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## Public Administration and Political Science: An Historical Analysis of the Relation Between the Two Academic Disciplines

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**THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY  
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND POLITICAL SCIENCE:**

***AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE RELATION  
BETWEEN THE TWO ACADEMIC DISCIPLINES***

**BY  
HIBA KHODR**

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To my late father, Mohamad H. Khodr, the professor whose inspiration remains with me.

To my husband Ziad and my children Dana, Jude, and Mohamad, for their compromise,  
patience, and support.

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## **ABSTRACT**

From the dawn of civilization, political science and public administration have developed a close relationship. The development of a more stable society during any era in the existence of any civilization could not take place without the improvement and coordination of political and administrative techniques that foster social cohesion. Public administration and political science not only study and develop such techniques, but also work toward accomplishing such cohesion. For all its intellectual history, the field of public administration has been acknowledged to have a niche in the political science discipline. Yet this position has not always been a comfortable one. Through their quest for authority, autonomy, professionalism, and scientism, public administration and political science emerged as two disciplines that were proven capable of institutionalizing their distinct formal knowledge. The transformation of this body of knowledge, from generalized to more specialized, contributed at times to the alliance between the two disciplines and at other times to a growing tension between them and even separation. Despite a rocky journey, the two fields appeared to have a natural alliance that had endured harsh times and weak ties and was now making its way toward a rapprochement.

This dissertation examines American Public Administration's relationship to political science. It analyzes major theoretical trends in both fields' history that have had a profound impact on the historical development of such relation. These include: politics-administration dichotomy, bureaucracy and democracy, theory and practice, and behavioralism. In addition, the appearance of the science of management and the emergence of the subfield of policy studies are two events that have contributed to major changes that occurred in the relationship between the two fields at different times. The method of research of this study is mainly historical. However, a content analysis is

conducted. The data collected include primary sources, such as scholarly publications in both fields, and other related material such as the disciplines' academic organization and professional associations. This study is divided into historical periods ranging from 1887 to present. These periods are formulated to highlight the relationship chronological development. By tracing such development this study is in a unique position to assess the relationship's status, identifying both its high and low points. *When was the origin; what is the nature; how was the course; and how is the present condition, of the two disciplines' relationship?* These are some of the questions this work attempts to answer.

What has certainly become clear through this study is that change is necessary. The discipline of political science might not achieve the prestigious position it deserves inside the government and will not offer the appropriate curriculum that its students need to serve in this government, until it can establish a better relationship with public administration scholars. The latter might not attain the prominent place in academe they strive for, until they improve the grounding of their research in scientific theories and enhance their methodological tools. Both are difficult tasks to accomplish. Public administration might have a much tougher task-- re-establishing dialogue with the central tenets of its vocation, which are political in character, without letting itself get distracted from its main practical administrative aspects. Political science is also facing challenges-- re-connecting with an applied field of study, without allowing itself to be diverted from its initial mission. Once accomplished, these tasks might help in writing the end to an everlasting tale of the symbiotic relationship between the two disciplines, one that has lasted for over a century.

## **PREFACE**

When we consider the history of the modern social sciences we must recognize the debt that all disciplines owe to one another. Each discipline has developed according to its own genius and each has produced its own fruit. Each has generated some form of institution that has served as an example to others; and each, in turn, has borrowed from the other.

There has been a rivalry of methods, but it has not been unfriendly. One discipline has studied, adopted, or tried to improve the methods of the other. All have come together, however unconsciously, to promote the growth of a common science of knowledge geared toward understanding human existence within any context--political, administrative, or otherwise. Public administration and political science are certainly no exception.

## **CHAPTER ONE...THE ENDURING CONNECTION BETWEEN POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**

### **The Birth of an Idea**

Nineteen years ago, at the American University of Beirut, Lebanon, a friend of mine was accepted to study “PSPA.” We, on the other side of the university campus, in the sciences majors, did not know a lot about that major except that it stood for “political science/public administration.”

Back then, it made sense that the two fields of study would be combined not only in their physical existence in the same main office and under the same director, but also through the acronym. It made a lot of sense, at least to me, having no background in either field: public administration has to do with running government affairs and political science has to do with politics, which in turn, has to do with government.

Today, nineteen years later, in the Bellamy Building at Florida State University, I am a Doctoral student in the Askew School of Public Administration and Policy. The Political Science Department is located in the same building. The two departments’ students rarely get together except for some infrequent social occasions or educational events, and each department has its own director. It makes no sense to me; at least initially, it did not.

I never thought much about this awkward, though interesting, situation until in the spring of 2002, when I started working as a Research Assistant for my major professor, Dr. Mary E. Guy. My responsibility was to help gather information on the relationship between public administration and political science as academic disciplines and practical fields, both in terms of their state of union and their separatism tendencies over the years of their existence. My work assisted in the preparation of the manuscript of her

presidential speech that was to be delivered at the Southern Political Science Association in Savannah, Georgia in 2002.

As I delved into the history of both fields, both theoretical and professional, I found the topic fascinating. As I read more, I became so interested in the subject that I decided to make it my dissertation topic. My intention was to attempt to explain the strength of the weak but natural ties between the two fields.

These same ties were confirmed to me on several occasions in my earliest academic experiences with students from both fields. As a Teaching Assistant in the Askew School of Public Administration and Policy, I taught an introductory course, *Public Administration in America*. I had made it a tradition to give my students a brief questionnaire at the beginning of the semester as a tool of acquaintance.

On the average, sixty percent of my undergraduates were political science majors. The course is one of their required core classes. Answering the question on why we study public administration, a student wrote: "we study public administration for many reasons, but the main reason, I believe, is politics. I think we need to study public administration to know more about politics." I ultimately found this to be a common, and often repeated, answer to the same question in every class of the seven I taught.

Throughout my reading on the subject this answer reminded me of the final sentence of an essay by John M. Gaus that appeared in *Public Administration Review* in 1950: "A Theory of Public Administration Means in Our Time a Theory of Politics Also." This was also the title of the chapter written by Dwight Waldo in *Public Administration: The State of the Discipline* four decades later. Both statements represented a concluding remark of what would be considered as a survey and reflection on trends in the theory of public administration at the time of the publishing of the two pieces.

I would also argue that the enterprise of administration in the public sector is so crucial to the success of political sciences, and vice versa, that we should revisit the relation from all possible, and not limit ourselves to certain conventional or fashionable, methods of inquiry. While history informs our understanding of the past, it is the careful scientific analysis of its components that clarifies the present and offers us a better



perspective on the future. This inquiry into the fields' relationship hopefully also results in a contribution to the theoretical knowledge base of the social sciences in general.

This is where this idea was born. An historical study is especially suited to uncover such a secret and explain the saga of the relationship in question. That is exactly what I endeavor to do in this study.

In my attempt to tell the story fully, and as accurately as possible, I have been led to an appreciation of the complex nature of the academic universe and the impact of past social events and intellectual trends on each and every one of the units of our scholarly enterprise. Through their quest for authority, autonomy, and scientism, public administration and political science emerged as two disciplines that were proven capable of institutionalizing their distinct formal knowledge.

The transformation of these two fields of knowledge, from generalized to more specialized, contributed at times to the alliance between the two disciplines and at other times to a growing tension between them and even separation. When was the origin; what is the nature; and how is the present condition, of the two disciplines' relationship? These are some of the preliminary questions I will attempt to answer in this chapter.

### **The Birthplace of a Discipline We Call PA**

Public administration in 1903, the year the American Political Science Association (APSA) was founded, was a critical pillar in Goodnow's vision of Political Science. Frank J. Goodnow (1859-1939) was one of the founders and the first president of the new professional Association and is often referred to as the "father of public administration" because of his "prolific writings and ardent teaching" (Mosher, 1945, p.27). Goodnow, a professor of Administrative Law at Columbia University then, was also "one of the most significant voices and writers of the progressive era" (Shafritz & Hyde, 1997, p.3). In 1900, his well-known book *Politics and Administration* followed his first book on *Comparative Administrative Law* published in 1893.

Goodnow devoted his presidential address in 1904 to the work of APSA. He set forth the fundamental questions that he believed the newly established Association ought to address itself: "the expression of the state will," "the context of the state will as

expressed, ”and “ the execution of the state will.” It is clear that the importance of administration lay at the very core of the creation of this new Association.

He also declared then that the association will ”be likely to attract the support not only of those engaged in academic instruction, but of public administrators, lawyers of broader culture, and, in general, all those interested in the scientific study of the great and important questions of practical and theoretical politics” (p.11). Back then, as I shall demonstrate later, American political scientists concerned themselves with the practical aspects of administrative reform.

From its beginning, public administration was one of the critical foundations of political science and political science was the natural home of public administration. In December 1913, the final report of the Political Science Committee endorsed training for government careers and advocated direct contact between universities and government. Woodrow Wilson, who is considered by many the founder of public administration, typified this link between academic and utilitarian studies through his personal overlap of professor and politician.

Furthermore, the subheading of the first issue of the *American Political Science Review (APSR)*, in 1906, shows public administration as one of the six fields comprising Political Science. The six fields with their corresponding committees were: Comparative Legislation; International Law including Diplomacy; Constitutional Law including Law-Making and Political Parties; Administrative Law, including Colonial, National, State, and Local administration; Historical Jurisprudence; and Political Theory. At that time, public administration was subsumed under the subject of administrative law.

Leading scholars in public administration not only helped in the founding of APSA but also trained government managers. A brief, but careful, examination of both fields’ professional associations’ earlier presidents reveals that most of those who contributed to the emerging enterprise of public administration were political scientists. Six of the first eleven presidents of APSA came from public administration and played important roles in framing the new discipline. Similarly, five of the early presidents of the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA) were political scientists.

In addition, the organizing meeting to establish ASPA occurred at the 1939 35<sup>th</sup> annual meeting of the American Political Science Association. In a very real sense, an

academic discipline begins when its practitioners see common interests that merit its organization. For that to occur during the APSA meeting implies an event of great professional and intellectual importance for both fields and reveals their initial liaison and future interconnection. In the late 1930s, public administration dominated the fields of both political science and management. “Public administration scholars got the research grants and public administration faculty got the students” (Henry, 1990).

By 1940, one fifth of all political science doctorate degrees were in public administration and most of the public administration programs existed in political science departments. According to the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA), Public Administration programs in the departments of Political Science were the most popular organizational arrangements for graduate programs –a situation that remained unchanged until as late as 1984. In addition, all departments of political science that offered the bachelor’s degree up to the Ph.D. also offered courses and training in public administration (Martin, 1952).

In 1951, public administration was one of the core fields of political science. By tradition, public administration seemed to be regarded as a division of political science. As early as 1887, in his essay “The Study of Administration,” published in *Political Science Quarterly*<sup>1</sup>, Woodrow Wilson attempted nothing less than to refocus political science. This essay is generally regarded as the beginning of public administration as a specific field of study. Wilson, a political scientist himself, argued that political science should concentrate on how governments are administered. This was necessary because, in his own words, “ it is getting to be harder to *run* a constitution than to frame one” (p.23).

Later, Leonard D. White, a political scientist at the University of Chicago then, and a U.S Civil Service Commissioner with an extensive record of intellectual contributions to the field of Public Administration, articulated the science of administration objectives in his 1926 book *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration*. By tradition, this book marks the intellectual birth of the field of public administration. White (1927) argued that politics should not intrude on administration. In addition, since management lends itself to scientific study, public administration is

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<sup>1</sup> The first issue of *Political Science Quarterly* was published in 1886. This *Quarterly* is considered the oldest political science journal

capable of becoming a “value-free” science in its own right. Finally, White defined the mission of administration as that of economy and efficiency. In his 1930 article on the subject in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, he recognized public administration as “a branch of the field of political science.”

Luther Gulick, a political scientist and activist, followed suit, observing in the book coauthored with Lyndall Urwick, *Papers on the Science of Administration*, “public administration is thus a division of political science” (1937, p.13). Gulick is considered an expert on administration and had introduced the now well-known but highly innovative then, acronym POSDCORB. The acronym stands for the different functions of administration: planning, organizing, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting, and budgeting. His work was viewed as a breakthrough in the science of administration.

These early voices, among many others, are those of political scientists. They had a profound influence on the development of public administration as an academic discipline and field of study. Their writings are included in the classics of the field and their contributions to the theories of administration are well established.

### **A House without a Home**

These early connections between political science and public administration contribute to what has been described as the blurring boundaries between the two disciplines. Gradual conflicts of interests and methodologies ensued. For a long time, public administration had naturally been deeply invested in the methods and theories of political science. Public administrationists had long been in deep conversation with political scientists; and public administration researchers had been using formulas developed by political scientists to chart and answer their own research data and questions.

However, soon after World War Two, the focus of political science itself started to shift. Behavioralism emerged as a dominant force in the discipline. The 1940s marked the beginning of a new and intense concern with theory and science within political science. Although the claims about theory and science did not become so familiar until the mid 1950s, the emphasis on separating the “philosophical” approach to the study of

politics from the “empirical” or increasingly popular “positivistic, scientific, or liberal technique of social study” began to appear during the late 1930s and early 1940s (Finifter, 1983, p.14).

Throughout the 1940s, discourse increasingly revolved around questions of ethics and relativism on one hand, and positivism on the other. These new theoretical orientations tended to produce a redefinition and reconstruction of many issues written about in the pages of the *American Political Science Review*. On the eve of World War Two, American political science was something of a special case in the social sciences. That period is thought to mark the start of discovery for the discipline. Political science moved its identity closer to data, methods, and the goals of the behavioral sciences. However, some claim it was still a discipline “without a clear intellectual identity”(Sorauf, 1965, p.14).

During that same period public administration had undergone a series of invigorating debates about the relation between politics and administration on one hand, and practice and theory on the other. These debates, and the writings they produced, have had an important impact on the development of the discipline. They were part of a more general transformation in the field, a transformation that is, in paradoxical ways, the product of a profound crisis in the discipline of public administration itself.

This crisis had both political and intellectual roots and will be covered in detail later in this study. Also, public administration scholars and practitioners became much more self conscious about the position they occupied in comparison with other fields within the social sciences. This new self-consciousness about their own methods and theories was just one of the many strands of a larger epistemological crisis in public administration, one that has also affected other social sciences.

As a result, the department of political science became a less likely place to provide a nurturing environment for programs designed to prepare for careers in the public service. Many public administrationists were unhappy about sharing the discipline with a more “theoretical” political science, whereas some political scientists found “practice-oriented” public administration an undesirable partner. As a result, tension started to build.

This increasing shift toward a vision of “pure” as opposed to “applied” science and the perceived need to place theory on an even firmer footing by demonstrating its “scientificness” led to an impending conflict between “scientific” and “traditional” theory and widened the distance between the two fields. Despite the uneasy yet common feeling among observers of that time, Roscoe Martin (1952) reported that writers of that time period continued to assert the continued “dominion of political science over public administration” (p.672).

This situation did not last long. By 1983, when APSA issued *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*, public administration was mentioned only as part of a broader look at “professional fields of instruction.” This trend became, as I substantiate later in the study, more apparent in the decline in public administration articles in political science journals and vice versa. Also, a shift in the subject matter in the writings on public administration and political science reinforced this trend. Public administration was relegated to “second-class citizenship” by political science departments and faculty (Waldo, 1990, p.78). As a result, the relation between the two fields has been since described “as one of tension” (Henry, 1990, p.3).

More recently, public administration had almost completely disappeared as a field of Political Science and in the affairs of the American Political Science Association. During the 1960s and 1970s, the better case was for separation. “Lucky was the program in public administration that suffered no worse than disdain in those times” (Waldo, 1990, p.81). Within the political science departments, public administration was viewed as not only a heavy burden, but as an unwanted shameful companion.

### **Homecoming or Moving out?**

When APSA published *Political Science: The State of the Discipline* in 1983, there was no chapter dedicated to public administration. This book, a compendium that covered nineteen chapters dedicated to different political science subspecialties and is composed of more than 600 pages, contained no discussion of public administration as a substantive subfield. All nineteen contributors to the book had academic careers in political science with the exception of two: David Walker who was the Assistant Director

of the U.S Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR), and David Beam who was a member of Walker's research staff. They coauthored one of the articles that appeared in this large volume.

The overall goal of the book was to "begin to fill the continuing need for a frequently published overview of political science research" (p.v). As the editors mentioned in the preface, the book grew out of the theme of the 1982 annual meeting of APSA. In each section of the program, a paper was commissioned to review the state of research and future directions of the subfields of political science. Public administration was omitted in both instances.

The volume itself, as Henry would argue a few years later, stands as testimony not only to the reality of public administration's emergence as a separate field and the secession of public administration from the political science territories, but also to the "quiet acceptance (with good grace) by political science over its departure" (Henry, 1990, p.10). It is noteworthy to mention that during the same year, 1982, a strong and viable section devoted to public administration was formed in APSA. Henry would contend that the "recent formation of this group is due considerably more to the initiative of public administrationists than of political scientists" (p.10).

It was not until 1990 that the first book to be sponsored jointly by ASPA and APSA was published. *Public Administration: The State of the Discipline* was edited by Naomi B. Lynn<sup>2</sup> and Aaron Wildavsky<sup>3</sup>. The coeditors came from political science and public administration and shared interests in both fields. They were members of both

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<sup>2</sup>At the time of writing, Naomi Lynn was a professor and head of the Political Science Department at Kansas State University. She subsequently served on the Council of the American Political Science Association in 1984 and as president of the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA) between 1985 and 1986. She was the Chancellor-Emeritus of the University of Illinois at Springfield. She previously served for four years as president of the former Sangamon State University, which joined the University of Illinois system. She also was Dean of College of Public and Urban Affairs at Georgia State University, Atlanta. She is a fellow of the National Academy of Public Administration (NAPA).

<sup>3</sup>Aaron Wildavsky (1930-1993) was a professor of Political Science and Public Policy at the University of California, Berkeley. He was the author of 50 books and of the most widely cited book in American public administration, *The Politics of the Budgetary Process*, named by the American Society of Public Administration as the third most influential work in public administration in the last fifty years, and many other works, such as his two books, *The Nursing Father: Moses as a Political Leader* and *A History of Taxation and Expenditure in the Western World* (with Carolyn Webber). He was a Fellow of the Association of Public Policy Analysis and Management, the American Academy of Arts and Science, the National Academy of Public Administration, and the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences. He also served as president of the American Political Science Association between 1985 and 1986.

fields' professional associations and had served as presidents of ASPA and APSA respectively, during the mid-1980s.

The book included chapters authored by scholars who are members of both associations. Actually, some had more recently joined the newly organized APSA's Section on Public Administration. It also included a number of papers on the state of the discipline of public administration that were commissioned during the 1984 annual meeting of APSA. The book is considered the result of the joint efforts on the part of the editors to "bring political scientists with a specialty in public administration into a more active role in APSA" (p.5).

In addition, as Lynn mentioned in the preface, its goal was to "help the two associations identify mutual interest." She further explained that the book came as a response to the "unfortunate" lack of a chapter on public administration in *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*. The latter was published in 1983 as mentioned previously.

Despite this rocky journey, the two fields appeared to have a natural alliance that had endured harsh times and weak ties and was now making its way toward a rapprochement. "The recent presidents of APSA have been associated with the field of public administration and the public administration section is large and vibrant again" (Frederickson, 1999, p.701). Also, expressions such as the 'repositioning of public administration in political science', 're-association between the two', and several others were appearing more often in the professional literature.

From the dawn of civilization, political science and public administration-- although not necessarily labeled as such-- have developed a close relationship. The development of a more stable society during any era in the existence of any civilization could not take place without the improvement and coordination of political and administrative techniques that foster social cohesion. Public administration and political science not only study and develop such techniques, but also work toward accomplishing such cohesion.

However, the question remains as to whether the two disciplines are still too close or too independent? Did the pendulum swing too far? The answer depends to a great extent on our continuous attempt to explain their unique existence as we strive to



generate theories that explain, simplify, and reduce the complexities of our realities. As we continue to do so in the social sciences, the need on both sides to identify mutual interests remains. How much of a tie is left? Are we simply kicking around a straw man?

It is my conviction, as Leviathan states, that the administrative procedural machinery is an integral part of each political ideology and vice versa. The long standing issue of the politics-administration dichotomy, abandoned at times and resurrected at others, is proof of the validity of that statement. As Dwight Waldo wondered in 1990, ” we have an American Political Science Association and an American Society for Public Administration. We do not have an American Government Association” (p. 79). This might be the most logical question to propose, as well as the most complicated one to answer.

The argument presented here is based on the view that political science should focus on the institutions of government<sup>4</sup>, political and administrative. Hence, one can establish the importance of public administration and its contribution as an academic subject. American public administration cannot be understood without reference to theories about the nature and function of power, government and its political machinery. I shall attempt to illustrate this in the current study.

In an attempt to construct a mini-theory related to this interdependence, or what might someone call “competition”, among different academic disciplines, this study investigates the “nuts and bolts” of the relationship. Although not completely new information, this formulation offers new insights on the complex relationship between academic disciplines in the social sciences in general, and their continuous struggle to gain autonomy, legitimacy, relevance, and influence.

Finally, I argue that probably never before in the intellectual history of the social sciences has the study of the relation between public administration and political science been more important. We live in a complex society that is undergoing rapid changes. Political ideas are being reconsidered, political institutions are being remodeled, and new experiments in government are being tried. Furthermore, recent world events have caused

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<sup>4</sup> The traditionalist view of politics implies that the state, rather than political activity, should be the subject matter of the study of politics. Political studies in the past have generally been concerned with the state’s organization, nature, and functions. Then later there was a tendency to study the political process, political cultures, systems, and patterns of behavior (Ridley, 1975).

many changes in the organization and the activities of governments and the political and administrative aspects of their established institutions. Both disciplines have a tremendous obligation in terms of the study, development, and improvement of such institutions.

As I embarked on my mission, I came to the belief that there is an urgent need to revisit this issue and the related constraining boundaries that have been drawn over the long intellectual history of each of the two disciplines. A careful examination of the historical factors that shaped both the nature and the developments of the relationship in question remains to be done. In addition, the contributions of historians in either discipline on the subject are felt to be insufficient.

A review of the earlier scholarly work provides clear evidence that there is a need to provide a more comprehensive manuscript of that history. This study is aimed at filling the existing gap in the literature and presenting a more cumulative and complete work on the subject at hand. This is crucial not simply as a documentation process but rather as an “eye opener” on what each of the two disciplines might have to offer to one another at both the theoretical and the practical levels.

Although little might be considered new in the recognition of an organic relationship between the two fields, a genuine understanding of the tendency toward separatism and its significance and implication seem necessary. At a time when many are turning their attention to recent events in the United States and the world, a study of this type is especially important. The tragic events of September 11<sup>th</sup> and their aftermath reconfirm the fact that the need for functionally and theoretically bringing the two fields closer is crucial. Some of their main functions form an extension of one another and their major theories build on one another.

The two fields have significant contributions they could make to each other and to the social sciences knowledge base. The different research streams that each field has pursued have, in many instances, the same theoretical frameworks and could lead to a better understanding of the social, political, and administrative issues of our time. As Dwight Waldo wrote in 1980: “my own judgment is that public administration, seeking to solve problems in a very real world is importantly involved in creating the political theory of our time. I am confident that this will be the verdict of history”(p.57).

What is likely to happen to the relationship between the two enterprises in the near future will be strongly affected by the contextual factors of the world we live in and the emerging need to act as a unified nation to face new challenges and pressing issues. It seems like a good time to review where we have been and where we might be going.

## **CHAPTER TWO...REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE**

The enduring connection between political science and public administration thus emerges as a problem that merits investigation. Earlier work is scattered and a comprehensive review of the intellectual and professional developments in the relationship between the two fields is due.

The nature of this subject matter requires a slightly modified approach to the literature review. There are two main reasons. First, this dissertation attempts to substantively reread the intellectual history of the two fields. This process will reveal ties that may have gone undetected. Second, it proposes this re-reading through the examination of what has been said about the relationship. A review of the literature reveals that several scholars as early as the 1950s discussed, some directly and others indirectly, the relationship between the two fields (Frederickson, 1999; Guy, 2003; Lee, 1995; Somit & Tanenhaus, 1982; Stone & Stone, 1979; Waldo, 1948, 1971, 1980; Whicker, et al., 1993).

### **Early Work**

As early as 1908, Charles M. Andrews<sup>5</sup>, who was impressed by Woodrow Wilson's lectures on administration, looked at the history of both public administration and political science by analyzing the manner of operation of British committees, councils, and boards of trade. Although his interest was mainly the study of British

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<sup>5</sup> Refer to Charles M. Andrews. 1908. *British Committees, Commissions, Council of Trade and Plantations 1622-1675*. In *Studies in History and Political Science*. Vol. 26. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Publications.

imperial organization in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, his work could be considered an unprecedented study of administrative history.

Historians and political scientists alike have shown little interest in the historical evolution of the American public service. Despite the beginnings made by the Johns Hopkins group<sup>6</sup>, the history of administration remained neglected for almost half a century. The first effort to write a comprehensive administrative history of the United States did not come until 1948 when Leonard White published the first of four volumes<sup>7</sup> on the subject. Perhaps it is indicative of the general neglect of the subject that not until 1957 did a political scientist produce a full and comprehensive account of the subject in the United States.

Paul P. Van Riper<sup>8</sup> undertook one perspective on this task while formulating a theory of administrative organization that focused on the role of civil service in a democratic state (Nash, 1969). Although he was mostly concerned with determining how the American administrative system responded to political and social pressures, his survey of the history of the civil service since 1789 is one of the earlier accounts of the U.S. administrative history.

It is notable that all the work listed above focused more on the history of administration and its institutions in terms of their structure and functions, rather than the history of public administration as a field of study or a discipline. The neglect of that historical aspect could be attributed to the lack of interest in administration in general. Nash (1969) argues, “the revolt of social scientists against legal formalism during the first three decades of the Twentieth Century and their preoccupation with Behavioralism in the 20 years after World War II, has also fostered an anti- or unhistorical tendency in writing about administration” (p.1).

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<sup>6</sup> I am referring to the *Studies in History and Political Science* a multiple volumes series published by the Johns Hopkins University as early as 1900.

<sup>7</sup> These are: Leonard D. White. 1948. *The Federalists: A Study in Administrative History*. New York; Leonard D. White. 1948; *The Jeffersonians: A Study in Administrative History, 1801-1829*. New York; Leonard D. White. 1948. *The Jacksonians: A study in Administrative History, 1829-1861*. New York; and Leonard D. White. 1948. *The Republican Era, 1861-1901: A Study in Administrative State*. New York.

<sup>8</sup> Paul P. Van Riper. 1958. *History of the United States Civil Service*. Evanston.

## Later Work

Other scholars such as Somit and Tanenhaus (1982) and Stone<sup>9</sup> and Stone<sup>10</sup> (1979) have described to a lesser extent the connections between the fields. I found their work to be commonly referenced in many of most recent articles touching on the subject. A brief review of their books follows.

Somit and Tanenhaus in *The Development of American Political Science* treated the subject as part of the historical overview of the field of political science. They mainly focused on education for citizenship and public affairs as one of the activities associated with the development of political science. In their rather detailed and systematic treatment of the development of political science, the authors included a section on the education for citizenship and public affairs in each of the stages of the development of the field. Even though they gave the section a different title in each of the chapters, it can be easily interpreted as the overt evidence of the connection between political science and public administration and the changes in that connection.

The two authors reported the involvement of political scientists and scholars in the early years with public administration through the establishment of multiple committees, the generating of several reports, and the publication of a large percentage of articles devoted to public affairs and events. This was also evident in the fact that “two thirds of those initially appointed to the offices and standing committees of APSA had already been, or were soon to become, more than casually involved in public affairs”(p.43). These include known scholars such as Woodrow Wilson, John W. Burgess<sup>11</sup>, and Leonard D. White.

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<sup>9</sup> Alice B. Stone has engaged in various teaching and public service activities, primarily as a volunteer. She collaborated with her husband Donald C. Stone in publications, public speeches, conferences, and educational enterprises. They taught together in GAO seminars and coauthored several articles (ASPA, 1995).

<sup>10</sup> Donald C. Stone (1903-1995) was Adjunct Professor of Public Administration at Carnegie-Mellon University. He was also Dean-Emeritus and founder of the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh. He served as a Distinguished Professor of Public Administration at Carnegie-Mellon University. He was one of the founders and a past president of the American Society of Public Administration (1950-1951) where he has an endowment fund established under his name. He also played a part in the creation and implementation of the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA). He was the author of many important publications in the field.

<sup>11</sup> John W. Burgess was a Professor of Political Science and Constitutional Law at what was then called Columbia College where his efforts led to the creation of a School of Political Science. The latter was

The latter two took upon themselves the task of educating for citizenship and public affairs and service when establishing their departments of political science at Columbia and Cornell, respectively. Burgess is often considered the “father” of political science, or at least one of the most important and influential late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century political scientists. The school he established was widely acknowledged as the model of what academic Political Science would become. The Columbia Board of Trustees’ resolution establishing the program stated that it was “designed to prepare young men for the duties of public life” (Farr, Dryzek, and Leonard, 1995, p.73).

Leonard White argued that the years between 1870-1900 were “years of stagnation” in the development of administrative theory, although he noted the exceptions of those who were reformers and students of government. These included Charles Francis Adams, Woodrow Wilson, and Frank Goodnow (Farr, et al., 1995). All three were political scientists who had special commitment to develop the practice and theory of administration. The content of major disciplinary journals and the substance of research in the discipline, in addition to the engagement of political scientists described previously, all might be read as a testament to the link between scholarship in political science and public administration or affairs during that period. Somit and Tanenhaus (1982) also emphasized that during the first two decades of the Twentieth Century “most certainly, the profession’s attention to public affairs continued unabated” (p.85).

During the three decades to follow, political scientists voiced an increased devotion to the scholarly aspects of their enterprise. It is also interesting to note that Somit and Tanenhaus’s discussion of practitioners’ political activities after the advent of behavioralism is remarkably thin in comparison with their accounts of these activities in the period before the 1920s and from the 1920s to the 1940s. Despite the forming of a Committee on Policy in APSA that sought to encourage a greater involvement in the education and placement of persons for the public service and in public affairs, the

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considered for many years the first and the most ambitious graduate program in political science in the United States. Somit and Tanenhaus (1982) argue, “in fine, when the School opened in 1880, American political science as a learned discipline was born”(p.21). Burgess was involved in the planning meeting for the society on Comparative Legislation but apparently took no part in the creation of APSA. He continued to publish occasionally in the *Political Science Quarterly*- but not the *American Political Science Review*.

literature testified to the manner in which the profession was pursuing an increased devotion to scholarly research and scientism.

In all likelihood, however, “the profession devoted no less of its energies to education for democracy and training for public affairs”(p.135). Charles A. Beard proudly reported that political scientists had played a central role in the reorganization of many state and municipal governments, and that “Association members had been involved in every important study of state and federal administration undertaken the previous two decades” (p.139).

### **Recent Work**

Perhaps Dwight Waldo did the most important work on the subject<sup>12</sup>. His contributions to the history and theory of American Public Administration are most significant. In addition, he has repeatedly documented the early linkages between the two fields (Uveges, 1982). Through his combined role as political theorist and administrative historian, Dwight Waldo almost single handedly succeeded in shedding light on a problematic and enduring relationship that was intentionally or unintentionally ignored in the literature at that time.

As early as 1948, in his well-known book *The Administrative State: A Study of the Political Theory of American Public Administration*, Waldo attempted to “review and analyze the theoretical element in administrative writings and to present the development of the public administration movement as a chapter in the history of American political thought” (p.v). The book was the published version of his dissertation research and remains one of his most important efforts (Uveges, 1982). The administrative state is, as the book subtitle stated, a definitive “study of the political theory of American public administration.”

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<sup>12</sup> Dwight Waldo was Albert Schweitzer Professor in the Humanities at Syracuse University. He received his Ph.D. in political science at Yale University in 1942 and instructed there prior to four years of employment in federal agencies in Washington. Prior to moving to Syracuse in 1967, he was professor of political science and Director of the Institute of Governmental Studies at the University of California, Berkley. He has authored or edited more than 60 published items, including 11 books and monographs in public administration. He also was Editor-in-Chief of *Public Administration Review* from 1966 to 1977.



Later, in 1971, Waldo edited another book, *Public Administration in a Time of Turbulence*, that comprised a group of revised versions of essays that had their origins in the 1969 convention of the American Political Science Association. It is, as Waldo mentioned in the Preface, an extension of the “Minnowbrook<sup>13</sup> idea”: to give the younger professionals a chance to “have their say,” to each other and to anyone who might be persuaded to listen.”(p.vii). Many scholars consider Waldo as the “godfather of the first Minnowbrook conference”(Bailey & Mayer, 1992). Some of the authors in Waldo’s book would identify themselves as among those self-consciously seeking a “New Public Administration,” but others would not. However, the general existing climate reflected rapid changes that were occurring in the theoretical arenas of both fields, but mainly that of public administration.

Many scholars also considered Waldo as not only a political theorist but also an administrative historian, especially when referring to his book *The Enterprise of Public Administration* (1980). The book’s major theme was the importance of the historical roots of what was then called modern public administration. In this book, Waldo provides a chronological account of the development of the field with special treatment of the major “shifts in intellectual interests, academic emphasis, or research subjects that have occurred in the public administration community” (Uveges, 1980, p.111).

Waldo could be considered one, if not the only one, among all scholars, to discuss the relationship between the two fields within an historical context. He pointed out more than half a century ago that the opportunities for fruitful interaction have not yet been fully developed. Indeed, among the various disciplines upon which the study of political science and public administration started, he observed that the two disciplines were drawing less and less from each other and were neglecting their joint origin together.

Waldo (1980) attributed this situation partly to a relative lack of interest in administration shown by historians. Additionally, he argued that the revolt of social scientists, especially political scientists, during the first decades of the Twentieth

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<sup>13</sup> The major themes presented at the Minnowbrook I conference held in September of 1968 are combined in *Toward a New Public Administration: The Minnowbrook Perspective* edited by Frank Marini (Chandler 1971). The second collection of papers written on the Minnowbrook II conference are presented in *Public Management in an Interconnected World: essays in the Minnowbrook tradition* edited by Mary Timney Bailey and Richard T. Mayer (Greenwood Press, 1992). Both conferences and their implications as they relate to on the study at hand are covered in more details in a later section of this dissertation.

Century, and their later preoccupation with behavioralism in the twenty years after WWII in the 1960s, fostered an anti- or unhistorical tendency in writing about the two disciplines. Whatever the reasons, the history of the relationship remained mostly neglected.

Most recently, a few scholars in public administration have revived the issue through articles and lectures presented at multiple professional meetings. Prominent scholars such as George Frederickson<sup>14</sup> and Mary E. Guy<sup>15</sup>, with respective interests in both fields, reconfirmed the ties between the two academic institutions and called for the need to “reconcile” again. They voiced the concern about the status of a “troublesome” gap that needs special attention from both sides. That *troublesome cleft*, as other scholars called it (Waldo, 1990; Whicker, et al., 1993), was also the focus of a few articles in the field’s leading professional journal *Public Administration Review (PAR)*.

For instance, Whicker, Strickland, and Olshfski (1993) revisited the 100-year-old debate about the politics/ administration dichotomy through looking at the historical relation between political science and public administration. The focus of the article was mainly on demonstrating the interface between the two disciplines rather than on listing their differences. This direction in the treatment of the subject “provides the greatest prospect for future mutual advance” (p.531). The authors made a strong case for the necessity of a continuous alignment of the two disciplines. They argue that political science training and its intellectual content are of great benefit to public administration scholars. They highlighted some points Weimer (1992) made in a previous issue of *PAR*. Some of these issues raised by Whicker et al., (1993) included:

1. “Political Science offers more rigorous scientific training than is presently offered by public administration”(p.532).
2. “Knowledge about the various dependent variables political scientists have explored is useful to public administration” (p.533).

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<sup>14</sup> George H. Frederickson is a professor at the University of Kansas and was named the 1999 John Gaus Distinguished Lecturer. He published his lecture on the subject, “The Repositioning of American Public Administration,” in 1999 in *Political Science and Politics in Political Science and Politics* 32(4).

<sup>15</sup> Mary E. Guy holds the Jerry Collins Eminent Scholar Chair in the Askew School of Public Administration and Policy at the Florida State University. She was a Professor of Political Science and Public Affairs at the University of Alabama at Birmingham. She served as President of the American Society of Public Administration, 1997-1998, and of the Southern Political Science Association, 2001-2002.

3. “Political science and public administration tend to emphasize different levels of analysis that are mutually complementary”(p.535).

The authors noticed that political science has more recently overlapped with public administration within research streams that focus on organizational theory and leadership studies. They conclude, “ rather than fight over territory in the future, ideally both political science and public administration can work amicably within their common interface”(p. 539). They close their argument by offering what they consider the key to a successful public manager’s journey. “The greatest contribution of political science to public administration to date is precisely its primary mission: providing detailed knowledge about the linkages between the various actors and institutions of the political system in which public managers must function” (p. 540). Such knowledge combined with knowledge of the political system in which their agency operates, serves as a reliable and necessary road map for public managers.

A few years later, George Frederickson (1999) expressed a “particular pleasure” to have witnessed the reemergence of public administration in political science. He noted the improved relation between the two fields especially through their mutual professional associations. This is evident as “recent presidents of APSA have been associated with the field of public administration and the PA section is large and vibrant”(p. 701).

Frederickson presented his Gaus Lecture titled *The Repositioning of American Public Administration* at the Annual Meeting of APSA in 1999. This traditional meeting, he argues, has more recently become, “a primary venue for the presentation of serious research on public administration by whatever nomenclature -- public management, bureaucracy, policy implementation, governance” (p.701).

However, Frederickson noted the need for a book review section dedicated to Public Administration in the *American Political Science Review*, in addition to a few more articles or even pages dealing with the discipline of public administration. This need, once satisfied, is an essential step in what he called the “repositioning” of public administration, particularly as a field of political science. This rapid repositioning “although arbitrary and imprecise, began in the mid-to-late 1980s, at about the time of the publication of James Q. Wilson’s *Bureaucracy* (1989) and March and Olsen’s *Rediscovering Institutions* (1989)” (p.702).

By the end of the 1990s, and as public administration had become more self-aware, it also had “become not only an important field of political science, it is now an important contributor to political science”(p.702). He concluded that the emergence and “development of both governance theory and network theory, as well as the little theory of administrative conjunction, all within the general framework on institutionalism form the basis of the repositioning of public administration as a field in political science” (p.710).

Mary E. Guy, at the turn of the century, presented an argument from a different angle, on the link between the two fields as she captured both the long-standing “estrangement” between public administration and political science and the inevitable “ties that bind” them together. In her presidential speech *Ties that Bind: The Link Between Public Administration and Political Science*, delivered at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association in 2002<sup>16</sup>, she covered “the divergence, parallel paths, and convergence that link these fields”(p.2). Through an historical review of the main events and a chronological evaluation of some of the major theoretical trends in both fields, both the apparent ties and the shifting tendencies are outlined.

The first signs of a divergence between the two fields started to appear throughout the 1940s. The growth of scientism, particularly the behavioralism movement, was the main driver of such divergence. “Meanwhile, there was an ongoing tension between the need to reconcile democracy and efficiency among those concerned about the business of government” (p.7). That tension contributed to the apparent diminished sense of compatibility between the two fields at that time. Trends continued to aggravate the tension between public administration and political science well into the 1970s. The influence of Graham Allison’s book *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis* (1971) is evident through the examination of both the course of events and the theoretical focus and debates of both fields during that period.

In 1969, Graham Allison published his well-known article *Conceptual Models of the Cuban Crisis*. His work became the model for how the case analysis methodology could shed light on the study of public decision. This work undermined traditional studies of public administration more than any other work of the behavioral era. Instead of

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<sup>16</sup> The speech was later published in August 2003 in the *Journal of Politics* 6(3): 641-655.

focusing on how to structure bureaucracy to produce desired outcomes, he sought to explain by the models he proposed why certain structures lead to the observed outcomes. Within the political science community, the bureaucratic politics perspective, which sprang up soon after the publication of Allison's article and his subsequent book, provided a fresh look on administration. In the bureaucratic perspective, administration was now seen as a "political resultant" not as the traditional search for efficiency (Kettl, 1992).

Guy agreed with Frederickson that the repositioning of public administration within political science began about a decade ago. She also agreed with former APSA president Matthew Holden (1996) on the fact that "the attempt to understand politics separate from administration is folly," and added, "Public administration cannot be separated from the political process" (p.13). She extended the argument for the need for such re-association in that "an interface between public administration and political science is necessary as we prepare students for careers in public service"(p.11).

Guy finished with an argument on why the two fields should remain aligned. She concluded, "we simply must to pay attention to the interface of politics, administration, and *governance*, writ large" (p.652). She warns of the danger of separation between the two fields. "We ignore administration at our intellectual peril" (p.653). I could not agree more.

## **CHAPTER THREE...A DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF THE STUDY**

This chapter provides a general descriptive account of the study. The first section covers the theoretical framework and the research questions. The second section describes the methodology of the present study.

### **Theoretical Framework and the Research Questions**

This study explores the organizational dimensions of public administration and political science and their subsequent effects on both the academic and professional historical relationship between the two fields. It mainly covers the last century because the development of professional social science associations occurred during that time. The analysis goes beyond a simple description of events to provide a meaningful context of the collected facts.

A considerable difference in opinion exists as to the best approach to use when studying an academic field and its relationship to another field. Some prefer to begin with a description of the field and its history; others favor a comparative approach using the available material for purposes of contrast and deduction of general principles. I believe the most appropriate way for the purposes of this study is to address each field as an institution, giving special attention to each, in terms of its unique nature, origin, development, organization, and function.

In addition, I examine the institutions that each had generated, and the relations among the individuals that were instrumented to them. From this background, I then can pass to a more specialized focus on the relationship between the two fields.

Two main theoretical perspectives are used to provide a conceptual framework for this study. First, I use various theories of institutions and institutional change to explain how the changes in the intellectual and practical aspects of both fields contributed to the association and disassociation between the two fields. Secondly, I use theories borrowed from the sociology of professions and professionalism to explain the process of establishing an academic discipline. Neither theoretical framework has been used to study academic disciplines or fields of study<sup>17</sup>; especially, in terms of the relationship between any two disciplines.

### *Theories of Institutions*

Institutions matter. They matter because societies are governed by laws and through institutions. After all, institutions are frameworks of rules within which the actors in any type of setting must operate.

Many disciplines in academia have devoted considerable attention to institutions and their studies, mainly sociology, economics, public administration, and political science. These various fields have attempted to answer the same set of questions: why do institutions exist? How do they emerge or arise? What purpose do they serve? Why do they change? How are they maintained? And what makes them adapt and survive?

The present study is an intellectual history, but it is an institutional history as well. My principal concern is with the way ideas enter into institutions, affect them, and are affected by them. Perhaps connecting ideas with institutions can serve as a tool to explain the complex historical saga of the relationship between political science and public administration.

### *The Sociological Perspective on Institutions*

The sociological perspective on institutions has been one of the most commonly used in the writings of administrative history. To this day a small group of political

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<sup>17</sup> I am referring here to the academic aspect of a profession not the practical aspect of it. Studies on professions, especially medical ones, using the sociology of professions as a framework were very common until more recently. The decline of interest and the near disappearance of papers on professions in the principal journals of sociology in America was a consequence of "the major shift in theoretical orientation, particularly in American sociology, from the structural functionalist orthodoxy of the 1960s, to a more pluralistic scene, in which action-based theory in a variety of forms played an important part" (Macdonald, 1995, p.xi).

scientists continues to study the evolution of political institutions, and incidentally, administration (Ridley, 1975). The concept of institution making can help in explaining both the process and the results of the initial and subsequent interactions between political science and public administration.

This study uses the sociological approach to institutions as a theoretical framework to deconstruct meanings about public administration and political science, as each of these subjects developed its own independent field of study. This is further used to situate the collected historical information in the context of what was meaningful during each of the phases of the evolution of the relationship between the two fields. This theoretical process is intended to lead to the construction of a “mini-theory” of the institutionalism of an academic discipline, or what might be also called the “departmentalization” of a discipline.

The sociological approach works at the macro level and focuses on supraorganizational phenomena: from wider societal, cognitive, and normative frameworks to systems of symbols and beliefs existing in the environment. Sociologists tend to emphasize the importance of shared values and common understanding as the basis for social order, in part because they focus on institutional complexes such as kinship and religious systems. They also emphasize the cognitive dimensions of organizations and the fact that institutions are socially constructed.

A social institution is a stable valued recurring pattern of behavior. Institutions are not neutral; they arise from social values and control mechanisms. Preferences are endogenous. They are embedded within a social belief system or orders that shape individual preferences or choice -- top down.

Often, sociologists use the term institutions in reference to norms of behavior and established beliefs. In the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* institutions or patterns of institutionalization are defined as “regulative principles that organize most of the activities of individuals in a society into definite patterns.” A human group becomes institutionalized when, to a relatively high degree, its patterns of membership and interaction become stable, uniform, formal, and general. Accordingly, academic institutions are the framework of rules within which the actors in academic or professional settings must operate.



### *Academic Institutions*

The notion of academic professional institutions -- such as those of the disciplines of political science and public administration -- as the embodiment of political and administrative theories is an attractive one. This makes clear the importance of theory for the understanding of institutions. Theories do not only explain, simplify, and describe, they ultimately create academic institutions.

This process enables me to link the two sides of this subject: theory and practice. One can immediately think of political theory and the institutions it established, administrative theories and the institutions it resulted in, and the institutional changes they both led to. Professional associations are one example of such institutions. This is in addition to the succeeding generations of scholars or actors who grapple with, interpret, and reinterpret the theoretical writings and findings in their own field of study.

The study of institutions can give rise to theories about how they operate, correlate with others, and even about causal relations, all based on observation and comparison. And yet, theories can themselves give rise to institutions; and ultimately can shape the way these institutions operate. Institutions have influenced theories and vice versa, and actors, as both dependent and independent factors, have played a crucial part in that process. These actors are the framers of a discipline as they continuously have sought to frame and reframe the boundaries, and sporadically have contributed to minor or major paradigm shifts in the subject matter. The result is an embedded, yet visible culture unique to that field.

Furthermore, although there is evidence that attitudes, identities, and value commitments associated with political and administrative ideologies in our case, are the most resistant to change, the reform of the institutions they created is a continuous and necessary process. I would argue that once this body of values and commitment, and the socialization process that maintain these institutions, are altered the result leads to a major shift in the discipline's identity and its members' culture.

This shift results in significant changes in the relationship of any field with others within, or even outside, the same domain. A systematic approach to the development of such change, along such lines as these, has the virtue of keeping it firmly grounded in the

purpose of this study. It lends itself to a formal and logical analysis, and generates interesting insights on important aspects of the relationship between the two fields.

In addition, the institutional approach allows for the consideration of broad influences on both fields, whether cultural factors, technology, economic, or other. Since a wide variety of variables can be considered, the institutional perspective also provides a vehicle for the collection of data for explaining my view of what had happened. It allows for a consideration of time dimensions, and ultimately focuses, not only on uniformities, but more important, on the reasons for, and the process of, institutional change.

### *Institutional Change*

Change is the most challenging of the topics discussed in this study. The ability to explain changes that occurred in the relationship between the two fields is what is unique about this dissertation and what makes the difference between a simple descriptive study of history and a critical analysis of it. Explaining change is a useful criterion for helping choose among different alternatives in the approaches to science and knowledge of each of the fields.

The reform or reorganization of an academic discipline is a continuous process. This process leads to what know as the interdisciplinary, intradisciplinary, and multidisciplinary aspects of a discipline. Sometimes, the reformers' strokes are so broad that they alter the entire "theoretical" perspective, and sometimes so small that they can only be seen closely with some subjects of the academic field. In other instances, the reorganization of a discipline is more or less a preferred re-alliance or strong association with another discipline.<sup>18</sup>

### *Types of Institutions*

Furthermore, the translation -- rational, conscious, or not -- of normative and empirical theories into an identifiable institutional form is a process worth investigating. The focus here is on two types of institutions, the first being academic, the other being professional. The latter will be investigated in the following section of this chapter. The notion of professional institutions or associations is another important one that, if studied

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<sup>18</sup> For instance, increasingly exposing public administration's students to political science literature, and in some cases, making political economy courses part of the requirements of a graduate program in public administration are examples of such process. Other examples are later provided in different sections of this study.

carefully, is helpful in tracing the development of each of the two professions and their establishment as independent fields of study within the social sciences.

One can also incorporate the notion of formal and informal institutions to shed further light on the evolution of our unit of analysis. Institutions consist of formal rules (constitution, statute law, common law, and regulation) and informal rules (norms, convention, and self enforced codes of conduct). These two types of institutions are also accounted for in the sociology of profession literature (Macdonald, 1995). However, they are often labeled as formal and informal groups.

Every profession operates through a network of formal and informal groups. First, there are the organizations through which the profession performs its services; these provide institutional settings where the professional and the “client” meet. Examples of such organizations are the university and the public agency. Secondly, there are the organizations whose functions are to provide further training to its members and to expand its body of knowledge; these include educational and research centers. Third among those formal groups are the organizations that emerge as expression of the growing consciousness-of-kind on the part of the profession’s members; these promote so-called group interests and goals. These are the professional associations.

Within and around these formal organizations extends a multitude of informal groupings: the multitude of small, closely-knit colleagues, or specialized professionals. The interaction required by these formal and informal groups generally generates a social configuration unique to the profession-- a professional culture (Vollmer & Mill, 1966). The distinction between these two types of institutions and the inclusion of the informal aspect of an institution could prove useful in understanding the underlying factors that influenced the evolution of the relationship between political science and public administration in the academic establishment.

Institutions matter. They matter because they affect all aspects of our lives and are affected by our perception of life. Their study matters, because “institutionalism” is not only the process by which organizations and procedures acquire stability and value, but also the result of a major shift in the embedded values and ideologies. Moreover, the resulting institutional orders are implemented to regulate, shape, and even control the profession.

However, institutional theories clearly are not sufficient to frame this study. Another set of theories is necessary to support the propositions included in this dissertation. Such theories are derived from a wide selection of theories of profession. The latter is the focus of the next section.

### *Theories of Professions*

#### *The Sociological Perspective on Professions*

A complementary approach to institutionalism is used as a theoretical framework of the study and as a tool to explain the findings. The sociological perspective on professions-- or what I refer to as the theoretical account of the sociology of professions-- is useful in analyzing and describing the characteristics of each field in terms of the concept of professionalism or professionalization. Both concepts have provided sociologists with the means of “encompassing variations and seeming inconsistencies in the development and present state of the occupations conventionally regarded as professions” (Johnson, 1972, p. 21). A profession is “really an ideal type of occupational institution”(Vollmer & Mill, 1966, p.2).

Professions are defined as “occupations based on advanced or complex or esoteric, or arcane knowledge” (Macdonald, 1995, p.1). Macdonald also makes the distinction between disciplines and professions. He claims the former has a wider scope of meaning. However, sociologists of professions have found it “useful to apply concepts implied in the former to the study of the latter” (p.24).

Professions are distinct from occupations in at least four ways. First, professions involve specialization. Abbott (1988) argued that an important part of the process of gaining and maintaining professional status involves a set of struggles to discriminate the jurisdiction of different bodies of knowledge and skills. Second, professions are self-regulated. Third, professionals perform work that requires the exercise of discretion. The final distinction is that professional discretion is based on a specialized body of knowledge.

Talcott Parsons (1954) attempted to identify the reasons why professions have become so developed in modern society. He identified three important elements that contribute to the unique importance of professions in our society. First, Parsons argued

that “scientific rationality” is part of a normative pattern in society. Furthermore, certain people have authority in certain realms but not in others. Parsons called this authority, which some individuals have over bodies of specialized knowledge, “functional specificity,” and believed further that professionals normally wish to successfully carry out their vocations.

Johnson (1972) defined professionalism as a sustained, socially organized method of controlling work that is distinct from other methods in that a profession is self-regulating and relatively autonomous. He argued that professionalism has been generally accepted by social scientists as the major if not the defining feature of the so-called industrialized society. Professions still play an important role in modern society.

Professions are thought to be an important stabilizing factor in the society as they provide channels of communications within the intellectual society in general. However, the institutionalization of formal knowledge leads also to professional power, control of the expertise, and monopoly of the market. Professionals monopolize the market for their specialized service. They control who may enter and practice the profession. They have the authority and power to determine what constitutes knowledge in the field.

### *The Sociology of Professions*

Shortly after Abraham Flexner produced his famous essay “Is Social Work a Profession” in 1915, considerable energy was invested in efforts to define the term and set its boundaries. This long-standing tradition took a special vitality and urgency as the “credentialed society” became even more visible in the wake of World War II in the mid 1940s (Gieson, 1983, p.4).

Studies on professions, especially medical<sup>19</sup> ones, using the sociology of professions as a framework, were very common until recently. The decline of interest and the near disappearance of papers on professions in the principal journals of sociology in America was a consequence of “the major shift in theoretical orientation, particularly in American sociology, from the structural functionalist orthodoxy of the 1960s, to a more pluralistic scene, in which action-based theory in a variety of forms played an important part”(Macdonald, 1995, p.xi).

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<sup>19</sup> Medicine was usually considered the prototype of the professions, the one upon which the first sociological conceptions of professions tended to be based.

Functionalism sees a profession largely as a relatively “homogenous” community whose members share identity, values, definitions of roles, and interests. Based on that, the sociology of professions has largely been focused upon the mechanics of cohesiveness and upon detailing the social structure of given professions. The concept of relative homogeneity within the profession constituted the main assumption that prevailed in the sociology of professions for a long period of time.

Later on, scholars addressed the pitfalls of this kind of focus. This theoretical approach to professions tends to lead the researcher to overlook many significant aspects of professions and professional life. It also tends to overlook the difference of interests and values within the profession as well as certain subtle features of the profession’s organization. It ultimately fails to appreciate change in the profession and its practitioners.

This “process” or “emergent” approach to the study of professions differed from “functionalism.” Anselm Strauss and Rue Bucher (1961) introduced this approach in their study of the medical profession. They argued that an important aspect of the development of professional association includes a process of “segmentation.” All highly professionalized occupations can be seen as a “loose amalgamation of segments which are in movement”(Vollmer & Mill, 1966, p. 185). These profession’s “segments” represent the coalitions that are formed as the result of differences in identities, values, and interests<sup>20</sup>.

During the following two decades, sociologists reached a higher degree of consensus on the approach to the study of professions, but particularly, on the main features of a profession. As codified by Parsons in his essay of 1968, the distinctive characteristics of a profession are: (1) formal technical training, including especially an intellectual component, in an institutional setting that certifies quality and competence; (2) demonstrable skills in the pragmatic application of this formal training; and (3)

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<sup>20</sup> They also argued that specialties might be thought as major segments, “except that a close look at specialty betrays its claim to unity, revealing that specialties, too, usually contain segments, and, if they ever have common definitions along all lines of professional identity, it was probably at a very special, and early, period in their development” (Vollmer and Mills, 1966, p. 186).

institutional mechanisms to ensure that this competence and skill will be used in a socially responsible way.

Later, the sociological study of professions was strongly influenced by the model of professionalization formulated by Larson (1977) in *The Rise of Professionalization*. Prior to this work a tradition in the analysis of professions known as “the power approach” dominated the sociological writings on professions. Some sociologists using this approach preferred the term “organized autonomy.”

And yet, the focus of the earliest studies of professions was mostly historical in nature. The historical sociology of professions usually took the form of a descriptive narration of their emergence and development. The same historical approach had been also useful in understanding the character of professions.

The more recent studies had a slightly different perspective on professions than that presented earlier by Parsons. Geison (1983) suggested that Parson “exaggerated the importance of professions in modern society or, more precisely, exaggerated the independence of the process of professionalization from the larger social, economic, and cultural forces” (p.11). In my view it is more useful to approach “profession” as a changing social and cultural construct, encompassing different meanings of the concept of a profession and different institutional arrangements at different times. Professionalization is thus a continuous, evolving, and certainly a changing process.

### *Professionalization*

Another way to study the relationship between the two disciplines in question is to look at other factors that shape the academic system. The predominant climate of ideas about the professionalization of a discipline in the early years of the Twentieth Century has shaped the resulting institutionalization and legitimization of that discipline in terms of its interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary aspects. There have been repeated attempts to specify a set of distinctively professional attributes and to assess the extent to which this or that group of professionals approached or diverged from that ideal established type.

In that sense, the concepts of professionalization and legitimization of a field of study is believed to play a role in explaining what happened in terms of the relation between Political Science and Public Administration. In this sense, professionalization is

not only identified as an institutional process but also as a cultural one. Any activity, body of knowledge, or occupation can be seen as a profession not simply when it assumes a discernible institutional form but also when it is granted “public” recognition and “academic” acceptance as a profession. Simply, in other words, it gains acceptance when it gains a legitimate status.

#### Legitimization.

By legitimacy, we do not simply mean legality. It means more than simply conformity to law. It also means conformity to the widely accepted principles, rules, and customs of either the academic climate and intellectual order to general public expectations.

However, prior to attaining legitimacy, professional status must be established. The question is: what is it that makes a certain career or occupation eligible to be considered a profession by the widely accepted rules of the scholarly enterprise? Furthermore, legitimacy is also associated with gaining recognition and acceptance, as the field becomes professionalized and “academized.”

In addition, to attain a status of independence, an academic discipline must have either a subject matter of its own, different from other disciplines, or if not that, then at least a method of investigation distinct from others. In our case, the behavioralism movement actually established a system of research method, a more “scientific” one. Subsequently, it resulted in a subject matter change.

Behavioralism offered theories or models of human activity, or behavior, useful for predicting the activities of individuals, not as a sum, but as systems or institutions. At the same time, those theories were to be based on a sound and scientifically proven and explained model of individual behavior. By the same token, this new movement offered the academic discipline that endorsed it a sense of legitimacy.

#### Paradigm-making.

An academic discipline derives its legitimacy from an accepted set of rules within the so-called “scientific community.” According to Thomas Kuhn, a scientific community is a collection of scholars who share a “paradigm” and a “paradigm” is what the members of a scientific community share (Kuhn, 1963). The term “paradigm” in general, implies a “model or pattern.” However, Kuhn argued that a paradigm is not an



object of replication but an object of articulation and refinement. He defined a paradigm as a “set of propositions, assumptions, values, and commitments.” A paradigm is also “universally recognized scientific achievements that provide a template or pattern for a group of practitioners.” It implies a “research process guided by a general template” (Kuhn, 1963,p.19).

A paradigm changes the way members of a scientific community see the world in terms of subject matters, observation methods, and theoretical perspectives. Is that not specifically what behavioralism has done? Is that not exactly why the legitimacy of an academic field within the scientific society could be solely derived from adhering to the prominent paradigm of the time?

One of the most profound divisions among members of the same or different professions is their methodologies and techniques. “Specialties frequently arise around the adaptation of a new method or technique”(Mills & Vollmer, 1966, p.189). As time goes by they may “segmentalize” further along methodological perspectives. These methodological differences constitute a feature of the newly adopted paradigm and often initiate the process of professionalization and the quest toward professionalism.

#### Professionalism

I am not quite sure yet whether one precedes the other, or even is part of the other; however, I think that professionalization in addition to legitimization of a certain discipline are both issues that are highly pertinent to this study. These two issues have certainly influenced the development of each of the two academic disciplines especially when it came to establishing a profession with a discrete identity and independent status. It is within this framework that this study examines the relation between the two professions and their institutional prospects.

March and Simon (1958) stated “professionalization implies specific formal training and thus homogeneity of background.” Less than thirty years later, Guy (1985) argued “theorists have not only attributed the segregation of disciplines from one another to professionalism, but have also hypothesized a divergence of organizational goals from professional goals and attributed the divergence to professionalism” (p.7).

Professionalism arises basically from a specialized technique acquired by extended training. This implies that for public administration and political science to

become more professional in nature, each must embody a set of common knowledge and skills which are basic ingredients for the effective analysis and implementation of public policy on one hand and the study of government, its different forms, the distribution of its powers, its various organs including legislative, executive, and judicial, and the principles governing its administration, on the other.

Also, a strong relationship exists between organizational autonomy of a program and within its institutions and the strength of its professional focus. Poore (1991) argued, “the development of a strong professional focus appears to be directly related to those who exercise jurisdictional control over the program goals, the selection of faculty, and the design of the curriculum.” At many institutions, the question of jurisdictional control over public administration was quite sensitive and not easy to change. This is particularly true in those situations where the public administration program was subordinate to a political science faculty, as I shall later demonstrate.

Along the same lines, I would argue that the split that has occurred between political science and public administration is directly related to a sequence of phases that led to the establishment of boundaries between the two based on the professionalization of each. Both intellectual trends and social factors have determined the move from one phase to the other. That process is the focus of a large literature on the “making” of a profession.

Wilensky (1964) described the different stages that are usually part of that process. These include: the establishment of a separate department, founding of a professional association with definite membership criteria, political agitation directed toward the protection of the association by laws, and the development or adoption of a formal code of ethics. The completion of these steps “brings with it a hierarchy of status, with the oldest disciplines or professions holding the highest status” (Guy, 1985, p.11).

The resulting “status” is often reinforced by a clear, or in some instances, indirect declaration of independence by the academic discipline. This might or might not occur immediately. In our case, the existence of either political science or public administration as an integrated discipline, clearly different from other disciplines occurred gradually rather than abruptly. It took several decades for each of the fields to draw boundaries and

establish a separate status due to the intertwined ropes that tied them together from the start.

For example, early public administration was concerned with the substantive fields of government actions (the “what” of administration), as well as the general principles of administrative procedure (the “how” of administration). It drew on what then counted as the political sciences, now called policy sciences. When the subject was reborn in America, much later in the sixties, it was deliberately defined to exclude the “what” and emphasize a generalized “how.”

Also, in the establishment of political science as an academic subject, some have argued that political science was still an underdeveloped discipline with no recognized schools, nor even, less grandly Departments of Politics. It took several decades for formal departments dedicated to political science to be established. A statistical review of the records of academic institutions in the United States is used later in this study as a proof for the validity of that statement.

Furthermore, the authors of the first three textbooks in public administration were not public administration theorists. They were political scientists who showed interest in the administrative aspects of government. I am referring here to Woodrow Wilson, Leonard D. White, and Luther H. Gulick. Their writings are considered among the classics in the field of public administration. All three served as early presidents of APSA.

For both fields to become independent professions, they had to incorporate an “occupational” component into their structure. Before becoming a profession both disciplines had, at least partially, the aspect of an occupation. Public employees served the public by providing services and producing goods. Elected officials and appointees performed similar type of duties. However, as the two disciplines entered the professional world, another need presented itself. The process of specialization would enable each to secure an even more grounded and satisfactory place in it.

#### Specialization.

Macdonald (1995) explained that “in the ideal type, professional work is distinguished from other kinds of work by its command over a specialization that, however narrow, minute or detailed, is thought to require the use of discretionary

judgment that is grounded in formal theory and abstract concepts”(p.78). That process of specialization of an academic field of study is rather a lengthy and complex one. An interdisciplinary approach is likely to make the members of the field “jacks of all trades and masters of none.”

However, some have believed that the divisions of spheres of knowledge within the social sciences are impossible in practice due to the mere nature of the subject matter. Ridley (1995) explains, “it is impossible for example to understand public administration in France without a knowledge of administrative law and, more importantly, its underlying theories.” In the same token, “it is impossible to understand American government without knowledge of constitutional law”(p.17). I would further argue that it is impossible to understand public organizations without the knowledge of the political system within which they operate.

While, as Johnson (1972) argued, specialization creates systematic relationships of interdependence, it also introduces potentialities for autonomy. The extent of dependence creates a relative degree of autonomy that varies from one discipline to the other depending on the mere nature and the precedence of the discipline. The inescapable consequence of gaining autonomy is the creation of power relations or professional authority between the various fields of study.

The question of autonomy will surface in two distinct, however related ways. Not only will there be the issue of a field’s relationship with other fields and its academic ecology, but also its relationship to the political culture and practice. This is certainly a major point to be considered in the case of political science and public administration as they both are strongly affected by the political structure.

The move toward specialization in the academic arena was most apparent during the end of the Nineteenth Century in the 1880s and 1890s. This specialization worked mainly to the advantage of the professors. It was feared that the dissolution of the bond of common intellectual discipline owing to specialization would weaken “professorial solidarity”; yet such weakening seems to have been “offset by the professors growing a sense of common privileges within the academic organization. Specialization helped professors resist the oppression of hierarchy with heightened self-confidence and with augmented market power”(Haber, 1991, p287).

The growth of specialty associations in the physical and social sciences gave professors a sense of dignity of their work as well as an awareness of job opportunities outside of their particular institutions. This concept of specialized skills and knowledge are particularly important in terms of explaining and understanding the separatism tendencies that started to occur later between the two disciplines. Political scientists wanted to focus on politics and government. Public administrationists sought to concentrate their efforts on the management of public services and the study of administration.

When a new profession evolves within an existing profession, as for example dentistry that has evolved within medicine, the practitioners of the newly formed profession “usually remain in the shelter of their ancient home” (Carr-Saunders & Wilson, 1966, p.154). As a consequence, segregation is delayed. Once the old bonds start to dissolve, mainly as a result of more specialization of the new emerging profession, the powerful impulse toward acquiring individual autonomy is reflected through the establishment of professional associations, or what some refer to as professional societies.

### *Professional Associations*

As presented earlier, there are a number of ways of looking at professional occupations and institutions. Similarly, there is a plethora of definitions of the essential elements of what constitutes a profession that is offered in the sociology literature. However, the crucial role that professional associations play in the process of professionalization is one worth investigating. The historical review of the evolution of the professions brings a significant fact to light. As soon as a profession emerges, practitioners attempt to form a distinct professional association.

A professional association represents the discipline in dealings with other disciplines, foundations, institutions of higher learning, the press and related media, and government officials. It also makes certain features of a discipline more visible, such as graduate programs offering advanced training, and scholarly journals and other publications. Furthermore, it adds more formal characteristics to a discipline: an official organization, officialdom, an official journal, and regular, officially prescribed meetings of the membership. All these perform important functions.

These features also foster another requisite of the learned discipline-- a common state of mind. For a discipline to flourish, its practitioners must be in general agreement about their subject matters, their research techniques, and the interests and behavior appropriate to the practice of their profession. The Association strengthens and shapes the views shared by its members. The professional journal and the association both nurture a sense of communal interest and professional fraternity, as one might call it, among its readers and members. The immediate result is the beginning of a professional expansion that follows over a lengthy period of time.

Despite all these benefits, there is at least one resulting risk worth mentioning. Somit and Tanenhaus (1982) warned of a danger that the establishment of an association poses. They argued that as membership grows there arises a danger that “an official organization would “bureaucratize” the discipline and that a small minority would be able to exercise a disproportional influence over the life of the profession” (p.54).

The tendency has been seen to be toward the dominance of a single professional association in each profession, at least initially. However, in some cases, one association might grow to overshadow the other. In other cases, some associations, once in competition, would settle down to occupy what are in fact true subdivisions within the field of the profession (Carr-Saunders, 1928). In our case, as described previously, the professional association of public administration emerged at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association. As each of the two professions stabilized and established its unique identity, the appearance of subfields within both disciplines led to the emergence of several discrete, yet somewhat dependent, associations within the same profession.

“A profession can only be said to exist when there are bonds between the practitioners, and these bonds can take but one shape -- that of formal association” (Carr-Saunders & Wilson, 1966, p.154). The creation of an Association seems to indicate a striving toward an independence that would be compatible with a sense of collegiality, or what is sometimes called professional consciousness.

This professional consciousness is profoundly influenced and reinforced by members joining together to form an independent professional association. That association constitutes the regular meeting setting and the continuous communication

network for its members. It also is the channel that connects the members of a specific association to the society as a whole. Furthermore, a more formal discipline is exercised through the professional association, which possesses the power to regulate, criticize, and in some cases, take extreme disciplinary measures.

Once established, this professional consciousness promotes awareness of the social contributions the profession is making, and delineate its status within both the practitioners' and academicians' world. In reviewing the work of many authors on associations, the functions that a professional association performs are numerous. Some authors have noted "protective and self-corrective functions; the innovative functions, including discovery, and resynthesis; and occupational goal setting, standards setting, and rewards-setting"(Mills & Vollmer, 1966, p.195).

However, one of the most frequently emphasized functions of a professional association is that of education. The contributions made by such association to education and the exchange of ideas and experiences are significant. These educational contributions have an impact not only inside the profession but also outside as some of the related educational activities are directed toward the public at large.

In addition, a professional association could be considered a source of significant impact on the establishment of a distinct culture within a profession. The professional culture consists of its values, norms and symbols. The values of a profession range from those related to basic social beliefs to the values of rationality; that is, a commitment to objectivity in the realm of theory and technique.

The norms of a professional group are the guides to behavior in social institutions. Every profession develops an elaborate system of these role definitions. There is a range of appropriate behaviors for seeking admission into the profession, for gaining entry into its formal and informal groups, and for progressing within the occupation's hierarchy. The symbols of a profession are its meaning-laden items. These may include items such as: its history, its stereotype of the professional, its distinctive heroes and prominent figures (Vollmer & Miller, 1966).

Durkheim (1958) singled out collegueship as being the most important of the functions carried out by professional or occupational associations. Although collegueship may be one of the most sensitive indicators of segmentation within a

profession, it refers to a relationship characterized by a high degree of shared interest and unique mission. However, collegueship is not only affected by the establishment of professional associations, but it is also “profoundly developed in the formal educational setting of the university or the professional school”(Carr-Saunders & Wilson, 1966, 159).

#### The professions and academia.

The growth of a profession can be traced in the rising number of professionals in a field, the related departments, and the doctoral degrees earned in the designated schools. These determinants appear to be crucial in assessing the development of a profession. Higher learning forms an essential component of most, if not all, modern disciplines’ histories.

The earlier models that have dominated scholarly thinking about professions in academia are that of the so-called modern academic professions, especially the medical and legal professions. These modern academic professions emerged between the 1880s and 1890s. These professions are assumed to be built around a strong body of knowledge and controlled by scientific communities of subject matter experts or what they addressed themselves as “community of the competent” (Gieson, 1983, p.28). By the last decades of the Nineteenth Century, this new kind of professional structure had come to dominate the idea of profession as it was applied to the creation of knowledge.

This professionalization of knowledge transformed not only the order of knowledge but also the idea of a profession. At the core of this development were the increasing division of the cognitive universe into discrete and fairly well bounded disciplines and the subsequent institutionalization of these disciplines into relatively autonomous professional communities. These communities were able to assert their authority as the ultimate and only gatekeeper and arbiters of what constitutes “real” knowledge in their respective disciplines. The essential work of one who “professed” a discipline was the production of scholarship rather than a public or political career or service.

The link between universities and the “true” professional is evident in the earlier sociological literature. In Parson’s view, the professions and the research university were tightly linked. The acceptance of a discipline or an activity within the university curriculum was often seen as a crucial stage in the process of professionalization. The



newly established and institutionalized academics were rapidly becoming the new intellectual sovereign of that time. They remain so to this day.

The emergence of the modern research university was one of the major cultural events of late nineteenth American history. It provided the institutional structure to organize the cognitive base for these disciplines. As the university and college grew in importance, so did the professor, in terms of authority and independence within the academic organization of which he or she was part. As a result there was a noticeable growth in the creation of academic departments to embody the new spirit of specialized knowledge and to answer to the new requirements of specialized teaching under the newly founded and implemented elective system.

These academic departments could also become centers of both professional and professorial authority. This authority often led to “departmental power.” The switch to the elective system, combined with the emphasis on the notion of science<sup>21</sup> and truth, were two important elements of the emerging so-called modern academic professions. There is a rich literature bearing upon the emergence of the modern academic professions. The emergence of the American university and the organization of knowledge in modern America at the turn of the Twentieth Century were the topics of several historical writings in the 1960s and 1970s<sup>22</sup>.

However, a review of theoretical work in sociology on professions reveals a significant lack of studies on a large number of different academic professions (Abbott, 1988; Durkheim, 1957; Etiozini, 1969; Freidson, 1970; Goode, 1957; Johnson, 1972; Larson, 1977; Macdonald, 1995; Moore, 1970; Parsons, 1954; and Tawney, 1921). The medical field had been the focus of much, if not most, of that scholarly literature. Sociological studies on nursing and physicians are the most common as medicine was usually considered the prototype of the professions, the one upon which most earlier conceptions of professions are based.

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<sup>21</sup> However, many disciplines that have called themselves sciences at that time had not achieved a “scientific status.” “They were sciences only in a tentative and somewhat aspiring sense” (Haber, 1991, p 288).

<sup>22</sup> I am referring here to Alexandra Oleson and John Voss (Eds.). 1979. *The Organization of Knowledge in Modern America, 1869-1920*. Baltimore Press. Also, to the earlier work of Laurence Veysey. 1965. *The Emergence of the American University*. Cambridge Press.

To a lesser extent, the sociological treatment of legal professions and religious occupations appears to take a lesser proportion within the sociology of professions' literature. Although Thomas L. Haskell studied the emergence of the social science<sup>23</sup> using the Parsonian approach, his study was more a general rather than a specific one. I have not found any studies in the sociology of profession literature and research that has looked into public administration or political science.

### *Research Questions*

To recapitulate, the issues described above are worth investigating since they help shed light on the dynamics of both institutions and professions in academia, in general, and on the relationship between the two disciplines that are the focus of this study, in particular. In the case of professionalism, the division of labor resulted in long-lasting stable specializations with distinct social identities. In the case of institutionalism, the establishment of rules resulted in departments with delineated academic boundaries. In both cases, the result is an enduring, though uneasy, relationship between the two fields of study.

This dissertation is a preliminary exploration, touching upon a few selected issues related to the use of historical investigations in the study of a discipline. Both the establishment of separate academic departments and subject matter specialization merit investigation. My purpose in that aspect is threefold.

First, I seek to underscore the importance of historical context in understanding institutional behavior in an academic arena. To illustrate this point, I include a brief survey of the nexus between the level of professionalization a field of study has achieved and the degree of its organizational and organizational development. Such development is revealed through the creation of professional associations and academic departments and schools.

Second, I survey the literature on the history of both academic institutions and their interrelationship to discover the concepts used by historians in assessing such bond.

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<sup>23</sup> I am referring here to Thomas L. Haskell (1965). "The Emergence of Professional Social Science: The American Social Science Association and the 19<sup>th</sup> century Crisis of Identity." In Buck, Paul (Ed), *Social Sciences at Harvard 1860-1929* (p.40-58). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Historical literature is useful in terms of understanding the relevant events and circumstances. Such approach reveals a variety of issues that characterize their history in their present state.

Third, I point to some possible uses of history in the study of theory and practice of both fields. This examination will contribute to a more systematic exploration of the contributions that historical knowledge can make to the study and understanding of both fields.

To accomplish these objectives and answer the research questions, this study asks:

- 1. What are the major contextual factors-- social or political-- and the most enduring theoretical debates that led to the split; what are the “meanings” that emerge through the described events?***
- 2. How do the members of each of the two fields construct their field as an established discipline?***
- 3. How did they articulate the associated organization in realizing these disciplines; and how did that articulation affect the interrelation between the two fields through the institutional change?***

Finally, the study answers the question,

- 4. What would possibly lead to the repositioning of public administration as a subfield of political science, or at least, what would make the two fields more interdependent- once again? Also, is that option possible, feasible, recommended, or even necessary?***

The answers to these questions do not resolve the issue regarding the troublesome relationship between public administration and political science. Rather, they provide a systematic basis for discussion and a foundation for an ongoing process of learning about our past, present, and hopefully future as a scholarly enterprise. This learning process is important in terms of understanding how the social sciences in general came together at one point, and how important it is for these sciences to remain, to a certain extent, somewhat interdependent.

## **Methodology**

To answer these questions, a combination of methodologies will be used. The appropriate historical methods allow us to critically analyze the relevant records to produce useful knowledge about the past. Content analysis is used as a complementary method that, when combined with the former, provides a multi methodological approach to the study in question. However, prior to discussing the second methodology that is mainly used in this study, a brief overview of historical methods and their relevant applications is included.

### *Historical Methods*

History is a record of past events and movements, their causes and interrelations. The recording of history is a practice as old as the records themselves. It includes a survey of conditions and developments in economic, religious, intellectual, and social affairs, as well as a study of institutions, their growth and organization, and their relations with one another.

History can serve a useful function in the formulation of our argument. Selected historical methods can provide us with materials more diversified in origin, more rooted in human experience, and drawn from a longer span of time, than those provided by contemporary empirical research. Robert Dahl (1961) noted the inability of some behavioral studies to incorporate historical experience. I believe that such neglect leads us to ignore a wide range of significant variables, and to become as he puts it “enmeshed in static models”(p.766).

A second contribution to history is to provide a cultural context for research. Absence of the cultural dimension can make the most elaborate abstract theory in the social sciences arid, or limited in application. For instance, the concept of the culture of professionalism or the so-called professional culture I discussed earlier, and its implications, could be useful in interpreting the realities under investigation.

Generally speaking, there are two types of approaches to the study of history. These consist of an historical presentation approach and an historical interpretation

approach. Historians traditionally have used one or the other, or a combination of both, depending on the nature of their research.

Historical presentation is not simply about assembling and ordering facts. It is as much art as science. Selecting certain kinds of sources, searching information about a subject, or even attempting a statistical analysis of collected historical data could constitute components of such presentation. The result is a tremendous amount of information that requires further investigation through a different, though complementary, approach.

Historical interpretation is used to explain the occurrence of special events within a particular context. Through a further dissection of the sources and product of the former approach, this method provides a significant addition to the body of knowledge of any field of study. As important as social and political development were in the changing of social sciences venues, however, even more central were intellectual currents that fundamentally altered, for example, the way public administrationists and political scientists think about, approach, and interpret their fields. These events, among many others, are worthy of historical study of this sort.

Historical methods make inductive generalization from the study of historical facts. For example, when applied to political science research, it attempts to explain what political institutions are tending to be, based on the knowledge of what they have been, and the way they have developed. In the selection of an historical methodology one must take care in the selection and analysis of the material and in the avoidance of bias and prejudice. The facts collected must be accurate and the reasoning based on these facts must be clear and logical and, most important, generated based on a well-established theoretical framework (Howell & Prevenier, 2001).

From the data of history, therefore, I select and coordinate facts with a view to their social significance in explaining the nature of the relation and in building up general causes and permanent principles of my view on academic institutions and their evolution. These data provide material for induction and comparison. History thus gives different dimensions of both fields (as public administration is the fruit of political science and political science is the root of public administration).

Theories and history tend to converge when one seeks to identify different phases in the development of a discipline. The intended historical study goes beyond a simple presentation, assembling, and ordering of the facts. The analysis of the sources would lead us to discuss not only the important social and political developments, but also the more central intellectual currents that fundamentally altered the relationship between the two fields.

The systematic record and analysis of the plethora of emerging theoretical models and frameworks over the intellectual history of both fields are critical to the understanding of the causal factors I am trying to determine. These factors affect the event I am following over a selected period in history. The event in this case is the relationship between the two fields.

Although the main focus is on the Twentieth Century period, starting with Woodrow Wilson's article, a brief overview of the preceding period-- specifically, in terms of what Political Science had to say about public administration prior to and after that period-- is provided. Content analysis forms the basis for such overview as it helps reveal the interfaces of the two disciplines with the other through the written documents and records such as articles, speeches, interviews, and books.

### *Content Analysis*

Content Analysis has a history of more than fifty years of use in communication, journalism, sociology, psychology, and business. Its methods stem primarily from work in the social and behavioral sciences, but its application has reached such distant areas as law and health care (Neuendorf, 2002). The widest use of this technique, however, is found in the social sciences and humanities (Krippendorff, 1980). It is considered both one of the fastest growing techniques in the quantitative tradition, and has been listed as one type<sup>24</sup> of the qualitative or interpretive methods that applies to message analysis.

Content analysis is probably the only method of text analysis that has been developed within the empirical social sciences." It bridges statistical formalism and the qualitative analysis of the materials" (Martin, 2000, p.132). It is a well-established

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<sup>24</sup> For more details on the different analytic types of message analysis that complement or compete with content analysis, refer to Neuendorf, 2002, (p.5-7).

research methodology that utilizes a set of systematic procedures to objectively make valid inferences from text. These inferences could be about the author, the content, or even the reader. They also must be valid and reliable.

There are many purposes for the usage of content analysis. The following list represents the ones that are considered relevant to this study:

- Identify characteristics of communicator or author.
- Describe behavioral responses.
- Reflect cultural patterns of groups, institutions, and societies.
- Reveal the focus of individual, group, institutional and societal attention.
- Describe trends in communication content (Weber, 1985).

The methodological approach applied in this study illustrates mainly the last three uses of content analysis.

The sequential nature of Content Analysis design is laid out as data making, data reduction, inference, and analysis. Data making usually includes: unitizing, sampling, recording, and the construction of data language, analytical constructs, and computational technique. Data in content analysis typically stems from numerous sources including books, magazines, newspapers, journals, transcripts of speeches, conversations, recorded radio and television programs, and interviews. The difficulty for the researcher therefore does not rest within the availability of data, but in the need for appropriate means of analyzing it (Weber, 1985).

Methods in social research that derive from the “hard” disciplines, or the natural sciences, managed to ignore the significance of “symbols” in the society. Content Analysis seeks to understand data not as a collection of physical events but “as symbolic phenomena and to approach their analysis unobtrusively” (Krippendorff, 1980, p. 7). It analyzes this “symbolic phenomenon” by tracing its social roles, effects, meanings, and functions. Anything connected with the phenomena of interest qualifies as data for the analysis. With this orientation, content analysis, when combined with the other methods employed in this study, is eventually useful in contributing to the objective.

Scholars have emphasized the relationship between the content of texts and their institutional, societal, and cultural contexts. One important use of content analysis is the generation of “culture indicators” that point to the state of beliefs, values, ideologies, or

other cultural system. Based on the specific sources used, culture indicator research determines the differences, and similarities of individuals, groups, or institutions. “Many studies are comparative and examine the similarities and differences in the concerns of more than one society or group. Other investigators contrast the concerns of two or more societal units through time” (Weber, 1985, p.10).

Although the pursuit of Content Analysis is fundamentally “empirical in orientation, exploratory, concerned with real phenomena, and predictive in intent”(Krippendorff, 1980, p.9), it is still looked at by some researchers as a “nonempirical” method especially when it takes a primarily qualitative image. Some researchers believe that the best content analysis studies are the ones that utilize both. Others believe that there is no right way to do Content Analysis (Weber, 1985, p.10). I agree with the latter view. Although in this study Content Analysis takes primarily a qualitative image, some of its methodological aspects could be considered quantitative. The Content Analysis employed thus might be considered somewhat atypical. The attempt, however, is to ultimately produce an empirically sound analysis of the issue.

Content analysis has a potential and beneficial use in the present study. A careful study of textbooks, archives, and other related documents provides a solid ground for the main arguments. The essays/articles that are reviewed are those that address the most central and enduring ideas of both fields at any point of time. Keywords in context and word frequency lists are used to generate dependent variables in a more simplistic mean than the one used in the more traditional complex experimental designs. The aim is to achieve data reduction by sampling texts, grouping ideas, and categorizing concepts.

I also include those pieces that have crossed the discipline boundaries and those that have illustrated major positions taken on the important issues over each of the fields’ development since the founding of both the fields’ leading professional journals. By examining the authors cited and their approach to the subject at hand, one is able to form a good foundation for the data compiled to be used in the analysis.

Both descriptive data and theoretical data are used to generate certain propositions and construct meaningful conclusions. Theoretical trends reveal the different venues that both fields have taken over the course of their intellectual history. The reflected writings



within those theoretical frameworks are used to collect the needed appropriate data. This data forms the basis for interpretation.

A *meta-analysis* of the literature -- in terms of the number of articles and scholars writing in the opposite field, and a study of the two fields' existence in academia— university programs, degrees, and departments' organization is also used to collect the first type of descriptive data. This information is gathered using the NASPAA web site and documents and other academic statistical references. These quantitative indicators concerning the growth of public administration within political science and its evolution as a separate field will be used to support the objectives of the study.

In addition, it becomes more important to investigate prominent intellectual trends and ideas as they provide a context for the development of a field and its theories. The history of ideas is thus in the center of this study. It places the discussion within a broader context and shows the interplay of ideas and their subsequent consequences in the organizational behavior. This forms the basis for the second category of data.

The second type of data would be generated through a detailed overview of the different theoretical trends, debates, and shifts that led to the blurred boundaries between the two disciplines. The two events that are covered are the appearance of the science of management and the emergence of the subfield of policy studies. The theoretical trends include mainly: Politics-Administration Dichotomy, Democracy and Bureaucracy/Efficiency, and Theory and Practice, and the Behavioralism movement. These different views contributed much to the subsequent development of both fields, as they constituted central questions especially in the field of public administration.

The vision of public administration as both a set of practical techniques and political philosophy has been challenged with another perspective that sees administration as “polluted” by politics. Woodrow Wilson had initially, in the early years of establishing the two disciplines, argued that administration could and should be divorced from politics, or as one would say later, policy-making (1887). Later, Frank Goodnow reemphasized the importance of this sharp and concrete separation between “politics” and “administration”. This dichotomy marked a turning point in the intellectual history of public administration. “The field of politics set the tasks for administration, but

the field of administration lies outside the proper sphere of politics”(Golembiewski, 1977, p.160).

In addition, the tension between democracy and efficiency on one hand and the known distinction between “values” and “facts”, has led to one of the most important and long lasting debates in the field. Herbert Simon’ decision-making schema and his famous debate with Dwight Waldo, provided another turning point in the Public Administration literature and its intellectual arena. For Simon, decision-making involves both factual and ethical elements. “Facts” and “values” differ fundamentally.

As Wallace S. Sayre pointed out in a 1958 essay, another question remains debatable. It is whether the field of public administration “shall strive to be primarily a non-normative science divorced from values, or whether it shall aspire toward a theory of governance which embraces the political and social values of a democratic society as well as the “facts” of administrative behavior.” The question remains standing more than half a century later.

In addition to these trends, a discussion of the relationship of political science and public administration with both the science of management and policy studies is included. The latter two had a significant impact not only on the two fields, but also on the relationship between them. More important, the emergence of these two fields has constituted an important phase in the history of the two disciplines.

Furthermore, a thorough review of the leading articles in both fields’ professional journals is also used as determinants for such divergence in their theoretical focus over the course of each of the fields’ more recent intellectual histories. I mainly pay special attention to presidential addresses or speeches delivered at each of the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association. These have been regularly published in one of the political science professional leading academic journal—*American Political Science Review*. Other national journals include: *The Journal of Politics*, *Political Science Quarterly*, and *PS: Political Science and Politics* (previously called *PS*: 1968-1987). In the public administration discipline the reviewed journals are: *Public Administration Review*, *American Review of Public Administration (ARPA)*, and the *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory: J-PART*. The content of these journals is analyzed in terms of general content of articles.

The pertinence of the observations that are collected using historical methods, combined with the findings derived from the content analysis about the relationship between public administration and political science in the last century, might not need further elaboration. However, it may be less obvious, at times, that the relationship changed and that such change had a long-term effect on both fields. A view of that change may both shed useful light on some of the current controversies surrounding the two disciplines and perhaps help assess the implications of their relationship in general.

The data consists of two major sets. The first consists of data related to the major theoretical trends that are deemed significant in terms of their impact on the connection between the two disciplines. These include: “Theory and Practice” debates, the rise of “Behavioralism,” the “Politics-Administration Dichotomy,” and the relation between “Bureaucracy and Democracy,” in addition to two trends – “policy studies” and the “science of management.”

The other set is comprised of a detailed description of various organizational arrangements and institutional settings that are considered important in terms of their implications on the development of the relationship between the two academic and professional institutions. The study of both fields’ academic organization is performed through an historical description of the departmentalization of the two disciplines and a thorough review of their scholarly work and a content analysis of both fields’ professional journals and some of their respective published books combined with an overview of some of their major prominent scholars. In addition, the professional organization is studied through the systematic study of the professional associations of both fields combined with another content analysis of all the presidential addresses delivered at the annual meetings of APSA since its establishment in 1903.

Both the theoretical account and the institutional account generate sufficient data for both analysis and interpretation. More importantly, the data not only pertain to the purpose of this study but also serve as a means to attain an empirically sound work.

The scientific method is generally considered to be “hypothetico-deductive.” That is, from theory, one or more hypotheses (prediction or conjectural statements about the relationship between the variables) are derived. Each hypothesis is tested deductively:

measurements are made for each variable, and the relationships among them are examined statistically to see if the predictable relation holds true (Neuendorf, 2002).

The propositions derived from the sociological theories on both institutions and professions are tested using somewhat unconventional, though scientific, methods of investigation. Both selected historical methods and a mainly qualitative content analysis are applied in order to make inferences from data to certain aspects of their context and to generate generalizable conclusions. This set of procedures that utilizes empirical observations allows the production of findings that are considered scientific.

Scientific findings are sometimes aimed at better understanding of a phenomena, behavior, or observation, and at other times, are geared toward improving some condition of life. The findings of this study accomplish both purposes. This study not only presents and analyzes the events that led to the association and disassociation of the two disciplines, but also offers insights on the advantages and disadvantages of both states.

The present historical study offers an overview of the relationship between political science and public administration in the United States drawing upon a number of articles and books that have been written over the existence of the two fields. However, what is intended to emerge is more than a simple description or narrative of events; it can be termed as “critical evaluation.” It is not a simple evaluation of the two disciplines against a neutral background; rather, it is a holistic picture of two of the many professions that are considered “Social Sciences.”

This picture could be that of two disciplines resting somewhat on a solid common foundation and grappling with current challenges both practical and theoretical in order to build a viable future. This dissertation takes this picture and analyzes through the examination of meanings that emerge from the course of the past, present, and future events. These meanings form the building blocks of this study.

Sometimes historians think they need to know something about an event because it seems to have a direct role in making the present. Other historians choose their object of study simply because it is central to a past they are studying. In other instances, historians select a piece of the past that they regard as profoundly related to the future. The intended study attempts to fulfill all of the above. It presents relevant events of the past, connects them to the present, and then relates them to the future.

## **CHAPTER FOUR...AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE TWO DISCIPLINES: A CENTURY'S DEVELOPMENT**

History does not write itself but entails a deliberate selection and organization of facts by scholars and researchers. At first glance, the historical record would seem to be ambiguous. Each of the two disciplines under examination can change relatively quickly yet many years may pass without much change occurring.

What I learned from these historical experiences, and from the literature that has accumulated in the last several decades of the Twentieth Century, is essential to answer the fundamental questions raised by this study. As the study progressed, I formed a number of conclusions about the past and present condition of the relationship between the two disciplines. To begin, a chronological presentation of the events is essential.

In presenting these events, I start with the years that preceded the birth of the two disciplines and end with the most recent years and a glimpse at the near future. For the purpose of this chapter, within each period the treatment of the events is essentially descriptive and is used to lay the foundation for the analytical treatment. Tables and timeline of events are also included when deemed necessary.

The selection of these time intervals is based on personal judgment and careful review of the events that occurred within each interval as they become relevant to the goal of the study. Each of these periods has its own distinguishing features and discontinuities with the previous one in terms of the relationship in question.

In each of the following sections, I describe the development of education in each of the two fields through the establishment of research and training programs, private agencies, and universities.

This chapter is not intended as a complete presentation of the history of either American political science or American public administration. It is rather a systematic

overview of the fields' development stages that, in particular, bear directly or indirectly on the subject in question-- i.e., the relationship between the two fields. Such a less-detailed description of the history of the two fields, combined with a more detailed inclusion of important facts and events, form the prerequisite to the study's objectives.

In addition, this chapter provides preliminary answers to three questions: What was political science's subject matter prior to the date that marks, by tradition, the birth of public administration? -- that is, who were the prominent figures and what were their writings about? How did political scientists define their fields, especially in terms of the profession, academics, goals, and methods? And, most important, at what point did political science emerge "again" as an independent area of scholarly inquiry? I am not referring to the first emergence in the late Nineteenth Century<sup>25</sup>.

In presenting this historical narrative section, I use seven time periods. These are: the earlier years (prior to 1887), the founding years (1900s-1930s), the first years (1940s-1960s), the following years (1970s-1980s), and finally, the recent years (1990s-2000s). Each of the two fields of study is treated separately within each of these periods for simplicity and clarity, except for those instances where I find it reasonable to tie them together due to overlapping events both in terms of the social contexts and theoretical trends.

Within each of these periods, main events are listed chronologically and prominent political scientists, and scholars and practitioners in public administration are included. The selection of events and people is based on both a personal judgment and a literature review of significant events and influences. This is in addition to a brief summary of influential actors' contributions to their own field and, in some cases, to the other. Through this overview, I attempt to start providing answers to the questions listed above.

Finally, an initial analysis of the significance of these facts and events in terms of their apparent effects on the relationship between political science and public administration is offered. As theoretical arguments form and more data are collected, a number of conclusions are generated about professionalism as the general theoretical framework.

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<sup>25</sup> For more details, refer to the next section -- Political Science prior to 1887.

It is worth mentioning both an interesting and a surprising fact I came across during my history-gathering phase, specifically in terms of the history of political science. Until recently very little was written about the history of American political science. An illustration and explanation of this is included in the next section.

The case is considerably different when it comes to public administration and its history. The collection of books on the history of public administration is much larger. They range from a “typical” historical description of events that occurred during certain critical periods to an intellectual overview of the history of theories in the field.

### **Political Science History**

Earlier political scientists were more historical in their disciplinary self-understanding. For those writing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this was “perhaps a consequence of their being more historical in general about the scope and methods of political science” (Farr, 1988, p.1175). The first systematic studies of the history of the discipline include works such as Frederick Pollock’s *Introduction to the History of the Science of Politics* (1890)<sup>26</sup> and Robert H. Murray’s *History of Political Science from Plato to the Present* (1925)<sup>27</sup>.

Another narrative of a different kind of history of political science was Anna Haddow’s 1939 *Political Science in Colleges and Universities 1636-1900*. Her book allowed for “pedagogical reflections of a historical kind” (Farr, 1988, p.1175). It is still considered a useful survey work, and is referred to often.

In 1959, another book *The American Science of Politics: Its Origin and Condition* by Bernard Crick was published. The book looked backward from the early years of the behavioralism movement to the start of the Cold War in 1947. The purpose was to demonstrate the degree to which the idea of a scientific study was a uniquely American invention from its earliest beginnings in citizenship training to the methodological claims characteristic of behavioralism. The latter must be understood in the context of the

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<sup>26</sup> Pollock, Frederick. 1890. *An Introduction to the History of the Science of Politics*. London: Macmillan

<sup>27</sup> Murray, Robert H. 1925. *The History of Political Science from Plato to the Present*. New York: Appleton.

tradition of American liberalism, which it both reflected and reinforced. The author was mostly concerned about the often “paradoxical” relationship between the commitments to science and democracy, especially in the case of Charles Merriam and the Chicago School.

Later, leading historians acknowledged that the discipline’s predominant tone and writings were ahistorical. Baer, Jewell, and Sigelman (1991) noted, “unlike some other social sciences, political science has done relatively little to convey a sense of disciplinary heritage to those who are just entering the field” (p.1). As a result, the authors attempted to fill this gap through interviews with prominent political scientists to preserve the experiences and perspectives of major figures of the profession. With the financial support of APSA, and as part of the Political Science Oral History Program at the University of Kentucky, their book, *Political Science in America: Oral Histories of the Discipline*, is a recent, although somewhat unconventional, history of the discipline.

One of the earliest important works is *The Development of American Political Science: From Burgess to Behavioralism*, which appeared in two editions (1967 and 1982) and was coauthored by Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus. The book provided a traditional approach to the history of the field. The project began as a textbook chapter but, according to the authors, the subject was too broad to fit that venue. They acknowledged that an adequate history of the field had yet to be written.

The authors, with somewhat different opinions on the behavioral movement and its impact, attempted to cover the rise of the profession and the evolution of political science, from its earliest American origins from John W. Burgess<sup>28</sup> to the rise of behavioralism. Although it may not be considered a comprehensive history of the field, it still provides a good deal of information for a field that, in general, was at that time vague about its past. The authors did not pretend to be historians, and their intention was not to offer a historiological account of political science, or even a “short survey” of such history, but rather an overview of how political scientists have defined their professional

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<sup>28</sup> John W. Burgess was one of the many young Americans who journeyed to Germany during the early eighteen seventies. He received his Baccalaureate at Amherst and later accepted a position at Knox College in Galesburg, Illinois. After spending some time in Germany, he returned to the United States to establish a program of graduate instruction at Amherst, and then he left, upon request from the Trustees at Columbia College, to organize the School of Political Science in 1880 (Somit & Tanenhaus, 1982, p.3).



responsibilities and goals and viewed the scope and methods of their enterprise (Somit & Tanenhaus, 1982).

Another useful and accessible work was Dwight Waldo's chapter book, "Political Science: Tradition, Discipline, Profession, Science, Enterprise" (1975). Though not the longest, it is probably the most comprehensive and balanced discussion that had appeared up to that time. As a scholar of the field and its history, as reflected in his 1956 *Perspectives on Administration*, Waldo was a participant in some of the field's major transformational debates. In perspective, he emphasized the need to distinguish between different internal dimensions of political science, such as profession and discipline, and to locate its development within the historical context. He also focused on the struggle over behavioralism and traced the idea of a science of politics from ancient Greece to contemporary times.

Although the history of political science is not well documented, it is clearer than it was four decades ago at the apex of the behavioral movement. A series of later historical books appeared in the late 1980s. *That Noble Science of Politics: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Intellectual History* appeared in 1983, and was edited by Stephan Collini, Donald Winch, and John Burrow. Although it deals mostly with "some of the forms taken by the aspiration to develop a 'science of politics' in Nineteenth-Century Britain," it included some aspects of the development of political science in the United States (p.3).

However, another earlier book that serves as a classic theoretical treatise of American political science is *The Political System* (1956) by David Easton. This book used history as a tool in constructing a framework for the theory of politics (Easton, Gunnell, and Graziano, 2002). In the book, Easton's behavioral program for general systems theory was followed by his diagnosis of the "malaise" of political science since the mid-1800s and by his historical sketch of the decline of modern political theory.

More recently, political science has suddenly recaptured the attention of disciplinary historians. Recent works include: *Political Science: The State of the Discipline* (1983) edited by Ana W. Finifter<sup>29</sup>, David Ricci's *The Tragedy of Political Science: Politics, Scholarship, and Democracy* (1984), Raymond Seidelman's

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<sup>29</sup> The book contained some historical and some semi-historical essays.

*Disenchanted Realists: Political Science and the American Crisis, 1884-1984* (1985), and Andrew C. Janos's *Politics and Paradigms: Changing Theories of Change in Social Science* (1986).

Also missing were comparative analyses of the history of political science except for short essays and or collection of essays dealing with limited areas (Anckar & Berndtson, 1987). Systematic study of the history of political science has been a relatively recent endeavor; from the late 1950s to the mid 1980s, "works in the history of political science stand out by their sheer rarity" (Farr, 1988, p.1175). The discipline's historical reflections were limited to the rather briefer presidential addresses and to the even briefer literature reviews that prefaced articles in political science journals. In short, historical reflection on the field of political science may still be viewed as one of the least developed among all the social science disciplines.

Even the history journals such as *The Journal of the History of Behavioral Sciences* (1965), *History of Political Economy* (1969), *Social Science History* (1976), *History of Political Thought* (1980), and more recent ones, such as the *Journal of Policy History* (1999)<sup>30</sup>, do not include any articles dealing with the history of political science<sup>31</sup>. Other political science journals included very few articles that provide a historiographical account of the discipline in a true meaning of the term.

In 1995, *Political Science in History: Research Programs and Research Traditions* edited by Farr, Dryzek, and Leonard was published. The book included essays that provide "special insight and a distinct approach to particular episodes, moments, trends, and aspects of the history of academic political science. It is a history of political themes and ideals (democracy, race, political education), conceptual and philosophical frameworks (the state and pluralism, behavioralism, policy analysis, public opinion, biology and politics), and theoretical projects and programs (realism in international relations, spatial theory of elections, rational choice, and historical approaches to institutional analysis).

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<sup>30</sup> The year following each of the titles indicates the year the first issue appeared of each of those journals.

<sup>31</sup> I came across one article that discusses the relation between political science and history rather than the history of political science (I am referring to Julian E. Zelizer. 2004. "History and Political Science: Together Again?" *Journal Of Policy History* 16(2): 126-136).

One can speculate about the reasons for this difference between the outputs of historical literatures in both fields. It could be attributed to the nature of each of the two disciplines-- applied vs. theoretical, their respective subject matter, or their members' different concerns in terms of research and publications. Writing a history of political science, as Easton (2002) likes to describe it, is very much "partisan activity." Historians will conceive and have different judgment about the doing of "history, the nature of politics, and the methods of science" (p. 4). This is to a certain extent true since a history of Political Science is like, or in some cases the same, as the history of theories.

Despite the general agreement in the literature that behavioralism no longer focuses the discipline in 1990s (Farr et al., 1995), I still believe that it had and still shapes the type of scholarly writings in the field. The practice of political science is still influenced by the remnants of the behavioralism, as it is evident in the prevailing sophisticated quantitative work. This shying away from history writing could be attributed to the ahistorical orientation of behavioralism, a point made long ago by Robert Dahl (1961) in his famous "epitaph" for the behavioral protest movement. As a result, the production of a history book or piece may seem less "desirable", or less "scientific," among the general political science community.

Seidelman (1985) suggested that it might be that "no sane person...could possess the patience or sustain the inclination to write a "complete" history of political science" (p. xix). His book did not claim to be a history of political science, but rather a "characterization" and "judgment" of that history. Seidelman provided us with concise and compelling intellectual portraits of some of those forgotten "uncles" of political science such as Arthur Bentley, Charles A. Beard, Charles E. Merriam, and Harold Lasswell and "grandfathers" such as Lester Frank Ward and Woodrow Wilson, as well as those, he suggested, that were its most legitimate "progeny" (such as V.O. Key, Theodore Lowi, and Walter Dean Burnham).

Going back to historical account of political science, this section offers a careful examination of the political science history mainly over the course of the Twentieth Century. Table 1 sketches the disciplinary development of the field as it is deemed relevant to this study. It includes events ranging from the establishment of major

organizations, schools, and associations, to significant conferences and publications in the political science discipline.

The following section presents an overview of the field prior to 1887. This specific year is critical to the field as it is frequently used in the literature I reviewed as a starting point for the history of Political Science in the United States. This could be attributed to the fact that the actual birth of political science as a learned discipline is associated with the establishment of the first school in 1880 as described below.

Table 1

*Timeline of Major Events in Political Science History*

Year	Event
1880-	Establishment of the School of Political Science at Columbia University
1903-	American Political Science Association (APSA) founded
1935-	Southern Political Science Association founded
1947-	The Citizenship Clearing House founded (became the National Center for Education in Politics in 1962)
1948-	Western Political Science Association founded
1962-	The Inter-University Consortium for Political Research was created
1967-	Caucus for a New Political Science (CNPS) formed
1983-	Ada W. Finifter edited <i>Political Science: The State of the Discipline</i>

*The Early Years: Prior to 1887*

It was apparent from the beginning of this study that it would be difficult to pinpoint the exact date of the birth of political science in the United States. The problem

does not lie in attempting to specify when political science actually began as a field of study, but to what extent it existed as a discipline. The criteria for indicating such things as the beginning of a field, the lines separating old from new, and the difference between a field and others similar to it, are not universally agreed upon.

There are questions about whether the beginning of political science could be distinguished from its institutionalization, and whether, for example, theory could be understood as preceding its institutionalization as an academic practice. I choose to focus on the manner in which the development of political science has been influenced by its academic, social, and political contexts, and the extent to which it, in turn, influenced these contexts.

Political science in the United States is not as old as one might assume. Although its first practitioner, Francis Lieber, came to this country before in the early 1800s and to a chair at Columbia University in 1858, the teaching of political science in American colleges and universities did not become common until the turn of the century (Somit & Tanenhaus, 1982).

Although doctoral degrees were granted at Yale University as early as 1861, graduate degrees did not take firm root in the United States until the later decades of the century. Particularly prominent among those successful in establishing doctoral programs and training was John W. Burgess, who organized the first official School of Political Science at Columbia University in 1880 (Sorauf, 1965).

It is noteworthy that each of the current schools in the discipline presents us with a particular version of the history of the discipline based on their own interpretation of the past. For example, the broad tradition of political science, beginning with the Greeks and continuing up to the founding scholars of the discipline, is believed to be the historically correct version of the disciplinary history. The effort to explain politics and public policy by different types of theories goes back to the very origin of political science. The ancient and classical writings of Greeks and Roman historians, poets, and dramatists reflect the old age of the discipline (Sorauf, 1965).

The study of politics is one of the oldest in the university system in the United States. However, it was embedded in several subjects and took many forms including mainly the form of history, philosophy, law, economics, and even psychology. Its

association with the latter developed in the 1890s and forward. In its relationships with these other fields, political science developed as a humanistic science and more specifically a social science, since it dealt with “human beings in association and not as individuals” (Gettell, 1949, p. 9). Some political science historians, such as Munroe Smith, saw the connection between political science and law and economics as a much stronger one than that with history. On the other hand, W. W. Willoughby argued that the discipline closest ties were with sociology rather than history. However, for many years, in many American colleges and universities, history and political science were united as disciplines.

History meant primarily political history, and political science relied heavily upon historical analysis. Political history, the knowledge of the operations of political entities and the experience of past governments, served as a major supplement to the study of politics. History was viewed as “past politics” and “politics is present history.” This conception of the ties between the two fields was stated in Seeley’s often-quoted aphorism “History without political science has no fruit; political science without history has no root” (Seeley, 1896, p.3). The value of the historical analysis lies partly in the characteristics of the discipline itself. The study of the origin, organization, and development of political institutions is valuable to evaluate “political behavior” and understand the fundamentals of “politics.”

The historical method makes inductive generalizations from the study of historical facts. It attempts to explain what political institutions are and tend to be, in the knowledge of what they have been and of the way in which they have developed. Political institutions can only be understood through a consideration of their historical settings, the way they have developed, and the extent to which they have fulfilled the purposes of their existence. From the data of history, the political scientist selects and coordinates facts with careful attention to their special significance in explaining the nature of the state and in building up a list of general causal factors and a set of universal principles in the study of political science.

While “the political scientist is often inclined to view history as mere raw material for his purposes, and the historian tends to view political science as an emanation from history”(Gettell, 1949, p.11), the two studies were in fact more than contributory and

complementary. They were one. History gave thus “the third dimension of political science”(Willoughby, 1903, p.5). It was considered the fruit of history, and history was the root of political science. The material of political science is not, however, drawn entirely from history. The study of the state had also a philosophical background.

Similarly, in the earlier years, the history of political thought was taught within a philosophical context. Political scientists acted as philosophers as they tried to analyze philosophers’ systems of thought. Later on, political scientists began to make a distinction between the art of politics and the philosophy of politics.

Gettell (1949) explained, “the philosophy of politics, or political theory, deals with generalizations rather than particulars; it seeks to determine essential and fundamental abstractions” (p. 5). He further argued that the philosophical method assumes abstract ideal and draws deductions from it concerning the nature, functions, and aims of the state. It then attempts to harmonize its theories with the actual facts of history and political life, modifying its theories as necessary. This approach to the study of political science was essential, although later considered dangerous, in understanding the nature of the state.

Much of the same is true of law. It was “quite impossible to understand American government without knowledge of constitutional law and its underlying theories” (Ridley, 1975, p.17). The legalistic method regarded the state as a legal person or cooperation, existing for the creation and enforcement of law. It viewed the political society as a “collection of legal rights and obligations, and analyzed the public law relations to the state” (Gettell, 1949, p. 6). Law constitutes the rules of political society. As a result, law was considered as fundamental a concept in political science as that of the state (Pennock & Smith, 1964).

Also, political economy was viewed as a subdivision of the general science of the state. It was, then, mainly interested in the methods “by which the state could be made rich and powerful and could be provided with an ample revenue” (Gettell, 1949, p.12). The interrelation between political science and economics remained even after economics widened and defined its field. The laws of the state, locally and internationally, devote considerable considerations to questions of property, contracts, commerce, and corporation.

Finally, “of all the social sciences, psychology might well be thought as the foundation or basis for the political science” (Pennock & Smith, 1949, p.26). Earlier writers on political science showed marked tendency to explain political phenomena by means of psychological principles. Other prominent students of politics in the past, “from Thomas Hobbes through Jeremy Bentham, and even to the present day, have attempted to develop a whole science of politics based upon psychology” (p.26). However, political science remains more deeply rooted in law, history, and economics.

Public opinion, media influence, and the various beliefs system of the governed and governing, are to a great extent psychological in nature. The methods of psychology are still used by modern governments for many purposes, especially in testing and in the courts of justice. Some elementary psychological propositions can improve the understanding of politics by contributing a psychologically based knowledge of human nature. For example, one can consider the significant role that the psychology of political behavior has on our appreciation of the so-called “political socialization” process. “Politics has its root in psychology, the study of mental habits and vocational proclivities of mankind”(Gettell, 1949, p.14).

The emergence of political science as an independent discipline was part of a larger transformation that was occurring during the concluding decades of the Nineteenth, and the opening years of the Twentieth Century. It occurred as part of a reconstruction of the traditional sciences, and more specifically the social sciences, into separate and increasingly specialized fields. This is evident in the fast and simultaneous appearances of multiple new professional associations. These include: the American Historical Association, 1884; the American Economic Association, 1885; the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1889; the American Psychological Association, 1892; the American Sociological Society, 1903; and the American Political Science Association, 1903.

As discussed previously, these older political science methodologies, such as historical, philosophical, legal, and psychological analysis, combined with the economics approach, formed the core of traditional political science at the turn of the Twentieth Century. This is evident in the earlier writings in the field (Sorauf, 1965). In the first issue of *Political Science Quarterly*, which appeared in March of 1886, Munroe Smith



stated that the domain of political science was the historical and comparative study of the state.

It has frequently been argued that the establishment of this *Quarterly* raised the questions of the interdependence of all social sciences and the existence of a distinct science of politics or political science as a discipline or field of study. For at least a quarter century as the major outlet for scholarly articles in political science, the *Quarterly* did much to shape and reflect the development of the profession. With this first journal came the likely establishment of an official association, APSA, as I will discuss later.

The coeditors of this journal were the faculty of Political Science at Columbia University and the Academy of Political Science. The *Political Science Quarterly* continued its practice of publishing a large proportion of articles devoted to current events. From 1889 on, and over its many years, the *Quarterly* also provided its readers with a semi-annual “Record of Public Events” running about twenty-five pages in length.

### *The Founding Years: 1900s-1930s*

This section deals with the development of political science since the establishment of its professional association, the American Political Science Association in 1903 through the 1930s. It examines the structuring of the discipline during its founding years not only through its professional association, but also through the development of its academic departments or schools.

Although the study of politics in a recognizably academic way predates by centuries the birth of the university in the west, the subject itself was slow to make its appearance on the curriculum. Prior to 1900, there were two schools that had courses in political science. Columbia College and Johns Hopkins University offered advanced training in political science<sup>32</sup>. However, strictly speaking, these are not considered “departments of political science “ as we know them today. During most of these early years, doctoral training in political science was not clearly differentiated, even at these

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<sup>32</sup> Prior to WWI, Columbia had undoubtedly the most prestigious American political science school. Hopkins, Chicago, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Harvard occupied a distinctly second-level status. Columbia fell to the third place in the late 1920s with Harvard and Chicago moving to the first and second place respectively (Somit & Tanenhaus, 1982).

two schools. It varied from training in history or economics to being embedded under sociology.

The idea of a department of politics as an autonomous university department is a relatively modern phenomena. The history of the creation of politics departments reflects this pattern of somewhat retarded academic recognition of the autonomy of the discipline. Even well into the 1920s, the study of politics and political institutions was just emerging as a separate discipline from history, philosophy, and law. The departments at Columbia and Harvard were named public law and government. W. W. Willoughby, the author of a standard text in law, still concentrated on public law and avoided politics.

It is instructive to recall the slow stages by which the discipline developed in the United States: The inauguration of the first professorship of History and Political Science at Columbia in 1857; the creation of a Department of History, Social and Political Science at Cornell in 1868; the launch of the first graduate program in Historical and Political Studies at Johns Hopkins in 1876; and the appearance of the first postgraduate School of Political Science at Columbia four years later. Separate departments of Political Science were established at Columbia (1903), Illinois and Wisconsin (1904), and Michigan (1911). By the end of 1914, out of 532 colleges, 200 taught courses in Political Science and 40 had independent departments of Political Science (Ricci, 1984). These developments marked the new usage of “political science” when referring to departments compared to “history” schools that incorporated the study of politics.

Actually, Arthur Bentley’s now-classic *The Process of Government* (1908) was the only thoroughgoing attempt to reconsider both the boundaries and the core of political science. In fact, he was the first to introduce the concept of groups—interest groups, and political groups. However, published discussions of “scope” were infrequent. Another striking feature in these early years was the lack, or at least the neglect, of interest in political theory, except, of course, for Plato’s work. The few articles or dissertations that do deal with theory, moreover, were almost invariably normative or descriptive, rather than analytic. Political science of that period tended to be legalistic, formalistic, conceptually barren, and largely devoid of what we call today ‘empirical data’ (Farr et al., 1995).

The emergence of political science as a full-fledged discipline was evidenced in the second decade of the 1900s, not only by the increase in the Association's membership, as is described later, but also by a more frequent departmental recognition in colleges and universities. The first step tended to be the representation in a joint department, as autonomy followed much later. In the *Proceedings*, four different studies that came to be known as the "Haines Report" form the main source for information on the subject of instruction in Political Science in colleges and universities. The final report, considerably expanded, was published in a book form as *The Teaching of Government* in 1916.

On a more intellectual level, the political issues of the New Deal in the 1930s focused attention of political scientists not only on the role of parties and pressure groups but on public opinion and its manipulation. Long (1991) referred to Edward Bernays' idea of combining the role of public relations expert with an attempt to give the profession academic respectability. He also cited the journal devoted to public opinion started by Harwood Childs<sup>33</sup>. Beginning in the late 1920s, "the search for more realistic description has led to sample survey research dealing with public opinion and voting studies" (Long, 1991, p.671). Although the field was established twenty years earlier, Political Science was ready to be more firmly grounded within the social sciences as an emerging independent discipline. This could only be done through the next logical step, the establishment of a professional association, the American Political Science Association.

#### *American Political Science Association (APSA)*

Despite an extended state of dependence, academically speaking, on other disciplines, an argument can be made that political science only came of age in the United States in 1903 with the founding of its own association and its official leading professional journal. The first issue of the *American Political Science Review* appeared in 1906.

It is worth mentioning that there was an earlier attempt to establish a professional association for the discipline. The Political Association of the Central States was founded in 1895 but was short lived. It was to include economists, sociologists, and historians.

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<sup>33</sup> Long does not give the name of that journal. My attempts to find it were unsuccessful.

Uveges and Keller (1998) argued that the founding of the initial chair in political economy at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, in the mid-1800s eventually resulted in the creation of APSA.

In his presidential address delivered at the annual meeting in 1928, Jesse S. Reeves described APSA as the “godchild” of the American Historical Association (AHA) and the American Economic Association (AEA). Actually, it was through the cooperation of both associations that the opportunity was given to form an organization, the members of which were already members of one or both of the older Associations. For the first two decades of its birth, all but two of the new Association’s annual meetings were held jointly with one or both of the older associations, “indicating not only a factor of common membership but also a large measure of common interests and kindred endeavors” (Reeves, 1929, p.2).

The establishment of the APSA-- in the words of one of its founding fathers, “the most important event which has occurred in the history of the scientific study of matters political in this country”-- marked the beginning of a new period (Somit & Tanenhaus, 1982). The creation of this professional association is usually considered tangible proof that the discipline is now an independent one, or at least will serve as an effective instrument in promoting that independence.

In 1904, the APSA attracted 214 members. By 1910, that figure rose to 1,350. A half-decade later, the Association had 1,462 members. Academicians constituted a minority of the Association membership back in those early years. Only 50 to 100 members were instructors or professors. In 1912, only 38.9 percent of the individual members of the Association held faculty appointments. Two decades later, academics constituted a majority (Haddow, 1939).

APSA was created in 1903 for the purpose of: “advancing the scientific study of politics in the United States”, and six sub fields, including Political Theory<sup>34</sup>, were established with corresponding committees. The other five fields were:

1. Comparative legislation.
2. International law including diplomacy.

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<sup>34</sup> The first Political Theory Committee consisted of W. W. Willoughby, Charles Merriam, and William Dunning.

3. Constitutional law including law-making and political parties.
4. Administrative law, including colonial, national, state, and local administration.
5. Historical jurisprudence.

In the notes from the *Organization of the American Political Science Association* in 1904, it was recommended that “there should be some more distinct means than now exists for promoting studies and publications in this country upon the subject of political science, including especially comparative legislation, administration<sup>35</sup>, and public law”(p.8).

In his presidential address to APSA in 1904, Frank Goodnow said that political science was the study of the state and the “realization of the state will.” It was also declared then that such association (APSA), will “be likely to attract the support not only of those engaged in academic instruction, but of public administrators, lawyers of broader culture, and, in general, all those interested in the scientific study of the great and important questions of practical and theoretical politics.” In addition, Goodnow (1904), in exploring the question “What is political science?” identified three concerns: the formulation, the substance, and the administration of public policy.

In 1904, with the APSA established, political science moved toward active involvement in public affairs. Some early political scientists were active reformers, such as Charles A. Beard. He, as I describe later, was not only involved in public service education, but also served as president of several training institutes. Ten of the first presidents of APSA either were scholars of public administration, or, at the least, played important and crucial roles in framing the new discipline of Public Administration. They were:

- Frank A. Goodnow<sup>36</sup>: (1904-1905)
- Lawrence Lowell<sup>37</sup>: (1908-1909)

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<sup>35</sup> Referring to administrative law, including colonial, national, state, and local administration.

<sup>36</sup> Frank J. Goodnow published two of the first books on public administration. *Comparative Administrative Law* in two volumes in 1893, and *Politics and Administration* in 1900. He later turned his attention to the study of municipal home rule, finding in local government the principal locus of administrative activities (Stone & Stone, 1979, p27),

<sup>37</sup> Lawrence Lowell (1856-1943) is the author of *Essay on Government*: New York, Johnson Reprint Corp.1968, and *Public Opinion and Popular Government*. New York: Longman Green. 1913.He also studied the cohesion of political parties in the British House of Commons. He is entitled to rank, according

- Woodrow Wilson<sup>38</sup>: (1909-1910)
- William F. Willoughby<sup>39</sup>: (1912-1913)
- Ernest Freund<sup>40</sup>: (1914-1915)
- Charles A. Beard<sup>41</sup>: (1926-1927)
- Leonard D. White: (1942-1943)
- John M. Gaus: (1944-1945)
- Luther Gulick<sup>42</sup>: (1952-1953)
- V. O. Key<sup>43</sup>: (1958-1959)

Most of these presidents are considered giants in the field of political science. However, it is important to note, as Stone and Stone (1975) argued, with the exception of Wilson and Willoughby, most of the developing discipline of political science focused on abstract issues of political theory and philosophy rather than practical applications.

For a decade, the learned papers (other than the presidential addresses) delivered at the annual conventions of APSA, in addition to summaries of panel and business

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to historians, such as Somit and Tanenhaus, with Merriam as a progenitor of the “new science of politics” of the 1920s and as the intellectual godfather of the current behavioral movement.

<sup>38</sup> Woodrow Wilson headed the association in 1910, the same year in which he was elected governor of New Jersey.

<sup>39</sup> W. F. Willoughby was a member of the Taft Commission of 1912, which issued the first call for a national executive budget system. He was later a staff of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research and the Institute of Government Research which would become part of the Brookings Institute. Through the Bureau, he worked, with other members, with various government departments to produce budget, personnel, and other types of reforms. He is considered one of the “greats” who contributed to the political science field of study. (Stone & Stone, 1979). He wrote widely on many issues of public administration. He is the author of *The Principles of Public Administration*. 1927. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

<sup>40</sup> Ernest Freund is associated prominently with the development of legal and descriptive studies (see Waldo, *The Administrative State*, 1948).

<sup>41</sup> Charles Beard is often remembered as historian as he served as president of the American Historical Association in 1933.

<sup>42</sup> Luther Gulick is known as both a political scientist and an activist-reformer (Sorauf, 1965). He served as the Chairman of the Board of the Institute of Public Administration. He came into public administration in 1915 through the Training School for Public Service, that he helped transport to the Syracuse campus. He also was the director of and the New York Bureau of Municipal Research and the institute of Government. He served as president of the American Political Science Association and of the American Society of Public Administration, of which he was a joint founder. He was member of the Roosevelt Committee on Administrative Management in 1935. He was New York’s first City Administrator and served in administrative capacities in a variety of federal agencies.

<sup>43</sup> V. O. Key published his article “The Lack of a Budgetary Theory” in *American Political Science Review* (34) in 1940. This piece is included in the *Classics of Public Administration* due to its significant contributions, its enduring value, and its relevant theme (Shafritz, et.al, 2004). His *Southern Politics* study is a landmark piece in the political science literature. Roscoe Martin fostered this study, and when the latter established the Southern Regional Training Program for Public Administration at the University of Alabama in 1937, V. O. Key was one of the early members of this group (Baer et al., 1991).

discussions, were published in the *Proceedings of the American Political Science Association*<sup>44</sup>. In 1914, the Executive Council voted to discontinue the *Proceedings*, to enlarge the *Review*, and to print in the latter “such papers read at the annual meetings of the Association as may seem desirable in the opinion of the Editorial Board of the *Review*.”

The Association’s official journal, the *American Political Science Review*, began its publication in November 1906. Prior to that date, the *Political Science Quarterly* (1886) and the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (1890)<sup>45</sup> were solidly established. The latter two publications included for a good deal of the early 1900s most of the scholarly articles in political science. In addition, as early as 1892, Andrew J. Palm founded the *American Journal of Politics*. It was a non-partisan journal and had a list of contributors that contained many prominent politicians. There were articles on free trade, labor, political corruption, pacifism, and women's rights. This periodical became the organ of the American Institute of Civics in 1894 and changed its name to *American Magazine of Civics* the next year. It finally merged with *Arena*, another periodical interested in political reform in 1897.

The *APSR* devoted many of its pages to appointments, promotions, departments’ events, awards, honors, and even obituaries. The role that this publication played kept political scientists and especially those who were unable to attend the annual meetings informed of current events. It served as much as a newsletter as a learned journal, with most of its issues devoted to “notes” on legislation, court decisions, governmental trends, Association and personal reportage, and other similar matters. It constituted an invaluable guide to the “approved” interests of American political scientists and played an important role in institution building within political science.

Until 1939, the *American Political Science Review* was the profession’s only general and principal scholarly journal. From the outset, Frederic A. Ogg (1925), the managing Editor<sup>46</sup> from 1925 to 1945, declared his intention. The journal “was to supply, not only fuller discussions appropriate to main articles of a philosophical or descriptive

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<sup>44</sup> The first volume of the *Proceedings* was issued in 1904. The journal last volume appeared in 1913. In 1914, the *Proceedings* were discontinued as a separate publication and were incorporated in the *Review*.

<sup>45</sup> This journal is still published in Philadelphia by the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

<sup>46</sup> The first managing Editor of the *Review* was W. W. Willoughby (1906-1917).

character, but also succinct reviews or surveys of current governmental activities, and likewise critical and bibliographic apparatus for use both in research and in administration” (p.187).

In 1910, the Academy of Political Science (APS) issued its first journal, the *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science in the City of New York*. In 1928, it continued under a different name-- the *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science*. The journal ceased with volume 38(2), which was published in 1991. Prior to this journal, the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* was issued in 1890. The American Academy of Political and Social Science (AAPSS) was established in 1889 to promote progress in the social sciences. The Association created a forum in which research on contemporary political, economic, and social issues help to inform public policy. Since its creation, each of its issues presented in-depth analysis of a significant topic of interest to its readership, which includes academics, researchers, policy makers, and professionals, from several disciplinary perspectives.

From the very onset, American political scientists were committed to two activities not ordinarily associated with the practice of a learned discipline. Education for citizenship and public service, and the personal participation in public affairs occupied a large portion of the political scientists’ agenda. The establishment of the first Haines Committee in 1912 fostered this trend. The preliminary report of the latter stated “departments of Political Science are called upon to perform services of three distinct types: (1) to train for citizenship; (2) to prepare for professions such as law, journalism, teaching, and public service; (3) to train experts and to prepare specialists for government positions” (Haines, 1913, p.264).

In addition, intellectual historians, such as Somit and Tanenhaus (1964), reported that the APSA was part of the progressive reform movement. They report that only 20% of the first decade’s memberships were “professors and teachers.” A report published in the *APSR* in 1934 on the “Teaching Personnel” in Political Science departments reported 30% as lawyers and businessmen, 12% representing library and institutional affiliations, while 37 % could not be classified. In 1912, the American Political Association’s Committee on Practical Training for the Public Service was formed. Among its members was Charles A. Beard of Columbia University who also served as the director at the New



York Bureau's Training School. He later became the director of The Training School for Public Service in 1915. In 1922, the school was incorporated into the Institute of Public Administration and became a model in professional education programs at the graduate level.

The Training School published the *Municipal Research Journal* in 1911. As a result, a final report of the committee endorsed "training for government careers and advocated direct contact between universities and government" (Mosher, 1975, p.29). The establishment of this Committee led to the issuance of a report that called for separate schools in public administration within universities. The "Report on Instruction in Colleges and Universities and Practical Training for Public Service" was issued in 1913. This report represents the first call for the establishments of public administration departments.

It is noted, however, that the intensity of extra-scientific activities of political scientists-- their involvement in public affairs and public service training and education-- was noticeably reduced in the 1920s. The movement toward scientism led to the emergence of a new school of thought, which argued that the discipline should abandon its extra-scientific activities—such as public service training and civic education-- and concentrate on building the systematic body of knowledge implicit in the term "science". As a result, political scientists were increasingly torn by two divided loyalties: professional loyalty (to the profession itself) and institutional loyalty (to the colleges and universities). As increased devotion to the scholarly aspects of the enterprise was voiced, the campaign for a scientific Political Science was starting. It began with Frank J. Goodnow, Lawrence A. Lowell, Arthur F. Bentley, Henry Jones Ford, and Jesse Macy<sup>47</sup>, but was officially launched by Charles E. Merriam in 1921. It was given impetus by the three National Conferences on the Science of Politics held in 1923 thru 1925.

"These heavily attended meetings were a landmark in the discipline's intellectual revolution" (Somit and Tanenhaus, 1980, p. 123). The central purpose of these meetings was "to investigate the possibility of developing and employing more scientific methods for testing the theories and hypotheses of current political science" (Potter, 1923, p.464). Most of the discussions of those meetings were to be centered almost entirely on

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<sup>47</sup> All but Bentley served as presidents of the APSA in its early years.

problems of scientific methodology and technique. The participants sought an instrumental “science of politics” “capable of coping with pressing problems in the fields of politics and administration” (Hall, 1924, p.119).

In the 1920s, at the same time that the first textbooks of public administration appeared, political science was making a fateful shift toward the scientific and disciplinary models as against the professional. In the *Report of the National Conference on the Science of Politics* in 1924, it was maintained, “the need of the hour is the development of a scientific technique and methodology for political science” (Finifter, p.9). This trend was initiated by Merriam as one of the proponents of what will be later called scientism.

As one of the pioneer scholars, Charles E. Merriam<sup>48</sup> of the University of Chicago sought in the early 1920s to move toward a “Science of Politics”. He wanted more scientific rigor and his efforts led to the establishment in the APSA of the Committee of Political Research. Merriam called repeatedly, as early as 1925 and well in advance of the behavioral movement, for the development of concepts and methods that would promote a rigorous, systematic science of politics (Sorauf, 1965). However, Uveges and Keller (1998) contended that Merriam’s dedication to public education and training is strongly reflected in his additional efforts that would lead to the establishment of the “1313 60<sup>th</sup> Street” Public Administration Center in Chicago in the late 1920s and early 1930s.

The major arguments for and against a science of politics were voiced during the 1920s and 1930s. As the same time as the science of politics movement ebbed, Thomas Reed and his associates pressed hard for a political science primarily concerned with immediate questions of public policy combined with training for the public service. By 1935, this movement phased out.

In 1936, the proportion of space devoted in the *Review* to articles decreased and additional sections dealing with current developments were added—such as the “Notes on Public Administration” and the “Notes on Rural and Local Government.” However, there was some feeling that the Association was not adequately promoting the scholarly and teaching interests of the discipline. Reflecting this sentiment, Charles A. Beard

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<sup>48</sup> Charles E. Merriam was the founder and first president of the Social Science Research Council and the author of *New Aspects of Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925.

suggested the creation of the Committee on Policy, which was appointed by his successor William B. Munro.

The committee's basic statement was published as a separate volume (24) in *APSR* in 1930. It included 12 appendices, each by different members of the committee. Of particular interest to this study are two: *A General Survey of Research in Public Administration* by W. F. Willoughby and *Training for the Public Service* by Thomas Reed. The latter replaced Beard as the Committee's Chairman in 1927.

The Committee wanted the Association to supervise the education and placement of persons for the public service. The complaint was about the lack of real contributions to training by the Association. Somit and Tanenhaus (1982) attributed this neglect to the "relative immaturity of public administration as a formal area of academic specialization" (p.139).

The Committee remarked that most research in Public Administration was still conducted by public and private organizations outside the academic community. However, the Committee acknowledged the important role that academicians played in the work done by these organizations. As public administration gained professional respectability over the next decade, more and more institutions launched formal training programs.

These events, combined with the scientism movement, coincided with the beginning of a separation between the two disciplines that would become more visible later on. Lowi (1992) argued that traditional public administration was almost driven out of APSA by the work of a "single diabolical mind- that of Herbert Simon of Carnegie Mellon University"(p.106). Simon "transformed the field by lowering the discourse," Lowi added. Lowi accused Simon of reducing the bureaucratic phenomena to the smallest possible unit, the decision, and "introduced rationality to tie decisions to a system -- not to any system but to an economic system.

In general, and by most standards, political science represented an important and healthy segment of higher education in the United States. Political science enjoyed a steady, if not spectacular growth, between 1903 and 1921. Somit and Tanenhaus (1967

&1982)<sup>49</sup> noted “the prestige of the discipline soared as Woolsey, Wilson, Burgess, Willoughby, Lowell, Dunning, and Goodnow turned out works regarded later as classics”(p.23).

Somit and Tanenhaus (1982) noted a striking discontinuity between the early years and the formative period, referring to the years prior to 1903. The rapid “Americanization” of the discipline was reflected thru the publication language of the books reviewed in *Political Science Quarterly*. A decline is noticeable after the turn of the century in the number of books that were published in languages other than English. A concomitant decline in classroom attention to European politics and government offers further evidence of the move toward Americanization of political science.

However, in the establishment of political science as an academic subject, Political Science was still considered an underdeveloped discipline. “Political science as profession was a product of the nationalization of political focus”(Lowi, 1992, p.1). Most of the professional journals in that early period “presented very few systematic analyses of the proper division of labor between political science and the other social sciences” (Somit & Tanenhaus, 1982, p.64).

Of the first four textbooks used in teaching the basic political science course only one dealt with the relationship between Political Science and other social sciences at any length. The book was Garner’s *Introduction to Political Science* published in 1910. The other three books were: Gettell’s *Introduction to Political Science* (1910), Dealy’s *The State* (1909), and Leacock’s *Elements of Political Science* (1906) (Somit & Tanenhaus, 1982).

In Lowi’s opinion, the golden age of political science came toward the end of the founding epoch, which corresponds with what he calls “the end of the stateless polity.” The works of political science in the 1930s and 1940s were magnificent in their ability to describe a complex political whole. By 1930, the APSA more than doubled in membership and doctoral output rose steadily. New departments were established well into the early 1940s.

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<sup>49</sup>Their book *The Development of American Political Science: from Burgess to Behaviorism* is considered one the most recent and important work on the history of the discipline of Political Science.

As political science became increasingly academicized, it began to experience a problem common to most academic disciplines. The problem of the “centrifugal pull of field specialization and the appearance of potentially competitive organizations and journals”(Somit & Tanenhaus, 1982, p.88) was already evident during those early years. Also, the growing number of people attending the annual conventions of APSA contributed to the establishment of smaller, and more intimate, regional, state, and local organizations. The Southern Political Science Association is of particular importance because of its longevity and its journal, *The Journal of Politics* , which has been published since 1938.

Another association was formed in 1939. The Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA) was dedicated to the advancement of scholarship in all areas of political science. The first issue of its journal, the *American Journal of Political Science* appeared in 1956. Today, the Association is a national organization with membership of over three thousand professors, students, and public administrators.

By 1929, the number of APSA’s members increased significantly from 214 in the first year of its establishment to 1900 members (Reeves, 1929). As a result, political science had to delineate its disciplinary boundaries and define its intellectual scope. For the first time, “there emerged a painful awareness of the inherent incompatibility of the several roles which the profession had traditionally sought to play” (Somit & Tanenhaus, 1982, p.89). Of particular importance was the traditional role that political science had taken in the field of public administration. It was obvious that some things were about to change.

#### *The First Years: 1940s-1960s*

Once APSA had been launched and formal organizational independence achieved, there was little point in pressing the argument designed to convince academicians interested in political phenomena that they should consider themselves political scientists rather than historians, sociologists, economists, or even academic lawyers. What the discipline then sought, and worked toward, was departmental recognition on university campus and departmental autonomy.

Despite all the earlier efforts, political science failed to gain its academic independence in many colleges, remaining a junior partner in departments of History and Political Science (never Departments of Political Science and History) until the 1940s and 1950s (Somit & Tanenhaus, 1982). From the mid-1940s through the mid-1960s, political science became increasingly professionalized and academized. The American Political Science Association was restructured in terms of organization and policies. The Inter-University Consortium for Political Research was created.

This Consortium could be considered a contemporary reincarnation of the Merriam-inspired National Conference on the Science of Politics mentioned earlier. It “probably constitutes the clearest institutional embodiment of the discipline’s behavioral tendencies” (Somit & Tanenhaus, 1982, p.171). The Consortium was organized as a partnership between a group of American, Canadian, and overseas universities, and the University of Michigan Survey Research Center. By the early 1980s, virtually every institution of any graduate standing in political science had joined. Since its launching in 1962-63, the Consortium had played a major role in furthering the development and application of quantitative research techniques. Similarly to its antecedent, the National Conference on the Science of Politics, the Consortium formally operated outside the Association while, at the same time, its spokesmen played an important part in Association affairs.

The Consortium received several foundation grants, though the most generous one was from the National Science Foundation. In addition, the National Science Foundation decided in 1966 to admit political science to the family of “behavioral” sciences. This label put political science on the list of those academic disciplines eligible for support by the Foundation’s social science division. This drive for scientism, which, as I described previously, had started in the 1920s, continued, after “faltering” in the 1930s (Somit & Tanenhaus, 1982).

By the end of the 1950s, APSA had 14,000 official members-- up from 4,000 in 1946, and there were 466 independent well-established departments in various colleges and universities. At the 50<sup>th</sup> annual meeting of APSA, Ralph J. Bunche (1954) reported in his presidential address that the Association’s membership stood at well over 6000. Later,

in 1966, Gabriel A. Almond (1966) reported close to 15,000 members of APSA, a significant increase from the 1800 members in 1934 and 3200 members reported in 1944.

As the field's prosperous status continued to flourish, the number of states' associations, and their regional association-founded journals, increased. Prior to World War II in 1945, three associations were founded: The Midwest Conference of Political Scientists, the Northeastern Political Science Association, and the Southern Political Science Association. After 1945, additional organizations were formed, such as the Western Political Science Association (1948)<sup>50</sup>, the New England Political Science Association, the Pacific Northwest Political Science Association (1948), and the Puerto Rican Political Science Association (1949).

Two of these newly created regional Associations founded journals—the *Western Political Quarterly* (1948-1992) and the *Midwest Journal of Political Science* (1957-1973)<sup>51</sup>. There were at least ten other scholarly journals catering to the American Political scientists by 1960. These journals include *Political Science Quarterly*<sup>52</sup> (1886), *The Journal of Politics*<sup>53</sup> (1938), and *World Politics*<sup>54</sup> (1948).

Somit and Tanenhaus (1982) reported another measure of growth of the discipline. The number of books and the submissions of manuscripts increased noticeably. In 1945, some 500 new volumes were either formally reviewed by the *Review* or noted as “received.” Meanwhile, a steeper rise in the number of Ph.D.s earned was noted during the second half of the Twentieth Century. Between 1950 and 1956 the number jumped from 464 during 1943-1949 to 1289 (Somit and Tanenhaus, 1963).

Although APSA increased its membership from 1819 in 1930 and 2857 in 1940, to almost 6000 in 1952 (Martin, 1952), the annual meetings<sup>55</sup> of the Association contributed obvious evidence of the fragmentation of the field of political science. In

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<sup>50</sup> The Western Political Science Association is an association of more than 1000 political scientists. The WPSA is headquartered at California State University in Sacramento.

<sup>51</sup> Now the *American Journal of Political Science*.

<sup>52</sup> This quarterly is published by the Columbia University's faculty of political science and the Academy of Political Science. It is devoted to the historical, statistical, and comparative study of politics, economics, and public law.

<sup>53</sup> This journal continued with *Proceedings of Southern Political Science Association* and is published by the Southern Political Science Association.

<sup>54</sup> This journal is published by Yale University.

<sup>55</sup> The annual conventions of APSA were cancelled between 1942-1944. During and after the war years, the Association experienced a prolonged budgetary crisis.

addition, the wide array of academic courses offered further evidence. As Roscoe Martin in 1952 had put it, "as political scientists we hold the power and bear the responsibility."

In the late 1930s, American political science was something of a special case in the social sciences. It had no central, organizing set of concepts or body of theory, as did the discipline of economics. It had little of the interest of anthropology, sociology, and psychology for understanding individual behavior in terms of socialization, motivation, and conduct.

It was a heterogeneous, plural, and diverse discipline with little agreement about its central concerns, its methods, and its basic goals. It shared some concerns with philosophy, the humanities, and the law, and, some too with the vocationally oriented public service professions. It was a discipline still uncomfortable in building theoretical propositions and perfecting methodologies. Overall, "it was a discipline without a clear intellectual identity" (Sorauf, p 20).

### *Behavioralism*

Behavioralism could be considered a strong intellectual movement that has been influencing the social sciences since the early Twentieth Century. In political science, it was, and still is, viewed not only as a movement but also as a protest, a persuasion, and even a revolution. The quest for a more scientific politics is easily the "paramount development in the discipline's intellectual history" (Somit & Tanenhaus, 1982, p.173). According to Simon, in his response to Lowi's critique in 1992, the behaviorist revolution in political science was a "celebration, not of reason but of real human behavior" (Simon, 1993). It aimed at "replacing legalism and traditional theorizing with empirical evidence (including observation) and theory based on evidence". It was closely associated with American Progressivism and most of the early behavioralists were New Dealers of the 1930s that were, to a limited extent, able to separate their roles as scientists from their role as citizens. This separation was particularly desirable if "clear thought is to prevail in the discipline" (p.49).

Behavioralism<sup>56</sup> was divisive. Participants in the early stages of the behavioral-traditional era disagreed as strongly over the issues to be disputed as over the merits of

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<sup>56</sup> It is interesting to note that the term behaviorism was initially more commonly used. It was replaced with this longer variant around the early 1960s.



their beliefs. Arguments about the proper identity of the discipline were reflected through several of debates during that period.

In historiographical context, behavioralism could be considered a descendent of the “science of politics” movement. Burgess, Lowell, and Bentley initiated this movement. However, Charles E. Merriam is considered the founding father. This new movement flowered in the Chicago School during Charles Merriam’s chairmanship there. For several decades, this school provided half of APSA presidents.

Four scholarly traditions comprised “traditional” political science by 1940: legalism, activism and reform, philosophical, and science. Behavioralism, as a manifestation of the latter, was treated in the political science history literature as the new “paradigm” of the field-- even though some had argued that it did not satisfy all the requirements of Kuhn’s technical description of a paradigm.

By 1950, this shift in political science toward more theory-based models became more pronounced. This commitment to political *science*, logical positivism, and hard science vs. administrative technology in public administration-- emerged as a dominant force in the discipline. Behavioralism is nonetheless “a self-styled revolutionary program that issued proclamations about a science of politics and that encouraged research of considerable diversity and interdisciplinarity” (Farr, 1995, p. 201).

The belief that political science could ultimately become a science capable of prediction and explanation became a common one. Based on that assumption, political scientists should engage in “rigorous” analytical studies instead of “pure” descriptive ones. The field concern should be with observation and data should be quantified and findings based upon quantifiable data. Research should be theory-oriented and theory-directed. Finally, “political science should abjure, in favor of “pure” research, both applied research aimed at providing solutions to specific, immediate social problems and melioratory programmatic ventures” (Somit & Tanenhaus, 1982, p.178). Behavioralists considered such efforts an unproductive diversion of energy, resources, and attention. They also, as they argued, would produce little “valid” scientific knowledge.

Furthermore, since values, such as democracy, equality, and freedom, cannot be falsified or proven true scientifically, they should be omitted as subject matters in most behaviorally based inquiries. Finally, political science should be more interdisciplinary,

and more self-conscious and critical about its methodology. Researchers should make a greater use of such tools as multivariate analysis, sample surveys, mathematical models, and simulation (Somit & Tanenhaus, 1982).

Farr (1995) listed three general themes or proclamations that were subsumed under this new movement. These are: “(1) a research focus on political behavior, (2) a methodology plea for science, and (3) a political message about liberal pluralism” (p. 202). Research in political science should focus on behavior of groups, processes, and systems within which behavior could be explained. A new set of “scientific” techniques should be adopted accompanied with theoretical explanation. Finally, researchers should discover, explain, and confirm the basic outlines of a pluralist political system.

Political science scholars and researchers continued to strive toward producing “scientific” knowledge about politics and to shy away from “traditional” political science. The success of behavioralism between the 1940s and 1950s, but most dramatically during the 1950s, can be seen in professional terms. Behaviorists became the most influential authors of scholarly texts, articles, and research studies. They also held the highest offices and positions in the professional associations, including the American Political Science Association. Three APSA presidents during the 1960s decade are considered leading figures in the Behavioralism movements. These were: David B. Truman (1965), Robert A. Dahl (1967), and David Easton (1969).

Furthermore, in 1948, when Pendleton Herring became president of the Social Science Research Council (SSRC), a position he held for two decades, he joined in the quest for “scientism.” The SSRC has been in existence since 1923. This newly founded organization sought to make the social sciences more rigorous and systematic by encouraging the use of quantitative methods and more systematic theories. It also sought to focus and report research in ways that would be accessible and useable by policy makers.

“The SSRC was influential in transforming Herring's own field of political science from largely legal and philosophical discipline to a behavioral science that drew on the methods and theories of such other disciplines as sociology, psychology, and anthropology” (American Political Science Association, 2004). In 1945, the Social Science Research Council's Committee on Political Behavior was established and was

heavily behaviorally inclined. After V.O. Key took over the chairmanship from E. Pendleton Herring in 1949, a series of important paper, as well as conferences and summer seminars were issued from the committee and were reported in the SSRC's section titled as *Items*.

The Committee served as a channel through which considerable amounts of research grant money was channeled. It was through this committee that the Council financed one of the first "big" behavioral studies, the Survey Research Center's 1952 presidential election survey. It is interesting to note that on the federal level, access to public funds<sup>57</sup> was strictly restricted or at least partially limited to the social sciences deemed worthy of the label "behavioral sciences."

In the decade from the late 1940s to the late 1950s, behavioralism and its main components were prominently reflected through many major publications. It is during these years that Herbert Simon's *Administrative Behavior* (1948) was published. The book looked toward a "science of administration" and by inference, to a science of politics. In 1949, V. O. Key's *Southern Politics in State and Nation* appeared as another behaviorally inclined study. In 1950, *Public Administration* coauthored by Simon, Smithburg, and Thompson proved to be "another major departure from previous texts in that field" (Somit & Tanenhaus, 1982, p.187). The authors describe the book as a "realistic, behavioral description of the process of administration."

The year 1953 witnessed the publication of Easton's famous book, *The Political System*. It called for a more theoretical political science that should model itself on the methodological assumptions of the natural sciences. Easton also suggested centering research on the concept of "system," as well as defining "politics" in terms of the "authoritative allocation of values". Another important book followed in 1956. Heinz Eulau and his colleagues edited *Political Behavior*, which proved to be an influential collection. The "claims to forging ahead with a science of behavior-- and with it the conceptual framework provided by groups, processes, and systems" (Farr, 1995, p.214) stand out in the wide range of articles it included between its covers.

As evident in this brief historiographical sketch, behavioralism, and its associated arguments and debates, had significant consequences for the field of political science.

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<sup>57</sup> Especially the National Science Foundation in its early years.

These consequences led to a fundamental transformation in the identity of the discipline in the third quarter of the Twentieth Century. In the final image that behavioralism thrived to take shape in, the ideal product would be a body of knowledge, based on axioms, with statements of relationships and generalizations that would ultimately be formalized, especially through the use of mathematics, and that would be well grounded in objective observations.

Behavioralism, with its emphasis on creating a predictive science of politics, continued to provide a sharpened focus for the discipline in the late 1950s and well into the 1960s, “whether as an umbrella for empirical research or as a target for disciplinary critics” (Farr, et al. 1995, p. 212). Meanwhile, behaviorists continued to move into the Association’s leadership. The *Review* published a discussion on “Science and Politics” and *The Journal of Politics* had four essays on “Political Theory and Research.” Formal courses in methodology, then firmly established in most graduate departments, were starting to appear as part of the undergraduate curriculum. As a result, the department of political science became less likely to provide a nurturing environment for programs designed to prepare careers in public service.

#### *Public Affairs*

Despite all of the above, the work of the Committee on Policy, mentioned previously, continued to be devoted to public issues matters. The Committee sought, well into the 1940s, to encourage still greater involvement in public affairs. Charles A. Beard proudly reported that political scientists had played a central role in the reorganization of many state and municipal governments, and that the Association members have been involved in every important study of state and federal administration undertaken the previous two decades. Other professional journals, convention round tables and committee reports echoed the same theme.

In 1941, another APSA Committee proposed, “in making new appointments political science departments should give consideration, not only to the scholarship and teaching qualifications of candidates under consideration, but also to their interest and aptitude for contacts with government officials” (p.340). Some argued that this absorption with civic education and public affairs had begun to diminish after WWII.

For example, Dwight Waldo's sampling of the literature led him to believe their concern had increased rather than diminished (Waldo, 1950). Furthermore, the creation of The Citizenship Clearing House<sup>58</sup> offered more evidence of the ongoing devoted energy of political scientists to public policy and affairs. The Clearing House, considered the natural successor of the Reed Committee on Policy, continued to represent a major example of the profession's commitment to education for democratic citizenship.

Numerous presidential speeches and official Association pronouncements sounded the same theme<sup>59</sup>. The resemblance between the Clearing House and the Committee on Policy established earlier are striking. They were both influenced by Thomas H. Reed. They were both regarded by some political scientists, at that time, as potential rival to the Association itself (Somit & Tanenhaus, 1982).<sup>60</sup>.

Also in 1946, the ASPA formed a committee that was designed to look at the teaching of political science in institutions of higher education. Marshall E. Dimock, a nationally known specialist on public administration, was appointed as the chairman of the seven-member group. A full report was published in the form of a 300-page book entitled *Goals for Political Science*. The report made clear that the citizenship education and the education for the public service were among the major goals for the field (Parsons, 1990).

The Citizenship Clearing house was established in 1947 to help young political scientists graduates find "opportunities in practical politics." Its activities were reported regularly in the *Review* until 1954. By the mid 1950s, less was reported in the *Review*. This coolness is believed to be the result of a tension between two groups of the profession: the behavioralists and the activists. The latter was particularly attracted by the extra-scientific ventures. The former had "great reservations about the entire activist thrust"(Somit & Tanenhaus, 1982, p. 198).

It is important to note an interesting occurrence. It is certainly not a coincidence that the establishment of the Inter-University Consortium for Political Research and the Citizenship Clearing House had occurred during roughly the same period. This might

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<sup>58</sup> This Clearing House later became the National Center for Education in Politics in 1962.

<sup>59</sup> See, for example, *APSR* volumes 40 (1946), p. 227; 42 (1948), p.106; and 44 (1950), p. 160.

<sup>60</sup> This is despite the fact that the Clearing House was organizationally independent, whereas the Committee on Policy was an agency of the Association.

mark the start for the erosion of the relationship between the two disciplines under studies as the two events not only had opposite objectives, but strong opponents and proponents within the field of Political Science.

However, another committee of APSA published a report in Research in Political Science in 1948. The report referred to public administration as one of the five fields that constitute the core of political science. The other four are: political theory, public law, politics, and international relations<sup>61</sup>. The report noted that the latter and public administration are "at the very heart of the discipline" and should retain a close collaboration with political science, despite the tendencies they had shown to become separated from their parent department (Parsons, 1990).

This tension within political science, when it came to public affairs and education, had its consequences beyond the boundaries of the field. Public administration was forming its own boundaries and making its own slow, but evident, departure from its birthplace. Political scientists who had traditionally engaged in current public matters continued to do so but with less intensity. This situation was considered alarming to some of these scholars concerned with the long-standing working relationship between the two fields.

In 1952, Roscoe Martin in *Public Administration and Political Science: A Note on the State of the Union* presented three propositions. The first is that the rise of public administration represented "a centrifugal tendency which if left unchecked, could lead to the complete divorce of Political Science from Public Administration." The second is that, while this tendency resulted "from several contributing factors, not all are subject to control, some things might be done to modify, though perhaps not to reverse, the trend." The third was that "it would be very greatly to the advantage of Political Science if these things were done" (p.673).

It became evident that there was a clear intention to deal with administration without reference to its academic origins in political science. The feeling was mutual in

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<sup>61</sup> In general, political science is ordinarily divided into four broad areas of study. These are: political theory, American political institutions and processes, comparative political institutions and processes, international relations, and law. The title of Woodrow Wilson's presidential address to the seventh annual meeting of the APSA<sup>61</sup> was *The Laws and The Facts*. Early in his speech he said: "I take the science of politics to be the accurate and detailed observation of the processes" (p.14).

the other direction. Politics had to be separated from the public service. However, it is important to note that three prominent scholars in both fields were still elected to be presidents of ASPA and APSA simultaneously, between 1942 and 1952. These are John M. Gaus, Luther Gulick, and Leonard D. White. They served as presidents of APSA in 1944, 1952, and 1942, and as presidents of ASPA in 1951, 1944, and 1947 respectively.

Another condition within political science that might have an effect not only on the status of the relationship between the two fields, but also on the field itself, is the emergence of the subfield of public policy. Under the auspices of the Committee on Governmental and Legal Processes of the SSRC, a meeting was held in 1965 to discuss the need for more expertise and newer obligations on the part of political scientists to study policy. Two committee-sponsored conferences followed in the next two years. Later, and during the 1967 APSA Annual Conference, the first panel on public policy was included under the American Politics section.

#### *The Following Years: 1970s-1980s*

Well into the 1970s, few political scientists would argue that sharp distinctions were possible between political, administrative, and legal processes. In practice, if not in theory, political science remained attached to public administration through fine and fragile ties. A majority of NASPAA members that were still situated in political science departments kept proliferating so rapidly and continued to compromise such a large plurality of public administration programs (Hildreth, Miller, & Rabin, 1998).

In a statement by the Committee on Standards of Instruction of the American Political Science Association in 1962, there was concern about the existence of “certain complexities in developing working relations between the discipline of political science and such professional fields of instruction such as law, business administration, public administration, social work, and foreign affairs.” The committee concluded, “the desirable relationship between the discipline and related professional fields deserves continuing attention. The discipline of political science has a major contribution to make in many different fields of professional education, and individuals with recognized scholarship in the discipline should be encouraged to participate in professional education”(p.421).

The rise of the so-called “new political science” in the late 60s and early 70s, associated with the move toward a set of new theoretical questions and perspectives on political science, is evident when one traces the intellectual growth of the discipline and the events within the field. The staggering outpouring of articles and books produced each year testify to the prodigious energy of political scientists. The “rational choice” models were widely used by the political science scholars of that period. These new models provided much greater rigor than “the story telling approach that characterized most of the post World War II literature in political science” (Kettl, 2002, p.89).

### *Public Policy*

On the other hand, an effort to reestablish within political science a concern with what is applied and relevant was reflected through the emergence of a new subfield called public policy. It was regarded by many as an attempt “to fill the vacuum created by the departure of public administration” (Finifter, 1983, p.). In fact, in many instances, particularly in the 1970s, public administrationists and political scientists mutually decided that separation was in the best interest of both fields.

Public Policy as a subfield within political science was flourishing during the 1970s. In 1970, at its annual conference, APSA granted public policy its first section. The number of papers on public policy exceeded thirty. By 1982, 140 papers on public policy analysis were presented at the annual meeting, involving thirty-six panels (Henry, 1987). In 1972, The Policy Studies Organization was founded and by 1982 it had more than 2,000 members, two thirds of which were political scientists. The Organization began publishing *Policy Studies Review*, which reflected a more public administration hue, in 1981 and *Policy Studies Journal*, which had a more political science orientation, in 1972. The latter ceased with volume 29(4) in 2001. The former was continued in 2001 as the *Review of Policy Research* published and edited at the Center of Public Affairs at the University of Texas.

### *Professional Developments*

As the subfield of public policy continued to gain momentum within political science, the discipline was also experiencing a parallel growth. In political science, members in scholarly enterprises such as APSA increased from 300 in 1945 to 15,800 in 1972 (Stillman, 1982). This was accompanied with a rapid expansion of American



Universities and colleges with more specialized programs and curriculum. A sharp increase in the production of Ph.D.s was reported (from an average of 155 a year from 1946-50, to more than 300 a year from 1961-65. In addition, a boost in the scholarly output was evident. Books now considered classics were published, and journals in the field began to multiply.

One of the most notable developments in American political science since the mid-sixties was the proliferation of professional journals during that period. The *American Political Science Review* continued to be the profession's most prestigious periodical. *PS* continued to be more devoted to professional news and research dealing with the practice, rather than the theory, of American political science.

*PS* was first published in 1968 and was continued later by *PS : Political Science & Politics* in 1988. It was, and continues to be, the Association's quarterly journal of the profession. Initially, the journal provided coverage of the broad range of observations and information about the discipline. Its coverage has evolved since its introduction in 1968 to include critical analyses of contemporary political phenomena by authors working within their own subfields aimed at the informed, general reader. As the journal of record for APSA, its issues also included sections such as Association News, governance information, and professional opportunities.

Meanwhile, the Midwest Conference of Political Scientists continued the publication of the *Midwest Journal of Political Scientists* under a different name starting in 1973. The *American Journal of Political Science* remained the official publication of the Association. This journal publishes research in all major areas of political science including American politics, public policy, international relations, comparative politics, political methodology, and political theory. *Political Theory* was published in 1973, followed by *Political Behavior*<sup>62</sup> in 1979.

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<sup>62</sup> *Political Behavior* publishes research in the general fields of political behavior, broadly construed to include institutions, processes, and policies as well as individual-level political behavior. As an interdisciplinary journal, it encourages the integration of approaches across disciplinary lines and across different levels of theoretical abstraction and analysis. *Political Behavior* incorporates economic approaches to understanding political behavior (preference structuring, bargaining), psychological approaches (attitude formation and change, motivations, perceptions), and sociological approaches (roles, group, class), as well as those more explicitly political in orientation. Articles focus on the political behavior (conventional or unconventional) of the individual person or small group, or of large

Finally, the *International Political Science Review* appeared in 1980. The International Political Science Association (IPSA) issued this journal, in addition to the *International Political Science Abstracts* that the Association has been publishing since 1951. Although the former journal was chiefly in English, some of its articles are in French. The IPSA was founded under the auspices of UNESCO in 1949 and is considered an international scholarly association. It has more than 40 collective members (national and regional associations), approximately 100 associate members (political science departments and other institutions concerned with political science), and more than 1,200 individual members. APSA constituted one of its four founder members in 1949.

Despite this blossoming in the field, in terms of publications and associations, general discontent, was felt throughout the discipline. Political scientists seemed to be unhappy with their careers. Ladd and Lipset, in a 1978 survey, found that the percentage of political scientist academicians who would choose a career in political science if they had to do it over again, dropped from 76 in 1963 to 64 percent in 1976 (Somit & Tanenhaus, 1982). At the same time, political scientists were reminded over and over again in protest manifestos and addresses by presidents of the APSA at that time that the discipline suffers “from a chronic case of theoretical underdevelopment” and that the profession’s “research priorities are seriously unbalanced” (Walker, 1972, p.419 and p. 421).

These general feelings of dissatisfaction led to a series of developments. Major changes in the structure and governance of the American Political Science Association provide one example. The Caucus for a New Political Science (CNPS) was organized in 1967. The Caucus pledged a reform of the profession and promoted a new concern in the Association for what the founders called the “great social crisis” (Farr, 1995). Most of the Caucus supporters were Marxists, radicals, feminists, careerist, and anti-behavioralists. These included many visible and highly respected scholars representing a true diversity of outlooks and professional specializations. Their main goal was a desire to “convert the

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organizations that participate in the political process, such as parties, interest groups, political action committees, governmental agencies, and mass media.

Association from a non-partisan group interested in the study of things political into an instrument for facilitating social change”(Somit & Tanenhaus, 1982, p.215).

Within the Association, several electoral reforms occurred through newly formed committees and more procedures for conducting the annual meetings were introduced. Political scientists turned increasingly inward, away from problems of the broader society to narrow professional concerns. Of all the achievements since 1967, Somit and Tanenhaus (1982) claimed the most remarkable one might have been the transforming of political science into a profession of activist scholars.

By the end of the 1970s, the Association’s membership was predominantly academic, and the professionally related nonacademic employment for political science graduates remained low. The job situation prompted the ASPA to conduct a study on the job market and opportunities available for those who hold a Ph.D. in political science. The data, reported in 1976, by Thomas E. Mann in *PS*, suggested disturbing findings. Only 70 percent of the potential candidates were placed each year from 1972 to 1977. The ratio of academic to professionally related nonacademic placement ran a consistent 8.5 to 1. Employment varied with subfields, ranging from barely 50 percent in political theory to over 80 percent in public administration and public policy.

A newly established Committee of Chairmen published the only editorial ever in *PS*<sup>63</sup> in 1976. It called upon graduate departments to reduce the size of their doctorate programs, apprise applicants of the job market conditions, and revise the curriculum to train students for more “practical” and nonacademic positions. Several articles followed to reiterate these recommendations<sup>64</sup>. Most of these writings went beyond the simple evaluating of the prospects of professionally related nonacademic careers. Authors examined and suggested changes that would be required if post baccalaureate programs in political science “attempted to prepare their students to compete effectively with graduates of schools of law, business and public administration, and public policy” (Somit & Tanenhaus, 1982, p. 219).

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<sup>63</sup> *PS* 9(1): 6-7.

<sup>64</sup> For more details on the subject, refer to: Robert S. Friedman, “Nonacademic Careers for Political Scientists.” *PS* 10(1): 14-16; Jack Walker. “Challenge of Professional Development for Political Science in the Next Decade and Beyond.” *PS* 11(4): 484-490; and Erwin C. Hargrove. “Can Political Science Develop Alternative Careers for its Graduates?” *PS* 12(4): 446-50.

Despite all these efforts, Somit and Tanenhaus (1982) argued that little had been done as a result. The descriptions in the Association's *Annual Guide to Graduate Study in Political Science* at that time suggested that most doctoral programs provided suitable preparation for nonteaching careers in research, administration, and policy analysis. However, there is sparse evidence that the content of these programs had been substantially altered to meet their stated objectives.

Students continued to get a very minimal exposure throughout their graduate education to subjects that would be considered more action-oriented and less theoretically-grounded. Courses designed to train students in the use of certain tools of economic analysis and some statistical procedures appropriate for managerial decision making, the art of group problem solving, and the design, delivery, and evaluation of services were still considered rare in most schools. In addition, basic internship training continued to take a minor place in most political science curricula.

The Association Committee on Professional Development continued to wrestle with these concerns since its establishment in 1977. The Committee believed that the training desired by employers is somewhat similar to that currently provided by interdisciplinary programs in public policy and policy science. Ph.D.s in political science continued to face difficulties in finding professionally-related nonacademic employment. Somit and Tanenhaus (1982) attributed this situation to the fact that most prospective employers were not particularly impressed by the new-graduates' "theoretical knowledge, substantive expertise, or methodological skills" (p. 219).

#### *Post-Behavioralism*

Weisberg (1986) in *Political Science: The Science of Politics* called for more science in the field, "we need more science in the field." The edited volume contained "theme papers" delivered at the 1983 annual meeting of the APSA that were intended to "extend the science of politics", and indeed, several panels at the meeting were specifically devoted to assess the status of science in the study of politics" (p. ix). Several of the papers included in Weisberg's book dealt with the need for specifically a more "scientific" methodology in political science (i.e. a method that includes the formulation of theories and hypotheses and the criteria of evidence and inference).

Behavioralism came under a series of renewed attacks in the late 1960s and the early 1970s. David Easton's 1969 APSA presidential address<sup>65</sup> delivered at the 65<sup>th</sup> annual meeting of APSA reflected many of these wide spread criticisms at that time. He pleaded for a "post-behavioral" political science committed to the reshaping of the American society. He spoke frankly of the failures of the behavioralism and its dealing with the increasing social and political crises at that time. According to Easton, "this new and latest challenge is directed against a developing behavioral orthodoxy" (p.1051)

The adoption of an allegedly "positivist" conception of science by behaviorists was repeatedly put under attack, particularly its claim to be able to discover truly general or cross-cultural laws of political life. In addition, its claim to a value-neutral approach was deemed impossible or at least misguided. On the other hand, the very idea of "behavior", was criticized as devaluing "action," "meaning," and "the political" (Farr, 1995).

Despite all these attacks, the general political science literature of the 1970s did not seem to differ from the preceding years. The majority of political scientists remained mostly concerned with pure research rather than applied, and the bulk of them appeared to be more inclined toward pluralism and less committed to social change. In 1982, Somit and Tanenhaus observed that "the practice of political science, however, is still largely influenced by the behavioral paradigm and the post-behavioral "revolutionists" seem to have been no more successful in lessening that influence than were the anti-behavioralists of previous decades" (p.231).

An increasing proportion of the articles published in the *American Political Science Review*, the *American Journal of Political Science*, and most of the other general political science journals utilized increasingly sophisticated statistical and mathematical techniques (Riker, 1974). During this decade, leading behaviorists still served as presidents of the APSA, including Heinz Eulau (1972) and John C. Wahlen (1978). Also, graduate departments in political science "were to become much more markedly behavioral in their orientation" (Farr, 1995, p. 215).

However, there is evidence that the building of scientific "theory" suffered through that period. Wahlen (1979) argued that a truly behavioral science would have a

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much closer working relationship with the biobehavioral sciences (such as biology, physiology, and even neuro-physiology) and would turn to the study of behavior itself. Furthermore, and despite the heroic efforts of functionalists, systems theorists, former modelers, Marxists, and others, Walker (1972) concluded, “most empirical work in political science is either highly descriptive and exploratory, or is based on propositions drawn primarily from common sense speculation”(p.419).

Finally, some political science historians, when covering post-behavioralism during that period, concluded that post-behavioralism, as a positive doctrine, did not “galvanize” the discipline (Farr, 1995). If anything, it prompted reactions that political science was still too “prebehavioral” (Wahkle, 1979; Eulau, 1992).

Others, such as Ricci (1984), found that behavioralism tragically reenacted that “old-time tension in political science-- between scientific findings and scholarly support for democracy” (p.175). His book is considered a critical analysis of the history of political science. He applied critical perspective from the analysis of bureaucracy to the philosophy of science. The book dealt with the issue of the relationship between political science and politics, or, more specifically, with the relationship between the discipline’s scientific pretensions and its attachment to American Liberalism and democratic culture, as well as the tension between its scientism and political commitments. Despite all of these thoughts, behavioralism was, and might always be, remembered as giving political science its principal identity, separate from one of its once-close discipline: public administration.

### *The Recent Years: 1990s-2000s*

During the last twenty years, political science, as an academic discipline has experienced an enormous growth, in the number of persons involved, in the research tools available, and in the volume of productivity<sup>66</sup>. However, there has been little systematic attention devoted to the contemporary historical evolution of the field as a whole.

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<sup>66</sup> A quick and basic search for new titles in political science reveals an average of over 170 books released every year through the 1990s.

I was not able to find any significant literature on the recent condition of political science except that which I could discern from recent president's speeches. With the exception of *PS* that included routinely articles such as the "Association News" regarding a biography of a newly elected presidents, the "Executive Director Report" of different committees and divisions in the Association and memberships and the "Job Market" updates and surveys, there were no articles dedicated to a full description of the status of political science as a discipline and a field of study. Historiographical account of the field has always been limited to an overview of the development of theories in political science and to some recent biographies of political scientists<sup>67</sup>--such as the one of the late Herring Pendleton on the APSA web page--and the more comprehensive *American Political Scientists Dictionary*<sup>68</sup>.

In an historical essay in *Divided Knowledge* (1990) David Easton noted: "There are now so many approaches to political research that political science seems to have lost its purpose... The discipline is fragmented" (p. 48). Similar terms, such as dispersed, "divided," "lacking a core," and "separate tables" were frequently used in many of the discussions dealing with the nature of contemporary political science (Farr, 1995). None of the three hegemonic projects that had been shaping the discipline according to Lowi (1992) -- public opinion, public policy and public choice-- had achieved anything remotely like universal acceptance.

Munger (2000) in his presidential speech to the Public Choice society claimed that political science was the only discipline capable of addressing the "fundamental human problem." That is answering the question of "how can a society construct, or preserve, institutions that make self-interest individual action not inconsistent with the welfare of others?" (p.25). He contended that this problem is not currently addressed by any of the social sciences.

Another difficulty faced me in covering this period in the history of political science. The many, often conflicting tendencies in post-behavioral political science made it difficult to draw general conclusions about the state of the discipline during this period.

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<sup>67</sup> Earlier biographies of political scientists were well represented either in the form of different articles (Rogow, ed., 1969; Beale, ed., 1954) or monographs (e.g. Karl, 1974 and Wiener, 1971).

<sup>68</sup> Glen, H. Utter & Lockhart, Charles (Eds.). 1993. *American Political Scientists: A Dictionary*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

For the very reason that political science is still in the process of change, Easton, et al. (2002) found it difficult, if not impossible, to “speak of a single, dominant tendency or direction”(p.287).

Most leading members of the discipline continue to accept the appropriateness for social inquiry of the scientific methodology found to be so successful in the natural sciences. Political science does not cast itself in the image of the positivist ideal of science. There is today a more “relaxed understanding of science that is in process of growth within the philosophy of science<sup>69</sup>” (Easton, 2002, p.288). The emerging portrait of the discipline that is visible from browsing the main journals of the field conveys the image of research studies involving elaborate empirical methodology.

At the turn of the Twentieth Century, the situation remains that of fragmentation. There are multiple agendas for the discipline multiple approaches to empirical research, and multiple schools of thoughts. Easton (1990), once again, lamented the lack a disciplinary focus and calls for the need for a coherent alternative to replace behavioralism, and even Post-behavioralism.

In a study to evaluate journals in the field of political science, done in 2003 and published in *PS*, Gerald and Giles concluded by raising the question: “A Discipline Divided?” They remarked that casual conversations among political scientists revealed considerable disagreement about the leading journals in the discipline. In particular, there appeared to be disagreement about which journals are the leading outlets for scholars in different subfields of political science. Many scholars saw journal such as *APSR*, *AJPS*, and *The Journal of Politics* as the leading journals in political science, regardless of subfield specialty or methodological approach. Other scholars saw these journals as being dominated by the field of American politics and/or by quantitative methodologies. Subsequently, they identified broad subfield journals such as *World Politics*, *Comparatives Politics*, *Comparative Policy Studies*, or *Political Theory* as the primary outlets for their research.

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<sup>69</sup> The philosophy of science is the discipline concerned with understanding the nature of science—how it acquires knowledge (epistemology), and the nature of the world we wish to know and understand (ontology).



As a result, the main stream of political science has moved in a variety of directions. The interests of the behavioral period in voting, judicial, legislative, administrative, and executive behavior as well as interest groups, political parties, and other similar subjects, have continued. During this late post- behavioral period, however, new topics of political research have arisen to satisfy the desire to understand new concerns typical of this period—environmental pollution, ethics, racial, sexual, and social equity, and nuclear war, for example.

In the search for answers to urgent social issues such as these, political science in this period joined the social science in making a commitment of its resources to the application of knowledge. The rapid and widespread growth of the so-called policy analysis movement attests to that. Heclo (1972) described public policy as “necessarily at the heart of political scientist’s concern” (p.83).

During the last two decades of the Twentieth Century, literally hundreds of institutes have been established for the understanding of the way in which policies are formed and implemented. Despite the fact, as many claimed, that policy analysis caught hold in the 1960s in public administration, many of these programs were still nested within the field of political science. These programs sponsor and foster research that answers questions of policy creation and execution. These include questions such as: how are policies formed, what alternatives are neglected and rejected and why, what are the consequences, direct or indirect, of any policy, how does a given set of present policies influence subsequent policies, and so on. The interdisciplinary policy studies programs are built around a multi disciplinary curriculum and agenda, policy research has, and will, awaken the hope of an earlier day for integrating the social sciences, at least in the application of its knowledge (Easton et al., 2002).

Nagel and Neef (1977) echoed the same opinion. They urged for the necessity of a closer relation between political science and interdisciplinary training and called for the need for a more academician -practitioner interaction. They concluded,” the adoption of these considerations-among others they listed-- should help to bring closer together and make more effective the fields of public studies, political science, and public administration”(p. 390).

Policy studies are alive and well in political science departments and interdisciplinary programs across the country, and still growing rapidly, although at a less rapid rate than in the early 1970s. A 1975-76 APSA “Survey of Political Science Departments” showed that the field of public studies was the fastest growing political science field as measured by course enrollment. The “related field of public administration has been maintaining a close second with regard to the percent of department reporting gain in the public policy field” since the survey (Nagel & Neef, 1977, p.390).

Another shift in interest within political science was reflected in the rebirth of the field of political economy. As discussed earlier, as modern political science was evolving in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, economics and politics had already shown a close and natural affinity (as revealed in the work of John Stewart Mill and of Karl Marx). The revival of that link coincided with the revival of the Marxist thought to demonstrate numerous relationships between the state of economics on one hand, and political events and institutions on the other hand.

In addition, the earlier emergence of “cognitive political science reflected yet another movement away from the attempt to “understand political phenomena as exclusively a product of non-rational process, that is a product of social forces that influence decisions and actions of political actors and institutions” (Easton et al., 2002, p.286). The product of such inquiry took the form of rational choice models, game theory, or other kinds of so-called rational actors models (see Downs, 1957; Kramer & Hertzberg, 1975; Riker & Ordeshook, 1973). Today these frameworks remain influential in the field.

Farr et al. (1995) noted that contemporary political science has become much more hospitable to history and to historical investigation than when it was in the throes of behavioralism. The range of research programs, approaches and agendas articulated in historical terms is on the rise. The subfield of political theory continues to be interested in the history of political thought. There is a growing body of post behavioral literature that situates history, both as a subject and method, central to political science inquiry.

Some political scientists see this disciplinary diversity as an occasion for celebration. J. Donald Moon (1991), for example, had argued that fragmentation is

inevitable “so long as there exists competing definitions of the very capacity of social scientific knowledge to influence the objects of its study” (Farr et al., 1995, p.3). Dogan and Pahre (1990) developed another argument for a higher creativity and innovation made possible by the various research agendas. For them, “conflict issues in cross-fertilization and disciplinary hybrids are better to adapt to an ever-changing agenda of problems confronting practitioners” (Farr, et al., 1995, p.3).

In spite of these new approaches, a perusal of articles appearing in *American Political Science Review* during the 1990s shows that behavioralism still represented the main stream of the profession. Positivism model and its articulation in the shape of behavioralism, was and still is entertained by many political scientists. This is especially evident in areas of public choice and rational modeling. Some still argue that behavioralism, in relation to the ongoing earlier attempt of economists to “colonize” political science, remained strong (Simon, 1993). This is in addition to the relation of many of the behavioralists in political science and economics, to the “dominant orthodoxy in the discipline of economics and public choice” (p.49). However, such theoretical imports from economics as public choice and game theory, have not replaced, though they compete vigorously with, the major concepts of behavioralism.

Some of the outcomes of some fields in political science, though equally sophisticated in data gathering and analysis as the behavioral era work, do not measure up to “the ideal position of an axiomatized and mathematized set of propositions” (Easton et al., 2002, p.15). These would have not been accepted as scientific conclusions in the behavioral era, but these days the case is different. In addition to “losing its sense of dynamic purpose concentrated on the pursuit of scientific validity, political science seems to have lost its core” (Easton, et al., 2002, p.5). Easton, et al., argued that there was once an argument that political science was the study of something specific, whether it was of power, of authority, or of the state. There was a dominant view. There was simply a single description of the subject matter of political science.

Despite all of that, political science is still trying to develop “a new sense of identity, a new drive, or sense of purpose” (Easton, et al., 2002, p.6). The post-behavioral state is still evolving. As the discipline continues to cope by some of the unresolved problems generated by behavioralism: “the indifference to moral judgments, the

excessive commitment to formal mathematicized statements following from the use of scientific method, the focus on theoretical criteria to the right of social issues, the preoccupation with social forces as a determinants of behavior, overlooking, in the process important cognitive (rational) elements, and a profound forgetfulness about the history of political systems that help to shape the present”( Easton et al., 2002, p.5).

More recently APSA introduced a new professional journal. The first volume of *Perspectives on Politics* appeared in March 2003. This new publication provided “political insight on important problems, through rigorous, broad-based research and integrative thought. The journal enabled members of different subfields to speak with one another—and with knowledgeable people outside the discipline—about issues of common interest; it aspires to be provocative, even edgy, while maintaining the highest academic standards” (ASPA, 2004). The establishment of this journal is also an attempt to speak to contemporary issues.

The *Western Political Quarterly* continued as *Political Research Quarterly* in 1993. *Political Research Quarterly* is a refereed scholarly journal publishing original research in all areas of the political science field. *PRQ* is published by the University of Utah and is the official journal of the Western Political Science Association. Most issues also feature field essays integrating and summarizing current knowledge in particular research areas.

In terms of the Association’s status, former executive director Rudder (2000) reported “strong programs, robust investment, thriving Organizations Sections, and balanced budget” (p.667). As of 2004, there were 44 divisions in the Association. The annual registration for the annual meeting increased from 3496 in 1989 to 5818 in 1999. Also, there is evidence of a steadily and significant increase in professional memberships in the 1990s when compared to the 1980s years. Actually Rudder reported 13,387 individual members in 1998 compared to 3337 in 1980.

#### *New Institutionalism*

On the theoretical level, in more recent years, a “new institutionalism” has appeared in political science. This new theoretical framework incorporates not only formal but also informal institutional structures, such as norms and roles. The “neo-institutional” perspective is gaining popularity among some of the prominent political

scientists including some of the most recent APSA presidents. Robert Putnam (2002-2003), Theda Skocpol (2003- 2004), and current president Margaret Levi<sup>70</sup>, all write within the context of “new institutionalism.”

Skocpol examined the origins of civic voluntarism in the U.S. using institutionalist theories “A Nation of Organizers: The Institutional Origins of Civic Voluntarism of Civic Voluntarism in the U.S.” Her scholarship mainly focuses on U.S. public policies and on the development of voluntary associations and civic institutions in America and beyond. Levi considers the “new institutionalism” framework as the most promising one, especially in her work on a range on issues having to do with labor unions and with global justice campaigns. Her comparative perspective on labors union in “Organizing Power: Prospects for the American Labor Movement” is a good example of her commitment to such theoretical framework. Finally, much of Putnam’s research, which includes work that addresses the challenges of building communities in an increasingly diverse society, is done within this new perspective. For example, Putnam (1995) argued, “the performance of government and other social institutions is powerfully influenced by citizen engagement in community affairs” which he refers to as “social capital.”

In 1984, James, G. March and Johan, P. Olsen have argued that this “resurgence of concerns with institutions is a cumulative consequence of the modern transformation of social institutions and persistent commentary from observers of them” (p.734). The move in focus from *homo sociologicus* to *homo economicus* is considered by many proponents of the new framework an explanation for the disappearance of research on informal institutional structures such as roles and norms.

This more recent theoretical thought in political science blends elements of the contemporary theories of politics into an older concern with institutions. The former portrays politics as a reflection of society. It describes the political phenomena as the combined consequences of individual behavior and any action as the result of choices based on calculated self-interest. Furthermore, it sees history as efficient in reaching

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<sup>70</sup> At the time of the writing, Margaret Levi was the Jere Bacharach Professor of Political Science and International Studies at the University of Washington, Seattle. She also served as the Harry Bridges Chair and director of the Center for Labor Studies. She authored three books including *Of Rule and Revenue* and *Consent, Dissent, and Patriotism*.

unique appropriate outcomes. Finally, these contemporary theories of politics consider the allocation of resources and decision making as the focal central point of the political life.

On the other hand, theories of “new institutionalism” emphasize “the relative autonomy of political institutions, possibility of inefficiency in history, and the importance of symbolic actions to an understanding of politics” (p.735). They focus not only on the dominant role bureaucracy plays in contemporary life, but also incorporate, rather than exclude, political behavior. Such directions for theoretical research in political science are identified as the institutionalist conceptions of political order.

The historical sketch of political science is surely incomplete. After all, no one can acquaint himself with even a sizeable fraction of the discipline’s continuing progress, both on the theoretical and professional level. Political research has dealt with a wide range of social phenomena and for several decades has had an impact on the practice of politics and administration. The latter’s history is the subject of the next section.

### **Public Administration History**

The following is a construction of the intellectual history of public administration. It also includes a narrative account of significant events in the field and a description of the evolution of the discipline in academe and outside. In presenting this historical narrative section, I use seven time periods. These are: the earlier years (prior to 1887), the founding years (1900s-1930s), the first years (1940s-1960s), the following years (1970s-1980s), and finally, the recent years (1990s-2000s).

Table 2 sketches the disciplinary development of American public administration. It represents a timeline of major events in the discipline’s history starting with the late Nineteenth Century and ending at the turn of the Twentieth Century. These events include the organization of major professional associations and the publishing of significant books or articles in public administration.

Table 2

*Timeline of Major Events in Public Administration History*

Year	Event
1887-	Woodrow Wilson publishes “The Study of Administration” in <i>PSQ</i>
1900-	Frank J. Goodnow publishes <i>Politics and Administration</i>
1906-	New York Bureau of Municipal Research established (reorganized with the New York training School as the National Institute of Public Administration (NIPA) in 1921
1910-	Institute of Government Research founded
1911-	New York Training School of Public Service founded by the New York Bureau of Municipal Research and incorporated into the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at the Syracuse University
1912-	President’s Commission on Efficiency and Economy (Taft Commission) created; Committee on Practical Training for Public Service formed in APSA
1913-	“1313” Public Administration Center established
1914-	International City Managers Association (ICMA) founded (now known as the International City/County Management Association
1923	Social Science Research Council (SSRC) established
1924-	Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at the Syracuse University established
1926-	Leonard D. White publishes <i>Introduction to the Study of Public administration</i> ; Public Administration Clearing House (PACH) established
1928-	Brookings Institution established; Advisory Committee on Public Administration formed
1933-	Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) established
1937-	Luther Gulick and Lyndall Urwick publish <i>Papers on the Science of Administration</i>
1939-	American Society for Public Administration founded

Table 2 (continued)

Year	Event
1948-	Dwight Waldo publishes <i>The Administrative State: A Study of the Political Theory of American Public Administration</i>
1957-	Herbert Simon publishes <i>Administrative Behavior</i>
1960-	Comparative Administrative Group (CAG) formed
1968-	Minnowbrook I conference held
1967-	National Academy of Public Administration (NAPA) founded
1970-	National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA) founded
1979-	Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management (APPAM) founded
1980-	Public Administration Training Center in ASPA established
1988-	Minnowbrook II conference held
1990-	Naomi B. Lynn and Aaron Wildavsky publish <i>Public Administration: The State of the Discipline</i>
1991-	Public Management Research Association (PMRA) founded

The following section offers an overview of public administration prior to 1887. This year has a particular significance to the field's history. It is commonly used as the date that marks the intellectual birth of the public administration as a field of study.

### *The Early Years: Prior to 1887*

Woodrow Wilson, while still an obscure professor of political science at Johns Hopkins University, sounded the call and recommendation for the study of administration in an article in the *Political Science Quarterly* as far back as the year 1887. Though Wilson's essay is traditionally cited as the cornerstone of public administration, "its



influence was on later theory rather than contemporary practice” (Uveges & Keller, 1998, p.5). It has been reported in several pieces of historical literature that this 1887 work had no influence whatever on the evolution of either the theory or the practice of public administration in the United States until well after 1950 (Van Riper, 1987).

Wilson wrote in 1887 that administration should be a solution to politics, because in his words, we could have the “Prussian state breathe free American air”. He further argued that the science of administration was the latest form of the study of politics. He defined it as the machinery for implementing government policy. The study of public administration is therefore considered the study of the most efficient ways of organizing the executive branch of government, its institutions, and its procedures.

At the same time, there was a general concern with administrative law, an interest that straddled law with public administration and political science. It is significant, for example, that the first president of APSA, Frank Goodnow, was a professor of administrative law at Columbia. He is also the author of one of the first books on public administration. *Comparative Administrative Law*, published in two volumes, is considered the first treatise on public administration. It is considered a “forerunner for those noting the growing significance of administration to modern government and society” (Uveges & Keller, 1998, p.6).

On a more practical level of public administration, social problems, and the failures to adequately respond to them, spurred efforts toward administrative reform and professional development. The American Society for Municipal Development was established. Several local associations were formed and a national conference for “good city government” was held. “These initiatives were indicative of later efforts to operationalize a functional separation between governmental management and the political process” (Uveges & Keller, 1998, p. 6).

The beginnings of public administration education started around 1890. However, Van Riper (1987) described the educational approaches to public administration as largely legalistic or descriptive. Before World War I, specifically in the first decade of the Twentieth Century, there were “few works that might have assisted, say, Theodore Roosevelt in managing the construction of the Panama Canal” (p.15). The latter is considered one the greatest engineering projects in the world at that time.

### *The Founding Years: 1900s-1930s*

The following section examines the structuring of the discipline during its founding years through the development of its respective professional associations and the development of its academic departments or schools.

The size of government and complexity of its operations began generating scientific observation and experimentation. “By 1910, literate administrative theory was beginning to proliferate”(Van Riper, 1987, p. 15). The main thrust was provided by the doctrines of classical management, especially those emphasizing line and staff relations, functionalism, and the old principles of administration, all to the ends of “economy and efficiency.”

The administrative issues of the New Deal in the 1930s, combined with the startling growth in the number and size of federal agencies, focused attention on the role of public administration in government. Between 1920 and 1940, the working guidelines for public administration were expounded by a small group of practical administrators who were developing some of the earliest theories in public administration. Luther Gulick, Henri Fayol, and Lyndal Urwick were among the best in this group. “The President’s Committee on Administrative Management” and the teachings of its report provided the “orthodoxy,” in addition, of course, to Wilson’s writings, for the emerging study of Public Administration and the new schools devoted to it.

On a more practical focus, the turn of the Twentieth Century witnessed the first effective elimination of the separation of powers and a “politics-administration dichotomy” was implemented. The latter was evident thru vesting a city manager appointed by the commission with all of the administrative power. This transformation in the practice of local governance actually “increased the scope of administration and dramatically reduced that of politics” (Uveges & Keller, 1998, p.7).

The Institute of Government Research was founded in New York in 1910 in the aftermath of the Taft Commission. Frederick Cleveland, from the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, directed the Taft Commission as chairman. Frederick Taylor’s scientific management formed the basis of the recommendations of the President’s Commission on Efficiency and Economy (1912). It was better known as the Taft

Commission. The latter illustrated the hopes of the reformers in the first decades of the Twentieth Century to implement scientific management in the public sector.

The participants in the organization of the newly founded institute believed there was a need for municipal research at the national level. William F. Willoughby was the first director of the Institute. Frank J. Goodnow was also an influential member of the Institute. All three are considered notables in the field of public administration (Kettl, 2002). The national budget and budgetary reform were the major interests of the institute in its early years. Later on, Congress enacted the commission's key recommendations. As Whelan (1998) pointed out, the institute's scholars were collecting facts and data for the foundation of a science of public administration. Their efforts provided an opportunity for collaboration with other institutions that had similar objectives in terms of improving civil service practice and training.

These educational reforms were accompanied by a call for a more efficient and scientific management of public services. The most prominent work was that of Frederick Taylor published in 1911. He called for a technology-based management in the public sector. Scientific management was applied to large-scale government organizations. By the 1930s, the identification of public administration in terms of scientific management principles was well established.

The earlier quarter of the century also witnessed the establishment of several professional organizations of public servants, such as the National Federation of Federal Employees and the Society of Civil Servants. The former is still in existence. The latter formed the Institute of Public Administration (IPA). The Institute is a private non-profit organization concerned with building capacity for effective government. In 1923, the Society founded its official journal the *Journal of Public Administration*. It became known as *Public Administration* in 1925.

In 1911, the New York Training School of Public Service was established. Charles A. Beard was associated with the school and with a large movement, at that time, toward a multi-disciplinary organization of public administration education and the public service training. In an essay entitled, "What Form of University Training for Public Service," Beard called for a school of public service with a new form of multi-

disciplinary organization controlled by a board representing all of the schools and divisions of the university, especially that of political science (Caldwell, 1965).

Meanwhile, at an APSA Boston meeting in 1912, the Committee on Practical Training for Public Service was established. William F. Willoughby was among its members and Charles A. Beard one of its strongest advocates. In 1914, the committee issued its *Proposed Plan for Training Schools of Public Service*. Subsequently, in order to gain support for its recommendations the committee and its supporters organized the Society for the Promotion of Training for the Public Service. This Society could be considered, in some respects, a forerunner of the American Society for Public Administration 25 years later. The Society carried on a vigorous campaign for the improvement of public administration and university cooperation with the public service. The publication of a journal, *The Public Servant*, had begun in February 1916.

On a more intellectual or research-oriented focus, a steady growth in governmental studies paralleled the practical reform movements. As discussed above, the early decades of the 1900s saw bureaus of governmental research become centers of applied research, dedicated to science as a tool in political reform and training many of the early reformers. These educational and training programs found in the different bureaus and different cities nationwide later developed into programs of graduate study in public administration. Some of these formed the main components of the first school of public administration in Syracuse<sup>71</sup>.

#### *University Programs*

The practically oriented innovations were the basis for many of the programs associated with the public affairs and the management of public services on the academic level. The first genuine school of public administration that began outside academia was the Training School for Public Service that was founded in 1911 by the New York Bureau of Municipal Research. The School was later incorporated into the Institute of Public Administration in 1921. Later on, a large component of its program was transferred to the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs established in 1924

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<sup>71</sup> The actual first school of Public Administration was established at the University of Michigan in 1914. Later, the University of California at Berkeley, Stanford, Cincinnati, and Southern California, in 1926, initiated their public administration programs. However, the Syracuse School is still considered by most public administration historians the first school in the field.

at the Syracuse University. The school is considered the first semi-independent school of public administration. The program focused on training “teachers of citizenship” and “practitioners of public affairs.” It housed the field’s best scholars and produced generations of scholars who have helped define the field.

Uveges and Keller (1998) argued that Syracuse University’s school of public administration was actually an outgrowth of reform activities. Many of the developing university programs were comprised largely of training courses added to the liberal arts curriculum. Stone and Stone (1975) contended that these programs contributed very little to the practical education of managers. They were not dedicated to the study of public administration or the training for the public service.

It is worth noting that the *Municipal Yearbook* of 1937 reported about twenty-five colleges and universities that had announced programs in public administration prior to 1933. Most of these consisted of a few courses offered in political science departments, many at the undergraduate level. Fewer than ten subsequently developed into multidisciplinary professional degree programs (Mosher, 1975).

Florida State University is considered one of the earlier universities to establish a public administration department. The Department of Public Administration was formally established in 1947. In 1959 the department was abolished and the public administration program was merged with the department of political science into a Department of Government. In 1976, public administration became again a separate department in the College of Social Sciences. In 1990, the department was redesignated as the “School of Public Administration and Policy”(Parsons, 1990).

#### *Bureaus, Institutes, and Centers*

In addition to the several of university-based programs, other organizations contributed tremendously to the research agenda and theoretical trends of public administration. The work of the Social Science Research Council (SSRC), which was established in 1923 under Merriam’s guidance, and the Advisory Committee on Public Administration, that was formed in 1928, are examples of such organizations. Their approaches and orientations provided great reinforcement for the politics-administration dichotomy during the rise of most of the public administration academic programs.

By forming the Committee of Public Administration, SSRC was hoping to bring public officials in closer contact with scholars. In the 1930s the committee aimed at upgrading academic research and bringing it closer to the latest administrative methods. The committee's publications greatly influenced several of the field's research subjects and methodologies. The first volume in the SSRC series on "Studies in Administration", in 1937, was V. O. Key's *The Administration of Federal Grants to States* (Whelan, 1998).

This parallel development to university instruction in public administration resulted in the establishment of more "university-sponsored municipal, legislative-reference, and research bureaus" (Stone & Stone, 1979, p.34). The Public Administration Clearing House (PACH), headed by Louis Brownlow, was established in 1926. Louis Brownlow was a former journalist, and had served as a commissioner of the District of Columbia and city manager.

In addition, in 1928, the three Washington-based institutions: the Institute of Government Research (1916), the Institute of Economics (1922), and the Robert Brookings Graduate School of Economics and Government (1924) were combined to form the Brookings Institute. The role of Brookings was viewed as one of training for public service and professional education. The last class of doctorates students was graduated in 1930. Many of the seventy-four graduates entered the public service. The depression, with its declining funds and its controversies between Brookings Institution and the New Deal administration of the 1930s, prevented development of Brookings' training efforts. As a result, the institution was unable to expand or to establish a continuous program of courses in public administration, or to establish collaborative programs with universities. "The Brookings case is unique in that its public-administration education was primarily the outgrowth of economic concerns and action by economics" (Mosher, 1979, p. 289).

Meanwhile, some universities established what would be later referred to as public service units. A good example of such arrangements was the "1313" public administration center. The center was established by the University of Chicago in 1929 as headquarter of several national organizations interested in government and public

administration. By April 1938, twenty-two organizations had become identified with the building at 1313 60th Street, Chicago.

This concentration in Chicago, at 1313 East 60<sup>th</sup> Street, later became known as the “1313” public administration center. From the start, the “1313” groups stressed the need for in-service training of public officials and better pre-service education by universities. Mosher (1975) noticed that the “advent of professional and public-interest associations” was one of the four interacting efforts to improve government over several decades. This advent was “dramatized by the “1313” cluster” (p. 25).

The center was formed by a concentration of public interest organizations and was facilitated by the efforts of Charles Merriam, then chairman of political science at the University of Chicago. He brought Louis Brownlow to Chicago and aided him in creating the Public Administration Clearing House. These “1313” organizations included such groups as the Council of State Governments (founded in 1933), the American Public Works Association (established in 1894), the Municipal Financial Officers Association (created in 1906), and the International City Managers Association (formed in 1914).

The latter is considered the first professional association dedicated solely to the public sector in terms of its interests and matters. The International City Managers’ Association<sup>72</sup> (ICMA) was established by city managers. Since 1914, the Association has served as the educational and professional organization for chief appointed managers, administrators, and assistants in cities, towns, counties, and regional entities worldwide. One of its core foundations is in the value it places on the professional management as an integral part of effective local government. The Association, with 8,000 members currently, is a recognized publisher of information resources ranging from textbooks and survey data to topic-specific newsletter and e-publications.

The ICMA arrived in Chicago first from Kansas in 1929. Then came the Municipal Finance Officers Association<sup>73</sup>, the American Public Welfare Association<sup>74</sup>, and the American Municipal Association (AMA)<sup>75</sup> in 1932, the American Public Works

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<sup>72</sup> Now called the International City/County Management Association.

<sup>73</sup> The Association was established in 1906.

<sup>74</sup> The Association was founded in 1930.

<sup>75</sup> The Association was founded in 1924.

Association followed by the Civil Service Assembly<sup>76</sup> in 1935, and many others that were housed in “1313.” The American Legislators Association (ALA) soon created the Council of State Governments, which in turn gave birth to the Governor’s Conference (Mosher, 1975). In 1933, some of these groups established the Public Administration Service (PAS), a joint effort that provided consulting, research, and publications to several communities (Whelan, 1998).

Around the same time the ICMA was formed, several leagues of municipalities organized the National League of Cities, while, and at the city level, city planners formed the American Institute of Planners. On the national levels, more reform efforts were exemplified by the passage of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1916. By 1917, the National Municipal League, largely comprised of municipal administrators, published a model city charter to guide the legal reform of city government.

During the “federalist” and “scientific management” periods, and throughout the 1930s, the nation could be characterized by an extended, fully self conscious and highly inventive state of improvement and refinement of its administrative mechanisms. This culminated in the creation of the Executive Office of the President in 1939 and its wartime administrative machinery. This office staffed with a small group of administrative assistants provided the headquarters for an effective superstructure to manage the war effort on the home front. It was greatly strengthened by the mid 1940s (Van Riper, 1987).

Also, it is worth noting that the development of the case method that began in the 1930s was largely under the aegis of the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Research Council. In the mid-1940s a joint, four-university program, called the Committee on Public Administration Cases, resulted. The efforts put together in developing this new framework led to the establishment of the Inter-University Case Program in 1951 (Henry, 1987).

In 1933, the Tennessee Valley authority (TVA) was created. It utilized professional management and appointed administrators to attempt the social and economic transformation of a region. It was, and still is, seen as a step forward in professional

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<sup>76</sup> Later, the Assembly was changed to the Public Personnel Association (founded in 1906) and subsequently to the International Personnel Management Association.



public management. Governmental management from this perspective sought to limit, if not to preclude, political influences in solving public problems. Along the same lines, political science was establishing itself as an academic discipline and political scientists “found it increasingly difficult to accept a separate training role for public administration. They were establishing an academic discipline” (Uveges and Keller, 1998, p. 11).

While political scientists began to question the role of a “professionalized” public administration, the national government called for a more professionalized public service to meet its emerging needs. It took more than a decade after the World War I of 1914 for the government-university cooperation for public service training to occur again on a national basis. Beginning with a conference held at the university of Minnesota in 1931, university-government agencies conferences on careers development and on educational organization of the public administration programs became a “regular and continuing feature of American higher education” (Caldwell, 1965, p.56).

It was not until the late 1930s that, between 30 and 40 university programs in public administration were inaugurated. The majority of which were within the political science departments. In some of these programs, the course work was “little more than an extend of the political science curriculum with public administrative additives” (Mosher, 1975, p.44). The first professors at these universities who developed courses and stimulated students to enter the public service were political scientists. They had either first hand government experience or interest in administration.

At the same time, Public policy as a sub discipline of political science began to gain some currency in public administration in the 1930s. Public administration had been one of the “hegemonic sub disciplines in the political science of the stateless polity I refer to as the first Republic”(Lowi, 1992, p.63). “The decline and transfiguration of public administration give us key to public policy,” he added. The subfield of public policy or policy studies began to form “during the same period when public administration was reasserting its identity as a field” (Henry, 1990, p.6).

By 1939, there was a general feeling among public administrationists that academic trends in political science would not provide a suitable foundation for the growth and development of public administration. As a result, leaders of academic programs, training institutes, and professional associations met to establish a national organization for

improving the relationship between the academic and practitioner segments of the field. The American Society for Public Administration (ASPA) was founded to promote better management in the public sector and to provide a place for academic-practitioner interaction. In brief, the Society was created to establish a separate identity to public administration.

*American Society for Public Administration (ASPA)*

The organizing meeting to establish ASPA occurred in the 1939 25<sup>th</sup> annual meeting of the American Political Science Association. More than 150<sup>77</sup> political scientists members' of APSA decided to join the new organization. In addition, many of the panel discussions were jointly held with those of APSA.

There was a sense that political science as an academic discipline did not adequately represent and address the needs of those interested in improving performance in public administration. That sense was a strong motivating force in creating the new organization--ASPA. Waldo in 1980, wrote, "in retrospect, it is clear that ASPA represented above all an attempt to loosen public administration from the restraints of political science, to create a more independent and open strategy." The establishment of ASPA also sought to address the lack of identity of public administration, academically and professionally, and "to develop a body of knowledge for the analysis, evaluation, and improvement of public sector management" (Uveges & Keller, 1998, p.12).

The founding of ASPA in effect "institutionalized and perpetuated the larger and more generalized concept of public administration as a potential field of study directed toward action" (Caldwell, 1965, p. 57). Throughout the early years, and through conferences, committees, and its journal, *Public Administration Review*, the Society has provided a continuing forum for discussion of the relationship between academic public administration and public service training. Without doubt, the society had ultimately lent support to the concept of public administration as a discrete field of study.

This organization separate from political science, yet inclusive of political scientists, provided for more effective applied research and increased new, but different, types of communication channels between the two fields. Seven of the first presidents of ASPA were political scientists. They were:

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<sup>77</sup> The number of APSA members was 1819 in 1930 (Martin, 1952).

- Luther Gulick: political scientist and Director of the Institute for Public Administration, New York (1944-1945)
- Leonard D. White<sup>78</sup>: Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago (1947-1948)
- Roscoe C. Martin<sup>79</sup>: Professor of Political Science at Syracuse University (1949-1950)
- John M. Gaus<sup>80</sup>: Professor of Political Science at Harvard University (1951-1952)
- York Wilbern: Professor of Government at Indiana University (1963-1964)
- Lloyd M. Short<sup>81</sup>: Professor of Political Science at the University of Minnesota (1965-1966)
- Naomi Lynn: Professor of Political Science at Georgia State University (1985-1986).

In addition, three of the earlier *Public Administration Review (PAR)* editors-in chiefs were political scientists. They are:

- Leonard D. White (1940-1943)
- Pendleton Herring<sup>82</sup>(1945-1947)

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<sup>78</sup> White might be described as one of the early giants of the profession of political science (Baer, et al., 1991).

<sup>79</sup> Roscoe C. Martin got his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. He was the founder of the Bureau of Government Research. He taught at the University of Texas before he moved to the University of Alabama in 1937 where he established the Southern Regional Training Program for Public Administration. He also created the *Journal of Politics* in 1939. His presence induced the "blooming of political science in the South" and he was a "great stimulus" to its development in the South (Baer et al., 1991, p. 65). He was among those who started the Southern Political Science Association. He also served as Chairman of the Golden Anniversary Committee of the Maxwell School in 1974.

<sup>80</sup> John Gaus joined the faculty of University of Minnesota in 1924 to teach Public Administration courses offered under the Bureau of Research in Government established on the New York Bureau of Municipal Research model. He served as presidents of APSA and ASPA in 1944 and 1951, respectively. In 1936, He coauthored *The Frontiers of Public Administration* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press). John M. Gaus is considered by many as one of the most prestigious public administration scholars (Henry, 1987). The American Political Science Association still presents the Gaus Award annually to individuals with outstanding contributions to the professional literature in public administration.

<sup>81</sup> Lloyd Short was the director of the Public Administration Center at the University of Minnesota that started operating fully in 1935. The center became the School of Public Affairs (Stone & Stone, 1979).

<sup>82</sup> Pendleton E. Herring is the Author of *Public Administration and the Public Interest*. 1936. New York: McGraw-Hill. He served as president of APSA in 1953. He received his Ph.D. in political science in 1928 from Johns Hopkins University, and began his career as a political scientist at Harvard where he taught until he joined the Carnegie Corporation of New York in 1946. As an executive associate, he oversaw the program in Public Administration and International Relations. Herring published six books including *Group Representation Before Congress* (1929) and *Federal Commissioners* (1936). He also wrote on public administration, civil-military relations, and presidential leadership. Herring's most influential book

- James W. Fesler<sup>83</sup> (1958-1960)
- Dwight Waldo<sup>84</sup> (1966-1976).

It is also worth noting that although the title of the first few textbooks or articles in public administration were public administration focused, their authors would not be described as public administration theorists. Rather they were political scientists who were interested in the administrative aspect of governing. These are: Frank Goodnow's *Comparative Administrative Law* in 1893, followed by *Politics and Administration* in 1900, Woodrow Wilson's *The Study of Administration* in 1887, Leonard D. White's introduction to *The Study of Public Administration*, 1926, and W. F. Willoughby's *The Principles of Public Administration*, 1927.

Charles E. Merriam, in his early writings on politics and government, “foreshadowed many of the requisites of administrative management” (Stone & Stone, 1979, p.287), and helped put them in practice as a member of the Chicago City Council in the 1920s and the President's Committee on Administrative Management in the late 1930s. His interest in public administration was so keen that he early espoused a consolidated school of business and public administration at the University of Chicago

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was *The Politics of Democracy* (1940). From 1942 to 1947, Herring served as a consultant to the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. He worked with the Bureau of the Budget as an advisor on the Records of War Administration and on advisory committees for the army, navy, and air force. In 1948, Herring became president of the Social Science Research Council (SSRC). Herring was also the 1953 president of the American Political Science Association, chair of the Social Science Advisory Committee of the National Science Association, and a founder and president (1962) of the Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C., which supported the publication of the papers of Woodrow Wilson. During its centennial celebrations in 2003 the American Political Science Association paid formal tribute to Herring for his contributions to political science. E. Pendleton Herring, at the age of 100, referred to as a dean of American political science, died on August 17, 2004 in Princeton, New Jersey (ASPA, 2004).

<sup>83</sup> James W. Fesler was Alfred Cowles Professor of Government at Yale University. He was also a faculty member at the University of North Carolina from 1946 to 1960. He served as Associate Editor of the *APSR* and Editor-in-Chief of *PAR*, Vice President of APSA, member of several committees in ASPA and was a member of NAPA. He is the author of *Area and Administration* and *American Public Administration: Patterns of Past*. He also is the editor and coauthor of *Industrial Mobilization for War* and *The Forty-Eight States*. He served as a consultant with the first Hoover Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch, the Michigan State University Advisory Group in Vietnam, the United Nations, and various other federal agencies. He chaired the Europe Committee of the ASPA's Comparative Administration Group,

<sup>84</sup> Dwight Waldo served as a Professor of Political Science and Director of The Institute of Governmental Studies at the University of California, Berkeley, and the U.S. Bureau of the Budget and the Office of Price Administration. He was also Albert Schweitzer Professor Emeritus in the Humanities in the Department of Public Administration at the Maxwell School of the Syracuse University. He is the author of a numerous books on the history of American public administration, including *The Administrative State*, *Public Administration in a Time of Turbulence*, *The Enterprise of Public Administration: A Summary Review*, and much more.

where he was Chairman of the Department of Political Science. In 1932, he was a faculty member teaching politics and administration. At the same time, Leonard D. White, a political scientist and researcher, was his colleague teaching public administration.

Merriam, Gulick, and Brownlow were part-time academicians and part-time practitioners/consultants; they were primarily men concerned with and about practical government. Gulick and Urwick's *Papers on the Science of Administration* and The President's Commission on Administrative Management-- or the Brownlow Commission Report published in 1937-- are considered the high points of the public interest orthodoxy in public administration theory.

The latter provided the first anthology directed at the idea of administration as a universal process. These papers, in their traditional focus, were considered the bible of many of the members of public administration community. The President's Committee on Administrative Management analyzed the managerial role of the president. The conclusions emphasized the critical role of scientific study for governmental administration. Van Riper (1987) considered the report the last recommendation that the executive branch should "be organized along purist classical lines" (p.15).

#### *The First Years: 1940s-1960s*

In the same years that behavioral science was invading political science, Elton Mayo and his associates at the Harvard Business School, after a decade of intensive empirical research at Western Electric Company in Chicago, were discovering that informal groups inside formal organizations had more to do with productivity of a firm than the rational application of "outside" scientific management techniques. Likewise, Chester Barnard's *The Functions of the Executive* as well as the writings of Mary Parker Follett, "espoused a "new view" of executive decision making in organizations derived from pluralistic rather than monolithic power" (Stillman, 1982, p.25).

At the same time as the behavioralism associated with the University of Chicago was being replaced with the behavioralism associated with the University of Michigan, empirical public administration, or as they called it, the "politics of administration", was losing its dominion. That kind of public administration for which the Chicago University

was well known, “lost out to the unit-by-unit approach to administrative behavior” (Lowi, 1993, p.51) which was associated with Herbert Simon.

All fields and disciplines were affected by the discontinuities of the 1960s through changes in their institutions. The years between 1940 and 1950 marked a changing spirit in public administration. A balance between practical and theoretical articles is clearly evident in *Public Administration Review*. Even more important is the plethora of writings and discussions that apparently challenged many of the cherished dogmas of the era of scientific management.

Out of these discussions came two major attacks on what has been called the political science character of public administration. One took the view that to relegate administration to political science is to restrict it to a narrow framework. In this view, Public Administration concerns not only the organization and operation of government but also the subject matter of the several social sciences-- economics, social anthropology, social psychology, history, and law.

A second line of attack insisted that public administration was in essence “human behavior”; this view’s protagonists proposed to cut the subject loose from political science and re-root it in social psychology. Public administration thus would be a science once more, they argue, but this time not a “pseudo-science of building blocks but a true science of human relations” (Simon, 1947).

Also, during the 1940s and 1950s, many significant modifications in thinking about administration emerged. Nearly all of them have had the effect of reducing the seeming compatibility between administration and political science. These shifts of viewpoints and multiple emphases among leading political scientists, led to the “dominion of political science over public administration” that Roscoe Martin (1952) has defended. In contrast to the efforts of the earlier generation of political scientists to create separate and distinctive institutions for study and training in public service, the separatist tendencies became increasingly apparent in academic Public Administration from the 1950s forward, were often vigorously opposed. Political scientists, in their search for more focus for their own discipline, saw their dominion over public administration as neither necessary nor helpful for their objective.

This disagreement on the status of public administration was evident in the writing of Waldo during that period. While he noted in *The Study of Administration* (1955) that “public administration may be, in some sense certainly is, a part of political science” (p.57), he observed in the same book, that it had “gained a position of considerable autonomy” (p.20). Goodnow also recognized the close relation between administration and the underlying philosophy of government. He stated clearly that any system of government refers to both its principles and its administrative system” (Goodnow, 1990).

Other scholars of the administrative process have also emphasized the closeness that characterized the relationship between administration and the political and social philosophy. For example, White, writing in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* defined, “the general character of administration has always been governed by the basis of state organization,..., by theories of the function of the state and by more immediate governmental and political traditions, and ideals” (White, 1937, p.88).

The question of the relationship of public administration to political science remained an important one well into the early 1960s. The question of how much of public administration was peculiar to political science found, at least partially, its answer in 1962. In a report of a committee of the American Political Science Association on “Political Science as a Discipline”, public administration was not included among the four broad areas of study into which political science was divided. It was mentioned only twice, the first as one aspect of political institutions in which the scholar of American government may specialize” and second as a field of professional instruction to which political science had a contribution to make with which there are certain complexities in developing working relations (APSR, 1962, p.56).

As the scope of the role of government began to change, as a result of growing demands for governmental services during the Depression era and immediately after World War Two, so did the concern for more rigorous efforts to provide for better-trained and well-prepared public managers.

This period also witnessed an intensive research agenda in public administration. This might be the result of the post war rise of the university with its empirical and

scientific outlook. Also, the fast and significant growth of schools of public administration was indicative of a newly emerging trend not only with respect to the scope and training of the administrative official, but also to the separatism tendency from political science that had started earlier.

Several training programs emerged during this period. Many of them were structured as more or less a liberal training rather than a rigid professional curriculum. The Institute of Government at the University of Utah, established in 1946, was a typical example of such arrangement. The program operated within the traditional framework of a graduate school, but was open to persons holding degrees in political science, economics, or business administration. The training was centered in a core of three successive quarters' work in political science with the main requirement consisting of a seminar in public administration (Durham, 1948).

Other efforts to integrate the elements of the study of administration, generically<sup>85</sup> conceived, were being undertaken in the 1960s. These efforts yielded programs that varied from joint schools of business and public administration (as at Cornell University) to a program with a common basic curriculum in administration for several disciplines (as at the University of Oregon). This integration concept led to a proposal to create a graduate school of administration at the new Irvine campus of the University of California.

In other more traditional settings, the foundations of a program in public administration were starting to be established. The emphasis was on courses such as: Introduction to Administration, Principles of Personnel Administration, Principles of Budgeting, Principles of Overhead Management, and the like. This mixed type of training marked the beginning of a long and rocky journey toward independence and autonomy. This combination of academic respectability and practical training had begun to give strength to American public administration during those years.

There was still dissatisfaction with the weak relationship between university education and public administration. As early as 1959 public administration education leaders demonstrated concerns by organizing the Council on Graduate Education for

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<sup>85</sup> The emergence of a discipline described as organization, administrative, or management science led to this new approach to the generic study of public administration at that time.



Public Administration (CGEPA). They produced a report in 1967 that emphasized the need to develop coherence and identity for public administration, both as a discipline and as a focus for professional development.

From that time forward, the academic program content, the creation of a disciplinary focus, and the establishment of an effective career development plan were prioritized. Forums discussing the scope, objectives, and methods of the field were held. In the meantime, political science came under increasing attack as a suitable traditional home base for public administration.

The existence of the diverse academic organization described earlier for university teaching of public administration could be attributed to the lack of a “compelling logic in our knowledge of administrative behavior”(Caldwell, 1965, p.52), and the absence of “ any fully comprehensive intellectual framework”(Siffin, 1955, p.367). Waldo, among others, suggested that public administration should identify its central core and must recognize the importance of developing a “professional” stance (Waldo, 1968).

Caldwell<sup>86</sup> (1965) traced the evolution of the study of public administration within the university establishment. He hoped to find in this historical development “guidance toward the more effective relating of research and teaching, of theory and practice, to the problems of public administration” (p.52). He concluded that public administrationists are still a long way from an adequate science of administration. University organization has been slow to respond to the science of administration “anticipated by Wilson, articulated by Beard, and elaborated by Gulick and his collaborators more than a quarter century ago” (p.59). Finally, he recommended that the study of public administration in the universities should be in association with the study of the generic concept of administration, as “in the modern world no clear line separated administration in government from the administrative processes of the total society” (p.60).

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<sup>86</sup> Lynton K. Caldwell was one of the two principal administrative historians of that period (late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century) in *The Administrative Theories of Hamilton and Jefferson* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944). The other being Leonard White in *The Federalist* mentioned earlier.

Although the number of schools and colleges of administration peaked in the 1960s (Schick, 1975), most public administration programs were still located in political science departments. As of the academic year 1959-60, a survey conducted by CGEPA showed about 100 institutions offering some kind of graduate instruction in Public Administration. However, the bulk of these programs were small programs, organizationally and programmatically undifferentiated from the political science departments in many of the colleges and universities.

On a more practical level, the period of the 1950s and 1960s was a testing ground for a set of new, and often unacceptable, ideas about the need to develop a common “professional” focus for public officials in managerial roles. The social consequences of the Depression and the aftermath of WWII brought academics into a closer encounter with government in an unprecedented way. An open dialogue through multiple channels was formed between academicians and professional leaders.

Meanwhile, young behavioralists in political science, under the direction of change-oriented academics, formed the Comparative Administration Group (CAG) as part of ASPA in 1960 (Uveges and Keller, 1998). The establishment of this Group was the result of the new emerging field of “comparative public administration” that started to appear as part of several universities’ courses as early as the late 1940s. Although CAG had achieved a membership of more than 500 by 1968, it was disbanded and merged with the International and Comparative Administration section of ASPA in 1973. Also, the field’s major journal, *The Journal of Comparative Administration*, was also terminated in 1974 after five years of publication (Henry, 1987). The journal was merged with *Administration and Society*<sup>87</sup>, a new journal then, of somewhat broader scope. *Administration and Society* is still published today.

At the same time, a new generation of academicians tried to seek independence from both the political science and the administrative management approaches. Like their counterparts in the CAG, they were “frustrated” with the apparent intellectual “estrangement” of public administration within political science and the lack of attention

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<sup>87</sup> This journal covers the latest research on public and human services organizations, their administrative processes, and their effects on society. It also includes reports and theoretical analysis of administrative issues at the federal, state, and local levels as well.

to values in the administrative management. Waldo (1987) argued the traditional political science base for public administration was eroding under the expanded roles played by other disciplines within public administration. “It is time for public administration to come into its own” (Henry, 1975, p. 384). This general atmosphere led to the search for a renewed public administration.

#### *Minnowbrook I*

At a conference called by Dwight Waldo at Minnowbrook in 1968, the participants argued for a separate identity for public administration based on “relevance, participation, change, values, and social equity.” Their New Public Administration (NPA) was policy oriented, projecting a normative role of public managers. They advocated “drastic changes in the established procedures and outcomes of public policy” (Frederickson, 1974).

This New Public Administration was simply born out of this conference and its preceding events and theoretical trends. Events such as the turbulence of the war in Vietnam, the wide spread urban riots, and the growing cynicism toward most institutions, especially the government, on one end, and the rapid urbanization and the dominant sense of public purpose, on the other, characterized the 1960s. In addition, the conference “captured the theoretical and research perspectives of young academicians who, although nurtured and schooled in the era of positive government, were actually sensitive to failings of American democracy” (Frederickson, 1989, p. 95).

Waldo invited three junior colleagues, H. George Frederickson, Henry Lambright, and Frank Marini, to organize the conference. The participants were both practitioners and academicians who entered the field in the 1960s. Three of the conference’s thirty-person cohort held nonacademic positions. These were: James Carroll from the Brookings Institute, Albert F. Moncure from the County of Arlington, Virginia, and Ray D. Pethtel who was commissioner of Transportation in Commonwealth, Virginia. The goal was to determine whether these newcomers, and the consequences of the events of their time, had different perspectives on the field from those who experienced the depression of the 1920s, the New Deal in the 1930s, World War II in the 1940s, and the Korean War in the 1950s.

The conference had a lasting influence and an enduring effect on the research agenda, the theory, and the practice of public administration. Today, most of the themes that developed at Minnowbrook continue to be considered important aspects of public administration. Frederickson (1989) summarized some of these themes. They included the following: Social equity (added to efficiency and economy), ethics, cutback management, change (i.e. not growth), citizenry participation, implementation, and policy issues (i.e. policy approach to public administration). Furthermore, the participants challenged the correctness of the rational model and the usefulness of the strict concept of hierarchy and common usage of pluralism as the standard for the practice of public administration.

Another significant impact of the conference could be seen in the obvious change that occurred in the field's professional association, ASPA. The restructuring of a more open and democratic organization through a newly established election procedure, the inclusion of minorities and women, and the development of a code of ethics is one example of such impact. Equally important is the association's growing involvement in public policy issues. In retrospect, Minnowbrook I can be seen as the most concentrated and extensive effort to redefine the field and practice public administration as both a discipline and a profession.

#### *The Following Years: 1970s-1980s*

The next era was considered one of continuing self-examination, reorientation, and reform in the field of public administration. The discipline was "again" examining itself. Henry (1975) argued, "the social, economic, intellectual, and political reasons for public administration to assert its identity and autonomy are there"(p.385). And yet, "the prevailing self-image of the discipline continued to be that of an interdisciplinary, eclectic, applied, and career- oriented" (Mackelprang & Fritschler, 1975, p. 182). At the same time as the focus on the applied side of public administration with changes in expectations was occurring during the 1970s, the efforts to move forward with an agenda for public service education flowered.

### *The National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration*

One of the outcomes of such situation was the establishment of the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA). The Association was founded in April 1970 at Princeton as a satellite of ASPA. The Council of Graduate Education in Public Administration (CGEPA), which had been founded by a small group of graduate programs in the field, adopted a new name and by-laws transformed itself into NASPAA. It is considered an association of institutions, member university schools, and program directors (Henry, 1995). The Association still “serves as a national and international resource for the promotion of excellence in education and training for the public service” (NASPAA, 2005).

By 1975, NASPAA had just over 150 university members. The membership increased to 200 in 1980. The organizational separation from ASPA occurred in a series of stages ending in 1977 when it became financially self-sufficient, and consequently incorporated. “The principal goal of the founders was that NASPAA would encourage and facilitate growth -- that it would somehow influence universities to offer more and better and larger programs and encourage students to enroll in them”(Henry, 1995).

In 1986, the Council of Postsecondary Accreditation accorded NASPAA recognition as an official accreditation agency. In addition, NASPAA’s Commission on Peer Review and Accreditation (COPRA) serves as the specialized accrediting body for Masters degree programs in public affairs, administration, and policy, and is recognized by the Council on Higher Education Accreditation (CHEA).

NASPAA set about to create an educational and professional base for the development of public sector managers. Since its establishment, it has focused on building an identity based on coherence regarding educational curricula and programmatic characteristics. The aim is to provide coherence in the field and empower organizational authority for a professional approach to public administration education and training (Uveges, 1998). Today, the Association publishes the *Journal of Public Affairs Education (J-PAE)*, previously known as the *Journal of Public Administration Education* established in 1995. This quarterly journal serves to simulate research and dialogue about general issues in public affairs education.

The formation of NASPAA represented not only an act of secession from the field of political science and management by public administrationists but the rise of their self-confidence as well (Henry, 1987). With the creation of this Association, public administration could properly call itself, and increasingly be recognized as, a separate field of study. It quickly became the venue for the renewed searching and continuous self-assessment of the field of public administration.

For example, in 1973 NASPAA sponsored a graduate programs survey conducted by Richard L. Chapman and Frederic N. Cleveland. The results of that survey revealed several deficiencies in the graduate programs of education for public affairs/ public administration. In addition to noting the different areas of deficiencies, the authors emphasized the importance of organizational structure in determining the nature of these programs including their strengths, problems, and viability.

They observed that institutional support for the program could be ranked high to low beginning with the separate professional schools of public administration, through generic schools, separate institutes, to programs within departments (Mackelprang & Fritschler, 1975). The survey was published later by NASPAA in 1974 as guidelines for graduate education in public administration. The resulting NASPAA's Standards Committee report was accepted at the Syracuse meeting in May 1974 as a guide for professional education in the field of public affairs/public administration.

Also, the survey revealed evidence of a trend within the different programs in public affairs /public administration toward the enrichment of their curricula through a growing emphasis on analytic and quantitative skills and broader course offerings. This trend was mostly combined with another evolving emphasis on policy analysis and was most frequently found in those public administration programs co-located in the business administration departments or the generic schools of administration. It had also found favor in the autonomous professional schools of public administration. Interestingly, this trend had been least noticeable among those programs positioned within the political science schools or departments (Mackelprang & Fritschler, 1975).

The increased acceptance of science and technology fostered a relationship between public administration and the use of that technology to assist in cross-national development. Governments were increasingly relying on scientists and professionals to

do the work. As a result, a new breed of what could be called “administrators-professionals” as opposed to “professional administrators” emerged. These are persons who were originally hired for their professional, and technical competence but then moved into administrative positions (Schott, 1976).

A survey by CGEPA in 1966-67 showed about 4,500 students and a degree production of 670 master’s and 70 doctorates more or less in public administration (Henry, 1995). The number of public affairs/public administration graduate degrees reported for 1972-73 was approximately 3,500 according to the NASPAA’s 1974 survey figures. This figure exceeds the total of all degrees awarded in 1970-71 including undergraduate and graduate ones (Mackelprang & Fritschler, 1975).

Between 1970 and 1971 alone, undergraduate enrollments in public administration increased 36 per cent, and between 1971 and 1972 graduate enrollments went up 50 per cent (NASPAA, 1971 and 1974). In terms of the total graduate enrollment in 1975, institutions reported more than 13,000 students in public affairs/public administration. This figure is significantly higher than the one reported for the 1970-1971 and 1972-1973 reported figures.

A total of 1,820 faculty members were reported as regular faculty in public affairs/public administration program surveyed in 1973. This total included 446 in political science, 414 in public administration, 185 in economics, 147 in business administration, 97 in planning, 77 in sociology, 70 in mathematics and statistics, 65 in law or criminal justice, 60 in health science, 41 in geography, and 218 in combined other fields. In the eight largest programs, in terms of the number of public administration faculty, only 31 political science faculties were listed, comprising about seven percent of political science faculty reported (Mackelprang & Fritschler, 1975).

By 1983, seventy universities had been granted the functional equivalent of accreditation by NASPAA. Most of the public administration programs were highly interdisciplinary and a quarter of the public administration faculty had earned their degrees specifically in the field of public administration. Some came from political science while others came from economic, business administration, planning, statistics, computer science, sociology, and so forth (Henry, 1987, p.73).

Furthermore, according to a NASPAA Standards Committee Report (1987), roughly half of the graduate programs in public affairs/public administration lacked sufficient faculty to provide for a viable program. It appeared that only 40 percent of the programs surveyed had sufficient resources and balance to offer broad-based professional degrees in public affairs/public administration. To varying degrees, the remaining programs lacked such resources and training to provide a balanced professional education in public administration.

As a result, Dwight Waldo called for public administration to “act like it was a profession” even though it might lack the ability to act as one especially when it still is ” lacking an organized body of research and writing specially related to professional concerns”(Schick, 1975, p.258). This call for a more focused work at the university level toward the “true” professionalization of public administration was echoed in a good proportion of the literature during that period. However, this lack of professional status of those trained in public affairs and the dominion of the higher levels of, at least, the federal level by science and the other professions, did not disparage the attempts of schools of public affairs/public administration to improve their curriculum to meet the needs for a better-trained public servant.

The aspiration to professionalism continued to be an important motivator of collective action through the most recognized association and the only accreditation body of the field-- NASPAA. It kept stimulating related questions about how the university programs, and their agent NASPAA, should relate to the profession at large. The latter included such institutions as the National Academy of Public Administration (NAPA)<sup>88</sup>, ASPA, and ICMA.

Later studies urged public administration to become truly professional, others perceived the development of public administration as a “craft” more than either an art or a science. Last, questions of identity were not answered solely on the basis of particular disciplinary characteristics, but also on the basis of program content and professional responsibilities (Uveges & Keller, 1998).

Field identity and coherence were substantially reinforced during the 1970s by the introduction of new scholarly journals such as *Midwest Review of Public Administration*

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<sup>88</sup> NAPA was established in 1967.



and the *Southern Review of Public Administration*, both being regional journals. The former was established in 1967 as the official journal of the Central States Conference on Public Administration. It was continued as the *American Review of Public Administration* in 1981.

Vietnam, Watergate, and the energy crisis questioned previously held assumptions about the relationship between individuals and governments, intergovernmental responsibilities, and international relations. As Waldo has put it, the field bore the flame for many perceived governmental weaknesses, while being expected to foster effective changes in administrative patterns. The need for merging of the scientific and the political became even more explicit. As an intellectual enterprise, public administration “has reached a point of radical departure from its own past” (Henry, 1975, p.378).

Suggestions ranged from proposing new central theories to replacing the old “orthodoxy” to those urging a multidisciplinary and pluralistic focus (Waldo, 1976). Public policy, for instance, was treated as an important aspect of public administration. Ira Sharkansky, a political scientist, in his book *Public Administration: Policy-Making in Government Agencies* (1970), offered a fresh and lively approach to public policy-making as a major feature of public administration. The book included numerous recent episodes taken from real life. The ten chapters’ relevance to the political process contributed to Sharkansky’s goal of making “the study of public administration relevant and interesting for the student of political science” (p.3).

Others called for a concern with social equity and justice, often based on Rawls’ (1971) works. In the early 1970s, Vincent Ostrom called for a shift in focus from bureaucracy and the Wilsonian model to an alternative, decentralized, and responsive service of delivery by including the work of political economists in explaining administrative behavior (Ostrom & Ostrom, 1971).

As pressures mounted for a more representative public service, so did the calls for a review and reform of the leadership and the accountability aspects of the merit system. By virtue of the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978, public service professionals were less constrained by a process-oriented personnel system. Merit-based pay provisions and a

Senior Executive Service emphasizing productivity and flexibility were mandated (Uveges & Keller, 1998).

On the academic level, at the NASPAA annual meeting in 1974, its members adopted unanimously a report generated by its Standards Committee. The report established guidelines for the content of programs leading to the Master's degree in public administration. Such agreement represented a growing internal consensus within the field. The writings of that period provided the background for understanding the nature and content of that consensus.

NASPAA's successive initiatives gained considerable support and resulted in an apparent and much needed delineation of the parameters of the field of public administration. The need to measure quality profession-oriented education for the public service was increasingly acknowledged. A core curriculum seemed to have developed for public administration education at the graduate level, and it centered on the environment of public administration (i.e., the role of bureaucracy in a democracy), quantitative methods, public budgeting, organization theory, and personnel administration.

The first survey conducted by NASPAA in 1970-71, reported enrollment of 7,877 students at the master's level and 829 at the doctoral level, with 2,130 masters and 91 doctorates awarded that year. By 1974-75 there were 19,731 master's students (there was no separate report on doctoral students that year) and 4,586 masters and 21 doctorates awarded. Approximately 200 earned doctorates in public administration were earned every year in the 1980s.

Between 1966-67 and 1974-75, the number of independent professional schools of public affairs or administration increased from 13 to 29, combined schools of business and public administration from 9 to 24, separate organized public administration departments and degree granting institutions from 8 to 35, and academic departments offering either public administration or public affairs degrees from 25 to 52 (NASPAA, Henry, 1995).

Public administrationists continued to show an increasingly evident concern with the inextricably related areas of policy science, political economy, the public policy-making process and its analysis, and the measurement of policy outputs. These latter could be viewed, in some ways as a linkage between public administration's evolving

focus and locus, as Henry likes to explain it. The former was the paradigmatic focus of organization theory and management science and the latter was the paradigmatic locus of the public interest as it related to public affairs (Henry, 1975).

In the September 1967 issue of *PAR*, Yehezkel Dror had called for the development of a new professional mission called policy analysis. In May 1974, NASPAA issued its first guidelines for member schools and identified policy analysis as one of the five major subject areas, which should be included in all public affairs programs. The other four are: political, social, and economic contexts; analytic tools (quantitative and non quantitative); individual/groups/organizational dynamics; and administrative management processes.

The Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management (APPAM) was formally created at a May 1979 conference at Duke University by the representatives of fifteen policy schools and research institutes. Since its establishment, the Association has been dedicated to improve policy analysis and management by fostering excellence in research, analysis, and education. In 1981, the Association founded the *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management (JPAM)* through the merger of two other journals: *Policy Analysis* and *Public Policy*. Currently, APPAM has 2,000 individual members and 90 institutions members.

By the middle 1980s, symptoms of bureaucratic pathology surfaced. Demands for less national bureaucracy resulted. Professionalism in government administration came under increased scrutiny. Efforts to offer public services through nonpublic agencies—privatization—were evident. The dysfunctional effects of the administrative state became more evident (Van Riper, 1987).

The classical principles of management no longer sufficed to deal with the new situation. Public administration was facing new challenges. These challenges helped feed a growing interest in strategic planning for governmental administration often combined with innovative procedures and with issues analysis. In 1978 and 1979, an ASPA subcommittee on training studied ASPA's training policies and programs, including the feasibility of establishing an ASPA training program with appropriate staffing at the national level. As a result of the subcommittee's recommendations, the Public Administration Training Center was established at ASPA headquarters in the spring of

1980. Its purpose was to enhance the professional development of public managers at the federal, state, and local levels through the training and other management development programs for ASPA members and potential members. In 1984, ASPA introduced a code of ethics that further narrowed the gap between the practice of public administration and its status as a profession.

The 1980s also reflected efforts to resolve problems of low esteem and professional identity for career public servants. Waldo (1990) referred to the treatment of public administration in that period by that of a “particular disdain” by professors and “in” graduate students. He further noted, “those who chose to devote their graduate careers to the study of public administration were deemed simply benighted” (p.74). He attributed that low esteem to the discipline’s failure to participate importantly in the behavioral movement dominant in political science in the 1950s and 1960s. The urgent need for a remedy was becoming clear.

In fact, the “refounding” movement surfaced in the mid-1980s when a group of faculty at Virginia Tech issued their *Blacksburg Manifesto*. The manifesto represents the classic psychological defense of the legitimacy of America administrative institutions. In the manifesto, Gary L. Wamsley and his colleagues called for a new and refocused dialogue about American public administration. The analysis attributed the reason for the denigration of bureaucracy in the 1980s not simply to the lack of organizational and managerial skills on the part of public administrators, but to the public perception about the role of the government itself. They wished to reconceptualize bureaucracy as public administration (Chandler, 1987).

On a more theoretical level, the erosion of “the” classical paradigm of public administration, which actually had begun in the late 1940s, accelerated a sense of ambiguity in the field. This confusion, reflected in the professional literature of that time, has been held to constitute an “identity crisis” (Dwight Waldo) or an “intellectual crisis” (Vincent Ostrom). Numerous writers had made reference to the field’s problems with its image, relevance, and vigor. As a result, there was a need to revisit the field in a disciplinary-scientific sense on one hand, and in a practitioner-oriented sense on the other. Equally important, was the need to reevaluate the contemporary quest for an agreed-upon paradigm of public administration comparable with “the” former classical one. Out

of such needs, the necessity for another Minnowbrook conference, twenty years later, emerged.

### *Minnowbrook II*

The positive state that existed during the period of the original Minnowbrook had been partially replaced by the regulatory state. More governance, more privatization and contracting out, and more third party government characterized that period. The value of private interest competed with the values of public purpose that had prevailed at the time of Minnowbrook I.

While many of these and other developments were compatible with the first Minnowbrook perspective (e.g., government change rather than growth and increased citizen activity), some were not (e.g., increased poverty and unemployment among minorities). A decision came about to organize another Minnowbrook conference “not only to facilitate a general examination of the future of public administration but also to determine whether important differences exist between people who entered public administration in the 1960s and those who entered in the 1980s” (Frederickson, 1989, p.99).

The 1988 conference assembled 68 scholars and practitioners of public administration and related policy fields (history, economics, political science, psychology, sociology, anthropology). All the 1968 conferees were invited to attend again, along with several others who made significant contributions to the field during the last 20 years. These formed the first cohort. The second was composed of those who entered the field of public administration in the 1980s.

Many of the themes included in Minnowbrook II were the same as those included 20 years back in Minnowbrook I (e.g., social equity, ethics, human relations, reconciliation of public administration and democracy, and concern for the state of the field). However, particular attention was given to themes such as leadership, constitutional and legal perspectives, technology, policy, and economic perspectives.

It is interesting to note here that at the time of Minnowbrook II, the calls for the necessity to link theory and practice were echoed throughout the different panel discussions. It was recommended that this linkage be done thru schools, as they are able to build the theoretical capacities of those who practice public administration. The

changing nature of public administration given the increasing complexity of the society and its issues and problems, dedicated the need for such linkage. It also meant that schools of public administration must revise their curricula with a view toward highlighting the societal as well as the political context, emphasizing interpersonal skills and techniques, and being receptive to a variety of approaches and methods, including some outside the field. Both academicians and practitioners also felt the need to be receptive to efforts to develop an overall governing theory in the field.

Other main differences between the two conferences include: (1) more efforts to conclude, summarize, integrate, and compare on the part of the attendees (2) More females were included in the later conference; (3) chronological age differences (the 1980s group being older as they entered public administration after working in other occupations); (4) and a significant difference in the educational backgrounds and profiles (Frederickson, 1989). In addition, the mood tones of the two conferences were quite different. While the 1988 conference's tone was one of "constrained hopefulness" (Guy, 1989, p.220) and appeared more "civil, more practical," the 1968 conference's tone was "contentious, confrontational, and revolutionary."

In contrast to Minnowbrook I, which challenged public administration to become proactive with regard to social issues, Minnowbrook II focused on the examination of ethics, democracy, philosophy, and even economics. In addition, while both conferences were theoretical, the original one's overall aspect was decidedly "anti-behavioral," whereas the later was more "receptive to contributions of behavioral science to public administration" (Frederickson, 1989, p.99). Finally, in a comparison between the status of the field during the 1968 Minnowbrook conference to its status at the time of the second Minnowbrook II in 1988, Guy (1989) concluded that the discipline of public administration is "on a stable footing" (p.219). The near future appeared promising.

#### *The Recent Years: 1990s-2000s*

At the turn of the Twentieth Century, efforts to establish generic schools of administration in which "public" elements get their its due, have resulted in few, if any successes. It has been argued that public administration had done very poorly, despite endless debate, in closing the gap between academicians and practitioners, or the related

gap between theory and practice. Furthermore, when reviewing the literature, one can not find a definite claim made during that period that the field was closer to even a superficial resolution to the crisis in the disciplinary identity and the intellectual endeavor the field was going through in the previous three decades. Finally, the quest toward an interdisciplinary approach to be implemented in the studying of public administration had not been achieved. In fact, some argued that most research was more than ever addressing narrower issues (Brown, 1989).

And yet, the field is certainly much more interdisciplinary than in the 1960s, when it was still primarily a part of political science. Today, public administration remains one of the 34 organized sections of the American Political Science Association. The purpose of this section is to “provide an arena in which individuals interested in public administration may exchange ideas, enhance their professional development, and act to ensure that activities of the APSA encompass their interests” (p.834)<sup>89</sup>.

The increasing interdisciplinary penetration into public administration was accompanied with a movement toward political economy and a shift toward analytical approaches. In fact, a stronger consensus among many scholars was reached for political economy and urban sociology as subfields relevant to public administration. As a result, public administration today has become less reliant on a single discipline, especially political science, and more open to various methodologies and approaches regardless of their academic origins. The scope of researchable areas in public administration has been significantly broadened. Research interests include various facets of societal configuration rather than strict administrative phenomena in the traditional sense.

Despite these shifts in focus and changes in the field, a general feeling of dissatisfaction with the theoretical foundations of the field was evident in the writings of the late-1980s. Brown (1989) argued that the core of the field was not adequately integrated in order to provide anchoring for the diverse strands of interest that it had, or to its other outgrowing parts or subfields (e.g. social welfare administration, public works, and public health administration, and educational administration). Although many theories exist, no general theory deals with the special nature of public administration in the contemporary world.

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<sup>89</sup> 1999. “Update on Organized Sections.” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 32(4): 833-843

In the early 1980s, the field was not only lacking the existence of an intellectual center, but also a clear subject matter. The latter being essential to a mature, complete discipline, profession, and practice and cannot be neglected. The former requires an overall governing theory in the field and the availability of various approaches to that theory. Without a doubt, academic public administration had changed dramatically. In the 1990s, academic research was much more sophisticated both analytically and theoretically. Waldo (1990) noted that the amount of work that is both methodologically respectable and theoretically significant had increased.

In addition, the long enduring quest toward a fusion of “applied” and “pure” was more evident. Many subfields of public administration became broader in content and more professionally oriented. The Master of Public Administration (MPA) degree became accredited and was becoming the goal of many who seek careers in government management and administration.

The public policy approach to public administration continued to flourish well into the 1990s. The shift in focus, which started earlier with Minnowbrook I, from the management of agencies to the management of policy issues, had a significant effect on the quality of government and the research agenda in the field. The quality of schooling, the effect of law enforcement, and the quality of the environment, which had become “units of analysis” or policy issues, remained “at least as important as managerial practices in the schools and in the police and public works departments” (Frederickson, 1989, p.97).

The emphasis on public policy in all its dimensions (i.e., normative, analytical, implementative, and evaluative) made the “policy sciences” one of the main areas of research in public administration. Typically, the majority of instructional programs in public administration included a policy component. The focus on the sub-fields of policy analysis, system analysis, management science, planning and evaluation, and other related policy areas is evident throughout the literature of that period. These emerging “interdisciplines” continue to gain momentum and are occupying a growing place in the main areas of research in the field. And equally important, the emerging curriculum of graduate public administration education reflected new emphases on areas such as state and local government, executive management, administrative law, and all those questions



that seek to explain what the “public interest” is in a so-called “technobureaucratic” democracy. As the relative importance and influence of these domains increased and the scope of research broadened, “conventional” public administration lost ground to a wider range of tools, techniques, and methods borrowed from the various social sciences.

And yet, there were at least 36 handbooks explicitly related to public administration. All have been published in the last decades of the Twentieth Century. This dramatic growth in the publishing of handbooks represents a significant shift in academic publishing within public administration and is a trend that is worth noting. This outflow of handbooks could represent a general sense of a capability of the community of public administration to finally delineate the boundaries of their field by capturing both its diversity in being interdisciplinary and unification in becoming an independent well-established field of study. It might also convey a sense of the blossoming of public administration as a discipline-- one with a distinctive theory and an overarching, encompassing epistemology and research methodology.

In addition, the *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*—J-PART, was established in the late 1980s on behalf of the Public Management Research Association (PMRA)<sup>90</sup>. The journal was established as one that focused on areas of academic interest in public administration, in juxtaposition to *PAR*. It was initially published as a journal for one of ASPA’s sections and then was adopted as the journal of PMRA by a group of scholars impatient with the applied nature of most public administration research. The journal still serves as a bridge between public administration and public management scholarship on the one hand, and public policy studies on the other. Its multidisciplinary aim is to embrace the organizational, administrative, and policy sciences as they apply to government and governance.

On a more applied level, new techniques have been introduced by government officials to cope with everything from the existing budgetary problems to the increasing complaints about public performance. The “reinventing government” movement is an

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<sup>90</sup> The Public Management Research Association was founded in 1991. It is a non-profit academic membership Association growing out of the biannual series of Public Management Research Conferences. It furthers research on public organizations and their management by organizing conferences, furthering professional and academic opportunities, serving as a voice for public management scholars, and supporting print publications such as *J-PART*.

example of new approaches that incorporate such techniques. The movement grew from the experiments of front-line administrators. In 1992, David Osborne, a journalist, teamed up with a city manager, Ted Gaebler, to write the now well-known book *Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit Is Transforming the Public Sector from Schoolhouse to Statehouse, City Hall to the Pentagon*. This work was applied during the Clinton administration through the “National Performance Review” (NPR), which was aimed at ‘reinventing’ the federal government. Osborne and Gaebler embraced a new form of governance created by “public entrepreneurs” around the country. They recommended that these entrepreneurs use ten strategies. These strategies ranged from “steering rather than rowing” to “meeting the needs of customers not bureaucracy” (p.xi). The authors argued that traditional public administration constrained managers because they were not given enough flexibility in performing their duties. In part their book was a critique of existing administrative practice.

This movement replaced the traditional administrative model. In fact, some observers had argued that it grew out of Wilson’s argument to separate politics and administration (Kettl, 2002). Actually, its founders made a strong case for administrative competence and discretion. However, this newly introduced concept spurred many critiques that ranged from those who did not appreciate the borrowed private-sector strategies that it incorporated, to the separation of politics and administration it entailed. Some strongly argued that the public and private sectors are different and that reforms applied to the private sector are not transferable to the public sector. On the other hand, many believed that these approaches threatened democratic accountability.

As a matter of fact, this movement brought back onto the scholarly agenda some of the long-lasting theoretical debates, such as the theory/practice connection in public administration, the application of scientifically based approaches to the study of administration, the politics-administration dichotomy, and the relationship between democracy and bureaucracy. These theoretical debates had left a mark on the field of public administration from its birth and consequently have had significant impacts on its relationship with other disciplines, especially political science. This matter, in addition to an historical account of the development of these theoretical trends, is the focus of the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER FIVE...A THEORETICAL ACCOUNT OF THE TWO FIELDS**

As the thinking of the intellectual community changed about certain key concepts in each of the two fields, the design and the subject matter of each field changed. This chapter summarizes the main intellectual trends and countertrends that characterize the development of political science and public administration. During each of the periods treated in the previous chapter, I have selected material I considered important and relevant to the purpose of this chapter. Each period is different from the other in terms of its theories and events. For example, many of the theoretical debates that seemed dominant or might be considered important before the Great Depression became irrelevant during the 1930s and 1940s, and so forth.

The distinct features of each of the periods might not be easily detected, but the careful examination of work written by eminent scholars might reveal much of the intellectually dominant theoretical frameworks in each of the two fields. However, there are theoretical trends that refuse to go away. In fact, overlaps are inevitable.

My focus is not restricted to the emerging or existing theories or theoretical debates in each of the periods. Rather often extended to cover the different themes such as the relationship between political science and the rest of the social sciences, the fact/value equation and the linkage between public administration and other professional educational fields (i.e., business administration or management).

Other theoretical perspectives that are considered essentially related to the foci of this chapter include: economy/efficiency, administrative management, POSDCORB, decision-making, and policy related approaches. It might be useful to explore the differences, similarities, and interdependence of both fields.

Without a doubt, there were additional intellectual components that fed into both fields' research agenda. These include the sociological tradition of Max Weber, the social

psychological tradition, the scientific tradition stemming originally from Harold Lasswell, and many others (Uveges, 1979). But most important in the rise of modern public administration and political science research was the development of the survey research methodology and technology. This research framework and other methodologies are taken into consideration only when their impact on the relationship in question is deemed noteworthy.

At its simplest, a history of political science or public administration, or in this case, the relationship between the two, like any other science, will be a history of theories. Theories cover a wide range of substantive or methodological topics; they never stand alone; and there is more to their history than the mere chronological arrangement that one might attempt to list. Theories are organized in and by a number of larger intellectual complexes whose transformations provide the relevant life scripts for them. Paradigms, research programs or traditions, and intellectual debates are important considerations to any account of the theoretical development of a discipline.

A historiographical assessment of the different theoretical trends is certainly not an easy task. Histories of natural science are different from those of political and administrative science. The former are hegemonic, and the latter are multiple. This difference is due to the socially constituted and historically determined nature of the latter's subjects of inquiry.

An historical account is largely a story of progress told from the perspective of a dominant theory and identity. Political science, for instance, had different and plural identities and perceptions. The subject matter is historically mutable and in varying degrees amenable to different research approaches that do not necessarily become absolute. Relatedly, public administration had repeatedly been, through overlapping and quite differentiated phases in its intellectual history, so poorly-defined that it often becomes difficult, but not impossible, to delineate its theoretical boundaries.

Undoubtedly, the various theories and theoretical debates are likely to assure the new subject or field a place in the academic universe. They often help create wider demand and consequently encourage growth and ultimately ease in the declaration of independence of the subject or subfield. Equally important, they serve as tools for further disciplinary development and discourse.

The implications of such disciplinary development and discourse can be significant. Several of the theoretical concepts that are taken into account in this chapter have played a role either in the framing of one of the two disciplines in question as an independent entity or in the disconnection of a field from its roots. In either of the two cases, they are important factors that help explain how public administration and political science have become differentiated: related at times and separated at others.

Without a doubt, the politics-administration dichotomy became known as the cornerstone of Public administration orthodoxy and has had an ongoing impact on its relationship with political science, whereas the balance between bureaucracy and democracy remained one of the main concerns in both fields. In the meantime, the long-lasting battle between the theory and practice of public administration on one side, and the theoretical versus the practical aspect of the field, on the other side, has always been the concern of political scientists who have had an uneasy feeling toward the latter and an unsatisfied feeling toward the development of the former. In addition, behavioralism not only shaped the field of political science but also steered its relationship with other social sciences, especially public administration.

The goal of this chapter can be stated more concretely. By sketching an overview of these selected theoretical trends, the chapter provides a contextual framework for some of the arguments presented in this study. It seems that the occurrence of these theoretical trends or the prevalence of the associated debates, have had, at different points in time, an indirect or a direct effect on the course of the relationship between public administration and political science. It even seems that the weakness or strength of that relationship has been in major respects a result of the distinct characteristics that these theoretical trends have exhibited over time. .

In addition this chapter covers two of the main historical movements that had a significant impact on the development of public administration and political science as well. The appearance of the science of management and the emergence of the subfield of policy studies are two events that are of particular importance to this study. They have both contributed to major changes that occurred in the relationship between the two fields at different times.

## **Politics-Administration Dichotomy**

Nothing is more central in thinking about public administration than the nature of politics and administration and their interrelation. This issue of politics and administration significantly matters. It matters not only for academic theorizing and practical application but also for the assessment of the relationship between public administration and political science as fields of study and practice.

It is, however, a complex issue that is worth investigating since it might shed some light on the past, present, and future developments of the relationship in question. To appreciate the somewhat problematic relationship between public administration and political science is to begin to comprehend some of the intellectual debates regarding the politics-administration dichotomy over the last century. The following is an historical sketch of the dichotomy in the major phases of the development of both disciplines.

The first exploration of the politics-administration dichotomy should be credited to Woodrow Wilson. In *The Study of Administration* (1887), Wilson made an “evolutionary distinction” between politics and administration “according to which politics has gradually diminished to the point of leaving little but administrative tasks for government.’ Hence, the conscious, determined development of public administration was “vital to the political advancement of American polity” (Cook, 1996, p.90). Wilson contended that in any “practicable government” it is important to establish lines of demarcation between administrative and political functions. However, he admitted that public administration is nevertheless permeated by politics.

Later another influential work on the relationship between politics and administration was published. Frank J. Goodnow (1900) contended that there were “two distinct functions of government,” which he identified with the title of his book, *Politics and Administration*. “Politics” said Goodnow, “has to do with policies or expression of the state will,” whereas “administration” has to do with the execution of these policies” (p.10-11). Separation of powers provided the basis of this distinction. Equally important in this initial establishment of this dichotomy as one of the theoretical and practical foundations of public administration was Leonard D. White’s *Introduction to the Study of*

*Public Administration* (1926). This textbook reflected the general drive of the field at that time.

As a result, the view of most administrationists of that period was that public administration should center in the government's bureaucracy on one hand, and that the notion of the politics-administration dichotomy is closely related to a corresponding value-fact dichotomy. Golembiewski (1977) described this phase in the development of public administration as that of the analytic distinction of politics and administration. The latter is interpreted as "ideal categories or functions of governance, which functions are performed in different institutional loci in varying degrees" (p.8). The former is not the anathema that Roscoe (1952) described as the "politics" practiced by "politicians," but rather the "politics" practiced by administrators.

This initial introduction of this concept has had a long-lived impact on the field of public administration and its relationship with its so-called mother discipline political science. It has slowly and increasingly presented as a problematic theme for academics and practitioners alike for several decades. It is the now well known and much debated "politics-administration dichotomy."

It is important to note that the Progressive movement advocated a strong government, one with administrative efficiency and political accountability. For the progressives, "the most important boundary was between *policymaking* and *policy administration*" (Kettl, 2002, p.8). This view of an effective and accountable strong government, one that is based on the two principles of authority and hierarchy, led in turn to a theory of public administration built on principles of technical professionalism and political neutrality. The result was what most had called the orthodox public administration that dominated the first quarter of the Twentieth Century.

In short, most of the Nineteenth Century reformers conceived a totally neutral, instrumental public administration on the practical level, while most of the earlier scholars looked for a more "factual" and "non political science related" public administration at the academic level. The consequence of the former was often to relegate administration to mostly nonpolitical tasks and to remove administration from the previous political chaos. The consequence of the latter was the first demarcation of

subjects in each of the two fields in the higher education system and the emerging focus in the field on the principles of administration.

These attempts could not be sustained in practice, as the experience of the Progressives later revealed. Meanwhile, they were also challenged at the academic level as the ongoing debate about the dichotomy started. In retrospect, it was recognized that the politics-administration dichotomy “posited by Goodnow and his academic progeny was, at best, naïve” (Henry, 1987, p.41).

However, it took several years for that to be realized within the public administration community. As a matter of fact, in the 1937 Brownlow Report, which carried the developing theories of public administration to Washington, the resulting committee sustained and even intensified the emerging separation of politics from administration. It was not until later on that this view began to change.

In the 1930s, the New Dealers conceived public administration as an instrument in service of Democracy. They sought not a “neutral” but a “dedicated” instrument. The New Deal thereby brought the issue of politics and administration relationship back into the picture. The reform sparked major congressional debates centered on questions about the status and role of public administration in American government and politics (Cook, 1996).

In the 1940s, World War II helped bring orthodox public administration to the apex of its influence. Professional public administrationists helped run the war effort at the federal level. The latter consulted with the best thinkers of public administration regarding the planning and making of government policies and the management of public programs and affairs.

After in the mid-1940s, the dichotomy was almost rejected by public administration scholars. Kettl (2002) actually calls that period the erosion of the politics-administration dichotomy. On fact, the main deviation from mainstream or orthodox public administration was noted in the 1940s in the first objection to the dichotomy. Politics and administration could never be separated in any remotely sensible fashion. Public administrationists began to recognize their previous attempts to separate politics and policy from administration were neither practical nor feasible. They attempted to



rebuild theory that explicitly recognized the link between politics and administration (Waldo, 1984).

Many works of that period questioned the assumption of a possible dichotomy. A good example of such work was *Element of Public Administration* (1946) edited by Fred Morstein Marx. All fourteen chapters written by practitioners mostly reflected a new awareness that what often appeared to be value-free “administration” actually was value-laden “politics.” Despite all the efforts, Kettl (2002) argued that traditional public administration suffered serious blows in the 1950s and 1960s, most notably in the intellectual rigor of its theory and in its difficulty in grappling with the connection between politics and administration” (p. 85).

On the other hand, other scholars looked at the issue from a different angle. For example, Schick (1975) argued, “in the end, the dichotomy was rejected not because it separated politics and administration but because it joined them in a way that offended the pluralist norms of postwar political science” (p.152). He actually observed that those who advocated the intellectuals’ abandonment of the dichotomy in the 1940s never intended to argue that something called ‘administration’ and something called ‘politics’ were totally inseparable. They only wanted to emphasize that public administrators, as well as legislators, made political decisions and public policies. The dichotomy rather than keeping politics and administration apart, really offered a framework for bringing politics and administration together.

However, in the behavioral and the post-behavioral eras the supporters of the dichotomy were the majority. During the Reagan administration, public administration was more than ever regarded as simply a mechanism for the delivery of benefits and services. As a matter of fact, this mechanism was often judged a very ineffective one at delivering its promises. It was believed that “the dichotomy provided an ascendancy of the administration over the political: efficiency over representation, rationality over self-interest” (Schick, 1975, p.152).

The flourishing of the public policy orientation brought the dichotomy debate back to the picture. The movement toward policy studies fostered a renewed conceptual relation between politics and administration where the two commingled again. The emphasis on the interpenetration of politics and administration during the early years of

the public policy approach between the mid 1940s and early 1960s, did certainly reassert the ties between political science and public administration. More importantly, it “consequently highlighted the role of values in public administration, an emphasis congenial to almost all political scientists” at that time (Golembiewski, 1977, p.24).

Lowi (1979) proposed to take administration into account in policy design. Lowi sounded “like a progressive par excellence and an unwavering friend of the politics-administration dichotomy when he argues that the broad delegations make a politician out of a bureaucrat” (Cook, 1996, p.166). However Lowi seems to accept the proper function and status of administration in the regime as fundamentally political. He acknowledges the importance of administration in this way as he describes his idea of judicial democracy as “working toward a fusion of fact and value”, which “merely amounts to a fusion of political behavior, public administration, and public law”(Lowi, 1979, p.312).

Yet it is important to note here that the emergence of public policy schools saw in Wilson’s article, and the field’s embrace to it, a validation of their efforts to invent a new approach. Many political scientists argued that it was hopefully naïve to think that separation is possible. However, they used the politics-administration dichotomy argument presented in Wilson’s article as a justification for their first dismissal of the field of public administration (Kettl, 2002).

Other movements that had emerged during the turbulent politics of the 1960s in the post New Deal era of the 1940s carried their influence on how the scholars in both fields delineated administration, government, and administration well into the turn of the last century. One specific movement is of particular importance and relevance to the purpose of this section. The intent of “reinventing” (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992) or “reengineering” the administration of public programs and the delivery of public services came to prominence during that period. It emphasized, “less what modern American government should be doing and much more how it should go about doing it” (Cook, 1996, p.124). This recalled the politics-administration dichotomy. Their approach had “further reinforced an instrumental conception, not only of public administration, but of politics and government as a whole” (Cook, 1996, p. 130).

As I will discuss later, the focus on public policy had the effect on both political science and public administration of emphasizing their common and distinctive

“political” content. Rehfuss (1973) in *Public Administration as a Political Process* noted that his goal is to restore politics to center stage as the driving-force behind most administrative behavior. More important, this policy focus gave both disciplines a greater social relevance without neglecting the academic values abandoning the commitment to scientific inquiry associated with the behavioralism movement.

For all its intellectual history the field of public administration has been acknowledged to have a niche in the political science discipline. Yet this position has not always been a comfortable one. Over the years, especially when the politics-administration dichotomy served as the intellectual framework for the public administration field, there were political scientists who have either ignored this field of study or minimized its importance.

Nicholas Henry had argued that well into the 1930s public administration scholars dominated political science. By 1950s, however, because of problems in theory, such as the politics-administration dichotomy, and following the emergence of an aggressive positivist approach to political studies, political science and public administration had “for all intents and purposes parted company” (Cook, 1996, p.159).

During the golden years of behavioralism, the politics-administration dichotomy was revisited. At that time, political scientists seemed to regard public bureaucracies as nonentities that have no intrinsic political value worthy of study. For the few decades that followed, the education of several generations of American public officials in higher education institutions reinforced the more widespread effect from economic progress: conceptualizing political institutions as instruments, open to a value neutral analysis of their effectiveness in achieving ends defined externally to them (Cook, 1996).

When values of economy, efficiency, and neutral competence are viewed as the core concepts of the public administration field, it is hard to reconcile them with political values of representativeness, distributional demands, equity, and –most important- the role of the legislative branch in a democracy. Too frequently, public administration students have pushed away, diminished, or degraded the role of Congress in the administrative process, arguing the legislative involvement in the administrative process is evidence of micro managing. Rosenbloom (1971) argued that administration is actually a continuation of the legislative process. He furthermore argued, “administrative agencies

are responsible are responsible in varying ways to all three branches of government” (p.150).

Rosenbloom offered the following major tenets as he summarized his argument (pp.133-8): (1) Administration involves legislative functions; (2) when the agencies are engaged in legislative functions, they serve as extensions of Congress; (3) There can be no strict dichotomy between politics and administration. Therefore, American public administration should be informed by democratic-constitutional values that apply to the exercise of political authority. (4) Congress has a very broad supervisory responsibility for federal administration; (5) Members of Congress have an obligation to intercede in administration on behalf of their constituents and districts’ interests; (6) The role of the president and political executives in federal administration is to implement legislative mandates, coordinate agency actions government-wide, manage agencies on a day-to day basis, and exercise discretion in pursuing the public interest when Congress has not provided specific direction; and (7) the primary role of the federal courts with courts with regard to federal administration is to provide judicial review of agency actions under the terms and conditions established by Congress through administrative law.

It is important to note that the dichotomy has troubled political scientists over the years. Many political scientists considered public administration somewhat an apolitical theory of politics. Based on this view, there was a sense that political science had become the theoretical home for the study of public administration (Caldwell, 1965). The considerable strength of the field nurtured the emerging discipline especially in its first years and the dichotomy threatened this relationship.

The reform tradition in American politics has long sought to keep political influence out of the administrative realm. However, toward the end of the Twentieth Century, reformers led by the “reinventing government” movement sought to empower bureaucrats and thus give bureaucrats more political power. Several authors have revisited that issue.

Robert Putman, who served as APSA president in 2001, examined the politician-bureaucrat relationship when he was a Professor of Public Policy at Harvard University. In 1981, he coauthored *Bureaucrats and Politicians in Western Democracies*. The book supported a general statement about the politician-bureaucrat relationship. To Putnam

and his colleagues, the most striking matter is that there is no single distinction between politician and bureaucrat, in terms of who initiates, who decides, and who implements policies. Instead politician and bureaucrat are found to be similar in what they do but differ in how they do it.

Later, others have looked at *Public Administration as a Political Process* (Rehfuss, 1988). In 1996, Cook reconsidered the role of public administration in American politics in *Bureaucracy and Self Government*. More recently, others have attempted to make the case for the prospect of *Building a Legislative-Centered Public Administration* (Rosenbloom, 2000). His book was recommended to political scientists and members of the public administration community who search for new ways to appreciate the dynamics of the American political system.

This cleft between the administration of public affairs and the political aspects of the process has constituted a long-standing debate both on the theoretical and practical levels. The scholars in both public administration and political science have swung back and forth between revolt against the separation at times, and support of the dichotomy at others. Understanding this quarrelsome linkage between administration and politics remains one of public administration's toughest problems and most debatable issues. The question of whether politics and administration is weaker or stronger if tied together theoretically and pragmatically remains with no definite answer. This enduring issue is related to another: the issue of administrative accountability in a democratic system of governmental bureaucracies.

### **Bureaucracy and Democracy**

As American public administration theory and practice began developing, the Progressives were faced with their first challenge. They had to find a way to make the modern administrative state strong enough without risking the democracy in which it operates. The two principles they applied were hierarchy and authority. The application of these two principles would promote efficiency and accountability. It ultimately would remove administration from the political corruption and safely settle the conflict of reconciling bureaucracy and democracy and structure the work within clear boundaries.

By the 1960s, and despite its several problems, the prevailing approach used by traditional public administration proved to be still working. However, political scientists rejected its premises and were searching for their own solution for the dilemma-- *how could the unquestionable power of bureaucracy be reconciled with accountability?* In other terms, how could bureaucracy and democracy be in good terms without compromises? To answer this first question they reached out for formal theories and theoretical perspectives that applied economics principles-- such as transaction costs and principal agent theories.

This newly introduced approach to the study of bureaucracy and its relation to bureaucratic and political institutions had a significant impact on both fields' theoretical development and on the course of the relationship between the two disciplines. It not only provided answers to the theoretical problems that had long plagued the field of public administration, but it also provided both clear analysis and strong predictions that could be empirically tested. This approach and its related methodologies “drove public administrationists out of political science into public policy and public administration schools”(Kettl, 2002, p. 88). On the other hand, most public administrationists, having had little training in applied calculus and formal models, chose to remain in the traditional public administration home.

The fundamental precepts of American political science--the self-evident worth of democracy, a pluralistic polity, political participation, and equality under law are examples of these precepts—“continued to hold sway among even the most independently minded public administrationists” (Henry, 1987, p.63). The influence of “democratic progress” on public administration is another trend worth considering in this study.

Democracy, as a theory of government and a way of life, has the effect of “subjugating and instrumentalizing public institutions” (Cook, 1996, p. 10). Cook further argued that this enhancement of the representative character of government action was meant to reshape the administrative power embedded in bureaucracy as an agent of democracy. He actually recommended a first step that needs to be taken to prevent the tragedy of “denigrating public administration as to utterly impair its capacity” to assist the American people in their struggle to realizing their aspirations to self-government.

”This step must be a broad-based, concerted effort to fashion a constitutional theory of public administration for the American regime” (p.179).

The best of scholarly attempts to reconcile bureaucracy with American liberal democracy has been impressively creative. Several scholars have attempted to reevaluate another popular view of the role of public administration. The former is regarded as a tool in a democracy. As early as Minnowbrook II, Cleary (1989) observed that one of the critical themes that dominated the conference was that of the difficult and yet necessary relationship between bureaucracy and democracy. It was argued that “public administrators have a keen responsibility to take the requirements of democracy into account in the performance of their duties—whether these duties are programmatic, managerial, contractual, or in other functional areas” (p.226). Conferees clearly agreed that the need to maximize the value of the administrator’s role in protecting and even advancing popular democracy requires a “slowed-down” bureaucracy, one that is concerned more with dialogue and consensus.

More recently, Cook (1996) argued that the political system has to resolve its bureaucracy problem, acknowledge that public administration has powerful constitutive effects, and ultimately work to make those effects beneficial. Furthermore, he made the distinction between the American’s narrow and naïve instrumental view of public administration and the constitutive qualities of public administration.

### **Theory and Practice**

There is a dual function of the academic research in both public administration and political science. It can be pursued for its own sake, as part of the “objective” attempt to understand the political or administrative system (how, what, and why), and at the same time it contributes to an improvement in the administrative or political techniques (the what, the how to, and when). While scholars may often seek knowledge for its own sake, the professional instructor wants to improve performance. The two are obviously linked. The administrator will gain something from an academic approach to the subject, and the academician will benefit from a practice-oriented perspective.

In all social sciences, especially in the more applied fields, the quest for theoretical development is more than an academic exercise. It has profound implications for the improvement of the human condition in general. In the case of public administration and political science, its implications are more specific. Theory building contributes to the improvement of government effectiveness and efficiency on one hand, and facilitates the conduct of American democracy as it shapes the relationship between government and the public.

Undoubtedly, every academic discipline, especially in the applied social sciences, has struggled with its practical realities and its theoretical aspirations. political science and public administration are no exceptions. The former was torn between the pressing urge to become scientific and the irresistible desire to still be connected to the realistic aspects of politics. The latter's challenge was to balance the theory building development with the practical problem solving process. This process was always guided by a certain theory, one that might have been considered less vigorous, at one point in time, by some of the public administration community and by the majority of the political science community as well.

Without a doubt, the practical side of the public administration has always had an uneasy place within political science. There were always concerns about the development of a theoretically oriented administrative science. These concerns were mostly focused on the establishment of adequate training programs in public administration. Public administrationists worried that political scientists had little appreciation for the need to train individuals in the practice as well as the study of government. Meanwhile, political scientists worried that a focus on training would lead to neglect or at least less attention devoted to the task of building the intellectual foundation of the new field of public administration.

### *Public Administration as Discipline vs. Application*

Discussion turns now to the relationship between public administration as an academic discipline and public administration as an applied subject. Without a doubt, it is the practitioner that makes public administration different from political science. In the 1960s, public administration was often labeled the applied interdisciplinary field that



bridged the social sciences. From its origins, American public administration had attempted to be practitioner-oriented and to be involved with the real world rather than to seek knowledge for the sake of knowledge.

However, soon after the pragmatists helped found the American Political Science Administration, public administrationists tried to split off in a separate movement to train public managers. Although their efforts failed, as described earlier, it led to the ongoing intellectual conflict that preoccupied Public Administrationists for most of the last century. The discipline's practitioners always sought to develop training programs for the public service, while theorists aimed at gaining a legitimate place in academia.

By the middle of the Twentieth Century, public administration's struggle to fit within the other social sciences, and still cater to its practitioners, reached its nadir. It sought to gain an accepted place in academic theory and retain its role in the practical arena. Well into the 1960s, graduate schools of public affairs found themselves in an awkward position of trying to teach activists in an environment designed to produce scholars. Scholars generally considered schools of public affairs not to be very scholarly, while practicing administrators were disappointed in them for not contributing enough to the practical political and administrative world.

In 1988, among the several themes that dominated Minnowbrook II, one key theme dealt with the relation between theory and practice. Substantial attention was given to the subject of what academic public administration has to offer practicing public administrators. Later on, and at the same time that the field was still dealing with what has been known as its intellectual crisis, public administration found itself under attack from the practitioner community as well. As managers realized the inadequacy of many of the old theories, they embraced the *Reinventing Government* movement of the 1990s that was rejected by many of the field's scholars. The result was a growing gap between the academic world and the practical one.

However, toward the end of the Twentieth Century, the growing complexity of public policy problems increasingly confounded theory in the field. Public administration found itself "trying to span growing gaps: between its intellectual heritage and the emerging realities of the twenty first century administration; and between its own intellectual pursuits and those of the other social sciences" (Kettl, 1002, p.16).

Academics continue to emphasize methodology, especially quantitative techniques, whereas practitioners emphasize substantive knowledge about how government actually functions, and expertise in specific policy areas. When public administrationists started developing methodologies of their own, such as the one associated with the newly established program of evaluation, they intended to focus on the *applied* aspect of their discipline. The emphasis of these methodologies was on the need, efficiency, and effectiveness of the various public programs. In other instances, they borrowed techniques from other disciplines with a clearly “applied research cast” (Henry, 1987, p.70).

For political science the dilemma of theory and practice was less intense. For the greater part of the Twentieth Century, the goal of political science was to have a strong analytical framework that generates replicable propositions. The search for “prescriptions” in the course of the field’s academic research based on “predictions” was the main concern of the discipline. Scientific theory –building came first, as theory without the ability to predict and understand something real is not worth having. In fact, it was the political scientists’ belief that any political action in the American political system that is lacking a theoretical structure is risky. Furthermore, they believed that administration without a guiding theory is dangerous and that the theory had to connect to action to be meaningful. They considered the former their immediate priority.

Political science, by tradition, was always considered one field that may be less concerned with addressing problems of action, practice, or grassroots. Equally important, at its root the field may have been, for the most part of its intellectual history, hostile to concerns related to “education for knowledgeable action” (Henry, 1987). In fact, the relatively smooth departure of public administration from political science attested to this distinct feature of the latter. The calmness that the political scientists of the seventies showed at that time is indicative of their eagerness to distance themselves “from a field that has always taken a pride in having a practical turn of mind”(p.68). Interestingly, Henry (1987) added yet another contributing factor for the acceptance on the part of political scientists for the departure of public administration. The inclination among political scientists to distance themselves from any kind of academic enterprise that deals with domestic concerns was also evident through the increasingly short shrift within

major political science departments given to urban politics and criminal justice related courses.

As early as the mid 1930s, political scientists had begun to question public administration's action orientation. Political scientists, rather than advocating public service and training programs as they did in 1914, began calling for "intellectualized understanding" as Caldwell (1965) called it of the executive branch rather than "knowledgeable action" on the part of public administrators. This was a common and widespread theme throughout the literature of the late part of the second quarter of the Twentieth Century.

Despite this general feeling among political scientists toward both the practical and theoretical aspects of public administration, there were some concerns within the Association about the "apractical" focus of the discipline. A comparison of a 1976 survey of chairpersons of political science departments and directors of interdisciplinary programs with a 1975 survey of members of APSA who were holding positions in federal, state, or local governments, resulted in many recommendations. These recommendations focused on how political science training can better prepare people for working in government, or doing work outside of government that is relevant to government decision making. Articles such as Nagel and Neal's "The Practitioner's Perspective" appeared in *PS* in 1975.

The article summarized the findings of a questionnaire directed to APSA members holding government positions. It was "designed to determine how political science has been and can be used in federal, state, and local government agencies and in administrative, legislative, and judicial positions" (p. 376). The respondents generally implied that political science has the "potentiality of making a substantially greater contribution to both research communication and training for government placement" (p. 380). Nagel and Neal (1975) commended any efforts that should help build closer relations among academics and practitioners and thereby provide the increased application of political science to important policy problems.

In addition more recent APSA's presidents have called for a more engaged political science. In his presidential address at the 2002 APSA annual meeting, Robert

Putnam<sup>91</sup> (2003) advocated a new kind of political science, one with both scientific rigor and public relevance, as both are “at the core of our professional obligations” (p.251). To foster such kind, “we need to make special effort, both in the research we publish and in the courses we teach, to combine careful attention to facts and careful examination to values, while recognizing the difference between the two” (p.552). A year later, in her presidential address, Theda Skocpol<sup>92</sup> (2004) also called for further intellectual and practical engagement on the part of political scientists.

Meanwhile, public administration is still trying to solve the dilemma of bridging the gap between theory and practice. Kettl (2002) argued that in a century, the discipline had gone from playing a central role in academic research to being a relatively marginal player. Practitioners sought solutions outside the field and favored new approaches to implementation, leadership, and public management, whereas academicians were still seeking theoretical foundations for their research. He further observed that political science’s push toward behavioralism and formal theory had, for quite a while, left public administration on the sidelines.

### **Behavioralism**

Beginning in the 1950s, the social sciences in general devoted themselves to becoming more scientific. Political science and public administration were no exceptions. Both fields joined the new generation of postwar social sciences in their quest for more scientific rigor. They wanted theories that can produce scientific predictions, predictions that could be empirically tested, and tests that could be repeatedly replicated (Kettl, 2002).

As an applied field, public administration played a central role in the emergence of modern American government. However, the other disciplines’ rising pursuit of a scientific status combined with the nation’s emerging problems led to intellectual and

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<sup>91</sup> At the time of the writing, Robert Putnam was Peter and Isabel Malkin Professor of Public Policy at Harvard University. Among his recent books are *Making Democracy Work*, *Bowling Alone*, and *Better Together: Restoring the American Community*.

<sup>92</sup> At the time of the writing, Theda Skocpol was the Victor S. Thomas Professor of Government and Sociology and director of the Center for American Politics at Harvard University.

pragmatic crises felt by both academicians and practitioners. Public administration found itself suffering a genuine “identity crisis.”

"Its scholars lamented the erosion of respect, while practitioners looked far more broadly for guidance" (Kettl, 2002, p.9). On the theoretical level, the traditional focus of much of the administrative theory on organizational structure shifted to human interactions. The emerging focus on decision-making, not organizational structure ran counter to the so-called orthodox public administration's focus in its studies and methods on organizational structure and process. Within these new intellectual trends and methods, it was hard for public administration to change, nonetheless, to ever become a true science (Dahl, 1947).

As public administration moved toward a more interdisciplinary and open-ended identity, political science became more captivated of pluralism and behavioralism (Uveges and Keller, p.15). The new work in political science focused on the behavior of individuals, especially in the area of voting. Behavioralism brought with it a new focus in the political science journals on methodologies. In fact, the examination of the content of *APSR* by Miller, Tien, and Peebler (1996) revealed that the category “study/methods” showed its biggest gains from 1969-83, going from 9 percent to 24 percent.

Since the 1950s and the so-called “behavioralist revolution,” political science had, for the most part, approached politics and political institutions as phenomena, to be examined with the “value-neutral” tools of the “scientific method.” By doing so it played a small but significant role in promoting an instrumental conception of politics and public institutions (Cook, 1997).

The consequence of this “revolution” in political science was particularly pronounced with respect to the discipline's treatment of public administration. Behavioralism further isolated public administration from the main stream of political science. As behavioralism became the new orthodoxy for political science, public administration with its “nonscientific” concern with institutional dynamics and management training was not political science, *per se*.

The tension between the two fields was gradually reflected through different developments in both fields. The growing use of the case study as an epistemological device is one of these developments that revealed in a certain way the troublesome

tightness and discomfort that was building between public administrationists and political scientists. The development of the case study method began in the 1930s, largely under the aegis of the Committee in Public Administration of the Social Science Council. By the 1980s, the case study method development in public administration was conducted by the Association for Public Policy and Management.

However, it is important to note that those who entered the field later, and who had been academically reared in political science departments when behavioralism was the dominant paradigm, were not using the case study approach. They temporarily agreed to the case study as an uneasy compromise. In the fifties and sixties, there was a third group of public administrationists who embraced the case study. These were the “retired bureaucrats” who occasionally were hired by political science departments when public administration was held in low professional esteem but in relatively high student demands. This group appreciated an academic approach to the field that identified closely with their administrative experience.

Looking back at the evolution of this methodology, Waldo (1968) believed that the emergence of the case study method in the late 1940s and its growth throughout the 1950s reflects the response of public administration to the “behavioral revolution” in the social sciences in general. Initially, the traditional public administrationists, particularly who entered the field in the 1930s, embraced the case study method as a means of being empirical and “behavioral”. This allowed them an additional way of re-establishing the linkages between their field and political science. Additionally, the case study offered an alternative to Simon’s call for a rigorous “pure science of administration”.

### *Herbert Simon, Public Administration, and Political Science*

Herbert A. Simon<sup>93</sup> is yet another scholar whose influence on both public administration and political science could be felt especially through the application in both fields of his decision-making concept. Simon, with both a Bachelor and Doctoral

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<sup>93</sup> Herbert A. Simon (1916-2001) is one of the founding father of modern research in artificial intelligence. He was awarded the American Psychological Association’s award for outstanding lifetime contribution to psychology. He received honorary degrees from two dozen universities as well as top awards from the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, and the American Society for Public Administration.

Degree in political science from the University of Chicago, in 1936 and 1943 respectively, published his dissertation in 1947 as "*Administrative Behavior: A Study of The Decision-Making Process*." Initially, the book had a substantial audience in business schools, in generic management programs, and in industrial administration.

Simon won the Alfred Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences in 1978 for his work on bounded rationality. His theories have become an integral part of the so-called "New Intuitionist Economics." Simon was one of the few in the "Chicago epoch" that stayed in administrative studies. Others who like Simon, began in Chicago with public administration, "got out of it altogether" such as Key, Truman, Almond, Leiserson, and Pritchett (Golembiewski, 1977, p.23). Today, they are mostly known as political scientists.

In terms of public administration, Simon provided an alternative definition of the scope of the discipline. For Simon, a new paradigm for public administration meant that "there ought to be two kinds of public administrationists working in harmony and reciprocal intellectual stimulation: those scholars concerned with developing "a pure science of administration" based on "a thorough grounding in social psychology," and a larger group concerned with "prescribing for public policy" (Chandler, 1987, p. 48). The focus of the latter provided the ground for maintaining the logical conceptual connection between public administration and political science. The focus of the former led to the concerns about turning the field into a technically oriented "pure science."

Simon saw "deciding" rather than "doing" as the heart of administration and focused generally on the "premise of decision" rather than "decision." Moreover, Simon (1947) argued, "for larger systems (e.g., in studying public administration), the underlying structure of decision-making processes illuminates the coherence of the whole, the contributions of the parts to that whole, the organization's functions and its malfunctions"(p.50). Furthermore, he concluded that decision-making not organizational structure was the central problem of public administration.

As far as Simon's influence on political science, the case is similar. He contends that no one argues that all political studies should take decision making as their organizing level. The focus on decision-making within the political science community has been an effective organizer, shaping much of the most useful work in the discipline.

More important, Simon called for increased efforts to use scientific inquiry based on a particular philosophy of science. His work partly helped behavioralists circumscribe roles for political science. They focused their research on inputs, aggregates, voting behavior, and other quantifiable facts rather than on the somewhat less empirically ascertainable behavior of individuals and institutions responsible for public policy.

Simon explicitly noted that his decision-making “schema paralleled Goodnow’s analytical distinction between politics and administration” (p.18). In addition, one of the results of behavioralism, and its underlying philosophies and associated methodologies, has been to “cut loose political institutions from the context of the regime that gives them meaning”. In that context, the institutions are valueless and “can be pressed into service in the cause of any ideology, of which liberal democracy is only one” (Cook, 1997, p.10). The politics administration dichotomy long standing debate is another reflection of such conceptualization of the operation of these institutions within the political arena.

### **Public Administration, Political Science, and the Science of Management**

American public administration tried earlier in its evolution to claim the trappings of a science (Schott, 1976). Whether it failed or not is beyond the scope of this study. However, that phase in the development of the discipline of public administration, or the profession of administration, as it was favorably referred to then, is deemed essentially important as it constitutes a significant part of the historical analysis of the relation between the public administration and political science. The whole movement toward a science of management had affected how the field drew its boundaries within the social sciences at that time.

Each of the phases in any field of study encompasses certain analytical targets. The specialists in these intellectual stages become focused on particular subject matters that often define their fields. Public administration’s emphasis on a “science of management” was reflected in the “principles” literature that resulted from three orientations in the 1930s and 1940s. These include the Scientific Management movement, the early work in Human Relations, and the focus on Generic Management.



They all shared the view that “administration is administration” no matter where it is found.

The inherent professional aspect of public administration, as opposed to mainly theory-building resulted in the impact that management had on the evolution of public administration. Henry (1987) lists three distinct influences or constructive effects that management had on public administration. “It forced public administration to examine more closely what the “public” in “public administration” meant; it convinced many public administrationists that a whole set of methodologies was needed; and it provided public administration with a model of how to assess what, as a field, it was teaching and why” (p.68). As far as the latter, when comparing the processes of educating students in the generic schools of management and the political science departments, the former was more focused, self-analytical, and systematic.

This conceptual phase that dominated the public administration discipline and subsequently shaped its development faded out by the second half of the Twentieth Century. Golembiewski (1977) attributed the demise of this phase to several factors. He argued that the demise “seems in large part to be part of intellectual leadership from political science, which all but unanimously took to the public-policy track” (p.19) of the 1960s. Similarly, Martin (1952) considered the concept of this phase as probably being “the single greatest threat to the continuing dominion of political science over public administration” (p.665).

This “administration is administration” concept introduced during this phase of the development of public administration resulted in several successful attempts to pair public administration with business administration. In the meantime, the efforts to stress a common locus between political science and public administration through the programmatic aspects of the latter lessened considerably. In fact, political scientists often criticized the “mechanical” emphasis of scientific management.

The strong ties that connected public administration to political science were threatened by this new conceptual view of administration. On one hand, it reconfirmed the call for the separation of politics from administration that was initiated earlier. On the other hand, it led to the realization by many of the prominent public administrationists of that period that the common programs that joined the two disciplines were considered

inappropriate arrangements. In fact, many felt that the establishment of separate or generic schools and strong relations with business schools would appear more appropriate for the study of administration.

This concern with management faded as was described previously to lead the way to the next phase in the development of public administration and political science and their connectiveness. By the mid-1940s, many prominent scholars in both fields moved toward what is generally referred to as the “public-policy approach.” Policy studies became the focus of scientific inquiry.

### **Public Administration, Political Science, and Policy Studies**

In the first few decades of the Twentieth Century, public administration was linked to political science via certain theoretical ties. The two areas of scholarly activities focused on the two stages of the formulation and implementation of the same public programs and policies. These two phases of policy-making were more or less overlapping at that time. The shift in focus on the different aspects of management threatened these linkages. As a result, the formulation of policy and its implementation were differentiated which further weakened the relation between public administration and political science.

Initially however, the public policy focus gained its momentum within both disciplines. In the 1980s, a policy component was included in most instructional programs of public administration and the majority of policy programs incorporated an administrative component (Waldo, 1990). At the same time, when policy study (also referred to as policy science or policy analysis) developed in the late 1960s and 1970s, it was to a greater extent associated with the political science departments.

As it has been argued, one of the specific effects that the two fields had on each other might be the “problem” of public policy as a growing subfield. At the same time as public administration was establishing itself as an independent discipline, public policy as a subfield was emerging within the political science departments and public administration schools. Actually, as Kettl (2002) argues, “the desire for stronger economics--based prescriptions fueled the rise of public policy schools in direct competition with--indeed, rejection of-- public administration programs” (p.13) in the

1960s. The emerging movement rejected the orthodox public administration's simplistic methods and its focus on organization as unit of analysis. It was built on Simon decision-making perspective and drew some of its methods from the business school analysis of cases approach.

More important, analysts argued that there was a "missing link" in the study of public policy-- bringing decision to action. The implementation movement called for the replacement of the structural and procedural approach that was used primarily by traditional public administration with the policy-based approach. Pressman and Wildavsky in their book *Implementation* (1973) lamented the lack of literature on implementation in the social sciences in general. They urged academicians and researchers to generate more work on the subject.

Within political science, the concern with "science" rather than "politics" was one of the main reasons that motivated this new subfield. Meanwhile, behavioralism provoked public administration to start slowly seceding from political science as discussed in an earlier chapter of this dissertation.

One of the early contributors to the subfield of public policy, Austin Ranney, called for a need for a more "substantive" approach to the study of policy. Political scientists have ignored the "content" of policies and focused almost solely on the policy making "process." "From its beginning, in short, the subfield of public policy has been an effort to "apply" political science to public affairs" (Henry, 1987, p.64).

Initially, the public policy orientation was offered as an integrative concept reinforcing the ties between political science and public administration (Golembiewski, 1977). To this day, the subfield of policy studies remains the surviving link in the political science curriculum with the study of the practice of government. This link also helps secure the ties between political science and political practice. It assures the fact that political science is active within the machinery of government and as playing a role as a policy adviser. The net result of such an approach to policy/administration interpenetration strongly reinforced ties between political science and public administration and resulted in such interdisciplinary empirical research as that on groups.

And yet, this situation had caused some discomfort within the public administration community. Golembiewski (1977) claimed that the public-policy

orientation had contributed to a fragmentation between political science and public administration, as well as to confusion within public administration. Overall, he warned, “ the dominant trend in available textbooks is toward integration by assimilation of public administration into political science” (p.96). Landau (1962) stressed that the public-policy definition of the scope of public administration challenges the integrity of the field.

Public policy as a significant subfield did not emerge within the discipline of political science, and social science in general, until the late 1960s or early 1970s. This new development was reflected in the increasing use of a policy studies perspective in research and teaching. A 1975-1976 Survey of Political Science Departments conducted by APSA showed that the public policy field was the fastest growing in the political science departments, and in the interdisciplinary programs around the country, as measured by course enrollment trend. The focus of political science was shifting to public policy in terms of the description and explanation of the causes and consequences of government activities.

Meanwhile, public administration was maintaining a close second with regard to the percent of departments reporting a gain in the public policy field rather than a loss in course enrollments (Nagel & Neef, 1977). Newer degrees included doctorates in policy analysis or in public policy and masters degrees in science policy or masters of public policy. Fifty percent of those responding to the study conducted by Nagel and Neef in 1977 indicated they had organized policy studies research programs.

This tremendous growth in the field of policy studies was indicated by the increasing list of journals, organizations, articles, books, book series, convention papers, conference themes, courses, schools, grants, academic job openings, and government job openings. In fact, it is interesting to note that policy studies for the last few decades, is an area that in many ways has been trying to identify itself as a unique field of study. Several interdisciplinary policy programs have been established at Berkeley, Harvard, University of Michigan, and Yale and participate in publishing some of the professional

journals in the field. Examples include journals such as: *Policy Analysis*<sup>94</sup>, *Public Policy*<sup>95</sup>, and *Policy Sciences*<sup>96</sup>.

However, as Walker (1972) argued, during the second half of the last century, a vast network of quasi-public corporations, foundations, consulting firms, industries dependent on government contracts, professional societies, and specialized academic degree programs flourished. “Together, all these institutions have contributed to the steady emergence of cosmopolitan, technocratic, national policy making communities whose influence on national goals and aspirations has so far virtually been neglected by students of public policy” (p.421).

Throughout its development, it has been argued that policy studies differ from what political scientists do. It differs in terms of its focus on the specific policy problems and its emphasis on the relations between policies and effects. Policy studies books with a political science orientation emphasize the present incapability of public administration to target the prescriptive aspect of policy analysis. And yet, scholars in public administration argue that the social problems and the attractiveness of government are forces acting as stimuli for expansion in both public administration and policy studies. They call for an increasing closeness between those fields to their mutual benefit (Nagel, 1980). The natural sympathy of the subfield with the “practical” side of public administration and the close affinity it had with the “theoretical” aspect of political science resulted in an “uncomfortable” condition for scholars who identify themselves with the public policy subfield.

There seem to be some parallels between public administration’s early years and what the field of policy studies is currently experiencing. Just as with public administration, some policy experts identify themselves with political science, some with public administration, and some with policy studies, *per se*. Interestingly, most policy studies programs have realized the necessity of incorporating implementation –in other

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<sup>94</sup> This journal was published for the Graduate School of Public Policy by the University of California Press from 1975 to 1981.

<sup>95</sup> This journal was published initially by the Graduate School of Public Administration (1940-1968), then for the John Fitzgerald Kennedy School of Government (1968-1981), both schools at Harvard University. It was suspended between 1943 and 1952. It finally merged in 1981 with *Policy Analysis* to form the *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*.

<sup>96</sup> This quarterly journal was published in 1970 and has an interdisciplinary and international focus.

words public administration—into the mix in order to truly represent a holistic view of policy (Dr. Guy, personal communication, February, 2005).

Furthermore, Henry (1987) speculates that the future seems fairer for the public policy approach preferred by public administrationists. He even contends that the political science preference for the “substantive” approach would result in a “self-imposed failure experience” as Golembiewski (1977, p. 147) calls it when examining the resulting dilemma of the evolution of comparative public administration.

Despite this worrisome situation, political science scholars still claim that of all social sciences, their field is the most relevant one to discussing “the institutional aspects of policy formation and implementation with regard to the roles of federal, state, and local legislators, chief executives, administrators, and judges.” Furthermore, they base their argument on the fact that political science “also provides relevant knowledge and theories with regard to the roles of parties, interest groups, public opinion, and political philosophy in policy formation and implementation.” This is a sufficient justification to “make political science a meaningful focus for a policy studies program” (Nagel & Neef, 1977, p.388).

Actually, tensions had emerged on multiple occasions between political scientists, who are policy scholars, and the subgroup of policy scholars. These tensions are attributed to different factors. First, the policy scholars view the government in instrumental terms: Governments are there to improve the welfare of members of society. Many political scientists are uncomfortable with this view. Second, most policy scholars have an activist bent. They wish to influence policy in the areas in which they are specialist. Political scientists, for the most part, tend to be more preoccupied with better understanding of the way the world operates within their areas of specialization. Third, many political scientists see many defects in the policy research in terms of the development of clear, generalizable, and empirically verified theories of the policy process (Sabatier, 1991).

There are a variety of policy studies perspectives regarding the relative importance of such matters as (1) method versus substance, and (2) policy formation versus policy evaluation. Those two issues particularly continue to divide academics and practitioners. There had been multiple recommendations to have more academic-

practitioner interaction and to provide policy students with more field experience. One of the respondents to the study done by Nagel and Neef (1977) suggested that academic political scientists should spend more time in governments as advisors, consultants, interns and residents. The adoption of these and other considerations “should help bring together and make more effective the fields of policy studies, political science, and public administration (Nagel & Neef, 1977, p.390).

In the academic context, public policy as a subfield was always viewed as intersecting along two increasingly distinctive intellectual branches: the substantive and the theoretical. The former deals with the “contents” or “substance”, and the “politics of” some current event. The latter is reflected in terms of political economy, organization theory, and implementation.

Policy researchers who identify primarily with political science are generally working under the so-called substantive branch, whereas those who identify themselves with public administration seem to be found more frequently working on its theoretical branch. Public administrationists were usually concerned with “knowledgeable action” as opposed to the intellectualized understanding” of public policy (Henry, 1987). More specifically, public administration researchers were mostly concerned with problems of research design, public choice, implementation, organization, efficiency, effectiveness, and productivity. Research questions related to matters of content, substance, and prescription are found more on the political science agenda.

In that context, Henry (1987) argued that the “problem” of public policy, as a subfield of political science, is “what it symbolizes for both political science and public administration” (p.65). This “problem” had and will have an effect on both fields and subsequently on the relation between the two disciplines. The preference of the substantive approach to policy studies by political scientists resulted in the loss of a last chance for political scientists to fill the “vacuum” created by the departure of public administration. This might be, as Henry (1987) puts it, the “last gasp, croaked in the general direction of “hands-on” political science and, of course, “relevance” (p.66).

As political science started to realize the importance of the “theoretical” branch of public policy, it might have been unconsciously retaining public administration. It seems that the emergence of the public policy subfield within political science and the strong

claim to it on the part of political scientists is not but one of the efforts to re-establish within political science a concern with what is “applied” and “relevant.” However, the political science “substantive” approach to policy studies has to incorporate not simply the study of certain policy content, but also the understanding the interrelated areas that compromise the public administration field, such as public budgeting, organization theory, program evaluation, intergovernmental government, and even public personnel administration.

Meanwhile, within the policy studies field, several policy scholars expressed concern about the absence of implementation research (i.e., public administration) among their peers in the field. For instance, Lynn (1990) pointed to the danger that this absence presents. “Policy analysts can become just another parochial interest: priests with their rituals, rather than searchers for just and comprehensive view, who pay no attention to anything but realities and can counteth the cost” (p.376).

In her presidential address delivered at APPAM in 1996, Beryl Radin<sup>97</sup> echoed the same concern. In “The Evolution of the Policy Analysis Field: From Conversation to Conversations”, she examined the nature of the dialogue that exists between the policy analyst and the decision-making client within the emerging profession of public analysis. She questioned whether policy analysts have focused “only on the production side of the conversation and not on the consumption side?” (p. 205). She urged policy analysts to better recognize the complexities involved in implementation. She further recommended they go beyond the focus on the analytic methodologies and approaches and to emphasize, “implementation analysis, organization analysis, and methods associated with policy evaluation” (p.211).

The previous assessment, combined with the historical analysis, sometimes revealed public administration as an organizational component of some other disciplines like “prescriptive policy sciences” or of some aggregate like “public affairs” schools, or

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<sup>97</sup> Beryl Radin is a Professor in the School of Government and Public Administration at the University of Baltimore. Her main research and teaching interests focus on the implementation of national policies in a complex federal system, highlighting the role of federal management as an instrument of policy implementation. She has published many books and articles dealing with intergovernmental relationships in a range of policy areas, particularly human services, rural development, and education. She served as president of APPAM for two years from 1994-1996. Her presidential speech was published in 1997 in *JPAM* 16(2): 204-218.



even of a well-established field like “political science.” In other instances, each of these fields has realized the importance of a particular aspect of public administration to its development and evolution as an established field of inquiry. In any case, it appears that policy studies, public administration, and political science, whether they admit it or not, will remain connected.

## CHAPTER SIX...AN INSTITUTIONAL ACCOUNT OF THE RELATIONSHIP

The Twentieth Century has been described as the century of the social sciences. It was in this era that these two founts of knowledge-- social life and sciences-- attained full intellectual and professional maturity, in addition to broad academic and institutional recognition.

This chapter deals with the establishment of the disciplines of public administration and political science as institutions—academic and professional. Although the term *institution* has different meanings, from organization to rules, the former is the one mainly used in this study. The organization of both disciplines is examined and studied in the context of both their departmentalization and their professionalization. Both processes have had a significant impact on the way the relationship between the two disciplines evolved and the direction it took over their intellectual histories. In that context, the structural organization, or the organizational setting, of both public administration and political science and their organizational ties is the primary focus of this chapter.

The study of institutions can give rise to theories about how they operate, and can lead to certain correlations, even causal relations, based on observation and comparisons. But theories can themselves give rise to institutions that can shape the way they operate. The first are the scientific theories of this study, the second are the philosophies of the researcher-- myself. Association over the long term becomes an institutional frame for understanding a certain body of thought. Meanwhile, the organization creates the institutional mind set.

This study looks at the way in which institutions embody ideas against the background of which they must be studied if they are to be properly understood. This is

particularly important in a study in which the development of each field's institutions and their interrelations are traced. Sometimes, institutions that started similarly turn out to be different and diverge in practice and intention over time because the "theoretical" assumptions of those who established them changed overtime.

The resulting institutional arrangement is usually tailored to an existing organizational context. This context is the "complex manifestations of what objects or symbols were infused with specific value, which infusions were more or less definite and stable" (Golembiewski, 1977, p.225). Also, it is evident that legitimization influences the development of an academic discipline and its related organizations as described earlier. Based on this assumption, I focus on the importance of "meanings" in the interpretation of institutions, whether they are social, academic, or political meanings.

In addition, each field has experienced, been challenged by, and to some extent responded to, many of the same kinds of environmental and social forces. It is assumed that historiographical awareness is relevant to decisions about the progress of the research and the teaching in both fields. This assumption raises a central issue about the explanatory as compared to the purely descriptive characteristic of historical research. The latter was covered in the previous chapter. The former is the subject of the next chapter as history could give us a series of causal explanations. These explanations may serve as an adequate tool to demonstrate the way in which the past has laid down practices which, when handed down generation-to-generation, have served to keep alive, and even inflame, inter-group hospitalities or even hostilities.

Within the academic community, there is no doubt that "attainment of the doctorate has come to symbolize the transition from the status of apprentice to that of a full-fledge professional" (Somit & Tanenhaus, 1963, p.934). This measures the extent to which each of the two fields has become a "professionalized" standard. Early patterns of professionalization and disciplinary development are outlined. In addition to the institutionalization of the two disciplines in academe and elsewhere, the professionalism, the university, and the development of the two in the Twentieth Century are described and analyzed.

For example, the view of predecessors to the behavioral era differed almost completely from that of those who wrote during the post behavioral era. The former was

concerned with practical matters rather than abstract principles. This was replaced by a predominant focus on a less practical relevance versus the more easily studied scientifically in the writings of the latter as discussed later.

The anthropologist Clifford Geertz argued: “If you want to understand what science is, you should look in the first place not at its theories or its findings, and certainly not at what its apologists say about it; you should look at what the practitioners of it do” (quoted by Eulau, 1997, p.585). Education and study are used to refer to formal university-based professional education. The scholarly study of public administration predated the schools and continued outside them for a long period of time. A sketch of the departmentalization of public administration is essential to this analysis in progress.

### **Academic Organization**

#### *The Departmentalization of the Two Disciplines in Higher Education*

The claim that either political science or public administration is an academic discipline in its own right, or a set of interrelated disciplines, separate from others, entitles a particular departmental organization in the university system. The query into the location of a discipline within another discipline’s department or school has an important and central significance to the purpose of this chapter. This is deemed especially important in the specific case of the dominion of the former over the latter, intellectually as well as institutionally.

Figure 1 sketches the academic organization of public administration programs between the years 1930 and 2000. It includes (1) the percentage of separate departments or schools of public administration and (2) the percentage of public administration programs that are either within a political science department or school or combined with political science in the American colleges or universities.

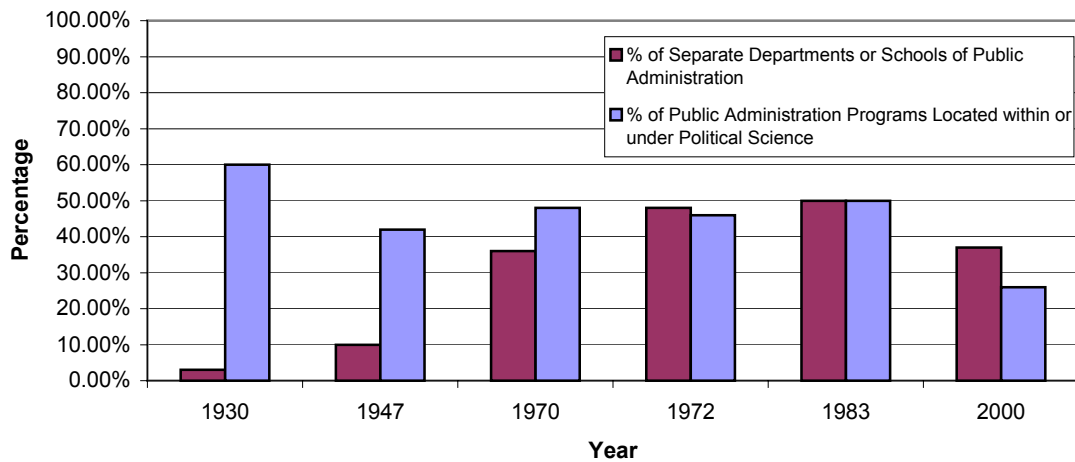


Figure 1.

*The Organization of Public Administration Programs in American Colleges and Universities (1930 - 2000) vis-à-vis Political Science*

As shown in Figure 1, there was a slow increase in the percentage of separate schools of public administration in the early years. A sharper increase in the number of independent schools or departments is noted in the following years, especially between the 1950s to the 1970s. In the 1980s, there was a stable period that ended with actually a decrease in the number of separate public administration schools or departments.

The percentage of public administration programs located within a political science department or school and those that are actually combined with the latter decreased between 1930 and 1947. This decline remained stable over most of the second half of the Twentieth Century. Between 1983 and 2000, a sharp decrease in the number of public administration programs associated with political science is noted. The collected data shows that today public administration is combined with political science in 11.5% of public administration's undergraduate programs and in only 6% of its graduate programs

*Common Schools: 1900s-1930s*

When the American Political Science Association was established and organized, the systematic study and teaching of political problems “was but slightly developed” in the words of Jesse Reeves, the 25<sup>th</sup> president of the Association. Only a few courses in public law and government were given in some of the larger universities. Of the 25 persons who were present at the time of the organization of the Association and the 214 members during the first year, a larger proportion were primarily interested in history, economics, and other social studies with political bearings rather than political problems themselves. Reeves (1929) reported the results of a comparative study of the catalogues of American colleges and universities during the first quarter of the Twentieth Century. The study revealed “the condition of disjointedness” which political science presented in 1928.

In 1914, there were 38 institutions with separate departments of political science. The number increased to 40 by the time the Haines Committee’s 1915 report was published. And yet, at the majority of these schools, political science was combined with some other disciplines. At 89 institutions of higher education, political science was joined with history; with history and economics at 48 of the schools; with economics and sociology at 45 schools; with economics alone at 22; with history, economics, and sociology at 21 of the schools. By 1920, 50 independent departments were formed nationwide as the separation came slowly. Departmental independence was not attained, for example, at Harvard until 1911; Minnesota, 1913; Northwestern, 1915; University of Southern California, 1916; Kansas, 1917; and Stanford, 1918 (Somit & Tanenhaus, 1982).

Annual doctoral production can only be estimated for the years before 1927. In 1937, Donald B. Gilchrist, acting at the request of the National Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies, sought to collect data for the total of Ph.D.s granted in each field for the years 1926-1927 to 1932-1933. Somit and Tanenhaus (1982), estimated between 27 and 49 between 1885 and 1921. Columbia and Hopkins were the major doctoral sources at that time.

The beginnings of public administration education started around 1890. However, Paul Van Riper (1987) described the educational approaches to public administration at

that time as largely legalistic or descriptive. Most important, the period of the first third of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is the “professionalization” period. That same period encompassed “the professionalization of higher education” in at least two senses. The professions organized themselves, developed standards of entry, and began the long battle for legitimacy. The object and substance of a large part of higher education became the preparation for career occupations that is, in most cases, for professions (Mosher, 1975).

In addition, it was reported that of the 1900 members of APSA in 1929 only a small portion were outside the teaching profession. By 1954, APSA president Ralph J. Bunche reported that less than half of the 6000 members of APSA were actively engaged in teaching of political science. There were approximately 300 departments of political science in American colleges and universities then.

Gaus (1950) described the relation between public administration and political science. He observed that throughout the country, as early as the first quarter of the Twentieth Century, the professional organizations of public servants, such as the National Federation of Federal Employees and the Society of Civil Servants, were working in close association with university departments of political science and with governmental research organizations. This cooperation was being done in the efforts to improve the quality of administration and introduce self examination into the day-to-day life of the public servant.

#### *Independent or Integrated Schools: 1940s-1960s*

By 1946, there were 83 colleges and universities offering programs of training for public administration. More than one half (52%) of these programs was identified as subfields of political science or government departments. One fourth were listed as interdepartmental, 13 % were in business or management schools, and only around 10 % of these programs were in separate schools of public administration or affairs (Public Administration Clearing House, 1946). Table 3 includes a list of the universities or colleges that had such separate schools of public administration or affairs.

Table 3

*A List of the Eight Universities in which Public Administration was organized as a Separate School or Department (1940s-1950s)*

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American University
Florida State College for Women
George Washington University
Harvard University
Princeton University
Syracuse University
University of Southern Carolina
Wayne State University

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By the end of the 1950s, in 1962, out of 786 institutions offering courses under the heading of political science, only 466 of these institutions had a separate department of political science (Martin, 1952). There were an additional 320 departments in which political science was combined with some other disciplines. Among these, 75 departments offered doctoral programs. As a result, by the early 1960s college faculty constituted about 70 percent of the profession's members (Somit & Tanenhaus, 1982). Between 1946 and 1965, some 22,500 Ph.D.s were awarded in history, sociology, economics, and political science. Almost 20 percent of these degrees went to persons in political science and its cognate fields such as public administration and international relations.

In 1958, V.O. Key reported around 6000 students whose major studies had been in political science in addition to forty institutions offering a Ph.D. in political science. At the same time Key (1958) argued, "although we tend to regard ours as primarily a teaching profession, in recent years more and more of us have been public servants" (p.246). He reported that colleges and universities employed more than two-thirds of the Ph.D.s in political science. Furthermore, over one-half of the M.A.s in the field were



employed by government agencies. He concluded that a substantial proportion of the number of political scientists in 1958 were engaged in public administration-- both its practice and its study. The expansion of administrationists in political science departments was another noticeable feature.

More interesting, data compiled by the American Political Science Association over several years shows a sharp decline in the number of students beginning Ph.D. study in political science. In 1969, for example, 2487 students entered a Ph.D. program in political science; by 1985, that number had gradually dropped to 933, which is more than a fifty percent decline (Henry, 1996).

The self-consciously rigorous analysis of behavior inspired by psychology and the physical sciences began to displace “public administration” in the early 1950s. By the 1960s the behavioral revolution came to dominate the discipline’s research agenda.

A survey conducted by CGEPA in 1961 showed about 100 institutions offering some kind of graduate instruction in public administration between 1959 and 1960. However, the bulk of these programs were small programs, organizationally and programmatically undifferentiated from the political science departments (Mackelprang & Fritschler, 1975). Another survey conducted in 1961 of graduate education in public administration found an enormous diversity of forms and emphases in the university programs at that time. The study of public administration was characterized by the absence of any fully comprehensive intellectual framework. In fact, the writings of that period spoke of the field as an “emphasis”, an “area of interest,” a “focus” or even as a “synonym” of political science.

Well into the late 1960s, the influence of political science and political scientists on the field of public administration continued to be strongly evident. A review of the profiles of the contributors of the volume dedicated to Minnowbrook I in 1968 and edited by Frank Marini in 1971 strongly supports this fact. Out of the 22 contributors to the book *Toward a New Public Administration*, 17 were political scientists<sup>98</sup>, either by training or practice. All but three of the essays included in the book were presented by the

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<sup>98</sup> They included: Frank Marini, Matthew Crenson, George Frederickson, Edward Friedland, Keith Henderson, Kenneth Howard, Kenneth Jowitt, Larry Kirkhart, Philip Kronenberg, Henry Lambright, Todd La Porte, Francis McGee, Herman Mertins, Jr., John Paynter, Ira Sharkansky, Dwight Waldo, and Orion White.

participants of Minnowbrook I, a conference that aimed at assembling “promising” young public administrationists and that ultimately established the grounds for a “new” public administration. Waldo (1971) argued that the conference and its products, “strikingly demonstrate the close relationship of the enterprises of public administration and political theory, and the deep involvement of public administration in making of policy”(p. xvii). He further asked, what will follow if a division between politics and administration wouldn’t hold?

Prior to that conference the American Academy of Political and Social Science sponsored a conference on the Theory and Practice of Public Administration that was held in December of 1967. The purpose was to critically assess the status and the problems of public administration. The product of this conference was published as *Theory and Practice of Public Administration* (1968), Monograph No. 8 of the American Academy of Political Science, Philadelphia (Waldo, 1971).

More interestingly, the first effort to evaluate the instructional programs in public administration was actually conducted within the environment of political science. The Honey Report is a seminal study conducted to evaluate the status of public service education in the 1960s. John C. Honey the author of the report was himself a professor of Political Science at the Maxwell School at Syracuse University<sup>99</sup>. This report was published in a special issue of *Public Administration Review* in November of 1967.

This issue featured subjects regarding higher education for public service. The search for identity of graduate schools of public affairs, the immediate need to educate middle managers, and the need for the new expertise in public affairs in the universities constituted most of the focus of that issue. This issue provided culmination of the Society’s activities during the preceding two years. Many of the contributors were political scientists including John C. Honey. Other contributors to that issue included

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<sup>99</sup> John C. Honey was also the associate director of the Institute of Public Administration in New York City. He served as an executive associate of the Carnegie Corporation between 1953-1957 and as the director of the Government Studies Program of the National Science Foundation. He is the coauthor of *University-Sponsored Executive Development and Programs of Public Service* (1967), and the author of *Patterns for Public Administration Development in Latin America* (1968).

Frederick Mosher<sup>100</sup> who also was a professor of political science at the University of California, Berkeley at that time.

Despite this continuous attention given by political scientists to public administration's academic development, the relationship between the two fields "went from seamless connection to a strained relationship" (Kettl, 2002, p.11). In 1964, a major survey of political scientists indicated a decline in faculty interest in public administration in general (Somit & Tanenhaus, 1964). By the last century's midpoint, many public administration scholars, including Waldo, observed, "the stress was leading to an outright divorce" (Kettl, 2002, p.10).

#### *Separate Schools: 1970s-1980s*

By the early 1970s, public administrationists associated with political science departments started to realize that the methodologies of political science were inappropriate to their concerns. Some turned to the management schools for more applied methodologies while others attempted to develop new ones. 'Program evaluation' or 'evaluation' research became terms associated with many of the new methodologies public administration called their own. They still adopted existing methodologies from political science such as survey research.

At the same time, political science departments excluded, or at least disdained public administration because of its practical focus. They also accused the field of being out of phase with behavioral, quantitative, and other adopted models of its mother discipline. In addition, some were mostly concerned with the balance of their department as it attracted too many students, some of which were career oriented. As a result, political science expelled public administration, and public administrationists felt the emerging need to secede from political science.

Although the number of schools and colleges of administration peaked in the 1960s (Schick, 1975), most public administration programs were still located in political science departments. The search for an academically acceptable identity continued accompanied by an increase in the popularity of public administration programs. A

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<sup>100</sup> Frederick C. Mosher was a member of ASPA's Council on Graduate Education for Public Administration. He participated in a number of studies related to education for the public service and was a member of the advisory group concerned with the Honey Report. He is the author of *Democracy and Public Service* (1968, 1982) and *American Public Administration: Past, Present, Future* (1975).

survey conducted by CGEPA in 1966-67 showed about 4,500 students of public administration, in addition to a degree production of 670 master's and 70 doctorates more or less in public administration (Henry, 1995). The number of public affairs/public administration graduate degrees reported for 1972-73 was approximately 3,500 according to the NASPAA's 1974 survey figures. This figure exceeds the total of all degrees awarded in 1970-71 including undergraduate and graduate (Mackelprang & Fritschler, 1975).

Between 1970 and 1971 alone, undergraduate enrollments in public administration increased 36 per cent, and between 1971 and 1972 graduate enrollments went up 50 per cent (NASPAA, 1971 and 1974). In terms of the total graduate enrollment in 1975, institutions reported more than 13,000 students in public affairs/public administration. This figure is significantly higher than the one reported for the 1970-1971 and 1972-1973 reported figures.

The majority of the public administration programs were still normally lodged in political science departments, although this arrangement was clearly declining. In a period of one academic year (1971 to 1972), graduate public administration programs that were a part of political science departments sank precipitously from 48 to 36 percent, and those programs connected with business schools (only 13 percent in 1971) appeared to be declining as well. On the clear upswing were those programs that functioned as autonomous units within the university.

During this same period, the percentage of separate schools of public administration or public affairs more than doubled, from 12 percent in 1971 to 25 percent in 1972. And yet, separate departments of public administration (as opposed to separate schools) accounted for 23 per cent of the 101 graduate programs surveyed in 1972-73 (NASPAA, 1974). Data from NASPAA directories from 1974 to 1983 revealed an average of 20 percent in separate public administration professional schools, 30 percent of public administration was separate departments in large unit, and 17 percent were combined with another professional school or departments (e.g., business administration).

Nevertheless, public administration programs located in political science departments accounts for almost 37 percent (slightly over one third) of all public administration programs. This percentage of programs located in political science

departments is down significantly from 50 percent reported in 1972. This could be attributed to the increase in the number of new programs offered in separate professional schools and separate departments of public affairs/public administration rather than a decline in the number of programs found in departments of political science.

A total of 1,820 faculty members were reported as regular faculty in public affairs/public administration program surveyed in 1973. This total included 446 in political science, 414 in public administration, 185 in economics, 147 in business administration, 97 in planning, 77 in sociology, 70 in mathematics and statistics, 65 in law or criminal justice, 60 in health science, 41 in geography, and 218 in combined other fields. In the eight largest programs, in terms of the number of public administration faculty, only 31 political science faculties were listed, comprising about seven percent of political science faculty reported (Mackelprang & Fritschler, 1975).

An analysis of the 1978 Directory of Programs in Public Affairs and Administration (PA/A) showed more clearly the emergence of separate schools of public administration. There was an evident increasing emphasis on public administration courses and a consequent lessening of integration with business and law schools, on one hand, and political science departments, on the other.

Core public administration courses generally included organization behavior and theory, statistics, general administration or management, and some kind of quantitative methods courses. Of the 156 graduate institutions reporting, only fourteen reported formal administrative linkages with the school of business administration. Most of the PA/A programs (98 out of 156) had at least one faculty member from business administration teaching in their programs; 69 had at least one law school faculty member and 36 had an engineering faculty member.

How political science is situated in universities determined to a significant extent what political science as a field of study is. In 1975, Henry argued, “with the plurality of public administration still being conducted in political science departments, we can infer that political science currently dominates the field intellectually as well as institutionally” (p.385).

*Common, Independent, Integrated, and Separate Schools: 1980s-2000s*

By the 1980s, there were more than a dozen doctoral programs in public administration, and several of these programs focused on policy (Frederickson, 1989). In 1985, 81 master's degree programs have achieved "roster" status – "with the impact of the process most important in curriculum content and program jurisdiction issues" (Uveges & Keller, 1998, p. 8). By 1983, seventy universities had been granted the functional equivalent of accreditation by NASPAA. Most of the public administration programs were highly interdisciplinary and a quarter of the public administration faculty had earned their degrees specifically in the field of public administration. A total of more than 5,000 faculty members were reported as regular faculty in public affairs/public administration programs surveyed by NASPAA.

And yet, 16 percent of these faculties were political scientists teaching public administration while having their faculty appointment in political science departments. Actually, there were nearly as many political scientists teaching courses in public administration (20 percent of the total), as there were faculties who are public administrationists in 1986 (Henry, 1990). The remaining faculty came from economics, business administration, planning, statistics, computer science, sociology, and so forth (Henry, 1987). A random sampling of fifty representative institutions estimated that only 11 percent of graduate public administration programs had more than ten full-time faculty members then (Henry, 1987).

In terms of the scholarly published work the separation was much more evident. In 1983, when APSA published a review of the discipline, public administration was completely absent. The 600-page compendium, *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*, contained no discussion of public administration as a subfield.

During this period, the MPA and DPA degrees were noticeably gaining student popularity. Sheilah Mann's assessment of the "Placement of Political Scientists" (published in *PS* 15: 84-91) reveals that the growth of masters programs in public administration had taken away from the departments of political science some of the "bright career oriented students." As a result, about one third of political science departments reported a decline in the quality of their PhDs. The assessment further concluded that public administration was one of only two "pockets of optimism: among political scientists."

The American Political Science Association reported that in the 1989-1990 academic year 4760 individuals graduated from colleges and universities with degrees in political science. A little over 1% of this number entered federal employment in 1989-1990. NASPAA reported 8500 students earning degrees in public administration during these same years. However, less than 3% entered the federal government (Cleary, 1993).

In addition, the academic journals concerned with public policy, public affairs, and the public bureaucracy were flourishing. Public administration was undoubtedly taking the road toward academic independence. In 1987, Henry observed, “fortunately the institutional trend in public administration appears to be heading in the direction of establishing separate schools of public affairs and separate departments of public administration” (p. 384).

Actually, of the 186<sup>101</sup> institutions that responded to a survey conducted by NASPAA in 1983, 38% of public administration programs were located in political science departments. More than half (54%) of these programs were housed in separate departments or schools. The remaining 8% were combined with another department (NASPAA, 1984).

Today, the picture is rather complicated. It certainly is not that of a straightforward departmentalization of public administration. When reviewing the data on the academic schools or departments that offer degrees, both graduate and undergraduate, in the field of public administration, certain patterns emerge. These patterns enabled the grouping of these programs under five categories for the purpose of this study. These categories include: departments or schools of political science, departments or schools of public administration, combined schools of public administration and other related subjects, combined schools of public administration and policy related fields, and finally departments or schools of political science and public administration (sometimes combined with another third discipline).

NASPAA remained the main source of the data used in this section. All of the academic programs are not only located within an accredited institute of higher education, but are also NASPAA institutional members. The 235 university programs in public affairs, public policy, public administration, and public management must have

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<sup>101</sup> NASPPA had more than 200 college and university members at the time of the survey.

separately identified curricula leading to a professional graduate or undergraduate degree in public affairs administration or policy and have a substantial commitment to the purpose of NASPAA.

It is interesting to note here that NASPAA's member institutions with common interests or characteristics may group themselves into sections. Currently, there are five sections within the Association. These include: Comprehensive Schools, Political Science Based Programs, Nonprofit Management Education, Health Sector Management Education, and Small Programs. The establishment of such sections helps promote their members' shared interests.

NASPAA data consists of two sets. The first contains the member schools offering undergraduate degrees in Public Affairs or Administration. The second includes those institutional members that offer a graduate degree and those offering a master's degree and/or a doctorate in public administration or affairs.

Table 4 summarizes the result of the first set of data in terms of the institutional arrangement of public administration in the sixty-one colleges and universities that offer an undergraduate degree in public administration. These institutions are institutional members of NASPAA and are accredited as an institute of higher education.

Among the sixty-one undergraduate programs that offer a degree in public administration, 11 were located in departments or schools of political science. Some actually were combined with criminal justice such as at California State University, San Bernardino. Most of these are among the smaller colleges or universities in the United States. Seventeen programs were located in a separate department or school of public administration, such as the Woodrow Wilson School of Public Administration at Princeton University.



Table 4

*The Organization of the Sixty-one Schools offering an Undergraduate Degree in Public Administration*

Institutional arrangement of public administration in American colleges and universities	Number of institutions
Public administration under a political science department	11
Separate department or school of public administration	17
Public administration combined with other disciplines	17
Public administration under policy studies or analysis	9
Public administration integrated with political science department or school	7

Public administration was taught under various related disciplines or specialized departments in seventeen of these programs. Examples of the first include: the Edward S. Ageno School of Business at Golden Gate University, Lewis College of Urban Affairs at Cleveland State University, Department of Urban Affairs and Geography at Wright State University. Examples of the second include: the College of Professional Studies at the University of San Francisco, and the Department of Government and Society at Georgia College and State University.

In other institutional settings, public administration was combined with another field of study such as in the case of the School of Public Administration and Urban Affairs at Georgia State University and the College of Business and Public Administration at Governor's State University, and even the Department of Health Care and Public Administration at Long Island University. Two of the institutions offered the public administration undergraduate degree under the Department or School of Social Science such as at Texas A&M and the University of Texas at Dallas.

In the case of nine of the programs offering degrees in public administration, they were either combined with policy studies or under a specialized public policy school. For example, both the University of Southern California and Florida International University offer an undergraduate degree in public administration through their Schools of Policy Planning and Development and School of Policy and Management respectively. Meanwhile public administration is combined with Public Policy in the Michigan State University School of Public Policy and Administration and in the University at Albany, Suny, Department of Public Administration and Policy.

Table 5

*A List of the Seven Universities in which Public Administration and Political Science are Combined in the Same Department or School*

Universities where public administration and political science are in the same school or department
Auburn University at Montgomery
California State University, Chico
Grambling State University
Northern Michigan University
University of Dakota
Virginia State University
Alabama State University

Finally, only seven of the programs listed in Table 5 have combined or integrated departments of political science and public administration. With the exception of Alabama State University, each of the departments in those institutions is referred to as Department of Political Science and Public Administration. At Alabama State University,

a third joint discipline is taught in the Department of History, Political Science, and Public Administration.

Table 6

*The Organization of the Two Hundred and Thirty Schools offering a Graduate Degree in Public Administration*

Institutional arrangement of public administration in American colleges and universities	Number of institutions
Public administration under a political science department	45
Separate department or school of public administration	90
Public administration combined with other disciplines	52
Public administration under policy studies or analysis	30
Public administration integrated with political science department or school	13

The other set of data that is also analyzed in this section is that of the programs that offer a graduate degree in public administration. Once more, all the colleges or universities included are among NASPAA's institutional members. Again, the grouping is as follows: institutions that offer the public administration degree under (1) a political science department or school; (2) a public administration department or school; (3) a department or school where public administration is combined with another discipline, or

is actually under another discipline's department or school; (4) a department where public administration is combined with policy studies, or is in fact under a separate policy studies department or school; and (5) a department of public administration and political science. Table 6 summarizes the result of the second set of data in terms of the institutional arrangement of public administration in the 230 colleges and universities that offer an undergraduate degree in public administration.

Among the 230<sup>102</sup> members institutions, forty offer a graduate degree in public administration under their political science departments. Actually, at the Northern Kentucky University and the University of Idaho, political science is joined with Criminal Justice. However, it is important to note here that it is the public administrationists who teach organization theory, budgeting, and personnel whereas political scientists teach such subjects as American government, judicial behavior, the presidency, state and local politics, and legislative process, as well as non-American fields as comparative politics and international relations. Henry (1990) had observed that this "carving of analytical territory" between public administrationists and political scientists, during what he referred to as the "locus-oriented stage," was evident in the universities as early as the 1980s.

In ninety of the selected academic institutions, public administration was located in a separate or independent department or school. These departments are titled Public Administration/Public Affairs or simply Public Affairs, Public Service, Public Management, and even Public Affairs and Community Service such as at the University of Nebraska at Omaha. Examples of schools of Public Affairs are located at Florida Gulf Coast University, whereas New York University has a School of Public Service, DePaul University in Chicago has a Public Service School, and Seton Hall University has a Center for Public Service. Grand Valley State University in Michigan has a School of Public and Non Profit Administration.

Fifty-two colleges or universities offer a graduate degree in public administration under a joint program or another discipline's school or department. The latter include

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<sup>102</sup> The actual number of member institutions reported by NASPAA is 235. However, I chose to go by institutions (colleges and universities) rather than programs; thus the difference, as some universities might have several geographic locations within the same state, but with similar program content and departmental arrangement.

titles such as a Department or Institute of Government, Business School, a School or Department of Social Science, a Government and International Affairs School, a Management or Management and Urban Policy School, Department of Urban Affairs or even Department of Urban affairs and Geography at Wright State University, and Public Policy and Management. At Texas A&M University, public administration is located under the college of Arts and Humanities, whereas, at the University of Michigan, Dearborn, the School of Education offers the graduate degree in public administration. At both Clark University and Westfield State University, public administration is part of the Division of Graduate and Continuing Education and the College of Professional and Continuing Education respectively.

Furthermore, public administration is combined with other disciplines such as Business at Governor's State University, Urban affairs at the University of New Orleans, and environmental affairs. An example of the latter is the School of Public Administration and Environmental Affairs at Indiana University's five campuses. At the Marywood University, public administration is joined with Nursing in the Department of Nursing and Public Administration whereas at Long Island University, C. W. Post has a Department of Healthcare and Public Administration. In some instances, public administration is combined with International Affairs such as in the School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Georgia and at the University of Pittsburgh.

In addition, public administration is combined with Public Policy or Policy Analysis or is located within a separate Public Policy School in thirty of NASPAA's member institutions. Examples of institutions with Schools or Departments of Public Policy and Public Administration or Public Administration and Policy include Boise State University and Florida State University, respectively. Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville has a Department of Public Administration and Policy Analysis. In other settings, public administration was under a Public Policy and Management Department or a separate policy related school such as at the University of Chicago. The latter offers a graduate degree in public administration through the Harris School of Public Policy Studies.

Table 7

*A List of the Thirteen Universities in which Public Administration and Political Science are combined in the Same Department or School*

Name of the university
Auburn University at Montgomery
California State University
Savannah State University
Northern Michigan University
University of North Dakota
Western California University
Albany State University
University of Tennessee at Chattanooga
University of Toledo
University of Northern Florida
Georgia Southern University
Mississippi State University
North Carolina State University

Finally, of all the 230 institutions included in this analysis, only thirteen had a combined Political Science and public administration--or public affairs<sup>103</sup> school or department. Actually, at the California State University, public administration is under the Division of Politics, Administration, and Justice, whereas, at Savannah State University it is under the Department of Political Science, Public Administration, and Urban Studies. At the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, the department is referred to as the Department of Political Science, Public Administration, and Non Profit

<sup>103</sup> None of these departments are called Public Administration (or Public Affairs) and Political Science.

Management, while at Albany State University it is called the Department of History, Political Science, and Public Administration. With the exception of Western California University, where the department is named Political Science and Public Affairs, all the remaining eight universities have a department of political science and public administration. These academic institutions are listed in Table 7.

A few notes are worth mentioning at this point of the analysis. First, in only six percent of the selected institutions is public administration combined with political science. Second, the fact remains that the graduate degree in public administration is still offered under the political science department or school in around eighteen percent of those institutions. However, public administration is located in independent schools or departments in forty percent of the included Universities and Colleges in the United States. In fact, public administration is combined or under another discipline in 23 percent of these academic establishments and is joined with Policy studies in thirteen percent of the NASPAA's listed institutional members.

*What is the significance of all of the above?* The data presented only provides a partial answer to that question. And yet, the answer to this question constitutes an important part of this study as it helps complete the picture and clarify the present condition of the relationship between public administration and political science.

Public administration's birth certificate shows the political science department as the birthplace of the field. Public administration spent most of its childhood in its birthplace until it reached its adolescence when it chose, not without hurt feelings, to move out. In so many ways, it thrived to simply prove itself. It ultimately succeeded to establish itself as both a legitimate and an accredited field of study.

However, its true loyalty and strong ties to its home place were, and could never be forgotten. The feelings of nostalgia were reciprocal. That is why to this day, eighteen percent of the institutional members of NASPAA that offer graduate degrees in public administration are still located in separate political science departments or schools and six percent of these institutions have a joint program in public administration and political science.

Those numbers might not be statistically significant; however, they indicate that the relationship between the two disciplines was never that of a simple acquaintance. The

scholarly work of the residents of both the “hometown” and “out of town” reveals further evidence that the ties might have become weak but were never totally broken.

*The Scholarly Work of the Two Disciplines in their Respective Publications: A Content Analysis*

Content analysis, whether computer-based, hand-coded, or interpretive, has been used to study anything from art forms to political speeches. There is no right way to do content analysis (Weber, 1985); instead each investigator must judge what methods are appropriate for the substantive problem or issue under study. For the purpose of this study, a basic content analysis of written documents, such as selected professional journals and published books would reveal some patterns, trends, and foci in both public administration and political science. The result is used to interpret and explain the changes that have occurred in the relationship between the two disciplines over the course of the Twentieth Century.

The most important media for communication of knowledge and ideas include scholarly journals, books, personal communication, and professional meetings. With the exception of personal communication, most of these were analyzed in terms of content and related special events. A measure of current trends in each of the two fields may be obtained through the analysis of references, quotations, expressions in journals and books, in addition to a profile of the main figures in both fields. Professional and institutional change is revealed in the content of these sources.

Due to the large number of possible sources for information available on one hand, and the particular kind of inferences this study is seeking to reach on the other, sampling is required. Despite the fact that sampling is employed primarily for the sake of economy, the interpretation remains an essential component of the research. Data requires the careful explanation of its significance in the light of theoretical and substantive concerns of this study. Following is a presentation of the results of such process.

*Journals Analysis*

Professional journals are central in the professional life of each and every scholar or practitioner. They are a primary means of communicating ideas and research findings to other members of the professional community, and hence help record the collective



progress in understanding the wider world. They not only serve as instrument of professional advancement and intellectual growth, but also as channels of theoretical development and methodological change.

Most of the changing features of the content of professional journals, as well as books, are believed to be a reflection of shifts taking place in each of the two disciplines rather than changes in the journals themselves. An inspection of a few of these major journals in each of the two fields during the last few decades would indicate that substantial developments were occurring among political scientists and public administrationists about the subjects that demand their respective attention.

For example, the number of articles using quantitative methods is indicative of the influence of behavioralism on the discipline of political science at one point in time. The move toward evaluation studies in the 1960s is certainly a by-product of the quest within public administration to move toward a more “applied” research program.

The journals chosen strive to provide general coverage of the field, although by omitting journals such as the *American Journal of Politics* (previously known as *Midwest Journal Of Political Science*: 1957-1972), *Political Research Quarterly*, and other specialized journals such as *World Politics*, *Comparative Politics*, and *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* or *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, some distortion undoubtedly has been built into the results. Making generalizations about both professions from trends emerging in only a few of the political science and public administration journals make the results somewhat inconclusive.

Nevertheless, articles published in these journals, especially *American Political Science Review* and *Public Administration Review* constitute most of the best work in the respective disciplines of political science and public administration and represent the major preoccupations of political scientists and public administrationists during the last century. These selected journals are not only considered the leading journals, but also the most widely circulated and substantively broad-based journals in both fields.

*PAR* is the most circulated and oldest public administration’s journal. It is simply “the public administration” journal. The *American Review of Public Administration* is also considered one of the oldest journals and is widely read. Finally, *J-PART* continues to appeal to academicians in the field.

Table 8 provides a list of the main public administration scholarly journals starting with the *Journal of Public Administration* in 1923. Table 9 provides a list of the major political science scholarly journals beginning with *Political Science Quarterly* in 1886.

Table 8

*A List of the Major Public Administration Scholarly Journals*

Year	Journal title
1923-	<i>Journal of Public Administration</i> , continued by <i>Public Administration</i> in 1925
1940-	<i>Public Administration Review (PAR)</i>
1956-	<i>Administrative Science Quarterly (ASQ)</i>
1967-	<i>Midwest Review of Public Administration</i> , continued by <i>American Review of Public Administration (ARPA)</i> in 1981
1972-	<i>Journal of Comparative Administration</i> , merged with <i>Administration and Society</i> in 1974
1974-	<i>Administration and Society</i>
1977	<i>Southern Review of Public Administration</i> continued by <i>Public Administration Quarterly</i> in 1983
1981-	<i>Journal of Policy Analysis and Management</i> ; <i>Policy Studies Review</i> , continued by <i>Review of Public Policy</i> in 2001
1990	<i>Journal of Public Administration Education (J-PAE)</i> ; <i>Journal of Administrative Research and Theory (J-PART)</i>

Table 9

*A List of the Major Political Science Scholarly Journals*

Year	Journal Title
1886-	<i>Political Science Quarterly</i>
1890	<i>Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Sciences</i>
1892	<i>American Journal of Politics</i> , continued by <i>American Magazine of Civics</i> in 1893 then merged with <i>Arena</i> in 1897
1904-	<i>Proceedings of the American Political Science Association</i> , incorporated in the <i>Review</i> in 1913
1906	<i>American Political Science Review (APSR)</i>
1910-	<i>Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science in the City of New York</i> , continued by the <i>Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science</i> that ceased in 1991
1910-	<i>Municipal Research Journal</i>
1938-	<i>The Journal of Politics</i>
1948-	<i>The Western Political Science Quarterly</i> , continued by <i>Political Research Quarterly</i> in 1993; <i>World Politics</i>
1956-	<i>Midwest Journal of Political Scientists</i> , continued by <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> in 1957
1968-	<i>PS</i> , continued by <i>PS: Political Science and Politics</i> in 1988
1972-2001	<i>Policy Studies Journal</i>
1973	<i>Political Theory</i>
1979	<i>Political Behavior</i>
1980	<i>International Political Science Review</i>
2003	<i>Perspectives on Politics</i>

For the purpose of this study an elective selection based on the prominence of the journals in both fields is made. The journals selected in the political science discipline are: *American Political Science Review*, *The Journal of Politics*, *Political Science Quarterly*, and *PS: Political Science and Politics* (previously called *PS*: 1968-1987). In the public administration discipline the reviewed journals are: *Public Administration Review*, *American Review of Public Administration*, and the *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory: J-PART*. The content of these journals is analyzed in terms of general content of articles, subjects related to the respective fields, and books reviewed in both disciplines in the journals.

The titles of articles in these political science journals are reviewed to search for public administration/public affairs related topics. The same is done with titles of articles related to political science in the selected public administration journals. In addition, the content of these articles is analyzed in terms of its reference or treatment of the opposite field. Also, the usages of some specific terms such as discipline versus profession mainly in the political science literature, and the reference to the field as “public affairs” rather than “public administration” are both taken into consideration because of their specific implications and significance. Finally, the book review sections of the different issues in both sets of journals were scanned to further illustrate the relationship between the two disciplines at different periods in time.

I have not come across a similar method of analysis in any of the studies I reviewed. However, the results of several surveys of articles published in journals in both fields have been reported in professional journals. Content analysis type studies of political science journals appeared in Walker (1972) and Miller et al. (1996). Also, Parsons (1990) examined the annual index of the *American Political Science Review* in the December issue of each year from 1950 to 1959, and compared it with that of each year between 1960 and 1969. A summary of the findings of these studies is integrated within the content analysis that follows.

For simplicity the data is grouped into four different periods: 1900-1930s, 1940-1950s, 1960-1980s, and 1990-2000s. It becomes evident that these times groupings are similar to others used previously in this study. The fact is that these intervals in time mark a change in both the theoretical trends and organizational structures of political

science and public administration. This change had ultimately affected the relationship between the two fields of studies and had altered their mutual perspectives and views of their interdependence as disciplines.

Public administration in political science journals.

When reviewing the articles in the four political science journals selected for the analysis, public administration related topics varied in frequency and intensity. As it will become evident, the content of these journals is deemed indicative of the developments, both intellectual and institutional, of the relationship between the two disciplines.

Table 10 summarizes the results of the content analysis of these journals. It provides the number of articles related to public administration in addition to the number of book reviews in the field of public administration. The purpose is to reveal the changes that have occurred in the relationship between the two fields as it is reflected through their respective scholarly literature. As Table 10 shows, the number of both articles and book reviews has significantly decreased in the 1960s thru the 1980s period.

These findings are consistent with agrees with Parsons' (1990). His analysis revealed a decrease in the frequency of public administration articles and books reviewed or noted in the field of public administration between the 1960s decade and the 1980s. In the former period, he reported a total of 38 articles and 51 book reviews in the *American Political Science Review*. Only 7 articles, 8 book reviews, and 33 book notes were noted in the latter period. He argued that this decrease reflects "the declining attention given to public administration in the *Review* after the early 1950s" (p.36). Although the total number had decreased in the period 1990- 2000, a significant increase in the proportion of articles is noted. There were 14 articles compared to 8 in the previous period in which most references to public administration were through book reviews or notes.

Table 10

*Number of Public Administration Related Articles and Book Review Sections in Four Political Science Journals*

Time period	Total number of articles	Number of book reviews
1900-1939	75	52 book reviews
1940-1959	40	54 book reviews
1960-1989	8	15 book reviews, 38 book notes
1990- present	14	13 book reviews

Between 1900 and 1939, there were approximately 127 public administration related articles and book review sections published in the selected four political science journals. The most interesting one is W. W. Willoughby's piece on "The American Political Science Association" in *Political Science Quarterly* published as early as 1904. In this article, Willoughby describes public administration as one of the distinct subjects of inquiry of political science. As a matter of fact, "the general study of government," as he called it, "its different forms, the distribution of its powers, its various organs-- legislative, executive and judicial, central and local-- and the principles governing its administration," is an essential component of political science.

Over the next three decades, political science remained concerned with public administration and public affairs. Several of the articles in the first quarter of the Twentieth Century, focused on the "public affairs" of different cities and states. Their authors reported on "The Wisconsin State Board of Public Affairs" (Jefferson, 1912), "The Los Angeles Institute of Public Affairs", and the "Institute of Public Affairs of the University of Virginia" (Rockey, 1926 and 1927), while others examined the "Board of Public Affairs" (Jefferson, 1911) and "The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs" (Hopkins, 1915).

Meanwhile, scholars in the field studied “Public Health Administration” (Connors, 1916), while others reviewed books such as the “Principles of Public Personnel Administration” (Procter, 1922) and the “Recent Development in Public Personnel Administration” (Stout, 1939). Some of these articles examined issues related to administration, such as Milton V. Smith (1934) “Public Administration: Early Administrative Phases of a State Liquor Store System”; Luella Gelly’s (1936) “Preliminary Hearings in Naturalization Administration”; and Herbert Emmerich’s (1936) “Public Administration: Distinguishing Administrative Aspects of the Farm Credit Administration.” In 1932, Peyton Hurt asked, “Who Should Reorganize the National Administration?” In 1937, John McDiarmid wrote: “Public Administration: Reorganization of the General Accounting Office.”

However, the bulk of the public administration articles published in *APSR* during that period dealt with the study of public administration in general, its principles, status, and some of its main subjects. Darrell H. Smith (1928) talked about the “Problems of Public Administration”; whereas, W. W. Willoughby (1930) presented “A General Survey of Research in Public Administration.” The latter was actually the Report of the Committee on Policy of the American Political Science Association. Later, William E. Mosher covered the “Case Studies in Public Administration” in 1939.

Leonard D. White published a series of articles between 1928 and 1935 on public administration. John M. Gaus coauthored (with White) two of these in 1934 and 1935. In the former, “Public Administration in the United States in 1933,” the authors referred to those interested in public administration and political science as one entity or group. Actually, in another article in 1935, Gaus argued that political scientists would be interested in knowing and contributing to the development in the program on public administration of the Social Science Research Council. Earlier, Gaus had offered some “Notes on Administration: The Present Status of the Study of Administration in the United States” in 1931. He lamented the situation and observed that very little work “has been done by political scientists in reappraising our administrative theory” (p.121).

These articles on trends in public administration in *APSR* recorded developments across eras. They presented the community of both public administrators and political scientists with a summary of events affecting public administration activities and

government operations (in 1928, 1929, 1930, and 1933 respectively). Meanwhile, other work published during that period examined educational establishments and training programs in public administration such as “A Graduate School of Public Administration at Harvard University: Committee Recommendations” (1937).

As far as books reviewed, they constituted what are now considered classics in the field. Examples include: *Principles of Public Administration* by W. F. Willoughby, *Trends in Public Administration* by Leonard D. White, and *Public Administration and the Public Interest* by E. Pendleton Herring, and *Introduction to Public Administration* by Leonard D. White.

Between 1940 and 1959, a small shift in focus in the articles published in political science journals is noted. In terms of general public administration related topics, Henry A. Wallace (1940) looked at “Emerging Problems in Public Administration” while Herbert Kaufman (1956) examined the “Emerging Conflicts in the Doctrine of Public Administration”. In addition there were articles on international administration such as “Public Administration: The Application of Scientific Management to International Administration” (Stone, 1948) while others were concerned with the “National Security in American Public Affairs” (Millet, 1949).

An interesting focus is noted during this period on educational issues in public administration, or as it was referred to more often, ‘public affairs.’ Examples of such studies include: “Public Administration: Political Science and Federal Employment” (Davenport & Sims, 1941), “Public Administration: The Study of Public Administration” (Wengert, 1942), “Public Administration: The University and the Public Service” (Walker, 1945), and “A Laboratory Method for Teaching Public Administration” (Connery, 1948), in addition to a review of John M. Pfiffner’s book *Research Methods in Public Administration* (Ascher, 1941). In “Reflections of a Law Professor on Instruction and Research in Public Administration,” Kenneth Davis (1953) contrasted the case study method with the methods presented by conventional textbooks in public administration.

Another interesting twist in the type and content of these articles, especially after 1945, are those related to the actual practice of public administration and the necessity of the involving political scientists in the government administration. Articles such as “Public Administration: War and the Federal Service” (Howard, 1942), “Public



Administration: A Proposed Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Federal Government” (Woods, 1943), “Public Administration: Institutionalizing Administrative Controls” (Pinney, 1944), and “Public Administration in the Atomic Age” are good examples of this newer and more applied focus. In the latter article, Arthur W. Bromage (1947) called for the decentralization of public administration as an important requirement for “atomic warfare.”

In terms of the book reviews, public administration books were still getting the attention of many reviewers in the *American Political Science Review*. David B. Truman’s book on *Administrative Decentralization*, George Benson’s *Case Reports in Public Administration*, John M. Gaus’s *Reflections on Public Administration*, Dwight Waldo’s *The Administrative State*, and E. N. Gladden’s *The Essentials of Public Administration* are some of the many reviewed books during that period. These continue to be regarded as major books in the field of public administration.

Other reviewed some recent books on policy such as *Public Administration and Policy Development: A Case Book*, and *Public Administration and Policy Formulation: Studies in Oil, Gas, Banking, River Development, and Corporate Investigation*. Also, some books related to the practice of administration. Examples include: *Administration of Public Welfare*, *Public Assistance* and *Problems of Administration in Social Work*.

In 1952, Roscoe C. Martin revisited the relationship between the two disciplines. In “Political Science and Public Administration: A Note on the State of the Union,” Martin reexamined the bonds that tie the two fields together and called for a reevaluation of the connection.

During the next period between 1960 and 1989, that concern with the connection between the two disciplines and their common historical roots was markedly lessened. A review of the journals confirms a decline in the interest on the part of political scientists in public administration and its subject matter. Except for a few articles, most, if not all, of the entries were book reviews.

Even among those articles, one was remotely related to public administration. In 1976, Michael J. Robinson wrote on the “Public Affairs Television and the Growth of Political Malaise: The Case of “The Selling of the Pentagon””. He urged political

scientists to be more aware of the impact of public affairs television, especially of the effects of television journalism, on politics and political life.

The third Gaus lecture delivered at the APSA meeting was published in *PS: Political Science and Politics* in 1988. The recipient of this award, James W. Fesler, argued that public administration and other fields of political science have a symbiotic relation. In his lecture, he explored the relation between the study of public administration and the discipline of political science. Furthermore, the real world of governance and the analytical world of political science should not be apart, he added.

The other article was Dwight Waldo's well-known piece on "Public Administration" published in 1968 in *Journal of Politics*. Waldo refers to public administration as the academic "sub-discipline," one that is having difficulty in defining its relations with its mother discipline" (p. 443), obviously meaning political science. This article marked an early sign of the separation of the two disciplines. In this review and analysis, Waldo raised several questions and expressed many concerns related to the relationship between the two fields both in the present and future. In fact, Waldo might be one of the very few who were still showing interest in the development of that relation. The next study testifies to that.

In 1972, Walker conducted a survey of the subjects of all articles published during eleven years from 1960 through 1970 in the *American Political Science Review*, and the four regional journals, *Journal of Politics*, the *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, *Western Political Quarterly*, and *Polity*. The most striking aspect of the resulting data was the uniformity of the distribution of the data in terms of contextual content and subjects. Most political scientists seemed to be primarily concerned with the health and well being of democratic political institutions.

Between 1960 and 1970 only 4 percent of all articles published in the five major political science journals dealt with public administration (Henry, 1987). Compare that figure with the percentage of articles in other categories published during that period: "political parties," 13 percent; "public opinion," 12 percent; "legislatures," 12 percent; and "elections/voting," 11 percent. In 1970, the six categories of public opinion, voting behavior and elections, political parties, pressure groups, legislative behavior, and the

behavior of chief executives constituted 61 percent of the total (up from 53 percent in the previous years).

By way of contrast, articles concerning bureaucratic politics and policy analysis, judicial behavior and constitutional law, urban and metropolitan problems, regional government and federalism constituted only 18 percent of the total (these four categories accounted for only 13 percent of the articles published in 1970. Walker (1972) concluded that political scientists “in recent years have not paid much attention to the vast new public bureaucracies emerging at all levels of the American and Western political systems” (p.420).

In addition, Walker (1972) argued that several articles were written during the last decade analyzing the inner workings of several American congressional committees, but there were no articles on the Department of Justice, the Federal Aviation Agency, or the Ford Foundation, all having had prominent influences on public policy during the 1960s. The author laments these findings as he concluded that the discipline still seemed to operate as if bureaucracies and courts were someone else’s business. Because of the rapid expansion of American public bureaucracies during that period, he argued that scant had serious consequences. The profession, he contends, “runs the risk of being left out of a growing national debate over the bureaucratization of American life” (p.422). The growing weight of expert knowledge in policy formulation continued to push bureaucracy toward a position of pre-eminence in the governance process. Walker (1972) observed that bureaucratic power rests partly on the capacities of public agencies as expertise, and partly on the fact that administrative agencies had become major centers for the mobilization of political energy and support. As a result, Walker concluded, “bureaucratic politics rather than party politics had become the dominant place of decision in the modern state”(p.423).

A review of the books reviewed up to 1989 provides further evidence of the shift in focus within the discipline on the different public administration related topics. Books on scientific inquiry and the application of theoretical frameworks and approaches in public administration gained attention. Examples include books such as *Science and Government*, *Science and Public Administration*, and *Scientists and Government* (both reviewed in 1961). Others include works on *The Political Economy of Public*

*Administration: A Critique and Approach to the Study of Public Administration* (reviewed in 1974) and the *Public Choice Theory in Public Administration* (reviewed in 1984).

In addition, general books in public administration were also reviewed. Such books include: *Comparative Public Administration* (1965), *Public Administration in American Society* (1982), *Public Administration and Law* (1984), *Comparative Public Administration; An Annotated Bibliography* (1984), and *Rural Public Administration: Problems and Prospects* (1987).

Additional books include: *The Study of Government: Political Science and Public Administration* by F. F. Ridley was reviewed by Richard Stillman in 1977; *Politics and Administration: Woodrow Wilson and American Public Administration* by Jack Rabin and James S. Bowman was reviewed by Phillip C. Wall in 1984; and *A Search for Public Administration: The idea and Career of Dwight Waldo* by Brack Brown and Richard Stillman was reviewed in 1987 by A. B. Villanueva.

Now, getting to the last decade of the Twentieth Century, the picture that emerges is somewhat different. The delineation between the two disciplines took another form and shape. When reviewing the content of the four selected journals, mainly *APSR* and *PS: Political Science and Politics*, public administration reappeared on the pages of these journals. However, this time it was viewed under a special lens and treated from a different angle.

There were thirteen public administration related books reviewed in all of the selected journals-- except in *Political Science Quarterly* which had none. *Journal of Politics*, for the first time, included five reviews of books related to public administration. Authors reviewed *Public Administration: The State of the Discipline* by Naomi B. Lynn and Aaron Wildavsky, *Refounding Public Administration* by Gary L. Wamsley, et al., in 1991. In 1997, two following books were reviewed in this journal: *The Political Economy of Public Administration: Institutional Choice in the Public Sector* by Murray J. Horn and *Continuity and Disruption: Essays in Public Administration* by Matthew Holden. The first book of this list was also reviewed in *APSR* that same year. In 2001, Beryl A. Radin's reviewed Rosenbloom's book on *Building A Legislative-Centered Public Administration*.

*Political Science Quarterly* contained only one review of a book related to public administration. This appeared in a 1997 issue. Brian J. Cook's *Bureaucracy and Self-Government: Reconsidering the Role of Public Administration in American Politics* was also reviewed in *APSR* that same year. This book constitutes one of the main references in the present study, especially in the analysis of the relationship between the two fields during the more recent years.

In the *APSR*, there were approximately seven book reviews between the 1990 and until now. These include: *The Case for Justice: Strengthening Decision Making and Policy in Public Administration* by Gerald M. Pops and Thomas J. Pavlak (1992); *Corporate Political Agency: The Construction of Competition in Public Affairs* by Barry M. Mitnick (1994); *The Founders, The Constitution, and Public Administration: A Conflict in World Views* by Michael W. Spicer (1996); *Bureaucracy and Self Governance: Reconciling the Role of Public Administration in American Politics* by Brian M. Cook (1999); and *Taking Language Seriously: The Narrative Foundations of Public Administration Research* by Jay D. White (2000).

In terms of related articles published during that period, the number significantly increased when compared to the previous three decades. And yet, there were no articles found in either *Political Science Quarterly* or *American Political Science Review* directly related to the general subject of public administration. It was not until 2003 that *The Journal of Politics* actually published an article related to the field. Mary E. Guy's "Ties That Bind: The Link between Public Administration and Political Science", as described previously, which was the initial impetus for this research study.

In *PS: Political Science and Politics* alone there were a total of thirteen articles related to public administration. Six of these articles consisted of the John M. Gaus Lectures delivered by the annual awardees<sup>104</sup> at the annual meetings. Meanwhile, the focus of the other seven articles ranged from issues related to the teaching of public administration to the connections between public administration and comparative politics. A good example is Herbert H. Werlin's "Linking Public Administration to Comparative Politics" in 1998.

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<sup>104</sup> Previous award winners' distinguished lecturers starting in 1986 include: Herbert Kaufman, C. Dwight Waldo, James Fesler, Aaron Wildavsky, and Frederick C. Mosher in 1990.

Todd R. LaPorte and David Hadwiger considered “Teaching Public Administration Through Field Research” (1991), while Dorothy Olshfski examined the uses of experience in analyzing a managerial problem in “Teaching Public Administration by Exploiting Managerial Experience” (1994). Robert H. Carver asked “Where Does Policy Analysis Belong in the Undergraduate Public Administration Major?” (1996). Donald C. Menzel conducted a survey on “Teaching Ethics and Values: A Survey of Graduate Public Affairs and Administration Programs in the U.S.” (1997). Earlier, in 1993, Robert E. Cleary explored the patterns of “Federal Hiring of Government in Political Science and Public Administration”.

The Gaus lectures published in *PS: Political Science and Politics* between 1990 and 2000 included: “Politics, Political Science and the Public Interest” by Norton E. Long (1991); “Whose Bureaucracy is this, Anyway? Congress, The Presidency, and Public Administration” by Francis E. Rourke (1993); “Reinventing Public Administration” by James Q. Wilson (1994); “The Human Side of Public Administration” by Louis G. Gawthrop (1998); “The Repositioning of Public Administration” by H. George Frederickson (1999); and “Public Administration in Today’s World of Organizations and Markets” by Herbert A. Simon (2000). Most of these articles were used as references at one point or another in this study as they provided evidence of what I called the “revisiting phase” between the two fields.

It is interesting here to refer to a study done by Miller, et al. in 1996, in which the authors analyzed the content of the *American Political Science Review* over the course of most of the Twentieth Century. They included a table showing the content of *APSR* in seven substantive subfields. These subfields include: political behavior, parties/interest groups, foreign/comparative, international relations, institutions, theory, study/methods, and miscellaneous (women’s studies, economics, etc.). The table demonstrated that “Study of Institutions” (which includes: legislative, presidency, judiciary, and bureaucracy) comprised 35.6% of *APSR* between the years 1906 and 1953. However, between 1954 and 1973, these studies had declined to 13.8%. In the most recent years (1974-1994), that percentage decreased to 8.6% of the overall content.

The authors argued that this variation in content is the result of several factors. These include: the shifting focus of the discipline, the responsiveness of the reviewer, the

emergence of new data, and changes in editorial decision-making. However, the obvious change in the substance and subject matter appears to be mainly attributable to the shifting in focus of the discipline.

Finally, and prior analyzing of the content of some of public administration journals, one observation is worth mentioning. Empirical evidence would strongly suggest that increasing collaboration is a trend occurring in the social sciences. An examination of the political science literature shows an increase in collaborative articles over the last 20 years. The most dramatic changes occur in the substantively broad-based political science journals (Miller, et al., 1996). It would seem that a by-product of the change would be a higher quality scholarship and a much needed interdisciplinary approach.

#### Political science in public administration journals.

When reviewing the articles in three major public administration journals, political science related-topics were not abundant. This is true for most of the three time periods, except for the most recent one.

It is important to note here that all three journals had a later publication date than most of the political science journals that are included in this analysis. *Public Administration Review* and *American Review of Public Administration* appeared in 1940, and 1981, respectively. The *American Review of Public Administration*<sup>105</sup> was previously known as the *Midwest Review of Public Administration* established in 1967. The first issue of the *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory: J-PART* was published in 1991. On the other hand, *Political Science Quarterly* appeared as early as 1886 and *American Political Science Review*, *The Journal of Politics*, and *PS: Political Science and Politics* began in 1906, 1939, and 1968 respectively.

The results of the content analysis are summarized in Table 11. The number of articles related to political science was minimal until recently. In fact, there were only two articles on political science from the 1940s through the 1980s. However, the reemergence of articles related to political science becomes apparent in the most recent period (1900s-2000s). The main subject of several of these recent articles is the

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<sup>105</sup> The publication of the *American Review of Public Administration* was suspended from September 1983 to November 1987.

relationship between public administration and political science. The rest fell into different subject categories. The number of book reviews increased significantly from 1960 to 1989. It went from only two political science books reviewed to thirty-two. That number slightly declined again in the last decade of the Twentieth Century.

Table 11

*Number of Political Science Related Articles and Book Review Sections in Three Public Administration Scholarly Journals*

Time period	Number of articles	Number of book reviews
1940-1959	0	2 book reviews
1960-1989	2	35 book reviews
1990- present	22	19 book reviews

Between 1940 and 1959, there was no article related to the field of political science published. In addition, only two book reviews appeared during this period in *PAR*. The first was written by Joseph P. Harris who reviewed the “Organization of the Congress,” the “Reorganization of Congress,” and “Strengthening of Congress”. The second was a review of three books on “Understanding Legislatures”.

Then, between the years 1960 and 1989, there were a total of thirty-seven pieces related to the study of political science. Only two of these were actual articles, while the remaining thirty-five were reviews of books and other professional works. As a matter of fact, the article that was published in *PAR* in 1972 was relatively short in length. William B. Eddy and Robert J. Saunders looked at “Applied Behavioral Science in Urban Administration/Political Systems.” The other article is “Politics, Legislatures, and Public Administration” written by Raymond W. Cox in *ARPA* (1988).



Most review sections, especially those in *PAR* had several books pertaining to a general subject in political science. Examples include topics such as “Political Form and Metropolitan Reform” (1963), “Who Decides? -Economics and Politics” (1968), “The Future of Political Parties as Organizations and Symbols”(1975). Other reviews focused on policy related books under general titles such as “Transportation Policy Analysis” (1968), “Community Policy Analysis” (1969), “Can Planners Find Happiness in a Political World” (1970), “In Search of the Master Science: Population Policy in the Seventies” (1975), “Where Policies Come From: Ideas, Innovations, and Agenda Choices” (1985), and “Politics and Policy Science” (1989).

A few reviews focused on books dealing with political economy. These include books such as *The Political Economy of Change* by Illichman Warren F. (1974) and *The Political Economy of American Rural Development* by George M. Guess (1983).

And yet, some specific works reviewed in these sections represent some of the prominent work of political scientists with some affinity to public administration and its historical connection to political science. A good example of such work is Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus’ well-known book *The Development of American Political Science: From Burgess to Behavioralism*.

In addition, prominent scholars in public administration who also had shown interest in political science reviewed many of the newly published books in political science. Dwight Waldo reviewed *The Future of Political Science* by Harold D. Lasswell (1964), while Richard J. Stillman, II reviewed several books related to “Campaign Management in Transition or “The Party’s over”” (1978), and “The Future of the American Constitution and the Administrative State after the Bicentennial: Some Reflections” (1988).

Finally, in *PAR*, John B. Richard (1975) reviewed five books published between 1973 and 1975.

1. James W. Davis, Jr. 1974. *An Introduction to Public Administration: Politics, Policy, and Bureaucracy*. New York: The Free press.
2. William L. Morrow. 1975. *Politics and the Political System*. Mew York: Random House.

3. John Rehfuss. 1973. *Public Administration as a Political Process*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
4. Don Allensworth. 1973. *Public Administration: The Execution of Public Policy*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company.
5. Ira Sharkansky. 1975. *Public Administration: Policy-Making in Government Agencies*. Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company.

Many of these books were used as references in this study as they illustrated the start of what I call the "revisiting" initiatives between the two disciplines during the last quarter of the Twentieth Century. They provided an interesting as well as an informative approach to the field of public administration as they utilized a "political process" approach. They included chapters on "the politics of administration," "administration and politics," or perhaps "the political context," and certainly the "political process."

In his review of these books, "Politics in /and/ or/but Administration," Richard (1975) emphasized the tremendous need within the discipline for an increased awareness not only of administrative techniques but of political problems as well. The training of middle-range administrators in government should incorporate not only the technical and specialty components, but also should provide them with "the administrative concepts and communication within the political world in which they reside"(p. 651). This new trend marks the start of a new phase in the relationship between not so traditional renewed public administration and the new-fangled political science.

In the last decade of the Twentieth Century and until more recently, a subtle but definite change in the content of public administration journals, in terms of political science related articles, is certainly evident. However, the review sections are less frequent and much shorter. Of the nineteen political science books that were reviewed, seven were mostly included in what *PAR* calls its "short book review" section. In *ARPA*, there were 17 book reviews, of which one is of interest to this study. In 2001, Charles T. Goodsell reviewed four books in an attempt to examine the condition of "Public Administration Scholarship: Backwater or Deep Blue Sea". In his forward to *The Promise of Representative Bureaucracy: Diversity and responsiveness in a government agency* (1997) by Sally Coleman Selden, Kenneth J. Meier argued that "public administration has long been viewed as a theoretical and methodological backwater of

political science”(p.xi). In addition to reviewing the latter, Goodsell assessed three other books from the standpoint of whether they belong in the ‘backwater’ category. He concluded that the broad spectrum of attention and the technical quality of the research reflected through these books mean that there is a need to “reconstitute the metaphoric imaginary” of public administration’s scholarship. The latter “is not confined to a backwater but permeates the deep sea” (p.463).

In *ARPA* alone, fifteen articles could be placed in one of the political science subject categories. Several of these articles focused on “Comparing the Roles of Political Appointees and Career Service in the U.S. Federal Executive Branch” (2000), whereas others dealt with the “Political Environment of Privatization and its impact on Public Management (2003). Tanya Heikkila and Kimberly Roussin Isett (2004) looked at how the political system shapes public management strategies in “Modeling Operational Decision Making in Public Organizations: An Integration of Two Institutional Theories.” Others considered how punctuated equilibrium theory offers a better way of relating politics, government institutions and policies (2004).

It is interesting to note here that in *ARPA* between 1990 and 2005 eight articles-- although not related to political science-- constituted a revised version of papers presented at the annual meetings of several political science associations. These include the American Political Science Association, the Oklahoma Political Science Association, the Midwest Political Science Association, and the Western Political Science Association.

Meanwhile, two of the book reviews in *PAR* and seven of the twenty-two full-length selected articles that were published during that period had a common focus. This focus constitutes a backbone of the argument in this study. Although looking from different angles and using different perspectives, they all dealt, again, with public administration and its relationship with political science.

In *J-PART* Janet Kelly (1999) reviewed *Continuity and Disruption: Essays in Public Administration* (1996) by Matthew Holden, Jr. This book is a collection of essays by Holden in which the author asserts that the barriers between political science and public administration are artificial, “erected for convenience not clarity”(Kelly, 1999, p.356). Holden asks: *why did political science not counter the politics/administration*

*dichotomy with the observation that administration was just an exercise of political power?* (p. 209). He attributed this to the lack of research a case of poor self-esteem on the part of the two disciplines. Kelly (1999) considers Holden's solicitation for a better understanding of how that power is exercised, and to what end, an admonition to political science and public administration.

Holden claimed that politics and administration are inseparable. He illustrated this point by looking at the primacy of executive leadership and how it impedes an empirical analysis of power relationships in bureaucracy. According to Kelly (1999), this work represents a "contemporary treatise on the intractability of politics and administration," one that is "a welcome addition to the literature" (p.358). Finally, Holden calls for the need of a working theory of politics and administration that is based on how power is used to achieve outcomes. This could only be achieved when both disciplines work together and ignore the traditional dogma and doctrines that have invaded the two fields.

Another review of newly published books in the 1990s was included in *PAR*. In 1998, Douglas F. Morgan reviewed four books dealing with "Bureaucracy and the American Constitution" and asked, "Can the triumph of Instrumentalism Be Reverse?" These four books are:

1. Brian J. Cook. 1996. *Bureaucracy and Self Government: Reconsidering the Role of Public Administration in American Politics*. Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press.
2. Stephen L. Elkin and Karol Edward Soltan, Eds. 1993. *A New Constitutionalism: Designing Political Institutions for a Good Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
3. William D. Richardson. 1997. *Democracy, Bureaucracy, and Character: Founding Thought*. Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas press.
4. Michael Spicer. 1995. *The Founders, the Constitution, and Public Administration: A Conflict in World Views*. Washington, D.C.; Georgetown University Press.

The books are a "wonderfully rich anecdote to the narrow instrumental view of administration that is currently reflected in the reinvention-of-government debate and Vice President Gore's performance Initiative"(Morgan, 1998, p.462). The main argument

of all these books is centered on the idea that the rich political tradition and administrative practices should remain the basis for the American bureaucracy to operate within a larger framework of constitutional governance. Their authors reconsidered the role of public administration in American politics and call for a reintroduction of the founding's principles of the field. Furthermore, they reemphasized the important role of the bureaucracy and career public administrators in serving as keepers of the constitutional challenge as well as active suppliers of solutions.

The implications of the arguments introduced in these books for the education of career administrators and for policy design and implementation were also specifically considered. The authors called for more efforts to better ground the training of the professional career administrators in order to help the constitutional system achieve its ends. Finally, Morgan (1998) urged that these books be required in all public administration programs as they "illuminate themes that are central to the history, theory, and practice of American public administration" (p.463).

The call for the two disciplines to re-examine their common ground and reopen channels of communication both on the theoretical and institutional levels was echoed in the six articles in which political science's relationship with public administration was revisited, to a certain extent in each of these articles. I am referring to: "Lowi and Simon on Political Science, Public Administration, Rationality, and Public Choice" by Theodore J. Lowi and Herbert A. Simon (1992); "Political Science, Practitioner Skill, and Public Management" by David L. Weimer (1992); "The Troublesome Cleft: Public Administration and Political Science" by Marcia Lynn Whicker, Dorothy Olshfski, and Ruth Ann Strickland (1993); "Reconstituting a Profession for American Public Administration" by Richard T. Green, Lawrence F. Keller, and Gary L. Wamsley (1993); "Political Science, Public Administration, and the Rise of the American State" by Eliza Wing-yee Lee (1995); "Political Science and American Public Administration: A Necessary Cleft?" By Larry Keller and Mike Spicer (1997); and "Politics, Political Leadership, and Public Management" by Brian J. Cook (1998).

The latter might be the only one that requires further examination. Cook (1998) regarded public administration as a political institution. He argued, "public administration is as much a political institution as any legislature, court, or office of an elective

executive”(p.225). The “fact of politics and government,” according to Cook, leads to the central problem of administration and public management. He called for a conception of the latter to be grounded in what he calls “regime politics.”

In addition, in considering the educational requirements and leadership that follows from such conception, Cook called for a more comprehensive training and professionalization of public managers. This educational training should include better exposure and additional knowledge of more of the political science theories and models, such as the political models of politics and constitutional theory. Cook concluded that what makes public administration and public management public, “and thus distinctive is that politics of the most fundamental sort is at the heart of the enterprise” (p.229).

Earlier, Weimer (1992) characterized the relationship between public administration and political science as one that is both uneasy and evolving. He challenged the contribution of political science to the skill of the practitioner such as the public manager or legislator. “The study of practitioner’s skills has been left behind” (p.244). He lamented this situation and concluded that “the contributions of political science to public management is likely to remain meager” (p.244), when considering the major intellectual approaches adopted within political science at the time.

A year later, Whicker, et al. (1993) observed that public management is examined within political science as a conversion variable. The authors contended that the discipline of political science was more capable of offering the practitioner a more thorough training in scientific vigor than public administration could offer at that time. And yet, the two disciplines “tend to emphasize different levels of analysis that are mutually complementary”(p.535). In addition, they viewed both hypothesis testing about practitioner skills and developing practitioner skills as studies that are useful to public managers. Political science contributes to the latter by providing public administration with generalizations about individual behavior. More important, they argued, “political science does as well as any other discipline contributing to the intellectual hybrid of public administration”(p.540). Furthermore, they observed that that the “troublesome cleft,” as Waldo called it in 1990, “has not succumbed to the overwhelming evidence that politics and administration are intertwined”(p.539). Finally, they concluded that an interface between the two disciplines rather than continued emphasis on their difference

provides the greatest prospect for mutual advance. They asserted that both political science and public administration can work amicably within their common interface”(p.539).

In 1993, Green et al. offered their insights on “Just What is Public Administration?” Drawing upon several works that develop the political role of public administrators, they tied the conception of professionalism to constitutional politics rather than simply a specialized managerial knowledge. They perceived public administration as a calling centered on democratic governance rather than simple techniques of policy implementation.

In 1995, Eliza Wing-yee Lee questioned whether this “troublesome cleft” between political science and public administration was problematic. The article provides a critical intellectual overview of the theories and methods of both disciplines and also examines the rise of political science from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the 1930s. The historical sketch shows that political science had played an important role in defining “the intellectual space of public administration”(p.544). The former is an essential component of the process of reexamining the relationship between politics and administration and between political science and administration. Lee concluded, “we urgently need some critical and enlightened understanding of the nature of politics”(p.544).

Another related article appeared in 1997 as a response to the 1993 article by Keller, and Spicer presented four criticisms to the former. They accused Whicker, et al. of ignoring the values in public administration, construing political science to include public choice, agency theory, and organization theory, overemphasizing positivism, and having an instrumental view of both fields that views government as a conversion process.

All the articles reviewed above argued for the rapprochement between political science and public administration. Each in their own way called for the mutual interchange of knowledge and expertise and for the reexamining of their common heritage and roots. More important, authors urged an interdisciplinary approach from which both disciplines would benefit. Indeed, even the ones with more kinship to either

of the two fields, acknowledged that what the other field had to offer is extremely valuable and necessary for the broader body of knowledge of the social sciences.

These new arguments for stronger links between political science and public administration are interesting. In reviewing the content of some of the articles written over the Twentieth Century, evidence suggests that those links have been broken frequently and feelings of estrangement are often revealed through labels, quotations, names, or simply *words* used in the professional literature of both disciplines. Some of these *words* are considered in the next two sections.

#### Profession or discipline.

It is interesting to note that word usage or selection is not a simple or arbitrary act. References, labels, names, or simply *words* associated with certain concepts or ideas have embedded meanings and significance that should be taken into consideration in a study such as this.

This is particularly true when it comes to referring to a field of study as a *discipline* rather than a *profession* for example. This particular labeling, it should be noted, has a specific meaning in the context of the relationship between the two fields under study. The emergence of political science and the development of public administration were both part of a broad movement of progressive political and administrative reform in American political and social life. The two fields also came into existence at the same time that considerable attention was devoted to the establishment of professions in the “credentialed society” of the early Twentieth Century.

This particular reference in the literature to public administration or political science as a *profession* versus *discipline* rests on a logical basis that could be fairly easily explained at this point of the current study. Earlier in the history of both fields, the connection between public administration and political science was based on a mutual interdependence and the existing need for cooperation to fulfill the prevailing aspirations for a general progressive reform at that time. Political scientist emphasized that their field should act a profession, as it should be devoted to studying the realities of politics on one hand, and be involved in the training for public service on the other. Public administrationists on their part were busy establishing the profession of administering public affairs and running public offices.



As early as 1937, Leonard White considered “Administration as a Profession” (*Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 189: 84-90). Meanwhile, Schott looked at “Public Administration: The Profession of Public Service” (*APSR* 32(2)). The latter represents an excellent analysis of the professionalization of the field. In his article, Schott (1976) made the point that the professionalization of the public service had not resulted from an identification with the discipline of public administration but rather from the fact that scientists and professionals dominated the upper levels of bureaucracy. Schott referred to the public service as a “well-organized professional calling” (p.332). He explained, “a profession is like a trade in that its members must have acquired certain skills that set them apart from the so-called laymen” (p.333).

A shift in terminology became more evident in the political science literature in the second half of the past century. In his presidential address delivered at the 52<sup>nd</sup> annual meeting of APSA in 1956, Lasswell considered political science both as a *discipline* and as a *profession*. Two years later, V. O. Key still regarded the discipline of political science as a *profession* in “The State of the Discipline” (1958). And yet, in 1971, Robert E. Lane referred to political science as strictly a *discipline* in “To Nurture a Discipline.”

While “discipline,” and sometimes “field,” remained the main attributes associated with political science, the language use of “profession” became evident in political science journals as early as the 1970s and well into the 1990s. Earl M. Baker (1971) examined “The Political Science Profession in 1970.” He reported that the number of political scientists registered in the National Register of Scientists and Technologists Personnel increased 25% from 1968 to 1970, from 5176 to 6493. In 1976, Baum et al. discussed the journals of American political science in their study titled, “American Political Science before the Mirror: What Our Journals Reveal about our Profession.”

In 1987, Edward V. Schneir asked, “Is Politics a Profession? A New School Says Yes.” Later, in 1991, John C. Wahlke published the results of the Task Force on Political Science Majors of which he was chair. He addressed political science as a profession in “Liberal Learning and the Political Science Major: A Report to the Profession.” And yet, the reference to political science as an academic *profession* was more common. A good

example is Frederick A. Ogg's piece on "Political Science as a Profession: From the Standpoint of Teaching" (1941).

This renewed interest in political science as a *profession* was certainly not an incidental one. On one hand, it coincided with efforts on the part of political scientists to bring awareness within the discipline of their worth in the "applied" field of government. On the other hand, it coincided with the calls at that time for an enlarged and broader role of the discipline, or the profession, to remedy the job market dilemma, as public or governmental employment of political scientists was quite rare during that period.

It is interesting to note that the only other reference to political science as a *profession* was common in the titles of some of the minority related studies and reports published in some of the political science journals. An early example is Jane Jaquette's 1971 study on "The Status of Women in the Profession: Tokenism" and the 1975 publication, "Report on the Status of Chicanos in the Profession in the Western States." In 1991, Marvel Avalos examined "The Status of Latinos in the Profession", while Sheila Ards and Maurice Woodard (1992) looked at "African Americans in the Political Science Profession.

Finally, the term *profession* appeared frequently when it is used to describe other fields of study in the political science literature. Several articles studied the profession of "law," the "medical" profession, and the "business management" profession. There were even some studies dealing with "security" and even "translation" as a profession, and others that examined the profession of "arms." One article even asked whether "Foreign Student Advisor" is a new *profession*.

In contrast, public administration, whether it meant the institutions and activities or its self-aware enterprise centered in academia, was referred to as a profession quite often. Calls to make public administration a "public oriented profession" were always revealed through the scholarly literature and professional meetings. As a matter of fact, public administration had constantly aspired to be a "profession." On one hand, this aspiration was reflected in the professional associations it created early on such as ASPA, ICMA, and NAPA, and later the accreditation body (NASPAA), and the formulation of a code of ethics.

In 1966, Hellen C. Hilling argued that American public administration as a professional practice and as a field of study had come of age. In her article, “Public Administration: Study, Practice, Profession”, Hilling considered public administration a profession that had emerged as an independent field of study and practice. Ten years later, in 1976, Lorentzen et al. provided further “Thoughts on Public Administration as a Profession.”

In 1989, *ARPA* devoted one whole issue to the professional aspect of public administration. Articles such as “The Professionalization of the Public Service”, “Professionalism in Public Administration”, and “Professionals in Public Organizations” were included in volume 82, issue 16. In the same issue, Robert. B. Denhardt question asked whether “Public Administration: Subfield? Profession? Discipline?”

In 1993, Green et al. worked on “Reconstituting a Profession for American Public Administration.” Their article is one of many in a series on “Just What is Public Administration?” The authors argued that the field assumes an impoverished definition of “profession”. By relying on the classic roots of the word “profession,” they attempted to clarify the roles that public administration has played and must play if we are to govern effectively and “professionally.”

Finally, James A. Stever’s 1987 book *The End of Public Administration: Problems of the Profession in the Post-Progressive Era* is one that deserves special attention. In the chapter on “Legitimizing Public Administration,” the author argued that if public administration is to develop as a profession, there are certain necessary conditions that must be present. He included: (1) a theoretical, scientific, and technical base, (2) training in the theories, science, and techniques of administration, (3) a “calling to service” attitude on the part of individuals recruited into the profession, (4) an institutional network, and finally (5) the exercise of power over practice.

The practice emphasis did not prevent the field from becoming a full-blown discipline recognized among the social sciences. Active efforts for professionalization and formal study of administration emerged in the United States concurrently and achieved recognition as a means to the end of managing public affairs and public service. Language use in the scholarly literature of both public administration and political science is the focus of the next content analysis.

Public affairs, public service, or public administration.

When analyzing the content of some of the journals in both disciplines, another term caught my attention. The use of *public affairs*, *public service*, or *public administration* is worth investigating in this part of the analysis. It is interesting to note the frequency of the reference to *public administration* as opposed to *public affairs* or *public service* early on in the literature of both fields, but more so in the political science literature.

In almost every article published in political science dealing with the training or education for the public sector, reference to programs in *public affairs* or training for the *public service* was predominant rather than schools of *public administration*. The reference to public administration as “public affairs” in the political science journals was common in the earlier years of the Twentieth Century. “Institutes of Public Affairs,” “Review of Public Affairs,” “Board of Public Affairs,” and simply “Public Affairs” appeared in most of the titles. In the early 1940s and well into the 1980s, *public administration* replaced those terms in many of the journals’ titles. Examples are titles including expressions such as: “Students of Courses in Public Administration,” “Study of Public Administration,” and “Research Methods in Public Administration”<sup>106</sup>.

In only a few instances, scholars spoke of the “Study of Government” and the “Schools of Public Affairs.” In the last decade of the previous century, reference to the field as *public administration* rather than *public affairs* or *public service* took over in most of the articles except for one. In 1997, Donald Menzel wrote on “Teaching Ethics and Values: A Survey of Graduate Affairs and Administration Programs in the US.”

Even in the earlier public administration journals, and well into the 1970s, the situation was similar. It is interesting to note that all authors used the traditional words *public affairs* in a prominent place in the titles of their articles dealing with education in public administration. Examples of articles include: “The Search for Identity of Graduate Schools of Public Affairs” by Rufus E. Miles, Jr (1967) and “Graduate Education in Public Affairs/Public Administration by A. J. Mackelprang and A. Lee Fritschler (1975).

Another example of a book that sketches this demarcation between the two terms is *Public Administration and Public Affairs*. In his text, Nicholas Henry (1975)

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<sup>106</sup> Refer to the journal content analysis section for further details.

introduced a new concept for the field, one “that combines aspects of political acuity, administrative techniques, and ethical theory” (Fox, 1976, p.350). Actually, it is interesting to note here that when NASPAA was established in 1970, its name combined *public administration* and *public affairs*. It came to be known as the National Association of Schools of Public Administration and Public Affairs—NASPAA.

Later on in *J-PART*, Andres Perez Baltodono wrote “The Study of Public Administration in Times of Global Interpenetration: A Historical Rational Choice Theoretical Model”(1997), while Jos C. N. Raadschelders presented “A Coherent Framework for the Study of Public Administration” (1999). Many other articles included *public administration* in their title rather than *public affairs*, as this had been the predominant and longstanding custom.

A possible explanation for this shift in terminology is as follows. Many of the earlier programs in public administration and newly created ones were either referred to as institutes of *public service* or were under schools of *public affairs*. That institutional arrangement and labeling changed in the later part of the Twentieth Century. Another type of shift is also evident in the titles of books published in both fields. An analysis of major books is the topic of this next section.

### *Books*

Books play a primary role in any field of study. A brief overview of some the main books published over the course of the Twentieth Century might provide further details to the picture I am trying to sketch of the relationship between public administration and political science. Due to the overwhelming number of books, and for the sake of simplicity, only few were selected. As a result, the analysis might not be complete, however, it is my conviction that the benefit outweigh this caveat.

This section has two purposes:(1) to make the reader aware of relevant books in both fields and their foci, and (2) to serve as a presentation of the major issues in both public administration and political science as they were reflected in these books. In fact, these two purposes lead to the ultimate goal of this section. They shed light on the presence of the discipline of public administration and its subject matter in political science books and vice versa.

When reviewing the main books that were published earlier in political science, one notices that most were written by prominent figures in political science who had a special relationship to public administration. These books constitute what is now considered classics in the field.

Another book worth mentioning here is George A. Graham's *Education for Public Administration* (1941). The underlying theme of this volume was the duty of the universities, especially, the departments of political science, to teach public administration. The author argued, "to shy away from public service training on the basis that it is professional and not liberal is either hypocrisy or an unconscious rationalization to justify a traditional emphasis in teaching and research" (p.16).

In a review essay, Douglas M. Fox (1976) reviewed thirteen "basic"<sup>107</sup> textbooks in public administration between 1973 and 1976. He compared the amount of pages given to specific subjects by each of these texts. He then examined each text individually with special attention to the author's stated or implicit purpose and the actual accomplishment of that purpose. As his results indicated, there was considerable variety in the quantitative emphasis placed on different subjects. However, for the purpose of this study, I focus on two of these subjects: bureaucratic politics and policy analysis. The former seemed to occupy a better portion of these books when compared to the latter. Some of the books that Fox considers basic in public administration, were concerned with restoring "politics to center stage as the driving force behind most administrative behavior" (p.351). In fact, their authors were seeking to bring together information about administration that is most relevant to an understanding of the larger political process. These books consisted of the followings: James W. Davis. (1973). *An Introduction to Public Administration*; William L. Morrow. (1975). *Public Administration: Politics and the Political System*; John Rehfuss. (1973). *Public Administration as a Political Process*; and Ira Sharkansky. (1975). *Public Administration*.

At the turn of the last century, books such as *Public Administration: The State of the Discipline* (1990) by Naomi B. Lynn and Aaron Wildavsky, *Refounding Public*

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<sup>107</sup> Fox considers a "basic" textbook one that has the following characteristics: (1) it is over 300 pages in length, and (2) it treats basic concerns of the discipline such as its definition, and related subfields and subjects.

*Administration* (1993) by Gary L. Wamsley, et al., *The Political Economy of Public Administration: Institutional Choice in the Public Sector* (1995) by Murray J. Horn, *The Founders, The Constitution, and Public Administration: A Conflict in World Views* (1995) by Michael W. Spicer, *Continuity and Disruption: Essays in Public Administration* (1996) by Matthew Holden, *Bureaucracy and Self-Government: Reconsidering the Role of Public Administration in American Politics* (1996) by Brian J. Cook, and *Building A Legislative-Centered Public Administration* (2000) by David H. Rosenbloom. Most of these books are illustrative of the more creative thinking in the field of political science with special attention and relevance to public administration.

Political scientists, with special affinity to public administration, wrote most of these books; however, scholars in public administration read them. Other books worth mentioning here are: *The Case for Justice: Strengthening Decision Making and Policy in Public Administration* (1991) by Gerald M. Pops and Thomas J. Pavlak, and *Corporate Political Agency: The Construction of Competition in Public Affairs* (1993) edited by Barry M. Mitnick. Both books linked political science, or simply the politics, to public administration and policy making in new and innovative ways.

### *People Profiles*

To be listed in the “Who’s Who” of a discipline is not only a prestigious honor but also an indication of a professional prominence acquired through major achievements and contributions to the field. For the purpose of this study, a scan of some of the people who had an impact on both fields might further confirm the status of the relationship between public administration and political science at different periods in time. A brief examination of some of the prominent figures in both fields contribute further evidence of the association and disassociation trends that have characterized that relationship over the last century.

Some of the major figures in political science earlier were associated with the progressive movement. Among those I cite: A. Lawrence Lowell, Woodrow Wilson, Frank Goodnow, Albert Bushnell Hart, and Charles A. Beard, all of which served as presidents of APSA in its first decade of existence. This particular historical association has a specific meaning in the context of this study. The involvement of such prominent

figures in the field of political science in the practical aspect of government is indicative of the strong connection that existed then between the two disciplines.

The strength of that connection is also evident in the early education of public administration. In the early years of the teaching of public administration, the demarcation between teaching public administration from an historical, cultural, or social science perspective, and from that of a profession concerned with the operations and management of change, was too little understood (Mosher, 1975). Anderson, Beard, Egger, Gulick, Mosher, Olson, Reeves, Short, and White are among the leaders “who carried the professional torch and endeavored to clarify these ambiguities in their respective universities”. Mosher stated that these should be “enshrined in the public administration hall of fame” (p. 42). Most of these were also outstanding figures in political science.

And yet one of the events in academia that had influenced the teaching of public administration is *The Frontiers of Public Administration* published in 1936. The book consisted of a series of lectures aimed at emphasizing the necessity of long-term planning in public affairs. The book not only covered the developments in the field, but also assisted in breaking the art and science of public administration out of the rigidities that its own orthodoxy had imposed upon it” (Mosher, 1975, p.66). Its authors, John M. Gaus, Leonard White, and Marshal Dimock are considered great contributors to both public administration and political science.

In addition, as was evident in the journals analysis, some of the most prominent and frequently published authors of articles in *APSR* in the first half of the Twentieth Century are considered giants in both fields. Examples include: Leonard D. White, W. W. Willoughby, John M. Gaus, and Frederick M. Mosher. In addition, their respective earlier books, considered classics in public administration, were routinely reviewed in this journal.

As mentioned earlier in this study, ten of the first presidents of APSA either came from public administration, or, at the least, played important and crucial roles in framing the new discipline of public administration. They were: Frank A. Goodnow, Lawrence Lowell, Woodrow Wilson, William F. Willoughby, Ernest Freund, Charles A. Beard,



Leonard D. White, John M. Gaus, Luther Gulick, and V. O. Key. Most of these presidents are considered giants in political science.

Seven of the first presidents of ASPA were political scientists by training and education. They were: Luther Gulick, Leonard D. White, Roscoe C. Martin, John M. Gaus, York Wilbern, Lloyd M. Short, and Naomi Lynn. Most of these are considered prominent scholars in the field of public administration.

In addition, a review of the earlier *Public Administration Review* (PAR) editors-in-chiefs reveals more evidence of the strong intellectual connection that existed between the two disciplines. Names such as Leonard D. White, Pendleton Herring, James W. Fesler, and Dwight Waldo testify to this. They were all political scientists who were particularly involved in the professional and scholarly writings of public administration.

This initial involvement was further secured through yet another form of participation at the professional meetings and the presidential addresses delivered at these meetings. A professional association can, in many ways, not only forge a stronger link between education and practice, but also is able to create certain connections between its member's discipline and other fields of study. The analysis of such connections through the professional organization and aggregation of the two disciplines is the subject of the next section.

### **Professional Organization and Aggregation**

Associated with the rate of growth of American higher education especially in the social sciences was the expansion of faculties. Another related feature is the establishment of separate departments of political science and public administration in existing universities and colleges or the founding of new departments in newly founded institutions. This is the result of division of labor and the trend toward specialization within the two fields under study and across the social sciences in general.

#### *Professionalization and Specialization*

Social scientists regularly discuss the nature of their disciplines, not just the recurrent problems related to methodology, but also the more basic questions of focus

and boundaries. At one time or another, they feel a need to define their own field of study, demarcating it from other branches of academic activity. There is always an urge to define oneself through the definition of one's subject.

An important consideration at this point in the analysis is that of the impact that specialization might have on the organizational structure of a field of study and thus on the configuration of its relationship with other disciplines or professions. As Johnson (1972) argues, specialization creates systematic relationships of interdependence; it also introduces potentialities for autonomy. The move toward autonomy in both public administration and political science coincides with another universal move toward specialization in the academic arena in general. This was most apparent during the 1880s and 1890s.

“Almost from its beginning public administration refused to specialize, by insisting on cross fertilization among specialties” (Mosher, 1975, p.6). For a long period of time, the field had emphasized “generalism” as most of the earlier public administrationists were the products of their own specialized education and experience relevant to the governmental job they held. This condition gave the field great strength and also vulnerability (Mosher, 1975). This picture began to change in the early 1920s.

In its origins and development, public administration was a part of a larger movement toward professionalization. As “specialism” in education proliferated during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, several university-sponsored research bureaus formed around the 1910s and some universities began to educate students for specialized public service fields. Independent programs and other linked to public administration programs were established. These are considered some of the earliest specialized training efforts in the field. Several of these early public administration programs included course work in “municipal engineering” or “public-works administration,” while other programs included courses in city planning.

In the second quarter of the Twentieth Century, more and more “specialty” programs were established. Programs preparing for city management or for personnel management were flourishing. Meanwhile, academic collaboration with other programs such as business administration schools and economics departments was increasing.

A more serious movement toward specialization dominated most of the third quarter of the past century. This trend was happening in most of the social sciences as evident through the multiplication and the division of the various fields of knowledge. Public administration was no exception. The establishment of programs that focused upon particular functions of public administration is a good example. This specialization, for example in economic analysis, social services administration, urban affairs, health administration, judicial administration, was sometimes organized as part of a public administration program or under a public administration school.

In other instances, this new specialization was established on an independent or semi-independent basis in colleges and universities, and even “specialized institutes.” Toward the end of the Twentieth Century, schools, centers, institutes, or programs of policy study, policy analysis, or policy science flourished (Waldo, 1975).

The question is how did these movements toward specialization and professionalization affect the relationship between the two disciplines under study? To answer this question is to draw an historical sketch of the rise and fall of some of these specializations in both fields. Some examples follow.

The first sign of a split occurred when the first attempts were made to define the subject matter of each discipline. This is difficult when both are studying the same activities and phenomenon. In the 1960s, the gradual tensions between public administrationists and political scientists are reflected through the emergence of new subfields in both fields, especially that of public policy. In the late 1960s and 1970s, schools of public policy were flourishing and new interdisciplinary public policy programs sprang up. These programs focused on the improvement of the performance of public programs and on ways to make the managers of these programs more effective. The rise and fall of comparative and development administration is another example of such occurrence.

The comparative approach, or cross-cultural public administration, was a new development in the field. By the late 1940s, courses in comparative public administration were appearing in course catalogues. By the early 1950s, ASPA, the Public Administration Clearing House, and APSA were establishing committees or sponsoring conferences on the subject. The Comparative Administration Group (CAG) was founded

in 1960. The subfield of development administration dominated comparative administration during most of the 1960s. As an intellectual enterprise the two subfields addressed the urge for practical application and the search for theory in the field.

In revealing some of the methodological problems facing the field of comparative public administration, Sigelman (1976) argued that a public administration which “rejects theorizing and empirical research as its core activities denies any legitimate claim to political influence” (p.621). Sigelman (1976) claimed that comparative public administration is floundering at a time when other social scientists have finally come to appreciate the centrality of bureaucracy and bureaucrats in the political process. He asked, how many “political scientists specializing in public administration” have been employed by the government to advise on administrative problems in the ways that economists, sociologists, and other specialists have?

By 2000, another movement was gaining momentum, the compartmentalization of both fields of public administration and political science. Although public management might not be considered a sub-specialty, however it certainly acted as one. It focused on appointed executives such as cabinet officials, senior advisors, and other key policymakers. Meanwhile, public administrationists focused on career executives and front-line administrators. At the same time, in political science, a new focus on the study of elected executives, especially presidents, governors, and mayors, took a new somewhat separate identity.

In addition, formal subspecialties in public administration and political science multiplied. Such subspecialties as nonprofit organizations, public finance and budgeting, human resource management, emergency management, and many others, are now considered stable entities in public administration programs in the United States. Actually, some of these are now organized as programs under independent schools or departments such as the several schools of public policy, while others are combined with public administration. Examples of the latter include departments and schools such as Departments of Public and Nonprofit Administration, Public and International Affairs and School of Public and Environmental Affairs. These different organizational arrangements were discussed previously in this study under the section dealing with the departmentalization of the two disciplines.

In political science the case is quite similar if not more prominent. In 1997, in a book review of the book edited by Farr et.al on *Political Science in History: Research Programs and Political Traditions*, Eulau (1997) lamented this condition. He argued, “within political science itself the process of specialization has reached a point where the very meaning of an identifiable single discipline is in jeopardy” (p. 583). By the turn of the past century, multiple subspecialties in political science were well established, including policy analysis, political parties, legislative studies, constitutional law, comparative politics, and so forth.

This move toward specialization of our intellectual and technical occupations and disciplines has been a noticeable character of our modern world and its academic enterprise. More important, specialization has been often recognized as a necessary condition of contemporary knowledge making. However, as specialists become more organized, they require both professional support and educational leadership. Ultimately, they form what we call “professional associations.”

### *Professional Associations*

Professional associations are important information networks that not only provide access points to the field, but also represent and operate as gatekeepers. They act as channels for diffusing information and controlling the boundaries of their discipline. It is through these associations that the various disciplines gain their legitimacy and status in the scientific community. It is also within these associations that disciplines define their professional relationships and their intellectual ties with other disciplines.

As a matter of fact, it is no coincidence that Frank J. Goodnow, whom Paul V. Riper (1987) views as the “effective founder” of academic public administration in the United States, was the first president of APSA. Ten of the first presidents of APSA either came from public administration, or, at the least, played important and crucial roles in framing the new discipline of public administration. Most of these presidents were considered giants of the field of political science. Seven of the first presidents of ASPA were political scientists by training and education. In fact, most of them are still considered prominent scholars in the field of public administration.

In the constitution of the American Political Science Association, its main objective was stated clearly to be the encouragement of the scientific study of politics, public law, administration, and diplomacy. It read as follows: "It shall be the purpose of this Association to encourage the study of political science, including Political Theory, Government and Politics, Public Law, Public Administration, and International-Relations"(Reeves, 1929, p.4). In any event, it is important to note that public administration actually received its first significant consideration from scholars during its early years largely as a result of the attention given by APSA to public service.

The first evidence of such attention was the establishment by APSA of the Committee on Practical Training for Public Service in 1912. This committee formed the nucleus of the Society for the Promotion of Training for the Public Service founded in 1914. Another Committee on Instruction in Government followed in 1914. In a report issued by the latter, the Association stated that political science was concerned not only with training for citizenship but also for training experts and preparing specialists for governmental positions. The report recommended with unusual foresight that special professional schools were needed to train public administrators and that new technical degrees might also be necessary for that purpose.

It also should be noted that most of the earliest efforts to organize academic study of public administration were a consequence of the concern of political scientists to find a way to meet the needs for improved public administration. Such need was set by Woodrow Wilson, the third president of their association. It was in 1914, with the publication of reports by two committees of the APSA, that the relationship between public administration, political science, and the public service first received serious and systematic attention.

A committee on "Instruction in Government," appointed at the Association meeting in Buffalo in 1911, reported that departments of political science were called upon for service of three types: "(1) to train for citizenship; (2) to prepare for professions, such as law, journalism, teaching and public service; and (3) to train experts and to prepare specialist for government positions." Public service training thus fell within the walls of political science departments and schools in colleges and universities. However,

it was not long before it was realized that the task of training "governments experts" could be met only in part by political science.

As a result, the committee urged more focus on administrative methods and law but saw it as only one of the twelve courses that defined the scope of the discipline. Another Committee was being established meanwhile. The Association formed the Committee on Practical Training for Public Service in 1912. Two years later, the committee issued its *Proposed Plan for Training Schools of Public Service*.

The report outlined five different ways in which colleges and universities might develop training programs. The committee believed that political scientists had a special concern for the promotion of training for the public service; that this training was not primarily a function of political science departments, and that special schools and degrees in public administration were desirable. By the mid 1920s, the consideration of practical training appears to have been dropped from the agenda of APSA until revived in 1933 with the establishment of a Committee on Training for Public Service.

However, the growing need of the rapidly increasing number of graduates and faculty of suddenly dynamic programs in public administration resulted in the fractioning of a new dedicated association out of the American Political Science Association. Several political scientists formed this new association in 1939 in an effort to fulfill the need they felt for a new institutional home to train public servants better. In addition, within APSA, "scholars squabbled about whether public administration was a science, process, or art—indeed, about whether public administration even belonged within political science"(Kettl, 2002, p.83). An equally important factor was President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal notion of "big government" in the 1930s. The development of this notion, and its implications, certainly contributed at least indirectly to the founding of ASPA.

The fact that the establishment of an independent professional association for the field of public administration came in late was a surprise to many people. Golembiewski (1977) describes it as "a reference group that was more specific than the long standing American Political science Association and yet not so narrowly focused as the American Public Works Association" (p.23). Stone (1975) describes the general feelings at the time the Association was born. He said that "Questions of loyalty, sedition, intrigue,

separatism, and schism kindled emotions” (p.87), while others felt the need to keep connected.

These latter feelings were echoed in a report of a Committee (Pendleton and White among others), to the APSA presented to the executive Council of the Association on Dec 26, 1940. The report called again for greater and more effective participation by political scientists in public affairs. It further called for more first hand contacts of political scientists with government as “it may be questioned whether political scientists are sufficiently in touch with the phenomena they study and teach.” Too often, they study government through the use of books and the printed word, and thus “cannot bring to their research or teaching the lively sense of reality and the group of important issues which came only through first hand contact.”

Under the several recommendations listed in the report, three are of relevance to the present analysis. (1) It was recommended that political science departments should seek to establish effective and cooperative relations with public officials. It mentioned the Harvard experience in attaining that goal. “Within recent years, Harvard had made extensive use of public officials as non-residents consultants, each participating for a brief time in graduate seminars conducted in the graduate School of Public Administration”; (2) It was also recommended that the APSA meet regularly in annual conventions with ASPA. “Joint meetings will afford opportunities for greater acquaintance between officials and political scientists and permit the interchanging of ideas and joint discussions of problems”; and (3) Political scientists are urged to have their names listed in the personnel service maintained by PACH of Chicago, which is widely used for research and administrative positions by governmental officials and other public bodies throughout the country.

It is interesting to note here that the 39<sup>th</sup> annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, held at Washington D.C. in January 1944,<sup>108</sup> was a unique one. It was a joint meeting with the American Economic Association and the American Society for Public Administration. This arrangement is evidence that the efforts on the part of the two disciplines to remain somewhat close were still ongoing at that time.

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<sup>108</sup> Although held in 1944, this meeting was viewed as the 1943 annual meeting.



Two decades later, the feelings and concerns that political scientists and public administrationists had at the time of ASPA's founding, were transformed into signs of relief and even indifference among most members of the political science community. This was particularly evident within the closed walls of the Association. In fact, in 1962, public administration was not included as a subfield of political science in the report of the Committee on Political Science as a Discipline published by the American Political Science Association. By 1967, public administration disappeared as an organizing category in the program of the annual meeting of APSA.

Despite this situation, Kettl (2002) claimed that the field of public administration continued to maintain one of the largest contingents of scholars within the American Political Science Association in the late 1970s. At the 1974 annual meeting of APSA, a panel focused on the theme "paradigms in public administration" lasted a full day and attracted the second largest attendance of any panel. Similarly, the Southern Political Science Association gave special attention to public administration at their annual meeting in 1974 as was evident through some of the lectures presented before the association that year (Golembiewski, 1977).

Meanwhile, the American Society of Public Administration continued to publish *Public Administration Review* and its annual meetings continued to attract hundreds of scholars and practitioners as well. The Society's memberships continued to grow in addition to the establishment of interest sections for different issues and subjects. These organized sections include some newer ones such as International and Comparative Public Administration, Criminal Justice Administration, and Public Law and Administration. And yet, it is important to note that there is no section dedicated or even related to political science or any subfield of the latter.

Equally important to note here is another interesting point regarding the Minnowbrook conferences in 1968 and 1988. One of the major differences between the two groups of participants at the two Minnowbrook conferences was their educational backgrounds. At Minnowbrook I, almost all the participants were educated in political science. The 1980s group, however, included individuals trained in other diverse fields such as policy analysis and policy studies, economics, planning, urban studies, and law. Some of the 1980s group had doctorates in public administration. In contrast, in the

1960s, only a few universities taught public policy specialties or granted doctorates in public administration. By the 1980s, there were more than a dozen doctoral programs in the field, and several of these programs focused on policy (Frederickson, 1989).

Along with the emergence of subspecialties in each of the disciplines that was discussed earlier, came a compartmentalization of professional associations. Examples include: the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration for academic institutions, the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management for students of policy, and the American Political Science Association for students of political science, *per se*.

However, as the end of the Twentieth Century approached, more feelings of regret and nostalgia began to emerge at the professional meetings in both fields. As matter of fact, James Fesler (1988) spoke of “the whole and the parts” in the third Gaus annual Lecture he delivered at APSA’s meeting. He remembered the years when there was sufficient ground for him and others to be “a one-man program committee first for the American Political Science Association and the American Society for Public Administration” (p.900).

In 1991, Norton E. Long, Professor Emeritus at the University of Missouri, St Louis, was awarded the John Gaus Award. This award honored his lifetime of exemplary scholarship in the joint tradition of political science and, more generally, to recognize achievement and encourage scholarship in public administration. In his lecture presented at the 87<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of APSA, he concluded, ” If the nation is to escape the current confusion of the president’s political interest with the public interest of the nation it is of the utmost importance that students of political science and public administration set about the tasks of building a powerful and persuasive standard of the public interest and the appropriate institutions for its realization in the nation’s practice” (p. 675).

This lecture, as well as several other ones reviewed earlier, is illustrative of the main trends occurring in both fields. The review of the presidential addresses presented before the professional associations is yet another complementary part of the analysis in this study. This necessary undertaking is the subject of the following section.

### *Presidential Addresses*

A list of titles of the American Political Science Association's presidential addresses would give an indication of the trend of the major professional and intellectual developments in the political science discipline. However, a more thorough "content analysis" of some of these addresses is deemed necessary to uncover some aspects of development in the relationship between the public administration and political science. I reviewed the presidential addresses of ninety-two<sup>109</sup> of the APSA's presidents as presented annually in the pages of the *American Political Science Review*.

Many of the Association's presidents dealt penetratingly and profoundly with topics taken from the fields of specialization wherein they were competent. Others discussed broadly and philosophically the nature of political science, its relation with other social sciences in general, or the problems encountered in teaching or developing the knowledge base and methodologies for the field.

For the purpose of this study, I focus on the portion of the content that is relevant to the historical analysis of the relationship between the two fields. It is important to acknowledge here that these presidential addresses might not be considered the sole representation of what is going on within either field and in its relationship with other fields of inquiry. Yet, they provide a preliminary sketch of the main trends and concerns of each field. They serve as one more piece of the puzzle that this study is aimed at completing.

For purposes of simplification of the presentation of the resulting material, the presidential addresses were grouped in four different periods. These periods have been chosen based on the previous and ongoing historical analysis of the relationship between public administration and political science. The first period is from 1904 to 1939, the first date marks the founding of APSA and the last marks that of the establishment of ASPA. The second period starts in 1940 and ends in 1959. This was mainly a period of revolt and identity searching for both fields. The third period is from 1960 to 1979 and is

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<sup>109</sup> Four of the presidential addresses could not be located. These are the one presented by: Frederick, N. Judson (1906) Paul S. Reinsch (1918)-there was no APSA meeting that year, Leo S. Rowe (1919), and Benjamin F. Shambaugh (1928).

considered that of independence and separatism tendencies. The last period (1980-2000) is that of dispersed calls among scholars from both fields for reconciliation and revisiting. The founding: 1904-1939.

Over the first thirty-five years of the Association, presidential addresses were presented annually, except for the year 1918 when the Association did not hold a meeting. Some of the presidents have discussed various details of the program that the Association had pursued at the time of its establishment, while others have reviewed the results achieved. Some of these addresses dealt strictly with some of the discipline's central themes or its related subfields.

In the first presidential address, Frank Goodnow (1904) plainly set forth the aim of the Association: "to assemble upon common ground those persons whose main interests are connected with the scientific study of the organization and functions of the state"(P.35). He outlined the field of work of the Association as including political theory, constitutional and administrative law, comparative legislation, history and comparative jurisprudence, and political parties. Goodnow further anticipated that the Association will "be likely to attract the support not only of those engaged in academic instruction, but of public administrators" (p.11). He believed that the main questions that such association ought to address are: "the expression of the state will," "the context of the state will as expressed, "and " the execution of the state will." It was clear that the importance of administration lay at the very core of the creation of this new Association.

In the following year, Albert Shaw (1908) confirmed Goodnow's emphasis by arguing that, beside the vast field of study and work for the political scientists that the law-making activity of government afford, political scientist should always be concerned with the tasks and problems of scientific administration. He further argues that the political scientist may, in addition and equally to the machinery of political life, concern himself with the policies of legislation and statesmanship, and with the methods of administration. He concluded: "let education come first, in logic and in practical statesmanship" (p.184).

In the fifth presidential address, James Bryce (1909) examined "The Relation of Political Science to History and to Practice" He asked: what is the use of political science? And can it be made to serve the practical needs of the time. His answer suggests

the applied aspect of political science is connected to that of the administration of government affairs and the provision of public service.

Woodrow Wilson presidential address at the seventh annual meeting of APSA (1911) stated: "I prefer the term politics to include both the statesmanship of thinking and the statesmanship of action" (p.20). In "The Laws and The Facts," Wilson admitted that the statesman and the student of political science have not often been partners. And yet, he considered such partnership to be mutually beneficial.

Others had recognized the significance of historical backgrounds, legal systems, international relations, and political theory. Examples include John Bassett Moore's "Law and Organization" (1913), "The Nature and Future of International Law" by Munroe Smith (1917), "Liberty and Equality in International Relations" by William A. Dunning (1920), "Limitations on National Sovereignty in International Relations" by James W. Garner (1924), "Democracy in Transition" by Walter Shepard (1934), "American Tradition Concerning Property and Liberty" by Francis W. Coker (1936), "The Quest for Responsibility" by Clarence Dykstra (1938), "The Political Interpretation of History" by Arthur N. Holcombe (1934), "The Adaptation of Administrative Law and Procedure to Constitutional Theories and Principles" by Charles Grove Haines (1939).

Some of the speeches focused on defining politics such as A. Lawrence Lowell's "The Physiology of Politics" (1908), and its relation with other fields such as William Bennett Munro's "Physics and Politics- An Old Analogy Revisited" (1927), or on examining "the Recent Political Developments: Progress or Changes" by Harry A. Garfield (1921). Others have looked at "The Scientific Spirit of Politics." In his 1915 presidential address, Jesse Macy argued that there had been a tendency to follow the scientific method on the administrative side of government. Whereas in 1919, Henry Jones Ford asked in "Present Tendencies in American Politics," whether political science "can maintain pretenses to rank at a genuine science of political institutions, enlightening and directing the arts of practical statesmanship? (p.3).

In other addresses, increasing evidence was furnished of the close relation between politics and the social sciences in general. While evaluating the "Progress in Political Research" Charles E. Merriam (1926) observed that the beginnings in the field were made to the study of public administration. "Inquiries into administrative law and

organization were already developed by Goodnow and others, but in more recent years specific attention has been directed to public personnel problems, and progress in this direction may be chronicled” (p.11). Merriam saw progress in certain fields of political science and in “the field of method.” He mentioned the following areas as part of such fields: parties, political theory, international relations and international law, constitutional law, public administration, legislation, and problems of modern city. Hence, public administration, including its laws and organization, was still considered one of the fields of political science.

In his 1928 presidential address “Perspectives in Political Science,” Jesse Reeves (1929) when comparing the academic relation of political science to other disciplines such as economics, history, anthropology, business, and sociology, concluded:” from the standpoint of administration, the relation is the other way, so that the dependence is mutual” (p.3). He noted, “the sphere of administration and governmental function touches every sort of human interest and activity”(p.2)

In addition, emphasis in some of the addresses has been placed upon the importance of an understanding of the government as it actually functions. Many presidents have recommended that much of the work of the Association and its members be devoted to the investigations and exposition of both the procedures and institutions, especially those that exercise a profound influence over government organization and function. For example, the title of Baldwin E. Simeon’s (1912) address at the eighth annual meeting of the Association was “ The Progressive Unfolding of the Powers of the United States.” He concluded,” it is from the future unfolding of executive, rather than of legislative power, that the perpetuity of our government can be said to remain in doubt” (p.10). The following year, Albert Bushnell (1913) called for “A Government of Men”.

As a matter of fact, John A. Farlie in 1929 when looking at “Political Developments and Tendencies” acknowledged the ever-increasing involvement of the Association and its members in the administration of government. He noted that many members of the Association have had an active influence in public affairs and that the cooperation between students of political science and public officials was much greater than it was. He further noted that in recent years, little attention had been given to comparative legislation, colonial government, or jurisprudence, while more had been

given to international relations, public administration, and methods of research (Farlie, 1940).

Two years later, in his presidential address, Edward S. Corwin (1932) predicted that the interest of political science would turn less to questions of power than to questions of government functions and arrangement. In the following year, W F. Willoughby in “A Program for Research in Political Science” called for the urgent need to include all studies in the problems of public administration among studies of great value to the political science subject of inquiry.

In “Faction and Fiction in Government” Isidor Loeh (1934) emphasized the importance of training for public service that the Association had pursued. He explained, “political scientists gain a better understanding of the political processes, of the attitude of public officials, and of actual influence” through the contact with administrators. He stressed that the Association’s real function is to perform “in these days of quickened interest in public affairs” (p. 9). He concluded, “it is our continuing responsibility to develop technique which will be of advantage to citizens in distinguishing between fact and fiction in government”(p.10).

Finally, it is interesting to note here that the usage of terms such as “students of government” or politics and “students of public affairs” earlier in the establishment of APSA was replaced by “students of politics” by the time ASPA was established in the late 1930s. This might represent one of the first indications for what I call the identity-searching phase for both fields. This was evident throughout the next set of presidential addresses that were analyzed for content and meanings.

#### The identity searching: 1940-1959.

A review of the presidential addresses delivered before the American Political Association in the course of the 20 years that followed the establishment of the American Society for Public Administration leads to another set of data indicative of a change in the relation between the two fields. This review provides a graphic picture of the development of political science in America, its function and methods, its achievements and shortcomings, as seen by some of its most distinguished disciples. In these addresses there may also be found some reflections and indications of much of what is going on in

the relation between the political science discipline and the study and practice of public administration.

And yet, several of these addresses focused on political science related topics and theories such as “American Democracy” by Frederic A. Ogg (1941), “The United States Supreme Court, 1936-1946” by Walter F. Dodd (1945), Pathological Problems in Politics by Henry R. Spencer (1947), “On the Study of Government” by Pendleton Herring (1953), “The Constitution and the Tasks Ahead” by Charles McKinley (1955), “The Political Science of Science” by Harold D. Lasswell (1956), “Intensity, Visibility, Direction, and Scope” by E.E. Schattschneider (1957), “Three Constitutional Courts: A Comparison” by R. Taylor Cole (1959), and “The Supreme Court and The Moment of Truth” by Carl B. Swisher (1960).

Other Association presidents examined “The State of the Discipline” (V.O. Key, 1958). Key observed that in recent decades, more and more political scientists had become public servants. He further noted the substantial proportion of the number of political scientists that engaged in public administration. Also, he reported, “the applications of political science in public policy and public administration have multiplied” (p.963). He reported the contribution of political science to “a steady flow of recruits to the public service”(p.963). As a result of these applied characteristics of the discipline, Key called for the improvement of the teaching of political science and the further development of the discipline to better meet these existing needs. “Yet the applied political scientists must be possessed of an outlook, of skills, and perhaps of substantive knowledge not relevant, or at least not essential, in teaching” (p.963).

As a matter of fact, the call for a more “applied” political science had been evident in many presidential addresses during this period. William Anderson (1943) in his presidential address in 1942 when reviewing “The Role of Political Science” urged political “science” to be more searchingly scientific and more practical than ever. He argued that the scientific study of politics and administration is indispensable to good government. Anderson viewed the direct service to the government as a major obligation of political scientist. “The habit of taking broad and responsible views in public affairs,” makes the political scientists “valuable in certain advisory and technical consultant capacities in government”(p.17).



Leonard D. White, a student of public administration himself, talked about “Congressional Control of the Public Service” (1945), while in “A Job Analysis of Political Science,” John Gaus (1946) considered the study of administration one of the political science discipline’s special points of beginning and special fields. Four years later, at the 1950 annual meeting of APSA, James K. Pollock lamented the exclusion from the Political Science profession of many who are interested and active in public affairs. He called for a recasting and rethinking of political science graduate programs to remedy this deficiency. At the 50<sup>th</sup> annual meeting, Ralph J. Bunche (1954) considered public administration as one of the many directions in Political Science where significant advances in the definition and the development of subject matter had been made and should continue.

It is evident that all the presidents who turned toward consideration of political science as a discipline or who reviewed the state of the discipline, included public administration, its study and its practice, in their presidential addresses. This reflects the strength of the bond that still existed during that period, as each presidential address represents the final act of the president before leaving office. It is through the speech that he endeavors to convey to the members something of a feeling of professional unity and a sense of intellectual direction in the field. This direction was soon to be changed with the emerging of behavioralism, as I will demonstrate through the examination of the next twenty presidential addresses of the American Political Science Association.

#### The separation: 1960-1979.

In scanning the next collection of presidential addresses, the analysis reveals a drastic change in terms of reference to public administration. For example, in only one or two of the twenty published addresses in *APSR* were there any references to public administration, whether as a field of study or as a practice or profession. In fact, in both cases the Association’s president was either reflecting on the state of political science or reviewing the development of the field.

It had been sort of a tradition for professional addresses in a professional association to frequently include a discourse on the state of the discipline. In 1961, Emmette Redford in “Reflections on a Discipline” (1961) argued that the strength of political science as a field is “dependent upon the continued consciousness that public

action is of great significance” (p.757). He further noted that there is something different about administration, human behavior, opinion, intercultural relation or other facets of human activities when these are “public” or “political.” Redford also looked at the function of the American political scientist in the policy role. He considered the spirit of administrative and political due process one of the many characteristics that gives political scientists a distinctive position. Finally, Redford called for the renewed focus in training and education of political scientists on the importance of knowledge of research methodology and development of competence in public policy activity<sup>110</sup>.

Four years later, at the sixtieth annual meeting, David B. Truman presented what might be considered an historical sketch of political science in his presidential address titled “Disillusion and Regeneration: The Quest for a Discipline.” Truman (1966) acknowledged that the study of politics is old but that political science as a self-conscious discipline had not come far. He further commented that on that way the discipline had inevitably been marked by the intellectual, moral, and political influences that have dominated the days of its growth. He considered the discipline’s preoccupation with science as one influential factor in its development. Public administration role and impact was completely neglected in this historical sketch.

The same is true for most of the remaining presidential addresses during that period. This is evident for example, in Gabriel A. Almond’s “Political Theory and Political Science” (1966) where he briefly recounted the historical background of political theory. In 1969, David Easton spoke about “Post-Behavioralism or The New Revolution in Political Science” while John C. Wahlen covered the “Pre-Behavioralism in Political Science” (1978). In 1974, Avery Leiserson recalled previous related work by Charles Merriam, Max Weber, and the search for synthesis in political science. The following year, Austin Ranney spoke on “The Divine Science: Political Engineering in American Culture.”

This focus on the scientific quest in political science did not prevent treatment of other topics from appearing in presidential addresses. Earlier in the 1960s, free speech,

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<sup>110</sup> John Gaus in 1944 had suggested in his presidential address that each political scientist should grapple with a policy problem.

liberties, freedom, and equal protection were the themes of three of the presidential addresses (Hyneman, Friedrich, Pritchell in 1962, 1963, and 1964 consecutively).

Other topics such as Robert Dahl's "The City in the Future of Democracy" (1967) and "Federalism, Naturalism, and Democracy in America" (Samuel H. Beer, 1979) focused on democracy in general while others advanced a general theory of political leadership such as James MacGregor Burns in "Wellsprings of Political Leadership" (1976). Finally, there were some addresses dealing with comparative government such as Leon D. Epstein's "What Happened to the British Party Model?" (1979), and Robert E. Ward's "Culture and Comparative Study of Politics, or Constipated Dialectic" (1973).  
The revisiting: 1980-2000.

The themes in the presidential address of this period were diverse. They ranged from general political theories and politics to more specific political science related issues and developments. William H. Riker in 1983 spoke on "Rational Choice Theory in The Heresthetics of Constitution-Making: The Presidency in 1787" and Elinor Ostrom focused on "A Behavioral Approach to the Rational Choice Theory of Collective Action" in 1997.

In 1986, Aaron B. Wildavsky spoke on "Choosing Preferences by Constructing Institutions: A Cultural Theory of Preference Formation." In his presidential address in 1998, M. Kent Jennings looked at "Political Responses to Pain and Loss." Earlier, in 1992, Wilson had looked at "The Moral Sense of Politics and in Political Life."

Meanwhile, democracy, as usual, had its share in some of the speeches of that period as well. In 1995, Sidney Verba spoke on "The Citizens Respondent: Sample Survey and the American Democracy" while Arend Lijphart looked at the issue of "Unequal Participation: Democracy's Unresolved Dilemma in 1996."

Many of the presidential addresses dealt with political reform related topics. For example, Seymour Martin Lipset talked about "Radicalism or Reformism: The Sources of Working-Class Politics in 1982." In 1987, Samuel P. Huntington emphasized the relation between political science and political reform or the progressive movement in "One Soul at a Time: Political Science and Political Reform."

Other addresses focused on the state of the discipline in terms of the existing or even recommended methodologies in the study of politics and the research strategies of

political science such as “Observation, Context, and Sequence in the Study of Politics” delivered by Richard F. Fenno, Jr. in 1985. Earlier, in his presidential address of 1980, Warren E. Miller (1981) considered “The Role of Research in the Unification of a Discipline.” He argued that the separate origins of the various subfields of the political science discipline have become less relevant than the intersections that have connected the field. He called for the efforts toward a disciplinary unification within political science. In 1991, Judith N. Shklar called for what she called the “Redeeming American Political Theory”. A year later, Theodore J. Lowi focused on “The State in Political Science: How we Become what we Study.” The latter is referred to in many parts of this study.

In 1999, Matthew Holden, Jr asked if what we study is relevant to the lives of people we study. He considered this an especially compelling question for those who study mass publics and public policy. He called for more public engagement on the part of political scientists. The competence of political science: “Progress in Political Research Revisited” was an attempt to revisit the one neglected aspect of political science. Political science needs to find some entry into practice again, Holden argued. Revisiting Merriam’s formulation of political science inquiry when APSA was only twenty-one years old, he concluded that a main component of the discipline’s competence is that of further extending its reach into the world beyond the graduate seminar, the journal, and the university press. This external engagement or higher degree of reach “is not simply to further career opportunities; practical problems involve issues that evoke the most serious theoretical efforts. That, in a certain way is the ultimate indicator of competence of political science” (Holden, 2000, p.17). Furthermore, he argued that the original objectives of APSA were by no means only theoretical. He recalled the creation of the Committee on Practical Training for Public Service in the earlier years of APSA. One of the recommendations of the latter stated that public service should be a prerequisite to any Ph.D.

Holden (2000) argued that the progress in political research would also call for new thinking about interdisciplinarity. This and other strategies serve the enhancement of competence, which should be the main and valid purpose of scholars in political science. He identified four strategic areas that lend themselves for further development and have

to do with the exercise of power. These areas lie in the field of public administration, political interests, urbanization and the interpenetration of politics and economics. Holden focused on the centrality of administration to power.

Finally, in the presidential address delivered by Robert, O. Keohone at the last meeting of APSA in the Twentieth Century, another call for the importance of effective administration was echoed. In the world where talk about globalization is common in the press and increasingly in political science, Keohone (2001) argued that globalization depends on effective governance. “Governance in a Partially Globalized World” necessitates that the practitioners of policy science offer advice on how institutions for global governance should be constituted. Therefore, political scientists need to play this role and get be more involved in the administrative and institution-making aspect of governance.

Robert Putnam, at his 2002 presidential address delivered at the APSA annual meeting, discussed some aspects of the professional roles and obligations of political scientists. Putnam argued that, despite the fact that the health of APSA and of political science as a discipline is excellent, there is a need for a “greater public presence” of the field (p.249). Skocpol (2004) in her presidential address in 2003 characterized the civic organization while “delineating it against the backdrop of American civic democracy” (p.4). She also reflected on the implications of recent reorganizations for the broader workings of U.S. democracy. Margaret Levi the current president had on several occasions voiced her strong commitment to the building of communities of scholars who take on significant social science questions by bridging sub-disciplines, disciplines, and theoretical approaches (APSA, 2005).

These presidential addresses lead to several conclusions that reconfirm the major changes that had occurred in the relationship between the two disciplines over the course of the Twentieth Century. Since 1903, when Frank Goodnow spoke on “The Work of the American Political Science Association,” no less than one hundred presidents prepared annual speeches to be presented at APSA professional meetings. The themes have varied and covered many different aspects of the field, theoretically and professionally.

Table 12

*Frequency of Public Administration Related Presidential Addresses delivered at APSA Annual Meetings (1904-2004)*

Time period	Percentage
1904-1939	44%
1940-1959	30%
1960-1979	5%
1980-2005	17%

It is interesting to note that almost half of the 34 of the presidential speeches up to 1939 dealt with some aspect of public administration or at least made reference to its practice and importance to the training of political scientists. Between 1940 and 1959, that percentage noticeably decreased. Then between 1960 and 1979, only one of the presidents talked about the importance of public administration and its relevance to the discipline of political science. In the last two decades of the Twentieth Century, the case appeared slightly different. Although public administration did not capture the attention of many of the presidents of the Association, certain aspects of its application and theories did. Table 12 summarizes these findings.

Thus, it would seem that these presidential addresses reflected the prevailing mood of the discipline and its scholars during each of these periods. This mood was initially dominated by the concern with public administration as an emerging discipline, then with the public affairs and public service aspect, rather than the theoretical aspect of the field. This was especially true from the mid to late 1940s when the calls for political science to get more involved with government affairs and public service became increasingly prominent throughout the profession.

Later, that same concern dissipated and was replaced by a nearly total neglect of public administration by political science. This change in the nature of presidential address reflects, I believe, the new role of political scientists during the behavioral era and the serious efforts taken by scholars to establish political science as a “scientific” discipline among the other social sciences. A trace of change began to appear at the end of the Twentieth Century and is evident through the calls to reconnect political science to the practical world of politics and policy science and to promote its role in globalization that depends on effective governance.

Finally, the bulk of the most recent addresses might not be indicative of the dispersed attempts within both fields to somewhat reconnect. However this trend was proven evident through the previous content analysis of some of the professional journals in both fields and few of the most recent published books in both disciplines. The next chapter serves as a cumulative synthesis and analysis of the collected data and a comprehensive summary of the main findings.

## CHAPTER SEVEN...CONCLUSION

This chapter presents a historiographical analysis of the relationship between public administration and political science. There are, however, some difficulties that one might encounter in the path of history analysis when used as a way to explain the present. Events of the past are always too numerous to recapture in their entire format even for those who see history as simply recounting what had happened. A selection from all past events must be made. This opens the door for “presentism,” a bias discussed in several of the historical analysis books, that comes from the conscious, or the unconscious selection of past historical facts in terms of the present objectives (Howell & Prevenier, 2001).

The analysis might itself get so involved and complex that a more relaxed approach must be taken. The complexity lies in the large amount of data one has to collect. The selective choice of materials deemed important and sufficient is often an elective process.

Finally, another difficulty lies in the subject matter itself. When both fields are treated as vague categories, the analysis can get very lengthy and complicated. For that it is deemed important to distinguish between public administration, for instance, as a generic category referring to any form of administrative inquiry, and public administration as a more institutionalized historical entity with a rather definite career<sup>111</sup>. The latter is the subject of the endeavor represented in this study. Each of the two fields is treated as a field of thought, a study, and to a certain extent a professional practice.

This chapter has two major purposes. The first purpose is to summarize the history of the relationship between the two academic institutions through a brief

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<sup>111</sup> The same could be said about Political Science. The distinction in this case could be made between political science as a generic category referring to any form of political inquiry and Political Science as a more institutionalized historical entity with a rather definite career.



chronological review of both their intellectual and organizational ties. These facts are not simply listed rather they form the basis for interpretation and analysis. The latter helps to recapitulate the different institutional and theoretical factors or forces that have contributed to the founding, the erosion, and the possible repositioning of public administration within political science. The second purpose is to suggest a revisiting of the relationship in the professional writings in both fields. Although such endeavor is already in progress, as was evident through the analysis, the study proposes the placing of more active efforts on the part of both political scientists and public administrationists.

### **A Historiographical Analysis of the Relationship**

As early as 1869 the first president of the University of Minnesota in his inaugural address, advocated teaching in government. Fifteen years later, in “stepping up” to a professorship in political science, James Fowell advocated the training of administration to fulfill the Pendleton Act of 1883 (Farr et al., 1995). Another thirty years later, Frank J. Goodnow declared that the American Political Science Association would be likely to attract the support not only of those engaged in academic instruction, but of public administrators as well. In both instances, it was clear that public administration, then, was resting at the very core of the political science enterprise.

Undoubtedly, public administration and political science were inseparable at the beginning of the Twentieth Century. Actually, as Dwight Waldo pointed out in 1990, public administration played a central role in the founding of political science. Similarly, political science provided the roots for the emerging field of public administration. The political scientists of the 1914 training movement had hoped for the study of public administration to proceed independently (although with a significant relationship to) from the discipline of political science. Failure of their efforts left political science as the only academic home for the study of public administration.

However, the need that the latter felt for a dedicated training and an independent institutional setting for the public service training and education kept coming back. It ultimately led to the establishment of the American Society for Public Administration in

1939. This newly established institutional home committed itself to the “science, process, and art” of the emerging field of public administration.

In 1946, as the post war era began, the linkage of public administration with political science, or the dominion of the former by the latter, became of much concern on the part of political scientists not public administrationists. This concern is attributed to the status of political science organizationally and professionally at that time. The National Science Foundation considered political science a junior member of social science. More importantly, “specialists in at least public administration and international relations were generating some real steam for secession”(Golembiewski, 1977, p.23).

Henry (1996) claimed, “public administration, therefore, was something more than a significant subfield of political science; indeed, it was a principal reason of being for the discipline” (p.41). As described previously, a large percentage of the APSA’s early work was directed toward public administration education, or public service training as it was often referred to.

In the mid 1940s, the fading out of the classical notion of the politics-administration dichotomy threatened public administration intellectual foundation. In fact, Schick (1975) noted that the field “had come apart and could not be put together” (p.157). Despite the tendency of many within public administration to resist separatism tendencies, public administration and political science moved apart (Martin, 1952). As a result, many public administrationists slowly began to retreat from their political science home. They especially sought refuge in the American Society for Public Administration and in the emerging separate schools of public administration.

However, these separatist tendencies that became increasingly apparent in academic public administration from the mid 1940s onward were often vigorously opposed. At that same time, political science was itself in ferment. There are many political scientists who, in search of a more coherent and clearly focused discipline, saw dominion over public administration as neither necessary nor helpful to their objectives. That same dominion Roscoe Martin was defending in 1952.

The second quarter of the Twentieth Century had shown in greater extent the increased degree of the interdependence of the social sciences as well as the dependence upon the results gained in other fields of learning (Reeves, 1929). By the 1950s, new

social science research methods emerged and those that are more advanced in terms of statistical analysis increasingly gained special attention. In addition, with the sudden appearance of behavioralism on political science's agenda, the signs of the beginning of a split between the two fields became more evident. The two fields were asking different questions (searching for predictability rather than prescription), using different levels of analysis (individuals as a substitute for institutions), and applying more sophisticated analytical methods (instead of the traditional "common sense" approach).

Political science scholars and researchers continued to strive toward producing "scientific" knowledge about politics and to shy away from "traditional" political science and "mainstream" public administration as well. The success of behavioralism between the 1940s and 1950s, but most dramatically during the 1950s, can be seen in professional terms. Its proponents became the most influential authors of scholarly texts, articles, and research studies. They also held the highest offices and positions in the professional associations, including especially the American Political Science Association. Three APSA presidents during the 1960s decade are considered leading figures in the behavioralism movements. These were: David B. Truman (1965), Robert A. Dahl (1967), and David Easton (1969). The sociological analysis of behavioralism included in this study made this, among many other facts, one of its central points.

By the beginning of the 1960s, the most important question concerning the future of the study of public administration in the universities was not its relationship with political science. In fact, in a special issue of *Public Administration Review*, Van Riper (1967) observed that political science is "about to divorce itself from public administration in many institutions." He further added, "there is no hope for public administration in political science and everyone knows it-that is as far as real support and understanding" (p. 340). A year later, Waldo (1968) wrote that "many political scientists not identified with public administration are indifferent or even hostile; they would sooner be free of it." He further described public administrationists' feeling as "uncomfortable" and that of a "second-class citizenship" (p. 8).

Meanwhile, the study of administrative institutions and public organizations gradually started to disappear from the political science research agenda and scholarly literature. As a matter of fact, between 1960 and 1970 only 4 percent of all articles

published in the five major political science journals dealt with public administration. In 1964 a major survey of political scientists indicated a major decline in interest among faculty of political science in public administration in general.

More important, in 1962 public administration was not included as a subfield of political science in the Report of the Committee on Political Science as a Discipline of the American Political Science Association. Furthermore, in 1967 public administration disappeared as an organizing category in the program of the annual meeting of APSA.

In the meantime, by the early 1950s, the American Political Science Association, the Public Administration Clearing House and the American Association for Public Administration were forming special committees or sponsoring conferences on comparative public administration. These professional associations were providing an organizational base for the comparative administration movement. As early as 1953, the American Political Science Association appointed a temporary ad hoc committee comparative administration. Starting in 1960, The American Society for Public Administration became the sponsoring organization for that committee (Chandler, 1987).

The government was showing serious interest in the instruction and preparation of its public servants. The President and his policy advisors recommended in 1967 two new acts: “The Public Service Education Act of 1967” and “The Intergovernmental Manpower Act of 1967.” Both Acts represent the first major steps by government to support public service training and education.

A large number of political scientists from the 1920s into the 1950s had shared the views of Leonard D. White that the field of administration in the universities “is not designed to expound knowledge intended to be applied in action, but is intended primarily as a means of understanding the nature of government and its operations” (White, 1955, p.49). However, for political scientists of the behavioral era, bureaucracies were “too few to be analyzed statistically” compared to the large number of voters whose decisions could be studied. They also felt that public administration theory “yielded too vague a set of hypotheses for careful testing.” “As statistical methods and individual-level analysis became more popular in political science, public administration slipped in prestige” (Kettl, 2002, p.11).

Dwight Waldo observed that public administration scholars were then hardly welcome in the house of their youth. However, he still insisted in 1955, “public administration may be, and in some sense certainly is, part of political science” (p.57). Waldo (1968) later concluded, “it is now unrealistic and unproductive to regard public administration as a subdivision of political science” (p.9). He further described the growing sense of contempt and even hostility among political scientists toward public administrationists and the indifferent attitude that was increasingly noted in the Behavioral era.

By the late 1960s, political science turned to a mixture of theoretical frameworks and a variety of methodological approaches that were being applied in the economics field at that time. Theories such as “transaction cost” (Ronald Coase, 1937 and Oliver Williamson, 1970) and “principal-agent” (Terry Moe, 1980) are examples of such economic theories. Political scientists used these theories, along with others, to empirically study the long lasting, however troublesome, relationship between bureaucracy and democracy. They attempted to understand this relation and solve the existing dilemma of reconciling accountability with administrative power. This new formal approach to the study of political institutions and especially its bureaucrats, and its relationships with the rest of the democratic system, led to a growing general sense of “schism” among public administrationists. Ultimately, it pushed the two apart.

Meanwhile, Public Administration was going through what Ostrom had referred to as the “identity crisis.” In the meantime, there is no doubt that public administrationists of the early 1970s were both paradigm aware and paradigm fixated (Golembiewski, 1977, p. 205). The 1975 annual meeting of ASPA gave special attention to paradigms of public administration. Several books also have addressed the issue of paradigm in the field.

Actually, and in a study done in 1973 using a Delphi exercise in order to obtain the best judgments from scholars about the future of public administration between 1973 and 1990, the “fluctuating boundaries”, which included the state of the relationship between public administration and political science, constituted one of the basic elements of the predicted future paradigm of public administration. It was expected that political science would lose its traditionally unique standing as the “mother discipline” of public administration. Furthermore, the analysis revealed that many of the theories that would be

used in the future would be drawn from the field of management science and sociology. None of the major “middle-range” theories, as the authors called them, originated directly from political science. Such theories include: decision theory, systems theory, role theory, organizational theory, small group theory, and communication theory.

Meanwhile, public administration was struggling to “fit” among other social science disciplines. On the intellectual level, it suffered notably in terms of theory building and development. On the professional level, prominent scholars from both disciplines were lamenting its relationship with political science, and politics per se. Schick (1975) noted that the condition of wandering in quest of purpose and cohesion in the field of public administration is attributed to the dichotomy. “Public administration can no more escape political science than it can escape politics” (p.160). The two have to make peace. And yet, divorce was inescapable.

In any case, particularly in the 1970s, public administrationists and political scientists mutually decided that separation was in the best interest of both fields. In fact on the institutional level, the struggle toward autonomy was approaching its end. By the 1980s, fifty percent of public administration’s programs were located in separate departments or schools in the colleges and universities in the U.S. This number is significant when compared to the ten percent separate schools in the 1950s. Also, there was a significant decline in the public administration related articles in most of the political science scholarly journals. Between 1940 and 1950, forty articles were written in the field of public administration, whereas only eight were noted between 1960 and 1980.

By the end of the third quarter of the Twentieth Century, the split became more prominent and the historical ties that joined the two fields appeared weak. By the end of the Twentieth Century divorce was eminent. Today, only twenty six percent of all public administration programs are associated with political science in colleges and universities in the U.S. compared to sixty percent in the 1930s. Also, the uneasy relationship between political science and public administration can be seen in the declining attention given to public administration in the prominent political science scholarly journals. Only 14 articles were related to public administration compared to 75 between 1900s and 1930s.

However, two-way negotiations did not end; and at the turn of the Twenty-First Century the two fields appeared willing to rethink their connection and consider

necessary reconciliation at least in certain aspects and areas for the general good. In three consecutive Gaus lectures (1986, 1987, and 1988) presented before the American Political Science Association, Kaufman, Waldo, and Fesler voiced their concerns about the condition of the relationship between public administration and political science. Kaufman cautioned that the two disciplines were reaching “the end of alliance”(p.183). Waldo described the relationship as that of “estrangement”(p.74).

Meanwhile, in the third annual Gaus Lecture, Fesler anticipated that, if present, John M. Gaus would have worried about the prospect of divorce from political science as it “threatens to narrow the concern of public administration for the state as a whole” Gaus might have also feared that “the talented political scientists in other fields would neglect administration, leaving it to the specialists” (p.891). All three lectures formed the basis for a chapter included in Lynn and Wildavsky’s book entitled *Public Administration: The State of the Discipline* (1990).

The popularity of the “reinventing government” movement was another occasion for such endeavor. The movement spurred the politics-administration dichotomy and the issue of democratic accountability. As a result, attacks on the National Performance Review (NPR) led to several warnings on the part of scholars in the field of threats posed by the new movement to some of the established relationships within the field. Rosenbloom (1993) warned reformers “don’t forget the politics!” while Ronald C. Moe, then a Congressional Research Service Analyst, contended that the National Performance Review “threatened serious damage to democracy by seeking to uproot administration’s roots in administrative law and constitutional practice” (Kettl, 2002, p.92).

Figure 2 sketches the development of the relationship between the two disciplines from 1904-- the year the American Political Science Association was founded-- to the present time. It provides a descriptive picture of the status of the relation at different periods based on the study’s historical analysis and findings. The figure also includes boxes that depict main issues, major theoretical trends, and significant factors that have affected that relation during each of these periods. These include issues such as the move toward more sophisticated analytical and theoretical work, trends such as Behavioralism, factors such as professionalization.

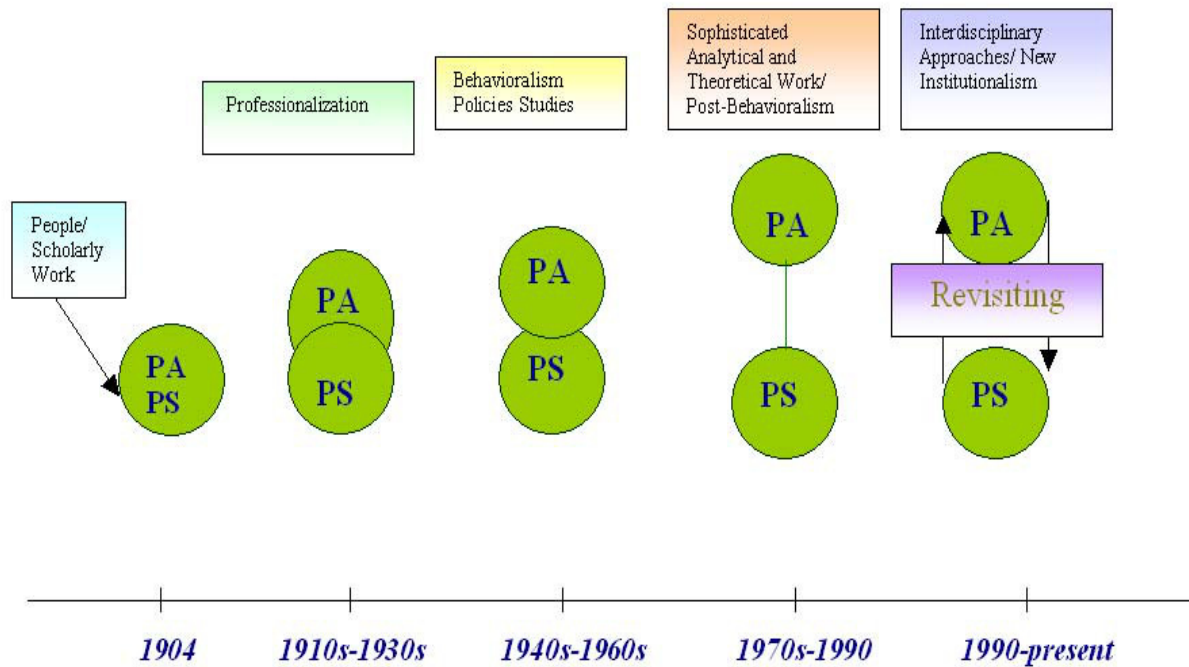


Figure 2.

*The Development of The Relation Between Public Administration and Political Science (1904-Present)*

Through the intellectual history accounts and the institutional and theoretical accounts, this study revealed the reasons behind the association and disassociation of the two fields at different points during the first century of their existence. However, another predicament is yet to be solved. Should the two fields somehow re-associate? And would that renewed yet different relation be mutually beneficial?



## **The Revival of an Historical Association**

Calls for the “revaluation,” “repositioning,” and “reorientation” in both fields was instigated by a broadening of the subjects treated in academia on one hand, and a change of conception in the views on administration and its relationship to politics, on the other. At the turn of the Twenty First Century, political scientists’ significant interest in the evolution of regimes and their administrative institutions, in the role of critical elections, and in public opinion’s constancy and variation over time is an example of the former. This refreshed concentration in the discipline signifies a renewed openness to both the historical and administrative dimensions. Also, the focus on the ethical dimension of administration at the end of the Twentieth Century is another undertaking that called on political philosophy for help (Fesler, 1988).

The view that administration is an integral, interactive, and subordinate part of the government dominated many of the professional discussions and scholarly writings. Administration cannot be understood apart from understanding government. Such understanding is a task that requires the opening of new channels of communication and collaboration between the two disciplines.

This has been the topic of many articles published in the field’s leading professional journal, *Public Administration Review*, during the last decade of the Twentieth Century. Most of these articles and their content were reviewed and discussed at different points of this analysis. The authors agreed that the historical role that each of the two fields have played in defining the intellectual or practical locus of the other should be revisited.

Whicker et al. (1993) discussed the extent to which public administration can learn from political science, and suggested that the “troublesome cleft” between the two forms the intellectual basis for overcoming the dichotomy. In examining the historical rise of political science and public administration from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the 1930s, Lee (1995) observed that the intellectual heritage of the latter, “its theories and methods, has been highly defined by a project of politics” (538).

It should be noted that this movement toward the reconsideration of a mutual benefit existing between the two disciplines on one hand, and of a common background

and purpose on the other, has taken an interesting level. As a matter of fact, there were two books written by political scientists in the 1990s that, in their own approach, reflect this movement. Their authors called for the “reuniting” of political science and public administration, although each in his own particular way and from a different theoretical perspective.

In an attempt to recognize the “constitutiveness” of administration in political life, Cook (1996) considered policy analysis as another principle component for public administration education. He argued, “policy analysis must be the central skill promoted and developed by the education and training of public administrators” (p.159). The proper policy analysis, as opposed to the dominant approach, he described, “weds the economizing version to what might be called regime analysis” (p.160).

In addition, Cook (1996) reconsidered the role of public administration in American politics. In thinking about public administration as a political institution, he called for a constitutional theory of the field. In the last chapter, he considered the prospects for rejuvenating the idea of public administration in American politics. He started with a review of the benefits of resuscitating and reviving the constitutive dimension of public administration and ended with a description of what needs to be considered and accomplished to realize those benefits.

Furthermore, Cook saw public administration education as a conjunction rather than a disjunction, “a practical political science in which the descriptive and explanatory bent of political science is harnessed to the marriage of theory and practice” (p.159). In recommending the development of core elements of formal education for public administrators, he argued that public administration education must be grounded in political science. However, the latter must be “understood in what might be called its classical sense: theory joined to practice, specifically to the practice of liberal democratic politics” (p. 158).

In fact, he strongly recommended that, “every public administration program should be tied closely, if not housed within a political science departments”(p. 159). Program curricula should be grounded in normative political theory with empirical research of several different designs tied closely to it. Likewise, any graduate program in political science that does not have a public administration scholar on its faculty and does

not “interweave” public administration through its curriculum is “deficient.” Finally, he particularly considered the study of the moral, ethical, and constitutional dilemmas faced by administrative officials, in the context of particular agencies and their histories and operations, an important component of the either departments.

Similarly, In *The Development of Political Science: A Comparative Study*, Easton et al. (2002) reevaluated the teaching function of political scientists. The authors argued that that function, in relation to the state, should be expanded. They proposed the establishment of special courses, programs, and workshops for professional public servants. Political scientists should convey their expert knowledge to the state officials in concepts and language that are readily understandable by them. To fulfill these objectives, Easton et al. (2002) recommended finding measures to gradually reduce “the communication gap between political scientists and state actors” (p.84).

It is clear throughout the book that this gap is not the only one the authors are concerned with. Collaborative efforts are also required between political science scholars and those who practice politics and administration in government. It was repeatedly indicated that the origin of political science was practical and “often tied to efforts aimed at political change and reform as well as various modes of political education” (p.9). They referred to political science and public administration as the two “overlapping disciplines” with experiences somewhat different in that “the latter had been traditionally viewed as less threatening to the political regime” (p.9).

In contrast, Henry (1990) called for the strict organizational and institutional separation of public administration education from any other related disciplines. This separation would ensure not only the effective education of public administrators, but also that of public administration scholars as well. Henry argued that the discipline would fail as a professional field unless it succeeds as an academic one. This failure is guaranteed, “if the field continues to cling, as most public administration programs still do, to its interdisciplinary model” (p. 21).

Although Henry does not include political science in his discussion on interdisciplinarity, he advocated that, “it is past time for public administration as a field to stop borrowing faculty from other disciplines” (p.21). Meanwhile, in response to a 1993 article written by Whicker et al., Keller and Spice (1997) argued, “the conceptualization

of public administration as part of governance requires that we draw upon other disciplines as much as we do from political science” (p. 270).

Today, public administration “continues doggedly to train thousands of public servants a year, but its struggle to regain a toehold in political science, cope with the rising tide of public management, and compete with the public policy schools have led to genuine soul-searching” (Kettl, 2002, p.20). In addition, the field is still trying to deal with peer pressure in academe, solve long lasting debates in its theories, and find answer to some enduring questions in its practice. In any case, these challenges have certainly affected its relationship with other disciplines, political science in particular.

Whether during the period in which public administration and political science had become differentiated, yet somehow related, or during the period where the two had what I call a consensual divorce, the two fields continued to share a common practical purpose and a long intellectual history. The theoretical trends that have affected the relationship between the two disciplines still haunt their respective academic houses and professional homes. It is through these long-lasting theoretical debates that the ties that once brought them together might be the same ones that will bring them closer again.

For example, public administration, it might be said is the result of a “fractionation.” Waldo (1975) has argued that public administration had actually “fractioned from political science via the politics-administration dichotomy” (p. 225). This relationship between politics and administration has been the subject of hundreds of publications in both fields. Scholars and practitioners have attempted to answer the most fundamental question: *should they, or should they not be separated?* Researchers who focused on this matter are still uncertain about how administrative pathologies have led to a diminished public trust in politics, and how, on the other hand, the behavior of political institutions might have led to administrative problems.

The verdict might not be in yet. However, one fact remains that “ theories about political relationships and institutions will be fatally flawed without an understanding of how administration shapes political possibilities and results.” Moreover, “changes in administration are defining fundamental political relationships” (Kettl, 2002, p.48).

Without a doubt, politics and administration are always inextricably intertwined. Both are central to effective societal action. One problem is how to bring them together in

“symbiotic” association while keeping each in its proper place. ”The Scope of administration is determined by the scope of governmental function, which is decided politically” (Fesler, 1988, p. 892). The other problem is to understand that the proper place of each will vary through time. “It is in administration that complexity imposes the most familiar example of relation between the whole and the parts” (Fesler, 1980, p. 893). “There is no permanent solution, no fixed paradigm, for this ends-mean continuum, but there is an ebb and flow in a political-administrative, love-hate marriage that, with persistence and practice can be perceived and used to change the course of events” (Chandler, 1987, p32).

Another issue must be taken into consideration when attempting to reconcile the two, which is the issue of administrative accountability. This latter depends mostly on managing the boundaries between bureaucracy and the political institutions beyond it. Once that is realized, a relationship between the two disciplines, that study both respectively, becomes crucial. The dilemma of *“how can we make government competent and authoritative without destroying the values of democratic participation and responsibility”* remains unsolved. It is my opinion that the continuous and open channels of communications between public administration and political science, both on the academic and practical levels, regarding this issue are deemed essential. The challenge of controlling bureaucratic power in a democratic republic is one that both fields have to undertake together.

The “polemic in political science between those who view the discipline as a hard science dedicated to the cumulation of tested “covering laws,” and those who are less sanguine and more eclectic, who view all scholarly methods, the scientific ones as well as the softer historical, philosophical, and legal ones, as appropriate and useful” (Almond, 1990, p.7) remains another long standing issue. Since the growth of a behavioral mood among political scientists, public administration has both enjoyed and suffered a “marginal reputation” within its mother discipline (Schott, 1976). It was largely seen as lacking in rigor and concern for empirical methodologies. This view is still somewhat haunting the disciplinary territory to this day.

However, the newer mood that prevailed in the later part of the third quarter of the Twentieth Century had a long lasting effect on public administration and ultimately

on its relationship with political science. Back then, that mood carried students and scholars beyond the bounds of the older so-called “mainline” public administration by introducing new emphases. The focus on the political environment of administration-- which include institutions such as the legislative, executive, and courts-- and the focus on administration as policymaking-- which studies the policy content inherent in administrative decision-making-- are examples of such emphases.

These shifts in emphases have in turn not only been allied with the development of the study of public policy, but also have produced a revitalization of public administration within the departments of political science. In addition, the production and publishing of more quantitatively oriented studies in public administration and the offering of required quantitative courses in public administration programs nationwide are other examples of such shifts in emphasis.

Finally, public administrationists have always been the target of accusation on the part of political scientists for being part of an “applied” profession and largely “atheoretical” or “soft” field of study. Without a doubt, both have been preoccupied by the enduring dilemma of balancing theory and practice. And yet, it is actually my conviction that this specific link between scientific theory and applied scientific techniques is most likely to strengthen the relation between political science and public administration. Public administration should emphasize theory because the most fruitful political theory comes from the administrative approach to government. On the other side, political science should take into consideration practice since the practical aspect of administration opens a wide range of opportunities in the world of governing. As a matter of fact, it became evident through this study that the active efforts for professionalization and formal study of administration have emerged in America concurrently and achieved recognition as means to the end of good government.

Actually, as public administration was easing itself out of political science in the third quarter of the last century, Henry (1987) observed that the “effects of public administration and its subsequent secession on political science are both profound and disquieting” (p.67). At the turn of the millennium, Holden (2000) argued that administration is central to politics. George Frederickson made similar arguments a year earlier in his Gaus Lecture on the repositioning of American public administration. For

Frederickson, this new location was to be the center and not the periphery of political science.

These and many other proposals that are outlined throughout this dissertation are intended to represent a meaningful middle ground between the present state of affairs and what might be considered by some an unrealistic but optimistic scheme for improving it. As the quest to improve the professional education and the administrative practice of public administration continues, the need to incorporate a better liaison between public administration and political science becomes even more crucial.

Perhaps the time has arrived for a cozier relationship to replace the current near-total divorce. It may be that a systematic study of public policy at all levels of government offers the way forward toward genuine intellectual engagement with the theories of political science. Despite the two fields constantly claiming public policy under their umbrellas, policy studies remains the surviving link in the political science curriculum with both the study and practice of government. In addition, it may be that further improvements can be found by a greater effort to enhance the connection of the latter to the practice of politics and administration.

Finally, the question remains whether the “reconnection” of public administration to political science is the solution to the problems both disciplines are facing within academia. Public administration is still accused of being “not theoretical enough” and political science is somewhat “loosing” its appeal to certain groups of consumers of higher education because of its “less applied focus.” As changes in the nature of college students’ bodies and in that of broader public opinion about academia become more evident, the likelihood of the two fields re-associating at certain levels and in certain aspects certainly increases.

I do not argue for the “repositioning” of public administration within or under political science, but I strongly feel that a “reconnection” needs to be reestablished. It is a connection that would still keep each of the fields’ boundaries intact and their body of knowledge distinct. However, it will provide a bridge that allows a continuous flow of “information” that is useful to the advance not only of the two fields, but also, of that of other social sciences. It is my conviction that not only the two fields had a lot to offer to one another, but that the reopening of channels of communication might be of benefit to a

broad spectrum of other social sciences as well. Given what the data has shown, and based on the trends that it has reflected, this is beginning to occur.

It may be that the most promising development of all is the apparent attempts to revisit each other's territories. Such attempts have been almost absent in the third and early fourth quarters of the 1900s. What has certainly become clear through this study is that change is necessary. The discipline of political science might not achieve the prestigious position it deserves inside the government and will not offer the appropriate curriculum that its students need to serve in this government, until it can establish a better relationship with public administration scholars. The latter might not attain the prominent place in academe they strived for, until they improve the grounding of their research in scientific theories and enhance their methodological tools.

Both are difficult tasks to accomplish. Public administration might have a much tougher task-- re-establishing dialogue with the central tenets of its vocation, which are political in character, without letting itself get distracted from its main practical administrative aspects. Political science is also facing challenges—re-connecting with an applied field of study, without allowing itself to be diverted from its initial mission. Once accomplished, these tasks might help in writing the end to an everlasting tale of the symbiotic relationship between the two disciplines, one that has lasted for over a century.

### **An Everlasting Tale of a Symbiotic Relationship**

Symbiosis is defined as: “the living together in close association of two dissimilar organisms especially when mutually beneficial” (Webster's New American Dictionary, 1995, p.522). A symbiotic relationship is then one that ties two or more different, or dissimilar organisms, in a close association that may, but not necessarily, be mutually beneficial. In that context, and with regard to certain subject matters, that property applies to the relationship between public administration and political science.

Once that property is established, the historical analysis presented in this study of such relationship, in terms of both the organizational arrangements and theoretical trends, becomes both relevant and necessary to the purpose of this dissertation. Some dissertations, moreover, turn out more useful than others; though, this itself raises the



question: *useful for what?* It is the *convention*-- the proper way of doing things-- to target more practical subjects in both fields, however, this is an *unconventional* study-- as writing an historical dissertation of this sort is not a common endeavor in either field.

This dissertation presents a fair-- as much as possible-- assessment of the historical developments in the relationship between two fields of study in the social sciences. My efforts lead to more than a simple study based on forensic history<sup>112</sup> work. In fact, the study summarizes how the relationship has evolved, using 1887 as a pivot point from which one could look backward and forward to analyze where this relationship has been, and to a limited extent, where it might be going. Each chapter constitutes a block in the process, and together the different blocks result in an original work. This latter is grounded in selected sociological theories and founded upon certain analytical historical methods. At the end, the attempt is not only to present summary observations and reflections about the present status but also to insinuate future prospects of the relationship.

I do not claim for a moment that this dissertation provides all the answers to the questions revolving around the difficult, and often challenging, relationship between the two disciplines. Assembled from disparate materials, this study certainly leaves few unfilled gaps and many unsolved issues. Often, it also raises far more issues than it might have resolved. And yet, it sketches American political science historical relationship with public administration in the United States; it characterizes the areas, both theoretical and organizational, in which public administrationists and political scientists might be able to work together; and yet, it offers no clear strategic plan for future action. It is almost like “looking forward into a rearview mirror.” However, being perceptive to both the surroundings, as well as the “blind spots,” is not necessarily an easy task.

Another difficult task is the process of selecting what to omit and what to include. The historical documents are not equally valuable in reconstructing the past. Some are deemed more important than others, and some are considered less relevant than others. In addition, history nearly always consists of a set of activities. Establishing the facts and events to select from this set is a complex process for two reasons.

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<sup>112</sup> A forensic history is considered to be a partial review of the discipline’s past (Howell and Prevenier, 2001).

First, the supply of information about the past is almost inexhaustible. It exceeds the capacity of any historians to collect, absorb, synthesize, and relate it. Historians have no choice but to select a small portion of the available documentation. Second, among the innumerable things that happened in the past, the historian's work is a function of the questions and assumptions that he or she brings into the analysis. Historians, therefore, select radically among available sources and facts. As a result limits must be drawn and choices must be made as to what is important, relevant, and sufficient. Bias is unavoidable.

More important, it is crucial that we see our history not just as a bunch of different historical contexts but also that we report it through the eyes of those who had expressed quite larger claims for it. This study took that into consideration by including both fields' prominent scholars and practitioners who had a noticeable impact on the relationship over the last century. In addition, it went beyond the obvious to deconstruct "meanings" and construe certain interpretations.

To accomplish these tasks, the world of each of the two disciplines was divided into two spheres: organizational and intellectual. The former is composed of schools, departments, associations, committees, publications, and so on. And yet, this organizational sphere is a human network. It is governed by sets of institutional rules, both formal and informal, that regulates its legitimacy and controls its people.

A discipline is also an intellectual sphere. This sphere is contained in the theories, methodologies, paradigms, and so on, which are embodied in both the study and the teachings about the different parameters of the subject matter. The two spheres shape each other. The organizational one determines the content of the intellectual, and yet, the latter is greatly a determinant of what people do in the former.

Undoubtedly, the different theoretical trends and approaches to the study of both fields in question have certainly affected the institutional arrangement of each of the fields in terms of academic organization and professional association. Ultimately, the products of such process changed the course of the relationship of that field with other fields of study academically, intellectually, and professionally.

In fact, there were some principles in both fields that needed to be recognized. These principles have their roots in the basic aspiration of the founders of both

disciplines. They are not only compatible with science, they also are those without which science cannot flourish or endure. Political science and public administration, to be worthy of their individual claims as part of the social sciences, must take into account these principles. For instance, they both must recognize the essential unity of human knowledge. Only by doing so, they continue to be part of the present that was shaped by the past, and to contribute to the future that lies ahead.

Each of the fields of human knowledge may be divided into the natural sciences, which deals with the world of nature or the physical environment in which we live, and the so-called the social sciences. The latter includes studies such as political science and public administration. Both are obviously humanistic sciences. Many problems are the common concern of all the sciences, each approaching them from its own point of view. In general, social science deals with the social aggregate and attempts to discover the facts and laws of social life as a whole.

Politics, we are told over and over again, is an unavoidable fact of human existence. So is economics. And so it would seem, is administration. Whenever the two or three are gathered together-- politics, economics, and administration--relationships are bound to arise. A set of dynamic conditions in these relationships is an ultimate result. Rise and fall, a revolving door in some instances, ups and downs, a pendulum that swings back and forth, and are characteristics associated with such dynamics. It is a rocky road worth traveling if the end result leads to an answer to the question posed long time ago: *Does the integration of public administration and political science seem to be a desirable objective?*

Political science is a specialized social science dealing with the political life of human, which is part social life. Its unit of study might be the state, or any other related unit as a matter of fact. Generally speaking, the field of study is interested in a particular portion of society viewed as an organized political unit. Political science is thus a narrower and more specialized study than that of sociology, for example. To the latter, it contributes facts concerning the organization and activities of the state as a part of the general social structure. Sociology contributes to political science a certain information base concerning the origin of political institutions and authority and knowledge of the laws of social control and social behavior.

The same logic could be applied to public administration and political science. The contributions that each of these two fields have offered to each other since their establishment as disciplines and professions were evident throughout this study. They spent a good part of their existence in the university together, with political science initially the dominant partner. The roots of public administration sprouted from within the political science departments through its aspiration to become a “legitimate” field of study, whereas political science was often nurtured by its connection to public administration through its involvement with the “applied” side of the machinery of government.

Over time, powerful paradigm shifts, accompanied by socially related forces both within academe and outside, have led to the alienation of public administration from its previous “niche” in the political science academic world. This was mainly evident during the third quarter of the Twentieth Century. Behavioralism, the quest for both institutional autonomy and academic legitimacy, and newer theoretical trends are forces that caused the divergence of the two disciplines.

This divergence was in turn accompanied by a mutual tension between the two fields that have lasted well into the later portion of the last century. Despite this odd and uncomfortable long lasting relationship, signs of reconciliation and repositioning are emerging. *What would the future hold for such a relationship?* Only time will reveal the answer to this question.

### **The Future Prospects for the Relationship: Has the Link Expired?**

*“Whoever controls the interpretation of the past in our professional history writing has gone a long way toward controlling the future” (Gabriel Almond, 1990, p.29)*

The history of American political science is certainly not young, and public administration has, from the very beginning, been part of both professional training and development and the academic growth or advance of political scientists, and vice versa. This common background has reflected a double strategy: first, in order to ensure political scientists a position in the professional, more “applied” market, they had, over

the years, mostly tried to ensure a certain connection with public administration. Second, public administration has from the very beginning been seen as a subfield of political science. Even when the institutions engaging in public administration research and training had varying profiles, the integration of the discipline in political science was and remains, to a certain extent, dominant.

In more recent years, there have been more successful efforts, whether measured at the level of political science professional meetings and scholarly literature or at the level of public administration research methods and theoretical foundations, to revisit this relationship. This study not only has established this fact, but also has argued that this connection is both beneficial and logical. In the complex world we live in, and in the light of more recent events, political scientists with a broad or minimal public administration background face severe competition from other fields of study; and that, in turn, has implications for the direction of research and training in public administration.

Public administrators work in a complex environment. In the latter, they must simultaneously strive to better appreciate the nature of the federal system and to be committed to responsible government with “political neutrality,” rule of law, and most important, democratic values. Also, public administrators are often, and always have been, confronted with intransigent political, legislative, and interest group forces. In addition, they also are challenged by emergent events and are continuously faced with social changes. These forces should stimulate a continuous expansion in both public administration and political science theory and practice, with increasing closeness between these two fields to their mutual benefit.

As we face more challenges, political and administrative, it becomes even more necessary to refashion and restructure the relationship between the two disciplines both as academic and practical institutions. The impact of the so-called “globalization” movement that spread at the end of the Twentieth Century, has gained a widespread recognition by both public officials and academicians. They both have realized the important implications its associated forces have on both the administrative and political world. Globalization, thus, has transformed government by posing new administrative challenges and introducing new risks and uncertainties in solving those challenges.

Meanwhile, the globalization trend has, in some instances, altered politics by introducing the need for the restructuring of some political institutions and reframing certain policies.

In addition, the historic roots that have established the relationship between the two disciplines over the last century and shaped its course became more evident throughout the study. Political conflict has always been an inevitable component of public administration. As fields that are considered amongst the oldest and most important in human inquiry, public administration and political science have mutual roles to play in government practices and theories. The former is central to the latter.

This centrality makes appreciating its functions essential to the study of government and its relation to the society. A look at the historical records shows that if “we buy into significant administrative reform, then we are also buying into significant political change” (Rosenbloom, 1993, p.507). Furthermore, Wildavsky (1966) has also argued that any administrative prescription is most certainly a political prescription. Since the middle of the Twentieth Century, public administration has sought an intellectual home. As an academic field of study, it struggled to gain acceptance within the traditional academic disciplines. In practice, it had to cope with pressures to be more effective, to attain efficiency, and more recently, to be able to “reinvent” itself.

John M. Gaus, who was trained as a political scientist but is considered a prestigious public administration scholar, defined the horizons of public administration “so as to invite us to be political scientists and social scientists, not just narrow specialists in our subdisciplines” (Fesler, 1990, p.84). Every year since 1986, the American Political Science Association has presented the Gaus Award to individuals with outstanding contributions to the professional literature in public administration.

As early as 1950, Gaus himself had argued, “A theory of public administration means in our time a theory of politics.” In light of the newer notion of “governance,” one can argue that in our time a theory of public administration is a theory of “governance” as well. Governance is a way of describing the links between government and its broader environment. That includes the political, the social, and of course the administrative. Within this new administrative tradition, politics has always occupied an important place.

This is certainly what Rosenbloom (1993) had in mind when he wrote “if we want better government, we better talk politics” (p. 506). In 2002, Kettl concluded that the

various competing political, economic, and social forces have “constantly presented new challenges that require new-- and always uneasy-- fit between management tools and political goals, between administrative organizations and political institutions” (p. 167). This condition of constant consideration of such linkages proves the indispensability for a continuous academic connection between the institutions that have studied these administrative and political phenomena.

The call for public administrators to engage the general public more substantially and effectively in deliberation and debate, about not just means but ends as well, sees to enhance further the representative function of public administration. Cook (1996) described the various aspects of public administration’s constitutiveness. He sees public administration as the exercise of responsible political discretion. ”What remained to be considered, however, are the necessary conditions for, and the potential consequences of, permeating politics with a constitutive understanding of public administration “(p.154).

The recent events in the world require the reexamination of the relationship between public administration and political science. In addition, there are fundamental transformations that have occurred in governance, and these transformations have challenged both administration and politics. These transformations have also challenged the traditions of both fields.

Despite the significant decline within the academy in the natural affinity that existed between public administration and political science, the theoretical and practical ties remain. It is my conviction that public administrationists and political scientists on one hand, and public administrators and political leaders on the other, have more of a responsibility than any other disciplines in the social sciences, to establish stronger linkages between their professional cultures and theoretical traditions. More importantly, they have an obligation to facilitate the dialogue between the scholars in both fields, to lessen the gap between the practice and the theory of both disciplines, and ultimately, to demonstrate a better understanding of the ties that bind them together.

I certainly join James W. Fesler in his call in 1988 for the reorientation in political science in the third Gaus lecture presented before the American Political Science Association. Such reorientation, he suggested, would allow political scientist to rise above their “subdiscipline fractionation,” promote “flexible linkage,” and conceive

themselves “as engaged in a common enterprise” (p. 899). The study of public administration has certainly occupied a significant part of the large political science enterprise. The former has, in so many ways, nurtured the latter. This, I believe, would, and actually should, never change.

As the winds of change transport revived links between the past and the present of public administration and political science, they also bring about a renewed sense of connection between both disciplines. The exploration of different and new issues in both fields is more than ever entailing the use of interdisciplinary approaches and theories. What had begun to happen is only the start of a common tendency in the social sciences in general to collaborate for the sake of a valuable and universal knowledge. The pursuit for scientific rigor and the pursuit of practical relevance that once caused the field to separate might be the same forces that will compel both disciplines to connect again.

My mission might not be completely accomplished. However, to historically explore public administration’s relationship with political science, in either theory or practice, was to embark on a difficult, however exciting, mission. The difficulty lay in the complexity and variation of that relationship on one hand, and in the enduring and weak character of the ties that have intermittently bound the two together. The excitement came through the discoveries made along the way of the inextricable connection that remained between the two fields through their formal and informal institutions and their professional and academic organizations. The truth remains that the saga of this natural, often odd, and mostly difficult, relationship might never have an end. However, the future might prove that no matter how far one’s travel, “there is no place like home”<sup>113</sup>.

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<sup>113</sup> For more information, I recommend revisiting *The Wizard of Oz*



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## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

<b>Education</b>	
<b>BS Mathematics, American University of Beirut</b>	Lebanon, 1988
<b>BS Diagnostic Medical Sonography, Rochester Institute of Technology</b>	Rochester, NY 1992 (Dean's List)
<b>MS Instructional Technology, Rochester Institute of Technology</b>	Rochester, NY 1993 (GPA: 4.0/4.0)
<b>Ph.D. candidate, Askew School of Public Administration and Policy, Florida State University</b>	Tallahassee, FL Degree expected August 2005 (GPA: 3.95/4.0)

<b>Delivered Courses and Lectures</b>	
Public Administration in the American History	
American Public Service	
Introduction to Quantitative research in Public Administration	
Professional Portfolio development	
Doctorate Comprehensive Exams Preparation	
Introduction to Diagnostics Medical Sonography	
Patient Communication and Handling	

<b>Attended Seminars and Conferences</b>	<b>Year</b>
North Florida Chapter of Public Administration monthly meetings	2000-2005
Florida Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, Tampa, Florida	2004
American Society of Public Administration, Annual Meeting, Atlanta, Georgia	2002
American Society of Diagnostic Medical Sonography, Annual Conference, Washington, DC	2002
Academy of Management, Annual Conference, Denver, Colorado	2002
Teaching Certificate Seminar, Program for Instructional Excellence-PIE, Florida State University	2000
Introduction to Echocardiography Seminar, Gulfcoast Ultrasound, St. Petersburg, Florida	1998
Doppler Ultrasound, Acuson Corporation, Rochester, New York	1993

Symposium an High Risk Obstetrics, St Jose, California	1992
<b>Papers and Publications</b>	
"Do New Forms of Council Manager Government Undercut Progressive Reform?" Paper Coauthored with Dr. Richard Feiock, Professor and Ph.D. Program Director at Florida State University. It was presented at the Annual Meeting of the Florida Political Science Association, Tampa, FL. Submitted for Publication.	2003
Contributed to "ties That Bind: The Link Between Public Administration and Political Science" School of Public administration and Policy, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL as her presidential speech delivered at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Savannah, Georgia.	2002
<b>Qualifications</b>	
Instructional Technology	
Course Material Development	
Seminars Coordinator	
University teaching Certificate	
Advanced Teaching Certificate	
Registered Diagnostic Medical Sonographer	
<b>Awards and Nominations</b>	
Nominated for the Outstanding Teaching Assistance Award	1999
Held the position of Teaching Associate, an academic honor	2000-2001
Selected by Department to attend the Doctorial Symposium sponsored by the Public and nonprofit Division of the Academy of Management, Denver, Colorado	2002
Initiated into Pi Alpha Alpha, the National Honor Society for Public Affairs	2002

## Employment Record

**Florida State University ..... September 2000 – Present**

*Tallahassee, Florida*

Teaching Associate/Assistance

Teaching associate and assistance in the Askew School of Public Administration and Policy

**Doctor's Memorial**

**Hospital ..... July, 1999- present**

*Perry, Florida*

Senior Diagnostic Medical Sonographer

Perform all aspects of Ultrasound

**Florida State University ..... May 2000 – September 2000**

*Tallahassee, Florida*

Research Assistant

- Research Assistance in the Askew School of Public Administration and Policy

**Florida State University ..... February 2002 – September 2000**

*Tallahassee, Florida*

Research Assistant

- Research Assistant in the Askew School of Public Administration and Policy

**Richland Memorial Hospital ..... June 1998 – June 1999**

*Columbia, South Carolina*

Vascular Diagnostic Medical Sonographer

Performed all kind of vascular studies

**Doctor's Memorial**

**Hospital ..... July, 1997- May 1998**

*Perry, Florida*

Senior Diagnostic Medical Sonographer

Perform all aspects of Ultrasound