However, Hamilton explained that lead poisoning occurred from ingesting food that had paint on it. If a painter ate lunch without washing his hands, the paint would be transferred to the food and unintentionally ingested by the painter.

The second fundamental cause of lead poisoning in the lead trades was the work environment. Hamilton noted that some lead trades, such as lead smelting, had environments that were difficult if not impossible to change. Although the environment was accepted as dangerous, European lead smelting factories monitored the laborers for signs of lead poisoning. The European lead smelting factories hired a physician that examined the laborers for signs of lead poisoning to minimize the potential effects of exposure.

Industries other than lead smelting could make the factories safer. Lead exposure could be reduced with proper ventilation that diminished the potency of dust particles. Care could be given to provide a sanitary environment. The need for a sanitary

environment was most noted in the printing trades. Hamilton explained that lead poisoning in the printing trades was "probably entirely avoidable" (Hamilton, 1911, p. 24). She observed "(i)t [printing] is carried on usually under wretched sanitary conditions" (Hamilton, 1911, p. 24). The wretched conditions were fumes from poor ventilation and the accumulation of lead dust from lack of cleaning.

An argument to increase regulations on or create standards for a cautionary method of production or healthier work environment was not directly stated in the story. However, Hamilton referred to the improvements in the implementation of cautionary methods and health work environments in the lead trades in Europe six times in the nine-page story. The improvements in the European lead trades led to a decrease in the occurrence of lead poisoning. From these referrals, it was implied that the European governments had regulated cautionary methods and work environments.

Daniel Burnham, *Plan of Chicago,* 1908

The Commercial Club of Chicago commissioned the *Plan of Chicago (Plan)*. Presented and distributed in a book of eight chapters, the *Plan* contained many detailed specifics about and images of plans for the city of Chicago, such as street width, traffic patterns, railroad placement, building materials, and building facades. Of the eight chapters, the final chapter two chapters, The Heart of Chicago" and "The Plan of Chicago", explained the purpose of developing of the plan.

Burnham, like Alice Hamilton, looked to Europe as an example of how to properly respond to the issues of the industrial age. "The motive of the French people in undertaking [the plan of Paris] was to create a great attraction for all men: a city so delightful as to insure continuous prosperity to the inhabitants" (Burnham and Bennett,

1993, p. 124). As an architect, Burnham argued that solutions to the issues of the industrial age could be found in enhancements to the built environment. "(T)he design … is placed before the public in the confident belief that it points the way to realize civic conditions of unusual economy, convenience and beauty" (Burnham and Bennett, 1993, p. 119). The implementation of the *Plan* would make Chicago an "ideal city" (Burnham and Bennett, 1993, p. 119). An ideal city was a unified city. In Chicago, the unifying element was Lake Michigan.

According to the *Plan*, the city would center on Grant Park. Located on the lake, the park would be the physical and the intellectual center of the city (Burnham and Bennett, 1993). When describing the details of Grant Park, Burnham stated, "if well located, (the park) will give the sense of unity" (Burnham and Bennett, 1993, p. 111). As the physical center of the city, the city streets would be designed to support and direct pedestrian and vehicular traffic to and from the park. As the intellectual center of the city, the park would represent art, literature and science. Grant Park would be the location of the city's museums, gardens and library. Across Michigan Avenue from Grant Park would be the city's civic center.

Burnham described the civic center:

> "This plan indicates a possible orderly and harmonious arrangement of public buildings grouped for the purpose of administration, near the center of the population. The central building is planned not only to dominate the place in front of it, but also to mark the center of the city from afar, and it is in part a monument to the spirit of civic unity" (Burnham and Bennett, 1993, p. 112, illustration cxxx).

The civic center would juxtapose Grant Park physically and metaphorically and be the center of administrative government. There would be buildings for each level and branch of government. "The central administrative building . . . is surmounted by a dome of impressive height, to be seen and felt by the people, to whom it should stand as the

symbol of civic order and unity" (Burnham and Bennett, 1993, p. 116). The city of Chicago, Cook County, and the Federal government would all be located in the civic center, with the city's building being the largest and located in the center (Burnham and Bennett, 1993). The size and height of the building would make it visible from many parts of the city. It would reflect and be a visual reminder to the city's residents of the importance of being a part of something larger. In addition to improving the visual appeal of the city, the *Plan* would improve the lives of the city's residents.

Fundamental in the implementation of the *Plan*, was the development of a lakefront boulevard. Burnham proposed that along the lakefront and in the city center, there be a raised boulevard. This boulevard would be for recreational traffic and pedestrians and link the center of the city to the surrounding areas. Some streets and the railroads would be lower and perpendicular to the boulevard. These lower streets would be used exclusively for commercial traffic. "(A) pedestrian would see before him Grant Park and the improved Michigan Avenue; the view along the river both east and west, would offer an interesting picture of the business activities of the city" (Burnham and Bennett, 1993, p. 107). A raised boulevard would provide the residents of Chicago a view of the beauty of the city. The residents would not see the commercial traffic on the streets or the passage of freight trains on the railroads.

In addition to the boulevard, the city's longest street, Halsted Street, needed improvements to eliminate "the slum". The *Plan* proposed that the slum could be "remedied" by "the cutting of broad thoroughfares through the unwholesome district" (Burnham and Bennett, 1993, p. 108). Simply put, Burnham proposed widening Halsted Street and literally knocking down the "slum". In addition to "cutting through the

unwholesome district", Burnham argued for the establishment and enforcement of sanitary regulations. "The slum exists to-day only because of the failure of the city to protect itself against gross evils and known perils, all of which should be corrected by the enforcement of simple principles of sanitation that are recognized to be just, equitable and necessary" (Burnham and Bennett, 1993, p. 108). Burnham argued that the development and enforcement of sanitation regulations improved the conditions of the city.

Burnham concluded the *Plan* by stating:

> "It lies in the growing love of good order, due to the advance in education . . . (t)he education of a community inevitably brings about higher appreciation of the value of systematic improvement, and results in a strong desire on the part of the people to be surrounded by conditions in harmony with the growth of good taste" (Burnham and Bennett, 1993, p. 121).

Residents in Chicago were becoming educated. This education created a desire for improved conditions, particularly harmony and good taste. The desire for improved conditions would lead the residents to support the Plan.

The general theme of the *Plan* was unity. However, for all the descriptions around unity, the *Plan* actually developed two street systems for traffic. The boulevard would be primarily for pedestrians and would be lined with greenery, retail, and recreational space. The streets and railroads, which would be built under the boulevard, would be for commercial traffic. Recreation and privilege would be separated from commercial and work. In addition, the Plan proposed that the "slum" be "cut through". However, there is no discussion about where the displaced residents of the "slum" would go. These two ideas seem to contradict the idea of unity. The boulevard would separate one type of resident from another. "Cutting through the slum" would potentially eliminate one type of resident from the city.

Sophonisba Breckenridge and Edith Abbott: "Chicago's Housing Problem: Families in Furnished Rooms", *The American Journal of Sociology,* 1910

Sophonisba Breckenridge and Edith Abbott were Hull House residents, Sociology professors at the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, and safe housing condition advocates. This study that is a story for analysis, was presented "to set forth one of the less conspicuous aspects of the housing problem in Chicago, and one that is believed to be important because of its singularly demoralizing effect on family life" (Breckenridge and Abbott, 1910, p. 307). As one part of a four-part study on the housing conditions in Chicago, this study focused on the "Furnished Room" problem.

A furnished room was literally a room that was furnished. As Breckenridge and Abbott explained, most of the furnished rooms for rent were in a structure that had originally been built as a single-family home. "In Chicago, there are now large sections of the city in which houses intended for families of one type have been taken over by families of another" (Breckenridge and Abbott, 1910, p. 290). However, the furnished room was not just a sublet to one family while the family of the owner lived in the other rooms of the house. The single-family home became a pseudo apartment building. One family rented one furnished room. Every room in the single-family home was rented as a furnished room. As a result, multiple families lived in a structure that was originally designed as housing for one family.

The furnished rooms were a result of the increased commercialization of neighborhoods (Breckenridge and Abbott, 1910). As commercialization increased, there was an increased need for residential housing close to the commercial entities. The primarily immigrant working class needed to live close to where they worked. However,

with increased commercial entities came a decrease in available space. This increased need for residential housing coupled with a decrease in available space altered the composition of the existing residential neighborhoods. Neighborhoods that were once comprised of single-family homes, transitioned to neighborhoods of homes of furnished rooms for rent.

Most of the single family homes that had been turned into dwellings of furnished rooms were located together in separate areas of the city, the North, South, and West sides. "In each of the three sections into which Chicago is divided by the Chicago River, there has grown up a district in which family life has been transferred from normal homes to a wasteful existence in furnished rooms" (Breckenridge and Abbott, 1910, p. 289). Breckenridge and Abbot explained that there was not an officially designated district or region in which the furnished rooms were located. "(M)any houses and even a large portion of some streets within the limits indicated may be used for normal residence life" (Breckenridge and Abbott, 1910, p. 291). The furnished rooms were located in clumps in what were otherwise "normal" residential neighborhoods.

The language used by Breckinridge and Abbott to describe the conditions in which the residents of furnished rooms lived was notably harsh.

> "(T)here are now large sections of the city in which houses intended for families of one type have been taken over by families of another, and serious evils have arisen through the attempted adaption of the houses which were the dwellings of well-to-do and dignified families, to the present uses of families that are unfortunate, incompetent, poverty-stricken, and often degraded" (Breckinridge and Abbott, 1910, p. 290).

To describe the residents of the houses before they were transformed into dwellings of furnished rooms, Breckenridge and Abbott chose the words "normal homes" and "well-to-do and dignified". To describe the residents of the furnished rooms, Breckenridge and

Abbott chose the words “wasteful existence” and “unfortunate, incompetent, poverty-stricken, and often degraded”.

Obviously the women wanted to convey that the conditions of furnished rooms were heinous. However, one of the words chosen seems to place some of the blame on the residents of furnished rooms. Breckenridge and Abbott called the residents of furnished rooms incompetent. In the previous passage, Breckenridge and Abbott also associated evils with the furnished rooms. However, it is not clear who or what is responsible for the evils. These observations around who or what Breckenridge and Abbot believe are to blame for the living conditions are important because they provide clues into the impetus for the solutions suggested by Breckenridge and Abbott at the end of the story.

As stated earlier, Breckenridge and Abbott explained the purpose of the survey was to examine the “less conspicuous aspects of the housing problem” (Breckinridge and Abbott, 1910, p. 307). These three less conspicuous aspects were sanitation, “the probable degradation of the family through the lack of privacy and dignity and the general irresponsibility of their mode of life” (Breckenridge and Abbott, 1910, p. 294), and “the inevitable familiarity with vice” (Breckenridge and Abbott, 1910, p. 294). These three less conspicuous aspects of the housing problem lead to families rearing children in the heinous conditions of the room, the home, and the neighborhood.

The issues surrounding the problems of sanitary conditions in furnished rooms seemed endless. One such problem was the issue of shared lavatories. Many former single-family houses that had furnished rooms for rent only had one bathroom for multiple families to share. Breckenridge and Abbot explained the City of Chicago had

regulations in place to prevent poor access of lavatories. "(T)enements erected since 1901, require(s) one water-closet for every apartment of more than two rooms, and one water-closet for every two apartments when the apartments consist of one or two rooms" (Breckenridge and Abbott, 1910, p. 296). However, if a structure was constructed prior to 1901, the housing regulations in the city of Chicago only required that the lavatory accommodations be "adequate" for the dwelling to be legal.

In addition to the obvious problem of access to the lavatory, most often the bathroom was the only source of water available to the residents in the furnished rooms. The single-family houses had kitchens, but in most instances, once the single-family house was converted to furnished rooms, the owners of the property employed a superintendent. Usually the superintendent lived on the first floor of the property and the kitchen was part of the superintendent's living quarter. A lack of access to a kitchen and a separate water supply led to an inadequate place for the preparation of food.

Breckenridge and Abbot believed that living in furnished rooms was degrading to the residents. "The great evil of the furnished rooming-house, however, is not that of inadequate or filthy sanitary arrangements . . . but the degradation that comes from living in a one-room tenement, with broken, dilapidated furniture, without responsibility or a sense of ownership" (Breckenridge and Abbott, 1910, p. 298). Often the residents of the furnished rooms, particularly families, had once lived in different arrangements, such as their own home. However, for any one of a number of reasons, the family was unable to stay in their home.

For a family that was unable to maintain a single-family home or apartment, the furnished room was often believed to be a temporary solution to the temporary problem

of low finances. If the resident had furniture of their own, they were required to place the furniture in storage. Eventually, most residents would become unable to pay the weekly rent of the furnished rooms and the storage of their furniture or the cost of the storage became more money than the value of the stored items (Breckenridge and Abbott, 1910). In either the case of not being able to pay or the storage fee being high than the value of the stored items, the result was that the resident of the furnished rooms had little to no personal property.

The third problem examined by Breckenridge and Abbott was the existence of and exposure to vice in the environment surrounding the furnished rooms. This environment was inside and outside of the furnished room tenement house. “In more than half of the cases, drink seems to be the explanation of the family’s decent into life in ‘furnished rooms,’ and once there, such a life is undoubtedly a constant incentive to drink and other spendthrift, dissolute habits, and we have one of the old vicious circles so familiar to the charity worker” (Breckenridge and Abbott, 1910, p. 304). Vice was the reason the family needed to live in a furnished room and was perpetuated by the environment of the furnished rooms.

As with the other storytellers in this chapter, Breckinridge and Abbott argued the solution to the housing problem was with government regulations. The ultimate goal of the government regulations would be the elimination of the furnished room as it existed. The pair acknowledged that new or revised building ordinances would take time to develop, implement, and enforce. However, the suggestions made for immediate relief of the terrible conditions reflected the values or the purpose of their story, social equity. For Breckenridge and Abbott, social equity began with a healthy living environment.

Breckenridge and Abbott (1910) explained, "(t)here seems no reason why a territory still recognized as a residence district, though inhabited mostly by the families of the poor, should not be purged of the vicious element with which it is tainted" (p. 308). It was evident that the residents of the furnished rooms lived in a different environment then the other residents of the city.

> "These people live under conditions of crowding and lack of privacy obviously demoralizing, and fail to secure any of the self-esteem or educative restraining effect which comes from handling their own property or embodying their earnings and taste in the objects by which they are surrounded" (Breckenridge and Abbott, 1910, p. 290).

There were three suggestions made to increase the social equity of the conditions of the furnished rooms. First, the houses of furnished rooms would be kept clean by frequent disinfections and ffirmed by inspection. The regulations of the number of available or the ratio of rooms to lavatories within each dwelling built prior to 1901 needed clarification beyond the word adequate. Lastly, the police department needed to enforce the ordinances of vice. A "reasonable standard of decency, cleanliness, and sanitation enforced by the city, or the disorderly elements expelled by the police" (Breckinridge and Abbott, 1910, p. 308) would lead to an increase in social equity.

Summary

One recurring theme in the stories of this chapter is detail and scrutiny. In Merriam's first story, detail and scrutiny equaled efficiency. In his second story, he used city planning as an example of social politics and explained that city planning examined the details of physical environment of the city. In her study on the lead trades, Alice Hamilton looked to European lead trade factories for cautionary methods that detailed work practices. Burnham visualized the detail of the built environment to unify the city

the Chicago. In the last story, Sophonisba Breckinridge and Edith Abbott argued for detailed requirements on lavatories.

A second theme was sanitation. Hamilton argued that lead trade workers need to be taught about and have access to facilities for good hygiene and the factories could be kept more sanitary to decrease the occurrence of lead poisoning. The primary issue with furnished rooms was the unsanitary conditions. Breckenridge and Abbott explained that unsanitary conditions were not just physically unhealthy but also demoralizing.

The stories in this chapter considered the purpose of the formal structure of government. This is not a new or groundbreaking observation. However, in the framework of a theory of institutionalization, increasing the formal structure creates restrictions to an individual's ability to exertion of human agency or the actions of actors co-present within a specific locale. Restricting an individual's ability to exert human agency seems to counter the notion of participation in a democracy. In the *Administrative State*, Dwight Waldo argued that the American religious like belief in democracy limited Public Administration to the value of efficiency. In these stories, efficiency is the result of detail and scrutiny. Detail and scrutiny only occurs with more structure.

However, these stories do support the idea that social needs and pressures from the environment become the impetus for change in formal social structures. These stories illustrated some the social needs and pressures of Progressive Era Chicago. In *Leadership and Administration*, Philip Selznick explained that a step in the process of institutionalization is the adaption of action to a social need or pressure. These adaptions occur to compensate for something that is missing in the formal social structure. In

Progressive Era Chicago, there was a need for the formal social structures to address the values of detail, scrutiny and sanitation.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSIONS

This research did not unearth a new value of the discipline of public administration. It seems the research created more questions than answers. The patterns and themes of the stories interpreted did not necessarily reveal anything new, startling, or that has not already been considered by scholars within the discipline. The themes of detail, scrutiny, sanitation and civic education are all known concepts and objectives of Progressive Era reform. However, the research does reinforce the argument that field is much more complex than just a method that is neutral and efficient. Public administration has inherent contradictions that have yet to be fully addressed. This research offers a foundation that may be used to work through those inherent contractions.

The first three stories were interpreted through the frame of arguing for changes to the exertion of human agency. In the first story, Jane Addams argued that with expanding social responsibilities, municipal government needed to include more individuals who are naturally inclined to perform the work. By employing individuals who were naturally inclined to perform the work, municipal government would not forget the purpose of its social responsibilities. The second and third stories presented arguments for voter education and citizen participation. To receive the most power from a

vote, a voter should understand how the government is directly connected to one's life. Anna E. Nicholes described this understanding as a city sense.

The second set of stories was interpreted through the frame that changes to social structures changed social values. In the first story by Charles E. Merriam, it was argued that efficiency through detail and scrutiny improved the administration of municipal government. Merriam's second story discussed the inherent paradox of a capital economy and social politics. In the third story focused on social structure, Alice Hamilton explained the issues in the lead trades that increased the frequency of lead poisoning. The final two stories discussed the built environment. Daniel Burnham's *Plan of Chicago* designed a city that, if built, would unify its inhabitants. Sophonisba Breckinridge and Edith Abbott studied the abhorrent conditions in which the working class lived.

Conclusions on the Discipline of Public Administration and the Theory of the Process Institutionalization

This research followed Dwight Waldo's admonition and asked "efficient for what"? A narrative analysis within the frame of a theory of the process of institutionalization was conducted to answer this broad question. Specifically, the researched examined the purpose of reforms during the Progressive Era. Eight stories that described calls for municipal reform in Progressive Era Chicago were used to interpret the intentions of the reformers. As a narrative analysis of reformers in a specific place at a specific time, the interpretations of the stories cannot be generalized to the whole of the discipline of public administration. However, the interpretations do add affirmations of the dominant story, at least in the setting of Chicago, and the interpretations reveal that the purpose of public administration is more complex than a neutral and efficient process

to governance. Most importantly, the stories allow for the conclusion that the field of public administration is at its core contradictory. The stories argued for specific approaches to methods and explained the need for the informed participation of citizens. Methods of administration and citizen participation are two very different concepts.

The framework of a process of institutionalization was developed fusing Philip Selznick's theory of the process of institutionalization and Anthony Giddens's concepts of the duality of structure and contextuality. This framework explains that the process of institutionalization gives meaning to the actions of the individuals within social structures and to its environment. The process of institutionalization relies on the actions of individuals that are in response to a social need or pressure from a social organization's an internal (the individuals) or external (the environment) community. As these responsive actions are repeated, they infuse a social organization with value.

If this theory of the process of institutionalization is correct then the actions of human agents reveal institutionalized values. As such, only social needs or pressures that result in the changed actions of human agents infuse an organization with value and become part of the social structure. These infused values reflect meaning or purpose.

After interpreting the eight stories, there seems to be merit to Selznick's claim that the responsive, repetitive actions of individuals result in the process of institutionalization and to Giddens's claim in the duality of structure of the recursive relationship between human agency and structure. Over a century ago, some very effective reformers argued and secured changes to the process of government with their actions. These actions were meant to combat corruption and alleviate the social issues associated with an industrialized city. The narrative of effective reformers argued and

secured changes that combatted corruption and alleviated social issues is the dominant narrative of the founding of public administration.

Five of the eight stories analyzed support the dominant narrative and reveal that these selected reformers indeed valued a neutral and efficient process. Although most of the stories analyzed support the dominant narrative, three stories seem to support Waldo's argument that a focus on a neutral and efficient method risks losing the broader purpose of public administration. These three stories do not examine the need for a better method. These stories examine the need for the participation of citizens in the development of solutions to social problems. But, whether or not Progressive Era reformers valued efficiency is not the real issue in Public Administration.

The real issue is Waldo's argument. Public Administration has lost its meaning. We still face many of the same issues faced during the Progressive Era. It seems, with a little alteration of to the circumstances of Progressive Era issues and problems, the stories included in this research might have been written about contemporary issues and problems. For instance, Progressive Era reformers noted a need for a conservation movement that resulted in the establishment of the National Park Service. There are now National Parks, however, there are still issues of conservation. It seems Progressive Era reforms only changed the tacit contemporary issues, not the fundamental social need or pressure. The fundamental social needs or pressures require additional responsive action. The responsive action must be developed with a value or a purpose other than the values or purposes, namely neutrality and efficiency, that have already been infused into the formal social structure.

Ideas for Further Consideration

The process of developing, researching and writing this dissertation created more questions than answers. As stated previously, perhaps interpreting eight stories was too narrow of a selection to uncover meaning. Adding storytellers and stories within the setting of Chicago may expand the themes and patterns uncovered. Or conversely, examining a different setting that has different characteristics from New York City and Chicago, such as New Orleans, may reinforce or add to the meaning of public administration.

An intriguing discovery was learning of Frank Goodnow's book *Social Politics and the Constitution*. In public administration, the name Goodnow is immediately associated with the politics administration dichotomy. The place of social politics and public administration in the Constitution of the United States or constitutional inquiries are associated with John Rohr or David Rosenbloom. As a cornerstone of the development of the discipline, an examination of a work by Goodnow other than *Politics and Administration* might reveal potential solutions to the contradictions of a capital economy and social politics and, more importantly, reveal more of the fundamental social need or pressure that is the meaning of public administration.

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