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A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
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BY

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Abstract

Disciplinary knowledge is what scholars pursue in their fields, what practitioners execute in practice, and what students learn for future careers. Despite various appraisals of the nature of the study (Waldo 2007[1948]; 1955; Hale 1988; Stillman 1999a; Raadschelders 1999; 2000; 2004; 2005; 2008; 2011), the knowledge of public administration (PA) has not been chronologically and systematically investigated. The purpose of this research is to examine the nature and trends of PA knowledge in the US. Using a systematic method combining concept, content, and historical analyses, three essential constituents of disciplinary knowledge are analyzed: concepts, topics, and perspectives, as they appear in introductory textbooks published from the 1920s to the 2000s. The findings are as follows: 1) the various ways in which PA has been defined indicate that the textbook authors grasp the reality of PA differently; 2) conceptual modification and transformation are intended to resolve conceptual discrepancy between a PA concept and its meaning, on the one hand, and its empirical object, on the other; 3) the treatment of PA topics and the development of their subtopics vary across time and among authors; and 4) PA perspectives reflect the authors' pedagogical intentions and scholarly standpoints. A surprising finding is that a clear distinction is visible between the early textbooks before the 1970s and the later ones, in which the contents and conceptualization seemingly become standardized. This research concludes that the knowledge of American PA has evolved by means of the attributes of PA, conceptual changes, topic variation and development, and different perspectives. Finally, this research suggests two future studies: an externalist analysis of knowledge development and an analysis of the pedagogical contents of introductory textbooks.

CHAPTER ONE: THE DEBATES ABOUT AMERICAN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

1.1. Introduction

Disciplinary knowledge is what scholars pursue in their field, what practitioners execute in practice, and what students learn for future careers. In this sense, knowledge of American Public Administration (PA) is presented in textbooks as if there is agreement about its content. Scholars, however, have debated what PA knowledge is and should be. While some lament the lack of scientific theories in PA, others criticize the idea of turning PA into a science only. This debate about the nature of PA is indeed rooted in the genesis of PA in the late 1880s and the crucial decade of the 1940s.

Although the persistent discussion of the nature of PA has been useful, it never resulted in a clear demarcation of PA knowledge as an academic discipline. To comprehend PA knowledge, three aspects must be considered together: the historical development of PA knowledge, the various types of knowledge, and the effort to structure a PA curriculum as if it were a discipline. Considering these aspects and the debate, this thesis aims to examine the evolution of disciplinary knowledge in American PA. It primarily depicts the types of PA knowledge and the trends of knowledge development in terms of concepts, topics, and perspectives. In addition, it explores plausible explanations for this development.

This thesis is composed of seven chapters. The first chapter reflects the past and present debates about disciplinary knowledge of PA, and the research questions are presented and discussed at the end of the chapter. The second chapter discusses disciplinary knowledge in terms of concepts, topics, and perspectives. This chapter also

introduces the theoretical framework with which the evolution of PA knowledge will be traced. In the chapter's last section the introductory textbooks of PA are described as representing disciplinary knowledge. In the third chapter the research design and methodology are described and the process of sampling and coding is specified. This thesis employs a concept-, content-, and historical analysis, using introductory PA textbooks as the basis of analysis. In chapters four to six the analysis is provided of the three elements of disciplinary knowledge, namely concepts, topics, and perspectives, as exhibited in the introductory textbooks of PA. The last chapter recapitulates the findings and suggests directions for future research.

1.2. The Present Debate about American Public Administration

While knowledge in general is the interest of philosophy of science, it is also examined in terms of discipline. This examination focuses on the nature and scope of disciplinary knowledge of PA, because both practice and academe often question whether PA knowledge is science, craft or art, whether the study should focus on facts only or include values as well, and whether PA is a monodisciplinary or an interdisciplinary study. These enduring, unsettled questions make it complicated to comprehend PA knowledge. In the 1980s and 1990s, for instance, the quality of PA knowledge had been debated between those who aim to develop it as a science (scientific theories and rigorous methodology) and those who emphasize craft and art (understanding and interpreting PA). The arguments draw attention to the kind of knowledge PA has and should have. That is, the debate is a disciplinary effort to establish normative and de facto qualifications for PA knowledge.

The recent debate started with the critique that PA lacked scientific theories. McCurdy and Cleary (1984) found that most doctoral dissertations in PA were deficient in satisfying scientific rigor and theory. Perry and Kraemer (1986) pointed out that articles in the *Public Administration Review* were mainly applied rather than theoretical and not cumulative. PA journal articles also paid little attention to theory testing and empirical research (Stallings and Ferris 1988; Houston and Delevan 1990). Moreover, the research of PA was considered poorer in terms of methodological rigor and theory testing than that of other academic social sciences (Houston and Delevan 1994; Gill and Meier 2000). All this critique amounts to the argument that PA must be more scientific and methodologically rigorous, and these findings have caused great anxiety about the development of PA knowledge.

Other scholars, however, have criticized the gloomy assessment as emphasizing only scientific criteria and inappropriately comparing the professional discipline of PA to academic disciplines. Labeling McCurdy and Cleary's criteria as a positivist creed, White (1986) argues that PA necessitates not only positive but also interpretive and critical research to encompass science, fact, and theory on the one hand and administration, values, and practice on the other. That is, PA needs to construct usable and effective knowledge for practice (Argyris 1991). Denhardt (2004) also criticizes positivists for failing to understand public organizations and for not connecting organization theories to practices. Moreover, the emphasis on scientific and rigorous study renders PA ahistorical and atemporal (Adams 1992; Raadschelders 2010). Miller and Fox (2001) therefore advocate PA knowledge on cultural and linguistic rather than scientific grounds. Box (1992) insists that the positivist's assessment unfairly compares

PA with academic social sciences rather than professional fields.[1] Being aware of the limits of academic social science's application to PA, Spicer (1998) argues that the study should focus on practices associated with civil society rather than only with expert government based on facts and statistics. Some scholars demonstrate the distinction between science and practice (Franklin and Ebdon 2005) and between acquiring and using knowledge (Hummel 1991). The arguments mentioned above are based on the interrelationship between theory and practice and between fact and value, and are intended not only to broaden PA with scientific methodology but also to blend epistemological and historical concerns with practice.

As pro-science, pro-craft, and pro-art schools advocate their own merit—scientific theories by the former and practical relevance by the latter two—it inevitably implies that each advances a perspective at the cost of the other. Each school overestimates its own perspective while underestimating that of the others. As a result, the debate about knowledge types makes it problematic to evaluate what PA knowledge is and should be. The argument about PA knowledge, moreover, is not limited to research alone, but, rather, is tied to the much broader question about the disciplinary knowledge of PA that concerns both research and teaching.

The nature and scope of PA is noticeably argued by Dahl, Simon, and Waldo. Dahl (1947) insists that PA should be concerned with normative values and be a multidisciplinary study.[2] Simon disagrees with Dahl's argument. Believing that PA

[1] White et al. (1996) also point out that, unlike other academic social sciences, doctoral dissertations in PA are often written by practitioners with more practical purposes than methodological rigor. When PA is compared with other professional schools, the quality of PA research is comparable to that of education, but less than social work administration and business administration (Houston and Delevan 1994).
[2] Interdisciplinary study is different from multidisciplinary or interdisciplinary study (Raadschelders 2000; 2005). These terms are not distinguished from each other in contrast to monodisciplinary study in this thesis. For a reference to PA's interdisciplinary nature, see Dimock (1937) and Waldo (2007[1948];

ought to rely upon facts rather than values, he (1947) argues in favor of objectivity and generalization of PA knowledge through rigorous scientific methods. Waldo appears to side with Dahl, (2007[1948]) believing that PA consists of both art and science and that the study is multidisciplinary. For instance, he later characterizes organization theory as an "elephant metaphor," in which the theories originate in various disciplines and the interpretation depends on what part of the disciplinary elephant is touched (Waldo 1961). In other words, PA knowledge is based on various disciplines (McCurdy 1986), and the field is an "eclectic and multi-disciplinary" study (Vigoda 2002). Mainzer (1994), however, accuses any interdisciplinary study of displaying a "fuzzy eclecticism" and claims that PA should be built on a philosophically and historically oriented political science. These arguments on the nature of American PA between art/value and science/fact and the scope between monodiscipline and interdiscipline further leads to another concern about disciplinary identity.

Given the uncertainty about PA's identity, scholars have looked for solutions. Waldo (1968) considers that the identity crisis stems from two ambiguities: 1) what PA is and should be and 2) what the relation between PA and political science is. He believes that the field is somewhat comparable to medicine, includes art and science, theory and practice and should develop as a professional school with attention not only for science and craft (as in medicine) but also for art. Ostrom (1973) argues there is an "intellectual crisis" that he attributes to lack of understanding the roots of the American

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1955, 49-59) in general and Hinshaw (1980) for anthropology. For a reference to PA's relations with political science, see Martin (1952), Caldwell (1965), Henry (1975), Mainzer (1994), Bendor (1994), Whicker et al. (1993), Lee (1995), and Kettl (2000). Because of the interdisciplinary nature, the question is how PA integrates with other disciplines. Waldo (1955) recommends "creative interchange" rather than just influencing with each other (68). Rutgers (1998) and Raadschelders (2000; 2011) advocate a "differentiated integration."

public administration in the study of PA. According to Ostrom, the bureaucratic administration paradigm of a centralized public administration has prevailed in PA, whereas the democratic administration paradigm, emphasizing decentralization and overlapping jurisdictions, has been rejected. Considering the provision of public goods and services as the main objectives of public administration, Ostrom argues that the bureaucratic paradigm should be replaced by the democratic paradigm. McSwite (1997) argues along somewhat similar lines, pointing out that the anti-Federalist stance has deteriorated since the adoption of the Constitution. Unlike Ostrom, McSwite is more concerned with a social-cohesive rather than with an economic-oriented community. Opposing both the normative value of a traditional society and the positivist argument of an economic society, McSwite advocates post-modernism in PA by suggesting decentralization and collective decision-making. Criticizing any attempts toward a unified field of PA as generating the crisis, Rutgers (1998) believes in the inter-disciplinary features of and multiple approaches to PA. This debate is recapitulated as an "academic" crisis on the nature of PA and an "existential" crisis on the scope of the field (Raadschelders 1999).[3] These historical and disciplinary arguments about the identity crisis signify the difficulty in identifying PA knowledge.

Through these debates since the 1940s, moreover, PA knowledge has been recognized as consisting of various approaches and theories. The field is identified in several different ways: only science (Simon 1947); art and science (Dahl 1947; Waldo 1955); art, science, and profession (Lynn 1996); and art, science, and craft (Raadschelders 2004). Rosenbloom (1983) argues that PA theories can be categorized

[3] Raadschelders (1999) signifies that the Anglo-American Public Administration tends to be inductive, whereas the continental European counterpart is inclined to be deductive; furthermore, the debate on an identity crisis more occurs in the former than the later.

in three groups: managerial, legal, and political. Lan and Anders (2000) add three more categories: ethical, historical, and integrated (Lan and Anders 2000). PA theories can also be categorized as including scientific, interpretative, and normative approaches. The scientific approach is, in light of the critique mentioned above, not very successful; the latter two approaches seem to blend (Frederickson and Smith 2003, 6-7, 245). Moreover, PA theories are not fixed within any paradigmatic creed; rather, they have evolved into various directions (Frederickson and Smith 2003, 246). Even symposium articles of PA journals confirm the plural approach of PA (Miller and Jaja 2005). Public administration scholars include both "disciplined purists" and "undisciplined mongrels," who tear down boundaries to provide both the discipline and practitioners with more useful resources (Rodgers and Rodgers 2000). These various arguments and opinions about the nature of PA make it complex to comprehend and capture its knowledge.

The debates in PA about its research, the nature and scope of PA, and its identity are still timely. The question about disciplinary nature and scope is not only one that occurs in PA, however. Other social sciences, such as sociology and psychology, experience their own form of criticism and search for intellectual and institutional resolutions.[4] The disciplinary debate is in fact inherent to the social sciences as they are rooted in the Enlightenment and have to deal with both facts (the "is") and values (the "ought") (Waldo 1955, 62). However, the debate in the past 30 years about PA knowledge will be better understood when going back to the late 1880s.

1.3. The Past to the Present Debate

[4] For a reference, see Stehr and Simmons (1979) on sociology and Henriques (2004) on psychology.

The development of PA in the USA is largely divided into three eras: the beginning until 1940, the challenge of the 1940s, and the diversity since the 1950s.[5] The first period is characterized by the early pioneers' efforts in establishing the field; the challenge period highlights criticism of early thought; and the last period demonstrates various intellectual directions including revisionist and anti-traditionalist views. More importantly, the attributes of each stage imply the present debate on PA knowledge.

American Public Administration, as a sub-field of political science, began with Wilson's identification of administration and his claim for a separation of administration from politics (Dimock 1937; Martin 1952; Kettl 2000). While defining the field as business-like rather than political, Wilson (1887) argued that the object of administrative study is to rescue executive methods from political influence. Goodnow (1900) further backed the politics-administration dichotomy and defined administration as executing political will. During the first stage, Scientific Management was enthusiastically campaigned by Taylor (1911), aimed at efficiency in management, and became a social movement (Fry and Raadschelders 2008, 55-84). While sharing the reform movement with Taylor, Gulick (1937) advocated administrative management and labeled its principles and functions as POSDCoRB (planning, organizing, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting, and budgeting).

From the beginning the politics-administration dichotomy and Scientific Management characterized American PA as science. As the pioneers of PA sought social progressivism along with science, PA became "the science of the state" (Lee 1995, 540). During the 1920s and 1930s, PA was a blend of the government reform movement, the Scientific Management movement, and political science, and their

[5] For a reference to other classifications of the development, see Henry (1975) and Kettl (2000).

revolutionary vision about administrative study was prompted by rapid industrialization and urbanization from the late 19th century on (Waldo 1955, 17). As a result, science backed by the intellectual and social zeal became PA's prominent attribute. This attribute, however, was later chastised for its unscientific and dogmatic qualities by dissenters in the 1940s, contributing to the present debate on the disciplinary knowledge.

The 1940s was the most noteworthy decade in American PA[6], not so much for its organizational independence[7] but for challenges to the prewar optimism of being a science. The intellectual stage set with the debate on civil servants' responsibility between Friedrich (1940) and Finer (1940).[8] Mainly, the politics-administration dichotomy, one of the core bases of the early PA, was criticized, although even before the 1940s the dichotomy was found to be impractical. Dimock (1937) insisted that, unlike Wilson, PA is constrained by the American constitutional system rather than by business administration and that "politics (in the sense of law or policy) runs all the way through administration" (32-33). Already during this decade it was observed that administration was intertwined with the political process and system in terms of policymaking (Waldo 2007[1948]; Long 1949; Appleby 1949). Furthermore, "[a] theory of public administration means in our time a theory of politics also" (Gaus 1950, 168). As a result, the post-war heterodoxy almost abandoned the politics-administration dichotomy (Waldo 1955, 42; Sayre 1958, 103).[9] In conjunction with the politics-

[6] During this period, the New Deal and World War II affected both the US and the American PA (Karl 1976; Waldo 1955, 21).
[7] The American Society for Public Administration was established in 1939 followed by the publication of *Public Administration Review* in 1940.
[8] Lynn (2001) also regards the debate as a beginning of criticism against the early thought.
[9] For a reference to the unorthodox decade of the 1940s, see Gaus (1950) and Sayre (1951; 1958).

administration criticism, Scientific Management and administrative principles were also attacked by Dahl, Waldo, and Simon as being unscientific. Accordingly, it was argued that the administrative principles were inconsistent and conflicting (Simon 1947). Efficiency, which pioneers enthusiastically advocated as a universal goal of PA, was not an end but a means; moreover, it was socially and culturally bounded (Dahl 1947; Waldo 2007[1948]). In general, PA in the 1940s was identified as "description" in contrast to the early field's "prescription" (McCurdy 1986, 30), and the field was "chastened" (Martin 1952, 672). Thus, dissenting scholars aimed to redirect the field (Lynn 2001, 152).

This period of dissent does not signal, however, that contemporary PA since 1950s completely detached itself from early thoughts. Early theories and concepts were not abandoned but rearranged in broader contexts (Waldo 1955, 43, 46). In other words, the original themes were redefined, modified, and diversified. For instance, some scholars pointed to Wilson's ambiguous concept of the politics-administration dichotomy (Stillman 1973; Martin 1988; Fry and Nigro 1996; Cook 1997; Svara 1998; 2001). Van Riper (1983) even insists that the modern American state began in the founding era, so it was not Wilson but Hamilton who initiated both the theory and the practice of administration. Along with the argument about the genesis, critical views on the early tradition have emerged. Postmodernists, for instance, refute the traditionalist ideas and principles. While rejecting both the normative order of traditional society and the economic order of modern society, McSwite (2002) argues for a postmodern society, which appreciates personal and moral worlds. Other scholars, on the other hand, have reevaluated the early ideas. Svara appraises, for instance, that both Wilson

and Goodnow were aware of an overlapping sphere between politics and administration (1998, 53; 2001, 179). Goodnow did not even want a strict dichotomy (Denhardt 2004, 47). According to Lynn (2001), the early pioneers' thought was incorrectly criticized as unscientific by the dissenters of the 1940s and as a bureaucratic paradigm by those fervent intellectuals who were in favor of reinventing government and of a paradigm shift. Lynn (2001) insists that the founders indeed sought to achieve a balance between administrative faculty and democratic control. In addition, the pioneers did not always agree with the early thought of the politics-administration dichotomy and Scientific Management. For example, Gulick considered the dichotomy as unrealistic (Fry and Raadschelders 2008, 86). Follett defied the general assumptions of the classical approach and initiated an early version of the behavioral approach (Fry and Raadschelders 2008, 8). These revised and diversified views in the contemporary study of PA have caused to some extent the identity crisis and made it difficult to bring about an agreement about PA knowledge.

The present debate on PA knowledge can be understood when looking at developments in the study from the beginning. The *raison d'être* of American PA in its beginnings were to be an apolitical study that, in response to growing social movements for more government intervention. In the 1940s, the scientific and apolitical base of early PA was confronted by two contrasting views: those who aimed to advance pure science by removing values from PA and those who emphasized political and social attributes in PA. The two contrasting views resulted in the present dilemma of PA as science or as craft/art. Furthermore, the debate on PA knowledge does not only take place between two competing schools, but among several contemporary schools and

one could mention the administrative science, administrative state, the New Public Administration, and postmodern and critical theory schools.

1.4. The Issue of Delineating the Disciplinary Knowledge of American Public Administration

Despite the recurring scholarly debates, the disagreement over a research orientation, the identity crisis, and the nature and scope of PA knowledge has not been settled. For instance, the pro-science school still goes back and forth with the pro-craft and pro-art schools over PA research and methodology (Meier 2005; Spicer 2005; Luton 2007; 2008; Meier and O'Toole 2007; Raadschelders 2005; 2008; 2011). Although such a debate seems lingering to some extent, it in fact demonstrates scholarly attention to PA knowledge. Scientific theory and methodology will continually advance, while their contributions toward knowledge building in PA are acknowledged (Meier 2005; Meier and O'Toole 2007). Such scientific advance will not proceed without doubts or challenges, while alternatives, such as postmodernism, are upheld in favor of pluralistic solutions to the complicated problems of government and society (Spicer; 2005; Luton 2007; 2008). Although this reference to a pluralistic approach implies that the identity crisis of PA will never be resolved in a disciplinary manner, it will help develop PA knowledge as long as these various approaches are discriminated from each other yet simultaneously connected (Raadschelders 2005; 2008; 2011). As the debate about PA research, identity, and knowledge reveals their interconnections, a debate on either PA methodology in a narrow sense or PA knowledge in a broad sense benefits American PA at the end.

More importantly, however, the debates inadequately delineate the disciplinary knowledge of American PA. That is to say, despite the extent of the debates ranging from PA research to the nature and scope of PA knowledge, the debates are lacking in comprehending PA knowledge as a representative body of academic discipline. The debate about a research orientation often becomes entangled in a method quarrel rather than a constructive discourse for knowledge. The debate about the nature of PA knowledge is less an empirical assessment than a normative argument for disciplinary knowledge. The discussion on PA's identity, thus, hardly comes to a conclusion. Moreover, each side of any debate tends to entrench itself as the debate intensifies. This makes it hard to communicate with each other and, more significantly, to comprehend PA knowledge. The debates, lastly, are lacking in pedagogical matters. Pedagogical purposes are the important indicators of disciplinary knowledge. In fact, what kind of knowledge is supposed to be taught to some extent leads scholars to consider what kind of knowledge is produced. As the debates reflect, the origin of PA as a sub-field of political science and the diversified nature of the field make it difficult to draw its institutional boundary.

These points and the debates suggest three important aspects of comprehending American PA as a representative and independent body of knowledge. First, since the present debate stems from the past, it is necessary to examine the historical development of PA knowledge. Second, this examination is not complete when only looking at theoretical accumulation, but needs also reflection upon common ideas, the range of topics, and diverse approaches to the field. Third, as knowledge evolves within the field, attention should be given to how it distinguishes itself from other studies. In

this sense, an examination of ‘disciplinary’ knowledge concerns itself with what it aims to demonstrate and teach. This point is certainly relevant to what materials or samples are used to delineate the knowledge boundaries of American PA. These three aspects, as a whole, are essential to examining the knowledge evolution of American PA, and it is worthy to look at appropriate sources.[10]

1.5. Research Questions

The purpose of this thesis is to examine what types of knowledge and trends of knowledge development appear in introductory textbooks of American Public Administration (PA). As the debates demonstrate, PA knowledge has been identified as various types: science, art, craft, or a blend of two or three types. The development of the field is also reflected in the emergence of different schools over time. Considering these types and schools, the main research question focuses on knowledge types and trends in PA. The purpose of this primary question is “exploratory” by identifying the types of disciplinary knowledge and the trends of knowledge development (Marshall and Rossman 1999, 33). Related to the primary question is a secondary, explanatory question: what are the plausible explanations for the evolution of knowledge in PA?

[10] The appropriate source is introductory textbooks of PA, which are detailed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWO: THE EVOLUTION OF DISCIPLINARY KNOWLDGE

2.1. Discipline

Discipline is defined as "any comparatively self-contained and isolated domain of human experience which possesses its own community of experts" (Nissani 1995, 122), and it refers to any branch of education and knowledge. In this sense, discipline stands for both an intellectual unit of knowledge and an organizational division of an academic program. In terms of the organizational division, disciplines are often identified as academic departments in a university, although not every discipline corresponds to its own department (Becher and Trowler 2001, 41). Specialized knowledge is organized as a discipline or field.[11] Concurrently, every discipline has its own exclusive set of distinct constituents of knowledge (Nissani 1995, 122). For instance, the nature of knowledge is generally characterized by the disciplinary types that are categorized by two dimensions: either hard or soft and either pure or applied (Becher and Trowler 2001, 36). Besides the intellectual and organizational features, socio-cultural factors influence the institutionalization of academic disciplines (Oleson and Voss 1979; Whitley 1974; 1984; Becher and Trowler 2001). The intellectual, or cognitive, feature includes theories, ideas, and scholarly outcomes. The organizational features involve academic departments, professional organizations, and scholarly networks. The socio-cultural feature is relevant to the cultural belief systems and habits of the society at large. Every discipline holds a multifaceted mixture of intellectual, organizational, and socio-cultural features. As a result, the organizational boundaries and intellectual field of a discipline are not, in fact, clearly demarcated; rather, they vary by institutional arrangement (Becher and Trowler 2001, 41). In addition, a discipline changes over time

[11] Disciplines and fields are interchangeable in this thesis.

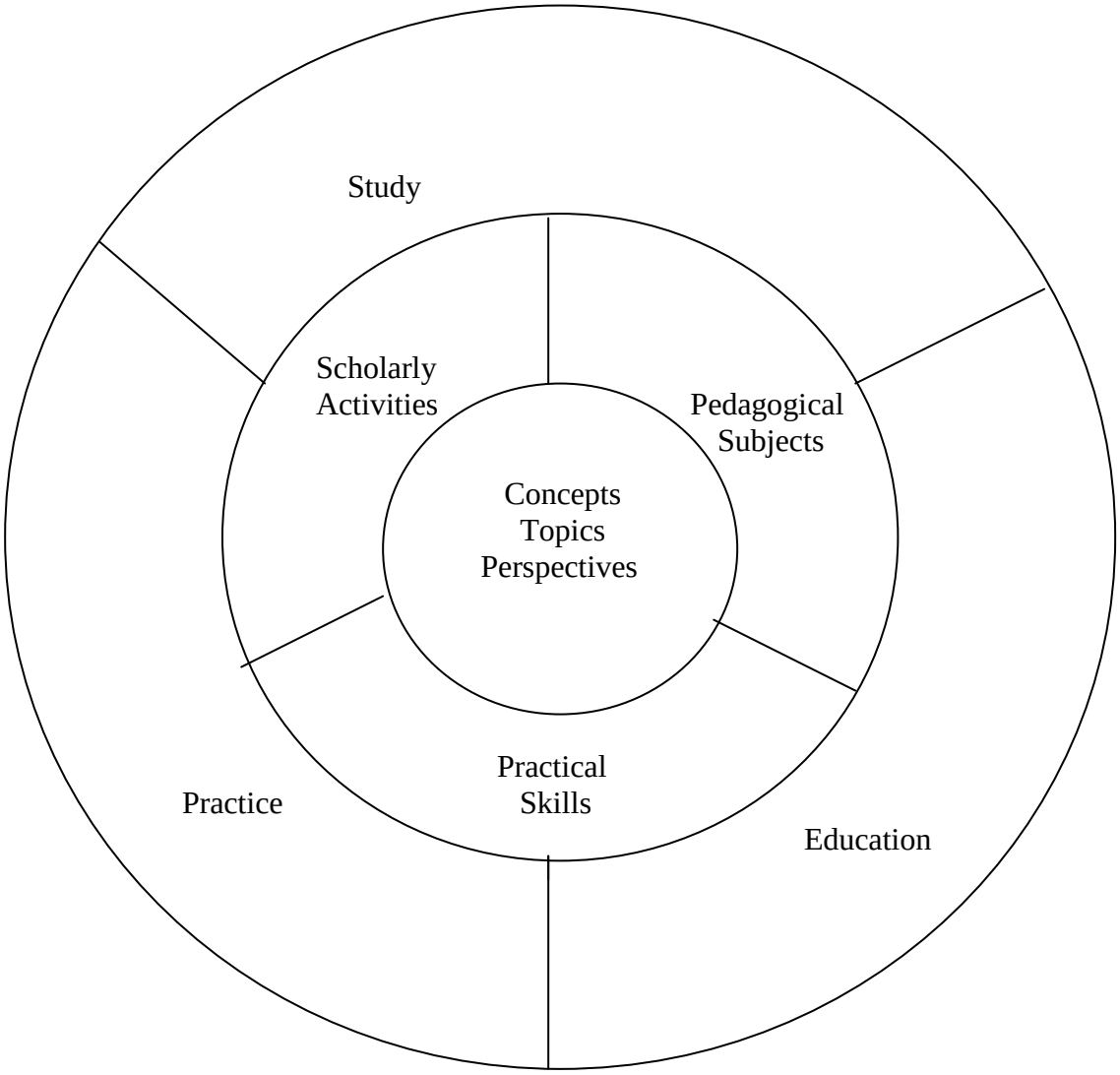
by creating new intellectual areas and modifying its organizational and intellectual range.

Disciplinary knowledge is associated with scholars, students, and practitioners. Scholars create, define, and evaluate their disciplinary knowledge. Practitioners apply that knowledge to practice and also generate practical knowledge. Students learn this disciplinary knowledge for future careers. In this sense, a discipline contains a range of knowledge. Scholarly knowledge includes theories, research, scholarly discourse, journal publications, and books; practical knowledge contains practical training and experience, theoretical application, and empirical feedback on the theory; and students within a discipline learn scholarly and practical knowledge through curriculum and pedagogy.

Although it is not easy to comprehend such a range of disciplinary knowledge, it is possible and, more importantly, essential to delineate a representative body of disciplinary knowledge. In addition, the three features (intellectual, organizational, and socio-cultural) and the three groups (scholars, practitioners, and students) are necessarily embodied in representative knowledge. That is, identifying representative knowledge involves combining the constituents of disciplinary knowledge. Representative knowledge can be derived from broad domains to which knowledge is related. As Figure 2.1 shows, PA knowledge covers three knowledge domains: study, practice, and education. Under these three, knowledge comprises three knowledge realms: scholarly activities, practical skills, and pedagogical subjects. Each realm more or less corresponds to two domains: scholarly activities concerns study and practice, practical skills relate to practice and education, and pedagogical subjects involve

education and study. A representative body of PA knowledge is supposed to encompass these domains and realms. In this sense, the representative body includes three elements: concepts, topics, and perspectives. Concepts characterize the nature of knowledge, topics outline the range of knowledge, and perspectives reflect the philosophical basis of knowledge.

Figure 2.1: The Representative Body of Public Administration Knowledge



This can be clarified by thinking of these three elements as part of a house: concepts are

the building materials; topics are the divisions of the house; and perspectives are the style of the house's design.[12]

2.2. Concepts

2.2.1. Concepts in General

Concepts are identified in terms of either physical/abstract being or linguistic usage.[13] Rodgers (1993) classifies the former identification as the "entity" theory of concepts (11). According to this theory, concepts correspond to specific things or ideas. Although such correspondence is not always unambiguous (Rodgers 1993, 18-20), it underlines an equivalence or match between a concept and its object. In this sense, concepts are "mental images summarizing a diversity of specific objects, conditions, and events" (Babbie 1973, 80). Such an image is not a reflexive but an active and systematic process. That is, the mental image of concepts is "the basic unit of thinking," which interlocks meanings, words, and empirical things or events (Sartori 1984b, 27). This correspondence between concepts and their objects, however, is not always the same to concept users. Identifying concepts with their usages aims to overcome the shortcoming (Rodgers 1993, 20-25). A concept is indeed pertinent to "a *usage* of a term" (Kaplan 1964, 49, emphasis in original), and its meaning is established by its usages.[14] In this sense, concepts are "expressed in some form and used for some common purpose" (Rodgers 1993, 30). In general, concepts are the commonly assigned media that carry certain attributes belonging to a certain phenomenon.

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[12] A concept can be regarded as a topic; e.g. bureaucracy. That is to say, when a living room is constructed of only wood, we may call it a wooden room as an interchangeable name.
[13] Not only *concepts* but also *definitions* are defined in different ways. See below the subsection titled "The Meanings, Definitions, and Problems of Concepts."
[14] As terms also receive scholarly attention, the theory of terminology has been developed. Terms and words are interchangeable in this paper.

Concepts have three aspects: semantic, notional, and concrete. The semantic aspect signifies the relationship between concepts and language, or meanings and words (Rodgers 1993, 10; Sartori 1984b, 15-22; Outhwaite 1983, 24-27; McGaw and Watson 1976, 110-113). The semantic aspect typically takes place in scholarly discourses. The notional aspect represented as the abstract or speculation is associated with theory construction and development (Reynolds 1971; Sartori 1970; 1984). The concrete aspect, as different from theoretical or abstract constituents, is normally required for research. This aspect is relevant to operational and quantitative research and is often distinguished from variables (Babbie 1973; Reynolds 1971, 49-64; McGaw and Watson 1976, 131-148). The notional and concrete aspects are jointly used for the application of concepts about empirical reality. Toulmin (1972) similarly identifies three elements of concepts: "(i) the language, (ii) the representation techniques, and (iii) the application procedures of the science" (161). What Toulmin calls language refers to the semantic aspect; the representation techniques broadly include theories and methods and approximately correspond to the notional aspect; and the last element, indicating empirical occurrences of conceptual application, stands for the concrete aspect.

Table 2.1: Three Aspects of Concepts

Aspect	Domain	Characteristic/Application
Semantic	discourse	word
Notional	theory	the abstract, speculation
Concrete	research	empirical object, research operation

It is important to mention another possible aspect of concepts: values. Values are indispensable to social science. Kaplan (1964) points out that "every concept, like the corresponding usage, serves as a norm" and that the normative role of concepts also is relevant to a psychological fact (49). Moreover, norms are the major cause of

conceptual problems (Laudan 1977, 58). In consideration of this, values can be regarded as the fourth aspect. However, they play a broader role than any of the other aspects of social science concepts. They are closely bound with or underlie theories, research, scholarly orientation, and academic and institutional setting (cf. Kuhn). In this sense, values are more comparable to philosophical bases than to mere concepts (see Chapter six).

Concepts in terms of the semantic aspect are essential for scholarly activity and discourse. McInnis (1995) succinctly elaborates on this semantic aspect in relation to the other aspects:

> [Concepts] are basic to inquiry and explanation. Scholars present their research findings in scholarly publications as explanations. These explanations, in turn, organize knowledge. And the principles and theories which emerge from this organization of knowledge are called concepts. (27)

In this sense, the semantic aspect emphasizes words and their use as concepts. Words are "the carriers of…knowledge" (Sartori 1984b, 51) and "arbitrary signs or symbols" (McGaw and Watson 1976, 115), by representing objects, which are supposed to involve meanings. The arbitrary characteristic of concepts is important in the scholarly discourse for distinguishing concepts from common language. Scholars in fact prescribe the meaning and definition of concepts (McInnis 1995, 34-35). That is, science as knowledge requires devising a "*special and specialized language*" (Sartori 1984b, 57, emphasis in original). Words that signify social science concepts, however, differ from words that signify natural science concepts. Concepts for social sciences often use ordinary language (Outhwaite 1983, 24-27), whereas in the natural sciences often new words are invented to capture concepts. In the social sciences the relationship between

concepts and words, however, is not fixed: the meanings change and the usages of words vary over time and place. For example, the terms *government*, *state*, and *people* are used differently by Anglo-American and by continental-European scholars (Sartori 1984b, 19-21).

The sphere of the notional aspect is theory. Concepts are indeed interdependent with theory (Kaplan 1964, 52-54); concurrently, a theory is composed of concepts and their systematic connections. In this sense, concepts play an instrumental role for theory (Babbie 1973) and ultimately help to build knowledge (Reynolds 1971; Sartori 1984b). This aspect also characterizes concepts as an abstraction of reality. In other words, theoretical concepts are independent from temporal and spatial settings (Reynolds 1971, 49) or irrelevant to empirical referents (Sartori 1984b, 51). These abstract concepts, also called ideal types (cf. Max Weber), are connected with theories, but not directly with experiences (Kaplan 1964, 82-83). In light of this aspect, concepts are supposed to be generalizable (McGaw and Watson 1976, 128). Concepts are the fundamental units for theory construction in social science (Sartori 1984a, 9), and theory construction proceeds with concept formation (Kaplan 1964, 52).

The concrete aspect emphasizes a concept's relevance to empirical reality. A concept in this aspect functions as "a rule of judging or acting," by assessing or organizing empirical things and realities for inquiry (Kaplan 1964, 46). Concrete concepts can be defined as "data containers" or "fact finding containers" (Sartori 1970, 1039). In this sense, concrete concepts are often identical to variables by distinguishing them from theoretical concepts. Concepts and variables are not the same. Variables are designed to have more organized and operational attributes than concepts, and the

attributes are mutually exclusive for measurement. That is, a variable is a "logical grouping of attributes"; e.g., race is composed of several different and exclusive types of races (Babbie 1973, 87). Concept construction, on the other hand, is prior to forming variables, operating research, and quantifying data; therefore, the better the concept is constructed, the better the variable is developed from it (Kaplan 1964; Sartori 1970, 1038; 1984a, 9-10). In other words, a concept is considered as a "genus," whereas a variable is classified as a "species" (Sartori 1970, 1045).[15] This does not mean, however, that the direction of influence always goes from concepts to variables; rather, concepts are often revised or corrected by empirical findings.

Concepts-in-use aim to satisfy all semantic, notional, and concrete aspects. Concepts should be so clearly defined and well delineated that they are unambiguously differentiated from other concepts (semantic aspect). Concepts should be coherently and systematically tied to theories and other concepts (notional aspect). Concepts should be suitable to their referents and appropriate for contextual usage (concrete aspect). These requirements are not always satisfied, and the reasons are illustrated in the next subsection.

2.2.2. The Meanings, Definitions, and Problems of Concepts

Identifying or using a concept is based on its meanings. This presents the "meaning-centered units" of concepts (Sartori 1984b, 27). The meaning of a concept signifies both the word and object. The correspondence between the meaning and the word of a concept requires "linguistic equivalence," whereas that between the meaning and the object needs "practical identification" (Wilson 1963, 66). That is, the

[15] Variables are often distinguished from constructs and indicators in terms of the level of observation. Constructs are not observable, indicators are directly observable, and variables are located between them (McGaw and Watson 1976, 141).

"connotation" of a concept aims at the same meaning, whereas the "denotation" intends to clearly identify the object (Sartori 1984b).

As the meaning of a concept is either assigned by the speaker or accepted commonly (Mill 1930[1843], 86; McGaw and Watson 1976, 115), the outcome of assigning or accepting is a definition. In light of the "meaning-centered units" of concepts (Sartori 1984b, 27), definitions are supposed to fulfill the meaning of a concept to both its word and object. In other words, definitions aim to realize both *connotation*/*linguistic equivalence* and *denotation*/*practical identification*. Definitions of 'definition,' however, do not always satisfy this requirement. For instance, a definition is characterized either as a rule that specifies meanings to objects (McGaw and Watson 1976, 115; Kaplan 1946, 72-73; 1964, 72) or as "a proposition declaratory of the meaning of a word" (Mill 1930[1843], 86). Each characteristic in fact realizes one part of the meaning-centered units of concepts: the former characteristic is equivalent to *denotation/practical identification*, whereas the latter characteristic corresponds to *connotation/linguistic equivalence*.

Definitions are classified as nominal, real, and operational (Mill 1930[1843], 92; Reynolds 1971, 45-48; Outhwaite 1983, 36-39; Babbie 1973, 80-85; Sartori 1984b, 28-35).[16] A nominal definition is employed for the lexical or stipulatory use, whereas a real one states a "truth-functional claim" about empirical objects, although the two types of definition are not completely separated from each other (Outhwaite 1983, 36). A real definition intends to clarify the genuine essence of an object, or the *definiendum* (Reynolds 1971, 48). Both nominal and real definitions have advantages and

[16] The terms used for the classification of definition are the same to the authors with the exception of Sartori (1984b), who uses "declarative and denotative" definitions instead of nominal and real ones, respectively (28-30).

disadvantages. A nominal definition allows researchers to specify the attributes of concept for the purpose of research (Babbie 1973, 81-82), but the definition is subject to arbitrariness. A real definition, on the other hand, provides essential characteristics of empirical objects and is recommended for social science (Outhwaite 1983, 135-155). Babbie (1973) doubts, however, that a real definition of broad terms, such as social class, is attainable in social science (80-81). This argument implies emphasis on the concrete or functional aspect of concept in empirical social science research. In social science, therefore, a nominal definition is assigned to a concept, whereas an operational definition is usually used for measurement (Babbie 1973, 81-83).

A definition is designed to signify the attributes of a thing, either mental or physical. Attributes are properties or characteristics of the intended object. In this sense, a definition can also be synonymous with identical attributes (Mill 1930[1843], 86). Attributes can be divided into “defining characteristics” and “accompanying characteristics” (McGaw and Watson 1976, 116). The former are essential attributes, whereas the latter are “typical,” or supplementary, ones (Wilson 1963, 28-29n). At least, a definition should represent the essential attribute of the referred object and avoid tautological, insufficient, or negative expressions (McGaw and Watson 1976, 121). In this sense, a real definition about a broad reality, such as society, is also possible.

Definitions, however, are not unambiguously specified. As mentioned above, definitions have two meanings: words or objects, and both are subject to definitional problems. A “verbal dispute” takes place when the words used in defining characteristics are inconsistent, and a “factual dispute” occurs when the intended objects are refuted (McGaw and Watson 1976, 117). In addition, the separation of essential

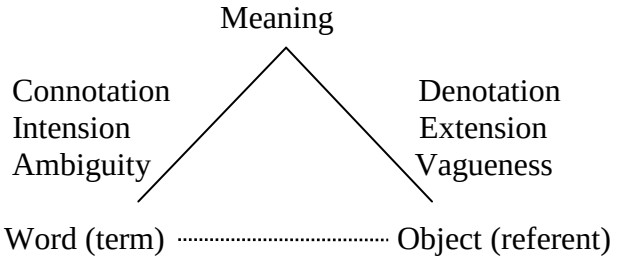
from nonessential attributes in a definition is often unclear or arbitrary. Core characteristics are not always exactly extracted because of various configurations of attributes (Sartori 1984b, 46-47). Kaplan (1946) suggests that the separation of essential from nonessential characteristics is specified for empirical application in accordance with the purpose of an inquiry. Accordingly, descriptions of a definition function as "indicators," while each indicator is assigned an ordered "weight" similar to reliability; as a result, the more weight it has, the more likely it is an essential attribute (Kaplan 1946, 283-284). This method, however, does not get rid of all problems in definitions. Kaplan's suggestion does not help to deal with definitional problems of those concepts that lack empirical relevance. Moreover, definitional problems result not only from internal difficulties, such as distinguishing essential from nonessential attributes, but also from external factors. For instance, the disorder or intractability of specifying core attributes often occurs because concepts are adopted in or altered by other disciplines or theoretical approaches (Sartori 1984b, 48-49).[17] Definitions for descriptive research are also more problematic than those for explanatory research because of the difficulties in agreement about definitions (Babbie 1973, 85-87). These problems call for attention to external factors along with the internal complexity in defining concepts.

In addition to definitional difficulty, the meaning-centered concept also has problems either in denoting the meaning and the referred object or in a connotation between the meaning and the word. As Figure 2.2 shows, inadequate denotation of meaning to a referent, such as inappropriate specification or boundary, results in vagueness, whereas poor connotation of meaning to a word, such as confusion, causes

[17] Disciplines or theoretical approaches are considered as perspectives in this paper and will be discussed later.

ambiguity (Sartori 1984b, 26-28).[18] These problems are often exacerbated by the extensive application of concept. For instance, the field of comparative politics faces ambiguous and vague conceptualizations as concepts are extended (Sartori 1970, 1034-1035). In other words, as a scholar extends the application of concept, the assigned meaning expands or alters; that is, the weights among indicators change (Kaplan 1946, 287). In addition, Toulmin suggests several conceptual problems: 1) the extension of a current concept, 2) the change in research techniques and measurement, 3) the inter- and intra-disciplinary discrepancies, and 4) the conflict between the scientific realm and the social realm (Toulmin 1972, 176). The first two problems occur in the empirical sphere and concern Sartori's problem of conceptual extension, while the last two problems are relevant to intellectual boundaries and concern definitional problems caused by external factors (Toulmin 1972, 178).

Figure 2.2: The Problems of Concepts



Source: Sartori (1984b, 23-28)

The problems of concepts are also relevant to theory, as concepts have the notional aspect. Emphasizing the interdependency between theories and concepts, Laudan (1977) presents internal and external conceptual problems of theory. The internal conceptual problem, such as inconsistency and ambiguity, takes place within a

[18] McGaw and Watson (1976) similarly define vagueness and ambiguity: "Vagueness: a word exists for what we want to refer to, but it is indefinite and hazy, so we stipulate a more precise meaning… Ambiguity: a word exists for what we want to refer to, but it has multiple meanings, so we stipulate which one of the meanings we are using" (121).

theory (Laudan 1977, 49-50). This problem is often caused by the nature of theory, *i.e.* abstractness. Theoretical concepts aiming at generalization are supposed to be detached from temporal and spatial settings, but they are so abstract that their application is difficult (Reynolds 1971, 49-51). Although abstractness ranges from most theoretical to more applied (Reynolds 1971, 51), the degree of abstractness is subject to inquiry. The external conceptual problem happens, 1) when two theories are contradicted, 2) when a theory is inconsistent with the methodology of its field, and 3) when a scientific theory is incompatible with a prevailing worldview, usually between scientific and nonscientific beliefs (Laudan 1977, 54-64). Although this conceptual incompatibility occurs in both the natural and the social sciences, the kind and degree can vary between the two branches of knowledge. For instance, two contradictory theories cannot explain a natural phenomenon, whereas two opposing theories in social science can mutually exist.[19]

Conceptual changes, including both adjustment and transformation, are aimed to reduce these conceptual problems.[20] Conceptual adjustment usually refers to some changes in words and phrases, whereas conceptual transformation indicates a new definition. Both conceptual adjustment and transformation take place when the established meaning of a concept does not fit its empirical object or when new empirical findings disprove the meaning. Either case results in re-specifying meanings or redefining terms. When a term is redefined, moreover, its bordering terms also need to be redefined (Sartori 1984b, 52). Next to changes in meanings and terms, the attributes

[19] The differences between natural and social sciences will be discussed in the next subsection.
[20] Kant (1990[1781]) differentiates 'change' from 'alteration.' Change takes place only in the permanent, whereas alteration occurs in the mutable (Kant 1990[1781], 127). In this paper, however, change and alteration are interchangeable.

of a concept can change. For instance, an accompanying characteristic can become valid as a defining characteristic in the long run (McGaw and Watson 1976, 117).

2.2.3. Concepts and Disciplinary Knowledge

> Thoughts without content are void; intuitions without *conceptions*, blind.
> (Kant 1990[1781], 45, emphasis added)[21]

As presented in the previous section, concepts are the media of discourse, the unit of theory, and the instrument of research. They are "the building blocks of knowledge" (McInnis 1995, 27). As Kant (1990[1781]) succinctly accentuates in the epigraph above, knowledge is literally indiscernible without concepts. As a result, concepts are the main source of disciplinary knowledge. The attributes and meanings of concepts characterize the nature of disciplinary knowledge.

Disciplinary knowledge is often identified with specific theories. However, comprehending disciplinary knowledge in terms of its theories has shortcomings. A social science discipline in general lacks an encompassing theory, and an overriding attention toward theories is often considered as alienating the knowledge from practices and hindering interdisciplinary efforts (Rodgers 2005, 11). Because of their characteristics, moreover, theories hold "an indirect empirical content" (Toulmin 1972, 169). Toulmin (1972) thus advocates employing concepts instead of theories to examine knowledge development. Accordingly, the rational development of intellectual activities is not represented by the theoretical system at a certain time, but by the conceptual evolution over time (Toulmin 1972, 84). Eventually, all inquiry is to some extent tied with concepts and conceptual development (Rodgers 2005, 193).

[21] Other translators use 'concepts' instead of 'conceptions.' The same phrase of Kant (1963[1781]) in Smith's version, for instance, is translated: "Thoughts without content are empty, intuitions without concepts are blind" (93).

Concepts are supposed to have unambiguous definitions and meanings, distinguished boundaries, specified domains for the purpose of theory and inquiry, and stable usages for research. As the previous section illustrates, however, concepts are not always explicitly defined because of their abstract nature and various attributes. They are often unsuitable to theories or unobservable for research so that they are repeatedly redefined and readjusted. As knowledge evolves, moreover, new concepts are continuously introduced. These changes advance concept development. In brief, the changes of concepts generally correspond to those of disciplinary knowledge.

Concept development, in this sense, is ultimately linked to knowledge evolution of an academic discipline (Toulmin 1972; Laudan 1977; Rodgers 1989; 1993; Rodgers and Knafl 1993). Concept development represents the progress of disciplinary research, theory, and philosophy and is closely relevant to practice and education. For instance, nursing knowledge has advanced through the conceptual and empirical process of concept development (Rodgers and Knafl 1993; Rodgers 2005, 193). Toulmin (1972) argues that the evolution of concepts is in fact a disciplinary enterprise which takes place through the intellectual procedure on the one hand and the socio-historical and institutional process of conceptual *innovation* and *selection* on the other hand (122-123). In this sense, "*[e]very concept is an intellectual micro-institution*" (Toulmin 1972, 166, emphasis in original). In other words, concepts are the core constituent of disciplinary knowledge.

Concept development plays an important role in the progress of science (Laudan 1977, 50). However, the relation between concept development and knowledge in social sciences is different from that in natural sciences. Knowledge in the natural sciences is

accumulated along with theoretical development because recent theories correct old ones by discovering new facts. Social science is not likely to build theories in the same manner. Knowledge in the social sciences is often expanded and redefined by changes of concepts. Empirical findings normally precede real definitions of concepts in the natural sciences, whereas the procedure usually travels in the opposite direction in the social sciences, which are characterized by "the concept-dependent nature of social activities and the activity-dependent nature of social structure" (Outhwaite 1983, 45). Therefore, conceptual questioning or analysis is more important than empirical research in social science (Winch 1990[1958], 17). Because social science is inseparable from norms, its concepts indeed entail normative values (Kaplan 1964, 49). As a result, concepts often prescribe certain human activities and events. As ordinary words are more used for concepts in the social sciences than in the natural sciences, social science concepts are likely to hold conventional and multiple meanings (Riggs 1984, 129-130). Concept formation in the natural sciences also differs from that of historical science. Abstract and general (nomothetic) concepts are generated in natural science, whereas concrete and individual (idiographic) concepts are formed in historical science (Rickert 1986[1902]). Social science somewhat resides in between natural science and historical science. The value of the concept in the end depends on the functional effect at which an inquiry aims (Kaplan 1964, 75). Nonetheless, concepts as a tool for interpretation and observation are more essential to non-experimental fields than experimental fields (Sartori 1970, 1040).

As concept development plays a major role in knowledge evolution, it is the complex process of construction, delineation, alteration, and rejection of concepts.

Concept and content analysis help to reveal the development. These analyses examine the nature of disciplinary knowledge and its changes.[22]

2.3. Topics

Topics represent the range of disciplinary knowledge. They are relevant to research area, practices, training, and college curriculum. Topics in this thesis refer to segmented knowledge within a discipline. Disciplinary knowledge is mostly divided into specialties or sub-disciplines. This section will discuss sub-disciplines and specialties with neighboring terms, such as research areas, segments, and coherent groups.

Specialization, as "an intellectual orientation" (Stichweh 2001, 13728), is inseparable from the growth of knowledge (Dogan 2001, 14581). Specialization as a self-conscious institutionalization aims to secure specialty, identity, and terrain (Oleson and Voss 1979, xiv). In other words, specialization goes along with organizational differentiation (Stichweh 2001, 13728) or fragmentation (Dogan 2001, 14581). According to Oleson and Voss (1979), American academic disciplines began specialization between the 1860s and the 1920s. As a result of such specialization, the American university came to provide a "cafeteria style of education" (Higham 1979, 5). Academic specialization has also advanced with other institutional factors, such as libraries, research institutes, professional societies, private foundations, and governmental agencies (Oleson and Voss 1979). Enthusiasm for specialization of knowledge and scholarship is the object of American intellectual careers and more emphasized than in European academic culture (Higham 1979).

[22] Both concept and content analyses will be discussed in "Chapter Three: Research Design and Methodology."

As specialization differentiates academic disciplines, it also leads a discipline to develop its subdivisions. In other words, specialization and specialty, along with a division of labor, lead to the foundation of disciplines and sub-disciplines, respectively (Dogan 2001, 14581).[23] Sub-disciplines, as small specialized areas within a discipline, construct their own organizations and training programs. A sub-discipline also possesses its segment of disciplinary knowledge and membership of a specialty. Scholarly conferences are divided into those sections of knowledge and membership. Simultaneously, specialty develops its own "patrimony of knowledge" (Dogan 2001, 14581). Becher and Trowler (2001) similarly indicate that "specialism" tends to be divided into "subspecialisms" (66-67). The institutionalization of sub-disciplines, however, varies across disciplines and universities and time. Such variation results from cognitive and social factors (Becher and Trowler 2001, 68-71). For instance, international relations can be located in political science as a sub-discipline or instituted as a separate school.

Specialties are often synonymous with subfields (Chubin 1976, 451). Chubin (1976) argues that both sociological (structural) and intellectual (demographic) aspects are necessary to conceptualize specialties. One way to identify a specialty is looking at communication relations by linking scholars through citation, collaboration, and mentorship (Chubin 1976, 451-454). Therefore, Mullins (1973) depicts a specialty as a community of "trusted assessors" for peer evaluation (245). Although all specialties rely on a similar structure of scholarly interaction, they are not always the same. Law (1973) presents three different intellectual types of a scientific specialty: *theory*-, *method*-, and

[23] In this paper, specialization refers to disciplinary separation, whereas specialty refers to sub-disciplinary division.

subject-based specialties. Among these three specialties, the subject-based specialty concerns a particular subject matter or problem by using diverse methods and theories (Law 1973, 302). Specialty thus defined is equivalent to 'topics' in this paper.

Besides specialty, small cohesive groups within a discipline have been identified. For example, Bucher and Strauss (1961) distinguish "segments" within a broad profession, e.g. medicine. Each segment has its own mission, collegiality, leadership, organization, and identity, as it is created, developed, modified, and may even disappear (Bucher and Strauss 1961, 332). Segments and specialties, however, are not identical. A segment claims unity, whereas a specialty does not always hold to this and often has its own segments (Bucher and Strauss 1961, 326). Griffith and Mullins (1972) identify the small and coherent groups of scientific specialty that influence their disciplines. The coherent group as a self-conscious and voluntary organization has its theoretical objectives and intellectual leadership and mostly exists in a certain place and time. Because of its goal toward theoretical objective and change, a coherent group is distinguished from a sub-discipline that usually entails various theories. What Griffith and Mullins (1972) call coherent groups are comparable to Law's (1973) theory-based specialties.

Specialties are often characterized as research areas (Chubin 1976, 448). As a result of a division of labor, scholars tend to narrow their research to make an effective scholarly contribution and to simultaneously avoid addressing the overwhelming scope of their discipline as a whole. In this sense, specialty is defined as a group of research scientists who interact, collaborate, and criticize each other about common objects of research (Law 1973, 276). A research area is a large cluster composed of several closely

linked research papers, publications, and collaborations (Crane 1972). Such activities of research areas are not always observable in an institutional aspect. As a result, research areas are usually identified as “invisible colleges” (Crane 1972). Research areas, however, are not always synonymous with specialties. Whitley (1974) clearly distinguishes specialties from research areas: “While research areas are sets of problem situations with a common core of uncertainty delineated by the application of models, specialties are cognitive units dealing with a particular aspect of reality” (85). That is to say, research areas focus on solving problems by using theories, whereas specialties endeavor to realize a certain phenomenon in a particular way. In this sense, specialties are concerned with a broader range than research areas (Whitley 1974, 79). Unlike research areas, moreover, specialties are institutionalized in terms of formal organization, membership, and professional societies and meetings (Whitley 1974, 86).

Law (1973) also distinguishes specialty with an exclusive peer review from discipline with a broad peer review of scholarly works. Accordingly, *the permissible/impermissible* works are exclusively judged by specialty members, for they alone can appropriately evaluate the theories and methods used (Law 1973, 277-278). *The preferred/less preferred* works, on the other hand, is decided by the members of specialty and other specialties together (Law 1973, 277-278). In other words, an area in which the judgment for appropriateness of scholarly works takes place is a sub-discipline, whereas the decision for significance occurs in its home discipline. Mullins’s (1973) peer evaluation by a community of “trusted assessors” is comparable to the judgment (245).

Disciplinary specialization is closely related to individual vocation and disciplinary teaching. Knowledge specialists pursue their disciplinary careers and research practices in the university (Stichweh 2001, 13729). At the same time, disciplines set up their programs, or "*disciplinary curricula*," to direct the career and research of their members and the teaching of their students (Stichweh 2001, 13729).

Topics are also intertwined with concepts that are illustrated in the previous section. A concept as a cognitive feature is used for discourse, theory, and research, whereas a topic as an organizational and social feature stands for specialty or sub-discipline. When a concept expands itself to specialty and obtains organizational supports, it becomes a topic. While pointing out the significance of cognitive aspects, Wray (2005) argues that conceptual changes play a major role in creating a new scientific specialty. A topic also becomes a discipline when it draws considerable organizational and social attention. For instance, according to Stankosky (2005), Knowledge Management, which has built up theoretical construction and drawn social interest, is ready to be a discipline.

2.4. Perspectives

A perspective is the way of viewing and comprehending certain objects or ideas. In addition, a view or comprehension is based with a particular purpose or orientation in mind. A perspective in this study refers to a way of shaping disciplinary knowledge by holding a certain orientation. In this sense, a perspective of PA is bound with PA concepts and topics by providing them with *raison d'être*, while it reflects the philosophical foundation of knowledge. In other words, a perspective upholds a

particular epistemology about what counts as knowledge, while it is often regarded as an epistemological or theoretical school in social science.

Social science can neither be captured let alone understood without attention for philosophy (Winch 1990[1958]; Hindess 1977; Rosenberg 1988; Crotty 1998; Benton and Craib 2001; Wight 2002). Social science is science both in a narrow and in a broader sense.[24] As science narrowly defined, social science endeavors to understand and explain social matters; philosophy provides the social sciences with the instruments to consider ontology and epistemology.[25] Philosophy ponders the questions for science, such as the nature, range, and rationale of scientific knowledge of society, while science aims to solve questions (Winch 1990[1958]; Rosenberg 1988, 2). In other words, philosophy conceptually defines the nature of reality in general so that sciences can investigate that nature and uncover causal mechanisms of particular real things (Winch 1990[1958], 8; Hindess 1977, 7). In this sense, philosophy provides science with epistemological guidelines which identify and validate scientific knowledge. Moreover, philosophy is concerned with what questions the sciences cannot answer and why scientists cannot answer them (Rosenberg 1988, 1-2). From the scientific aspect, empirical findings make it possible to clarify or redefine philosophical questions. The close interdependency between philosophy and social science is succinctly captured by

[24] In a narrow sense, science is equivalent to the goal that natural sciences pursue objective knowledge. In a broad sense science refers to 'body of organized knowledge'. Public administration, according to Waldo (2007[1948]), is a science in its broad sense (177, fn. 50). When using 'science' in this thesis, I refer to its narrow meaning.

[25] This thesis hardly deals with ontology by assuming that epistemology covers ontological questions. Ontology is concerned with what is; thus:

> [I]t would sit alongside epistemology informing the theoretical perspective, for each theoretical perspective embodies a certain way of understanding what is (ontology) as well as a certain way of understanding what it means to know (epistemology). Ontological issues and epistemological issues tend to emerge together…Realism (an ontological notion asserting that realties exist outside the mind) is often taken to imply objectivism (an epistemological notion asserting that meaning exists in objects independently of any consciousness). (Crotty 1998, 10)

Winch: “For any worthwhile study of society must be philosophical in character and any worthwhile philosophy must be concerned with the nature of human society” (Winch 1990[1958], 3). Thus, philosophy is indispensable to social science, if the latter aims to be scientific whether in its narrow or in its broader sense.

It is important here to distinguish the social sciences from the natural sciences. The central goal of the social sciences is to explain and interpret human motives and actions (Wittrock 2001, 3723). Unlike the natural sciences, the social sciences engage in the social practices that constitute the disciplines’ subject matter. As a result, social science knowledge unavoidably relies on socio-cultural relevance, such as the origins of problems, the sources of legitimacy, and the contributions of the intellectuals. These social characteristics render social science closer to philosophy than natural science. In fact, the social sciences tend to rely on philosophy for validation of their knowledge, whereas the natural sciences have separated from philosophy (Wight 2002, 25). Such a philosophically-based origin makes the social sciences treat their intellectual enterprises differently from the natural sciences.[26] Therefore, Winch (1990[1958]) opposes the claim that social science should follow the methods of natural science. The element of philosophy that is useful for social science is epistemology.

Epistemology, as a branch of philosophy, plays a major role in theoretical schools of social science. It concerns the theory of the origins, definitions, and validity of knowledge. Epistemology is defined as “a conception of the forms of knowledge” and deals with “a distinction and a correspondence between two realms”: knowledge and objects (Hindess 1977, 4). In other words, epistemology aims to elucidate the

[26] It does not mean that the social sciences are demarcated from the natural sciences. As the former are composed of philosophy and science, it is influenced by the latter’s scientific methods.

characteristics, types, and criteria of knowledge by paying attention to the relations between knowledge and objects. Epistemological questions are very significant, since they are concerned with what makes knowledge distinct from opinion or belief and what is true or false. Thus Winch (1990[1958]) emphasizes epistemological matters in social science. Epistemology as the theory of knowledge is embedded in theoretical perspectives and then expressed through methodology (Crotty 1998).

Philosophical influence on the epistemology of social science is often characterized in terms of various schools. These schools reflect "theoretical and methodological movements" in social science disciplines (Rosenberg 1988, xiii). In other words, a theoretical school, as "a way of looking at the world and making sense of it," is the philosophical foundation that offers the reason and rules of methodology (Crotty 1998, 3, 8). Based on its orientation, a theoretical school of social science advocates its own inquiry strategy for defining problems, constructing theories, designing research, examining empirical objects, and evaluating findings. As a result, perspectives differ in producing and validating knowledge. For instance, interpretivists argue that social science cannot explain social phenomena because it cannot capture reality in all its complexity, while naturalists argue that the social sciences should endeavor to emulate natural science methods (Crotty 1998; Hindess 1977; Rosenberg 1988; Benton and Craib 2001). These differences between interpretevists and naturalists are both a challenge and an asset for the social sciences. The dissimilarity tends to hinder delineation of the nature and scope of disciplinary knowledge whereas the diversity can allow researchers to deliberate new ways and pursue new solutions to the problems that the social sciences aim to solve. In the end, various theoretical schools

contribute to the knowledge and research of social science (Crotty 1998; Hindess 1977; Rosenberg 1988; Benton and Craib 2001). Although the schools vary over time and classification, they include in general positivism, post- or neo-positivism, behaviorism, naturalism, interpretivism, hermeneutics, phenomenology, empiricism, critical realism, critical theory, postmodernism, and feminism.

Laudan's (1977) research traditions correspond to the epistemological concerns of social science. He argues that science is influenced by scientists' norms, which are also the source of conceptual problems. "*These norms, which a scientist brings to bear in his assessment of theories, have been perhaps the single major source for most of the controversies in the history of science, and for the generation of many of the most acute conceptual problems with which scientists have had to cope*" (Laudan 1977, 58, emphasis in original). According to Laudan (1977), the norms are embodied in research traditions that play a major role in scientific progress. Like an epistemological and theoretical school, a research tradition holds certain metaphysical and methodological requirements, entails a number of specific theories, rationalizes certain types of theories, delimits the area of theoretical application, and settles on conceptual problems (Laudan 1977, 78-79, 86-93). As theoretical schools vary over time, research traditions are also "*historical* creatures" within an intellectual environment and continually evolve by being modified or transformed (Laudan 1977, 95-97, emphasis in original). Laudan's research traditions illustrate what perspectives are and how they perform in scholarly communities.

The interdependence between philosophy and social science has been noticed in all of the social sciences. For instance, Wight (2002) examines the interdependence

between the philosophy of social science and the study of international relations by demonstrating the influences of philosophical schools, such as positivism, constructivism, post-structuralism, postmodernism, critical theory, and scientific realism. Rodgers (1993; 2005) shows the philosophical basis of knowledge in the field of nursing. These studies document the intellectual history of a discipline. Researchers in the study of intellectual history are concerned with the thoughts of their predecessors. In terms of disciplinary knowledge, tracing intellectual history is an effort to delineate the history of disciplinary knowledge.

The interdependency is also embodied in social science concepts. The epistemological concern is focused on conceptual questions. Conceptual inquiry is distinct from empirical inquiry, but both are closely connected to each other (Winch 1990[1958], 10-15). For instance, Barnes (1982) examines descriptive, realist, and interpretive approaches to conceptual extension and argues for the interpretive approach because of its proximate relevance to empirical problems. Conceptual concerns in terms of philosophy also make social science distinct from natural science. For example, social relations are embodied ideas and concepts; as a result, concepts of social science are intrinsic to human behavior, whereas those of natural science belong to scientists' explanation of empirical things (Winch 1990[1958], 121-136).

Conceptual development is also relevant to philosophical schools (McInnis 1995, 35-41). Concepts are in fact adopted or altered by theoretical frameworks or approaches (Sartori 1984b, 48-49). Laudan (1977) advocates that intellectual history should be concerned with research traditions that embrace concepts. Because of the interconnection between ideas, concepts are evaluated not individually but within

research traditions which change constantly (Laudan 1977, 180-183). In the end, research traditions explain changes in concepts (Laudan 1977, 183-184). Thus a philosophical attention to concepts is ultimately associated with the development of disciplinary knowledge (Rodgers 1993a; Rickert 1986; Outhwaite 1983).

In addition to concept development, concept formation relies on a philosophical basis. Outhwaite (1983) analyzes in detail the philosophical schools, such as positivism, hermeneutics, and rationalism/realism, for concept formation in social science, and in particular, sociology. For instance, positivists attempt to devise uncontaminated, reduced concepts for descriptive and valid propositions, whereas the hermeneuticists oppose the reduction of reality that this involves (Outhwaite 1983, 10-11, 29). In other words, the former supports linguistic innovation, whereas the latter is concerned with ordinary language, or the relations between ordinary and scientific language (Outhwaite 1983, 29-30). To the hermeneuticists, science is subordinate to the broader hermeneutic awareness, and both scientific and ordinary language is relevant to knowledge (Outhwaite 1983, 30-33). The positivists, with an instrumental attitude toward language, are in favor of performing analytic reductions for scientific knowledge, preferring nominal to real definitions (Outhwaite 1983, 39-40). On the other hand, rationalists and realists desire real definitions (Outhwaite 1983, 44). Clearly, concepts are closely bound with and influenced by perspectives.

2.5. The Theories of Knowledge Evolution

2.5.1. The Theories of the History of Knowledge

Both research questions as outlined in the previous chapter are associated with a larger epistemological question: how to gain knowledge?[27] The inquiry is the main concern of Popper (1972), Kuhn (1996[1962]), and Toulmin (1972), who each advocate their own theoretical frameworks for knowledge evolution by competing against one another.[28]

Popper distinguishes objective from subjective knowledge, while criticizing the conventional, philosophical notions on knowledge as nonscientific or psychological. According to him, objective knowledge consists in the autonomous "World 3," which encloses "logical *contents*" different from physical objects of "World 1" and personal psychological awareness of "World 2" (74, emphasis in original). He thus focuses on objective knowledge: "theories published in journals and books and stored in libraries; discussion of such theories; difficulties or problems pointed out in connection with such theories" (73). The growth of knowledge does not depend upon verifying theories but upon falsifying them and is evolutionary with a tendency of a goal-directed progress, but not in a determinist sense. The progress, moreover, does not lead us to the truth but is aimed at getting closer to the truth, i.e. "*verisimilitude*" (47, emphasis in original).

Kuhn argues that knowledge changes are more revolutionary than evolutionary. According to him, since scientific activities take place under a "paradigm," and because paradigms are incommensurable with each other, the transformation from one paradigm to another is completed by a conversion of belief (10-22). Acknowledging that the term *paradigm* has been sometimes oversimplified or misconceptualized, he later articulates

[27] Popper indicates the close interrelationship: "Epistemology becomes, from an objectivist point of view, the theory of the growth of knowledge" (Popper 1972, 142).
[28] The remaining references of Popper, Kuhn, and Toulmin draw from their books in 1972, 1996[1962], and 1972, respectively, unless the published year is indicated.

the term “disciplinary matrix” (182). While showing that knowledge develops under “normal science,” what he calls “puzzle solving,” he does not believe that a paradigm shift advances toward any fixed goals (5).

Toulmin advocates an intellectual evolution of conceptual changes. According to him, the formalists of science overlook changes so that they do not consider invariance in conceptual development, whereas the relativists of science neglect continuity so that they do not see a fundamental persistence among diverse concepts. Rejecting both formal and relativist views upon conceptual changes, he asserts an evolutionary process as rationality through intellectual selection of a favored one among conceptual variations. Although he rejects Kuhn’s paradigmatic revolution, Toulmin, unlike Popper, does not view evolution as having a special direction.

Dispute takes place mostly between Popper and Toulmin in favor of an evolutionary progress on the one hand and Kuhn advocating revolutionary development on the other.[29] In light of Darwin’s theory of evolution, all three authors indeed agree that the development of knowledge is evolutionary. For instance, Popper regards the growth of knowledge as Darwinian selection (144). Toulmin argues that conceptual innovation and selection are consistent in organic variation and modification (122-123). Even Kuhn acknowledges that a revolutionary shift from one paradigm to another is parallel to natural selection (172); furthermore, he claims that his view is basically evolutionary (1970, 264). Hull (1988) places all three authors under an evolutionary account.

The evolutionary notion of Popper, however, is in contrast with those of the others. Popper accepts the goal-directed evolution based on social theories of evolution

[29] For a reference, see Lakatos and Musgrave (1970).

rather than Darwin's biological evolution (273-278, 281-284). On the other hand, Kuhn argues that there is no "process of evolution *toward* anything" (170-171, emphasis in original). Moreover, although knowledge is developed within a paradigm and articulated and specialized by a paradigm shift, according to Kuhn, it does not guarantee to be "closer to the truth" (170). Toulmin also rejects a goal-directed evolution by preferring Darwin's population evolution without any special direction (324-331), and he points out that the misinterpretation of Darwin's biological evolution theory is attributed to the distinction between the biological, population evolution and the social, progressive one (324-340).

2.5.2. The Application of the Theories to Public Administration

Popper, Kuhn, and Toulmin all support the application of their theories to social science. Popper argues, for instance, that, like pure knowledge, applied knowledge is also concerned with explaining, or theorizing, although its theories generate or multiply new differentiated problems (263). Unlike natural scientists who are insulated from the activities of everyday life, Kuhn holds that social scientists are likely to characterize their problems in accordance with social priorities (164). Despite the differences, the development of social science corresponds to that of normal science, although the former is less visible than the latter (163). Like Popper, Toulmin differentiates scientific disciplines aiming at explanation from technical and applied fields focusing on practices by "improving the techniques for producing and distributing materials, vehicles, communications devices, [and] information" (364). While, like Kuhn, he acknowledges social factors and less agreement among different schools in technical and applied

fields, Toulmin views the progress of these fields similar to that of science (364, 367-368).

The three authors also suggest several trends in knowledge evolution of social science. Popper points out, for example, that applied knowledge evolves into differentiation and specialization whereas pure knowledge advances into an integrated theory (262-263). According to Kuhn, knowledge becomes deep and detailed within a paradigm, while a paradigm shift generates new articulation and specialization (170). In addition, both Kuhn and Toulmin note that social science is not likely to be under one paradigm but is composed of diverse, competing schools. These predicted trends imply that knowledge in social science evolves through elaboration, specialization, and differentiation. In other words, knowledge grows through "extension" and "intension," or enlargement and enrichment (Kaplan 1964, 305).

As mentioned above, the research in this thesis does not overlook the dissimilar nature and scope of disciplines between natural and social sciences. Popper, Kuhn, and Toulmin's theories and examples are mostly based on the monodisciplinary natural sciences. For instance, the physicist Toulmin classifies disciplines as "compact," "diffuse," and "would-be" (360): a compact discipline has a clear agreement on disciplinary goals and methodologies and appropriate professional organizations, whereas the last two do not satisfy these conditions (380).[30] Accordingly, social science is likely to be a would-be discipline, because it is usually composed of various, competing schools so that it has a less clear agreement on goals and approaches (Toulmin 1972, 380-386). For social science, however, it is unnecessary to move from a

[30] Compact disciplines, according to Toulmin, include better-established physical and biological sciences, mature technologies (engineering), and better-conducted judicial systems (380).

would-be to a compact discipline. Social science is usually better in solving problems, when it is not limited by any dogmatic goal or concept. In essence, the discrimination between pure and applied science, or between scientific and nonscientific research, is not helpful to social science; rather, an inquiry relevant to practices benefits social science (Kaplan 1964, 28, 398-399).

Public administration as a social science has been influenced by the three authors and has used the 'evolution' concept. For instance, PA has been discussed in terms of its evolution or development (Raadschelders 1998b; De Jong and Van der Voort 2004; Sementelli 2007). Kuhn's paradigm concept has often applied to PA (Ostrom 1973; Henry 1975; Golembiewski 1977; Lovrich 1985; Barzelay 1992; Ingraham and Romzek 1994). PA is also characterized as an interdisciplinary study in both epistemological and historical perspectives, as mentioned in the first chapter. As a result, PA includes diverse membership and institutions. For example, PA journal contributors are found to come from PA along with other disciplines, such as political science, economics, business administration, and other social sciences (Bowman and Hajjar 1978; Lan and Anders 2000). Moreover, PA in American universities appears in various organizational settings, such as a sub-field, an applied discipline, a policy profession, a study, and a particular specialization (Stillman 1999a, 163-178). This interdisciplinary nature may have a more complex effect on the evolution of knowledge in American PA than in the natural sciences and even the academic social sciences.

2.6. Introductory Textbooks as a Model of Public Administration Knowledge

Textbooks are "an important indicator" (Rogan and Luckowski 1990, 17) and "roadmaps" (Laudicina 1987, 272) of disciplinary knowledge. Textbooks contain

theories and practices for pedagogical purposes, while their contents are decided in terms of scholarly arguments and disciplinary requirements. Being compared with journal articles and academic works, however, textbooks are not the archetypical scholarly works full of major theories and arguments. The theories and arguments are often moderated to some extent to realize pedagogical purposes. In this sense, textbooks are more instructive than contentious. Because of the instructive nature, textbooks are normally written assuring "an informal consensus" of a disciplinary community (Rogan and Luckowski 1990, 17). Textbooks also signify disciplinary status and direction (Reynolds 1977, 21). In general, a textbook reflects a historical development, comprehensive contents, and disciplinary efforts.

Introductory textbooks are generally used in introductory classes for PA at the undergraduate and graduate levels.

> By definition, an introductory textbook (with an average length of 500 pages) typically presents parameters of the profession by devoting chapters to a broad scope of public administration topics—the political environment, history of the field, organization theory, human resource management, planning—implementation—evaluation, budgeting and finance, policy decision making, and so forth. (Bowman et al. 2001, 196)

As Bowman et al.'s definition signifies, an introductory textbook of PA in general demonstrates an apparent disciplinary boundary by delineating its topics. A chapter or a section is assigned to an important topic. From cover to cover, a textbook ties PA topics to its pedagogical objectives and guides students to learn about both theories and practices. The topics in introductory textbooks correspond to PA specialties or subfields. They include administrative structures and functions and some issues relevant to PA, such as law and ethics. College curriculum and classes of PA are assigned in

accordance with the topics. In this sense, the topics in introductory textbooks better present disciplinary knowledge than research interests.

Bingham and Bowen's (1994) finding supports this conclusion. They draw 14 topics from introductory PA textbooks: government and organizational behavior, public management, human resources, budgeting and finance, program evaluation and planning, introspection, testimonials, decision making, intergovernmental relations, ethics, management science and technology, public policy analysis, implementation, administrative law.[31] From these, government and organizational behavior, public management, and human resources had about 60% of the articles in *Public Administration Review* between the 1940s and the 1980s (Bingham and Bowen 1994, 206). This skewed attention shows a discrepancy between the contents of textbooks and the topics of PA research, although the less recurrent topics may appear in specialized journals (Bingham and Bowen 1994, 207). This finding implies that textbooks are better indicators of the disciplinary knowledge of American PA than research interests or journal articles.[32]

Concepts in textbooks are those keywords that embody PA theories and scholarly perspectives. Most introductory textbooks tend to introduce concepts or key terms rather than complex and contentious theories for pedagogical purposes. Authors address PA concepts, explain the meanings, and demonstrate the concepts with empirical and practical cases.

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[31] For a reference to detailed definitions, see Bingham and Bowen (1994, 205).

[32] Kuhn and Toulmin assert the far-reaching implications of textbooks on natural sciences. For instance, standard textbooks represent a "final locus of authority" (Toulmin 1972, 277) and the source of authority with popularization and the philosophical works (Kuhn 1996[1962], 136-137). Although textbooks of social sciences have less impact on education than those of natural sciences, the impact is still significant (Kuhn 1996[1962], 165).

A perspective in a textbook is an overarching doctrine that guides which concepts and topics are used or underlined. The perspective is not identical to Kuhn's paradigm. Kuhn (1996[1962]) considers textbooks as pedagogical guidebooks for a paradigm of normal science (137-140). In this sense, a paradigm intends or implies to direct a discipline. On the other hand, a perspective is a view upon disciplinary knowledge. In addition, introductory textbooks differ from readers and anthologies which are a collection of selected works. Although some readers and anthologies present a certain view, it generally rationalizes a selection of works or specifies an intended theme.

Scholars consider White's (1926) *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration* the first PA textbook, and it is praised as a standard textbook (Waldo 1955, 23). That textbook was followed by Willoughby's (1927) *The Principles of Public Administration: With Special Reference to the National and State Governments of the United States*. Both textbooks contained "premises and concepts" of governmental agencies and were the "effective teaching instruments for the new field" (Sayre 1958, 102). White focused on organization and management, while Willoughby emphasized structures and procedures (Lynn 2001, 149). The textbooks attempted to map an emerging field of knowledge.

Since the 1940s, the early PA textbooks were criticized for their conventional creeds. The textbooks in the 1920s were generally obligated to the Scientific Management movement (Waldo 1955, 19). They characterized the politics-administration dichotomy as a truth, organization theory as the implementation of Scientific Management, executive budget and personal management as rational means, career civil service as neutral, and administrative laws as prescription (Sayre 1958, 102-

103). In return, these components kept in tune with orthodox PA (Sayre 1958). While the textbooks accomplished an intellectual "synthesis," their principles regrettably turned into dogmas (Waldo 1955, 39).

These dogmas, however, were later broken. The textbooks in the 1950s shared a similar pattern and content but differed in the themes more from the early ones by paying more attention to political context, governmental polices, and psychology than administrative structures and principles (Waldo 1955, 30-32).[33] Unlike the prewar textbooks and those of the 1950s and 1960s, PA textbooks in the 1980s and 1990s reflected diverse ideas and competing approaches, although at the surface they were similar to one another (Stillman 1999a, 159; 1999b, 93). The diversity in topics and approaches since the 1990s the disciplinary identity became less prominent (Reynolds 1977, 22; Stillman 1999a, 150). Simultaneously, the textbooks paid less attention to the discipline's history than earlier ones (Hale 1998, 426). Second, specialized topics without an overarching doctrine turned the textbooks' contents into compartmentalized presentations of PA (Stillman 1999a, 159). Third, contemporary textbooks began to imply that public administration is political; however, textbooks dealt little with politics (Hale 1998, 442). Concurrently, more consideration for political contexts rendered PA as an art rather than a science (Reynolds 1977, 34). These evaluations of PA textbooks run parallel to the arguments and findings about the historical developmental of American PA mentioned in the first chapter.

2.7. Works about Public Administration Knowledge and Textbooks

[33] Simon et al.'s (1950) textbook was an exception because it contains logical positivism and concerns human behaviors in general (Waldo 1955, 31).

The works of four PA scholars are closely pertinent to the thesis before you. Waldo's work plays an influential role in this thesis. Waldo's (2007[1948]) book, *The Administrative State*, pays considerable attention to the philosophical basis of PA and PA concepts, although it is a critical review of literature rather than an examination of textbooks. While reviewing the state of PA as a discipline, Waldo (1955) looks at the trend of textbook contents in another work: *The Study of Public Administration*. Like Waldo, Stillman (1999a) has paid considerable attention to PA textbooks and concepts. Both Waldo and Stillman demonstrate interests in the philosophical/epistemological basis of the study and the concepts/topics listed in textbooks. Hale (1988) examines the definitions of public administration and the politics-administration dichotomy that are presented in introductory textbooks. Hale's work, along with Stillman's (1999a), provides this thesis with some methodological guidelines. Finally, Raadschelders (1999; 2000; 2005; 2008; 2011) has endeavored to map knowledge in PA. His works underline the epistemological interests in disciplinary knowledge that this thesis aims at.

Waldo's book (2007[1948]), *The Administrative State*, is the seminal work of the study of public administration. He argues that the tenets of public administration do have their basis in political philosophies. While viewing the study of public administration with the lens of "political theory and the history of ideas," Waldo (2007[1948]) examines the philosophical questions (xxiii). Through such an examination, he emphasizes the significance of concepts in public administration. The important concepts materialize throughout the book; for instance, on science (chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5), on efficiency (chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 8), on business (chapters 1 and 2), on politics-administration (chapters 1 and 7), and on professionalism (chapters

1, 2, and 6).[34] More conspicuously, he exclusively reviews the concepts of principle, science, and efficiency in the last part of the book under a title: "Some Fundamental Concepts: A Critique."[35] For example, he analyzes the development of the concepts of principles in a historical and philosophical perspective.

> The concept of 'principles' has been prominent in American public administration. Many 'principles' have been asserted, defended, elaborated. Much writing has assumed that principles exist, are cognizable, and valid. What did this concept arise and what has it meant to administrative writers? In what sense can principles of administration be said to 'exist,' be 'true' or 'valid'? ...The idea of principles of administration arose from and is colored by the idea of a 'cosmic constitutionalism' that has been a prominent aspect of American thought. This idea of a 'cosmic constitutionalism' is characterized by a conflation, a fusion and confusion, of the ideas of moral and physical necessity. (Waldo 2007[1948], 159)

Waldo's (1955) *The Study of Public Administration* also provides this thesis with valuable instruction. In the book Waldo assesses not only important concepts, such as rational action, culture, and efficiency, but also conflicting concepts, such as science vs. art, rationality vs. nonrationality, individual vs. society, and politics vs. administration. Moreover, he looks at the trends in textbook contents under a chapter: "Contemporary Teaching and Training."

Stillman (1999a) connects PA knowledge with its education by examining introductory textbooks and PA programs under a chapter title: "The Trends in American Public Administration: The Drive to Specialize in Texts, Teaching, and Training." The purpose of the chapter is noteworthy:

> This chapter explores some of the prominent intellectual features of modern American public administration theory as it actually is *represented by present-day basic textbooks*, higher education graduate degree programs, and in-service training methods used throughout the United States. It will be argued that each of these three approaches—texts, teaching, and

[34] The subject indexes indicate how frequently these concepts appear throughout the book.
[35] Even the word 'science' is written in capital letters (Waldo 2007[1948], 161).

> training—*reflects important philosophical points of view*, intellectual assumptions, and ways of thinking about the nature and substance of the field. They also may be seen as a useful gauge of where the field is today—and, possibly, where it may be heading tomorrow. (Stillman 1999a, 149, emphasis added)

This purpose corresponds to the intentions of this thesis. Public administration in the 1980s and the 1990s tends to be characterized as *the executive branch*, *policy making and implementing*, *human cooperation*, *the comparison with private administration*, *the production of public goods and services*, and *theory and practice* (Stillman 1999a, 151). Despite these shared features, the textbooks differ from each other in their emphasis. Stillman gleans six definitions of public administration from the textbooks and then classifies the textbooks accordingly: *economic* (e.g., production), *personnel* (e.g., governmental work), *institutional* (e.g., cooperation), *theory and practice*, *processes* (e.g., governmental activities), and *problem-solving* (Stillman 1999a, 152). Stillman (1999a) also reviews the temporal development of PA knowledge by comparing the textbook of White's (1939) second edition with that of Gordon and Milakovich in 1995. In light of perspectives and chapter topics, these textbooks have some similarities and differences. First, both textbooks share some common features, such as considering PA as a field, focusing on essential administrative processes, and depicting PA in terms of the executive branch and actions (Stillman 1999a, 157). Second, environmental factors and new theories materialize more in the textbook of 1995 than in that of 1939, and the contents of the early textbook are "more applied, more instrumental, and less consciously theoretical" with an emphasis on efficiency, whereas the later textbook contains "more descriptive, analytical emphasis on how external socioeconomic and political forces shape administration" (Stillman 1999a, 158-159). Third, the

cohesiveness and integration of the subject matter is achieved under the POSDCoRB acronym in the early textbook, whereas the later textbook is merely a collection of specialized chapters (Stillman 1999a, 159). As a result, these findings demonstrate diverse "points of view, representing distinct value accents and specialized emphases on certain aspects of the administrative enterprise" (Stillman 1999a, 152). By titling his textbook as *Public Administration: Concepts and Cases*, in addition, he underlines the significance of PA concepts for those students who want to learn PA.

Hale (1988) examines White's textbooks between the 1920s and the 1950s and PA and policy textbooks in 1970s and 1980s. The two major issues in PA, according to Hale, are how to define public administration and public policymaking and how to deal with the politics-administration dichotomy. By examining the definition and the dichotomy, Hale (1988) delineates the boundary and changes in the field and the role of bureaucracy. The textbooks not only reflect the incoherence of governmental development but also define PA in either a *narrow* or an *extensive* sense (Hale 1988, 430-432). Hale (1988) concisely indicates the change in bureaucratic role: "From 'executing' policy in 1887, to 'fulfilling' it in 1939, to 'refining' it in 1955, to 'making' it in 1980: This is how public administration texts record the evolution of American bureaucracy" (430). Hale's analysis demonstrates that the contents of textbooks bind with PA knowledge and government.

Raadschelders endeavors to identify the nature of PA knowledge in order to overcome the identity crisis in PA. In his view, the identity crisis stems from both extensive fragmentation of PA knowledge and from the inappropriate application of natural science standards in the effort to establish PA as a science in the narrow sense

(Raadschelders 1999; 2000; 2005; 2008; 2011). Raadschelders (2008; 2011) argues that PA knowledge is composed of four epistemological traditions: *scientific knowledge*, *practical experience*, *practical wisdom*, and *relativist perspectives*. These traditions differ from each other in how they perceive and pursue PA knowledge, methodology, and orientation. As PA is composed of various approaches, Raadschelders underlines that only attention for epistemology will develop PA as a coherent body of knowledge.

All four scholars mention what this thesis aims to do. Waldo's interests in PA philosophy and concepts correspond to those of this thesis. The shared features and various aspects observed by Stillman are what this thesis will examine. Hale's analysis of concepts is represented in this thesis with a methodology for capturing concept development. As Raadschelders endeavors to identify PA knowledge, so does this thesis. Following the efforts of Waldo, Stillman, Hale, and Raadschelders, this thesis proceeds what those scholars did not analyze in detail. First, this thesis will extend the interests of these four scholars by studying textbook development all the way from the 1920s to the 2000s. Second, this thesis will enrich their opinions with systematic concept and content analysis.[36] That is, this thesis will provide a more detailed discussion of similarities and differences in and trends of PA concepts, topics, and perspectives then has been presented to date.

[36] Both concept and content analyses will be discussed in the next chapter, "Research Design and Methodology."

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This thesis aims to examine the knowledge evolution of American PA by depicting knowledge types and trends and presenting plausible explanations of the evolution. It uses both inductive and deductive approaches. That is, while this thesis intends to inductively generate general inferences from collected data, the conceptual frameworks of this thesis are deductively drawn from previous findings and arguments about knowledge: that is, disciplinary knowledge and history of science in general and of PA specifically. The mixed approach, moreover, is a better fit with the three elements I wish to explore than what would be required if the objective was to identify a strict causality (Tashakkori and Teddlie 1998, 27-29). This thesis uses introductory PA textbooks as the basis of analysis and employs concept, content, and historical analyses. These analyses will help to portray and explain the evolution of knowledge. Data is recorded in terms of PA concepts, topics, and perspectives.

3.2. Concept Analysis

3.2.1. Concept Analysis in General

Concept analysis is a method to examine the attributes and usages of concepts and the relations among concepts. Concept analysis provides techniques and practical steps in analyzing, revising, and recreating concepts. It also makes it possible to look at knowledge evolution by tracing concept changes. Concept analysis in general focuses on the definition, statement, use, and alteration of concepts.

Concepts reside in or form sentences. That is, concepts constitute sentences, while the former are defined and elaborated on by the latter (Sartori 1984b, 28).

Sentences pertinent to concepts can be either definitions or statements. Sentences holding “defining characteristics” or essential attributes of concepts are definitions, whereas sentences containing “accompanying characteristics” are called “factual or empirical statements” (McGaw and Watson 1976, 116). Reynolds (1971) illustrates the definition and statement of concepts in detail. Accordingly, a “relational statement” states association or causation between two or more concepts, and an “existence statement” applies a concept to its object (Reynolds 1971, 67-69). He distinguishes definitions from existence statements: “Definitions describe [the attributes of] concepts; existence statements claim concepts exist” (Reynolds 1971, 68). Moreover, existence and relational statements generate different types of knowledge. While existence statements make it possible to sort empirical objects and phenomena, relational statements make it available to understand, explain, and predict them (Reynolds 1971, 69). This does not mean that definitions are less fruitful than statements for concept analysis. Concept analysis of definitions aims to trace the common attributes of a concept and demonstrate the similarities and differences in words, meanings, and objects (Mill 1930[1843], 100). Practical and detailed processes are essential for the inquiry into the definition and statement of concepts. Sartori (1984b) presents three steps for “reconstructing a concept”: “first collect a representative set of definitions; second, extract their characteristics; and third, construct matrixes that organize such characteristics meaningfully” (41). These steps help to figure out the semantic aspect of concepts.

In addition to definitions and statements, the use and application of concepts is another area of attention for concept analysis. Wilson (1963) emphasizes such an

analysis. The question of concept is concerned with the use of a word, because a word often has more than one meaning (Wilson 1963, 10-11). He presents some steps for concept analysis: identifying the question (i.e., orientation) of a concept; identifying essential uses of the concept; discussing an example of a model, contrary, related, borderline, or invented case; identifying the social context and underlying anxiety; and identifying the practical and semantic aspects of the concept (Wilson 1963, 23-37). Above all, he distinguishes a question of concepts from that of facts or values for use (Wilson 1963, 5-8). A factual question corresponds to a concrete definition or an operational concept, whereas a value question is associated with perspectives; and a certain question can be a mixed one (Wilson 1963, 23). These considerations help to understand the application and use of concepts.

Concept analysis is also concerned with concept development. The definition of a concept is continually modified, as knowledge is extended or changed (Mill 1930 [1843], 91). An evolutionary account of concept development discloses both the coherence and the variance of disciplinary knowledge (Toulmin 1972, 139). In other words, the invariant element of concepts represents the core of disciplinary knowledge, whereas the inconsistency may lead to knowledge transformation. Rodgers (1989; 1993a; 1993b) provides an inductive and descriptive method of concept analysis which explains concept development. The process of concept development circulates through significance, use, and application over time: significant concepts, influenced by internal and external factors, proceed to be used and are redefined through application (Rodgers 1989, 332-333). The evolutionary method is involved in identifying the concept of intended interest, the attributes and references of the concept, the proper area for data

collection, a model case, substitute terms, and related concepts (Rodgers 1989, 333; Rodgers 1993b, 78-89). In addition, interdisciplinary or temporal comparisons are often preferred (Rodgers 1993b, 78). Overall, an examination about concept development is more concerned with reconstructing than creating concepts. Concept reconstruction is designed to examine the historical development of concepts, whereas concept formation aims to improve current concepts (Sartori 1984b, 40). The major concerns of the evolutionary method are conceptual problems, the nature of concepts in general, and the history of the concept (Rodgers 1993a, 28-29). The evolutionary method of concept analysis makes it possible to look at the temporal change of concepts.

Concept analysis of definition/statement, usage, and development are not separate from each other. Rather, the three methods of concept analysis are interconnected. A combined concept analysis can disclose the origin, modification, and abandonment of concepts; the similarities and differences of the attributes and relations of concepts; and the various cases of usages. Concurrently, the analysis can reveal the status of a concept by identifying disciplinary agreements or disagreements. At the end, the combined concept analysis corresponds with the claim for a broad "conceptual tree" of concepts (Sartori 1984b, 41) or an "evolutionary mode," which combines both temporal and spatial development of concepts (Toulmin 1972, 200-205).[37]

3.2.2. Concept Analysis as a Method

[37] Sartori (1984b) elaborates on "conceptual trees":

> It is probably vain, I believe, to search for standard patterns for our matrixes. Different concepts…are likely to require different organizing matrixes left to the perceptiveness and ingenuity of the analyst. Maybe we can go beyond mapping devices and eventually land at full-fledged 'conceptual trees.' The argument is only, then, that a reconstruction is incomplete and loses much of its fruitfulness unless it leads, at a minimum, to an organization of characteristics that somehow compounds the similarities and the differences in how a given concept is conceived. (41)

Relying upon the three foci of concept analysis, this thesis examines the attribute/connotation and domain/denotation of concepts. The attribute of concepts is the meaning or intension. The domain is what area concepts are located in and what the intended interests of concepts are used in. Although this is a broader application than Sartori's (1984b) denotation, this paper will keep both domain and denotation as parallel to attribute and connotation. Both attributes and domains can be derived from definitions and statements. Following Sartori's (1984b) proposal for concept reconstruction, for example, the authors in the same book draw attributes and domains from the definitions of social science concepts, such as consensus (Graham 1984), development (Riggs 1984), ethnicity (Jackson 1984), integration (Teune 1984), culture (Patrick 1984), power (Lane and Stenlund 1984), and revolution (Kotowski 1984). Another example is Kroeber and Kluckhohn's (1952) scrutiny of 164 definitions of culture.

Examining the attribute of concepts is essential for concept analysis. The inspection not only shows a range of meanings of a concept but also the usages of the meanings. For instance, Kotowski (1984) presents the various attributes of revolution: violence, popular involvement, unconstitutional change of the governing body, structural political change, and changes in the system of social stratification (410-421). Such diverse attributes of a concept are found with different authors and on different texts of the same scholars as well (Graham 1984; Patrick 1984; Riggs 1984; Lane and Stenlund 1984; Kotowski 1984). Some concepts are used for the different units between macro- or micro-level analyses: e.g., political culture is defined by either an aggregate of individuals or a system (Patrick 1984, 285-286). This usage, however, often causes

conceptual problems: e.g., a conceptual confusion of consensus takes place between the societal and individual-group level (Graham 1984, 107). Concepts are also compared with neighboring or surrogate terms to make their attributes clear (Riggs 1984; Jackson 1984, 222-226; Patrick 1984, 290-297; Lane and Stenlund 1984, 384-393). For instance, the terms used for ethnicity, such as ethnic category, ethnic group, ethnonation, clan, caste, social class, interest group, and nations, differ from each other in terms of attribution, plurality, identity, organization, public authority, and political influence (Jackson 1984, 222-226). Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) scrutinize the definitions of culture across time and across various disciplines, such as anthropology, sociology, psychology, and philosophy. They classified definitions of culture as descriptive, historical, normative, psychological, structural, and genetic (41-72).[38] Although these categorizations are closer to the domain than to the attribute of culture, some of them contain their own characteristics. For instance, the historical culture is identified with social heritage or tradition; the normative culture emphasizes rules and ways or values and ideals; the psychological culture stresses problem-solving, learning, and habit; and the structural culture recognizes pattern, organization, or system (Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952, 47-60). These findings about concepts eventually lead us to understand the nature of knowledge.

Categorizing the attributes of concepts can be done in two ways. First, each definition of a concept is individually classified. For instance, Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) categorize the definitions of culture in accordance with "the basis of principal

[38] Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) categorize the attributes in detail: descriptive (enumerating the contents of culture), historical (identifying culture as social heritage or tradition), normative (emphasizing rules/ways or values/ideals), psychological (stressing psychological aspects, such as problem-solving, learning, and habit), structural (recognizing culture as pattern, organization, or system), genetic (considering culture as a product/artifact, ideas, or symbols different from historical emphasis) (41-72).

emphasis" (41). Each definition thus belongs to one category, although the category often has more than one characteristic. The second way is by enumerating all intended attributes of a concept. While analyzing each word or phrase within a definition, for instance, Patrick (1984) lists the attributes of political culture for each text (280-285). As a result, each text has a different mixture of the attributes and constructs together a matrix of the attributes of political culture in the end (Patrick 1984, 282-283). Both methods have their own merits and limitations. The individual categorization of definitions is useful for examining those concepts that are used for various areas and that consist of consonant attributes, but it tends to simplify each definition. On the other hand, the enumeration of attributes is valuable for scrutinizing those concepts that are used within a limited area and that contain noteworthy discrepancies among attributes, but it faces an overwhelming task to clearly categorize each attribute within a definition. This enumerating method is employed in this paper because it allows looking at the diverse attributes of a concept and their variations.

The domain of concepts varies over academic disciplines, analytical levels, and scholars. For instance, psychology and political sociology differ in the intension of how they define 'revolution' (Kotowski 1984, 426-439). Different surrogate terms of political culture are used at different levels: political ideology, political character, and political culture in the general and abstract level and political ideology, public opinion, and political style in the specific and cognitive level (Patrick 1984, 290-297).[39] Riggs (1984) identifies various "domains of application" of the concept *development* in terms of different areas, groups, and purposes (131). Accordingly, development is used as improvements, activities, or constraints; by agents, the Third World, and industrialized

[39] Political ideology is used in both the general and specific level.

countries; in studies; and for individuals/groups, organization/society/culture, and urban/community/world (Riggs 1984, 131-133). The adjoining terms also are intertwined over disciplines and time. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) provide an excellent example of conceptual intertwinement between culture and civilization.

> To summarize the history of the relations of the concepts of culture and civilization in American sociology, there was first a phase in which the two were contrasted, with culture referring to material products and technology; then a phase in which the contrast was maintained but the meanings reversed, technology and science being now called civilization; and, beginning more or less concurrently with this second phase, there was also a swing to the now prevalent non-differentiation of the two terms, as in most anthropological writing, culture being the more usual term, and civilization a synonym or near-synonym of it. In anthropology, where in the United States or in Europe, there has apparently never existed any serious impulse to use culture and civilization as contrastive terms. (Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952, 15)

This quote, thus, demonstrates how the use of concepts varies over different domains. Examining the domain of concepts makes it possible to identify what areas or subject matters concepts are used for.

3.2.3. Concept Analysis in Public Administration

A literature review in research articles often draws attention to concepts. A review, however, does not generally intend to conduct concept analysis but to make the planned research possible by clarifying, evaluating, and applying concepts for the research. That is, researchers assess concepts relevant to their research and organize the selected concepts for the purpose of the inquiries. They are thus concerned with the notional and applicable aspects of concepts for theoretical relevance and specific measurement. Reviews or analyses of literature, on the other hand, often demonstrate considerable interests in concepts. Broome (1993) categorizes several types of literature review: *abbreviated* and *methodological* reviews focus on research methods and

variables, *theoretical* reviews describe and explain models with findings, *critical* reviews analyze and interpret a certain studies, and *integrative* reviews and meta-analyses encompass previous research and findings (194-196). The first two types of reviews correspond to the literature reviews for research, whereas the last two are consistent with concept analysis.

Some cases of concept analysis in PA have been found, and they generally aim to delineate and redefine old concepts or introducing new concepts. For instance, Raadschelders and Stillman (2007) delineate the concept of administrative authority by presenting four main angles: property, place, people, and process. Bearfield (2009) redefines the concept of patronage, which he believes to have recently received little attention in Public Administration. Newman et al. (2009) introduce a new concept, "emotional labor," which has been recently found to play a significant role in leadership. A new concept often comes out with new theories or empirical findings. For example, while comparing the "emotional labor" with old concepts, such as physical labor and cognitive work, Newman et al. (2009) add a new theory on leadership with recent empirical findings. Borrowing knowledge from other fields is another way to broaden or modify concepts. An example is Bearfield's (2009) scrutiny of patronage. Whereas patronage has been identified as Public Administration or political science concept, Bearfield (2009) reexamines it through the lens of anthropology.

3.3. Content Analysis

Content analysis is "any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages" (Holsti 1969, 14). It requires objectivity and generality and emphasizes the explicit, procedural rules and

theoretical relevance (Holsti 1969, 3-5). Similarly, the analysis is identified as “a method of inquiry into *symbolic meaning* of messages” to draw “replicable and valid inferences from data to their context” (Krippendorff 1980, 20, 22). Berelson (1971[1952]) argues that the analysis requires the quantification of contents (135). In this sense, content analysis is defined as “a systematic approach to analyzing documents in accordance of the message by attempting to quantify qualitative information” (Johnson 2002, 85). Content analysis, however, is not limited to quantitative methodologies. In qualitative methods, the analysis refers to a specific analytical method using written materials, such as documents, textbooks, and newspapers (Marshall and Rossman 1999, 117). In fact, in content analysis qualitative and quantitative methods are complementary (Holsti 1969, 11). Overall, these definitions emphasize objective, systematic, and reliable procedures. Therefore, by using content analysis, this study aims to draw valid inferences from texts through a systematic and reliable procedure.

Content analysis is employed for several purposes, such as describing the characteristics, inferring the causes, and deducing the effects of communication (Berelson 1971[1952], 26; Holsti 1969, 14-20). The first purpose is concerned with the questions of what and how, whereas the second focuses on the inquiry of why and who (Holsti 1969, 26). Berelson (1971[1952]) provides some examples of the aims relevant to this study: 1) to describe trends in content, 2) to trace the intellectual development, 3) to identify intentions, and 4) to reflect attitudes, attentions, interests, and values (26-113).

3.4. Historical Analysis

The last method employed in this study is historical analysis. Historical analysis intends to uncover past events from historical records, such as newspapers, autobiographies, journals, and government documents (Marshall and Rossman 1999, 123-124) and proceeds in general through three steps: "to verify the accuracy of statements about the past, to establish relationships, and to determine the direction of cause-and-effect relationships" (Marshall and Rossman 1999, 124). Historical analysis helps to answer the minor question of this study. First, the analysis elucidates the plausible factors that make innovation and selection of knowledge possible. Second, to some extent it reveals some external factors from historical resources. Third, it illuminates the gap between research and textbooks, or between academic activities and pedagogical efforts.

As the history of ideas is the main purpose of this study, interpreting contents and contexts is crucial. Popper (1972) elaborates on the interpretation of history and counts it worthy to study. According to Popper, interpretation concerns "*a problem about a problem*," or a "*metaproblem*" (170, 177). It does not intend to explain a problem but a state of affairs. In this sense, Popper regards historical interpretation as "situational analysis," or "a certain kind of tentative or conjectural explanation of some human action" in certain circumstances (179). Therefore, a conjectural interpretation based on historical evidences and arguments can be a theory in "World 3" (163). In addition to Popper's point, more importantly, there is a need for historical analysis in American PA.

Attention to history and historical analysis in PA, in fact, has been constantly demanded. For instance, a historical approach in the context of politics and society is

necessary for understanding public administration (Ponko 1967; Spicer 2004). In this sense, Stillman (1997) and Raadschelders (1998a; 2010) argue that historical study is essential to administrative science. American PA, however, has paid little attention to history and historical analysis in public administration (Beyer 1959; Stillman 1990; Adams 1992; Stillman 1997; Spicer 2004).[40] In addition, the historical approach has not been normally used in research (Perry and Kraemer 1986; Lan and Anders 2000).[41] Using historical analysis, this study intends to fill this deficiency as far as the conceptual development of PA is concerned.

The concept, content, and historical analyses are intertwined for this study and enables the examination of the proposed research questions together. First, both concept and content analyses on textbooks show both continuity and variation of concepts, topics, and perspectives in two dimensions: temporal between old and new textbooks and spatial among contemporary ones. Second, historical analysis uncovers the factors that explain both dimensions. In return, historical documents are subject to content analysis. This point is succinctly epitomized by Marshall and Rossman (1999): "History and context surrounding a specific setting come, in part, from reviewing documents" (116).

There are two methods in intellectual history including the history, philosophy, and sociology of science: internalist and externalist. The internalist method centers on "the words, and so presumably thoughts, of historical agents," whereas the externalist

[40] Stillman (1997) also indicates that American PA pays less attention to history than European PA.
[41] On the other hand, Bowman and Hajjar (1978) find that historical approach was one of the common methodologies in the 1970s. It may not be the period but methodological categorization that causes the dissimilar results. Perry and Kraemer (1986) and Lan and Anders (2000) separate a historical approach from a descriptive one, whereas Bowman and Hajjar (1978) count both approaches as a historical one so that may have more cases.

one is concerned with “political, economic, social and cultural environment” (Kelly 2002, 2). The distinction is parallel with the cognitive versus social aspect. In other words, the former underlines autonomous knowledge, like Popper’s *World 3*, whereas the latter emphasizes the political, social, and economic structures that shape the former. In this sense, internalists examine the development of disciplinary theories and methods, whereas externalists uncover the political, social, economic, and technological factors of disciplinary knowledge. However, the distinction is controversial. In fact, Kelly (2002) indicates an innate bond between the two domains:

> A philosophical argument, a literary creation, a ‘eurekan’ discovery of science are all putative creations of individual genius, a thinking subject. Yet they are also, somehow, the products of intellectual tradition and cultural incubation; and so they are the offspring of their time and place. (Kelly 2002, 15)

Along with such a blurred line, the distinction seems to be overstated. Moreover, Shapin (1992) argues that the theory and orientation of either methods has not been defined and developed well and that the distinction has become obsolete since the end of the Cold War. On the other hand, although the duality is problematic, it can neither vanish nor be resolved in the studies of history and other subject matters (Kelly 2002).

With regard to the quotation above from (Kelly 2002), it is assumed that a textbook embodies its author’s knowledge and ideas, while it is the result of disciplinary norm and convention, of educational policy and college curriculum, and of the cultural and economic context. I rather employ the internalist/externalist distinction to outline the scope of the study before you. This study is primarily concerned with the contents of textbooks. At the same time, it attempts to pay attention to scholarly works. However,

external factors influencing knowledge development cannot be overlooked so they will be mentioned as one of the directions of future studies in the concluding chapter.

3.5. Sample Selection

This thesis hardly employs a probability sampling method that requires both an accurate population size and a random selection. Since White's (1926) *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration*, numerous introductory PA textbooks have been published in the US.[42] However, it is hard to estimate the population size of the textbooks actually used. Moreover, the numbers of textbooks in the pre-WWII era are extremely limited—only two textbooks in the 1920s, and a few in the 1930s, but this can indicate a less developed discipline or a lack of diversity in the early period. This makes it difficult to randomly select the sample.

This thesis, therefore, employs a nonprobability sampling method. A nonprobability sampling method is useful when research cannot be conducted with an accurate population and a random sample and when research questions are exploratory (O'Sullivan and Rassel 1989, 121). In particular, *purposive* or *judgmental sampling* allows selecting a sample on the basis of the purpose of research and the judgment of the researcher while assuming that the sample represents its population (Babbie 1973, 167-168; O'Sullivan and Rassel 1989, 121-122). This sampling method is appropriate for this thesis that explores the types and trends of disciplinary knowledge of American PA.

The examples of PA introductory textbooks are listed in several literatures. First, some bibliographical guidebooks introduce the textbooks of American PA. Caiden et al. (1983) introduces 97 core texts which have been publicized between the 1920s and the

[42] Stillman (1999a) finds more than 60 general textbooks available in *Books in Print, 1997-1998* (150).

1970s (130-139).[43] They include both general and specialized textbooks of PA. The general texts usually contain comprehensive PA topics, whereas the special texts are for specialized topics, such as personnel management, budget, or intergovernmental relations. McCurdy (1986) introduces 20 textbooks on general public administration (199-200). Second, some journal articles and book reviews have a listing of textbooks (Reynolds 1977; Harris 1994; Bingham and Bowen 1994; Hale 1998; Stillman 1999b; Bowman et al. 2001). Relying on these references, this thesis selects those textbooks that are frequently listed as introductory textbooks and range about 500 pages.

In addition, several other criteria are used. First, the introductory textbooks are divided into the consecutive periods of a decade which begin with the 1920s and end in the 2000s. Second, the textbooks that enjoyed republication in several decades are more likely to be selected than short-lived ones. This sample selection under the same author(s) is more appropriate to the purpose of this study, which looks both for continuity and for variation. Together the selected textbooks approximately represent the discipline of PA since the publication of the first textbook. New textbooks are added in each period so that can be compared with old ones. As a result, Simon et al.'s textbooks are excluded, because their original textbook of 1950 has not been edited in view of studies after its initial publication. Third, an anthological textbook of articles is also excluded; e.g., Stillman's (1992) *Public Administration: Concepts and Cases*. Overall, this sampling method suffices for examining the knowledge evolution by helping uncover the continuity and variation of the disciplinary knowledge.

[43] Caiden et al. (1983) originally introduced 143 core texts. While they listed all editions of any books, I counted the first edition of each book to avoid including the same book more than one time.

Relying on the bibliographical sources, the criteria, and book reviews above, I have selected 10 authors' introductory textbooks. Among them, their textbooks totaled 72 different editions by 2008. I have selected 28 textbooks of 8 authors, which cover each decade from the 1920s to the 2000s.[44] The selected textbooks for this thesis are listed in Appendix 1.

3.6. Data Collection and Coding

To examine the research question, this thesis focuses on the types and developments of concepts, topics, and perspectives in introductory textbooks in terms of intention, attention, and emphasis. In other words, a perspective may be employed for a certain intention; some concepts may attract more attention than others; and, some topics may be more emphasized than others. In addition, the three elements are tied with each other. For instance, a selected perspective often determines what concepts are used and which topics are underlined. To uncover these points and collect data, this thesis follows an appropriate process for the unit of analysis and the coding scheme.

The unit of analysis is essential for content analysis. The unit is divided into two types: recording and context (Berelson 1971[1952], 135-136; Holsti 1969, 116-119) or three types: sampling, recording, and context (Krippendorff 1980, 57-60). The recording unit, as the basic unit for categorizing and coding, is "the specific segment of content that is characterized by placing it in a given category" (Holsti 1969, 116). There are five recording units used in content analysis: a single word or symbol, a theme, a character, a sentence or paragraph, and an item (Holsti 1969, 116-117). On the other hand, "the context unit is the largest body of content," such as a sentence, paragraph, or

[44] I have not completely obtained two author's textbooks so that I could not include them in this thesis. The author's names are also listed in Appendix 1.

entire document, “to characterize a recording unit” (Holsti 1969, 118) and delineate its contextual information (Berelson 1971[1952], 135; Krippendorff 1980, 59). The sampling unit is pieces of observed object or experiential event that are independent of one another “as far as the phenomenon of interest is concerned” (Krippendorff, 1980, 58). In fact, the item is similar to the sampling unit of Krippendorff. In brief, data or information is collected through the recording unit within the sampling unit while judgments for the recording unit are made within the context unit.

For the purposes of this study, sampling units are introductory textbooks of public administration. Recording units are words and sentences, whereas context units are paragraphs. The recording unit has three goals, as Table 3.1 shows. First, the unit is used for identifying and categorizing the attributes of PA concepts. Second, it is used for counting the frequency and analyzing the development of PA topics. Third, it helps to recognize PA perspectives. The context unit has two goals. First, it contains the domains of PA concepts, which indicate the concepts’ associations with topics. Second, it also entails how a PA perspective is applied through the contents of a textbook.

Table 3.1: The Unit of Analysis

Analysis	Concept analysis	Content analysis
Recording unit	Attributes of concepts	Frequency and development of topics Identification of perspectives
Context unit	Domains of concepts	Application of perspectives

A problem using sentences and paragraphs as recording units is that it is more likely to infer more than one category or code from them (Holsti 1969, 117). This problem is indeed more obvious in paragraphs than in sentences. However, such a problem is what this study elucidates. A sentence containing a definition allows this researcher to identify various attributes and infer meanings. A paragraph is believed as

more appropriate than a word when drawing inferences, because it often entails consequential meanings. Moreover, a multiple-codified paragraph reflects the associations among concepts, topics, and perspectives, which this study aims to explore.

The coding process of this study employs the steps that grounded theory analysis advocates. For grounded theory analysis, Strauss and Corbin (1998) recommend three steps: open, axial, and selective coding. According to them, researchers can identify and classify phenomena in the process of open coding, collect and describe the categories during axial coding, and select the main category by connecting all other categories and develop a theory. For this study, open coding allows this researcher to categorize the texts of PA textbooks, while axial coding enables him to assemble and narrate the categories in light of PA concepts, topics, and perspectives. However, the last step, selective coding, is not conducted, because it could diminish variations and changes in the texts. In brief, a total of 6,654 paragraphs, 28 textbook codes, 38 codes for PA topics, 7 codes for PA concepts, and one code for PA perspectives have been recorded. The coding process and codes are detailed in Appendix 2.

This study employs a deductive way in coding PA concepts. There are three potential sources of reference types for PA concepts: dictionaries, theories, and contentious terms in scholarly writings and discourses. First, Chandler and Plano's (1988) PA dictionary provide important terms and theories. Second, Frederickson and Smith (2003) group PA theories in the following categories: political control of bureaucracy, bureaucratic politics, organization and institution, public management, postmodernism, decision, rational choice, and governance. Box (1992) similarly classifies theories as politics/administration, public/private, reorganization, conflict

resolution, motivation, regulation, decision-making, planning, bureaucracy, ethics, finance, local government, nonequilibrium, organizational death, policy, and strategic management. Finally, several major concepts such as public administration and the politics-administration dichotomy have been debated and reevaluated by PA scholars and practitioners. For instance, Fry and Nigro (1998) discuss the five essential issues of PA: the politics-administration dichotomy, the public-private dichotomy, the quest for a science of administration, professionalization, and ethics. All issues except ethics are considered as PA concepts, since ethics is usually considered as a topic. In the first edition of that volume Fry (1989) selects education for public administration as one of five issues instead of ethics. PA education, however, is hardly considered as either a concept or a topic.

From these references of PA concepts, this thesis focuses on three primary concepts: public administration, the politics-administration dichotomy, and the comparison between public and private administration. These are the fundamental ideas that shape the nature and scope of PA. For instance, the politics-administration dichotomy is the core theme that distinguishes public administration from politics or political science. The concepts are also associated with each other. For example, the rigid dichotomy between politics and administration implies that public administration is run like business. Along with those main concepts, this thesis also pays attention to some minor concepts: the court-administration relationship, science, art, and professionalism. These concepts are in fact closely tied with the core concepts. For instance, science and art are relevant to the definition and nature of PA. Those concepts will be discussed more in the introduction section of the next chapter.

A possible problem in concept analysis in this thesis concerns those concepts whose meaning is very much related to another concept, such as the politics-administration dichotomy and public vs. private administration (consider: can day be defined without night?, or, in Michael Polanyi's (1958) view, how can 'random' be defined without an *a priori* understanding of 'pattern'?). The way to overcome this problem is considering the relationship between the two components as an attribute. For example, the degree of dichotomy between political and administrative realms is one of attributes in the politics/administration relationship.

Coding PA topics and perspectives is more likely done inductively. This study uses those chapter and subchapter titles in the textbooks for coding PA topics. Some PA concepts may be closely associated with PA topics. For instance, the court-administration relationship is often addressed through administrative law. These associations have been recorded and will be analyzed. The aim of exploring perspectives is to reveal the intention of textbook authors and to show how these perspectives are applied throughout the introductory textbooks.

Along with the two ways for coding, this study has three coding schemes. The first coding scheme is to categorize the attributes of PA concepts. For this scheme, the definitions and statements of the selected concepts are recorded. From the recorded data, the attributes and domains of the concepts are extracted. Each textbook has its own a set of attributes and domains, and all sets of the selected textbooks are listed in chronological order.

The second coding scheme concerns emphases or frequencies. Frequencies are "the most common form of representation of data" (Krippendorff 1980, 109). This study

uses relative rather than absolute frequencies, because textbooks tend to become bigger. In addition, the contemporary textbooks often include auxiliary sections, such as key terms, summaries, and recommended readings, to help students learn and be interested in classes. Although the frequency indicates the magnitude of importance, it does not exactly reveal whether that weight is an established phenomenon or a preferred one (Krippendorff 1980, 40-41). It can be considered, however, that the frequency of topics in textbooks is associated with the interest of an individual scholar with pedagogical purposes. For instance, Bowman et al. (2001) emphasize ethics when judged in terms of the percentage of total number of pages in textbooks. Moreover, this study will demonstrate which topics become more or less important over time.

The third coding scheme concerns temporal and spatial positions. The attributes of the concepts and the emergence and frequency of the topics are positioned temporally and spatially. It aims to reveal the inheritance and deviation of knowledge evolution from the 1920s to 2000s. Relying upon the classification of PA topics mentioned above, for example, the topics are recorded into two directions: temporal change and spatial variation. Although these recordings will not completely demarcate one topic from another, they will show how the topics evolve and are distinguished from each other.

Similar maps of knowledge have been drawn. For instance, McCurdy (1986) presents a mini diagram by reviewing the development of PA in terms of time, approaches, and multidisciplinary bases, although it does not show the detailed evolution of PA knowledge (17). Cossette (2002) presents a cognitive map of Taylor's thoughts (171-172). That map uncovers the inter-linkages among Taylor's concepts in

an atemporal manner, but does not consider conceptual changes. Patrick (1984) presents a table with the various attributes of political culture (282-283). That table shows the temporal changes and spatial variations in the concept of political culture (for a comparable effort in this thesis, see tables 4.9 and 4.10).

For data coding this thesis pays more attention to some parts of textbooks, such as prefaces, introductions, index, and the chapters assigned to the study of PA. Prefaces and introductions typically entail the purposes, guides, and brief summaries of textbooks. Unlike other social science textbooks, particularly political science textbooks, introductory PA textbooks dedicate the first one or two chapters to considering the nature and scope of PA.[45] This peculiarity has been noticed (Waldo 1955, 30; Stillman 1999a, 150) and explained as a way to self-consciously identify PA vis-à-vis political science (Waldo 1955, 20). Moreover, according to Kuhn (1996[1962]), introducing disciplinary history is often employed as the historical reconstruction by selection and distortion (138-139). In this sense, the introductory chapters demonstrate intellectual views (Stillman 1999a, 149) or disciplinary directions (Reynolds 1977, 21). In addition, indexes may show the significance of and changes in concepts and topics. For instance, as the national government is the center of attention, far more index terms in textbooks are found for the federal government than the state and local government (Stillman 1999b, 94-95).

3.7. Limits of the Methods

The weakness of the methods used in this thesis is in subjective interpretation. For instance, categorizing attributes of concepts may be arbitrary. Content analysis is

[45] The introductory textbooks of political science usually begin their chapters with the foundation of US government or democracy.

unobtrusive, but its interpretation can be biased by researchers (Marshall and Rossman 1999, 117). Similarly, historical analysis may result in "a dialectic tension" between the present interpretation and the original intention (Marshall and Rossman 1999, 124). On the other hand, Taylor (1971) disagrees that interpretation as a weakness and advocates:

> Interpretation, in the sense relevant to hermeneutics, is an attempt to make clear, to make sense of an object of study. This object must, therefore, be a text, or a text-analogue, which in some way is confused, incomplete, cloudy, and seemingly contradictory—in one way or another, unclear. The interpretation aims to bring to light an underlying coherence or sense. (3)

With regard to these cautious and encouraging remarks, this thesis endeavors to minimize subjective biases, while it does not lose the advantage of interpretation.

3.8. Significance of the Research

This thesis aims to portray the knowledge evolution of PA in the United States since the first textbook appeared. It examines PA concepts, topics, and perspectives, which are presented in college introductory textbooks from the 1920s to the 2000s. In this sense, this thesis has two emphases. First, it evaluates knowledge variations and changes in PA during the last nine decades. Second, it signifies the role of introductory textbooks in comprehending PA knowledge. Further studies can compare the role of textbooks with that of scholarly research and discourse in understanding PA knowledge.

This thesis also contributes toward both education in PA and to comparative public administration. By examining textbooks, this thesis draws attention to what knowledge of PA is taught and how potential practitioners are trained in the United States. While this thesis focuses on a case: the knowledge evolution of American Public Administration, it also hints at a possible comparison with other cases. The methods

results of this thesis can be used for future studies of the conceptual, topical, and perceptual development of the study of public administration in other countries.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE CONCEPTS OF AMERICAN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

4.1. Introduction

With regard to disciplinary knowledge, the first question is: What is public administration? This question has been broadly discussed in scholarly discourse (Wilson 1887; Dimock 1937; Waldo 1955; Lane 1987). The question generally intends to comprehend and explain the nature and scope of public administration. Related to this question is, second, attention for knowledge development, which includes the origin, emergence, salience, and modification of knowledge in public administration (Gaus 1950; Waldo 1955; Henry 1975; Golembiewski 1977; Holzer and Gabrielian 1998; Kettl 2000; Raadschelders 2008; 2011; Riccucci 2010). These two questions are examined in this chapter and the next two chapters.

In this chapter both the nature and trend of knowledge in American public administration will be analyzed and discussed in terms of developments of concepts. As argued in chapter two, the definition, variation, and modification of concepts represents the development of disciplinary knowledge. There are many public administration concepts worthy of receiving attention. From the beginning of the field, early scholars paid attention to the definitions, meanings, and scopes of PA concepts (Gaus et al. 1936). In particular, those concepts introduced in college introductory textbooks aim to capture and comprehend the basics of disciplinary knowledge. Among them, three essential concepts directly define the nature and scope of public administration: the definition of public administration itself, the politics-administration dichotomy, and the public-private comparison. Along with these primary concepts, other concepts are also

discussed in the introductory textbooks, such as administrative law, science, art, and professionalism. Those primary and secondary concepts have drawn considerable scholarly attention and influenced the practice and study of public administration.

The paragraphs that contain these primary and secondary concepts appear in different places and under different topics across the textbooks. Table 10 in Appendix 2 shows the major topic chapters containing the primary PA concepts. The concepts are mostly found in the topics of the study, history, environment, politics/policy, value/democracy, and bureaucracy. In addition to those topics, some other topics, such as administrative law, are associated with PA concepts, and the association will be discussed in the next chapter.

This chapter aims to examine those concepts to delineate the knowledge development in American public administration. The chapter includes three sections about the three primary concepts and one section for the secondary concepts. Each section has subsections on each of the textbooks analyzed. These sections will be followed by an overall conclusion about the concepts of public administration from the 1920s to the 2000s.

4.2. The Definitions of Public Administration

4.2.1. Introduction

It is worthy to start this section with Waldo's two pieces of advice about the definition of public administration.

> Logic and convention both require that we now deal more carefully with the problem of definition, what is public administration? But in truth there is no good definition of public administration. Or perhaps there are good short definitions, but no good short explanation. The immediate effect of all one-sentence or one-paragraph definitions of public administration is *mental paralysis* rather than enlightenment and

> stimulation. This is because a serious definition of the term—as against an epigrammatical definition, however witty—inevitably contains several abstract words or phrases. In short compass these abstract words and phrases can be explained only by other abstract words and phrases, and in the process the reality and importance of "it" become fogged and lost. (Waldo 1955, 2, emphasis added)

This cautious advice is followed by a hopeful statement: "But it must not be forgotten that definitions are important to fruitful study and effective action" (Waldo 1955, 3). Both pieces of advice are correct and appealing. The first advice reveals difficult efforts in both constructing and clarifying the definition. The second advice specifies such an effort as worthwhile, unless 'the reality and importance' of public administration 'become fogged and lost.'

Wilson (1887) wrote that "The field of administration is a field of business" (209). While this definition aims to distinguish administration from politics, it does not satisfactorily delineate public administration. In this regard, Luther Gulick endeavored to clarify the essential feature of public administration: "Public administration is that part of the science of administration which has to do with the government, and thus concern itself primarily with the executive branch, where the work of the government is done, though there are obviously administrative problems also in connection with the legislative and judicial branches" (Gulick 1937, 191). Similarly, Simon et al. (1950) elaborated Gulick's definition:

> By public administration is meant, in common usage, the activities of the executive branches of national, state, and local governments; independent boards and commissions set up by Congress and state legislatures; government corporations; and certain other agencies of a specialized character. Specifically excluded are judicial and legislative agencies within the government and non-governmental administration. (Simon et al. 1950, 7)

These definitions underline the tangible locus of governmental activities by centering on the executive branch and governmental agencies, while leaving the goal and function of public administration undefined. With regard to this point, Waldo presented two classic definitions: “Public administration is the organization and management of men and materials to achieve the purposes of government” and “the art and science of management as applied to affairs of state” (Waldo 1955, 2). These definitions signify the intended objective and role of public administration, although they contain some abstract words.

Like those scholars above, the textbook authors endeavor to define public administration in the very first part of their textbooks. 28 different definitions of public administration come from 28 introductory textbooks from the 1920s up to the 2000s. These definitions of public administration vary across the textbook authors and time. Some authors kept their original definitions over decades whereas others changed their definitions or modified the words and meaning. This change or modification reflects either conceptual or empirical development, or both, of public administration. Even the style of expressing the definition varies among the authors.

For the purpose of the analysis in this section, I divided each definition into three parts—the synonym, function, and object of public administration, to compare similarity with dissimilarity and continuity with discontinuity. Synonyms are words either having nearly the same meaning or expressing essential attributes or symbolic features of public administration. In this sense, the term *public administration* is the *definiendum*, whereas its synonym is the *definiens* and that can be any independent variable selected to explain the *definiendum*. The object specifies what public

administration should deal with. The function of public administration mostly designates types of action to achieve the objective. Definitions are not always composed of all three parts, and some definitions blend two parts. For instance, the definition can be expressed in a joint phrase with both the function and the object. However, such a joint phrase is divided into each part for analysis. These three parts will help not only compare the definitions with each other but also reveal conceptual changes.

In the following eight subsections, each author(s)'s definitions will be discussed in light of the three parts, and then the trends and attributes of the definitions from the 1920s to the 2000s are analyzed in the last subsection.

4.2.2. White's 1926, 1939, 1948, and 1955 Editions

In the first edition, Leonard White (1926) defined public administration as "the management of men and materials in the accomplishment of the purposes of the state" (2). According to the author, management is applied to any social and business organization and government as well; therefore, the fundamental processes of administration are common to all kinds and levels of government. The terms *management*, *the purposes of the state*, and *accomplishment* represent the synonym, the object, and the function of public administration, respectively. White (1926) was cautious about the role of career civil servants, and their involvement in "formulating the purposes of the state" (2). This caution consequently prevents him from defining "the precise nature of administrative action" (2). With this caution, he distinguished *administrative action*, or the role of career civil servants, from *administration*, which he defined as management. In other words, while administration is general management, the career officials' activities may take place in the political sphere of the state beyond

management. White recognized that career civil servants are inevitably engaged in governmental objectives, although the degree of such an involvement seems to vary. At the same time, he was aware of the politics-administration dichotomy that made the self-conscious field of public administration possible.[46] This notion underscores his belief that public administration is management that is separated from politics and law.[47] White (1926†)[48] also defined public administration as "the execution of the public business" (4). This definition is combined with *execution* as the function and *public business* as the object. Moreover, the term *public business* indicates the distinction of public administration from politics and law again.

Table 4.1: White's Definitions of Public Administration

Year	Synonym	Function	Object
1926 1939*	management of men and materials	accomplish	state purposes
1926†	X**	execute	public business
1939	all those operations	fulfill or enforce	public policy as declared by the competent authorities
1948 1955	all those operations	fulfill or enforce	public policy
1948† 1955†	all the laws/regulations/ practices/ relationship/ codes/customs	fulfill or execute	public policy

* Some editions share the same definition.
** X indicates no words matching that part of the definition.

In the 1939 edition, White regarded the 1926 definition as a narrow one and added a new one: "In its broadest sense public administration consists of all those operations having for their purpose the fulfillment or enforcement of public policy as

[46] The distinction of public administration from politics and policy will be discussed in the section "The Politics/policy-Administration Dichotomy."
[47] The comparison between administrative law and public administration will be discussed in the section "The Court-Administration Relationship."
[48] Some editions have more than one definition. I marked the second definition with one dagger (†) and the third definition with two daggers (††). The same type of clarification will be used for the discussion of other textbooks below.

declared by the competent authorities" (3).[49] This definition has the broad term *all those operations* as a synonym of public administration. *The purpose of the state* in the 1926 edition is clarified with the term *public policy*, while the function of public administration is also elucidated by replacing the word *accomplishment* with *fulfillment* and *enforcement*. The author modified the 1939 definition in two ways in the last two editions. In the 1948 edition he removed the last part "*as declared by the competent authorities"* from the 1939 definition. In 1955 he elucidated the synonym in the 1939 definition. In other words, he enumerated the term *all those operations* as "all the laws, regulations, practices, relationships, codes, and customs," while keeping the rest of the definition in the 1939-edition (1948†, 4; 1955†, 2).

White's definitions demonstrate three characteristics of public administration with some conceptual adjustments. First, White made an effort to signify the essential attribute of public administration in the synonymous part. *Management*, as he mentioned, is quite distinct from politics and law, although it tends to limit public administration to a managerial realm that is generally equivalent to business management. While recognizing the limitation, he later replaced *management* with a broad term *operation* similar to governmental activities used by some other textbook authors. Second, the object of public administration centers on public policy. Although the term for the object is modified, it is not openly explained in the textbooks. White first replaced *state purposes* with *public policy* <u>*as declared by the competent authorities*</u> in the 1939 definition and removed the underlined phrase in the last two editions. The first replacement discloses the clarification of the object, on the one hand. In other

[49] The definitions of public administration in the textbooks are often emphasized in italics. This emphasis has dropped out in this paper.

words, the term *state purpose* is so abstract and unclear that it is replaced with *public policy* that is only *declared by the competent authorities*, or the legislature. The later removal changes the meaning of public policy, on the other. When the phrase is taken out in the later editions, public policy means what a government intends to achieve, whether it is announced by the legislature or not. Third, the definition involves the role of career civil servants in policy making. This point's significance and ambiguity are noticeably expressed in White's first edition, while the career officials' involvement in policy making is explicitly demonstrated in the later editions. This also explains why White took out the underlined phrase above from his definition (Hale 1988, 429). Overall, those conceptual adjustments intend to grasp reality, or the real practice of public administration.

4.2.3. Pfiffner and Presthus's 1935, 1946, 1953, 1967, and 1975 Editions

In the first edition, John Pfiffner did not define public administration; instead, he advocated the emergence of the "new public administration" that was characterized by three developments: governmental service provided by professionals and technicians, social demand for efficiency, and urbanization (4-5). In the 1946 edition, Pfiffner defined public administration as "almost the totality of governmental activity" (5). That definition is followed by another one: "administration consists of getting the work of government done by coordinating the efforts of people so that they can work together to accomplish their set tasks" (6). In the first definition, public administration is synonymous with *governmental activities*. In the second one (†), *the work of government* is the object, while *getting done* is the function of public administration.

Table 4.2: Pfiffner and Presthus's Definitions of Public Administration

Year	Synonym	Function	Object

1946	almost the totality of governmental activity	X	X
1946†	X	get done by coordinating the efforts of people	the work of government
1953	the coordination of collective efforts	implement	public policy
1953†	the totality of government activity encompassing expertise of endless variety and the techniques of organization and management	X	order and social purpose
1953††	a vital social process	implement by translating social values into action programs	great ends
1967	the coordination of individual and group efforts	carry out	public policy
1967†	a process encompassing innumerable skills, and using techniques	carry out	public policy
1975	a generalized human activity ordering men and materials	achieve	collective social ends

Legend: see table 4.1.

In their 1953 and 1967 editions, Pfiffner and Robert Vance Presthus suggested several definitions of public administration in light of three characteristics: public policy, governmental activity, and social feature. First, public administration is "the coordination of collective efforts to implement public policy" (1953, 5), and this definition is slightly adjusted in the 1967 edition by replacing the term *collective* with *individual and group*. Similarly, public administration is "a process concerned with carrying out public policies, encompassing innumerable skills, and using techniques" (1967†, 8). In this sense, public administration is "mainly concerned with the *means* for implementing political values," while those definitions underline an instrumental function of public administration (1967, 6, emphasis in original). Second, public administration also includes other governmental activities besides carrying out public policy; that is, public administration is "the totality of government activity,

encompassing expertise of endless variety and the techniques of organization and management whereby order and social purpose are given to the efforts of vast numbers" (1953†, 7). Third, according to the authors, public administration entails a broad social function relevant to democratic community, popular opinion, and social transformation in addition to those two characteristics above. With this broad social view, the authors transformed the definition of public administration: "a vital social process, charged with implementing great ends" by "translating social values into action programs" (1953††, 7, 34). From those definitions, public administration is synonymous with *the coordination of collective efforts*, *the totality of government activity*, and *a vital social process*, while it aims at *public policy*, *order and social purposes*, and *great ends*.

In the 1975 edition, Presthus continued to emphasize the social aspect, while viewing administration "as a common social process involving certain common activities" (4). Accordingly, public administration is "a generalized human activity concerned with ordering the men and materials required to achieve collective social ends" (1975, 7). In this definition, *a generalized human activity* is the synonym; *achieving* is the function; and *collective social ends* are the object.[50]

The authors' definitions show both conceptual adjustment and transformation. While the synonym shifts from the term *governmental activity*, to *social process*, and to *human activity*, this change implies that public administration needs to be comprehended with the social feature in addition to the governmental one. Likewise, the

[50] Public administration is also defined as the "study: the shaping and carrying out of public policy" in the 1967 edition (5) and "the art and science of designing and carrying out public policy" in the 1975 edition (3). These definitions are excluded from the analysis of this paper, because they are not about the practice but the study. Waldo (1955) distinguished the study from the practice of public administration (3).

object consists of both social purpose and public policy. Overall, the definitions signify both governmental and social traits of public administration.

4.2.4. Dimock, Dimock, and Fox's 1953, 1964, and 1983 Editions

In the 1953 edition, Marshall Dimock and Gladys Dimock viewed public administration as a combination of politics and administration. The authors defined administration as a "cooperative group activity" that focuses on "the methods and procedures of management" (2-3). Politics in a broad sense, according to them, is any set of political activities pursuing power or influence while it centers on carrying out and helping to shape public policy (1-2). These definitions of administration and politics show two definitions, narrow and broad (†), of public administration. Hence, public administration is synonymous with *the methods and procedures of management* and *the cooperative group activity* while involving *public policy* in a narrow sense and *power or influence through political activities* in a broad one.

Table 4.3: Dimock, Dimock, and Fox's Definitions of Public Administration

Year	Synonym	Function	Object
1953	the methods and procedures of management	help to shape, carry out	public policy
1953†	cooperative group activity	pursue	power or influence through political activities
1964	X	recommend, carry out	law and policy
1964†	the practical or business end of government	get done efficiently and in the accord with the people's tastes and desires	the public business
1983	X	accomplish	politically determined objectives
1983†	the production of goods and services designed to serve	X	the needs of citizen-consumers

Legend: see table 4.1

In the 1964 edition, public administration takes place "where law and policy are recommended and carried out" (4). In this definition, the function is *recommending and carrying out*, while the object is *law and policy*, which is associated with government rules and services. The authors also defined public administration as "the practical or business end of government because its objective is to get the public business done as efficiently and as much in accord with the people's tastes and desires as possible" (1964†, 3).[51] That is, public administration is synonymous with *the practical or business end of government* and aims at *the public business*. Moreover, as the terms *the public business* and *the people's tastes and desires* show, this definition includes governmental, social, and economic features relevant to government.

The 1983 edition also has two definitions. First, Dimock, Dimock, and Douglas Fox (1983) defined public administration as "the accomplishment of politically determined objectives" (4). This jointed definition is composed of the function, *accomplishment*, and the object, *politically determined objectives*, while it focuses on administrative and political aspects. Second, public administration is "the production of goods and services designed to serve the needs of citizen-consumers" (5). This definition involves the social and economic features of public administration beyond politics and administration. This second definition of 1983 (†) is also a jointed one: the terms *production* and *serve* are used as the function, while the terms *goods and services* and *the needs of citizen consumers* as the object.

Those definitions reveal some conceptual adjustments and transformations. First, the two definitions in each edition are divided into either a narrow aspect centering on

[51] The authors noted that this definition comes from Woodrow Wilson's 1887 essay "The Study of Administration."

administration and government or a broad aspect including social and economic features. This will be discussed in the concluding subsection below. Second, the terms used in each definition vary over time indicating changes in the range of public administration. The term *public policy* in 1953 is replaced with *the public business* in 1964 and *politically determined objectives* in 1983.[52] The 1983 definition also shows economical terms, such as *production*, *goods and services*, and *citizen-consumers*. Interestingly, the authors use the term *citizen-consumers* rather than *citizens*. Using the term *consumer*, in fact, designates the function of administration as that of *the production of goods and services*.

4.2.5. Nigro and Nigro's 1965, 1973, and 1984 Editions

The definition of public administration in the 1965 edition of Felix Nigro is unchanged in the 1973 and 1984 editions co-authored with his son Lloyd Nigro. Public administration is a "cooperative group effort in a public setting," while it "covers all three branches," involves "the formulation of public policy," and "is closely associated with numerous private groups and individuals in providing services to the community" (Nigro 1965, 25).[53] This definition represents multiple features of public administration including public policy, governmental branches, and communities. As public administration acts *in a public setting*, its domain includes more than government by including the non-profit realm. This broadened area of public administration thus involves not only public policy and governmental branches but also social groups and services as the object, while each object demands different functions.

Table 4.4: Nigro and Nigro's Definitions of Public Administration

[52] See the section, "The Politics/Policy-Administration Dichotomy," for the details of public policy.
[53] The authors also define public administration as the study in the 1965 edition (25), but not in the rest. The definition is excluded in the analysis of this paper, because it is not about the practice.

Year	Synonym	Function	Object
1965 1973 1984	cooperative group effort in a public setting	involve in forming cover associate provide	public policy as a part of political process all three branches private groups and individuals services to the community

4.2.6. Starling's 1977, 1986, 1998, and 2005 Editions

In the 1977 edition of Grover Starling, public administration is composed of "all those activities involved in carrying out the policies of elected officials and some activities associated with the development of those policies" (1). While considering the 1977 definition as a traditional one, Starling (1986) redefined public administration as "the process by which resources are marshaled and then used to cope with the problems facing a political community" and kept the new one in the later editions (1). The change in fact presents an example of conceptual transformation in the definition. Whereas the traditional object is *policies of elected officials*, the new one is political and social problems beyond public policy. Compared with the traditional one this object seemingly corresponds to the conceptual and empirical expansion of the domain of public administration. Indeed, public administration expands from government to public sector including non-profit organizations, as the textbook title, *Managing the Public Sector*, signifies. The extended domain also shifts the function from a passive one (*carrying out*) to an active one (*coping with*). With regard to this broadened definition, according to the author, the administrator plays various roles as politician, policy maker, decision maker, interest broker, leader, reformer, manager, figurehead, monitor, spokesperson, entrepreneur, and resource allocator, representing a wide range of public administration's activities.[54]

[54] Each has a little different version of the roles of career civil servants.

Table 4.5: Starling's Definitions of Public Administration

Year	Synonym	Function	Object
1977	all those activities	carry out	the policies of elected officials and some activities associated with the development of those policies
1986 1998 2005	the process by marshaling resources	cope with	the problems facing a political community

4.2.7. Gordon and Milakovich's 1978, 1986, 1998, and 2007 Editions

The definitions in the 1978 and 1986 editions of George Gordon and the 1998 and 2007 editions of Gordon and Michael Milakovich are identical. Gordon (1978) defined public administration as "all processes, organizations, and individuals (the latter acting in official positions and roles) associated with carrying out laws and other rules adopted or issued by legislatures, executives, and courts" (8). In this definition, public administration is synonymous with *all processes, organizations, and individuals* and executes *laws and other rules*. Moreover, the authors noted that public administration is not only about *carrying out* laws and rules, but also "include[s] considerable administrative involvement in formulation as well as implementation of legislation and executive orders" (8).[55] By including the courts, the authors used *laws and other rules* as the object instead of *public policy*, which is usually formed by the legislative and executive branches.

Table 4.6: Gordon and Milakovich's Definitions of Public Administration

Year	Synonym	Function	Object
1978 1986 1998 2007	all processes, organizations, and individuals	carry out	laws and other rules adopted or issued by legislatures, executives, and courts

4.2.8. Rosenbloom and Kravchuk's 1986, 1998, and 2005 Editions

[55] This point will be discussed in the section of the politics/policy-administration dichotomy.

The definitions in the 1986 and 1998 editions of David Rosenbloom and the 2005 edition of Rosenbloom and Robert Kravchuk are almost the same with the exception of a minor change in the last edition. While acknowledging the need for an inclusive definition, Rosenbloom stated: "Public administration does involve *activity*, it is concerned with *politics* and *policy making*, it tends to be concentrated in the *executive* branch of government, it does differ from private administration, and it is concerned with *implementing the law*" (Rosenbloom 1986, 6, emphases in original). Then he specifically defined: "Public Administration is the use of managerial, political, and legal theories and processes to fulfill legislative, executive, and judicial governmental mandates for the provision of regulatory and service functions for the society as a whole or for some segments of it" (Rosenbloom 1986, 6). The last part, *for the society as a whole or for some segments of it*, is removed in the 2005 edition, although the author did not explain why. The removal does not seem to make a big change in the meaning of the definition, which already encloses some phrases, such as *governmental mandates* and *regulatory and service functions*, implying society. That is, public administration is bound with its society by providing *regulatory and service functions*. In the same edition, Rosenbloom also elaborated more on the definition. For instance, to *fulfill* the *mandates*, public administration involves "the formulation and implementation of policies that allocate resources, values, and status" (1986, 10). According to the author, public administration is concerned with politics, policy, and law by imposing regulations as well as providing services, and administrative power is based on expertise of the regulations and services and exerted through policy implementation.

Like Gordon and Milakovich, the author used the term *governmental mandates* pertinent to all three governmental branches instead of *public policy*.

Table 4.7: Rosenbloom and Kravchuk's Definitions of Public Administration

Year	Synonym	Function	Object
1986 1998	the use managerial, political, and legal theories and processes	fulfill	legislative, executive, and judicial governmental mandates for the provision of regulatory and service functions for the society as a whole or for some segments of it
2005	the managerial, political, and legal theories and processes	fulfill	legislative, executive, and judicial governmental mandates for the provision of regulatory and service functions

Rosenbloom and Kravchuk's definition contains three aspects of public administration: managerial, political, and legal. These aspects are discussed through all the editions with some revision. About the managerial aspect, the authors noted that public administration embodied in a bureaucratic structure is concerned with "effectiveness, efficiency, and economy" (1986, 18). In the 1998 and 2005 editions, the authors added the New Public Management (NPM) to the managerial aspect while considering the original aspect as the traditional one. From the NPM aspect, according to the authors, public administration, which is characterized as businesslike and situated in a market system, focuses on cost-effectiveness as well as results-oriented and customer-driven performance through empowered and innovative employees; moreover, the NPM becomes the prevailing managerial aspect. The authors stated that the political aspect, which is characterized by political process and policymaking, emphasizes "representativeness, political responsiveness, and accountability" of public administration (1986, 19), while the legal aspect characterized by administrative law and an adjudicatory structure is concerned with citizen rights, fair procedure, and equal

protection. From these three aspects, the public administrator is "a manager, policy maker, and constitutional lawyer" (1986, 27-28; 1998, 39; 2005, 38). While these three aspects are the ingredients of public administration, according to the authors, they are often contradictory with each other; i.e., the political emphasis on representativeness versus the managerial goal for efficiency.[56] The authors advocated overcoming the conflict by integrating the three aspects together.

4.2.9. Shafritz, Russell, and Borick's 1997 and 2007 Editions

The definitions in the 1997 edition of Jay Shafritz and E. W. Russell and the 2007 edition of Shafritz, Russell, and Christopher Borick are identical. In both editions, public administration is defined with four features: political, legal, managerial, and occupational.[57] Although the authors' definition seems similar to that of Rosenbloom and Kravchuk above, the themes are a little different. With regard to the political feature, according to the authors, public administration situated in its political and cultural context carries out governmental work by involving policy making and implementing the public interest. This political feature is different from Rosenbloom and Kravchuk's political aspect of representativeness and responsiveness. Regarding the legal feature, public administration "is both created and bound by an instrument of the law" and executes public laws and regulation (1997, 13-14; 2007, 13-14). The authors noted that the managerial feature centers on the executive function in government by managing programs and running the bureaucracy, and considering public administration

[56] The contradiction will be discussed in the section of the politics/policy-administration dichotomy in detail.

[57] The authors also define public administration as the profession in terms of the occupational aspect. In other words, public administration is an academic field as "the art and science of management applied to the public sector" (1997, 26; 2007, 25-26). This definition is excluded from the analysis of this paper, because it is not about the practice but the study.

as both art and science. The function of public administration varies to some extent among those features. The definition is descriptive by illustrating each trait of public administration.

Table 4.8: Shafritz, Russell, and Borick's Definitions of Public Administration

Year	Synonym	Function	Object
1997 2007	political feature	do involve implement	governmental work policy the public interest
1997 2007	legal feature	execute	public laws and regulation
1997 2007	managerial feature	manage run	programs the bureaucracy

4.2.10. The Definitions of Public Administration from the 1920s to the 2000s

The conceptual adjustment and transformation in and of the definitions of public administration show several variations and trends over time. First, the terms have become diverse. For instance, the synonymous part moved from one term, *management*, to several terms, such as *administrative effort*, *governmental activity*, and *social process*. Second, public policy has been the key object of public administration. Third, the function reflects that civil servants not only execute the objects but are also considerably involved in formulating them.[58]

The textbook authors before the 1960s often changed their definitions, whereas those since mostly maintained one definition. This difference is relevant to the development of the study. The early textbook authors, such as White, Pfiffner, and Dimock endeavored to look for better definitions while the study was being founded.[59] That is, they tried to identify public administration as a discipline distinguished from politics, business administration, and law while acknowledging the former's relations

[58] This trend will be discussed in the section of the politics/policy-administration dichotomy in detail.
[59] In this thesis, the first author's name without any publication years represents her/his whole editions. When a specific edition is referred to, the original authors' names and publication years are identified.

with the latter realms. Authors since the 1960s seemed to take regard the study as more or less established. While recognizing a broad range of public administration definitions, the authors tried to emphasize their own views, as Stillman (1998) observed.[60]

As Table 4.9 shows, the definitions include six attributes—administration, government, politics, society, law, and economy, while each attribute has its own sub-attributes. Among the six, the administrative attribute is the major one of the definitions and is followed by the governmental and political ones. The administrative attribute is composed of management, function, and effort. Among these three sub-attributes, the administrative function is common to all definitions and expressed in terms, such as *accomplishing*, *fulfilling*, *executing*, *carrying out*, *implementing*, *getting done*, and *managing*. Administrative management represents the techniques and methods like business management in using resources and materials, whereas administrative effort indicates collective cooperation and coordination. Both are mostly used as the synonym of public administration either separately or together. White, Rosenbloom, and Shafritz mentioned administrative management; Gordon and Nigro referred to administrative effort; and Pfiffner, Dimock, and Starling included both.

The attribute *government*, which stands for governmental institutions, contains activity, mandate/law, policy, and end. First of all, the attribute emerges to separate public administration from politics. At the same time, it means that public administration is not only located in the executive branch but also includes the legislative and judicial branches.

[60] Stillman (1998) also finds different perspectives of introductory textbooks. These various perspectives will be discussed in chapter six.

Table 4.9: The Attributes of Public Administration under Authorship

			Administrative			Governmental				Political			Social		Legal	Economic	
	Narrow	Broad	Management	Function	Effort	Activity	Mandate/law	Policy	End	Activity	Community	End	Process	End	End/foundation	Consumer	End
White*1926**	X		X	X		X			X								
White*1939**	X		X	X		X		X	X								
White*1948**	X			X		X		X									
White*1955**	X			X		X		X									
Pfiffner*1946**	X			X		X											
Pfiffner*1953**	X	X	X	X	X	X		X					X	X			
Pfiffner*1967**	X		X	X	X			X									
Pfiffner*1975*		X	X	X	X									X			
Dimock*1953**	X	X	X	X	X			X		X		X					
Dimock*1964**	X	X	X	X		X	X	X			X			X			X
Dimock*1983**	X	X	X	X								X				X	X
Nigro*1965*		X		X	X	X		X		X	X						
Nigro*1973*		X		X	X	X		X		X	X						
Nigro*1984*		X		X	X	X		X		X	X						
Starling*1977*	X			X		X		X									
Starling*1986*		X		X	X						X						
Starling*1998*		X		X	X						X						
Starling*2005*		X		X	X						X						
Gordon*1978*	X			X	X		X										
Gordon*1986*	X			X	X		X										
Gordon*1998*	X			X	X		X										
Gordon*2007*	X			X	X		X										
Rosenbloom*1986*		X	X	X		X	X	X				X			X		
Rosenbloom*1998*		X	X	X		X	X	X				X			X		
Rosenbloom*2005*		X	X	X		X	X	X				X			X		
Shafritz*1997**		X	X	X		X	X	X			X				X		
Shafritz*2007**		X	X	X		X	X	X			X				X		

* Those textbooks have more than one definitional statement.

Governmental activity and policy are mostly mentioned; mandate/law is moderately employed; and, governmental end is used only in White's 1926 and 1939 definitions and replaced with policy in his later editions. Governmental activity is often used for what public administration does to achieve public policy or mandate/law. Governmental mandate/law is mostly used when the courts or the legal system are mentioned in the definition, such as Rosenbloom's and Shafritz's definitions. Interestingly, Starling did not refer to the governmental attribute but instead used the political one.

Although other political, social, legal, and economic attributes are less referred to than the administrative and governmental ones, the former is significant by expanding the realm of public administration and making the definition broad. The political attribute includes political activity, community, and end. In particular, political activity means pursuing influence and power; political community includes the public and its people and problems; and 'political end' represents political needs and values. Political activity or process is specified in Dimock and Dimock (1953) and Nigro, and as political community in Nigro, Starling, and Shafritz. Political community is mentioned as the object of public administration since the 1960s. It seems to reflect public administration's expanded involvement in the political attribute beyond the governmental branches. Political end is referred to as demand in Dimock (1964; 1983) and as representativeness and responsiveness in Rosenbloom. The social process and end emerge in some of Pfiffner's and Dimock's definitions. The legal end concerns the foundation of constitution and public law, and the attribute is referred to in Rosenbloom's and Shafritz's ones. The economic attribute includes consumers and end, such as production, and appears in only Dimock's 1964 and 1983 definitions.

The attributes can be divided into two categories, concrete and abstract, which signify the scope of public administration. The concrete attributes denote tangible, physical, or material features of public administration, whereas the abstract attributes refer to intangible or theoretical features. The administrative and governmental attributes are more tangible and physical than the political, social, and economic ones, while the legal attribute is located in between. The legal end, such as the foundation of law, is abstract while their cases and processes are tangible to some extent. One of the complicated attributes is public policy. As the authors usually identify public policy with the object of public administration, it can be either a physical or intangible attribute.[61] The difference between the concrete and abstract attribute in fact implies two kinds of scope for public administration: locus and influence. The concrete attributes demonstrate that the locus of public administration consists in administration and government. The abstract attributes indicate a broad span of influence of public administration.

Administrative and governmental attributes can also be classified as a means or an end of public administration, although this classification often depends on usages. Administrative attributes are usually a means, whereas governmental policy or mandate/law can be either a means or an end. Dimock and Dimock (1953) in fact viewed policy as "both a product and a method" (66) (*nota bene*: what Dimock and Dimock called 'method' is nowadays called 'process'). Mostly, governmental activity is considered a means to accomplish public policy. With regard to this distinction, White's 1926 definition is composed of *management* as a means and *state purposes* as an end.

[61] Public policy as a concept will be discussed in the section of the politics/policy-administration dichotomy and as a topic in chapter five.

This distinction broadly entails a debate on whether public administration is only an instrument. In most definitions, public administration is indeed involved in the end of government beyond the means.

Those efforts reflect a scholarly search for and debate about the best definition(s) of public administration between a narrow and a broad definition. As Table 4.10 shows, with regard to the two types, three periods can be distinguished in the development of types of definition of PA. The narrow type was emphasized until the 1950s, whereas the broad one has been used more since the 1980s than before. The middle period, the 1960s and 1970s, seemed to evenly use both of them. These two types are indeed observed by Hale (1988) who examined public administration and policy textbooks.[62] Accordingly, the earlier definitions are narrow while "identifying a particular part of government as the territory of public administration and then inferring from its characteristic activities a general definition of 'administration,'" whereas the contemporary ones become broad because the field's boundary has become too expansive to define (Hale 1988, 432-433). However, the research before you demonstrates that the definitions are not only separated by time but also by author(s) and attributes. The textbook authors tend to pursue one of the two types of definitions while some present both. The tendency for a narrow definition demonstrates an effort to distinguish public administration from other fields. For this goal, the definition is usually composed of restricted terms that denote administrative and governmental attributes. For instance, the terms *the methods and procedures of management* and *public policy* are examples of a narrow definition. In general, a restricted definition

[62] The examined definitions come from those textbooks in the 1970s and 1980s, White's three editions (1926; 1939; 1955), and Simon et al. (1950).

Table 4.10: The Attributes of Public Administration from the 1920s to the 2000s

			Administrative			Governmental				Political			Social		Legal	Economic	
	Narrow	Broad	Management	Function	Effort	Activity	Mandate/law	Policy	End	Activity	Community	End	Process	End	End/foundation	Consumer	End
White*1926**	X		X	X		X			X								
White*1939**	X		X	X		X		X	X								
Pfiffner*1946**	X			X		X											
White*1948**	X			X		X		X									
Pfiffner*1953**	X	X	X	X	X	X		X					X	X			
Dimock*1953**	X	X	X	X	X			X		X		X					
White*1955**	X			X		X		X									
Dimock*1964**	X	X	X	X		X	X	X			X			X			X
Nigro*1965*		X		X	X	X		X		X	X						
Pfiffner*1967**	X		X	X	X			X									
Nigro*1973*		X		X	X	X		X		X	X						
Pfiffner*1975*		X	X	X	X									X			
Starling*1977*	X			X		X		X									
Gordon*1978*	X			X	X		X										
Dimock*1983**	X	X	X	X								X				X	X
Nigro*1984*		X		X	X	X		X		X	X						
Starling*1986*		X		X	X						X						
Gordon*1986*	X			X	X		X										
Rosenbloom*1986*		X	X	X		X	X	X				X			X		
Shafritz*1997**		X	X	X		X	X	X			X				X		
Starling*1998*		X		X	X						X						
Gordon*1998*	X			X	X		X										
Rosenbloom*1998*		X	X	X		X	X	X				X			X		
Starling*2005*		X		X	X						X						
Rosenbloom*2005*		X	X	X		X	X	X				X			X		
Gordon*2007*	X			X	X		X										
Shafritz*2007**		X	X	X		X	X	X			X				X		

* Those textbooks have more than one definitional statement.

implies that public administration concern government or the public sector. However, such a definition is so narrow that it limits the boundary of public administration and tends to overlook public administration's involvement in political and social realms and exclude non-private management from public administration. Therefore, a broad definition aims to indicate or demonstrate a larger area that public administration reaches. Such a broader definition is generally composed of comprehensive terms that are represented by political, social, legal, and economic attributes. For instance, the terms *political community* and *collective social ends* intend to cover those areas and activities relevant to public administration beyond government. The separation between a restricted and a comprehensive definition is relative when the definitions are compared with each other. For instance, White introduced a broad definition in the 1939 edition. However, although the scope of his 1939 definition seems to be broader than his early one, the definition is another narrow one when it is compared with those of other authors.

To overcome the dilemma between narrow and broad definitions, some authors present both restricted and comprehensive definitions. While presenting both definitions, Dimock et al. demonstrated how these two definitions would be intertwined with the attributes. The narrow definition is classified as the administrative-governmental approach, while the broad one corresponds to the social/economic-political approach. The former centers on administrative and governmental attributes, whereas the latter demonstrates public administration's relevance to society and economy by implying that public administration aims to serve the needs of society beyond that of government.

Moreover, the broad definition of Dimock in 1953 mentions the social feature, while the 1964 and 1983 editions obviously indicate the economic aspect.

Table 4.11: Approaches in Dimock et al.'s Definitions of Public Administration

Year	Approach	Synonym	Object
1953	Administrative-governmental	the methods and procedures of management	public policy
1953†	Administrative-political	cooperative group activity	power or influence through political activities
1964	Administrative-governmental	X	law and policy
1964†	Governmental-socioeconomic	the practical or business end of government	the public business
1983	Administrative-governmental	X	politically determined objectives
1983†	Governmental-economic	the production of goods and services designed to serve	the needs of citizen-consumers

Legend: see table 4.1.

Finally, the definitions are expressed in three different ways: prescriptive, descriptive, and inclusive. A prescriptive definition normally signifies what public administration should be, by identifying the essential attribute and distinguishing the field from other ones. A descriptive definition illustrates what public administration actually is and does, mostly by exemplifying important activities and functions. An inclusive definition underlines that public administration is composed of diverse features, by uniting them. The definitions of White, Pfiffner, Dimock, Starling, and Gordon are prescriptive, whereas those of Nigro and Shafritz are descriptive and that of Rosenbloom is inclusive. Those early authors, such as White, Pfiffner, and Dimock, were aware of the imperative demand for a definition of PA, as the field emerged and grew. Therefore, they in general prescribed the field by differentiating it from politics and law and further clarified their definitions in subsequent editions. This type of prescriptive definition is continued by a couple of more recent authors, such as Starling

and Gordon. However, the prescriptive definition has some difficulty with grasping public administration. With that in mind, Nigro and Shafritz described the functions and objects of public administration with several statements. It is Rosenbloom who integrated the managerial, political, and legal aspects of public administration into one definition.

The definition of public administration is necessary for delineating its attributes but not sufficient for distinguishing the field from other fields, such as politics, business administration, and law. The distinction will be discussed in the following sections to more clarify the nature and scope of public administration. Changing the definition of public administration has had consequences for the definition of other terms (Sartori 1984b), and the next section will show how the changes in the definitions are followed by definitional modifications of the politics/policy-administration dichotomy.

4.3. The Politics/Policy-Administration Dichotomy

4.3.1. Introduction

Along with the definition of public administration, the politics-administration dichotomy is the major theme providing the characteristics and boundary of public administration. That is to say, the dichotomy "define[s] an identity for the field" (Fry and Nigro 1998, 1164) and "bears important implications for both the intellectual identity and institutional development" (Demir and Nyhan 2008, 81). Although the intellectual attention for the concept is traced back to Hegel and Weber (Lee and Raadschelders 2008, 420-421), the concept in the US originates in the effort to distinguish the practice and study of public administration from (inappropriate) political influence in the late 19th century. In his 1887 article, Wilson declared that public

administration ought to be “removed from the hurry and strife of politics” (209). Goodnow (1900) underlined the significance of the dichotomy by using the term as his book title. Accordingly, politics is “the expression of the will of the state,” whereas public administration is “the execution of that will” (Goodnow 1900, 28). The dichotomy is crucial to the theoretical and practical development of public administration subjects, such as for the study in general (Rutgers 2001; 2003; Svara 2001) and in particular (e.g., about Woodrow Wilson, Stillman 1973; Rabin and Bowman 1984; Kirwan 1987: about Dwight Waldo, Overeem 2008; Svara 2008; Stivers 2008; Rosenbloom 2008), for organization (Denhardt 1998; Skelley 2008), for administrative ethics (Yang and Holzer 2005), for constitution and public laws (O’Toole 1987), and for local governments (Svara 1985; Montjoy and Watson 1995; Dunn and Legge 2002). As these studies show, the dichotomy has been considered a cornerstone of the field.

However, the practical usefulness of the dichotomy may have been challenged and modified, although its importance in a theoretical sense has not lessened. First, politics and administration are inseparable in practice (Dimock 1937; Long 1949; Appleby 1949). Second, the career official’s involvement in policy making is undeniable, and this is acknowledged by the pioneers of the field and by contemporary authors. Third, it is also argued that the pioneer’s dichotomy has been simplified too much by later scholars (Lynn 2001). As a result, in the contemporary era, the dichotomy is regarded as an “aberration” (Svara 1998), a “complementarity” (Svara 2001; Demir 2009), or “a conceptual construct with an ideal-typical status” (Rutgers 2001, 14). At the same time, the dichotomy still sustains its “perdurability” (Waldo 1984; Skelley

2008) in terms of the political neutrality of career civil servants (Overeem 2005). From these points, the dichotomy is so far more symbolic and normative than realistic and practical.

Under a general implication of the dichotomy, there are three constituting relations: those between the legislators and the administrators, between political appointees and career civil servants, and between the public/interest groups and public administration. The legislator-administrator relationship is often discussed in the light of politicians vs. bureaucrats, or democracy vs. bureaucracy.[63] The relationship implies some principal, often conflicting issues of public administration, such as the political control of elected representatives over professional bureaucrats, political demands and changes vs. bureaucratic impartiality and stability, and administrative capacity and discretions. In particular, while bureaucracy runs modern American government (Dodd and Schott 1979; Stillman 2004), the tension between elected representatives and unelected civil servants takes place in "the locus and the effectiveness of…control" (Mosher 1982, 6). The relationship between the two institutions has been found as more of a mutual influence than one of unilateral legislative control (Dodd and Schott 1979; Arnold 1979). At the same time, the relation is not always based on reciprocity. American bureaucrats are found to work under political structures and constraints imposed by the legislature (Moe 1989; Wilson 1989). In the contemporary era, moreover, political discontent with bureaucracy - expressed in accusations of abusive and unresponsive bureaucracy - has grown so considerably that a prevalent anti-bureaucratic sentiment spreads among the American people (Hill 1992a; King and

[63] Although the term *public administration* is somewhat considered as different from the term *bureaucracy* (Bendor 1994), the two terms are interchangeable in this section.

Stivers 1998). Therefore, the political demand focuses on the increase of accountability and performance of bureaucrats (Gormley and Balla 2004), while in the early 21st century a "post-bureaucratic paradigm" emerges among civil servants (Barzelay 1992). Despite those limitations and dissatisfaction, however, American bureaucrats are believed to play a legitimate role (Wamsley et al. 1990) and to be reasonably effective and responsive (Goodsell 1983; Meier 1997).

As the executive expands its activities and employees, political appointees along with the rising power of the chief executive become an influential force in administrative agencies. The growth of public administration increases the power and inertia of career civil servants, and responding to this, the chief executive enhances his power through political appointment. As a result, America's higher civil service consists in the dual structure of "de jure" career civil servants and "de facto" political appointees (Heclo 1984, 30). The characteristics and relations between the political and administrative career officials have been examined. Unlike the career officials, the political appointees enter the executive without a great deal of knowledge or experience in government and stay for a relatively short period (Heclo 1977). The increase of political appointments results in "thickening government" and politicization of the civil service by creating higher positions dominated by partisan loyalties (Light 1995). Therefore, some demand balance and cooperation between the two groups (Heclo 1977; Maranto 2005) or a reduction of political appointments for governmental capacity (Pfiffner 1987).

The public interest brings about the third element of the dichotomy, although it is less discussed than the first two. The public interest is indeed the fundamental,

normative concept that public administration pursues (Goodsell 1990), although American bureaucracy does not always achieve that goal (Wilson 1989). In fact, the term *the public interest* is elusive because it is an "artificial creation" (Morgan 2001, 153). In other words, it consists of "the unavoidably squishy, fluid nature" and contains various traits (Lewis 2006, 695). There are also "continuities of conflicts" in identifying the public interest; therefore, Morgan (2001) concluded that "[t]he public interest is necessarily problematic in liberal democratic systems of government which place such high priority on individual freedom" (153, 173). Nonetheless, public administration is supposed to respond to the public interest. Frederickson (1991) identified five characterizations of "the public" in public administration: representative, interest group, consumer, client, and citizen.

Among these five characterizations, interest groups and citizens embody the public interest. Interest groups in fact represent the public interest to public administration (Herring 1936). More specifically, interest groups aim to gain their interests through political mobilization (Walker 1991), influence administrative agencies in policymaking (Schattschneider 1960; Chubb 1983; Moe 1989), and concurrently provide them with political support (Chubb 1983). For instance, interest groups, in particular businesses, are involved in the rule-making process of administrative agencies (Golden 1998; Yackee 2006). Public administration's relationship or collaboration with citizens is important to administrative agencies, and it has been examined in light of its experiences (Cunningham 1972), limitations (Riedel 1972; Vigoda 2002), and benefits (Halvorsen 2003; Irvin and Stansbury 2004). At the

same time, applicable and useful strategies for citizen participation in the anti-government era are recommended (King and Stivers 1998; King et al. 1998).

Public policy or policymaking is the crucial issue in the dichotomy and those public administration's relationships with the legislators, political appointees, interest groups, and citizens. As the original dichotomy indicates, politics means policy, or a legitimate policymaking (Goodnow 1900). In fact, policy is what government decides and carries out, and "[p]ublic administration is policy-making" (Appleby 1949, 170). Upon this a question arises: how responsible are bureaucrats for policymaking? Two conflicting views have split the field. On the one hand, bureaucrats passively execute a limited role imposed by the elected representatives (Finer 1941). On the other hand, bureaucrats actively endeavor to advance the public interest (Friedrich 1940). Since then, bureaucracy is believed to play a major role in policymaking in the American political system (Appleby 1949; Rourke 1969).

With all this in mind, the dichotomy is discussed in all of the textbooks, although the emphases and views vary across the authors and time. The authors' texts and arguments for the dichotomy will be elucidated in the following eight sub-sections, and the last sub-section will discuss the trends and changes in the dichotomy between the 1920s and the 2000s.

4.3.2. White's 1926, 1939, 1948, and 1955 Editions

White distinguished administration from politics, the legislature, and political appointees throughout his four editions. In the beginning, he left the question about the precise role of career civil servants open, while at the bottom he was aware that they involve in governmental objectives by legislating, executing, and adjudicating.

Although he did not directly refer to *the politics-administration dichotomy* in the 1926 edition, he later explicitly mentioned the term and considered it as incorrect in the 1955 edition. He recognized public administration's responsibility to those elected and politically appointed officials and the latter's control over the career civil servants.

White compared public administration of professional, technical, and politically neutral career service to politics of partisan and politician interference. With regard to this contrast, politics means partisan appointments and programs, whereas public administration is not politics. In this sense, the dichotomy turns out to be "a shibboleth" of public administration (1955, 6). At the same time, he acknowledged since the first edition that career civil servants are involved in the technical phase of policy making by initiating and advising policies with their own technical skills and impartiality. Later, he explicitly insisted that the dichotomy is incorrect because career civil servants are actually engaged in "the refinement of policy as well as for its execution" so that "administration is inevitably bound up with policy, and through policy with politics" (1955, 6, 7). This also made White modify his definition of public administration, as mentioned in the previous section. He noted, moreover, that the initial goals of the dichotomy, the removal of partisan politics from administration and the establishment of career service based on tenure and competitive examination, had been largely accomplished (1955, 6). What he wanted to argue is: "In the highest reaches the administrative art touches the political, but it grows out of different soil" (1948, 8). That is to say, administration is related with and inseparable from politics, while the former is distinct from the latter. At the same time, White upheld career civil servant's political neutrality in spite of policy involvement.

White made an effort to specify public administration within the institutional setting of government. In the beginning, he drew attention to public administration's relation with the legislature by stating:

> In any event the constant interplay of administration and legislature in the formulation of policy must be recognized as of outstanding significance, whether from the point of view of the one or the other, for the activity of each in their common fields of interest is ceaseless and complementary. Curiously enough, this interplay has never been systematically studied. (White 1926, 401)[64]

While recognizing the indispensible interdependency between the legislative and public administration, White distinguished the technical concern and expert skill of public business for career civil servants from "the lay mind" and value judgment of the legislature (1926, 6). In fact, public administration, as "a fact-finding agency" for the legislature, provides technical and factual knowledge, while the legislature pursues the end of public policy (1926, 38). Whereas the legislature controls the fund of administrative agencies and the personnel at the higher administrative positions, administration expands its "rule-making power" and surpasses the legislature (1926, 32). In other words, as the legislature lacks in dealing with all governmental legislation efficiently and effectively, it rather recognizes the role of public administration and allows career civil servants to fill in the deficiencies. Even at the initial stage policymaking relies more on career civil servants than legislators, according to him, whereas the latter sets goals, responds to the public, and supervises public administration.

With regard to the distinction between career civil servants and legislators, White indeed argued that an appropriate balance between legislative control and administrative

[64] Several systematic, comparative studies on the characteristics and relationships between politicians and career civil servants have been done since then (e.g., Dogan 1975; Aberbach et al. 1981; Page 1985).

autonomy is vital to efficient government. While the practical functions and normative duties of career civil servants can be separated from the political demand of legislators, a combination between the two can end in political stalemate. White pointed out:

> The root difficulty here is one which may be expected to develop whenever politics and administration are combined in a body of legislator-executives. Administrative problems become political and then partisan issues; their solution is reached by political or partisan methods, which give small guarantee of wise, speedy, or settled decisions, and afford only inadequate means to ensure their loyal observance. (White 1926, 433)

For instance, the commission form in municipal governments is supposed to achieve both "political responsibility as well as administrative efficiency"; rather, it engenders political involvement and partisan interests over administrative unity and profession (White 1926, 432).

In addition to the administrative-legislative relationship, White paid considerable attention to the relationship between career civil servants and political amateurs—he later called the latter elected or politically appointed officials. He noted that Americans' original orientation toward self-government instead of bureaucratic government paved the way for public administration led by amateurs since the beginning of the US government. According to him, while career civil servants deal with administrative agencies and work and advise their amateur superiors with technical information and specialized skills, the elected and politically appointed officials in temporary positions supervise administration, decide policy, and are responsible for the legislature, the party, and the voters. The former has its "professional motives," whereas the latter has its "political command" and is likely to impede the efficiency of public administration (White 1926, 184; 1955, 75). In the division, as White pointed out, the role of chief

executives is essential to public administration and they are supposed to have both political and administrative leadership; that is, responsiveness to political demand and protection of public administration.

The relationship between elected and politically appointed officials and career civil servants are discussed at greater length in the 1955 edition. Two reasons for this are found in several places in that edition. First, the number of career civil servants and the scope of public administration have so increased that the impact and power of bureaucracy can no longer be denied anywhere (if such was ever the case; see Waldo 1980, 2). Second, the confirmed fact that career civil servants are involved in policy making causes a controversy on the democratic responsibility of public administration and the political control over career civil servants. White noted that both the political and career officials are essential in a democratic government while the two groups are distinguished from each other based on a superior-subordinate relationship and the principle of specialization. However, the demarcating line, according to White, is not well designed; no sharp distinction is made between the duties of the political and career levels, and the line is in fact "a moving equilibrium between change and continuity" (1955, 77).

Since the 1939 edition, interest groups' influence on and contact with public administration are discussed greatly. White argued that the initiatives of public policy move from the legislature to administrative agencies and citizen groups. Accordingly, because public administration can represent the public interest against special interest groups, the former is often confronted by the latter. Under such influence, contact, and

conflict, he considered that public administration is under social tensions and democratic process.

In general, the dichotomy is not obviously asserted through White's all editions, whereas it is openly rejected in the 1955 edition. Because White knew career civil servants' involvement in policy making, he did not separate the realm of public administration from that of politics and policy. Rather, the distinction between the two realms, which is related and inseparable, is underlined in the textbooks. That is to say, his detailed description and discussion of the dichotomy intends to distinguish the characteristics and roles of career civil servants from those of the legislators and political appointees. In brief, while viewing administration as distinct from politics, he believed that the former resides in the political environment and is influenced by political factors (Storing 1965, 47; Weber 1996, 44, 55, 58). However, he did not define some concepts such as politics and policy.

4.3.3. Pfiffner and Presthus's 1935, 1946, 1953, 1967, and 1975 Editions

The dichotomy is upheld by Pfiffner in the first two editions and considered as impractical by Pfiffner and Presthus in the later editions. Like the advocates for the dichotomy, Pfiffner (1935) certainly demarcated administration from politics, while viewing politics as "the determination, crystallization, and declaration of the will of the community" and administration as "the carrying into effect of the will" (9). He also argued that "the new public administration" is based on the technical processes of administration separated from the policy-determining sphere of politics (1935, 9). At the same time, he noticed that because career civil servants participate in policy making, public administration is so closely intermingled with politics in reality that it is hard to

achieve a clear-cut separation. In the 1946 edition, he changed the definition of politics: “the processes, procedures, and activities involved in the formation and declaration of public policy and the furnishing of the facilities and means with which to carry that policy into effect” (21). This transformed definition is broader and looser than the previous one, while the definition of administration is unchanged. It seems to admit that policy making process is conducted by not only politicians but also career civil servants. Since the 1953 edition, Pfiffner and Presthus labeled the dichotomy as unrealistic and “an outworn credo” (59). Accordingly, the distinction between administration and politics become blurred, and administration’s involvement in policy making is undeniable, although administration mainly carries policies. In other words, although they are supposed to carry out policies set down by elected and politically appointed superiors, career civil servants are involved in policy making with “their own judgment and expertise” in a broad sense (1975, 4). The authors concluded that while public administration with its advantageous efficiency, flexibility, and expertise exceeds the legislative in policy making, it has both political and technical nature and is concerned with political factors.

Like White, Pfiffner and Presthus distinguished career civil servants from the elected and politically appointed officials. Accordingly, the political officials, who are amateurs and partisans in temporary positions in the executive branch, are more involved in policy making and political contact with the public and the legislators than administrative activities. On the other hand, the career officials, as professionals, technicians, and non-partisans in permanent positions, are responsible for administrative and advisory activities and often confronted by the legislators and the political officials.

Despite such difference and conflict, according to the authors, a constructive relation between politics and administration can be realized; for example, the two realms are not absolutely separated in the council-manager type of local government but overlap in various ways. At the end, the political and career officials differ in "degree rather than…kind" (1953, 7). This observation leads the authors to reach the conclusion that it is possible to reconcile a big public administration with democracy.

Pfiffner and Presthus (1953; 1967; 1975) differentiated the term *bureaucracy* from *public administration*. The authors normally referred to public administration as a theoretical and broad term, whereas they defined bureaucracy as "the systematic organization of tasks and individuals into a pattern which can most effectively achieve the ends of collective effort" (1953, 40-41) and transformed it as "the system of authority, men, offices, and methods that government uses to carry out its programs" (1967, 39). The authors presented two functional types of public administration. On the one hand, bureaucracy is "a *technical instrument* ensuring the effective operation of public activities" with specialization and professionalization (1953, 59, emphasis added). On the other hand, while translating social values into action programs, bureaucracy is "an essential *social instrument* bridging the gap between legislative intent and fulfillment" (1953, 49, emphasis added). With regard to the latter function, bureaucracy is closely related to society, or the democratic community. The authors concluded that bureaucracy becomes the fourth branch of government, while administrative agencies are involved in policy making and build up an executive leadership.

Since the 1953 edition, the authors illustrated public administration's relationships with interest groups as not only conflicted but also productive. They pointed out that a considerable amount of legislation is initiated by administrative agencies allied with interest groups, while public policy is shaped among senior officials, the legislators, and interest groups. While bureaucracy represents the interests of either its client groups or the public as a whole, in the process of policy making it is generally desired to strike a balance with public interest, client demands, organizational needs, and personal preferences. The authors argued that a representative role of bureaucracy in addition to an occupational role becomes compelling to the career officials.

Both the approval and denial of the dichotomy are visible in Pfiffner and Presthus's textbooks. The change seems more relevant of the period up to the 1950s. Pfiffner indeed recognized a definite separation as impossible because of the mixture between public administration and politics through policy making. Interestingly, as the meaning of politics is changed, the demarcating line becomes less distinct than before. Although this seems to result from various empirical observations, it shows how a conceptual change can grasp reality. Moreover, the conceptual distinction of the term *bureaucracy* from *public administration* leads to elaborate the understanding of the latter. At the same time, the authors did not miss to observe bureaucracy as a growing political institution along with the legislative, executive, and judicial branches.

4.3.4. Dimock, Dimock, and Fox's 1953, 1964, and 1983 Editions

Throughout their editions, Dimock, Dimock, and Fox underlined that politics or being political is indispensable to public administration. In the 1953 edition, Dimock

and Dimock argued that public administration is composed of both administration and politics and is thus obliged to "a dual requirement" (1). In other words, public administration and politics, as "the two sides of a single coin," cannot be separated, because "politics is part of every institution" (1953, 1, 47). Therefore, public administration is "inevitably and inherently political" because all governmental activities are political (1953, 70). While considering that the original dichotomy is misguided, the authors differentiated the career officials' political activities from partisan interests in personnel appointments. Accordingly, career civil servants are not supposed to be partisan but political so that they deal with not only public policies and administrative programs but also with the political environment.

The authors clarified the terms *politics* and *public policy* different from White and Pfiffner and Presthus. They defined politics as "personal competition, manipulation, and intrigue" in a broad sense; as a result, "politics is part of every institution" (1953, 1, 2). In a footnote, they explained the terms *politics* and *political*:

> [I]n this chapter the terms "politics" and "political" are used in two different senses, namely, as the formulation of public policy and as the contriving ability to get things done. Actually, of course, the two connotations are related, for policy is both a product and a method. As method, appropriate synonyms are "politics," "skillful," "diplomatic," and the like. (1953, 66)

The authors later redefined politics as a process in the 1964 edition, as Pfiffner similarly did in the 1946 edition. Accordingly, politics in public administration occurs through meeting social needs, responding interest groups, resolving controversies, and choosing among alternatives. On the other hand, public policy is defined as "the way an administrator goes about deciding on a program" (1983, 14). In other words, public policy, as a part of politics, is concerned with those interests and services that

government copes with, provides, or runs (1983, 40). At the end, being political means to decide or formulate public policy, and public administration is closely relevant to that decision.

With that, the authors pointed to the reality of administration's involvement and role in policy making while acknowledging the significance of the dichotomy.

> Administration makes policy, initiates legislation, represents pressure groups, acts as a pressure group itself, and is caught up in the tug of war between the two major political parties. These are the *facts*. Moreover, these tendencies are increasing, making a realistic appreciation of them essential to a study of the administrative process. In so concluding it is not intended to disparage the importance of the doctrine of separation of powers or the movement for civil service reform. It is simply meant to underscore the fact that administration is now a compound of which politics is the base and that consequently this fact should be recognized. (1953, 48, emphasis added)

With such involvement in policy and politics, "public administration is concerned with the ends of the state…[and] the economy, with the values of national life, and with the hearing and deciding of cases and controversies not allocated to the judiciary" (1964, 4). This broad political and social association requires that career civil servants are necessarily "statesmanlike and philosophical" in the end (1964, 4).

The distinct roles between the legislative branch and public administration are discussed in the textbooks. The authors stated that the legislators take advantage of proposed legislation and proposed appropriations by including 'pork barrel' projects, while career civil servants fill in the details of proposed legislation and budgets, execute policies for the public interest, and promote the general welfare. Although career civil servants acknowledge the legislators as the boss, the former's influence in policy is increasing. As the executive branch carries out most of government works, including

legislative and judicial mandates, the authors called for a necessary partnership between the two groups.

The relationships among the chief executive, political appointees, and career civil servants in the executive branch are also dealt with in the various editions. The authors noted that while the chief executive's control over administration is limited by the legislature, the leadership between Congress and the President over bureaucracy varies. As illustrated in the last edition, moreover, the career officials take advantage of friction between the executive and legislative branch. According to the authors, the chief executive and her/his political appointees have grown over bureaucracy as representing democracy and popular control over administration. However, the authors pointed out that the career officials are more influential in policy making than the political officials while the former along with the legislators and interest groups mostly become the dominant force in public policy.

Interest groups are apparently as indispensable to public administration as civil servants are. The authors argued that the pressure and activity of interest groups are in effect a major factor in governmental programs and that administrative agencies advance their own interests with the support of interest groups. As a result, while a great deal of policies is initiated by interest groups and their agencies, responsive and virtuous administration is necessary to democracy. This makes the authors raise a question in the 1983 edition: what is an appropriate role of career civil servants amid the pressure and interaction of interest groups?

The textbooks of Dimock et al. demonstrate the transformation of concept. In the dichotomy, the term *politics* implies two meanings: a sanctified practice of

representative democracy and a (less edifying) spoil system of political parties and partisan politicians. While policy making formally belongs to the sacred practice of politics and practically overlaps public administration, the domain of politics causes confusion for public administration. However, as politics is viewed as a normal routine in any organization, it is not an ambiguous term to public administration anymore. This is the core of Dimock et al.'s argument about the dichotomy. As a result, career civil servants are political as they pursue their goals and conduct their activities and indispensable to policy making. Moreover, the authors conceptually distinguished public policy from politics. More importantly, this makes it possible to separate policy as a decision from politics as a will. These conceptual changes render the distinct characteristics between career civil servants the elected and politically appointed officials as less significant than before. In the end, the conceptual change of politics squares with the reality, which the authors comprehend. The authors also observed that the career official's policy involvement leads to a growing power of public administration. Therefore, they were cautious of the consequently increasing policy role of the career officials, although they called for a high responsibility of public administration to deal with social problems.

4.3.5. Nigro and Nigro's 1965, 1973, and 1984 Editions

Nigro in the 1965 edition and Nigro and Nigro in the 1973 and 1984 editions argued that the desire to keep administration out of politics is fictional and must be rejected. At the same time, the authors expressed not to want to belittle the dichotomy as meaningless because the legislature still plays a main role in policy making. Like Dimock et al., they defined politics as any participation or gain of power or influence in

all organizations. As administration enters into the domain of politics, any participation in the formulation and execution of public policies is political. As administration is a part of the political process, career civil servants are political by seeking power and influence. Therefore, the authors claimed that power clashes in the public sector to control public policy and that the discretion of the career officials tends to increase.

Administrative agencies' close relationship with the legislature is illustrated in the textbooks. The authors underscored that the legislators play a supposedly vital role in public administration by overseeing its activities, participating in its decisions, and acting as its partner in some policy areas. Accordingly, while the legislature is a kind of board of directors to administration, it relies on the career officials, who advise, execute, and even formulate policies with their own expertise; furthermore, the enactment of legislative laws is normally influenced by the career officials' preferences. As a result, the author viewed the distinction between legislative and administrative powers as ambiguous.

Public administration's relations with the elected and politically appointed officials and interest groups are also dealt throughout the editions. The authors noted that while an administrative agency receives both the pressure and support from interest groups and the public, it enters into a triangular alliance with interest groups and sympathetic legislators in policy making. The chief executive, according to the authors, is both a political and executive figure and struggles over the privilege on administrative agencies with the legislative. In the 1984 edition, the authors pointed out the apparent tensions between political appointees and career civil servants.

Since the career civil servants' involvement in policy making is undeniable, the dichotomy seems to lose its significance. Moreover, while Nigro and Nigro, like Dimock et al., conceptualized politics as power and influence, the authors discussed the dichotomy less than previous authors. Although Nigro and Nigro did not deal with the distinct characteristics of the two realms much, they still paid considerable attention to the dynamic relationships in policy making among the actors. In particular, the discussion on the power and role of the chief executive becomes more substantial than before.

4.3.6. Starling's 1977, 1986, 1998, and 2005 Editions

The dichotomy is considered impossible throughout Starling's textbooks. The author argued that while career civil servants both formulate and implement policy, they inevitably participate in politics, and administrative matters are hardly ever separated from politics. As the line between the two realms becomes blurred, the scope of public administration expands. According to the author, as policies are simply laws to solve governmental problems, roughly four fifths of public policy is initiated by the executive branch, and career civil servants execute any activities relevant to public policy. As a result, he insisted that good administration means mobilizing support for administrative programs and getting things done, while the managerial and political activities and objectives in public administration are interrelated. Thus, the author observed the various roles of career civil servants who are able to execute governmental activities, solve political and social problems, and carry reforms.

The roles of career civil servants, the legislators, the chief executive, and political appointees are discussed in light of policy making. Starling stated that while the

legislature is in charge of oversight and appropriations for administrative agencies, both the legislators and career civil servants are responsible for public policy. That is, while setting policy is the legislator's formal authority, career civil servants recommend and help to formulate the legislation. In the executive, according to the author, the chief executive tries to impose her/his power over the administration, but s/he often has difficulties in controlling the career officials, who pursue their own interests and policies, resist changes, and ally themselves with legislative subcommittees and interest groups; furthermore, this apparent conflict in the executive demonstrates a fragmented administration.

The author indicated that interest groups exert political forces on administrative agencies and act as the advisory groups in the policy-making process, while the agencies represent the interests of their client groups. The constant source of bureaucratic power, according to Starling, comes from legislative committees and interest groups. In this sense, public administration's relation with interest groups signifies administrative representativeness.

Like Nigro and Nigro, Starling discussed less the dichotomy than the dynamic relationships in policy making among the actors and the various roles of career civil servants along with the growth of public administration. While the dichotomy becomes a minor issue and the growth of bureaucracy indisputable, administration appears as fragmented rather than as united in Starling's textbooks.

4.3.7. Gordon and Milakovich's 1978, 1986, 1998, and 2007 Editions

Like Nigro and Nigro, Gordon in the 1978 and 1986 editions and Gordon and Milakovich in the 1998 and 2007 editions viewed politics as acquisition, power,

influence, and process. The authors acknowledged the assumptions of the dichotomy: the separation of the subordinate and responsive administration from the political determination of public policy, the prohibition of partisan politics in administration, and the competent, neutral, and professional bureaucrat. They argued, however, that while public administration resides in a widely scattered political power and is shaped by political and democratic values, it possesses authority and legitimacy in the governmental domain, uses its expertise and political power, and acts through the politics of administration. With this political involvement and expert force, career civil servants influence and initiate public policy. According to the authors, the career officials act as politicians by forming political alliances with congressional committees and interest groups in policy making. At the same time, like Starling, they consider public administration to be fragmented rather than unified. The authors pointed out that while public administration is neither centralized nor coherent, administrative agencies are conflicted against each other over programs and jurisdiction.

As in other textbooks, Gordon and Milakovich's textbooks illustrate the relationships and overlapping roles among policy makers. The authors stated that the legislature is the major political support for administration, while the former oversees administrative agencies and controls them through appropriation, audits, hearings, and senatorial confirmation. Like the legislature, the chief executive backs administrative agencies. As the process of policy making is scattered and lacks in a centralized mechanism and the chief executive frequently clashes with the legislators, according to the authors, the executive is not with one accord. The textbooks also show a growing interest in chief executives. The authors pointed out that the chief executive uses central

agencies, accesses the mass media, and restricts bureaucratic organizations to effectively control policy making and administrative agencies, while s/he has limits in commanding absolute responsiveness from administrative agencies.

Both cooperation and competition between administrative agencies and interest groups are discussed in the textbooks. The authors noted that administrative agencies obtain the major political support from clientele groups and the public and are accountable for both of them. However, the career officials' political neutrality and professional competence have become increasingly challenged by citizens, and citizen participation in administration spreads. As the movement for citizen participation in governmental decision making has begun since the 1960s, moreover, its forms and practices are numerous and include consumer organization and community control.

Gordon and Milakovich's textbooks are less concerned with the dichotomy than with fragmented administration, the power and role of the chief executive, and citizen participation. The emerging issues include the appropriate control of bureaucracy by the chief executive and the accountability of public administration toward citizens.

4.3.8. Rosenbloom and Kravchuk's 1986, 1998, and 2005 Editions

Rosenbloom in the 1986 and 1998 editions and Rosenbloom and Kravchuk in the 2005 edition converted the dichotomy into the conflict between the managerial and political approach. The managerial approach aims at "the maximization of efficiency, economy, and effectiveness" (1986, 18). The approach emphasizes businesslike administration, or nonpolitical activities, while considering public administration as the same as a big private corporation. On the other hand, the political approach focuses on "representativeness, political responsiveness, and accountability" through political

process and policy making (1986, 19). As a result, public administration is political while upholding the two conflicting characteristics: politics and management. The authors argued that as the focal points of the two approaches are often in conflict with one another, understanding the political environment is necessary for successful career civil servants.

While mentioning that the dichotomy is originally designed to exclude partisan politics from public administration, the authors pointed out that career civil servants actually play "a legitimate role in all phases of the public policy cycle," such as formulating, executing, evaluating, and revising, in which administrative power is exercised (2005, 11). As more and more legislative and judicial activities are carried out by administrative agencies, the authors argued that the separation of powers tends to collapse.

As the separation is blurred, public administration increases its power and domain against other governmental branches. Indeed, the "administrative state" rises with administrative apparatus and operations along with political power and carries out public policies that aim to accomplish ultimate political goals (1986, 34). Along with such an enlargement of public administration, a career civil servant becomes "a manager, policy maker, and constitutional lawyer" (1986, 27-28). With regard to the growth, according to the authors, Congress has enlarged its staffs, committees, and specialization to oversee public administration and respond to the rise of the administrative state. At the end, the authors viewed a large and powerful contemporary public administration as a problem.

The textbooks show considerable attention to the elected and politically appointed officials in the executive branch. The authors stated that presidential powers over public administration are limited by and shared with Congress and the courts. To overcome the limits, the chief executive enlarges its managerial staffs and political appointments. According to the authors, the executive officials appointed by the chief executive usually bring the presidential direction and policy to the bureaucracy, work with the top-ranking career staffs, and develop networks and supporters in the legislature and interests groups. On the other hand, those means increasing presidential power often infringe on public administration. For example, the authors indicated that the Executive Office of the President, which functions as a presidential tool for management and policy making, insulates the career officials from the president.

The influence of organized interest groups on public administration is displayed through the editions. The authors acknowledged that public administration primarily aims to promote the public interest, but it is difficult to define the public interest. Moreover, according to the authors, private interest groups have informal veto power over appointments of the political officials.

While Rosenbloom and Kravchuk integrated the three aspects, managerial, political, and legal, of public administration, the authors illuminated the dichotomy in a different way but rejected the dichotomy because of the career civil servants' involvement in policy making. The authors clarified the politics of public administration with representativeness and accountability rather than with power and influence. This conceptual transformation corresponds to the enhanced role of public administration in policy making and the growth of administrative state. At the same time, as other

authors, Rosenbloom and Kravchuk paid considerable attention to the leadership of the chief executive over bureaucracy. In their textbooks, the chief executive's means to control over bureaucracy consequently separate her/him from career civil servants, while the rising bureaucracy becomes an obstacle for both the chief executive and the legislature.

4.3.9. Shafritz, Russell, and Borick's 1997 and 2007 Editions

Shafritz and Russell in the 1997 edition and Shafritz, Russell, and Borick in the 2007 edition argued that public administration resides in the political and cultural context of government and that politics, as power and influence, is a critical and permanent fact of organizational life and public administration as well. The authors also claimed that public policy and public administration are two sides of the same coin. While policy is a decision, according to the authors, public administration is "a phase in the public policymaking cycle" (1997, 10), and the two sides are related and inseparable. Because policy making is fundamentally about power, public administration is political.

The relationships among governmental officials, interest groups, and the public are dealt with in terms of policy making. The author argued that the legislature is supreme in policy making, although both the executive and legislative branches set policy agendas and evaluate governmental programs. With regard to public policies, administrative agencies generate legislative proposals and executive recommendations. The authors found that political appointees take more policymaking power than career civil servants in the executive, although the former is active only in a limited number of policy issues. The people, according to the authors, are a sovereign that legitimates

policy. Therefore, public administration implements the public interest through policies and programs. As interest groups increase their influence, public policy takes place in the policy triangle among administrative agencies, interest groups, and legislative committees.

Like Dimock et al., Shafritz et al. clarified the terms, *public administration*, *public policy*, and *politics*, while they declined the dichotomy. Their conceptual clarification makes a distinction between public administration and public policy rather than between administration and politics. The authors illustrated public administration's relations with other stakeholders in policy making in a similar way like other authors.

4.3.10. The Politics/Policy-Administration Dichotomy from the 1920s to the 2000s

The definition and conception of the politics/policy-administration dichotomy has been subject to changes over time as well. In general, the dichotomy is increasingely regarded as unrealistic since career civil servants' involvement in policy making is undeniable. In addition to this general view, the terms *politics*, *public policy*, and *administration* are defined or elaborated in different ways. At the same time, considerable attention moves from the distinction between public administration and the legislature to that between career civil servants on the one hand and the chief executive, political appointees, and interest groups on the other.

In the 1920s and the 1930s, the pioneers of public administration, both White and Pfiffner, endeavored to distinguish administration from politics, while they acknowledged that the demarcating line was not absolute in reality. Through their editions by the 1950s, they moved from the objective to the reality of the dichotomy and viewed the dichotomy as unrealistic while observing career civil servants' active

involvement in politics through policy making. This is what is called a “factual dispute,” when a definition is in contrast with its empirical reality (McGaw and Watson 1976, 117). Since the 1960s, all textbook authors have embraced the realistic understanding that the two realms of politics and public administration are hardly separable. Hence, the dichotomy has been dealt with less than before, although its significance (in a legal sense) has not diminished. In the end, while the dichotomy is more or less dealt with, it becomes more a founding concept which introduces public administration, in particular the study, than a factual concept which draws an exact boundary in practice.

The attention to the characteristic distinctions between politics and administration was substantial in the beginning but has dwindled. White and Pfiffner made an effort to differentiate the characteristics and roles of career civil servants from those of politicians, such as elected representatives and political appointees. Other authors paid less attention to those distinctions or none at all. Since the 1950s, as career civil servants are firmly believed to be involved in policy making, they are apparent to have some political characteristics, such as power for their own interests and representativeness on behalf of their clientele interest groups. Furthermore, it is often argued that they have or should have some political skills to impose their own initiatives and programs and resolve social conflicts relevant to public policy. As the distinction is blurred, career civil servants are identified with their extensive roles in government. Indeed, Starling added the roles of public relation experts and interest brokers to the traditional roles, such as managers and policy and decision makers. Furthermore, he included the role of entrepreneurs since the 1998 edition, when the New Public

Management became prevalent in government. As a result, the spotlight moves from the distinction between politics and administration to the multirole administration.

The meaning of politics has been modified. In the early years, politics meant the realm of policy determination, partisan appointments, and politicians' interferences in administration, but since then the term has changed. Although all authors mainly considered *politics* in the dichotomy as partisanship and politicians' influence, they did not define the term similarly. For instance, politics is defined as a political will (Pfiffner 1935), an influence or a power residing in any organization (Dimock; Nigro; Gordon), or a process (Pfiffner 1946; Dimock and Dimock 1964; Gordon). It is also sometimes almost presented as synonymous with government (Dimock et al. 1983, 40; Shafritz) and means political values, such as representativeness and responsiveness (Gordon; Rosenbloom). Since the 1950s, while most authors have separated politics as being political or influential from politics as partisan, they have interpreted politics in general as human activities that induce efforts and then accomplish goals in government, such as public policy. Those conceptual changes involve both formally acknowledging the reality of the career civil servants' involvement in policy making and consequently minimizing the dichotomy.

Public policy is a crucial term for the dichotomy. As the analysis of the definitions of public administration shows, public policy as a governmental goal or a decisional process is indispensable to public administration. To most authors, public policy is a goal that public administration seeks to achieve or execute, while some authors define it in a different way. For instance, while Starling views policies as laws to solve governmental problems, Dimock and Shafritz define public policy as a

decision. According to Dimock et al. (1983), public policy is deciding the ends and means to cope with governmental problems and provide services. In this sense, public policy is “an integral part of the political process, involving voters, pressure groups, political parties, legislatures, the legal system, and every agency of government so as to produce the desired results” (Dimock et al. 1983, 14). Likewise, policy making is “the totality of the decisional processes” (Shafritz and Russell 1997, 56). Interestingly, to Dimock and Dimock (1953) politics and administration are two sides of a coin, but Shafritz and Russell (1997) distinguish public policy from administration. In addition, public policy and administration are considered as a subdivision of politics in the 1983 edition of Dimock, Dimock, and Fox. Those conceptual changes results in a contrast between public administration and public policy instead of politics.

The term *administration* has also changed. As the previous section shows, the term comes to include more sociological activity beyond administrative function. In the early years, administration was mostly defined as carrying out policies within the government centering on the methods and techniques of management. Although this managerial characteristic is sustained, the term *administration* comes to mean resolving social conflicts and guiding the public interest. In this sense, it can be said that while the term was defined separately from politics in the early years, it has been identified with the term *public* together since then. In addition, a new view on an administrative structure and policy making has emerged since the 1960s. Administration is considered unified in the beginning, although it is composed of diverse actors and surrounded by various stakeholders. It seems that the early authors were more concerned with the external pressure than the internal conflict in public administration. On the other hand,

later authors, such as Starling, Gordon, and Rosenbloom, have considered administrative agencies as fragmented rather than united in policy making.

Along with the conceptual change of the dichotomy and under such a disunited administration, considerable attention shifts from the power and role of the legislators to those of the chief executive along with its staffs and political appointees in the later textbooks. In those textbooks of Dimock, Nigro, Starling, Gordon, and Rosenbloom, the growing control and power of chief executives over public administration have been noticeably discussed while the difficulty in controlling career civil servants is also observed. Chief executives have expanded their policy initiatives against the legislator and control over administrative agencies by enhancing their office staffs. At the same time, they have also increased political appointees to advance their agenda and direct career civil servants. This enhancement, however, is found as often separating the chief executive from career civil servants in Rosenbloom's textbooks. This has also been discussed in other publications: "thickening government" (Light 1995) and the dual structure of "de jure" career civil servants and "de facto" political appointees (Heclo 1984, 30).

The significance of interest groups to administrative agencies emerged in the 1939 edition of White. Since then, most authors have increasingly dealt with special or organized interest groups' influence on and conflict with public administration through policy making. As most textbooks show, the triangular alliance, among the administrative agency, specialized interest groups, and the legislators, is an influential force in policy making. While administrative agencies gain their political support from interest groups, they face a conflicting situation between the interest of the public and

that of clientele groups. At the same time, private interest groups come to take advantage of executing their informal veto power on political appointments, as Rosenbloom observed. It is also necessary to mention that administration has found as representation since the 1950s. For instance, public administration "acts as a pressure group itself" (Dimock and Dimock 1953, 48) and ally with interest groups to achieve its preferred policy (Pfiffner and Presthus 1953). In addition to interest groups, less defined social groups and citizens have increased their political demands on public administration, as new practices of citizen participation in Gordon's textbooks have emerged since the 1960s.

Overall, the dichotomy illuminates the nature and scope of public administration. First, it distinguishes public administration from politics and then public policy. Second, it clarifies a range of characteristics and roles of career civil servants. Third, it shows the relationships between career civil servants and other stakeholders, such as the legislators, the chief executive, political appointees, interest groups, and the public. More importantly, the concept and its conceptual changes reveal how the idea and reality of public administration are grasped. Interestingly, the authors sustained the different roles and responsibilities between the two realms, although they considered the dichotomy unrealistic. In other words, the concept is not yet discarded, as the literature says, because it still makes it possible to identify the field (Waldo 1984) and organization (Skelley 2008) of public administration and to uphold the neutrality and accountability of career civil servants (Overeem 2005).

4.4. The Public-Private Comparison

4.4.1. Introduction

Although the term *the public* is “an abstraction” (Herring 1936, 25), the public-private comparison is important to identify public administration. With such significance, the comparison has received considerable attention (Rainey et al. 1976; Allison 1980; Perry and Rainey 1988; Scott and Falcone 1998; Rainey and Bozeman 2000). While management is common to both public and private organizations (Murray 1975), it is argued that public administration is different from private administration because of the former’s public and political characteristics (Appleby 1945; Wamsley and Zald 1973; Hill 1992b; Gortner et al. 1997).

Since the 1980s, it has been demanded to run government like a business. The New Public Management and the reinventing government movement have underlined the entrepreneurship of governmental employees and the privatization of administrative activities by applying market-based principles to administrative agencies to increase government outcomes and satisfy citizens as customers (Osborne and Gaebler 1992; Gore 1993; Osborne and Hutchinson 2004). However, market-based principles and techniques generate some contradictions in the managerial, political, and legal features of public administration (Lan and Rosenbloom 1992). For example, market-based practices center on more consumer service than public service and citizenship that public administration is supposed to sustain (Box 1999; Denhardt and Denhardt 2000; Vigoda 2002; Spicer 2004).

4.4.2. White’s 1926, 1939, 1948, and 1955 Editions

In his textbooks, White pointed more to common elements and similar tendencies than to differences between public and private administration. The author argued in the 1939 edition that the demarcation between public and private organizations becomes

blurred, 1) because public interest and supervision are imposed on private organizations; 2) because government corporations are amphibians as close to private enterprise; and 3) large-scale management in both administrations share similar problems. In the 1948 and 1955 editions, he concluded that administration is a common, if not identical, process to both public and private sectors. Moreover, in his first edition, he often replaced the term *public administration* with the terms *business side of government*, *government business*, *public business*, and *business of administration*. This replacement signifies his view of public administration as businesslike and his effort in distinguishing public administration from politics and law. On the other hand, the first two editions of White present a couple of differences between them. For instance, White pointed out that public administration involves more thorough accountability and rigid legality and less efficiency than private administration, which pursues the profit incentives.

4.4.3. Pfiffner and Presthus's 1935, 1946, 1953, 1967, and 1975 Editions

Through their editions, Pfiffner and Presthus observed that bureaucracy, efficiency, and scientific management take place in both business and government. Administration is "generically a common social process involving certain common activities" in both public and private sectors (1975, 4). However, they pointed more to differences than to similarities in their textbooks. In particular, the legal environment and public policy are mentioned as major differences. The authors argued that the legal environment, such as constitutional limitations and rigid legality, is more important to the public than the private realm as far as securing accountability and impartiality are concerned. They also asserted that government necessarily copes with public policies

that are unprofitable and complicated. In addition to these two significant differences, some other distinctions are mentioned. For instance, government has to observe higher ethical standards in social relationships. It is less driven by profit motive than business. The methods of private business, such as efficiency and quantitative standards of achievement, are often inappropriate in public administration. The executive branch is somewhat independent from the legislature, whereas the management in business is under the board of directors. The authors concluded that differences occur in normative and environmental aspects rather than in technical apparatus and organizational structures and methods.

4.4.4. Dimock, Dimock, and Fox's 1953, 1964, and 1983 Editions

Dimock et al.'s textbooks present the similarities and overlapping areas between public and private administration, while each edition underlines a different aspect. The 1953 edition centers on similarities between public and private administration, specifically politics and scientific management. The authors noted that as politics is personal competition and manipulation and takes place in both administrative agencies and private firms, the successful public and private employees must have political sensitivity. Both government and business are also influenced by the theory and practice of scientific management. In the 1964 edition the focus is more on similar tendencies than on characteristics of public and private administration. That is, the authors claimed that professionalization and bureaucratization occurs in both business and government and that the two sectors are much alike by being practical, providing services, and relying on common techniques related to planning, organization, budgeting, and control. The 1983 edition itemizes similar activities and environments. For example, the authors

argued that managerial skills are universal to both private and public management and that government and business deals with the substance of goods and services and the method and process of production. Moreover, according to the authors, both government and large corporations share the same social environment and hold more or less power, politics, regulation, board of directors, purchasing, contracts, and unions.

At the same time, the textbooks demonstrate the enduring differences between public and private administration. In the 1953 edition, the authors pointed out that politics is more self-conscious, open, genuine, and formalized in public than private administration and that the power and responsibility of the chief executive in government are fragmented whereas those of her/his business counterpart are full and complete. The 1964 edition contrasts the legality and public interest of government with the profit of private business. According to the authors in the 1983 edition, private corporations have greater profit motive, management autonomy, final authority, and more flexible and specialized organization than government, whereas administrative agencies have more pressure groups, accountability, conformity, and public service than business.

4.4.5. Nigro and Nigro's 1965, 1973, and 1984 Editions

Through all the editions the authors pointed out that administration is a process, or a cooperative group effort that is common to both public and private administration, sharing similarities in bureaucratic elements, public relations, scientific management, and human relations. At the same time, they argued that public administration is more subject to the public scrutiny and laws than private administration and that government has a bigger size and more diverse activities than business. According to the authors, the

separation between public and private administration blurs due to the collaborative activities between the two sides.

4.4.6. Starling's 1977, 1986, 1998, and 2005 Editions

While acknowledging that management for programs and resources is common to both government and business, Starling signified a couple of differences in the two realms. For instance, public administration is subject to the scrutiny of multiple external forces, which concurrently provide it with resources. The common good of government is distinguished from the profit incentive of business. Therefore, according to the author, public administration is necessary to engage in a distribution of goods and services, because the market fails to provide them and the outputs are often hard to measure.

4.4.7. Gordon and Milakovich's 1978, 1986, 1998, and 2007 Editions

The authors' textbooks demonstrate that both public and private administration have similar activities and need to increase specialization, while this point is more illustrated in the last two editions than in the first two. For example, both sectors emphasize and simultaneously improve information technology, leadership, service quality, career development, and participatory management. In addition, according to the authors, the interdependence between the two sectors increases and considerably blurs the boundary; *e.g.*, government-owned corporations are identical to private ones.

The authors argued, however, that significant differences endure in the managerial environment. For instance, public managers are obligated to pursue goals set by outside forces and subject to publicity, because the structure, support, and evaluation of public administration come from those forces, such as the legislative, the elected

officials, and the public. At the same time, the authors claimed that public administration is under diffused responsibility, the separation of powers, and a fragmented executive branch. Moreover, whereas business is mainly concerned with profit, government provides collective services and programs and deals with political and social conflicts, and these distinctive features often make it hard to measure governmental performance. Therefore, the authors indicated that the application of business tools in government is not always advantageous.

4.4.8. Rosenbloom and Kravchuk's 1986, 1998, and 2005 Editions

Through all their editions, the authors noted that the same managerial principles and values are relevant to both public and private administration while the managerial approach minimizes the distinctions between the two realms. Despite several common aspects of management, however, public administration differs from private administration in significant ways. The first difference is the main matters of administration such as political values, legalistic considerations, and the publicness rather than the profit motive, which is the main goal for private administration. In this sense, Rosenbloom (1986) argued that a definition of public administration is necessary to underscore "the *public*," which distinguishes public from private administration (12, emphasis in original). Second, unlike private administration, public administration operates under the separation of powers. The authors pointed out that while the chief executive, the legislative, and the courts impose their control over bureaucracy, this fragmented oversight also result in discretion on the part of administrative agencies. The authority of the chief executive is more limited than that of her/his business counterpart. Third, public administration is less constrained by the market than private

administration. According to the authors, private firms directly face free, competitive markets, whereas public organizations aim to provide non-marketable services and operations, or the public goods, for the public interest. Therefore, it is difficult to assess the worth and efficiency of the public sector.

4.4.9. Shafritz, Russell, and Borick's 1997 and 2007 Editions

The authors mentioned that public administration operates in political context, but did not provide much detail about how it differs from private administration.

4.4.10. The Public-Private Comparison from the 1920s to the 2000s

The textbooks usually have fewer contents about the public-private comparison than the two other primary concepts. Among the authors, Pfiffner and Dimock assigned a relatively large portion to this subject. In particular, Dimock et al. (1984) itemized the similarities and differences between the two sectors. With the exception of Shafritz, all authors since the 1960s discuss the private-public comparison.

In general, the key similarities are distinct from the major differences. On the one hand, managerial skills and organizational structures are underlined as similar to both public and private administration. Both bureaucracy and professionalism are also common to both sectors. Moreover, Nigro and Nigro (1965; 1973; 1984) and Gordon and Milakovich (1998; 2007) argued that the boundary line becomes blurred because of the collaboration between the two sectors and government corporations. Gordon and Milakovich (1998; 2007) also signified that both sectors tend to improve their managerial techniques and organizational methods. On the other hand, government is more concerned with the political environment and public interest than business. Along

with this distinction, administrative agencies are limited by rigid legality and accountability and subject to public scrutiny.

The textbooks seldom reveal conceptual changes with the exception of some business terms. In his 1926 edition, White often used the term *business* along with the term *government* to distinguish public administration from politics and law. While the term highlights management of public administration, it is likely to diminish the domain of public administration. With regard to this point, the term *public* rather than *administration* has been more underlined for public administration, as Rosenbloom (1986) advocated. Second, public administration employs business terms to grasp businesslike activities of government.[65] For instance, the term *government corporations* means a government practice identical to private corporations while it blurs the boundary between public and private administration (Gordon and Milakovich 1998; 2007). Moreover, the blurring of boundaries is more likely to take place, when both sectors simultaneously focus on information technology, leadership, service quality, career development, and participatory management (Gordon and Milakovich 1998; 2007).

4.5. The Secondary Concepts of Public Administration

4.5.1. Introduction

In addition to these three primary concepts, some other concepts relevant to public administration help to delineate and characterize public administration. The secondary concepts include administrative law, science, art, professionalism, and

[65] The term *the public-private partnership* alongside the NPM has appeared since the 1980s, and it is discussed in the next chapter of PA topics.

management. These concepts, along with the primary concepts, are mostly discussed in the first one or two introductory chapters.

Administrative law or public law is considered as one of the core elements of public administration. Wilson (1887) stated: “Public administration is detailed and systematic execution of public law. Every particular application of general law is an act of administration” (212). Since then, administrative law has been examined as the basis of public administration (Moe and Gilmour 1995; Rosenbloom 1998; Cooper 1998). While admitting for a “lack of a standard definition” of administrative law (598), Rosenbloom (1998) delineated it for public administration:

> Administrative law is that body of law that generically regulates public administration. It consists of statutes, constitutional law, court decisions, executive orders, and other measures that control administrative processes such as rule making, adjudication, enforcement, structuring public participation, and dealing with information. (595)

Moreover, administrative law is significant to constitutional democracy by “[dealing] with the tension between the administrative and constitutional states” (Rosenbloom 1998, 596). As administrative law resides in public administration, the legal role of public administrators is also essential. Despite such significance, however, administrative law is not dealt with properly in textbooks (Rosenbloom 1998, 595).

Science and art are also key terms identifying the nature of public administration. The two terms frequently appear as the title of a book chapter (Riccucci 2010) or an article (Stene 1940; Dahl 1947). Unfortunately, the two terms are either contradictory or complementary in characterizing public administration. Some scholars advocate the science of public administration, including scientific methods in the academic field and scientific ways in the practice (Stene 1940; Simon 1947; McCurdy and Cleary 1984;

Perry and Kraemer 1986; Stallings and Ferris 1988; Houston and Delevan 1990; Gill and Meier 2000). This argument also underscores a behavioral approach to public administration. On the other hand, some believe in both the art and science of public administration while understanding science in broad sense as a "body of organized knowledge" (Dahl 1947; Waldo 2007[1948], 177; 1955). This position underlines that the application of a hard or pure science approach, such as in physics, to public administration is inappropriate. Rather, it is argued that the problem of developing administrative science is similar to that of social sciences (Dimock 1937, 39).

Professionalism is another concept characterizing public administration since the beginning of the study. A modern government emerged as its size and specialized activities increased. These activities are conducted by professionals (Mosher 1978). The professionals include both professional administrators "*of* government" and engineers, doctors, lawyers, etc. "*in* government" (Gargan 1998, 1092, emphasis in the original). "In government," writes Mosher (1982), "the professions are the conveyor belts between knowledge and theory on the one hand, and public purpose on the other" (113). Therefore, a modern government becomes a "professional state" along with the growth of professionalism. At the same time, professionalism generates advantages and disadvantages. Professionalism advantageously engenders the rationality, expertise, and standardization of employment, information, operation, and education in government, whereas it often causes adverse consequences, such as the non-democratic power of professionals (Willbern 1954; Mosher 1982).

4.5.2. The Court-Administration Relationship

Administrative law is one of the most important concepts to delineate and characterize public administration. Law in public administration includes rules, regulations, and legal provisions, which are associated with both administrative activities and the court's judicial review. White (1939) indicated two implications of administrative law. On the one hand, as "the formulation of policy," administrative law "provides the immediate framework within which public administration operates" (11). On the other hand, as "an external control over administration," administrative law "provides the safeguards by which individuals may protect themselves against invasion of their rights" (11). In this sense, while empowering administration and legitimizing administrative activities, administrative law restrains public administration to protect individuals. In this subsection attention will be given to administrative law as imposed by the courts and as it can be distinguished from public administration.

While believing that the rule of law is inherent to public administration, White distinguished public administration from administrative law in his 1926 and 1939 editions. Accordingly, public administration bounded by laws seeks "the efficient conduct of public business," while administrative law aims at "the protection of private rights" (1926, 5; 1939, 11-12). These different goals often result in dissimilar traits: public administration is characterized by "prevention and personal ends," while administrative law as seen as concerning "punishment and impersonal rules of law" (1926, 40). Administrative actions are also the application of laws to individual cases. The textbooks indicate the penetration of administration into law and vice versa. For instance, public administration expands its activities into adjudication beyond administrative execution of public business in having quasi-judicial functions (cf. Frank

Goodnow) like a court. On the other hand, the courts define and restrict administrative action, methods, and discretion through their judicial review, which is "the most pervasive influence of the courts upon administration" (1926, 38). In this sense, the courts act as administration, while public administration operates as "a fact-finding agency" for the courts (1926, 38). Despite such dissimilar characteristics and conflicting roles, according to White, it is necessary to achieve complementary goals between law and administration and to reconcile administrative adjudication with common law standards of justice.

Like White, Pfiffner and Presthus differentiated public administration from administrative law while acknowledging the interdependency between the two realms. In the 1935 edition, Pfiffner contrasted the policy soundness of public administration with the legality of administrative law, although the former is bounded by the rule of law. In other words, public administration is more concerned with social progress than legal rules and needs a more realistic scientific method than a legalistic approach. The law guides and advises the public administrator. In this sense, Pfiffner and Presthus viewed administrative law as a little harmful but effective for management because facts are based on legality and vice versa. The authors concluded that while public administration surpasses the courts with rapidity, flexibility, and expertise in dealing with cases, the two realms merge at the end.

Dimock et al. similarly drew attention to the distinction and interrelation between administration and law. They viewed administration as "translating the policies into tangible results" and law as "the creation by official means of principles, rights, and duties as guides to human conduct" (1983, 79). Basically, administrative substances and

procedures are subject to the court's review of constitutional and common laws to remedy administrative misconduct and malfunction. Such judicial review is more concerned with administrative processes than substances, and thus can either decrease or strengthen the administrator's authority. While rendering administrative action actually effective, administrative law means administrative legislation assisting policy making and simultaneously reconciling administrative action with due process of law. Like Pfiffner and Presthus, the authors underlined that administration with its advantageous rapidity and expertise increases the quasi-judicial activity by exceeding the courts characterized by a high cost and strict procedural rules. At the end, the authors believed that a clear separation between the law of judges and the facts of administrators is impractical because of the interdependence between the two realms. At the same time, like White, the authors recognized the inevitable conflicts between law and administration while advocating the need for judicial knowledge and quality to improve administrative methods and procedures.

Since then, the distinction and interrelation between administration and courts has not received sizeable attention, although the judicial influence on administration has been discussed. Nigro and Nigro pointed out that the judicial review is the most important role of the courts to restrain public administrators from conducting unconstitutional, illegal, and arbitrary acts and thus to influence an administration's daily activities. Gordon and Milakovich stated that tensions arise between the Constitution and administrative values, while administration is accountable to the courts. Starling noted that while the judicial review is the power of the courts, due process is a growing concern and burden to administration.

It was Rosenbloom who paid greater attention to the legal foundation of public administration and signified the distinction between administration and the court again. Rosenbloom and Kravchuk argued that administrative activities and regulations are bound by legal processes imposed by the courts. In other words, while constitutional laws guarantee the equal protection and the fair procedures, the courts expand the constitutional rights of individuals by upholding civil suits against administrative officials. At the same time, "judicialization," as a source of the legal approach, provides public administration with the establishment of legal procedures designed to protect individual rights (1986, 22; 1998, 33; 2005, 32). However, according to the authors, the legal goal is often contradicted with the managerial goal of efficiency and effectiveness. The authors pointed out that while administration expands its judicial functions, the courts intervene in and scrutinize administrative decisions and activities more often than before and become the partner to public administrators. Therefore, the boundary between the court and administration blurs.

Like Rosenbloom and Kravchuk, Shafritz et al. underlined the legal foundation while considering it one of the major attributes of public administration. Accordingly, public administration "created and bound by an instrument of the law" is "the law in action," while administrative activities and programs are under the court's judicial review (1997, 13; 2007, 13). Unlike Rosenbloom and Kravchuk, however, they did not contrast the legal feature with the managerial feature in public administration.

4.5.3. Public Administration as a Science or an Art

Science and art are important concepts for characterizing the nature of public administration. The term *science* entails both physical sciences and scientific methods

while the term *art* includes (tacit) knowledge based on humanity and practice. The debate whether public administration is a science or an art is discussed in the textbooks of White, Pfiffner and Presthus, and Dimock et al. With a brief mention of the art of administration, the 1926 edition of White appreciates science and scientific methods for leading both the practice and field to be scientific. On the other hand, his 1948 and 1955 editions noticeably place more emphasis on art than science. While identifying public administration with the characteristic of history, society, and democracy, he defined the art of administration as "the direction, coordination, and control of many persons to achieve some purpose or objective" (1948, 4; 1955, 1-2). He indeed used the term *the art of administration* more than *the science of administration* and also viewed the art, or the practice, of administration as that of medicine. In a historical perspective, according to him, the art of administration has continued for centuries while the term *public administration* only emerged in the modern era. In this sense, he concluded public administration as more art than science.

Pfiffner and Presthus also seriously dealt with the debate. While appreciating science as providing the methodology for public administration, Pfiffner (1935) argued that public administration is both a science and an art of government. Since then, the authors modified the concept *science* by changing its meaning. In the 1946 edition Pfiffner paid more attention to non-scientific features than science while considering the science of public administration as a *social* science. In the 1953 edition, Pfiffner and Presthus claimed that a broad sense of science is necessary to comprehend public administration. In addition, according to the authors, using the scientific methods modeled after the natural sciences difficult in public administration because it involves

normative values. Therefore, they proposed to use “the scientific method productively, not in the sense of establishing principles, but rather in the sense of dealing critically with evidence” (1953, 10). These points are underlined in the next editions. The authors (1967) insisted that public administration, as either an applied or a scientific approach, is drawn from various social sciences, while values are involved in administrative processes and programs. In the 1975 edition, science is viewed as “a *vocation* in the service and knowledge of theoretical clarification of facts,” while the art is more emphasized than the science (11, emphasis in original). The authors concluded that “public administration today is principally an art involving the discovery and application of useful skills and techniques which facilitate the implementation of public policy formalized by representative bodies” (1953, 14). In brief, the authors shifted the meaning of science from hard science to social science, and to profession, while trying to grasp the practice of public administration.

As public administration embraces more characteristics of art than of science (narrowly defined), administrative principles are more bound by social and cultural contexts. For instance, Pfiffner and Presthus argued that administrative principles, such as efficiency, are necessary to take account of human and social factors. That is, “the efficiency of any particular plant for the short run must fit into the social objectives of an efficient society in the long run” (Pfiffner 1946, 7). As a result, an administrator as “a social product” should be “the generalist par excellence,” and the administrative process is supposed to be more bound by culture than objective facts (Pfiffner and Presthus 1953, 14). In other words, according to the authors, while technical specialists

are necessary for public administration, so are generalists, or philosophers, who manage, direct, and supervise.

Dimock et al. also distinguished the art from the science of administration, although they mentioned science less than the previous authors. Dimock and Dimock (1953) viewed a science as "the particular body of knowledge as described by rules or generalized statements and supported by varying degrees of testing and verification" while considering an art as "the application of that knowledge to a given situation" (8). With regard to such definitions, public administration focuses on the "realistic relationship between knowledge and its application in individual cases" (9). Accordingly, the authors viewed public administration as both an art and a science, involving both values and techniques, while emphasizing the former. The authors concluded that administration relies on human personality, practical experience, and moral behavior, which are not replaced with science. Like Pfiffner and Presthus, the authors exemplified that the concept *efficiency*, as a yardstick to evaluate the quality of administration, must be broad because it includes social values.

Since then, the distinction between and the discussion about the art or science of administration have dwindled in most textbooks. Only Starling briefly mentioned the concepts. Like White, Starling (1977, 1986) viewed public administration as a profession rather than a science like physics or chemistry and concluded that the art is comprised of both an intuitive judgment and an analytical ability.

4.5.4. Professionalism

The term *professionalism* also comes along with the definitions of public administration. In particular, professionalism and technology emerge as the key

concepts for modern public administration. White (1926) viewed professionalism and technology as the major factors in transforming public administration, which inevitably became full of technical and specialized professionals. Since then, some authors explicitly appreciate the contribution of technology and professionalism to public administration, while the emphasis on the concepts has declined. For instance, through their editions, Gordon and Milakovich stated that public administration grows by technological complexity and professional specialization. Thus public administration, as a neutral, competent, and professional structure, implements orders of other governmental institutions. Although technology is considered significant in public administration, its contribution is somewhat challenged and modified. For instance, while warning of an adverse circumstance of technology, Pfiffner (1946) argued that it is necessary to realize both its benefits and abuses.

4.5.5. The Secondary Concepts from the 1920s to the 2000s

Like the primary concepts, the secondary concepts have helped develop public administration. Although the secondary concepts are far less discussed than the primary ones, conceptualization and conceptual changes of the concepts in the field intend to grasp the actual practice of public administration.

Administrative law is substantially discussed by White, Pfiffner, and Dimock; draws little attention from Nigro, Starling, and Gordon; and is revived by Rosenbloom and Shafritz. Early authors endeavored to distinguish public administration from law while underlining the interrelation between the two realms. Overall, policy soundness and efficiency of public administration are distinct from legal protection and fairness of administrative law. All the early authors agreed on the conflicting but interdependent

relation between the two. As administrative activities are restricted by administrative law, Dimock et al. pointed out that administrative law tends to simplify and reduce the nature of public administration. In these arguments, administrative law was considered an external force to public administration, although the former resides in the latter. On the other hand, Rosenbloom underlined administrative law as one of the internal traits of public administration and conceptualized the growing judicial activities of public administration in administrative state as "judicialization."

Science and art are dealt with in the early textbooks, whereas professionalism receives scant attention through the textbooks. Only the early authors, such as White, Pfiffner, and Dimock, dealt with the debate on the science or the art of public administration seriously. While advocating the art of public administration, the authors made efforts not to lose the significance of science. As the meaning of science shifts from hard science, to social science, to vocation, and to knowledge, it seems to blur the boundary between the two concepts. Despite its significance for public administration, professionalism is not elaborated on at all.

4.6. The Concepts of Public Administration from the 1920s to the 2000s

As presented in Chapter two, concepts are "the building blocks of knowledge" (McInnis 1995, 27), and concept development is eventually linked to knowledge evolution (Toulmin 1972; Laudan 1977; Rodgers 1989; 1993; Rodgers and Knafl 1993). Moreover, concepts are not static but dynamic through conceptual adjustment and transformation. These conceptual changes generally correspond to the evolution of disciplinary knowledge. The public administration (PA) concepts examined in this

study demonstrate the nature and trends of knowledge in American PA, while they vary across authors and change over time.

The definitions of PA reveal the attributes of PA and delineate the study. As Chapter two introduces, a definition is designed to signify the features of an object (Mill 1930[1843]; Wilson 1963; McGaw and Watson 1976; Sartori 1984b). Accordingly, public administration is composed of the essential attributes, such as administration and government, and the accompanying ones: political, social, legal, and economic attributes. The politics/policy-administration dichotomy also distinguishes the field of PA from that of politics/policy, while the two are inevitably related and inseparable. In addition, the dichotomy demonstrates the career civil servants' dynamic relations with political actors, such as the legislators, the chief executive, political appointees, and interest groups. The public-private comparison underlines the similarities and differences between public and private administration. The court-administration relationship signifies the legal trait in public administration. The debate on either the science or the art of public administration identifies the nature of PA.

As Chapter two illustrates, concepts are not always explicitly defined or used because of their ambiguous meanings and various attributes (Kaplan 1946; Wilson 1963; McGaw and Watson 1976; Sartori 1984b). Both conceptual adjustment and transformation intend to resolve the discrepancy between a concept and its meaning on one hand and its empirical object on the other. PA concepts in the introductory textbooks reveal both conceptual changes in grasping the reality of PA and conceptual variations across the authors. For instance, the terms *politics* and *political* are defined in different ways. As politics stands for either a sacred practice of representative

democracy or a spoils system of partisan politicians, it sustains the dichotomy. However, while both political and administrative actors are involved in policy making, politics means influence or power over bureaucracy (cf. the primacy of politics doctrine) and public policy. This change in the meaning comes from the reality of administrative involvement in politics, and the changed meaning is accepted in those textbooks of Dimock, Nigro, and Gordon. At the same time, the term 'politics' also can refer to political values, such as representativeness and accountability, in the textbooks of Rosenbloom. These conceptual changes indicate the blurred boundary between politics and administration and render the distinct characteristics between career civil servants and the elected and politically appointed officials as less significant than before. Therefore, as Hale (1988) observed, the contemporary textbooks "portray a world in which distinctions and boundaries are rapidly disappearing—not just empirically, but conceptually as well" (430).

The conceptual and empirical changes are also confirmed in the role and power of career civil servants. For example, in the textbooks, career civil servants are professionals (White; Pfiffner), statesmen (Dimock), and multiple-role players (Starling; Rosenbloom). These various roles correspond to different types of power, and, simultaneously, the overall power of public administration increases. While career civil servants are found to play various and growing roles, public administration's relation with the legislature has changed. Accordingly, as Hale (1988) observed, the early textbooks portray administration as "the passive recipient of congressional mandates," whereas the contemporary textbooks describe the opposite (445).

More specifically, conceptual adjustment generally intends to clarify or change the meaning of concept. For example, White first replaced *state purposes* with *public policy as declared by the competent authorities* to clarify the object of public administration. He later broadened the meaning of public policy by dropping the phrase *as declared by the competent authorities*. On the other hand, the limitation of concept leads to another definition or conceptualization. Conceptual transformation of definition signifies noteworthy changes in the attributes of public administration in the textbooks of Pfiffner, Dimock, and Starling. In addition, a new conceptualization takes place when the growing judicial activities of public administration are identified as "judicialization" in the textbooks of Rosenbloom.

Along with those conceptual changes, new empirical dimensions begin to surface. For instance, considerable attention for the dichotomy moves from the distinction between public administration and the legislature to that between career civil servants on the one hand and the chief executive, political appointees, and interest groups on the other. Moreover, the role and power of the chief executive and political appointees has generally drawn considerable attention since the 1980s, when the subject began to be studied significantly (e.g., Heclo 1977; 1984; Pfiffner 1987; Light 1995; Maranto 2005).

Public policy is one of the salient terms in PA. All the textbooks signify the increasing role of public administration in public policy and policy making. In fact, public policy is the object of public administration in most definitions. Career civil servants' involvement in policy making is the key issue in the dichotomy, while it blurs the boundary line. Moreover, as public policy is generally defined as a decision, policy making is considered an entire governmental activity. Therefore, Hale (1988) pointed

out that American government becomes “a formless pulp: one enormous, undifferentiated ‘policymaking process’” (434). In fact, the policy making process presented in the textbooks becomes the focal point for career civil servants’ roles and responsibilities and relationships with their counterparts, such as the legislators, the chief executive, political appointees, and interest groups. In this regard, Hale (1988) argued that the role of public administration has shifted “[from] ‘executing’ policy in 1887, to ‘fulfilling’ it in 1939, to ‘refining’ it in 1955, to ‘making’ it in 1980” (430). However, this direction is not completely confirmed in the textbooks examined in this study. Some contemporary definitions still uphold that public administration carries out public policy. This apparently corresponds to the above observation that the contemporary textbooks do not completely abandon the separation between politics and public administration.

As Chapter one shows, the 1940s was the most significant decade in American PA, when dissenting scholars aimed to redirect the field (Lynn 2001, 152). This influences PA concepts in the textbooks. In particularly, the 1950 textbooks show a noticeably changed argument from the ideal to the reality of the dichotomy. According to Hale (1988), this realistic view since the 1950s was also asserted by those scholars who participated in governmental agencies during the New Deal and WWII (428).

This study confirms the conceptual variations and changes across time and authors mentioned in the literature. For instance, identifying and shaping the public interest varies across approaches and eras in American government (Morgan 2001). Efficiency in public administration began as a technical and apolitical concept and has been politically adjusted (Schachter 2007). Therefore, public administration concepts

often inherit their own conflicts (Waldo 1947; Morgan 2001). The textbooks in this study reveal the innate disagreements of PA concepts, while the textbook authors make efforts to resolve them.

This analysis of PA concepts raises several issues for further discussion that cannot be dealt with in detail. First, the early authors in general paid more attention to PA concepts than authors since the 1970s. When the new terms *public sector* and *governance* emerge, the analysis of the PA concepts declines in the later textbooks (with the exception of Starling). More importantly, the definitions of PA concepts in the early textbooks are often changed, while those in the later textbooks are almost fixed. This issue will be more discussed in the concluding chapter after analyzing PA topics (chapter five) and perspectives (chapter six). Second, as mentioned above, the concept *professionalism* receives little attention, although the literature has provided critical appraisals of professionalization. For instance, although government is full of scientific and technical professionals, it falls short of professional administrators (Schott 1976). Career civil servants, as unelected officials, serve elected officeholders and are thus removed from direct democracy (Mosher 1982). Similarly, career civil servants lose respect from the people in the contemporary anti-bureaucratic era, and this results in "the paradox of professionalization" (Cigler 1990); i.e., bureaucracy continues to professionalize while it is less and less trusted. With regard to these critical studies, the concept of professionalization needs more attention than before.

In this chapter the focus was on concepts in and of public administration. However, understanding concepts requires attention for authors' perspectives (chapter six) for how they are associated with PA topics (chapter five).

CHAPTER FIVE: THE TOPICS OF AMERICAN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

5.1. Introduction

As chapter two illustrates, topics indicate the scope of knowledge. Public administration (PA) topics have been classified in three different ways. Public administration handbooks present the first categorization of PA topics. As Table 1 in Appendix 3 shows, Rabin (1989; 1998; 2007) classifies the field as 14 topics, whereas Peters and Pierre (2003) divides the field into 14 topics under governance. Perry (1989; 1996) adds administrative skills and methods on traditional PA topics. Some bibliographical and resource books provide the second classification of PA topics, as Table 2 in Appendix 3 shows. For instance, Caiden et al. (1983) suggest 10 categories in accordance with specialized bibliographies in the field and 13 ones based on professional journals in public affairs and administration. Similarly, McCurdy (1986) classifies some 1,200 PA books as 33 categories and then assembles the categories into 10 topic groups (182-183). As Appendix 3 shows, the third categorization comes from those articles that examine trends in journal publications; for example, Bowman and Hajjar (1978), Perry and Kraemer (1986), Bingham and Bowen (1994), Terry (2005), and Raadschelders and Lee (2011). PA topics in those studies include not only specialty but also research areas and special subjects, while categorization varies across authors. For instance, Bowman and Hajjar (1978) compare the articles of *Public Administration Review* (*PAR*) with those of other public administration journals in terms of nine topics. PAR articles are divided into 13 topics (Perry and Kraemer 1986), 14 (Bingham and Bowen 1994), 21 (Raadschelders and Lee 2011), or 31 (Terry 2005). These studies have

found that major PA topics in journal publication are management, organization, personnel, policy, the nature of the study, and budgeting and finance (Raadschelders and Lee 2011).

The significance and development of topics is evaluated by their treatment, which can be quantitative, qualitative, or both. For instance, Bowman et al. (2001) examines both the quantity and contents of the topic *administrative ethics* in introductory PA textbooks. Raffel (2007) assesses the treatment of public education in PA textbooks with the amount of sentences and paragraphs. Cigler (2000) finds that the topic of state and local government is scarcely discussed in the field's textbooks.

The analysis of PA topics in this research aims to uncover the interest and change in them. For this purpose, both quantitative and qualitative methods are used in this dissertation. After completing the coding process, I grouped the individual codes under distinct topics and assessed their quantities. I calculated the proportion of each topic by dividing the number of pages for the topic by the total number of pages of the textbook. The total number includes the contents of the textbook but excludes the pages containing prefaces, the table of contents, appendix, and index. The calculated quantity shows the variation in attention across PA topics and time. A qualitative method elucidates the nature of and changes in PA topics. This method helps delineate PA topics; expose the emergence, removal, grouping, and relocation of the topics and their subtopics; and uncover textbook authors' intentions in the change. For the objectives, I examined the titles of chapters and subchapters and the themes of recorded paragraphs.

It is necessary here to mention a couple of issues about the qualitative evaluation of PA topics. First, the grouping of textbook chapters varies across authors and editions.

White's 1926 edition contains 21 single chapters, although some chapters can be grouped under one topic; for example, nine chapters concern personnel management. However, his 1939 edition is composed of 37 chapters under six parts, whereas his 1948 edition has 39 chapters under seven parts. Like the first edition, his last edition of 1955 includes 34 individual chapters. While a textbook may be divided into several parts, not all chapters are necessarily in these parts. For instance, Pfiffner's 1935 edition contains one single chapter on the nature of study and five separate parts including 23 chapters. When a part represents a topic, its chapters in fact represent subtopics. For instance, the topic of personnel management as a part often includes several chapters about recruitment, classification, union of employee, education, and so on. A relatively small topic, like the nature of the study, is mostly assigned a single chapter. Second, it is also necessary to clarify how in this thesis 'emerging topics' are determined. The main criterion to decide a new topic is the amount of attention. In other words, a chapter on a new subject matter is counted as a new topic. Likewise, when an old subtopic or subject is developed into a separate and new chapter, it becomes a new topic. However, since only one edition per decade is selected of each textbook, what is counted as a new topic in this analysis may actually have appeared in an earlier edition that is not examined in this dissertation.

PA topics also entail PA concepts. For instance, the topic of administrative law is associated with the court-administration relationship. These associations are useful to examine the relationships between topics and concepts. Therefore, I counted how often primary concepts are mentioned in the topic chapters (Appendix 2).

The next eight sections depict the quantitative and qualitative characteristics of PA topics. Each section begins with comparing and briefly describing the amount of PA topics across different selected editions and then outlines the qualitative contents of each topic. Those sections are followed by a concluding section, which discusses the development of PA topics across both time and authors.

5.2. White's 1926, 1939, 1948, and 1955 Editions

As Table 5.1 shows, the topics in White's 1926 edition include the study, the institutional environment, organization, intergovernmental relations, personnel management, administrative rule and power, and the control of administration.

Table 5.1: The Proportion of PA Topics in White's Textbooks (percentage)

Edition	Study	Institutional environment	Administrative foundations and history	Organization	Management	Organization and management	Intergovernmental relations	Fiscal management	Personnel management	Administrative rule and power	Control and responsibility	Conclusion	Total
1926	5	6		27			5		40	4	9	3	99
1939	3		3	18			10	13	32	16	6		101
1948	2		2	20	10		7	11	30	13	5		100
1955	2		2			31	7	16	30	6	5		99

Since the 1939 edition, two new topics such as 'administrative foundations and history' and 'fiscal management' are added, while the institutional environment is removed. Management comes out in the 1948 edition, while it is incorporated into organization in the 1955 edition. Throughout the four editions, the two large topics are

organization/management and personnel management, which cover more than a half of the textbooks. The topic of administrative rule and power has one chapter in the first edition and expands up to a part including six chapters in the two middle editions, but decreases to two chapters in the last edition.

The study delineates the nature and scope of the field. The topic is titled as "Administration and the Modern State" in the 1926 edition, as "Scope and Nature of Public Administration" in the 1939 edition, and as "The Art of Administration" in the rest. Such a change corresponds with White's emphasis on the art rather than the science of administration in the later editions. White used the term *non-official* in the 1926 edition and *nonpublic* in the 1939 edition instead of *private* for a section title in which he compared public administration with private; however, the section is taken out in the later editions. While various approaches in the study are introduced since the 1939 edition, the 1955 edition has a new section of "Politics and Administration" in which the dichotomy is considered as unrealistic.

The second chapter is the institutional environment of public administration in the first edition and administrative foundations and history in the rest. The institutional environment is about administration's relations with the legislature, the courts, political parties, private organizations, and social associations, whereas its contents are integrated into the study since the 1939 edition. The topic of administrative foundations and history broadly outlines the characters and historical eras of American public administration. Along with the study, these topics aim to outline the status and development of American public administration and intend to institute the study and the practice of American public administration.

Organization contains a range of subtopics, such as departments, independent regulatory commissions, government corporations, staff and auxiliary agencies, line function, the chief executive, and reorganization. Although the contents are mostly composed of the introduction, description, and discussion of those subtopics, the last edition incorporates some management subjects. White signified the term *integration* as the principal yardstick for administrative organizations and used it as a chapter title in the first edition. Although the term does not appear as a chapter title in other editions, its significance continues. In the last edition, the term *unity* instead of *integration* in fact appears as a chapter title.

An important subject in administrative organizations is the roles and responsibilities of career civil servants that are distinguished from those of the chief executive and political appointees. The subject is considerably treated in the subchapters of "The Professional and the Amateur Administrator," "The Administrative Role of the Chief Executive," and "Qualifications of Chief Administrators" in the 1926 edition; in the chapter of "The Chief Executive as General Manager" in the 1939 and 1948 editions; and in the chapters of "The Line Function: Political Level" and "The Line Function: Career Sector" in the 1955 edition. While the treatment increases in the later editions, the description and discussion center on the contradictory but complementary functions and obligations between career civil servants and political appointees and the political and administrative roles of the chief executive. The harmonizing relationship among those actors, according to White, is crucial for incorporation in administrative organizations, whereas the conflicting one is considered obstruction. Throughout all editions, the necessary coordination between political

demand and administrative function for democratic government in the executive branch is significantly underlined.

The topic of management emerges under a part entitled “The Dynamics of Management” in the 1948 edition. Its chapters include administrative leadership including decision making, planning, coordination and communication, public relations, and administrative methods. While these subtopics are viewed as common to the administrative process and essential to the integration and strength of administrative organizations, the contents are incorporated into organization chapters in the 1955 edition. Several distinct points surface from the text. First, White distinguished planning by administration from policy making of the legislature; that is, planning is administrative effort to make legislative policies feasible. Second, he argued that administrative coordination not only takes place within administrative organizations but is also connected with outside political interests; in this sense, “politics and administration merge one into the other” (1948, 213). Third, according to the author, while all governmental employees are relevant to public relations, administration’s public relations “merely happens” rather than is designed (1948, 225). Fourth, the chapter of “Organization and Methods Work” shows how to improve administrative procedures and to cut government red tape, and it is revived by the New Public Management in the contemporary era.

The topic of intergovernmental relations (IGR) outlines the development and cooperation at the different levels of government, while it is juxtaposed with organization chapters. As *integration* is the main theme in administrative organizations, so is *centralization* in IGR. That is, administrative centralization means a trend toward

federal leadership in IGR. White pointed out that administrative centralization allows not only the federal government to standardize governmental services and funds but also allows that state and local governments improve them. While the limits of centralization are discussed, the administrative rather than political or legislative centralization is underlined. This also corresponds with White's emphasis on management over politics. At the same time, he argued that it is necessary to reconcile professional competence with political demand while the autonomy of local administration is vital to self-government.

Fiscal management as a topic appears since the 1939 edition, while the legislative control over finance is mentioned several times in the 1926 edition. According to White, fiscal management involves establishing, obtaining, and executing government budget and assessing its legal and efficient usage. The subtopics include fiscal organization and management, the budgetary procedure, the executive control, and audit. The textbooks illustrate that budget is used as a control over administrative departments and agencies, while budget making is an ongoing tug-of-war between the legislative and the executive branch.

Personnel management contains ten chapters in the 1926 edition, two fifths of the textbook and is more detailed than any other topics, as White considered the topic the foremost important factor for good administration. Personnel management is defined as "the affairs of human beings and its full success calls for a delicacy of adjustment of personal relationship" and deals not only with technical methods but also human psychology relevant to organization (1926, 208). Its subtopics include recruitment, examination, classification, training, salary, promotion, retirement, career service,

unions, and morale. White also discussed the disadvantage of political and partisan interference in the civil service and the advantage of professional and technical career service in administration. While the morale of career civil servants is underlined through the editions, the subtopic "Loyalty and Security" appears in the 1955 edition. The subtopic discusses the political and social worries about the loyalty of public employees and the security of the state in the beginning of the Cold War.

The topic of *administrative rules* in the 1926 edition and *administrative actions* in the 1939 edition is about the public administrator's rule-making power, which White viewed as an increasing domain of public administration. The author argued that administrative rule-making, as policy declaration or enforcement, takes place to relieve the legislators' burden of detailing laws, stimulate experts to take care of technical features of laws, manage urgent events, and deal with an obscure future. Moreover, administrative actions intend "to establish a pattern of behavior among citizens in conformity with public policy" (1939, 466-467). However, the consequences of administrative rule-making are not only a coercive enforcement but also a sensible and practical responsiveness. White succinctly captured the latter point by stating that administrative rule-making is "the power to adjust law to *life*, the power to fit the contour of the statute to the rough and irregular outline of *social habit*, the opportunity to advance the law to the very edge of *reality* where alone it can deal effectively with *the world* as it is" (1926, 399, emphases added). While the 1926 edition focuses on the rule-making power, the rest illustrates administrative orders, inspection, licensing, adjudication, and sanctions. The topic title in the 1948 and 1955 editions is replaced with *administrative powers*, which, according to White, are synonymous with authority

and inevitably reside in administration to carry on its job effectively (1955, 463). At the same time, while being aware of the abuse of administrative powers, the author defended the term. With regard to industrialization and economic growth, administrative powers are gradually considered as “a means of protecting liberty and the public interest against private power” rather than “a threat to liberty” (1955, 464).

The control and responsibility of administration is the last topic, which largely deals with the methods and problems of control imposed by the legislature, the electorate, and the courts. It also reflects the conflict between democracy and bureaucracy. As the number of career civil servants and the scope of public administration expand, according to White, an equivalent control over administration is necessary. The control over increasing administrative power includes legislative, legal, and public authority and means. As the author added responsibility to this topic since the 1939 edition, he viewed the topic as more of a mutual interaction between control and responsibility rather than an imposed reaction to control. The later editions pay less attention to the electorate than the legislature and the courts.

PA concepts are dealt with in some topics. As mentioned in the previous chapter, PA concepts are mostly defined and discussed within context of the topics of the study, the institutional environment, and administrative foundations and history. In addition to these topics, PA concepts appear in organization, administrative rule and power, and the control and responsibility of administration. In particular, the amateur/political appointee-administrator relationship is seriously treated in the topic of organization. Administrative relations with the legislature, the courts, and the public take place in the topic of control and responsibility. The author discusses administrative rule-making in

terms of the legislative-administrative relationship. The treatment generally intends to distinguish the role of career civil servants from that of elected representatives, political appointees, and judges and the realm of public administration from that of politics and law.

5.3. Pfiffner and Presthus's 1935, 1946, 1953, 1967, and 1975 Editions

Pfiffner and Presthus' textbooks present both continuity and change in PA topics. As Table 5.2 shows, the topics of the study, organization, personnel administration, and financial administration appear through the editions.

Table 5.2: The Proportion of PA Topics in Pfiffner and Presthus's Textbooks (percentage)

Edition	Study	Bureaucracy	Bureaucratic policymaking	Organization	Community participation	Intergovernmental relations	Management	Personnel management	Financial administration	Administrative law	Public relations	Administrative responsibility	Total
1935	4			20		3		24	20	17	11		99
1946	7			22		3	5	20	15	16	12		100
1953	6	4		17			15	20	15	14		10	101
1967	7	9		17			13	17	14	15		8	100
1975	2		24	4	6			27	19			17	99

Some topics come into view in certain editions; for instance, intergovernmental relations and public relations in the 1935 and 1946 editions; administrative responsibility instead of public relations since the 1953 edition; management in the 1946, 1953, and 1967 editions; bureaucracy in the 1953 and 1967 editions; and bureaucratic policymaking in the 1975 edition. These new topics not only develop their own subtopics but also incorporate existing topics' subjects and contents. For instance,

bureaucratic policymaking as the second big topic in the last edition absorbs some subjects from organization, management, and administrative law. Noticeable changes in those topics occur in the 1953 edition that Presthus is added as the second author and the last edition written only by the same author.

The topic of the study begins with a chapter entitled "The New Public Administration" in the first two editions. The three middle editions include both the study and the growing modern government, whereas the 1975 edition contains only the study.

Organization receives considerable attention until the last edition. Organization is defined as "the medium through which individuals work as a group as effectively as each would work alone" and is composed of both physical and psychological structures (1946, 45). The two main subtopics, or themes, of organization in the 1935 edition are *integration* and *control*. *Integration* by the chief executive and his/her central agency is viewed as a predominant trend in governmental organizations, and both administrative control on the one hand and legislative, judicial, and popular—both citizen groups and political appointees—controls are necessary for administrative organizations. The subtopic *control* is integrated into the topic of administrative responsibility in the later editions. The advantages and disadvantages of organizational types of local governments, boards, and commissions are also discussed, while the political and administrative roles of the chief executive receive considerable attention. The 1946 and 1953 editions illustrate and discuss organizational principles, such as the unity of command and the span of control, staff and line, reorganization, and governmental organizations, such as boards, commissions, and corporations. The treatment of

integration, as one of the main themes in the early edition, changes. While the 1946 edition discusses the pros and cons of integration, the 1953 edition underlines decentralization as a symbol of American democratic administration. Control is still viewed as the object of organization (1953, 5). Governmental organizations, according to the authors, are bound by political institutions and contexts. Reorganization, for instance, takes place in the political context of legislators, interest groups, administrative officials, and the chief executive. This leads to a chapter entitled "The Political Context of Organization" in the 1967 edition. At the same time, the edition focuses more on the theories than on the general features of organization, and introduces the impact of computers on administration. The topic of organization diminishes to only a chapter in the last edition, and even the term *bureaucratic structure* is more salient than *administrative organization* in the chapter.

The topic of intergovernmental relations is put adjacent to organization in the 1935 and 1946 editions and almost disappears from later editions. The topic has two subject matters: 1) the control over local governments by the federal and state legislatures and 2) decentralization versus centralization.

The topic of management is found in a part entitled "Planning and Research" in the 1946 edition, "The Dynamics of Administration" in the 1953 edition, and "The Functions of Administration" in the 1967 edition, while its subtopics vary across the editions. The 1946 edition contains planning, standards, and measurement as subtopics. The subtopics *standards* and *measurements*, refer to administrative performance to the public, originally belong to the topic of public relations in the 1935 edition and are later revived by the New Public Management. In particular, it is worthy to mention that the

authors acknowledged the significance of those subjects to administration's public relations in the first edition. The 1953 edition includes leadership, planning, communication, and public support, whereas the 1967 edition contains leadership, decision making, and the professional and political roles of the higher administrators. These subtopics not only have an administrative aspect but also a political aspect. The authors pointed out that administrative planning, as relevant to policy, draws political attention from the chief executive and the legislature. Amid political tug-of-war, public support is considered essential to administrative agencies and programs. In addition, according to the authors, the high-level executives perform political roles to achieve their agencies' objectives, while the general role is often conflicted with the special role of professionals and technicians.

Personnel administration keeps its basic subtopics, such as the federal personnel system, recruitment, classification, evaluation, promotion, and employee relations, throughout the editions, except for some minor variations. The authors pointed out that the two pillars of the personnel system are the merit system as a fundamental principle and the civil service system as a practical application, while they mentioned that the former becomes more used than the latter since the 1953 edition. All the editions indicate the increasing professionals and career service in government and the political influence of Congress and the President on the civil service system. Whereas the 1935 edition admits a hostile attitude against public employees' right to organize, the 1946 and later editions mostly emphasize the employees' unionization and collective bargaining. The 1953 and 1967 editions signify a moderate representativeness of civil service, while the 1975 edition introduces equal employment opportunity in the federal

government. The last two editions introduce development personnel administration as a rising subtopic to enrich individual roles and potential capacity.

Financial administration sustains its proportion through editions. The first three editions generally describe financial organizations and operations, such as accounting, budget planning, purchasing, and auditing, whereas the later two editions focus on the budgetary process: preparation, authorization, execution, and control. The early editions claim a unified agency for finance under the chief executive to achieve efficiency, whereas the later editions emphasize accountability as the foremost value in the budgetary process. The political struggle is evident to the topic. The chief executive pursues his/her political preference and financial control over the budget, whereas the legislature largely controls the executive budget through its appropriations.

The attention to administrative law persists until the topic integrates into bureaucratic policymaking in the last edition. Its subtopics include administrative legislation and adjudication and judicial review, and illustrate and discuss administrative rules, regulations, orders, and tribunals. Throughout the editions, administrative quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial activities are viewed as necessary, while those activities are delegated by the legislature and subject to judicial review of the courts. The regulatory commission and process are also described in the topic. In the last edition, the quasi-legislative role is incorporated in the topic of bureaucratic policymaking, whereas the quasi-judicial role and judicial review are integrated into the topic of administrative responsibility.

Bureaucracy becomes a significant topic in the later editions. The nature and growing role of bureaucracy are described in the 1953 and 1967 editions, while the

latter introduces the topic with a comparative perspective. The topic in the 1975 edition is further developed with policymaking; thus it contains several subtopics, such as the policymaking process, bureaucratic role and method, and the planning-programming-budgeting system. Moreover, the topic becomes so broad that it entails some organizational subjects and administration's instrumental and social functions. The authors indeed embodied these features in the definitions of bureaucracy. That is, bureaucracy is "the systematic organization of tasks and individuals" (1953, 40-41), "a technical instrument ensuring the effective operation of public activities" (1953, 59), and "an essential social instrument" (1953, 49), while these three definitions signify the organizational, instrumental, and social function, respectively.

The topic of public relations in the first two editions is replaced with that of administrative responsibility in the later editions. Its subtopics in the 1935 edition include public relations, public reporting, and performance measurement. Whereas the last subtopic moves to the topic of management in the 1946 edition, a new subtopic of public contacts is added. While upholding popular control over professional administration, the topic illustrates citizen participation and administrative methods to improve public relations. The contents merge into the 1953 edition's new topic, *administrative responsibility*, which includes executive and legislative control and administrative ethics as subtopics in addition to public relations. The topic underlines the higher moral standard of an individual administrator, while it illustrates the executive control, such as the political appointments and central agencies of the chief executive, and the legislative control, such as appropriation, investigation, and approval of public officials. At the same time, the growing representative and mediating roles of

bureaucracy relevant to public and special interests are discussed. Judicial control is added in the last edition, while some contents of public relations moves to a new topic, "Community Participation and Citizen Organization," which signifies the increasing community organization and citizen participation that demand to change centralized, hierarchical, and specialized bureaucracy.

Some topics entail the PA concepts. Through the editions, the court-administration relation is considerably discussed in administrative law, and so is the legislative-administrative relationship in financial management. The 1935 and 1946 editions significantly treat the amateur/political appointee-administrator relationship in the topic of organization, while the rest do not. Both the politics/policy-administration dichotomy and the legislative-administrative relationship are dealt with under the topic of bureaucracy. The legislative-administrative relationship and the amateur/political appointee-administrator relationship are considerably discussed in administrative responsibility. The topic of personnel administration noticeably contains the public-private comparison.

5.4. Dimock, Dimock, and Fox's 1953, 1964, and 1983 Editions

As Table 5.3 shows, the major topics of Dimock et al.'s textbooks are the study, politics and policy, organization and management, personnel management, finance, and administrative law.

Table 5.3: The Proportion of PA Topics in Dimock, Dimock, and Fox's Textbooks (percentage)

Edition	Study	History and society	Politics and policy	Organization and management	Personnel management	Finance	Administrative law	Intergovernmental relations	Accountability	Public relations	Ethics	Conclusion	Total
1953	4		15	27	22	8	7		5	11			99
1964	5	11	4	41	13	4	4		6	11			99
1983	7		8	42	13	15	4	8			2	3	102

The subtopics of organization/management, personnel, and finance are widely spread in the first two editions and reassembled into three separate management parts of program, personnel, and finance in the last edition. The textbooks also have several occasional topics; for instance, accountability and public relations in the 1953 and 1964 editions, history and society in the 1964 edition, and intergovernmental relations and ethics in the 1983 edition. Most noticeable changes occur in the last edition, which has a new co-author, Fox. Through the editions, those topics are assembled, divided, or reorganized under broad part titles.

While the study delineates the field, it is more broadly treated in the 1964 edition than the other editions. In fact, the first seven chapters in the 1964 edition are under a part entitled “What Is Public Administration,” and intend to comprehend public administration with its broad contexts of history, society, and political economy. That is to say, the field of public administration includes civil service and human relations, law, ethics and philosophy, science and engineering, social classes and human groups, sovereign functions, and national economy in addition to general administration.

However, the coverage is taken out from the next edition. Instead, the 1983 textbook chapter, “Administration: Public and Private,” enumerates 18 checklists for the comparison between public and private administrations, presents the similarities and differences, and reviews various approaches in public administration.

The topic of politics and policy underlines that administration is political and that policymaking is essential to public administration. That is, while the administrator is necessarily political, “[p]olicy runs the gamut of administration” (1953, 98). In this sense, the topic corresponds to the authors’ definition of public administration and refutation of the dichotomy, as mentioned in the previous chapter. Its subtopics include policy objectives, planning, and administrative programs and discuss the executive-legislative relationship and the administration’s relations with interest groups and political parties. Not only efficiency but also profit is considered a policy objective. Planning, along with policy formulation, is to make objectives and actions clear at the top level of administration, but the subtopic moves into the topic of management in the 1983 edition. The authors distinguished policy from decision making. While decision making, as a means, is essential to administrative process, policy represents the direction of general administration (1964, 127). Through the editions, the topic illustrates politics and political actors in administrative policymaking. The topic is assembled with the topics of law and budget under “Part II: Administration and Public Policy” in the 1964 edition, and those of law, intergovernmental relations, ethics, and the chief executive under “Politics and Public Policy” in the 1983 edition, while these topics all are largely relevant to politics and policy.

Organization and management are not clearly divided in the textbooks, and their subtopics are rather intermingled with each other under broad part titles. Organization is defined as “the systematic bringing together of interdependent parts to form a unified whole” (1953, 104), “structural arrangements” (1964, 181), or “the framework of functions and relationships” (1983, 157), to achieve given objectives. It involves role, authority, coordination, communication, leadership, and control. The authors argued that organization includes not only formal, impersonal, and static features, but also informal, personal, and dynamic ones, and social, political-economic, and psychological aspects (1964, 181). However, the authors insisted that although organization is basic in the administrative process, it is not a predominant aspect of administration (1983, 157). Thus, the subtopics of organization subtopics are mostly juxtaposed with those of other topics. In the 1953 edition, organization as a government tool has a separate chapter, while its alleged subtopics, such as leadership, meshing line and staff, headquarter-field relations, supervision, cooperation, and control are under a part entitled “Getting the Job Done,” which also contains some subtopics of personnel, public relations, and administrative law. Administrative control, as similar to performance measurement in the contemporary era, outlines administrative techniques that evaluate efficiency. In the 1964 edition, while organization is viewed as a management instead of a government tool, its subtopics of supervision, delegation, coordination, and control are assembled within “Part III: Executive Performance,” and the relationships among line, staff, headquarter, and field are gathered as a part entitled “Working Relationships.” In the 1983 edition, those organization subtopics alongside management are reassembled under the part of “Program Management.”

Whereas the first two editions largely deal with organization subtopics, the last edition contains a considerable portion of management subtopics. Planning, which originally belonged to policy, moves to the topic of management in the 1983 edition, while its original intention and contents are still sustained. That is, the authors considered planning a political act because of its involvement in power, pressure, conflict, and persuasion (1983, 148). Decision making is viewed as a means in the 1964 edition, when it is compared with policy. On the other hand, the 1983 edition lays more emphasis upon decision making than before while consider it as "management in action" than "mere intellectual exercise" or "problem solving" (124). Policy analysis is a new subtopic in the 1983 edition. Policy analysis, as closely related to planning, deals with problems and solutions of policy by analyzing the alternatives (1983, 141). Other new subtopics, including program evaluation, productivity, and information systems, not only signify the advancement of administrative techniques but also respond to the political and popular demand for increasing the effectiveness and efficiency of governmental programs. The edition also underlines the need for entrepreneurship, which takes risks and innovative initiative to improve administrative processes and government outcomes (1983, 134). Those subtopics would have folded into a section on New Public Management initiatives, if another successive edition had been published in the 1990s.

Like organization and management, personnel management subtopics are scattered under broad part titles in the 1953 and 1964 editions, while they are reassembled together in the 1983 edition. In the 1953 edition, the chapter of personnel management as a government tool describes and discusses the evolution of personnel

administration, the problem of neutrality, employee loyalty and national security, and a career service. Separate chapters for training/supervision and incentives/sanctions are outlined within the part of "Getting the Job Done." The 1964 edition has separate chapters for career service, incentives, and personnel administration, while the last subtopic discusses the general feature of the personnel system. Those chapters are brought together under personnel management in the 1983 edition, while affirmative action is introduced as a new subject. The topic is often discussed in comparison with that of private administration.

The 1953 edition introduces finance as one of the government tools and describes budget and other financial functions, whereas the 1964 edition treats the topic as planning and control under the topic of politics and policy. The 1983 edition has several subtopic chapters, such as public finance, the budgetary process, and audit, under financial management. Through the editions, the tug-of-war over budget between the legislative and executive branch is illustrated.

The topic of administrative law centers on administrative legislation and adjudication. Administrative law is defined as "giving concrete effect to the law and policies adopted by the national government and its subdivisions" (1983, 79). The editions depict the distinct roles and functions of administration from those of the legislature and the courts. Administration mostly conducts the technical and detailed legislation along with administrative rule-making and discretion. According to the authors, the delegated quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial activities are growing, while they are subjected to constitutional law.

Public relations and conflict/cooperation are juxtaposed with organization and management subtopics in the 1953 edition, appear as a separate topic in the 1964 edition, but are incorporated into organization and management in the 1984 edition. Public relations are considered an important means for organizational survival and democratic control; in other words, it is "a planned program of policies and action designed by an administrator to build public confidence in and increase public understanding of his company or agency" (1953, 403). The chapter of conflict/cooperation underlines the mediating role of administration in society, while it also discusses employer-employee relations. As administration is confronted with social conflicts, moreover, jurisdictional disputes take place among administrative agencies. The authors noted that the administrator needs to understand social divergence and collaborate to get government work done.

The topic of accountability in the 1953 and 1964 editions deals with self-accountability and internal control by the administrator, on the one hand, and external accountability and control by the legislature, the courts, and the citizens, on the other. While the authors viewed administrative self-regulation as effective, they believed to need legislative surveillance, judicial supervision, and citizen control over administration. In particular, as the previous chapter shows, the citizens are viewed as both voters and consumers.

Three topics emerge in the 1983 edition: ethics, the chief executive, and intergovernmental relations. With regard to the Watergate scandal, the edition underlines administrative ethics as crucial to democratic government. It also signifies the legislative intention to impose a direct control on administration mentioning the

Congress' creation of the Office of Government Ethics. The role and power of the chief executive are discussed in terms of its tug-of-war with the legislature on the one hand and bureaucracy on the other. While indicating the growing federal role in governmental services and programs, the topic of intergovernmental relations discusses the types and methods of grants-in-aid and the divergent relationships among the legislator, professional civil servants, and pressure groups. Those topics are so treated within a broad part of politics and policy that the discussion centers on political relations and conflicts among governmental institutions and actors.

PA concepts are connected with some topics through the editions. The court-administration and the legislative-administrative relationships are the main subjects in administrative law. The amateur/political appointee-administrator relationship is extensively discussed under 'organization' in the 1953 and 1964 editions, and so is the definition of public administration in 'history and society' in the 1964 edition. The topic of 'politics and policy' has a considerable discussion about the politics-administration dichotomy including the legislative-administrative relationship.

5.5. Nigro and Nigro's 1965, 1973, and 1984 Editions

As Table 5.4 shows, Nigro and Nigro's textbooks continually hold the topics of the study, culture/value, organization, intergovernmental relations, management, personnel administration, financial administration, and administrative responsibility. The topic of environment appears in the 1965 and 1973 editions, while the last edition includes new topics, such as policy analysis, administrative rules, and politics. Unlike other textbooks, moreover, Nigro and Nigro's textbooks contain special subject matter, such as international, legislative, and judicial administration.

Table 5.4: The Proportion of PA Topics in Nigro and Nigro's Textbooks (percentage)

Edition	Study	Environment	Culture and value	Policy analysis	Rules	Politics	Organization	Intergovernmental relations	Management	Personnel administration	Financial administration	Responsibility	International administration	Legislative and judicial administration	Total
1965	5	6	5				13	5	22	18	13	7	7		101
1973	5	5	9				13	6	19	16	13	8	6		100
1984	4		6	6	5	15	13	5	11	9	10	5		12	101

The first several topics are designed to introduce and delineate the field. The topic of the study discusses governmental branches, the definition of public administration, the public-private comparison, and the politics/policy-administration dichotomy. In particular, politics and policy are separately compared with administration in the 1973 and 1984 editions. The 1984 edition has two new subjects: theoretical approaches and the identity crisis of the field. The topic of environment illustrates population, technology, and ideology relevant to public administration. The influence of culture and its diversity on administration is outlined in the 1965 and 1973 editions, and value and value conflicts in public policy are discussed in the 1973 and 1984 editions. In particular, while viewing the value neutrality of the administrator as unrealistic, the authors demonstrated how values are integrated into the practice of public administration. Administrative ethics becomes visible in the 1984 edition.

The topic of organization generally includes subtopics, such as line and staff, informal organization, politics, and organization theory. The subtopic, "The Politics of

Organization" in the 1965 and 1973 editions, illustrates an ongoing political struggle in and over administrative agencies, while it is incorporated into a separated topic of politics in the 1984 edition. Organization theory as a subtopic surfaces in the 1973 and 1984 editions by discussing the development of studies about organization. The topic also entails intergovernmental relations, which is titled "The Geography of Organization." The main theme of intergovernmental relations is the direction toward either centralization or decentralization, which is disputed among professional administrators and local politicians and officials.

Two subtopics of management, decision making and leadership, are dealt with in all editions. Decision making as relevant to policy is considered as central in management function. According to the authors, administrative decision making is not likely to be based on a complete rationality because of its political context. On the other hand, some subtopics sporadically come into sight; for instance, communications and public relations in the 1965 and 1973 editions, control in the 1965 edition, and program evaluation in the 1984 edition. While developing public attitudes toward administration is vital, according to the authors, executive privilege in confidential information and documents is contentious between the president and Congress. As control is defined as "the process which assures that individuals are meeting their responsibilities in the organization," the subtopic signifies management control for policies and administrative activities (1965, 209). While indicating a growing attention to program evaluation, the authors viewed it as vital to administrative process to achieve effectiveness.

The subtopics of personnel administration encompasses the civil service system, recruitment, training, promotion, and employee relations, but the topic is given less

attention in the 1984 edition as compared to previous editions. Throughout the editions, a career service in government is compared with that in business, while the former is found to have poorer pay and efficiency than the latter. The development of the personnel system and employee relations receives considerable attention, whereas the last edition introduces and emphasizes equal employment and ethnic minorities and women.

The major subtopics of financial administration are budgeting, the budgetary procedure, and fiscal organization and management. Two budgeting systems, planning-programming budgeting (PPB) and zero-base budgeting (ZBB), are described and discussed. As the executive and legislative roles in the budgetary process are outlined, so is the integrating role of the finance agency. Fiscal management includes accounting, purchasing, and auditing.

The topic of administrative responsibility illustrates abusive power and administrative and legal remedies. Of particular significance is the legislative control, which includes investigations, budget appropriation, caseworks, and appointments, and those methods are evaluated and discussed. The 1973 and 1984 editions introduce the ombudsman, who is appointed to investigate citizen grievances against administrative agencies. The 1984 edition deals with administrative ethics in the topic of value rather than administrative responsibility, mentioning the Watergate scandal.

The textbooks have three special types of administration: international administration in the 1965 and 1973 editions and legislative and judicial administration in the 1984 edition. While signifying the world community, international administration focuses on overseas personnel and personnel policy. Legislative and judicial

administration deals with problems, organization, personnel, and management within the branches.

The 1984 edition provides several new topics: policy analysis, administrative rules, and politics. While indicating a growing interest in policy analysis, the authors defined it as “the examination and improvement of the policy-making process itself, as well as the evaluation of policy choice and outcomes” (1984, 18). The topic signifies career civil servants’ policymaking while rejecting the politics/policy-administration dichotomy. Moreover, according to the authors, it becomes the main area of future research in public administration. The topic of politics is composed of some subjects, such as the control over the bureaucracy, the politics of organization, and case studies, and discusses the political struggles among elected officials, political appointees, and career civil servants over administrative agencies and programs. As administrative rule is defined as “any agency statement of general applicability and future effect designed to implement, interpret, or prescribe law or policy,” the topic contains administrative rule-making and adjudication, judicial review, and the regulatory commissions (1984, 69).

Like the previous textbooks, Nigro and Nigro’s textbooks present the connection between PA topics and concepts. The definition of public administration and its relevant concepts mostly appear in the study and the environment, culture, and value of public administration through the editions. The topic of politics deals with the politics/policy-administration dichotomy seriously. Whereas the public-private comparison is considerably discussed in personnel administration, the legislative-administrative relationship is illustrated in administrative responsibility.

5.6. Starling's 1977, 1986, 1998, and 2005 Editions

As Table 5.5 shows, PA topics in Starling's textbooks generally include the study, politics, intergovernmental relations, administrative responsibility, management and organization, financial management, and human resource management, while information as a topic surfaces in the last two editions.

Table 5.5: The Proportion of PA Topics in Starling's Textbooks (percentage)

Edition	Study	Politics	Intergovernmental relations	Responsibility and ethics	Management and organization	Financial management	Human resources management	Information technology	Conclusion	Total
1977	4	8	7	8	38	16	13		7	101
1986	6	8	7	9	42	10	11		8	101
1998	8	8	8	9	42	8	8	8		99
2005	9	10	7	9	39	8	9	8		99

Whereas those topics, except the study in the 1977 edition, are assembled under four parts: *the environment of public administration* and *program*, *financial*, and *personnel management*, the topics in the other editions are rearranged under three parts: *political*, *program*, and *resources management*. Political management includes the politics of administration, intergovernmental relations, and administrative responsibility. Program management contains planning, decision making, and some organizational subjects. Resources management includes financial administration, human resource management, and organizational behavior, which is replaced with information technology in the last

two editions. The major topic is management and organization, covering about two thirds of the textbook.

The topic of the study delineates the nature and scope of the field, and the roles, activities, and skills of public administrators with some examples. In particular, Starling noted that public administrators are necessary to play multiple roles in order to cope with political, social, and economic problems of society.

The politics of administration is assigned as the second chapter in all the editions and maintains its themes and contents, although its title changes to “The Political-Legal Environment of Administration” in the last edition. The topic begins with the discussion and rejection of the politics-administration dichotomy and underlines that administrative activities are political by formulating policies; interacting the legislators, interest groups, and elected and appointed officials; and pursuing administrative goals and programs and mobilizing support for them. Therefore, the author argued that political strategies, along with management techniques, are indispensable to administration.

The topic of intergovernmental relations (IGR) outlines the federal system and the evolution of and managerial application on IGR. The 1998 edition discusses the NPM practices, such as the practice of contracting-out, privatization, and public-private collaboration of governmental services, while introducing their applications on the different levels of government. The subjects move to program management in the 2005 edition.

Administrative responsibility emphasizes that the administrator has to be accountable, responsive, and competent. In other words, professional administration is

subject to the control of the courts and the public, which use judicial review and citizen participation, respectively. Since the 1986 edition, the authors argued that ethical guidelines help the administrator make sound decisions and judgments.

Organization subtopics are mostly incorporated into program and human resources management, while the term *organizing* instead of *organization* is used. Organizing is defined as "the grouping of activities necessary to attain objectives, the assignment of each grouping to a manager with authority to supervise it, and the provision for horizontal and vertical coordination in the agency structure" (1977, 171). Organizational behavior is discussed within personnel management in the 1977 edition, becomes one of resources management in the 1986 edition, and is dropped out in the last two editions. The author argued that organization is not separated from, but rather connected with, management functions or policy. As a result, organizational structure and design are dealt with under program management in the 1977 edition and merged into a new title, "Organizing," in the rest. Leadership is one of the program management subtopics in the 1998 edition and is incorporated into organizing in the 2005 edition. Interestingly, organizational culture is discussed within human resources management, while it is considered greatly important to the success of an organization. The author also indicated that a hierarchical bureaucratic structure generates adverse circumstances.

Program management receives considerable attention and proportion. The major subtopics are planning, decision making, organizing, and implementing and evaluating, which is integrated into decision making in the last edition. The term *productivity improvement* appears alongside organizational design in the 1977 edition, while

emphasizing the efficiency of governmental activities. Throughout the editions, planning and program implementation and evaluation are viewed as essential to public administration, while they are closely associated with policy. Starling viewed policy as the level of goal, plan as that of objective, and program as that of action. In this sense, planning "shapes the whole field of public administration…determines the limits of government responsibility, the allocation of resources and the distribution of costs, the division of labor, and the extent of public controls" (1977, 123); moreover it launches governmental programs. According to the author, it is needed to pay great attention to implementation during the policy development, since program evaluation has been important in the late 1970s. The 2005 edition underlines the practice of contracting-out, privatization, and public-private collaboration of governmental services, while those subjects are introduced in the concluding chapter in the 1986 edition and discussed in the topic of intergovernmental relations in the 1998 edition. Those practices intend to decrease governmental cost and simultaneously increase governmental outcomes. In this sense, privatization is defined as "the act of reducing the role of government, or increasing the role of the private sector, in an activity or in the ownership of assets" (2005, 410).

The major subtopics of financial management are fiscal policy and the budgetary process. The budgetary process between the executive and legislative branch is outlined and discussed. At the same time, the author argued that the main issues of budget simultaneously correspond to those of politics. The 1998 and 2005 editions contain the subtopic of taxation, while the 2005 edition introduces some problems in public finance, such as uncontrolled expenditures and budget deficit.

The topic of *human resource management* encloses both traditional subtopics, such as the personnel system and employee relations, but also organizational subtopics, such as leadership and organizational culture. The author used the topic title instead of personnel management since the 1986 edition while considering employees as a resource of public administration. The traditional subjects, such as recruitment, classification, and compensation, are treated less than contemporary concerns about personnel. For instance, the 1977 edition introduces worker participation in management, job redesign, equal employment opportunity, and affirmative action, while the last two intend to increase employment of minorities and women. The edition deals with leadership and organizational development, which later move to the topic of organization and management. The rest considerably treat organizational culture and the legal environment. Organizational culture is defined as "the predominant value system of an organization" to encourage "a sense of unity and common purpose" (1986, 464). The legal environment of personnel, such as legislative laws and court cases relevant to labor relations and affirmative action, becomes more important than before. The significant influence of the behavioral approach on human resources is also discussed in the first two editions. In the last edition, the author argued that the increased professionalization in administration leads to reviving the politics-administration debate.

Information technology is a new topic in the last two editions. While signifying the information revolution on the public sector, the author underlined learning organization and knowledge management that lead to improving governmental services and productivity. Knowledge management is defined as "the efforts to systematically

find, organize, and make available an organization's intellectual capital and to foster a culture of knowledge sharing so that an organization's activities build on what is already known" (2005, 594). With regard to the topic, the author claimed that September 11, 2001 resulted from "a lack of good information" (2005, 566).

5.7. Gordon and Milakovich's 1978, 1986, 1998, and 2007 Editions

As Table 5.6 shows, the major topics of Gordon and Milakovich's textbooks are the study, values, democracy, bureaucracy, intergovernmental relations, management and organization, personnel administration, government budgeting, regulation, and policy, and the proportions of those topics are generally constant with the exception of some changes in arranging the topics and renaming part titles. In the first two editions, the topics of bureaucracy, the chief executive and bureaucratic leadership, and intergovernmental relations are under a part entitled "The Political Setting of Public Administration." The topic of the chief executive and bureaucratic leadership moves into the topic of organization and management in the last two editions. Bureaucracy is incorporated into the topic of value and democracy in the 2007 edition, in which performance management appears. Organization and management is under a part entitled "Dynamics of Organization," which is replaced with another title "Managing and Leading Public Organizations" in the 1998 and 2007 editions. The part title "Administrative Processes," which includes personnel, budgeting, policies, and regulation, changes to "Core Functions of Public Management" in the last two editions.

Table 5.6: The Proportion of PA Topics in Gordon and Milakovich's Textbooks (percentage)

Edition	Study	Value	Value, democracy, and bureaucracy	Bureaucracy	Intergovernmental relations	Organization and management	Personnel administration	Government budgeting	Regulation and law	Policy	Democracy	Performance management	Conclusion	Total
1978	7	5		14	9	17	9	10	8	9	7		5	100
1986	5	4		12	8	20	15	9	7	8	6		5	99
1998	6	4		12	8	21	11	9	8	9	5		6	99
2007	8		10		8	24	10	9	9	7		8	6	99

The topics of the study and value/democracy introduce the nature and context of public administration. The study delineates the field, government structure, policymaking, and bureaucracy. The topic of *value* outlines political, administrative, and democratic values and social changes while highlighting the conflicts among them. In the first three editions, the chapter of *value* is separated from that of *democracy*, which is positioned just before a concluding chapter. The former centers on the politics-administration dichotomy, whereas the latter outlines and discusses accountability and the public-administrative relationship. The two are merged into one chapter in the last edition, absorbing the topic of bureaucracy. The authors contrasted politics and democracy with administrative values, such as administrative efficiency, political neutrality, and professional competence, while acknowledging the dichotomy as unrealistic. The textbooks signify political and democratic values of representativeness and mention a growing citizen participation movement in administrative decision

making and programs since the 1960s. The authors concluded that administration is necessary for democracy.

Bureaucracy includes bureaucratic power and politics, the chief executive and bureaucratic leadership, and political accountability. According to the authors, while bureaucratic power comes from expertise and political support, bureaucrats act as politicians and build the subsystem politics with the legislators and interest groups to pursue their own goals and programs. As a result, bureaucratic power is contrasted with political accountability, while administration is responsible for the public, interest groups, the courts, the legislature, and the chief executive. At the same time, the authors underlined the role and power of the chief executive over bureaucrats. The relationships between bureaucrats and the elected and appointed officials are extensively discussed in the first two editions. The topic is integrated into value and democracy in the last edition.

The topic of intergovernmental relations, including federalism, is dealt with under the political setting of public administration. Its contents are constant throughout the editions. Both formal settings and informal interactions are outlined, while the latter is more emphasized than the former.

The subtopics of organization and management are assembled together under a part entitled “Dynamics of Organization” in the first two editions and “Managing and Leading Public Organizations” in the rest, and change a little across the editions. The subtopics include organization theory, decision making, and administrative leadership in the first edition. Throughout the editions, the authors considered decision making the center of public administration; that is, human behavior in administrative organizations.

Not only the rationality but also the political context of decision making is discussed, while ethical questions are added in the last edition. Administrative leadership is delineated with various subjects, such as directing, motivating, integrating, innovating, and managing. The description and debates about centralization and decentralization, communication and coordination, line and staff functions, and bureaucratic hierarchy are added since the 1986 edition. Whereas the first three editions contain government productivity within the topic of policy, the last edition holds performance management as a separated topic from policy while presenting it as an emerging salient topic. Performance management includes government productivity, performance measurement, citizen relationship, and e-government, which is found as a growing subject. The last two editions pay considerable attention to the practices of the New Public Management, such as market-based reforms, privatization of governmental services, customer services, and result-oriented performance, while they introduced the New Public Service that focuses on citizenship, accountability, and the public interest.

The contents of personnel administration are somewhat consistent through the editions, except for a couple of minor changes. First, the sections of the labor-management relations and collective bargaining appear as a chapter in the 1986 edition. Second, the term *human resource development* is added to the topic title since the 1998 edition. The authors noted that personnel policy is associated with other administrative functions, and that both merit and patronage overlap in practice of personnel. While upholding the political neutrality and administrative competence of governmental employees, they signified the Civil Service Act of 1978, affirmative action programs, and demographic representativeness in personnel. The emphasis of the personnel

system moves from traditional subjects, such as recruitment, classification, compensation, and promotion, toward contemporary subjects, such as employment opportunity, counseling, and legal constraints. The authors presented both appreciation for and concern about the widespread professionalism in public administration.

Financial management outlines government budget and its process. Government budgets entail both political and administrative aspects. In other words, government budgets are "financial intents" embodying "political priorities" of policy makers and controlling instruments of administrative agencies and programs (1978, 270). The budgetary process is illustrated as fragmented among governmental institutions and actors. According to the authors, the legislature maintains its control over budget through budgetary authorization and appropriation, while the executive budget becomes important.

The subtopics of government regulation include the rise of government regulations, the independence of regulatory agencies, and the politics of regulation. Despite their status, independent regulatory agencies are not completely independent from Congress and the president; in addition, they are influenced by the interests of industries. The authors distinguished new, social regulations from old, economic regulations in the last two editions, while acknowledging the growth of the former. As administrative law is added to its chapter title in the last two editions, the court-administration relationship is discussed.

Policy, as an administrative process or function, is viewed as broad "intentions and results of governmental activity" (1978, 355). The topic encloses the policymaking process, planning and analysis, program implementation and evaluation, and

government productivity. The authors distinguished planning for organizational goals from policy analysis for alternative policy options. The policy process is illustrated as competitive, fragmented, incremental, and specialized. According to the authors, career civil servants play a major role in the process, although their quasi-legislative power is delegated by the legislature. Moreover, the authors indicated that administrative programs are often evaluated by political factors with a value-loaded justification. Government productivity is dealt with significantly in the topic of policy in the first three editions. Along with the subject, performance measurement becomes important to public administration, while its limits in government are discussed. The 1998 edition introduces new, growing administrative and political demands for market-based reforms, such as privatization, result-oriented performance, and customer satisfaction, and these subjects, alongside government productivity and performance measurement, are reassembled as a chapter entitled "Performance Management in the Public Sector" in the last edition.

PA concepts are extensively discussed under some topics. The amateur/political appointee-administrative relationship is the major theme in bureaucracy, while the topic also mentions the politics/policy-administration dichotomy and the legislative-administrative relationship. The politics/policy-administration dichotomy, the public-administrative relationship, and the legislative-administrative relationship receive considerable attention in the topics of value, democracy, and financial management, respectively.

5.8. Rosenbloom and Kravchuk's 1986, 1998, and 2005 Editions

As Table 5.7 shows, each of their textbooks is composed of 12 topics: the study, development and environment, intergovernmental relations, organization, personnel management, budgeting and finance, decision making, policy analysis/implementation/evaluation, regulatory administration, public relations, democratic constitutionalism, and administrative accountability and ethics.

Table 5.7: The Proportion of PA Topics in Rosenbloom and Kravchuk's Textbooks (percentage)

Edition	Study	Development and environment	Intergovernmental relations	Organization	Personnel management	Budgeting and finance	Decision making	Policy analysis/implementation/evaluation	Regulatory administration	Public relations	Democratic constitutionalism	Accountability and ethics	Conclusion	Total
1986	6	10	7	12	12	9	6	6	8	8	7	6	3	100
1998	7	10	7	12	12	9	7	8	8	7	6	6	2	101
2005	7	10	8	11	10	10	7	7	8	7	7	6	2	100

These topics are described and discussed in terms of the authors' three approaches to public administration: managerial, political, and legal. Among the topics, organization, personnel management, budgeting and finance, decision making, and policy analysis/implementation/evaluation are considered core functions, although the last topic in the 2005 edition moves to a part entitled "The Convergence of Management, Politics, and Law in the Public Sector." The last three topics of public relations, democratic constitutionalism, and administrative accountability and ethics deal with the

relationships between public administration and the public. The major contents persist through the editions, while each topic receives similar attention more or less.

In the topic of the study, the authors underlined *the public* in public administration and introduced the managerial, political, and legal approach. The public in the textbooks is a broad term including the public interest, constitutions, sovereignty, and the market. The managerial approach is divided into the traditional one and the New Public Management (NPM) in the 1998 edition. According to the authors, the traditional managerial approach focuses on maximizing the 3Es (economy, efficiency and effectiveness); the NPM relies on market-oriented principles, seeks for reforms toward privatization, and improves governmental performance through result-oriented activities; the political approach centers on political process and policymaking, stressing political responsiveness, accountability, and representativeness; and the legal approach underlines procedural due process, individual rights, and equity, and uses administrative adjudication. In the 1998 edition, a new section entitled "Cognitive Approach" outlines three types of PA knowledge corresponding to the three approaches. The authors outline and underline the rational and scientific methods of the managerial approach, public opinion and political debates and agreements of the political approach, and adjudicatory methods and case analysis of the legal approach.

The topic of development and environment presents the growth of administrative state and the consequential reaction of other political institutions. According to the authors, public administration expands its role and power in all managerial, political, and legal realms by means of expertise, rule-making power, policy formulation and specialization, and administrative adjudication. At the same time, such a growth of

administrative state raises political responses. In other words, political actors, including the chief executive, the legislators, the courts, political appointees, interest groups, the public, and political parties, also develop their control over and intervention in administrative structures, processes, and activities, while interacting with career civil servants.

The topic of intergovernmental relations demonstrates the structures and interrelations among governments in terms of the three approaches. For example, federalism, or the division of political authority, stands for the political approach of intergovernmental relations, while administrative decentralization and uniformity represents the managerial and legal approaches, respectively. The topic also includes federal and state regulations, fiscal federalism, interstate relations, and local governments.

Organization includes organization theories, the application of the three approaches, and participatory organization. An organization is defined as "coordinat[ing] human activity" and aims to achieve certain goals (1998, 142). The topic begins with introducing and describing bureaucracy, leadership, motivation, scientific management, and the human relations and contemporary approaches. According to the authors, the managerial approach centers on the 3Es of administrative organizations; the political one underlines pluralism, autonomy, decentralization, representation, and the legislative connection; and the legal one emphasizes the independent legal function, such as adjudicatory processes and activities. Citizen participation is viewed as representing advocacy, while employee participation within administrative organizations is also encouraged. The authors argued that such

participatory organization is necessary for democracy. The market-based model influenced by the NPM is discussed in the 1998 and 2005 editions.

Personnel administration outlines the development of the personnel system in terms of the three approaches. Each developmental stage of the personnel system represents a distinct approach: the managerial approach in, to use Mosher's characterization, the gentlemen era (1789-1829), the political approach in the spoils system, and the legal approach in the reform movement. According to the authors, the managerial approach seeks the 3Es in the personnel system and process; the NPM approach adopts business-like personnel; the political approach underlines responsiveness and representativeness of government employees; and the legal approach guarantees the constitutional rights and collective bargaining of governmental employees and equal employment opportunity. The textbooks also pay ample attention to the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978.

The topic of budgeting and finance begins with a description of government budgets and the budgetary process. The authors describe the growth of budget is mentioned, as well as the legislative control and appropriations. The topic's subjects are illustrated in terms of the three approaches. For instance, the planning-programming-budgeting system (PPBS) and zero-base budgeting (ZBB) are the application of the managerial approach, which intends to control revenue and expenditure. In contrast, the political approach underlines representation and consensus in the budgetary process and instrumentalism through building coalition and allocating funds, while the legal approach protects constitutional rights in budgeting and finance.

Decision making, as a core function of public administration, is defined as "the choice from among competing alternatives of the ends and means that an administrative program or organization will pursue and employ" (1986, 282). Like other topics, the topic's subjects are arranged in terms of the three approaches. For instance, the managerial approach outlines rationalization, specialization, formalization, and hierarchy of decision making, while the advantages and limits of the rational model are discussed. Market criteria and employee empowerment are emphasized for the NPM approach. Public participation, along with a pluralistic political community, is discussed in terms of the political approach, while adjudicatory procedure is for the legal approach.

The topic of policy analysis/implementation/evaluation is one of the core functions in the first two editions. As public administrators are involved in policy making, the topic becomes indispensable to public administration. In the 1970s, moreover, some political requirements and administrative techniques made policy analysis feasible (1986, 314). The authors distinguished policy analysis dealing with the impact of policy from policy evaluation focusing on appropriateness of implementation (1986, 321). In the last edition, however, the topic is rearranged as one of two chapters within "Part III: The Convergence of Management, Politics, and Law in the Public Sector," which already contains regulatory administration. The shift reflects that the topic becomes not only a junction of the three approaches but also a connection between public administration and its society.

Regulatory administration is an important topic in the textbooks because of the growth of social and economic regulations, the relevance to the individuals and society,

and the exemplary case of applying the three approaches. The authors noted that throughout governmental regulations, administrative power and activity directly penetrate into the individual lives and social and economic spheres. An independent commission under the executive branch is described as a common type of regulatory agency, while it is somewhat independent from elected officials and holds all legislative, executive, and legal authority. However, according to the authors, as regulatory administration is criticized for its expensive cost, adverse effects, incompetence, and corruption, the demand for deregulation increases. In this sense, the problems of regulatory agencies correspond to those of public administration (1986, 344). The authors underlined that regulatory administration is a congregating and clashing area of the three approaches: 3Es of the traditional managerial approach; customer service and satisfaction of the NPM approach; the fair procedure and result and the individual rights of the legal approach; and the public interest and the constituencies of the political approach.

The topic of the public deals with the interaction between the public and public administration. The authors indicated a growing attention to the public and argued to bring it back to public administration. According to the authors, conflicts frequently arise between administration and the public, who act as *clients*, *regulatees*, *participants*, or as *litigants*, and in *street-level encounters* (1986, 386-388). The public's inconsistent appraisal of public administration is also discussed. Treating the public varies across the three approaches. According to the authors, the traditional managerial and NPM approaches view the public as cases and customers, respectively; the legal approach

focuses on how to protect the public against an arbitrary and prejudiced administration; and the political approach underlines administrative accountability to the public.

Under the heading of American constitutionalism the authors discuss constitutional values, such as legitimacy, liberty, property rights, procedural due process, and equity. While acknowledging the tensions between public administration and democratic constitutionalism, the authors argued that a partnership between the two is necessary, and that public administrators have to be aware of constitutional values and the laws that emanate from them. The three approaches are not applied to the topic.

The last topic of the textbooks is accountability and ethics, with the latter regarded as "a form of self-accountability" (1986, 454). Three cases of administrative violation, such as misconception of the public interest, corruption, and subversion, are illustrated. The preferred control method over administration varies across the three approaches: the external control over employees and the internal control over administrative agencies for the managerial approach, the internal control for the legal approach, and the external approach for the political approach.

5.9. Shafritz, Russell, and Borick's 1997 and 2007 Editions

Each of their textbooks contains nine topics: the study, politics and policy, reinventing government, intergovernmental relations, management and organization, personnel management, financial management, social equity, and ethics and accountability. The attention to and contents of the topics are almost the same in both editions, except for a minor change that accountability moves from the topic of management and organization in the 1997 edition to that of ethics in the 2007 edition.

The two major topics are management and organization and financial management, covering about a half of the textbook.

Table 5.8: The Proportion of PA Topics in Shafritz, Russell, and Borick's Textbooks (percentage)

Edition	Study	Politics and policy	Reinventing government	Intergovernmental relations	Management and organization	Personnel management	Financial management	Social equity	Ethics and accountability	Total
1997	7	7	8	7	34	9	16	6	7	101
2007	7	8	9	8	33	8	13	7	7	100

In the topic of the study, the field is outlined with its definition and evolution. The definition is illustrated in terms of four aspects of public administration: political, legal, managerial, and occupational.

The topic of politics and policy includes public policy, the policymaking process, administrative power, and organizational cultures. The topic underlines that public administration is not only subject to politics but is also political itself. Policy is regarded as a direction, or "the totality of the decisional processes" (1997, 56). The authors noted that program implementation and evaluation become important for administrative activities, and that governmental programs are evaluated by the executive and legislative branches, and sometimes by the courts. Administrative power is illustrated in terms of both its internal relations within administrative agencies and external relationships among government agencies, interest groups, and the legislative

committees. Both social and organizational features are discussed for the culture of public organizations.

Reinventing government is dealt with considerably as a separate topic from organization or management. The subtopics include administrative structure, state and local governments, and reorganization and privatization. The authors acknowledged that reform movements, along with other NPM practices aiming at efficiency and effectiveness, have become prevalent since the 1990s, although reorganization is a persistent issue. The main force for reorganizing government in the contemporary era is privatization to increase productivity. The authors also indicated the political and ideological context of privatization, such as a progressive movement and a conservative ideology aiming to reduce government expenditures.

The topic of intergovernmental relations includes the federal system, dynamic relations, management, fiscal federalism, and decentralization. The topic begins with describing the development and status of the federal system. The authors argued that financial arrangement is the most important issue in intergovernmental relations. While the dynamic relations among governments are outlined, the critical subject matter is intergovernmental management for implementation, coordination, and accountability. With regard to this theme, a section on the war on terrorism is added in the 2007 edition. The topic ends with the discussion about the political and managerial movement toward decentralization since the 1980s.

Organization and management are integrated into one topic. The topic begins with a subject about the evolution of public management and organization theory. An organization is defined as “a group of people who jointly work to achieve at least one

common goal" (1997, 201), and all organizations are guided by managerial principles, which delineate the attributes and values of personal and organizational work (1997, 191-192). In addition, two other subtopics relevant to organization are leadership/accountability and organizational behavior. The authors mentioned bureaucrat bashing in the contemporary era and introduced alternative perspectives, such as the post-bureaucratic organization and the feminist approaches. Unlike the other authors, the authors distinguished leadership from management. Leadership is viewed as the exercise of authority in directing and coordinating the work of others, whereas management involves power (1997, 361-362). Administrative accountability is emphasized for democracy and morality, while the legislative oversight and the legal constraints are discussed. This subtopic is integrated into the topic of ethics in the 2007 edition.

The topic of organization and management also includes the New Public Management (NPM) and its practices. According to the authors, NPM is a revival of the traditional progressive movement, the former, as market-like management focusing on production, competition, and customer service, is more ambitious than the latter. NPM practices are illustrated in two chapters: "Managerialism and Performance Management" and "Strategic Management in the Public Sector." The former includes the NPM themes and practices, such as managerialism, empowerment, reengineering, contracting and privatization, and productivity improvement. However, the authors indicated the limited application of private sector principles and methods on government, because of the political context and the difficulties in measuring performance or productivity in government. This point is reassured in the subtopic of

strategic management. According to the authors, strategic management of government is behind that of the private sector because of laws and public policy. These points indicate that public management, unlike private management, focuses on political goals, elections, and the public as a whole.

Personnel management contains the personnel system, the civil service reform, patronage appointments, and labor relations. The traditional subtopics, such as recruitment, compensation, training, and discipline, are briefly described. Personnel administration is distinguished from personnel management, although they are interchangeable. Personnel administration is concerned with technical aspects of employment, whereas personnel management deals with the matters of human resources (1997, 398). The authors noted that the issues of personnel management are political neutrality, competence, the executive leadership, political accountability, and representativeness. Patronage appointments are illustrated as carrying out favorable policies and continuing political control. The authors discussed the application of the private sector model on governmental personnel. For instance, personnel management is affected by the reinventing government movement in the sense that some public functions may be privatized or contracted out. At the same time, they pointed out the difference between the methods of the private sector and those of the public sector in labor relations, such as collective bargaining and strike.

The topic of social equity is dealt with in terms of legal status and personnel management, while the latter receives more attention than the former. It begins with discussions about racism and legal equality and then describes equal employment opportunity in personnel management. With regard to equality, the New Public

Administration is mentioned as the advocate for social equity. The authors indicated that equal employment opportunity, along with civil rights legislation, intends to improve employment procedures and practices by eliminating discrimination based on race, sex, age, and disability, and that both equal employment opportunity and affirmative action programs aim to achieve a representative bureaucracy.

Financial management includes budget, contemporary budget reforms, public debt, local government, economic policy, auditing, accounting, and program evaluation. The authors presented four instrumental types of the public budget: *a political instrument* for allocating public resources, *a managerial instrument* for providing public programs and services, *an economic instrument* for economic policies, and *an accounting instrument* for bookkeeping and auditing (1997, 496-497). While the budget, public debt and taxes are viewed as hot political issues, an ongoing tug-of-war between the legislative and executive branches and the latter's initiative in the budgetary process are underlined. Program evaluation, juxtaposed with auditing, is discussed within the topic, whereas it is mostly assembled within the topic of policy or management in other textbooks.

The topic of ethics, which includes accountability in the later edition, contains corruption, conflicts of responsibilities, whistle blowing, and ethical codes. This topic is the last chapter in the 1997 edition, but moves to the fifth one in the 2007 edition. Honor and personal morality of governmental employees are first underlined, and then professional, organizational, and social ethics are discussed. According to the authors, governmental employees are faced with conflicting responsibilities for diverse stakeholders, while whistle-blowing is viewed as a personal obligation to society.

5.10. The Topics of Public Administration from the 1920s to the 2000s

As continuity and change in PA topics can be found under the same authorship, so they are across the 28 introductory textbooks. This section will review the evolution of PA topics between the 1920s and the 2000s. Some observations will be presented and followed by quantitative and qualitative analyses of the topics.

Three observations are apparent in PA topics in introductory textbooks. First, the topics of the textbooks are generally divided into three major divisions: the discipline, functions, and environments of public administration. Attention for the nature of the discipline is mostly addressed in terms of the topics of the study and administrative history. Public administration's functions include organization/management, personnel management, budget/financial management, and administrative law and regulation. The environments address the political and institutional settings of and their influence and authority on public administration and include the topics of bureaucracy, administrative accountability, ethics, and the public relations. The topics of public policy and intergovernmental relations can belong to either the political setting or function of public administration. Second, PA topics are classified as three types: compound, singular, and hybrid. Compound topics contain subtopics, whereas singular topics do not. Hybrid topics have characteristics of the two types. Compound topics are organization, management, personnel management, and financial management. Each of these topics has several subtopics, and they are mostly considered as core functions of PA. Singular topics can be divided into two groups: small or new. For instance, the topic of the nature of the study fits in the former, whereas those of information technology, policy analysis, and reinventing government belong to the latter. Hybrid

Table 5.9: PA Topics under Authorship from the 1920s to the 2000s (percentage)

Author	The study	History, society, & environment	Value & democracy	Bureaucracy, politics, & policy	Policy analysis	Intergovernmental relations	Organization & management	Financial management	Personnel management	Administrative law and regulation	Control, accountability, & ethics	Public relations	Special administration
White*1926*	5	6				5	27		40	4	9		
White*1939*	3	3				10	18	13	32	16	6		
White*1948*	2	2				7	30	11	30	13	5		
White*1955*	2	2				7	31	16	30	6	5		
Pfiffner*1935*	4					3	20	20	24	17		11	
Pfiffner*1946*	7					3	27	15	20	16		12	
Pfiffner*1953*	6			4			32	15	20	14	10		
Pfiffner*1967*	7			9			30	14	17	15	8		
Pfiffner*1975*	2			24			10	19	27		17		
Dimock*1953*	4			15			27	8	22	7	5	11	
Dimock*1964*	5	11		4			41	4	13	4	6	11	
Dimock*1983*	7			8		8	42	15	13	4	2		
Nigro*1965*	5	6	5			5	35	13	18		7		7
Nigro*1973*	5	5	9			6	32	13	16		8		6
Nigro*1984*	4		6	15	6	5	24	10	9	5	5		12
Starling*1977*	4			8		7	38	16	13		8		
Starling*1986*	6			8		7	42	10	11		9		
Starling*1998*	8			8		8	50	8	8		9		
Starling*2005*	9			10		7	47	8	9		9		
Gordon*1978*	7		5	14	9	9	17	10	9	8	7		
Gordon*1986*	5		4	12	8	8	20	9	15	7	6		
Gordon*1998*	6		4	12	9	8	21	9	11	8	5		
Gordon*2007*	8		10		7	8	32	9	10	9			
Rosenbloom*1986*	6	10	7		6	7	18	9	12	8	6	8	
Rosenbloom*1998*	7	10	6		8	7	19	9	12	8	6	7	
Rosenbloom*2005*	7	10	7		7	8	18	10	10	8	6	7	
Shafritz*1997*	7			7		7	42	16	15		7		
Shafritz*2007*	7			8		8	42	13	15		7		

* A proportion of conclusion is excluded. Some adjustments have been made: Pfiffner's (1975) community participation is integrated into organization; Nigro's (1984) ethics into value/democracy; Starling's (1998; 2005) information technology into management; Gordon's (2007) performance into management; Gordon's (2007) bureaucracy into value/democracy; Rosenbloom's decision making into management; Shafritz's social equity into personnel management; Shafritz's reinventing government into management; Nigro's (1965, 1973) international administration and into special administration; Nigro's (1984) legislative and judicial administration into special administration.

topics include politics, policy and administrative law and regulation. The size of these topics varies across authors and over time. Third, some chapters have more than one topic. This is the case, for instance, with the topic of administrative ethics, which is integrated into either that of accountability or values. Such a case will be detailed below.

Although there are individual topics across 28 textbooks, some individual topics share similar contents despite different topic names. As Table 5.9 shows, those individual topics are grouped in 13 topics for the purpose of analysis: the study, history/society/institutional environment, value/democracy, bureaucracy/politics/policy, policy analysis, intergovernmental relations, organization/management, financial management, personnel management, administrative law/regulation, administrative control/accountability/ethics, public relations, and special administration. These topics mostly cover the necessary components of PA. For instance, Caiden et al. (1983) present "25 genetic constituents" of the field (xiv-xv), and as Table 5.10 shows, the 13 topics of introductory textbooks deal with 21 components, address 3, and miss 1.

Table 5.10: The Correspondence between Caiden et al.'s 25 Genetic Constituents of PA (left column) and PA Topics in Introductory Textbooks

	Caiden et al.'s 25 Genetic Constituents	PA Topics in Introductory Textbooks
1	the ideological roots of public institutions including social contract, federalism, separation of powers, representative government, civil rights	the study, intergovernmental relations, history/society/ environment, personnel management
2	theories of public administration: administrative norms	the study, value/democracy
3	contextual influences on public administration	the study, value/democracy history/society/environment,
4	the role of public administration in society	the study, value/democracy, public relations, control/accountability/ethics
5	the functions of administration	organization/management, personnel management, financial management, policy analysis

6	the history of the public sector	history/society/environment
7	institutional arrangements of public service delivery, forms and structures, administrative organization	organization/management, law/regulation
8	public and administrative law, public controls, and administrative discretion	law/regulation, control/accountability/ethics
9	behavior of government organizations and public officials, codes of conduct	organization/management, bureaucracy/politics/policy, control/accountability/ethics
10	relationships between public organizations and between them and other social organizations	organization/management, public relations, history/society/environment
11	relations between public officials and the people	public relations
12	citizens' images and opinions of the public sector and officials' attitudes toward the public	public relations, control/accountability/ethics
13	public sector productivity and performance measurement and evaluation	organization/management
14	public planning and forecasting	organization/management, bureaucracy/politics/policy, policy analysis
15	policy formulation and implementation	bureaucracy/politics/policy, organization/management, policy analysis
16	management of government organizations, including leadership and supervision	organization/management
17	public finance and budgeting, accounting and auditing	financial management
18	public personnel management, and labor relations	personnel management
19	professional development: education and training for civil service	personnel management
20	public enterprise	organization/management
21	comparative public administration	*
22	the anthropology and sociology of the field	**
23	biographies of civil servants	***
24	research methods	None
25	public information, accessibility	public relations, organization/management, control/accountability/ethics

* Some textbooks include comparative cases or sections; especially comparing the US to European countries (White, Pfiffner), a section on Britain in the 1935 edition of White, and a chapter on comparative administration in the 1967 edition of Pfiffner.
** Although the influence of anthropology and sociology on PA is mentioned in the chapters on the nature of the study and organization theory, they are not dealt with as separate topics in the PA textbooks analyzed.
*** The textbooks assign some pages containing brief profiles of career civil servants. Only Nigro and Nigro's 1984 textbook devote an entire chapter to a civil servant (Robert Moses, the former commissioner of the New York City parks and the former head of the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority in New York).

The 13 topics also correspond more or less to the field's research areas. As Raadschelders and Lee (2011) discuss various classifications of PA research articles (22), the category of introductory textbook topics in this thesis is positioned between the minimal classification of PA areas as used by Bowman and Hajjar (1978) and that of broad research areas such as used by Larry Terry (2005). Introductory textbooks contain the topics of history, values, and democracy, which are not included in the listing of Bowman and Hajjar (1978). The number of PA topics in this dissertation is fewer than the Terry listing. This implies that introductory textbook usually include a broader range of topics than scholarly research areas as listed in review articles.

The treatment of the 13 topics has some general tendencies, as Table 5.11 shows. For instance, permanent topics are the nature of the study and three major functions of PA (organization/management, personnel, and finance). Frequently recurring topics are administrative control/accountability/ethics, intergovernmental relations, administrative law/action/regulation, and bureaucracy/politics/policy. The bulk of an introductory textbook is mostly assigned to organization/management, finance, and personnel. The textbooks of the early authors, such as White, Pfiffner, and Dimock, have more than half of the pages devoted to those topics. Such a proportion is also found in the textbooks of Starling, Shafritz, and the 1965 and 1973 editions of Nigro. The percentage of those topics in Gordon's and Rosenbloom's textbooks and Nigro's 1984 edition is

Table 5.11: PA Topics in a Decade from the 1920s to the 2000s (percentage)

Author	The study	History, society, & environment	Value & democracy	Bureaucracy, politics, & policy	Policy analysis	Intergovernmental relations	Organization & management	Financial management	Personnel management	Administrative law and regulation	Control, accountability, & ethics	Public relations	Special administration
White*1926*	5	6				5	27		40	4	9		
Pfiffner*1935*	4					3	20	20	24	17		11	
White*1939*	3	3				10	18	13	32	16	6		
Pfiffner*1946*	7					3	27	15	20	16		12	
White*1948*	2	2				7	30	11	30	13	5		
Pfiffner*1953*	6			4			32	15	20	14	10		
Dimock*1953*	4			15			27	8	22	7	5	11	
White*1955*	2	2				7	31	16	30	6	5		
Dimock*1964*	5	11		4			41	4	13	4	6	11	
Nigro*1965*	5	6	5			5	35	13	18		7		7
Pfiffner*1967*	7			9			30	14	17	15	8		
Nigro*1973*	5	5	9			6	32	13	16		8		6
Pfiffner*1975*	2			24			10	19	27		17		
Starling*1977*	4			8		7	38	16	13		8		
Gordon*1978*	7		5	14	9	9	17	10	9	8	7		
Dimock*1983*	7			8		8	42	15	13	4	2		
Nigro*1984*	4		6	15	6	5	24	10	9	5	5		12
Starling*1986*	6			8		7	42	10	11		9		
Gordon*1986*	5		4	12	8	8	20	9	15	7	6		
Rosenbloom*1986*	6	10	7		6	7	18	9	12	8	6	8	
Shafritz*1997*	7			7		7	42	16	15		7		
Starling*1998*	8			8		8	50	8	8		9		
Gordon*1998*	6		4	12	9	8	21	9	11	8	5		
Rosenbloom*1998*	7	10	6		8	7	19	9	12	8	6	7	
Starling*2005*	9			10		7	47	8	9		9		
Rosenbloom*2005*	7	10	7		7	8	18	10	10	8	6	7	
Gordon*2007*	8		10		7	8	32	9	10	9			
Shafritz*2007*	7			8		8	42	13	15		7		

* A proportion of conclusion is excluded. Some adjustments have been made: Pfiffner's (1975) community participation is integrated into organization; Nigro's (1984) ethics into value/democracy; Starling's (1998; 2005) information technology into management; Gordon's (2007) performance into management; Gordon's (2007) bureaucracy into value/democracy; Rosenbloom's decision making into management; Shafritz's social equity into personnel management; Shafritz's reinventing government into management; Nigro's (1965, 1973) international administration and into special administration; Nigro's (1984) legislative and judicial administration into special administration.

less than half, while it is almost about half when the topic of policy analysis is added. Those findings about the major topics correspond somewhat to the trend of PA research articles in *Public Administration* Review that Raadschelders and Lee (2011) investigated for the 2000-2009 period. The treatment of the 13 topics is less stable in the early authors' textbooks than in the later ones of Starling, Gordon, Rosenbloom, and Shafritz. In later textbooks the amount of space given to the various topics does not change much.

Despite those tendencies, the treatment of individual topics varies over time and across authors. For example, the percentage of attention for the nature of the study ranges from 2 to 9, even though all textbooks have this topic. The proportion of personnel management reaches up to 40% of White's 1926 edition but dwindles down to less than 10% in Starling's 1998 edition. Likewise, the share of organization/management varies from half of Starling 1998's edition to one tenth in Pfiffner's 1975 edition, which is written only by Presthus. The treatment of financial management fluctuates less than those of organization/management and personnel management, while that of intergovernmental relations and control/accountability/ ethics alter more in the early authors' textbooks than the later authors' ones. Topic changes mostly take place in the textbooks of Pfiffner, Dimock, and Nigro that were published in the middle period from the 1950s to the 1970s.

The quantitative analysis above does not represent a comprehensive treatment of PA topics in introductory textbooks. First, the authors sometimes address the subject matter of a certain topic in different topic chapters. For instance, Pfiffner's textbooks do not contain the topics of history/society/institutional environment or value/democracy,

while these topics are addressed under other topics, such as the nature of the study and bureaucracy/politics/policy. Second, all subtopics do not always belong to the same topic. For example, Pfiffner and Presthus (1967) outlined and discussed the political role of the higher administrators within the topic of management entitled "The Functions of Administration" instead of that of politics, while juxtaposing the section with leadership and decision making and viewing political character as administrative function. Regulatory commissions and activities are delineated as a subtopic within the topic of organization in White's textbooks, whereas they are a separate topic chapter in the textbooks of Pfiffner, Gordon, and Rosenbloom. Third, some subject matters move from one topic to another. One example emerges in Dimock et al.'s textbooks. The subject of *employment relations* is addressed within a chapter of "Cooperation and Conflict" under the heading of "Getting the Job Done" in the 1953 edition. In the 1964 edition the chapter later moves to the part of "Administration and the Public." In the 1983 edition, the chapter is mostly integrated into a chapter entitled "Motivation, Morale, and Conflict," whereas its contents about employment relations are incorporated into another chapter of "Labor Relations, Affirmative Action, and Employee Political Participation." Another example surfaces in Rosenbloom's textbooks. The chapter of "Policy Analysis and Implementation Evaluation" is addressed as a core function in the first two editions and becomes one of two cases of a part entitled "The Convergence of Management, Politics, and Law in the Public Sector" in the last edition. The shift is not explained, although both regulatory administration and policy analysis/implementation/evaluation are considered as core functions in the edition (2005, xiii). Therefore, as Raadschelders and Lee (2011) mention, categories are

not always clearly defined or mutually exclusive. In this sense, qualitative analysis is necessary for examining the topics in accordance with temporal changes.

The first three topics of the study, history/society/institutional environment, and value/democracy delineate the field in terms of the nature and scope of PA, the institutional setting of government, the distinction from politics/policy and private administration, the historical and social context, and the democratic and administrative values. Until the 1950s the textbooks focus on the nature and distinction of PA, whereas the later ones since the 1970s underline the roles and policymaking of PA. The historical and social contexts including technological development are outlined in the textbooks of White and Rosenbloom, the 1964 edition of Dimock, and the 1965 and 1973 editions of Nigro. While various approaches of PA have been introduced since the 1950s, democratic and administrative values and their tensions are discussed in Nigro's and Gordon's textbooks.

The topics of bureaucracy, politics, and policy underline the political context of PA, the political character of bureaucrats, bureaucratic policymaking, and bureaucratic politics for government programs. These topics are not noticeable in White's textbooks, whereas they are treated as topic chapters in those textbooks of Dimock, Starling, Gordon, and Shafritz and the 1953, 1967, and 1975 editions of Pfiffner and the 1984 edition of Nigro. While public policy is juxtaposed with politics in the textbooks of Dimock, Nigro, Starling, and Shafritz and the 1975 edition of Pfiffner, this emphasizes the political characteristic of bureaucratic policy making. The topic of intergovernmental relations is considered either as an organizational subtopic, a politics subtopic, or a separate topic, although their content is not really dissimilar. The topic is

juxtaposed with other organization subtopics in those textbooks of White and Nigro and the 1935 and 1946 editions of Pfiffner and belongs to the politics of PA in Starling's and Gordon's textbooks and Dimock's 1983 edition, but it is separate from the two topics in the textbooks of Rosenbloom and Shafritz.

The subtopics of organization and management are either separate or intertwined. For instance, organization alone is dealt with in White's 1926 and 1939 editions; management as a separate topic is added in the 1948 edition; and management is incorporated into organization in the 1955 edition. Organization alone appears in the 1935 and 1975 editions of Pfiffner, while both topics come into view in the three middle editions, in which Pfiffner and Presthus (1953) distinguished management as a process from organization as a structure. In their 1975 edition, some management subjects are incorporated into the topic of bureaucratic policymaking. Organization is separate from management in those textbooks of Nigro and Rosenbloom, whereas the two topics are mixed in the textbooks of Dimock, Starling, Gordon, and Shafritz. In the latter, the two topics are mostly considered as program management or dynamic process of PA. Several contemporary subject matters launched by the NPM and computers emerge as separate from the topics of organization and management; *e.g.*, information technology in the 1998 and 2005 editions of Starling, performance management in the 2007 edition of Gordon, and reinventing government in the 1997 and 2007 editions of Shafritz.

The themes and contents of organization have changed. *Integration*, which is addressed and considerably discussed in the textbooks of White, Pfiffner, and Dimock, is not noticeable in the later authors' textbooks, which instead take fragmented government organizations for granted. It is important to point that early textbooks

generally work with a closed system approach when describing public organizations, while contemporary textbooks adopt a much more open system perspective as evidenced by such topics as citizen and employee participation and democratic organization. The topic of organization shrunk over time in terms of amount of attention for it. Some subtopics of the topic overlapped with management in the early textbooks, such as in White's 1955 edition and Dimock's 1953 and 1964 editions. As management developed into a broad concept equivalent to administration, the traditional area of organization has gotten smaller and been absorbed into management. Even decision making has become a new topic by taking over some organization subjects, while personnel management has usurped some organization subtopics, such as motivation and organizational culture in Starling's textbooks.

As mentioned above, the attention for management has expanded. Management subjects in the early textbooks often include a discussion of political aspects, for instance, in Pfiffner's textbooks. Planning in Dimock's textbooks originally belonged to the topic of politics by the 1960s, but was integrated into that of management in the 1980s. Policy analysis, implementation, and evaluation and government productivity emerged since the 1970s, while information technology emerged since the 1980s. As Hale (1988, 434) finds, management has become the core of administration in many textbooks by the 1980s. In addition, the NPM and its practices have been noticeable in the topic since the 1990s. For instance, the practices have been incorporated into organization and management subtopics in Starling's and Gordon's textbooks, while the NPM approach has separated from the traditional managerial approach in Rosenbloom's 1998 textbook. Moreover, the practices have been treated in a separate chapter of

Shafritz's textbooks, which began to be published in the 1990s. Although the NPM practices have been dealt with within the topic of management, they were once introduced in that of intergovernmental relations of Starling's 1998 edition. The NPM practices are often viewed as reviving the traditional management practices; *e.g.*, administrative standards and measurement to improve government first appeared within the topic of public relations in the 1935 edition of Pfiffner.

Personnel management is largely composed of traditional and contemporary subtopics. The traditional subtopics until the 1960s are composed of recruitment, classification, pay, morality, and employee relation, whereas the contemporary one include equal employment opportunity, affirmative action, job redesign, employee participation, and developmental personnel. The term *representativeness* surfaced in Pfiffner's 1953 edition and has become important theme in the topic in the contemporary era. The significant contribution of the Civil Service Act of 1978 to the contemporary subtopics is highlighted in most textbooks. In addition, human resource management, as an alternative of personnel management, has emerged in some textbooks. For instance, Starling used it instead of personnel management since the 1986 edition, and Gordon added the term *human resource development* to the topic title since the 1998 edition. In most textbooks, the personnel practices of government are often compared with those of business.

In comparison to the core topics of organization/management and personnel management, financial management subjects and themes are the most consistent in the textbooks. This topic includes financial organization and management, government budgets, and the budgetary process, but their contents vary over time by introducing

new financial techniques. The budgetary process is characterized as an ongoing tug-of-war between the executive and legislative branches. In this sense, as represented in Starling's textbooks, budgeting is a political issue. The growing concern on national and federal deficits has surfaced in the textbooks of Starling, Gordon, and Shafritz since the 1980s.

Administrative law concerns public administration's involvement in society and with people. The topic usually includes regulations, administrative rule-making, adjudication, and enforcement. It is treated at considerable length in the early textbooks. Among contemporary authors Gordon and Rosenbloom pay ample attention to it. While the early authors compared administrative law with administration, they extensively discussed administrative quasi-legislative and judicial activities. Among the contemporary authors, Rosenbloom and Shafritz have integrated the legal constituent into PA since the 1980s.

The topics of control, accountability, and ethics are presented in most textbooks, although treatment varies across authors and time. Most textbooks present the consistent demand for both control over administration by, and administrative accountability to, elected representatives and the public. Although the terms *responsibility* and *accountability* are interchangeable as a topic title, they are distinguished from each other; that is, responsibility as "a highly personal, moral quality" and accountability as "the formal or specific location of responsibility" (Pfiffner 1953, 522). The topic of administrative ethics has been evident in the textbooks of Dimock, Nigro, Starling, and Rosenbloom since the 1980s, although it was addressed earlier as a topic chapter in the

1953 edition of Pfiffner and as a subject of personnel management in the 1955 edition of White.

The topic of public relations is treated either as a separate chapter or a subchapter of other topics. The topic appears in the textbooks of the 1935 and 1946 editions of Pfiffner and the 1953 and 1964 editions of Dimock, and reemerges in the textbooks of Rosenbloom since the 1980s, while it is incorporated into a management subtopic in the 1965 and 1973 editions and a subject of legislative administration in the 1984 edition of Nigro. These findings both partially prove and disprove previous findings about the topic. Lee (1998) finds that considerable attention for public relations in the early PA textbooks between the 1920s and the 1950s has decreased or mostly disappeared in the textbooks of the 1980s and the 1990s. The textbooks examined in this dissertation are the same as those used by Lee for the early period but different for the later period. As a result, the findings in this dissertation are comparable to Lee's conclusions as far as the early textbooks are concerned. Since the 1960s, attention for this topic generally declined. However, it is discussed in Rosenbloom's textbooks since the 1980s. The topic, alongside value/democracy and accountability/ethics, is more discussed by Rosenbloom than by any other authors, while the three topics cover about one fifths of his textbooks and emphasize their innate connections with public administration.

While PA topics are often tied with PA concepts that are examined in this thesis, the attention to how they are connected varies across topics and textbooks. In general, PA concepts are treated more in the textbooks of the early authors, such as White, Pfiffner, and Dimock, than those of the later authors. Among the later textbooks, the textbooks of Nigro and Gordon comparatively more deal with PA concepts than the

rest. The topics of the study, history/society/institutional environment, and value/democracy, outline and discuss PA concepts. It is not surprising that the court-administration relationship is the main theme in the topic of administrative law in most textbooks, while the politics/policy-administration dichotomy and the legislative-administrative relationship are considerably dealt with in the topics of bureaucracy and politics. The public-private comparison in status, pay, and motivation are addressed in the topic of personnel administration. A certain concept occasionally appears in some topics. For instance, the amateur/political appointee-administrator relationship is significantly discussed in the topic of organization in those textbooks of White, the 1935 and 1946 editions of Pfiffner, and the 1953 and 1964 editions of Dimock, and reemerges in that of bureaucracy in Gordon's textbooks.

Some subjects are developed into topics. For instance, decision making appeared as one of the management subjects in Dimock's textbook in the 1950s, while the author warned that overstressing the subject makes the administrator to concern more techniques than substances of decisions (1953, 83). Since then, the subject has been treated considerably in other textbooks and reached to one of the core functions of PA in Rosenbloom's textbooks. Another example is information technology. While its impact was mentioned in the 1975 edition of Pfiffner, it has appeared as a separate chapter in the 1998 and 2005 editions of Starling. Policy analysis, alongside planning, decision making, and program implementation and evaluation, has become a topic chapter in those textbooks of Gordon, Dimock, Nigro, and Rosenbloom since the 1970s, whereas it does not appear in Starling's and Shafritz's textbooks.

Some topics and subtopics have disappeared. For instance, employee morale, as one of the personnel management subjects, is treated as a separate subtopic chapter in White's textbooks and the 1935 edition of Pfiffner, whereas it has moved to other topics and disappeared at the end. The subject is discussed in different chapters of Dimock's textbooks: "Incentives and Sanctions" in the 1953 edition, "Public Relations" in the 1964 edition, and "Motivation, Morale, and Conflict" in the 1983 edition. It is also addressed in the topic of public relations in the 1965 and 1973 editions of Nigro. Since then, the subject has not surfaced in any other textbooks.

Those changes in PA topics and subtopics reflect that the scope of disciplinary knowledge is shaped; that is, knowledge is shaped by means of developing and grouping topics. The development is divided into two ways: vertical and lateral (Raadschelders and Lee 2011, 21). The vertical development includes the growth of subtopics and contents within a topic and the emergence of new topics, whereas the lateral one means grouping and reassembling PA topics and subtopics. Examples in the vertical development include new fiscal procedures, methods, and laws in financial management, organization theories in organization, personnel laws and policies in personnel management, and management methods in management. The lateral development has often taken place in the topics of organization, management, and politics/policy.

Finally, it is necessary to deliver a couple of remarks before this section ends. Those changes in PA topics in introductory textbooks also correspond to political, economic, and social events. First, the visible emergence of administrative ethics stems from the Watergate scandal and consequent concerns and laws. National debt and

budget deficit are mentioned in a couple of textbooks since the 1990s, while most textbooks published since 2001 refer to the 9/11 tragedy. Second, although the topics changes seem to be led by new authors, it is not confirmed in this study. Noticeable changes apparently take place in the 1953 edition of Pfiffner with a new author, Presthus; the 1983 edition of Dimock and Dimock with Fox; and the 1975 edition of Pfiffner, which is written by Presthus only. On the other hand, no significant changes are found when new authors are added; for instance, the 1973 edition of Nigro with Nigro, the 1998 edition of Gordon with Milakovich, and the 2005 edition of Rosenbloom with Kravchuk.

CHAPTER SIX: THE PERSPECTIVES OF AMERICAN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

6.1. Introduction

Public administration (PA) perspectives have been studied through four different ways of classification. First, PA perspectives are classified by means of main themes and concepts that are bound to the historical context. For instance, Henry (1975) provides five paradigms in accordance with the development of PA: 1) the politics-administration dichotomy (1900-1926), 2) the principles of administration (1927-1937) with the challenge (1938-1950) and the reaction to the challenge (1947-1950), 3) PA as political science (1950-1970), 4) PA as administrative science (1956-1970), and 5) PA as PA (1970-present). Although this classification characterizes the intellectual and disciplinary development of PA, its application is limited because of its temporal nature.

Second, PA perspectives are categorized in accordance with theoretical schools. For example, McCurdy (1986) identifies four major schools of thought: the orthodox, behavioral, political, and rational school (17). Each school is generally associated with certain disciplines: the behavioral school with sociology and psychology, the political school with political science and law, the rational school with economics and business administration, and the orthodox school with all those disciplines (17). Moreover, each school has its representation in PA: the orthodox school in scientific management, reform, and human relations; the behavioral school in organization theory and behavior and bureaucracy; the political school in politics of administration, personnel, budgeting, state and local government, and public programs; and the rational school in policy analysis and management science (17). Similarly, a classification of theoretical

approaches is used for examining PA journal articles. For instance, Lan and Anders (2000) find that the common approaches in journal articles are managerial, political, legal, and integrated. These classifications show the interdisciplinary nature of PA.

The third one is based on notions, ideals, and tenets about government. For instance, Holzer and Gabrielian (1998) identify five great ideas of PA: 1) *honest, nonpartisan, and businesslike government*, 2) *classic management models*, 3) *politics and policy making*, 4) *human behavior*, and 5) *program effectiveness* (57-59). These ideas generally represent the development of both theories and practices of PA (57).

The last classification relies on epistemic inquiry and research orientation. For instance, Raadschelders (2008; 2011) categorizes PA knowledge in four epistemological traditions of PA: *scientific knowledge*, *practical experience*, *practical wisdom*, and *relativist perspectives*. Similarly, Riccucci (2010) presents six epistemic traditions: *interpretivism*, *rationalism*, *empiricism*, *logical positivism*, *postpositivism*, and *postmodernism*. These authors present the study as heterogeneous and interdisciplinary. While they focus on epistemology and research, a difference surfaces between them. Riccucci is concerned with research orientation and methods of American public administration, while Raadschelders focuses on epistemological foundations and the nature of knowledge in the study of PA in a manner that is useful to public administration traditions anywhere.

The analysis of PA perspectives in this dissertation intends not only to show what purposes and approaches the textbook authors underline but also uncover how they use PA concepts and topics in accordance with their intentions. This analysis is done by means of a qualitative approach (examining the sentences and paragraphs relevant to

PA perspectives). There are several sources for the analysis. The first source is the intention of a textbook, which is mostly found in the preface. The goal often signifies the way of designing and presenting a textbook, selecting its topics and grouping them, and conceptualizing PA ideas and subjects. Moreover, it implies how the author(s) comprehend the study and practice of PA. Second, some authors introduce and discuss various schools of PA while evaluating them and often revealing their orientation. The third source is author(s)'s evaluation on the study and practice and prediction and apprehension of the future, which are mostly expressed in a concluding chapter. In addition to those sources, the definition of public administration apparently demonstrates a certain kind of approach to public administration, as chapter four shows. The approaches will be discussed along with the sources of perspectives mentioned above. Each author(s)'s perspective will be analyzed in the next eight sections. This is followed by a concluding section, which discusses PA perspectives from the 1920s to the 2000s.

6.2. White's 1926, 1939, 1948, and 1955 Editions

White's four textbooks demonstrate the effort to establish the field which White viewed as consisting of somewhat contradictory elements: generalization of administration versus particularity of American public administration, separation administration from politics versus innate interdependence between them, and the art versus the science of public administration. In the 1926 edition, White presented four assumptions, which have been appreciated as "the best concise statement of the foundations of the discipline of public administration" (Storing 1965, 39). It is worthy to cite the whole paragraph:

> The book rests upon at least four assumptions. It assumes that administration is *a single process*, *substantially uniform* in its essential characteristics wherever observed, and therefore avoids the study of municipal administration, state administration, or federal administration as such. It assumes that the study of administration should start from *the base of management* rather than the foundation of law, and is therefore more absorbed in the affairs of the American Management Association than in the decisions of the courts. It assumes that administration is still *primarily an art* but attaches importance to *the significant tendency to transform it into a science*. It assumes that administration has become, and will continue to be *the heart of the problem of modern government*. (1926, vii-viii, emphasis added)

The author emphasized the managerial over the legal perspective in public administration, stating that public administration is based on "the business side of government" rather than "the point of law" (White 1926, vii). Similarly, he argued that the study has to focus on more managerial activities than legal statutes. Therefore, Storing (1965) points out that "[t]he most striking characteristic of these assumptions is that they all refer to *administration*, although the book is an introduction to public administration" (39, emphasis in original). The assumptions also correspond to the growth of modern government alongside "an uninterrupted enlargement of the scope and intensity of public administration" (White 1926, 466). In this sense, the development of the administrative state is intertwined with that of the academic field of public administration. Along with the assumptions, the author aimed at a *sound* or *good* administration by means of efficiency, control, and science. White viewed efficiency as the primary objective of administration and control as necessary because of a growing administration and advocated the significance of and a tendency toward the science of administration.

Those assumptions and goals correspond to the progressive era. When White's 1926 edition was published, the civil service reform act of 1883 had been in force for

more than four decades; the progressive era had just ended; and scientific management passed its peak of influence. These political and social factors are embodied in White's textbook. Therefore, "[i]t is as if White is viewing the entire field of public administration covered by the broad theoretical trends of the progressives, scientific management, and civil service reformers" (Weber 1996, 44).[66] With regard to those assumptions, goals, and backgrounds, White's textbooks represent the classical managerial perspective. His perspective corresponds to both the orthodox school emphasizing scientific management and reform movement in McCurdy's (1986) classification and the PA notions of *businesslike government* and *classic management* in Holzer and Gabrielian's (1998).

White's view of the field, however, changed over time. Specifically, he appeared to move toward the art rather than the science of PA. According to Storing (1965), White was less enthusiastic about his early view that the study of PA would mature (49). In the 1948 edition, White evaluated the field in disappointment:

> As an intellectual discipline the field of public administration still lacks much, including an account of its historical development, a comprehensive statement in general terms of its underlying principles, an exact definition of its central concepts, a penetrating analysis of its foundations in psychology and sociology, and an interpretive account of its role in the structure of government and of life. Further, it needs to be related to the broad generalizations of political theory concerned with such matters as justice, liberty, obedience, and the role of the state in human affairs. (1948, 10; cited in Storing 1965, 49)

Ironically, "[a]s the rest of the discipline became more scientific and more concerned with process as process, White became less so" (Storing 1965, 50). White's

[66] Those three sentences correspond to the externalist method that knowledge development needs to be comprehended with the political and social contexts. In other words, the contents and themes of college textbooks represent the period from which the textbooks come. As mentioned in the methodological chapter, this study is mainly concerned with the internalist method, although it is sometimes unavoidable to mention the external factors, as the sentences show.

disappointment stands in contrast to the emerging debate about the field's disciplinary status, its knowledge development, and identity crisis. This was discussed in the first chapter of this thesis. As Storing's (1965) remark echoes, White was aware that PA would not be a traditional, academic or scientific discipline. In other words, and in accordance with Toulmin's (1972) definition of discipline, PA is one of the "would-be disciplines" without any substantial agreement and, simultaneously, with various and conflicting approaches (360; Rutgers 1995, 72).

In his last edition of 1955, he thus underlined the historical and cultural perspective, while attempting to reconcile the art and the science. In other words, the edition "is concerned primarily with the historical foundations of the American system of administration" in addition to general management and includes the chapter, "The Form and Spirit of Public Administration in the United States," that depicts the history and culture of American PA (White 1955, 11). The perspective is consistent in his interest and research in administrative history in his later life. "In the stream of administration, like the stream of history, occur only unique events, not repetitive units whose dimensions and relations are subject either to measurement or to controlled experimentation" (White 1955, 8-9). However, the perspective on cultural differences in administration is in fact contradictory with his original thesis that aims to generalize administration (Storing 1965, 45). Instead, he predicted that administration gradually becomes "a science, or a science bounded by cultural differences" (1955, 9).

White's somewhat conflicting perspective reflects his career in both academia and practice. As a practitioner, he endeavored to improve utility management in local administration, reorganization in state administration, and the civil service system in the

federal government. His governmental experience surely influenced his scholarly writing (Gaus 1958; Storing 1965; Weber 1996). That is, he was aware that some administrative problems can hardly be completely resolved. In his first edition, White (1926) intended "to suggest problems rather than to present conclusions," while exploring "the common underlying problems" of administration (viii). This issue occasionally surfaces throughout the same edition and is recapitulated in the concluding chapter; for instance, the pro's and con's of integration, administration's relationship with the legislature and the courts, the control of administration by the legislature and the courts, the extension of bureaucracy versus the protection of individual rights, the role and responsibility between political leaders and permanent technicians, and the prestige of public employees. He also devoted time to study the historical development of American government. Therefore, it is not surprising that his textbooks significantly deal with the integration and centralization in administrative organization and the techniques and morale in personnel management, on the one hand, and historical development of American PA on the other.

6.3. Pfiffner and Presthus's 1935, 1946, 1953, 1967, and 1975 Editions

In the 1935 edition, Pfiffner signified the emergence of "new public administration" with the technological and professional development in modern government (4-5). With regard to that significance, the author intended "to describe a technique and technology of public administration, which is both a science and an art of the everyday operations of government" (1935, 7). This intention continues in the 1946 edition which is mainly concerned with "the how" of administration, such as "managing, directing, and supervising" (1946, 6). The same edition also extends its

treatment to functional topics, such as organization, management, finance, and personnel, with a special attention to the relation between management and administrative law (1946, v).

The 1953 and 1967 editions underline the dynamic activities of American PA in the democratic and sociopolitical context which has an effect on administrative techniques and processes (1953, v; 1967, iii). The authors argued that public administration, as an intellectual field, "must begin with a review of the social values and the basic objectives of the democratic state" and entail "a synthesis of the humanities" (1953, 7, 18; 1967, 22). They also emphasized the behavioral approach which is concerned with human relations and the informal aspect of organization (1953, v). Moreover, the authors distinguished public administration from scientific management, while indicating "an ideological clash" between "people-minded" public administration, which stems from political science, and "thing-minded" scientific management (1953, 158-159). The former represents the social approach, whereas the latter stands for the traditional approach. According to the authors, the social approach views an organization as "a social institution," whereas the traditional, integrationist approach views an organization as an efficiency-centered, machine-like, and antidemocratic model (1967, 198-199, 208). They insisted as follows: "[p]ublic administration, like the other social sciences, is inevitably charged with normative values"; "the administrator is a social product"; and "the process of decision is recognized as culturally determined, rather than the result of purely 'objective analysis of facts'" (1953, 13, 14). For instance, the term efficiency is defined "in terms of the social objectives of a particular time" (1953, 11). While acknowledging the contribution

of the scientific method, the authors concluded that public administration has “a broad social function” involving “the variables of human behavior and value judgments” (1953, 15). The 1975 edition emphasizes “a balanced synthesis of the political-economic environment of public administration and its major functional areas” (v). Along with this emphasis, the edition expands the political environment, bureaucratic policymaking, and citizen participation, while reducing organization and management.

With regard to those emphases in the 1953, 1967, and 1975 editions, Pfiffner’s textbooks signify the social and pluralistic perspective. This perspective is consistent with both the behavioral school in organization theory and behavior and bureaucracy and the political school in politics of administration in McCurdy’s (1986) classification. It is consistent with PA notions of *politics and policy making* and *human behavior* in Holzer and Gabrielian’s classification (1998). On the other hand, the first two editions correspond to both the orthodox school emphasizing scientific management and reform movement in McCurdy’s (1986) classification and the PA notions of *businesslike government* and *classic management* in Holzer and Gabrielian’s (1998).

6.4. Dimock, Dimock, and Fox’s 1953, 1964, and 1983 Editions

The 1953 edition of Dimock and Dimock showed the authors’ attempt to synthesize four elements in two dimensions: generality and particularity on the one hand and subject matters and procedural techniques on the other. The authors underlined that the administrative process is essential to government, although it faces dissimilar problems because of geographical, economic, cultural, and political variations (1953, 6). Such an emphasis enclosing two somewhat conflicting points leads to a conclusion that public administration knowledge must be both common and

specific (1953, 6-7). In the 1953 edition, while aiming to illustrate "the practical, operational side of government," the authors preferred "the functional approach," which views "administration as a process common to governments at all levels" (1953, v, 7). At the same time, the authors intended to bring both universal and specific cases and explanations together (1953, 7). In addition, both the subject matter and managerial skills are necessary for public administration, "because administration itself [is] both policy and technique, and a philosophy and a science" (1953, 14). According to the authors, "understanding" public administration is "the result of the best possible synthesis of everything entering into a particular situation, making use of the old and the new, the theoretical and the practical, and of various other related disciplines and not merely one" (1953, v). Therefore, the field includes various kinds of disciplinary and systematic knowledge (1953, 4-5). While viewing public administration as "a sufficiently matured discipline" (13), the authors noted that "[t]he current challenge is to broaden the knowledge of the field and to integrate all of its components, taking the best from each preceding emphasis in order to form a *new synthesis* and a *sound philosophy* of administration" (15, emphasis added). The authors' attempt to achieve both a synthesis of four elements and a philosophy for public administration is elaborated in the next edition.

The 1964 edition, like the previous edition, "stresses the role of the operating administrator," while paying attention to "the role of political dynamics" (iii). For the additional attention, the authors enhanced the topic of politics and policy by adding the subjects of administrative law and budgeting. The edition also introduces and considerably discusses the sociological and institutional approach comparing them with

the positivist and behavioral approach. Unlike the latter, according to the authors, the former allows administration to connect itself with its society and values. This point is consistent in their 1964 definition of PA, which includes social and economic features in addition to governmental one, as mentioned chapter four. More importantly, the edition uniquely attempts to shape an integrated and philosophical administration advocating the organic and social perspective.

The emphasis for the organic and social perspective is in fact consistent with the arguments of Dimock's (1958) book, *A Philosophy of Administration*. First, in his 1958 book Dimock advocates that "[b]iology, like administration, is concerned with the growth and decline of organisms" (12). Likewise, the 1964 edition confirms that "administration itself is an organic act" (161). The organic view continues in the next edition, in which administration is defined as "a living, growing entity, guided by a proper attention to values and philosophy" (1983, 203). It is important to point out that with this organic perspective upon PA Dimock is unique among textbook authors. Second, Dimock (1958) argues that administrative functions, or POSDCoRB, "are important only insofar as they are related to the larger problems of culture, economics, and human relations" (11). The 1964 edition corresponds to the argument by "paying more attention to the history of the subject, to its relation to society, to the political economy, and to public policy" and recommending that "a careerist in the public service should ground himself in the structure and dynamics of society and the political economy" (iii). Third, Dimock (1958) underlines the importance of a philosophy for public administration (1). The 1964 edition expresses that both technician and philosopher roles are necessary, because administration involves both techniques and

values (8). At the same time, the edition suggests that "[t]he philosopher-king maybe more useful [to deal with the interconnected processes of administration] than the efficiency expert" (1964, 53). Therefore, it aims "to help the student to develop for himself a philosophy of administration" rather than to obtain practical techniques for job (1964, iii). Four, Dimock (1958) opposes the positivistic, behavioral and formal approach on organization, because it lacks in social contexts and overlooks the whole of administration (112). The 1964 edition also declines "a rigorously positivistic approach" (iv). Accordingly, Dimock advocated "classical Greek democracies: face-to-face interaction, trust, and organization wide commitment to truth and honesty" instead of depersonalized organizations and techniques (Stever 1990, 617).

The authors' organic and social perspective provides public administration with "naturalistic principles" like biology (Stever 1997, 321). Although the social part of the perspective corresponds, to some extent, to the behavioral school of sociology in McCurdy's (1986) classification, the perspective as a whole is unique. The authors also attempted to bring both general and particular administration, social values and administrative techniques, and philosophy and science, while more emphasizing the former than the latter of each pair. In this sense, the authors provide a "positive, broad-based concept" of public administration (Schachter 1994, 2009).

The organic and social perspective of the 1964 edition is not treated much in the 1983 edition though. The authors instead underlined "the subject of public managerial performance" and intended to teach how to improve administrative performance (1983, v). With that in mind, the authors paid more attention to government performance and efficiency than before and included the subtopics of program evaluation, productivity,

and information system, which not only signify the advancement of administrative techniques but also respond to the political and popular demand for increasing the effectiveness and efficiency of governmental programs. The edition also stresses the need for entrepreneurship, which takes risks and innovative initiatives to improve administrative processes and government outcomes (1983, 134). Such an emerging interest in entrepreneurship and program productivity corresponds to the term *the needs of citizen-consumers* in the authors' definition of public administration. These findings are consistent with Stillman's (1999a) observation that the textbook employs an economic perspective (152).

6.5. Nigro and Nigro's 1965, 1973, and 1984 Editions

In the 1965 edition, Nigro advocated "the modern, humanistic approach" instead of the traditional approach, while focusing on "an introduction to the essential principles, qualities, and problems of public administration" (ix, x). Although the author did not theoretically frame the humanist approach, he contrasted the human approach with the mechanistic one in several places. For instance, the humanist approach encourages a positive view and self-control, whereas the traditional one is concerned with restrictive standards in the control of the administrator (1965, 210). The author also signified the subject of human motivation and leadership as "human personality, needs of" in the index (1965, 524). Preferential treatment of topics appears in accordance with the humanist approach. The author, in fact, claimed that considerable attention goes to growing subjects, such as leadership, informal organization, and administration and culture (1965, ix). In addition, Nigro and Nigro (1973) considered

that it is possible to reconcile the value orientation of the humanist approach with efficiency and productivity of the traditional approach (83).

The 1973 edition adds a growing citizen participation in government and a rising demand for information about government activities, and these efforts are relevant to the movement toward decentralized administration, according to the authors. The edition also addresses the topic of values and public administration, "because the question of values is so fundamental to administrative policy making and because of the current discussion of appropriated roles for administrators" (1973, xi). With regard to this emphasis, the authors introduced and discussed the New Public Administration (NPA) in both the 1973 and 1984 editions. The NPA aims at "client-focused administration …along with movement toward debureaucratization, democratic decision making, and decentralization" (1973, 21) and encourages "*proactive* rather than reactive agents" for representation and social equity (1973, 80, emphasis in original). The authors indicated that the themes and practices of the NPA are incorporated in the topics of bureaucracy, organization, and intergovernmental relations (1973, 21).

The authors' humanist approach is consistent with their endorsement of the NPA. Both of them come out of critiquing the classical model of PA and underline values and democracy. Therefore, the authors presented a humanistic and democratic perspective. The perspective is consistent with the idea of *program effectiveness* in Holzer and Gabrielian's (1998) classification. While the term *effectiveness* involves not only a focus on productivity but also deals with administrative ethics and democratic values, the NPA advocates the significance of the latter (Holzer and Gabrielian 1998, 77-78). It

also corresponds, to some extent, to the political school of public programs and the behavioral school of sociology in McCurdy's (1986) classification.

6.6. Starling's 1977, 1986, 1998, and 2005 Editions

Throughout his textbooks, Starling (1977) points out that he is mainly concerned with "the practice of management" because government needs better management (ix). He intends to pay "greater attention to modern analytical, behavioral, and informational techniques that are required to successfully manage any large-scale enterprise" and aims at "how-to-do-it techniques that can be applied immediately in any organization at any level" (1977, ix-x). In view of this, he attempts to bring together the theory and practice of public administration (1977, 11). While "a growing concern over the managerial process of the public sector" arises (1977, 9), it is necessary to understand management techniques in the context of the public sector (1977, ix-x). With regard to this emphasis of management, he prefers the term *intergovernmental relations* to *federalism*, which entails politics and law (1977, 55). Moreover, he acknowledges the limits of the conventional approach on organization. According to the author, the conventional approach views organization as separate from policy planning and overlooks environmental factors and possible new organizational structures (1977, 172). Therefore, he aims to integrate policy issues and administrative structures and functions (1977, xi). Along with those emphases, he argues that public administration should be "(1) upright in its politics and ethics, (2) effective in its treatment of societal problems, (3) equitable and efficient in its spending, and (4) fair and humane to is own employees" to achieve good government (15). In fact, the first chapter of each textbook begins with some examples that demonstrate the activities and roles of career civil

servants, who carry out governmental policies and programs and resolve social problems and conflicts.

The following editions add new materials about changes in management and those political and legal factors that influence management. Whereas the 1986 edition is concerned with political and legal subjects, the 1998 and 2005 editions focus on the NPM initiatives. Alongside those new subjects, the issues and trends are presented in the textbooks. Among them, the relationship and cooperation between business and the public sector are constantly and significantly discussed through the editions. While considering "the problem of productivity, the search for more cooperative relations between business and communities, and the debate over industrial policy" as the urgent concerns in PA, the author introduces and discussed the NPM initiatives in the concluding chapter (1986, 501). The 1998 edition indicates "a growing appreciation of the role of the independent and private sectors and of public-private partnership in achieving public purposes" (1998, vii). Overall, the NPM's principles and practices are the main concern to the author.

Those goals, subjects, and issues in Starling's textbooks represent the managerial perspective that aims to resolve not only managerial but also political issues relevant to management. This perspective roots in public programs of the political school; policy analysis, management science, and business administration relate to the rational school in McCurdy's (1986) classification. It also corresponds to the PA notions of *businesslike government* and *program effectiveness* in Holzer and Gabrielian (1998), while the latter is compatible with Starling's new subjects and issues about the NPM.

6.7. Gordon and Milakovich's 1978, 1986, 1998, and 2007 Editions

The 1978 edition begins with two emphases. First, the authors argue that public administration is essential to modern government that has greatly expanded its activities (1978, vii). Second, they underline the political environment of, influence on, and involvement in public administration, while viewing "political interests and administrative organization and practice as intertwined" (1978, viii). While those points continue in the 1986 edition, the managerial approach, as in Starling's textbooks above, is more highlighted than before (1986, xi). This managerial approach is enhanced in the 1998 and 2007 editions, while the NPM becomes prevalent in public administration. The emphasized subjects in those later editions include the distinction and conflict between political and managerial aspects, the NPM initiatives for government productivity and customer service, the development of information technology, and the consideration for administrative competence and ethics (1998, ix; 2007, v-vi). The authors also advocate accountability, efficiency, and effectiveness as the three central themes in contemporary PA (1998, x; 2007, vii). In the concluding chapter of each edition, the authors discuss some problems and confusions that PA faces; e.g., ambiguous PA concepts and goals, social and economic diversity and tension, the debate on the role and scope of government, a crisis of government confidence, the way to achieve administrative effectiveness and accountability, the conflict between a growing citizen participation upheld by the New Public Administration (NPA) and administrative professionalism and direction, and the development of advanced administrative techniques.

With regard to those emphases and concerns, although the managerial perspective alongside the NPM is emphasized in the later editions, the political approach continues

to dominate throughout the editions. In the 1978 edition, they note that the political surrounding makes government to be behind business and industry in developing administrative techniques (1978, 179-180). They also address a growing criticism of the NPM initiatives in the 2007 edition, while introducing the New Public Service's principles: democracy, citizenship, and the public interest (485). The political perspective corresponds primarily to the political school and secondarily the rational and behavioral schools in McCurdy's (1986) classification and the PA notions of *politics and policy making* in Holzer and Gabrielian's (1998) classification.

6.8. Rosenbloom and Kravchuk's 1986, 1998, and 2005 Editions

Rosenbloom demonstrates "the most lucid, coherent, and comprehensive framework" of public administration (PA) in his first edition (Laudicina 1987, 272), a feat that is maintained in the subsequent editions. He connects the managerial, legal, and political perspectives while viewing them as fundamental to contemporary PA. The perspectives provide different and somewhat conflicting set of values, structures, practices, processes, and knowledge of PA. For instance, the individual in a society is viewed differently in those three approaches: as a client in the traditional managerial approach (1986, 17), a customer in the NPM (1998, 25), a particular person in the legal approach (1986, 27), and a group in the political approach (1986, 21). The NPM also views administrative agencies and private organizations as customers (1998, 25), while the political approach allows administrative agencies to represent interest groups and pursue their own interests and programs (1986, 21). Unlike other perspectives, Rosenbloom's three perspectives are based in different epistemic sources. The three perspectives develop and use dissimilar types of knowledge: a scientific method in the

traditional managerial approach (1998, 20), public choice theory in the NPM (1998, 26), legal judgment in the legal approach (1998, 37), and political deliberation and discourse in the political approach (1998, 32). The inclusive characteristic for the perspective is expressed in his intention of defining PA. According to the author, "[the definition of PA] is necessary to establish the general boundaries and to convey the major concerns of the discipline and practice of public administration…helps to place the field in a broader political, economic, and social context…and reveals…three distinct underlying approaches to the field" (1986, 4). Moreover, the author lays more emphasis on public and democratic constitutionalism, such as constitutional foundations and their underlying moral values, in public administration than other textbook authors. In general, the integrated perspective corresponds to all five schools in McCurdy's (1986) classification and all five PA notions in Holzer and Gabrielian (1998).

The author mentions two large changes in public administration since the early assumptions of White's 1926 edition: from a single process to a variety of administrative processes and from emphasizing management over politics and law to including the latter (1986, 489, 491). In his first edition Rosenbloom describes how he hopes that American government will operate with strong attention for politics, law, and individual administrative responsibility. This returns in the subsequent editions, but added are then information technology, representation, and participation in the 1986 edition; and performance and service in the 1998 and 2005 editions.

6.9. Shafritz, Russell, and Borick's 1997 and 2007 Editions

In both editions, the authors employ "a unified approach" that provides a general knowledge of public administration and allows students to readily apply it to

government at all levels (1997, 35). Like Rosenbloom, the authors integrate four approaches: managerial, political, legal, and occupational. Thus, their perspective corresponds to McCurdy's (1986) five schools and Holzer and Gabrielian's (1998) five PA notions. The political perspective is more underlined than other perspectives. For instance, they remark that public administration is essentially a political process in a political environment (1997, 34-35). In addition, like Nigro and Nigro, the authors emphasize the NPA, while they assign a chapter to social equity, one of the major initiatives of the NPA. At the same time, their textbooks focus on "historical evolution, essential theory, and future trends" of management topics rather than on quick and easy learning techniques (1997, 35-36). The authors introduce various approaches such as feminist and postmodern approaches (1997, 26). The 2007 edition adds new subjects, such as the war on terror, privatization in government, national debt and budgetary deficit, and emergency recovery (xvii-xviii).

6.10. The Perspectives of Public Administration from the 1920s to the 2000s

PA perspectives in the introductory textbooks are expressed in two ways, explicit or implicit. Some authors openly state a certain perspective as the goal or intention of their textbooks. A typical example is the 1964 edition of Dimock and Dimock, who pronounce the organic and social perspective and group PA topics accordingly. The authors also advocate the functional approach in their 1953 edition. Nigro and Nigro enunciate the modern and humanistic perspective while opposing the traditional and mechanistic one. Both Rosenbloom and Shafritz present an integrated approach. White emphasizes the managerial perspective instead of the legal one in his 1926 edition, while that emphasis diminishes in the later editions. Some authors implicitly presented

their perspectives through the themes and contents of their textbooks. Pfiffner, Starling, and Gordon do not enunciate their specific perspectives, while they underline the social, managerial, and political approach, respectively. For instance, Starling emphasizes the approach in the preface and uses the term managing as the book title.

The introductory section introduces four classifications of PA perspectives. They include the temporal theme, the theoretical school, the notional model, and the epistemic tradition. Among them, a mix between McCurdy's (1986) four theoretical schools and Holzer and Gabrielian's (1998) five great notions is mostly presented in the textbooks. For instance, the orthodox school and the PA notions of business government and classic management are presented in White's and Pfiffner's early textbooks by the 1940s. The political and behavioral school and the PA notions of politics and policy making and program effectiveness are mostly used in textbooks since the 1950s. The rational school appears to some extent in the textbooks of Starling and Gordon, while the notion of businesslike government is revived in Starling's textbooks. The mix of all schools and PA notions are used in the textbooks of Rosenbloom and Shafritz. To some extent, the findings in this dissertation correspond with Laudicina's (1987) statement: "Subsequent texts reflected the dominant approaches, values, and priorities of the various eras from which they sprung" (272).

Few PA perspectives in introductory textbooks express their epistemic viewpoints. Rather, the introductory textbooks intend to teach students every practice so that they can apply their knowledge to their jobs, as the textbook authors clearly mention. In this sense, the perspectives deliver more *practical experience* and *practical wisdom* than *scientific knowledge* and *relativist perspectives* in the terms of

Raadschelders's epistemological classification (2008; 2011). This is understandable because the study is art, and craft or profession, as well as science (Dahl 1947; Waldo 1955; Lynn 1996; Raadschelders 2004). Furthermore, a lot of PA knowledge is "tacit knowledge" (Polanyi 1958). At the same time, the textbooks fall short of presenting an epistemic account and cohesive theoretical framework, and this apparently results from an American "inductive" way in contrast with a Continental-European "deductive" one (Rutgers 1995; Raadschelders 1999). Only the 1998 and 2005 editions of Rosenbloom and Kravchuk hint at the epistemic tradition by integrating the three perspectives with knowledge development.

PA perspectives in those textbooks reflect both educational goals and scholarly viewpoints. In fact, the intention and standpoint are closely associated with the textbook author's endeavor to demonstrate disciplinary knowledge. White (1955) expresses that such an effort is "to organize *my* knowledge [of PA] in a systematic fashion" (vii; cited in Gaus 1958, 232, emphasis added). Gaus (1958) underlines White's endeavor to institute the field, describing White's 1926 textbook as "a *personal* beginning and not a closed and completed chapter, of needed efforts to explore, define, and interpret continuously a field" (Gaus 1958, 233, emphasis added). In this sense, those efforts are "personal commitments" (Polanyi 1958, viii) or "personal judgment" (Polanyi 1964[1946], 11). This personal effort may be rooted in the author's prejudice, and this is acknowledged by some textbook authors. For instance, in his 1965 edition, Nigro expresses: "In writing any book of this sort, it is difficult not to let one's own particular views slip in and color the text; yet every effort has been made to present the field without bias or distortion" (x). However, Schachter (1994) asserts: "no public-

administration textbook is simply a neutral compendium of facts—all are based on the particular author's concept of what information is important and what is peripheral, which subjects deserve a positive and which negative slant" (2019). It is a readers' choice to accept or reject one of the two remarks. With regard to a pedagogical view, however, it is not a matter of choice but judgment. I will address such a pedagogical evaluation of the contents of the textbooks in the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

It began with Christopher Columbus, who gave the people the name *Indios*… As was the custom of the people when receiving strangers, the Tainos on the island of San Salvador generously presented Columbus and his men with gifts and treated them with honor. "So tractable, so peaceable are these people," Columbus wrote to the King and Queen of Spain, "that I swear to your Majesties there is not in the world a better nation. They love their neighbors as themselves, and their discourse is ever sweet and gentle, and accompanied with a smile; and though it is true that they are naked, yet their manners are decorous and praiseworthy." (Brown 2007[1971], 1)[67]

7.1. Introduction

This study shows the knowledge development of American public administration (PA) by analyzing PA concepts, topics, and perspectives that are presented in 28 introductory textbooks from the 1920s to the 2000s. In this last chapter, I will recapitulate the findings, issues, and contributions, in response to the research questions listed in chapter one, and in relation to the research gap mentioned in chapters one and two. Next, I will discuss future studies, which should include an externalist analysis of knowledge development and an analysis of the pedagogical contents in introductory textbooks. These studies are in fact relevant to the points of view of the scholar, the practitioner, and the student.

7.2. The Findings, Issues, and Contributions

PA concepts examined in this study demonstrate the nature and trend of PA knowledge. The definitions reveal the attributes of PA and delineate the study. Accordingly, public administration essentially consists of the attributes of administration and government with the accompanying ones of politics, society, law, and economy. Public administration is certainly intertwined with and inseparable from politics and policy. Dynamic, both conflicting and constructive, interactions are found

[67] The book title is *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West*.

in public administration's relationships with the legislature, the courts, the public, the chief executive, and political appointees. The study of PA is also found as a mix of both science and art. The public-private comparison is important in the early era, whereas the public-private partnership is more addressed in the later period.

PA topics show the scope and trend of PA, while PA perspectives reflect the authors' pedagogical intentions and scholarly standpoints. PA topics are largely divided into the discipline, function, and environments of PA. The enduring topics are the study, organization/management, personnel, and finance, and the next common topics are administrative accountability/ethics, intergovernmental relations, administrative law/regulation, and bureaucracy/politics/policy. While PA perspectives are mostly a mix of theoretical schools: the managerial, political, and behavioral schools, two PA notions, politics and policy making and program effectiveness, appear mostly in contemporary textbooks. Moreover, the textbooks are generally concerned with practical knowledge of those topics.

The meanings of PA concepts differ among textbook authors and change across time. In particular, the authors define PA in a different way, as this study demonstrates. This variation implies that the authors grasp the reality of PA differently. In other words, "the object of knowledge or subject matter is always an *interpretation* of what constitutes reality; there is no immediately given—unmediated—reality" (Rutgers 1995, 68, emphasis added). Moreover, comprehending the reality is not so fixed that conceptual changes are required. Both conceptual adjustment and transformation intend to resolve conceptual discrepancy between a concept and its meaning, on the one hand, and its empirical object, on the other.

The treatment of PA topics also varies across time and authors. Individual topics are treated differently when assessed in quantitative and in qualitative ways. For instance, the proportion of organization/management and personnel management fluctuates more than financial management. The topics of bureaucracy, politics, and policy are juxtaposed with either organization or management, while the subtopics of organization and management are variously assembled. The topic of organization tends to dwindle, whereas management has expanded. Decision making and policy analysis have become separate topics in some textbooks. From these variations and changes, both vertical and lateral developments of PA topics are found.

A surprising finding is a clear difference between the early textbooks and ones written since the 1970s. The early textbooks focus on the administrative functions in order to improve organizational structure and process and public personnel, whereas the later ones are concerned with the political, legal, and social surroundings and management performance. In this sense, scientific management and human relations are major subjects in the early textbooks, whereas the New Public Administration and the New Public Management (NPM) are leading themes in the later ones. In particular, the political and popular demand has led to the NPM initiatives, which have become widespread in those textbooks since the 1990s. More importantly, the early textbooks demonstrate a lot of changes and fluctuation in PA concepts, topics, and perspectives; moreover, some contradictions among concepts or between concepts and realities. On the other hand, the later textbooks do not reflect such struggles. It means that PA concepts, topics, and perspectives in the later textbooks are arranged to consistently maintain their definitions, proportions, and views.

With regard to the last distinction, a question arises: Do we really have constructed solid concepts and topics for the reality of PA in the contemporary era? More specifically, have we resolved the two problems: "linguistic equivalence" between the meaning and the word of a concept and "practical identification" between the meaning and the object (Wilson 1963, 66)? The answer is no. For instance, Smith (2005) finds that the term *homeland security* is not yet precisely defined. Even Gordon in his textbooks acknowledges the problems of the multiple or conflicting meanings of some PA concepts and claims the need to review those concepts (1978, 426, 439, 476-477). Otherwise, do we assume that PA concepts and topics are fixed? If so, is this a pedagogical rationale or book publishing companies' request? Or, do later authors just try to avoid confusion or change in college textbooks, while the early authors could afford to change the definition or add new ones in each of their editions? Unfortunately, this study cannot answer these questions, but two tentative conclusions can be considered. First, later authors assume that the study has matured. Relevant to this point, second, is that the contents in the later textbooks tend to be *standardized*.[68] In other words, later textbooks seem to aim for identical definitions and meanings of PA concepts and the static scope of PA topics.[69] This standardized approach may not be problematic, unless the reality of PA and its interpretation varies or changes.

The results of this study satisfy several goals, which I intended to achieve. First, the findings in this study answer the research questions about the nature and trends of PA knowledge by means of the attributes of PA, conceptual changes, topic variation and development, and various perspectives. Second, this study fills the research gap of

[68] The term *standardization* came out during the conversation with Dr. Eric Kramer.
[69] In addition, contemporary textbooks are more frequently re-issued than the early ones. Possibly, the interval between two editions is too short to make significant changes in content.

the knowledge evolution in American PA over time. In particular, it provides details about knowledge variations and changes, which have not been comprehensively grasped before. The findings of this study are also compared to those of dozens of previous studies; thus, some earlier findings are confirmed, while some are elaborated. Third, this study illuminates to some extent why various kinds of PA knowledge have evolved from the 1920s and the 2000s. Fourth, the introductory textbooks of PA offer the evolution of disciplinary knowledge in terms of three knowledge constituents: concepts, topics, and perspectives. Fifth and last, the findings result from the systematic method combining concept, content, and historical analyses and the analysis of all three constituents of disciplinary knowledge. As a result, this thesis, along with its findings and systematic method and analysis, contributes the study of public administration. These contributions, though, call for further studies to complete our understanding of the development and content of disciplinary knowledge in public administration.

7.3. Future Studies

7.3.1. The Externalist Method of Knowledge Development

As mentioned in chapter three, although this study is mainly concerned with the contents of introductory textbooks and the author's intention and standpoint, it cannot overlook the political, social, economic, and technological structures and factors of disciplinary knowledge. Based on the findings in this study, future studies are necessarily concerned with two external factors: disciplinary and social. First, the future study needs to focus on the disciplinary factor that shapes the contents of college textbooks. This would include studies about disciplinary subfields, research, organizations, and curriculum. For instance, the study on the development of subfields

in relation to college courses and academic conferences will illuminate this study's findings about PA topics. The social factor, as another external factor, has two divisions. The first division is relevant to the production of college textbooks, including publishing companies. In particular, this study has not sufficiently explained the difference between the early and later textbooks assuming some changes in the types of college textbooks. Such a study will give some clues about the changes. The second are those political, social, cultural, technological, and governmental factors, which influence both the study and practice of PA. Relevant to the future research are a couple of specific issues: the significance of interdisciplinary studies and the application of the theories of knowledge development.

Significant attention is needed for PA as an interdisciplinary study, since several authors find this to be its nature (Ventriss 1991, 8; Raadschelders 2011). Interdisciplinarity has been embraced since the study uses various approaches. The chapter on PA perspectives demonstrates that the theoretical schools based on various disciplines have influenced PA knowledge. Interdisciplinary studies are practiced in several ways: 1) borrowing and examining theories, approaches, and practices from other disciplines, 2) interdisciplinary networks, and 3) publication in other disciplines' journals (Rodgers and Rodgers 2000). Those benefits are illustrative of lateral development, which I have illuminated in the concluding section in chapter five. While the vertical development is consistent with knowledge development in Kuhn's normal science, lateral development mainly takes place in two ways. The first is "the uncertain and unpredictable reality and at the limits of application of theory to practice" (Raadschelders and Lee 2011, 21). For instance, practitioners who face with a new and

urgent problem cannot wait for a new theory. They usually tend to patch up the crisis with existing, but scattered, theories and practices, while a relevant and applicable theory is not yet fully developed. Such a provisional action is found in the recent college curriculum on homeland security (Smith 2005). With regard to this concern, the second way underlines interdisciplinary studies along with conceptual development and comparative studies (Raadschelders and Lee 2011, 21).

In addition to this emphasis on interdisciplinary studies, the application of the theoretical frameworks of Popper, Kuhn, and Toulmin is useful to examine the disciplinary factor. It seems that each author underlines what he views as the foremost fundamental feature in knowledge evolution: theories for Popper (1972), socio-psychological factors for Kuhn (1996[1962]), and collective processes for Toulmin (1972). Theories are in fact knowledge outcomes that disciplines pursue. Socio-psychological factors are considered as contexts, which influence academic activities. Collective procedures are shared manners, which, in turn, lead to disciplinary activities. These characteristics are summed up in Appendix 4. The three features of outcome, process, and context are assumed as common factors of knowledge evolution within a discipline. For instance, concepts, topics, and perspectives belong to the outcome of knowledge evolution. The process includes scholarly discourses and organizational settings. Disciplinary setting is the context of knowledge evolution.

Before discussing the three features, it is necessary to explain why this researcher suggests them instead of the three authors' main arguments.[70] First, Popper's objective knowledge through theoretical tests seemingly limits the inclusion of all types of PA

[70] The remaining references of Popper, Kuhn, and Toulmin draw from their books in 1972, 1996[1962], and 1972, respectively, unless the published year is indicated.

knowledge. As mentioned in the previous chapter's conclusion, a great deal of PA knowledge is in fact "tacit knowledge" (Polanyi 1958), while the study is art, and craft or profession, and science (Dahl 1947; Waldo 1955; Lynn 1996; Raadschelders 2004). Most introductory textbooks examined in this study also underline PA knowledge of everyday practice. Second, the application of Kuhn's paradigm concept in social sciences has been questioned. In this sense, Rutgers (1995) argues that it is inappropriate to apply paradigms to PA, which is not only a social science but also an interdisciplinary study (70-71). Third, Toulmin's concept-centered framework is insufficient in comprehending knowledge development in PA. While viewing a concept as "*an intellectual micro-institution*," Toulmin argues that conceptual changes embody the institutional and social factors (166, emphasis in original). However, the premise and argument have limits. Every concept as an intellectual gene is more likely to be an ideal type. Moreover, it is not a concept but a theory that has been drawing most scholarly and disciplinary attention and development, although Toulmin's selection of concepts over theories is obviously valuable in examining knowledge evolution. In addition, conceptual changes may not always represent the institutional and social factors. That is, concepts and conceptual changes are insufficient to demonstrate the knowledge evolution of a discipline as a whole. Rather, a concept is one of the outcomes, while conceptual changes represent to some extent the intellectual process, the disciplinary context, and the social factor, but not all of them as a whole. Therefore, Hull (1988) separates the social factor of professional and institutional communities from the intellectual process of conceptual changes and combines them together, when he explores a scientific development. Accordingly, the goal of his book is "to present an

evolutionary account of the interrelationships between *social* and *conceptual* development in science" (Hull 1988, 12, emphasis added).

The three authors differ in the analytical unit of knowledge evolution and the role of scientists. To Popper, theories are the outcomes, which demonstrate the growth of knowledge. As a result, scientists are supposed to generate and test theories. Kuhn, though, looks at the context of research activity that individual scientists conduct to gain knowledge. Toulmin regards the evolution of knowledge as that of concepts, which collective scientists form and modify. In other words, they are different in what angle is taken when describing knowledge evolution. Popper distinguishes the product (outcome) from the production (process and context) of knowledge, believing that the former is more important than the latter (114). Kuhn, instead, focuses on the production, and Toulmin observes both the products and production. Each of these theorists also asks a different question and holds to different criteria for quality and nature of knowledge. Popper's foremost question is whether a theory is scientific or not. The measure of scientific, or objective, knowledge is falsification of theories. Kuhn is mainly concerned with the possibility of change in knowledge. He argues that change is not possible without a paradigmatic shift. Toulmin pays attention to the rationality of collective activities, and this rationality consists in the emergence of variations and the selection of a favored concept.

These distinctions lead the three theorists to differ in the main points of knowledge evolution. While arguing for objective knowledge, Popper believes that the elimination of errors is essential for knowledge growth (144). Kuhn emphasizes socio-psychological influences on both research activities and paradigmatic shifts.

Professional practice and education indeed make students allegiant to one paradigm and difficult in accepting a competing one. Therefore, a paradigmatic shift is neither an evolutionary process nor a deliberate method but a revolutionary transformation and "the gestalt switch" like a religious conversion (122). Toulmin upholds rationality in the procedure that allows both the invariance and selection of concepts.

These three different points correspond to three features of knowledge evolution: outcome, process, and context. Objective knowledge is the outcome for a discipline.[71] Toulmin's collective process of intellectual concepts and professional organizations can force a discipline to advance or block its knowledge development. Kuhn's paradigmatic factor can be understood as both a socio-psychological influence on scholars and a context for their research. In this sense, Kuhn and Toulmin consider that knowledge is more likely to develop intersubjectively, whereas Popper believes in objective knowledge as "*knowledge without a knower*" (109). Each characteristic presupposes a certain type of scholarly work. The goal toward objective knowledge takes place in Popper's "World 3" and demands relentless scholars like lab scientists. Toulmin's collective rationality as an intellectual enterprise is led by scholars who act like judges (85, 95). The socio-psychological context is a research community, to which scholars devote their efforts.

The development of disciplinary knowledge relies upon the interrelationships among the outcome, the process, and the context. The interdependence among the three elements is noticed by Kuhn, Toulmin, and, partially, by Popper. Popper acknowledges an asymmetrically mutual effect between production and products, while the latter is

[71] As mentioned above, Popper's objective knowledge does not include all of PA knowledge. Even Polanyi (1958) argues that knowledge is made of "personal knowledge," not objectively but intersubjectively.

more influential than the former.[72] Whereas the products relate with outcomes, the production means process and context. Kuhn's socio-psychological factor in research communities is relevant to professional organizations. Kuhn emphasizes scientific community's influence on knowledge evolution (176-181). Toulmin attempts to bring both products and production together. The development of concepts, according to Toulmin, interrelates with that of professions (142-143). That is, concepts evolve through two complementary factors: intellectual/rational and institutional/causal factors (307-313). While the first factor is Popper's main interest, Kuhn's attention is in the second. Intellectual rationality corresponds to Popper's autonomous "World 3," while institutional factors imply Kuhn's socio-psychological ones. The interrelations among outcome, process, and context will elucidate knowledge evolution. In other words, it is not each feature alone but a combination of the three that helps us to comprehend the progress of knowledge.

7.3.2. A Pedagogical Remark on Educating Students to Be Practitioners

This study also concerns an issue relevant to education. As mentioned in chapter two, knowledge development includes the realm of pedagogical subjects in addition to those of scholarly activities and practical skills. Introductory textbooks are the primary source of pedagogical subjects. While most textbooks present the significant and growing roles of career civil servants, it is questionable what examples of professional civil servants the textbooks inspire students with. I suggest two hypothetical, contradictory examples for career civil servants: professional entrepreneurs and moral professionals. The former focuses on performance of PA, whereas the latter is

[72] The interrelationships between the theoretical outcomes and the social and academic activities on individual scholars are usually reflected in intellectual biographies. For a reference to PA scholars, see Fry and Raadschelders (2008).

concerned with ethics. Robert Moses is the typical figure for professional entrepreneurs, whereas Daniel Ellsberg is one for moral professionals.

Robert Moses was inspired by the progressive movement in the early 20th century and pioneered a lot of development of transportation in New York City. He served as the parks commissioner from 1934 to 1960, the head of the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority, as the construction coordinator, and as the only member of Parkway Authority in the city. However, he abused his power, was involved in political scandal, and was criticized for destroying poor individuals and communities (Caro 1975). Moses's career shows how a career civil servant builds up his political power by means of development and professional entrepreneurship in PA. It also implies the issue: the political power of unelected administrators over the administrative control of elected politicians. On the other hand, Daniel Ellsberg, a former US military analyst, released the Pentagon Papers that contained top secrets about US government's decisions relevant to the Vietnam War, but this did not affect government the way that Moses's actions did. Ellsberg's action demonstrates the priority of moral citizenship over professionalism, while a career civil servant is supposed to be both of them.

I have explored how the two individuals are introduced and portrayed in those textbooks. Three different views are found for Moses: positive, negative, and mixed or neutral. The positive view appears in those early textbooks. For instance, White described Robert Moses as an exemplary professional of the generalist administrator with subject-matter knowledge and then as the figure of leadership in building public facilities (1939, 310; 1948, 189). Pfiffner and Presthus (1967) referred to Moses in a case of administrative lobbying within government (152).

The negative view of Moses comes out of those textbooks of Dimock et al. and Gordon. For example, Moses is mentioned for a case study at a subtopic "Government Corporations" in Dimock et al.'s 1983 edition (175). As the case's title, "An Empire of Government Corporations," shows, Moses is illustrated as the abuse of his political power and the extreme case of administrative independence from elected representatives. Gordon's textbooks referred to him at a section "Citizen Participation" in the topic of PA and democratic government (1978, 397; 1986, 549; 1998, 438). He is portrayed as one of the powerful individuals and politicians against a coalition of citizen action groups for control for community development like building a bridge.

Nigro and Nigro's 1984 edition presents a neutral view, whereas those textbooks of Starling and Rosenbloom show a mixed one. In their 1984 edition, Nigro and Nigro assigned a chapter entitled "Case Study: Robert Moses and F.D. Roosevelt" as a case of administration and politics and depicted the political clashes between the two powerful figures (101-115). Starling (1998) depicts Moses' achievement as a case of innovation (396). However, in the 2005 edition, Starling underlines the abuse of political power mentioning Moses in a case of administrative ethics. That is, Moses' administrative entrepreneurship is exemplified as undemocratic, while focusing on innovation and results and infringing the public trust (Starling 2005, 179). With regard to Moses' city politics and planning, moreover, Starling (2005) writes: "In short, Moses built an empire" (294). Throughout his textbooks, Rosenbloom portrays Moses as the energetic and industrious figure of leadership (1986, 130-131; 1998, 155; 2005, 154). At the same time, the author hints at the destructive side of leadership, although he does not fully acknowledge it. According to Rosenbloom, entrepreneurial leadership "reduces

uncertainty and maximizes autonomy, though it may eventually undercut the democratic processes of representative government" (1986, 132; 1998, 157; 2005, 156). "At the height of their influence," Rosenbloom writes, "Hoover and Moses were untouchable by their political opponents" (1986, 132; 1998, 157; 2005, 155).

On the other hand, no textbook introduces Daniel Ellsberg or illustrates his action. Although his name appears in one textbook, it is not relevant to the Pentagon Papers. His name is mentioned, when the 1978 edition of Gordon illustrates the illegal break-in of the office of his psychiatrist by White House's employees (411). It does not mean that those textbooks are not concerned with governmental figures such as Ellsberg. In fact, some textbooks, in particular the 2005 edition of Starling, discuss governmental whistle-blowing since the Watergate scandal, while presenting the protection for whistle-blowers in the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 and introducing some governmental whistle-blowers.

The discrepancy seemingly implies what kind of roles and examples PA prefers: that is, more emphasis on entrepreneurship, economic development, bureaucratic initiatives, leadership, performance, and short-term results and profits than citizenship, social and cultural preservation, diverse communities, ethics, whistle-blowing, and long-term impacts and services, respectively. *Indeed*, the former all involve the inherent, *adverse* consequences of the latter, as public administration can both improve and destroy civilization (Waldo 1980, 2-3).[73] For example, Lummis (1996; 2000) demonstrates how economic development leads to an undemocratic society and *forced*

[73] I have two remarks about this sentence: personal and academic. First, while writing the sentence, I have been keeping my frightened eyes on the news about the radiation leaks in Japan's nuclear power plants. The second, academic remark is relevant to modern definition of and belief in causality, which I believe is narrow and linear.

labor. Likewise, Foster and Magdoff (2009) illustrate that the "financialization" of economy, which is inflamed by the "monopoly-finance-capital" and speculation, causes the current financial and economic crisis (21). Berman (1988[1982]) writes that modern life is "overpowered by the immense bureaucratic organizations that have the power to control and often to destroy all communities, values, [and] lives" (13). Similarly, Waldo (1980) indicates that bureaucracy damages human natures and communities (13). More sadly and horribly, Brown (1971) reveals that Columbus, who was fully loaded with professional entrepreneurship of his era, brought about the annihilation of the Tainos who greeted him warmly. Negligence of those adverse consequences is in fact purposive.[74] Moses seemed to recognize only the term *consequences* without the adjective. For example, in his 1948 edition, White cited Moses's words: "The acid test of an administrator," Moses once said, "is whether he sees all the consequences of his actions" (209).[75] It is ironic that he did not see all of them, in particular the *destructive* side. Another unpleasant implication is whether PA can prevent career civil servants from using abusive power and teach students the adverse consequences of PA initiatives and the priority of citizenship upheld by Ellsberg before they go into practice.[76] "Because administrative evil wears a mask," according to Adams and Balfour (1998), it is often committed in the name of good deeds by public administrators (4). Indeed, the illustration of Moses's abusive power and undemocratic activities in those textbooks

[74] Loewen (1996) finds such omissions and distortions in American history textbooks for high school students.
[75] White noted that the quotation originally came from Robert A. Walker's (1941) book, *The Planning Function in Urban Government* (179).
[76] Some may insist that textbooks do not directly lead to a certain type of career civil servants, because readers and students already have their own tendencies. However, the contents of PA textbooks still represent the image of PA and its people.

primarily does not come from PA but from Caro's (1975) biography of Moses: *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York*.

Such a concern about the contents of textbooks corresponds to the resistance to economic dominance and a market-oriented society in the contemporary era. The era seems full of the "news of inequity, inequality, extreme concentration of wealth and power, pointless and damaging war and violence, and environmental destruction on a massive scale" (Box 2005, 3). These issues are the adverse consequences mentioned above and have seemingly become worse and worse.[77] Box (2005) argues that the field indeed lacks in critical thought and reason to cope with those issues, although the New Public Administration advocated for social equity since the late 1960s. Even the topic of social equity in the textbooks of Shafritz et al. (1997; 2007) is limited to the description of racial struggles and the legal cases in personnel management. Critical thought and reason, according to Box (2005), rather "encourages academicians and practitioners to view social structures and practices as vehicles of domination, repression, and manipulation, but also as potential starting points for meaningful social change" (13). I wonder whether we are aware of them and ready to cope with them. We may have not only "misinterpretations of the nature of the study of public administration" (Rutgers 1995, 67) but also wrong practices. If so, it is indispensable to reinterpret PA by underlining those underemphasized roles and examples, adverse consequences, and critical thought and reason.

[77] In particular, studies about a growing inequality and a disappearing middle class in the US have been more reported than before since the financial crisis in 2008; for instance, Robert Reich's (2010) book, *Aftershock: The Next Economy and America's Future*.

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Appendix 1: 28 Selected Introductory Textbooks and Sample Selection

I. 28 Selected Textbooks

1. White, Leonard D. 1926. *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration*. New York: Macmillan.
2. _____. 1939. 2nd ed.
3. _____. 1948. 3rd ed.
4. _____. 1955. 4th ed.
5. Pfiffner, John McDonald. 1935. *Public Administration*. New York: Ronald Press.
6. _____. 1946. 2nd ed.
7. _____ and Robert Vance Presthus. 1953. 3rd ed.
8. _____. 1967. 5th ed.
9. Robert Vance Presthus. 1975. 6th ed.
10. Dimock, Marshall Edward and Gladys Ogden Dimock. 1953. *Public Administration*. New York: Rinehart. Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
11. _____. 1964. 3rd ed.
12. _____, and Douglas M. Fox. 1983. 5th ed.
13. Nigro, Felix A. 1965. *Modern Public Administration*. New York: Harper & Row.
14. _____ and Lloyd G. Nigro. 1973. 3rd ed.
15. _____. 1984. 6th ed.
16. Starling, Grover. 1977. *Managing the Public Sector*. Homewood, IL: The Dorsey Press.
17. _____. 1986. 3rd ed. Chicago, IL: The Dorsey Press.
18. _____. 1998. 5th ed. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.
19. _____. 2005. 7th ed. Belmont, CA: Thomson. Wadsworth.
20. Gordon, George J. 1978. *Public Administration in America*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
21. _____. 1986. 3rd ed.
22. _____ and Michael E. Milakovich. 1998. 6th ed.
23. _____. 2007. 9th ed.
24. Rosenbloom, David H. 1986. *Public Administration: Understanding Management, Politics, and Law in the Public Sector*. New York: Random House.
25. _____. 1998. 4th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill.
26. _____ and Robert S. Kravchuk. 2005. 6th ed.
27. Shafritz, Jay M. and E.W. Russell. 1997. *Introducing Public Administration*. New York: Addison-Wesley Longman.
28. _____, and Christopher P. Borick. 2007. 5th ed.

II. All Published Editions of the Selected Textbooks and Selected Editions

	White	Pfiffner	Dimock	Nigro	Starling	Gordon	Rosenbloom	Shafritz	Total
1920s*	1926**								1
1930s	1939	1935							2
1940s	1948	1946							2
1950s	1955	1953	1953 1958						3
1960s		1960 1967	1964 1969	1965					3
1970s		1975		1970 1973 1977	1977	1978			4
1980s			1983	1980 1984 1988	1982 1986	1981 1986	1986 1989		5
1990s					1993 1998	1992 1995 1998	1993 1998	1997	4
2000s					2002 2005 2007	2000 2004 2007	2002 2005 2008	2000 2003 2005 2007	4
Total	4	5	3	3	4	4	3	2	28

* The 1920s ranges from 1921 to 1930.
** The shaded editions are selected.

III. Other Introductory Textbooks in the Original Sample

1. Berkley, George E. and John Rouse. 2008[1975, 1978, 1981, 1984, 1988, 1991, 1994, 1997, 2000, 2003]. *The Craft of Public Administration*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
2. Henry, Nicholas. 2007[1975, 1979, 1986, 1989, 1992, 1995, 1999, 2001, 2004]. *Public Administration and Public Affairs*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Appendix 2: The Coding Process

1. Introduction

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine the knowledge development of American public administration (PA). For this purpose, I have a couple of objectives for the process of categorizing and coding. First, the process is necessary enough to demonstrate the knowledge development in both changes and variations; e.g., continuity, salience, and discontinuity on the one hand and similarity and difference on the other. Second, the categories are supposed to show the relationships among PA concepts, topics, and perspectives.

The sampling unit in this research is introductory textbooks of public administration. The recording unit is words, sentences, and paragraphs. The words of chapter and subchapter titles present the range of PA topics. Sentences contain the definition of concepts and topics. Paragraphs provide the theme and context of PA concepts and perspectives. Paragraphs containing the definition and statement for PA concepts, topics, and perspectives are selected and recorded, whereas paragraphs containing cases and technical details are excluded.

2. The Pilot Study

I conducted a pilot study with six introductory textbooks during spring of 2009. The study's goals were to explore and identify 1) the approximate numbers of categories, 2) the range of text for recording, and 3) the reliability of the coding process. The study showed 18 topic categories and 1443 paragraphs—241 on the average per textbook. I also recorded some codes from the textbooks two times and did not find significant differences that infringe upon the consistency in the coding process.

The results of the pilot study provided a couple of guidelines for the categorizing and coding process. First, I found that the politics-administration dichotomy would be better examined with its sub-concepts, such as the legislative-executive relationship, the amateur/political appointee-administrator relationship, and the public/interest groups-administration relationship. These sub-concepts would turn out to demonstrate more details about the variations and changes of the dichotomy across time and authors. Second, I found that using both deductive and inductive ways would be better for coding than employing one of them. The deductive coding was utilized when PA concepts and topics were clearly distinguished from each other. In other cases, the inductive way was applied. For instance, when a new chapter title emerged or old ones were merged, it was recorded as a new or combined topic.

3. Open Coding

The open coding process in this research is largely separated into two parts: 1) coding topics and sub-topics and 2) coding paragraphs relevant to concepts, topics, and perspectives. For the first part, all chapter and sub-chapter titles are recorded and codified. As Table 2 shows, for instance, I wrote down the chapter and subchapter titles in the first chapter of White's 1926 edition, categorized it as *the study of public administration* with a code of STU, and recorded the page number.

Table 1: Coding for PA Topics

No	Chapter	Sub-chapter	Page	Topic
1	Administration and the modern state	The scope and nature of public administration The emergence of administration Science and administration Public and non-official administration	1	Stu

This makes it possible to compare topics and subtopics over time and across authors. That is to say, topic and subtopic codes are compared over the different editions of the same author(s) and across the different textbooks of the same decade. At the end, 38 simple codes were found, as Table 3 shows. In addition, I devised some combined codes which are composed of two simple codes. For instance, the code ORGPOL means politics in the topic of organization.

Table 2: Codes for PA Topics

No	Code	Topic
1	ACC	Accountability
2	ADA	Administrative action
3	ADL	Administrative rules
4	ADP	Administrative power
5	APL	Administrative procedures
6	BUR	Bureaucracy
7	CLU	Conclusion
8	COM	Communication
9	CON	Control
10	CST	Constitution
11	CUL	Culture
12	DEC	Decision-making
13	DEM	Democracy
14	ENV	Environment
15	ETH	Ethics
16	EXE	The executive
17	FIN	Budget and financial management
18	HIS	History
19	IGR	Intergovernmental relations
20	INF	Information
21	INT	International administration
22	JUD	The courts
23	LAW	Administrative law
24	LEA	Leadership
25	LEG	The legislature
26	MGT	Management
27	ORG	Organization
28	PEM	Personnel management
29	PLC	Policy and policy analysis
30	PUB	The Public and administration
31	PLN	Planning

32	POL	Politics
33	PPC	The public-private comparison
34	REG	Regulation
35	RES	Responsibility
36	RMP	Rule-making power
37	STU	The study of public administration
38	VAL	Value

For the second part of the coding process, I typed the paragraphs relevant to PA concepts, topics, and perspectives and recorded the main themes and definition sentences on endnotes. As Table 3 shows, PA concepts for this research are already selected, and a paragraph containing any of those concepts is recorded.

Table 3: PA Concepts

Type	Category
Primary concepts	the definition of public administration the politics/policy-administration dichotomy the legislative-administrative relationship the amateur/political appointee-administrator relationship the public/interest groups-administration relationship the public-private comparison
Secondary concepts	the court-administration relationship, science, art, professionalism

As Table 4 shows, when I found a paragraph relevant to the definition of public administration in the 1926 edition of White, I first typed the whole paragraph or some sentences and added the page number to it. I recorded it as WH26 (the 1926 edition of White), identified it with its topic STU (the study), and labeled it as DPA (the definition of public administration). As a result, the codes of WH26STU-DPA represent 1) the initials of textbook author(s) in the first two letters, 2) the last two numbers of the publication year, 3) the code of topics, and 4) the code of concepts or perspectives in the last three letters. In other words, WH26STU-DPA means a paragraph containing the definition of public administration in the topic of the study in the 1926 edition of White.

I placed the sentences and phrases relevant to the definition of public administration on the endnote.

Table 4: Coding for PA Concepts in a PA Topic

Original text	There is an essential unity in the process of administration, where it be observed in city, state, or federal government, that precludes a "stratified" classification of the subject. To treat it in terms of municipal administration, state administration, or national administration, is to imply a distinction that in reality does not exist… Nor do the respective phases of city, state, or federal government present any significant variation in the technique of their administration. At the outset, therefore, it seems important to insist that the administrative process is a unit, and to conceive it not as municipal administration, or state administration, or federal administration, but as a process common to all levels of government. (1-2)
Code	WH26STU-DPA
Endnote	WH26STU-DPA: administration: "an essential unity in the process of administration" (1), "as a process common to all levels of government" (2), and no significant variations in the technique among administrations (1)

Afterwards, the definitions were distinguished from statements of concepts and topics. Whenever I found a paragraph containing definition statements, I placed the original sentences as much as possible. When I found a paragraph without them, I took out the themes from the paragraph in the author(s)'s words. Those sentences and meanings were later used for the axial coding to analyze PA concepts and perspectives and infer their implications. A paragraph containing more than one PA concept was labeled with a combined code. As Table 5 shows, for instance, WH26STU-DPACAD is the code for a paragraph, which contains both the definition and the court-administration relationship (CAD) in the 1926 edition of White.

Table 5: Coding for the Combined Concept

Original text	It is said that "administrative law is that part of the public law which fixes the organization and determines the competence of the administrative authorities, and indicates to the individual remedies for the violation of his rights." This definition rightly indicates that the subject matter belongs to the field of law and points to its major objective, the protection of private rights. The objective of public administration is the efficient conduct of

	public business. (4-5)
Code	WH26STU-DPACAD
Endnote	WH26STU-DPACAD: “the protection of private rights” as the objective of law, whereas “the efficient conduct of public business” as that of public administration (4-5)

As Table 6 shows, this study has 28 introductory textbooks and eight codes for PA concepts and perspectives. PA perspectives are generally presented as the intention, goal, and theme of textbooks and theoretical approaches. Therefore, a paragraph containing those terms is recorded.

Table 6: Codes for PA Textbooks and Concepts

Code	Subjects	Kind
DD53	Dimock and Dimock (1953)	Textbook
DD64	Dimock and Dimock (1964)	Textbook
DD83	Dimock, Dimock, and Fox (1983)	Textbook
GM78	Gordon (1978)	Textbook
GM86	Gordon (1986)	Textbook
GM98	Gordon and Milakovich (1998)	Textbook
GM07	Gordon and Milakovich (2007)	Textbook
NN65	Nigro (1965)	Textbook
NN73	Nigro and Nigro (1973)	Textbook
NN84	Nigro and Nigro (1984)	Textbook
PP35	Pfiffner (1935)	Textbook
PP46	Pfiffner (1946)	Textbook
PP53	Pfiffner and Presthus (1953)	Textbook
PP67	Pfiffner and Presthus (1967)	Textbook
PP75	Presthus (1975)	Textbook
RO86	Rosenbloom (1986)	Textbook
RO98	Rosenbloom (1998)	Textbook
RO05	Rosenbloom and Kravchuk (2005)	Textbook
SR97	Shafritz and Russell (1997)	Textbook
SR07	Shafritz, Russell, and Borick (2007)	Textbook
ST77	Starling (1977)	Textbook
ST86	Starling (1986)	Textbook
ST98	Starling (1998)	Textbook
ST05	Starling (2005)	Textbook
WH26	White (1926)	Textbook
WH39	White (1939)	Textbook
WH48	White (1948)	Textbook
WH55	White (1955)	Textbook
AAD	The amateur/political appointee-administrator relationship	Concept

CAD	The court-administration relationship	Concept
DPA	The definition of public administration	Concept
LAD	The legislative-administrative relationship	Concept
PAD	The politics/policy-administration dichotomy	Concept
PPC	The public-private comparison	Concept
PUB	The public/interest groups-administration relationship	Concept*
PER	Perspective	Perspective

* The code *PUB* is both a concept and topic. The code as a topic means the administration's public relations, whereas it as a concept means the public/interest groups-administration relationship.

A couple of points require clarification. First, when a word is changed from one sentence to another without altering the meaning, the two sentences are considered the same, and the change is not discussed in this dissertation. For example, Rosenbloom changed the word *powerful* to *influential* without altering the meaning, as Table 7 shows.

Table 7: Coding for PA Concepts with Minor Changes

The 1986 edition	Public administrators are even more *powerful* when it comes to choosing the means through which public policies will be implemented. (50) RO86STU-DPA
The 1998 edition	Public administrators are even more *influential* when it comes to choosing the means through which public policies will be implemented. (64) RO98STU-DPA

Second, some terms added or removed indicate some changes. In this case, after examining the detail of the section thoroughly, I decided whether the change would affect the contents or meanings. As Table 8 shows, for instance, Starling used different terms in the subchapter entitled "The Federal Budget Cycle" in the chapter of budget/financial management (FIN). However, the overall contents and meanings of the legislative-administrative relationship (LAD) did not change so much in the section that those changes were not considered seriously in this dissertation.

Table 8: Coding for PA Topics with Minor Changes

The 1977 edition	Keeping these ideas…*executive formulation and transmittal …congressional authorization and appropriation…budget execution and control…review and audit*. (293) ST77FIN-LAD

The 1986 edition	Keeping these ideas…*executive formulation and transmittal …congressional authorization and appropriation…budget execution and control…review and audit*. (371) ST86FIN-LAD
The 1998 edition	Keeping these ideas… *formulation*, *legislative review*, *budget execution*, and *audit*. (515) ST98FIN-LAD
The 2005 edition	With these ideas… *executive preparation*, *legislative approval*, *execution*, and *audit*. (514) ST05FIN-LAD

During the process of coding, as Table 9 shows, I paid attention to some words and phrases for emphasis, comparison, relation, and time, considering that those terms would elucidate the coded concepts, topics, and perspectives.

Table 9: Significant Words and Phrases

	Words and phrases
Absolute emphasis	critical, central, important, key, main, major
Relative emphasis	more or less…than
Comparison	similar, different, common
Relation	relate, associate, separate, overlap, unite, balance
Attention	problem, concern, difficult, lack, deficient, need
Time	change, emerge, periods (years), new, begin, end
Intention	theme, purpose, goal,

As Table 10 shows, the number of paragraphs coded is 6,654 ranging from 149 in the 1965 edition of Nigro and Nigro to 350 in the 2007 edition of Gordon and Milakovich. The average number of paragraphs per textbook is 238, which is not that different from the pilot study. After coding all paragraphs, I arranged the endnotes of each textbook in alphabetical order to make comparison easy. The analysis was based on the alphabetically ordered endnotes.

Table 10: The Numbers of Paragraphs Recorded

	1920s	1930s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s
WH	196	220	243	244					
PP		171	245	284	297	174			
DD				264	274	*	197		
NN					149	166	182		
ST						192	207	189	196
GM						284	344	339	350
RO							252	292	290
SR								213	200

* No edition.

Table 11 shows the paragraph and page numbers of the major PA topics which contain the primary PA concepts. For example, 67 paragraphs containing the primary PA concepts are found in the two topics, covering 49 pages, of the study and institutional environment in the 1926 edition of White.

Table 11: PA Topics Containing Primary PA Concepts

Code	Textbook	Topics	No*
WH26	White (1926)	study, institutional environment	2/49/67
WH39	White (1939)	study, history	2/32/42
WH48	White (1948)	study, history	2/20/33
WH55	White (1955)	study, history	2/25/42
PP35	Pfiffner (1935)	study	1/20/22
PP46	Pfiffner (1946)	study	3/39/37
PP53	Pfiffner and Presthus (1953)	study, bureaucracy	3/57/57**
PP67	Pfiffner and Presthus (1967)	study, bureaucracy	4/82/60
PP75	Presthus (1975)	study, bureaucracy, policy	5/91/42
DD53	Dimock and Dimock (1953)	study, politics	2/46/64
DD64	Dimock and Dimock (1964)	study, history, environment, politics	6/79/91
DD83	Dimock, Dimock, and Fox (1983)	study, politics	3/34/64
NN65	Nigro and Nigro (1965)	study, environment, culture	3/77/45
NN73	Nigro and Nigro (1973)	study, environment, culture	3/72/47
NN84	Nigro and Nigro (1984)	study, politics	2/33/42
ST77	Starling (1977)	study, politics	2/50/51
ST86	Starling (1986)	study, politics	2/74/64
ST98	Starling (1998)	study, politics	2/98/78
ST05	Starling (2005)	study, politics	2/116/89
GM78	Gordon (1978)	study, value, bureaucracy	3/81/79
GM86	Gordon (1986)	study, value, bureaucracy	3/91/90
GM98	Gordon and Milakovich (1998)	study, value, bureaucracy	3/76/84
GM07	Gordon and Milakovich (2007)	study, value/democracy	2/104/102
RO86	Rosenbloom (1986)	study, history	2/78/90
RO98	Rosenbloom (1998)	study, history	2/96/119
RO05	Rosenbloom and Kravchuk (2005)	study, history	2/95/120
SR97	Shafritz and Russell (1997)	study, politics/policy	2/86/54
SR07	Shafritz, Russell, and Borick (2007)	study, politics/policy	2/82/54

* Topic chapter/page/paragraph numbers
** A topic sometimes has more than one chapter.

Table 12 shows how often PA concepts and perspectives are mentioned in PA topics. For example, all paragraphs recorded from the concluding chapter in the 1926 edition of White express the author's intentions and themes of PA. Among them, many paragraphs deal with the definition of PA, while some discuss administration's relationships with the legislature and the courts.

Table 12: Associations between PA Topics and Concepts

Text	PA Concepts in PA Topics
WH26	PER in CLU—through* PERDPA in CLU—many** PERLADCAD in CLU—some*** LAD, CAD, PUB in CON—thorough AAD in ORG—many LAD in ORG—some PER in PEM—some PPC in PEM—some PAD, LAD, CAD in POL—thorough LADFIN in POL—some LAD in RMP—many DPA in STU—thorough DPACAD in STU—some DPAPPC in STU—some

* through: the concept code appears all the way through the topic
** many: more than 9 times
*** some: 3-9 times

4. Axial and Selective Coding

Axial coding is the process of connecting categories, or codes, to understand the relationships among them. The axial coding in this dissertation includes five stages: 1) assembling categories for PA concepts, topics, and perspectives; 2) narrating concept categories for the analysis; 3) narrating topic categories for the analysis; 4) connecting the topic categories with the concept ones and narrating them for the analysis; and 5) connecting the perspective categories with the concept and topic categories and

narrating them for the analysis. There are a couple of details of the axial coding. First, similar phrases and codes are examined and then counted as one to avoid repetition. Second, while relative concepts or phrases are reassembled, some direct quotes like definition statements are left intact for concept analysis and direct comparison word for word.

Selective coding, as the last procedure for the grounded theory analysis, aims to decide the core category to integrate all other categories and develop a single storyline. However, this coding process does not entirely fit in with the purpose of this paper, because it may reduce the variations and changes of concepts and topics for comparison. Therefore, I applied selective coding only to the analysis of perspectives.

Appendix 3: Various Categorizations of PA Topics

Table 1: Various Categorizations of PA Topics in *Public Administration Review*

1970-1976	1975-1984	1940-1991	2000-2005	2000-2009
Discipline			PA as an field	Study
		Introspection	PAR report	PAR report
			Big questions	Education
		Testimonials	Reflective practitioner	History
				Development administration
Methodology			Methodology	
			PA theory	
			Governance	Governance
	Administrative theory, bureaucracy, organizational theory,		Representative bureaucracy	
		Government, organizational behavior	Bureaucracy	Bureaucracy
Organizational theory			Organizational theory	Organization
		Decision making	Leadership	
			Reinventing	
			Public/private sector	
	Citizen participation		Citizen participation	Citizen participation
Management	Management, managerial roles	Management	Nonprofit management	Management
		Management science and technology	Management	
			Performance	
			Privatization	
			Technology, *e*-government	Information, *e*-government
Policy, planning, programming	Policy making, analysis, evaluation	Policy analysis	Policy	Policy
		Implementation	Environmental policy	
	Planning, administrative systems	Program evaluation, planning		
Personnel	Personnel	Human resources	Human resources	Personnel
			Public service	
Budgeting	Budgeting	Budgeting	Budgeting	Budgeting
	IGR	IGR		IGR
	Urban/regional		Local	
	State			
	Federal		Federal	
Law		Law		Law
	Accountability responsiveness public interest values		Accountability	Accountability
		Ethics	Ethics	Ethics
				Politics
			Comparative	Society
			Homeland security	Terrorism
Other	Other		Other	

Sources: Raadschelders and Lee (2011, 22): the period of 1970-1976 by Bowman and Hajjar (1978); 1975-1984 by Perry and Kraemer (1986); 1940-1991 by Bingham and Bowen (1994); 2000-2005 by Terry (2005); the period of 2000-2009 by Raadschelders and Lee (2011).

Table 2: Various Categorizations of PA Topics in PA Bibliographies

Bibliography	PA Topics
Caiden et al.'s (1983) 10 topics based on specialized bibliographies	administration and society; administrative ethics and behavior; American public administration and management; comparative, development and international administration; environmental management; organization theory and behavior; public finance; public personal administration; public policy and regulation; urban administration
Caiden et al.'s (1983) 13 topics based on professional journals in public affairs and administration	administration and society; American government; American public administration and management; comparative, development and international administration; education administration; environmental management; justice/law enforcement; organization theory and behavior; public finance; public personal administration; public policy and regulation; social services/health care administration; urban administration
McCurdy's (1986) 10 groups	general PA; values, ethics, and the development of PA; the behavioral approach; the systems approach; bureaucracy; the policy approach; state and local administration; comparative PA; public personnel administration; budgeting and finance

Table 3: Various Categorizations of PA Topics in PA Handbooks

Handbook	PA Topics
Rabin (1989)	Unit 1: Public Administration History and Organization Theory Unit 2: Public Budgeting and Financial Management Unit 3: Decision-Making Unit 4: Public Personnel Management and Labor Relations Unit 5: Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations Unit 6: Policy Sciences Unit 7: Comparative and International Administration Unit 8: Public Law and Regulation Unit 9: Public Administration Pedagogy Unit 10: Data Administration and Research Methods Unit 11: Judicial Administration Unit 12: Political Economy Unit 13: The Profession of Public Administration
Rabin (1998)	Unit 1: Public Administration History Unit 2: Organization Theory Unit 3: Public Budgeting and Financial Management Unit 4: Decision-Making Unit 5: Public Personnel Management and Labor Relations Unit 6: Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations Unit 7: Policy Sciences Unit 8: Comparative and International Administration

	Unit 9: Public Law and Regulation Unit 10: Public Administration Pedagogy Unit 11: Data Administration and Research Methods Unit 12: Judicial Administration Unit 13: Political Economy Unit 14: The Profession of Public Administration
Rabin (2007)	Unit 1: Public Administration History Unit 2: Organization Theory Unit 3: Public Budgeting and Financial Management Unit 4: Decision-Making Unit 5: Public Personnel Management Unit 6: Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations Unit 7: Public Policy Unit 8: Comparative and International Relations Unit 9: Public Law Unit 10: Public Administration Pedagogy Unit 11: Information Technology Unit 12: The Conduct of Inquiry Unit 13: Judicial Administration Unit 14: Political Economy Unit 15: Public Administration as a Profession
Peters & Pierre (2003)	Part 1: Public Management: Old and New Part 2: Human Resource Management Part 3: Organization Theory and Public Administration Part 4: Administrative History Part 5: Implementation Part 6: Law and Administration Part 7: Politics and Administration Part 8: Administration and Society Part 9: Budgeting and Finance Part 10: Comparative and International Public Administration Part 11: Administrative Reform Part 12: Public Administration in Developing and Transitional Societies Part 13: Accountability Part 14: Intergovernmental Relations and Public Administration
Perry (1989)	Part 1: Public Administration in a New Era Part 2: Effective Administrative and Organizational Systems Part 3: Strengthening Relationships with Legislatures, Elected and Appointed Officials, and Citizens Part 4: Establishing Successful Policies and Programs Part 5: Effective Budgeting and Fiscal Administration Part 6: Managing Human Resources Part 7: Improving Operations and Services Part 8: The Professional Practice of Public Administration
Perry (1996)	Part 1: The Challenge of Managing the Changing Public Sector Part 2: The Keystones of Accountability and Responsiveness

	Part 3: Shaping and Implementing Policy—from Political Arenas to Program Delivery Part 4: Effective Budgeting and Fiscal Administration Part 5: Managing Human Resources Part 6: Tools and Methods to Promote Effectiveness Part 7: Public Administration Skills Part 8: The Professional Practice of Public Administration

Appendix 4: The Theories of Popper, Kuhn, and Toulmin

	Popper	Kuhn	Toulmin
Feature	Outcome	Context	Process
Main point	Objective knowledge	Socio-psychological influences on research activities	Collective procedures
Domain	World 3	Research community	Intellectual enterprise
Position of evolution	Progressive evolution Goal-directed evolution but not deterministic	Socio-psychological revolution and evolution No goal	Ecological evolution No any special direction
Decision	"the natural selection of hypotheses" (261)	Revolution as "the selection by conflict" (172)	Intellectual adoption of a favored variance
Intent	Objectivity as goal	Socio-psychological factors as circumstance	Rationality as force
Type of scientists	Individual scientists pursuing theories	Individual scientists conducting research	Collective scientist groups forming and modifying concepts
Unit	Theory	Research	Concept
Change	Theoretical falsification	Paradigmatic revolution	Conceptual evolution
Popper's term	The products	The production	The products and production
Debate	Critical discussion in World 3	Incommensurability between paradigms	Rational discussion in the forums of competition
Question	Scientific or not?	Change or not?	Rational or not?
Criteria	Falsification	Normality and abnormality	Innovation and selection
Judgment	Test of lab scientists	Allegiance of scholars and students	Action like judges
Activity	Critical discussion leading to falsify theories	Professional practice and education leading to research activities	Rational procedures leading to conceptual changes
External factors	None or limited social-psychological factors on objective knowledge	Social-psychological factors on research activities and paradigmatic revolution	Social-psychological and institutional factors on conceptual evolution