

Building Blocks of Criminal Justice Administration

PART

I

This text is divided into three parts. Here, in Part I, the history of criminal justice administration is the subject of study. In order to successfully practice the art of administration, one must have mastered the science of administration. The science of administration involves the study of past practices and concepts. By studying the past, one can experience vicariously what others have practiced and thereby develop an understanding of the various administrative approaches available for application in today's environment. Chapter 1 provides basic definitions and introduces the Contextual Themes Model that will be used throughout this book. Chapters 2 through 4 explore the past 100 years of administrative practices and concepts that formed the building blocks of the Contextual Themes Model. Chapter 5 provides examples of how the Contextual Themes Model concepts apply to one field of criminal justice, that of law enforcement. Part II applies administrative concepts to contemporary criminal justice challenges, and Part III focuses on the future.

Organizing the Historical Building Blocks of Administration into a Contextual Themes Model

Introduction

It is appropriate to begin by establishing an understanding of the main theme of this book: criminal justice administration. Criminal justice administration is the task of overseeing the fulfillment of the public mission for criminal justice agencies. It is the task of executive officers, managers, and supervisors to establish a structure and environment that provides employees with a clear sense of their responsibilities. Additionally, administrators must ensure that these responsibilities are carried out efficiently and effectively. Administration includes the concepts of leadership and management. The purpose of this text is to provide an understanding of the theories and concepts that those who administrate draw on in order to fulfill their responsibilities successfully.

Administration: A Science and an Art

A metaphor that may help to explain the difference between science and art is the process of learning to play a musical instrument. To play a musical instrument well, one must first learn to read music and play the various notes and chords that make a melody. This requires study and the learning of the concepts and theories relating to music that have evolved over many centuries. This process can be viewed as the science of music. The process can be a tedious and demanding endeavor of repeated practicing, of playing musical notes and scales that separately may not sound like music. If one continues this pursuit of the science of music, one will, ideally, no longer have to concentrate on individual notes and scales. Rather, one will be able to play combinations of notes and scales to create music. This is where the science of music becomes art.



Dwight Waldo

Dwight Waldo (1955) stated in *The Study of Public Administration* that the word “**administration**” has two usages. One involves the study or intellectual inquiry of the discipline. The science of administration therefore can be viewed as studying the facts that have been gleaned from research and past practices. It can be viewed as somewhat quantitative as well as based on concepts and theories that have evolved over time. Waldo defined the other usage of “administration” as the activity or actual practice of overseeing a public organization. This is the art of administration and can be considered to occur when one has internalized those facts relating to the discipline and is able to convert them to the practice of overseeing the accomplishment of organizational missions and goals.

Often, the administrator must coordinate and direct the members of an organization within a time frame that does not provide for step-by-step consideration of the concepts and theories that have been studied. But if he or she has mastered the scientific phase of administration, and has internalized the related concepts and theories, then he or she is able to conceptualize more appropriate approaches to achieve desired results. The difference between the **science** and **art** of administration can be defined in the following way:

Science = the study of concepts and theories

Art = the converting of concepts and theories into practice

Administration is the creation of synergy. “Synergy” can be defined as the combined action of energies that results in an outcome that exceeds the individual energies. A more understandable example may be the coordination of the physical abilities of two people to push an object (a vehicle, for example) that neither of the two can push individually. This is why organizations are formed and why administrators are given the responsibility of combining and coordinating the activities of employees. A well-administrated organization can produce much greater results than can the members of the organization acting individually. Synergy can be viewed as:

Properly combining 1 + 1 can equal more than 2.

The Major Responsibilities of Administrators

Dwight Waldo (1955) wrote that administrators are held accountable for two major responsibilities. One is to achieve the social or public mission of the organization. The other is to satisfy the needs of employees. Accomplishment of both these goals requires a combination of management and leadership skills. These skills can best be acquired by those who have scientifically studied related theories and concepts and who can artfully apply them to current and future challenges. An objective of this book is to provide the reader with a level of understanding of how to apply concepts and theory to practice. The two major responsibilities of the administrator are:

1. Accomplishment of the mission
2. Satisfaction of employee needs

Basic Administrative Terms

In discussing administration, a number of terms have been used. Although these terms will be discussed in more detail later in this text, they are briefly defined here to provide a basic understanding of administration.

Organization is the grouping of two or more people and the coordination of their efforts to achieve common goals and objectives.

Management is making appropriate use of resources (people and equipment) to achieve organizational goals and objectives as efficiently and effectively as possible. It may be referred to as the technical aspects of administration (planning, organizing, directing, and coordinating) and does not necessarily involve leadership.

Leadership is the process of getting people to work willingly toward a common goal. It involves inspiring and motivating people.

Missions and goals, which are often used interchangeably, are the broad statements that establish the overall philosophy and direction of an organization. They are sometimes called “value statements.”

Objectives are measurable and time-bound components of an organization’s overall mission. For example, a mission may be to rehabilitate those in the corrections system and prevent them from continuing a life of crime when released back into society. An objective would be to reduce the recidivism rate by 15% (measurable) over the next year (time-bound).

Efficient and **effective** are often used interchangeably; however, they have different meanings. Being efficient means making the best use of resources. Being effective means achieving the desired goals and objectives. One can be achieved without the other. For example, administrators may have their personnel working at maximum capacity, but they may be unable to achieve their goals and objective because they have not been provided ample resources. Conversely, an objective relating to reducing burglaries may be achieved without efficient use of resources. The objective may be accomplished because the prime perpetrator of the burglaries is arrested by another agency. A successful administrator is both efficient and effective.

To provide a better understanding of how these basic terms relate to administration, the following statements are offered:

Missions and goals are usually established by executive officers, whereas objectives are developed by mid-managers and supervisors.

Objectives are a means by which executive officers can hold supervisors and managers accountable for contributing to the missions and goals.

Efficiency may be said to be a better measure of management ability, whereas effectiveness is better associated with leadership.

Historical Development of the Building Blocks of Administration

The history of administrative practices provides a foundation of knowledge with which today’s criminal justice administrators must be familiar if they are to be successful. What follows is a brief review to provide the reader with the basis for understanding these building blocks of administration. The building blocks of administration are the components of the **Contextual Themes Model**, which will be used throughout this text. The Contextual Themes Model is meant to provide the reader with a method of understanding the multitude of administrative theories and concepts available in overseeing contemporary criminal justice agencies. Five contextual themes are identified from the three historical eras (**Figure 1.1**). These themes are the building blocks of the Contextual Themes Model.

The Industrial Era (1880s–1950s)

Development of Organization Functions Theme

During the first half of the Industrial Era, literature analyzed and described the basic functions of bureaucratic organizations. It included the establishment of management principles and organization functions that guide the administration of public agencies. The public administration approach during this period was that under the U.S. Constitution, public representatives were elected and public agencies carried out the directions of elected officials.

In “The Study of Administration,” Woodrow Wilson (1887) described public administration as the business end of government. In his view, representatives of the people, the elected officials, were the proper ultimate authority in all matters of government, and public administration was merely the clerical part of government.

Wilson’s work was an outgrowth of the reform movement of the time. This movement resulted in the passage of the first federal civil service reform legislation, the Pendleton Act of 1883. The Pendleton Act began a process of replacing the “spoils system” with a federal personnel system based on merit. This reform movement was a result of public disappointment with the blatant political abuse and corruption that had prevailed since the 1820s.

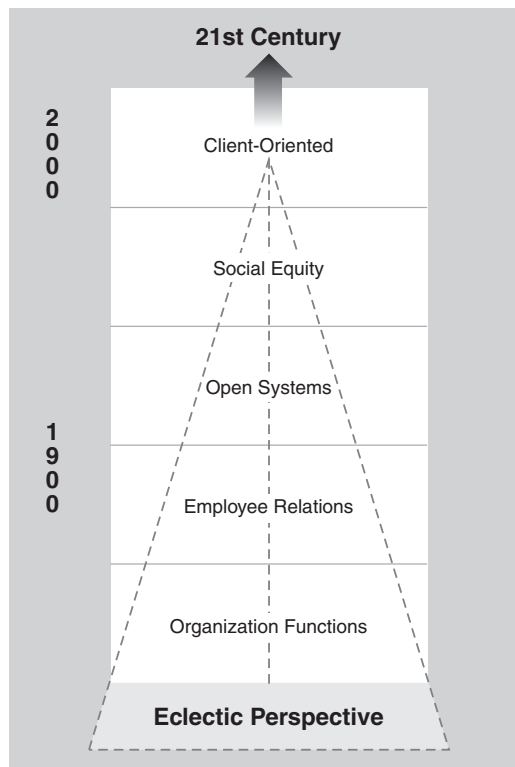


Figure 1.1 The Contextual Themes Model

It can be seen in Wilson’s writings that the theme of public administration at the time was centered on creating efficient organizations to carry out the public interest as interpreted by elected officials. This period emphasized rationalism, efficiency, and productivity through established rules, laws, and scientific principles. These subjects were of major concern to public administrators in the early 1900s.

Sometimes called “classical organization theories,” the Organization Functions theme viewed public agencies as social systems in which power and authority flowed from the top downward through a hierarchy, and accountability flowed from the bottom upward. The mission or goals of an organization could be divided into specific tasks. Tasks were assigned and delegated downward through a superior/subordinate relationship wherein employees were held accountable for efficiently achieving desired goals. The concentration of writings relating to this theme was published from 1887 to the late 1930s.

Development of the Emphasis on Employee Relations Theme

Although the previous period centered on how the bureaucratic structure controlled the efforts of employees, the emerging interest began to consider the quality of life of individuals in the organization. The consideration of how employees were motivated to achieve work tasks led to the development of the Employee Relations theme.

This shift in theme was promoted by research in furtherance of a theory of the Organization Functions period, Frederick W. Taylor’s theory of scientific management. Elton Mayo and F. J. Roethlisberger investigated how physical factors (factors that Taylor advocated in his scientific management theory) contributed to production at the Western Electric Company’s Hawthorne plant in Chicago. They discovered that the social environment and attention given to workers had a more pronounced effect on productivity than the physical environment had.

Even though the Hawthorne experiments took place in the late 1920s and early 1930s, the findings were not published until the 1940s. Following the private sector lead, the public sector interest in efficiency broadened to include employees and how to motivate them to be more productive.

This “humanism” approach took the position that workers would produce more if they gained job satisfaction. Job satisfaction related to democratic participation by workers in decision making. It was a supervisory approach that was less autocratic and more trusting and emphasized concern for the “team members” welfare.

Although under the Organization Functions approach employees were thought to gain fulfillment from attaining organization goals, the humanist approach focused on integrating individual and organization goals toward employee self-actualization. One school of thought in this category (sometimes called “neoclassical” theories) dealt with the idea of power as a human relations concept. The boss could give orders, but the informal organization had the power to determine to what extent employees would obey.

The Civil Rights Era (1960s–1970s)

Development of the Open Systems Theme

Following the Employee Relations period, public administration scholars began to broaden their view to include those influences outside the organization, that is, influences that had some impact on the internal operations of an organization. This shift in theme happened as the public sector became more aware that, in order to be more efficient, there must be concern and interaction with elements outside the boundaries of public agencies. Again, the public sector followed the private sector.

There was a move away from the “closed system” theory, which held that an organization was analogous to a physical system (such as a machine) and essentially was insulated from its own environment. The closed system approach related to the previous two development periods that centered on the inner workings of the organization (functions and employees).

The Open Systems period marked the beginning of the view that organizations are part of a larger environment. An organization has a greater purpose than mere survival, and it reaches beyond itself, much as human beings do. From the Open Systems perspective, the essential parts of an organization or administrative system are input, throughput, output, and feedback.

Input is interaction in the system emanating from the environment (such as the energies of citizens who become employees). Throughput is the transformation of environmental factors (such as supplies and other resources) into output. Output is the interaction initiated by the system (such as a product or service) that leaves the boundaries of the system. Feedback can alert the organization to output mistakes so that they can be corrected at the input or throughput stages.

A Commitment to Social Equity Theme

Social equity became more of a concern to scholars of public administration in the 1970s. This theme shift began with the “New Public Administration” movement, which was inaugurated in 1968 when Dwight Waldo sponsored a conference for young public administrators at the Minnowbrook Conference site in Syracuse, New York. This is the only theme in the Contextual Theme Model that seems to have developed entirely from within the public sector.

The products of this conference (often referred to as the “Minnowbrook Perspective” or “Minnowbrook Papers”) were published in 1971 as *The New Public Administration: The Minnowbrook Perspective*. These papers emphasized social needs—particularly the problems of urbanism and violence.

Earlier periods of public administration had addressed two questions of public policy:

- 1.** Can better service be offered with available resources?
- 2.** Can the level of service be maintained while spending less?

The Social Equity period, however, added a third question: **3.** Do the services enhance social equity? From this perspective, administrators should understand the ethical framework on which government is based, and should be advocates for the disadvantaged.

Proponents of social responsibility said that the public servant should impress on higher-level policy makers the basic values of democracy and should actively advance the cause of social justice. An attendant role should be to increase citizen participation as a means of gaining more direct involvement of the disadvantaged and minorities.

Some who held this view even foresaw a political system in which elected officials would speak for the majority, whereas the courts and public administrators would speak for the disadvantaged and minorities.

The Transition to the 21st-Century Era (1980–)

Advancement of the Client-Oriented Service Theme

Once the focus moved outside the organization and toward more social responsibility, attention shifted to people-participation and the resulting impact that the public (the clients of public service) had on input, output, and feedback. In some ways, it was a return to the constitutional theme of the late 1700s, which focused on the sovereignty of the people and local rule.

For example, Vincent Ostrom said that public administrators should concentrate their services on individual consumers of public goods and services, and should not take their entire direction from “political masters.” He wrote that although public agencies were obligated to respect government authority (public officials), they were not mere “obedient servants” (Ostrom 1974, 110). Norton Long, in 1949, probably best predicted the coming of this theme shift when he wrote:

The theory that agencies should confine themselves to communicating policy suggestions to the executive and legislature, and refrain from appealing to their clientele and the public, neglects the failure of the parties to provide either a clear-cut decision as to what they should do or an adequately mobilized political support for a course of action. The bureaucracy under the American political system has a large share of responsibility for the public promotion of policy and even more in organizing the political basis for its survival and growth. (Long, cited in Stillman 1988, 93)

In contrast to the earlier Woodrow Wilson years, when public managers were considered administrators of political centralized power, this Client-Oriented service view recognized the need to allow public agencies to have more decentralized responsibilities in serving the public. Public managers began to interact directly with the public and to respond more as private corporation managers would respond to their customers while following the policies of a board of directors (in public agencies, the elected officials equate to a board of directors and the public to the shareholders).

Within the concept of public participation are what some scholars refer to as “public choice” and “marketplace” theories. These theories take the position that public agencies should compete to provide the public with goods and services instead of acting as monopolies under the influence of organized pressure groups and political factions.

The basis of this school of thought is that the free-enterprise market system is dependent on individual customer support, and our government agencies should be as well. Accordingly, because the citizen is a consumer of government goods and services, administrative responsiveness to citizens’ needs should be increased by creating a market system for government activities. The distinctive characteristic of this view is its primary unit of analysis, namely, the self-interested individual seeking to maximize utility through the exercise of rational choice.

Constructing a Contextual Themes Model from the Historical Building Blocks of Administration

The task of the administrator can be compared to a once-popular juggling act in which the performer would spin a series of china plates on wooden poles. In order to keep all of the plates spinning, the juggler often had to energize several plates simultaneously while maintaining an awareness of the velocity and balance of all the plates. The successful administrator, like the juggler, must often attend to several

challenges at one time while maintaining an awareness of the variety of all potential problems in a given area of public responsibility.

A premise of this text is that the history of public and business administration can provide a structure to serve as a guide for criminal justice administrators in handling current and future multitask challenges. The history of administration provides a set of building blocks that criminal justice administrations can use as guides in overseeing current and future tasks.

It was Alfred Korzybski, the father of general semantics, who stated that the essence of knowledge is structure (Korzybski 1958, 21–28). It follows that for criminal justice administrators to benefit from the historical development of public and business administration, a structure is required—one that will define and connect relative themes and concepts so they can be applied to contemporary issues. It was the absence of such structure that led J. C. Charlesworth (1968) and Waldo (1980) to conclude throughout their writings that the volumes of public administration literature notwithstanding, uncertainty remains regarding the definition, scope, and methods of verification essential to establishing public administration as a legitimate and respectable field of study.

Richard J. Stillman II wrote, “More than three decades ago, Dwight Waldo said that public administration suffered from a definite identity crisis, or as Vincent Ostrom termed it, ‘an intellectual crisis.’” Ostrom wrote that he was persuaded that the major task for the future was “to lay new foundations for the study of public administration” (Ostrom 1974, 5). More recently, Nicholas Henry called the dilemma “a paradigmatic quandary” (Stillman 1991, vii). The Contextual Themes Model is offered as a means of resolving this dilemma.

The Contextual Themes Model is meant to provide a framework based on the historical development of public and business administration themes, theories, and concepts. It should serve as a reminder for criminal justice practitioners and academicians of the variety of theoretical tools that can be applied to contemporary issues. Themes and concepts are extracted from the many milestone books and articles that form the contextual development of public and business administration. The result is a structure intended to provide the reader with a means of conceptualizing and applying past themes and practices to current and future administrative challenges (Figure 1.2). It also is meant to serve as a reminder that administrative approaches are ever evolving in response to changing social, political, and economic circumstances.

Just as with the development of scientific principles (Asimov 1972, 1), the development of administration themes is a process whereby new and more current ideas are constantly updating older ones. It is through this process that theories and concepts are built and refined, leading to the enhanced understanding and management of public sector challenges.

A structure that will facilitate understanding should provide a mechanism for connecting and making seemingly disjointed concepts and theories understandable. Such a structure also should be based on a commonly understood model. The well-known **Hierarchy of Human Needs**, provided by Abraham H. Maslow, serves as a comparison for the Contextual Themes Model of public administration (Figure 1.3). Maslow showed how these basic needs—physiological, safety, love, esteem, and self-actualization—were interrelated by arranging them into a hierarchy (Maslow 1943, 89–100). In describing his model, Maslow wrote:

The most prepotent goal will monopolize consciousness and will tend of itself to organize with recruitment of the various capacities of the organism. The less prepotent needs are minimized, even forgotten or denied. But when a need is fairly well satisfied the next prepotent (higher) need arises to dominate the conscious life and to serve as the center of organization or behavior, since gratified needs are not active motivators. (Maslow 1943, 91)

In Maslow’s hierarchal system, if one is at a higher level and if a previously satisfied level is threatened, one’s primary focus is often redirected to that lower goal. For example, if one is at the “self-actualization” level and loses his job, then he immediately regresses to the “physiological” and “safety” levels and becomes concerned with how he is going to provide for his basic needs. We will see that the same dynamics occur in the Contextual Themes Model of public administration.

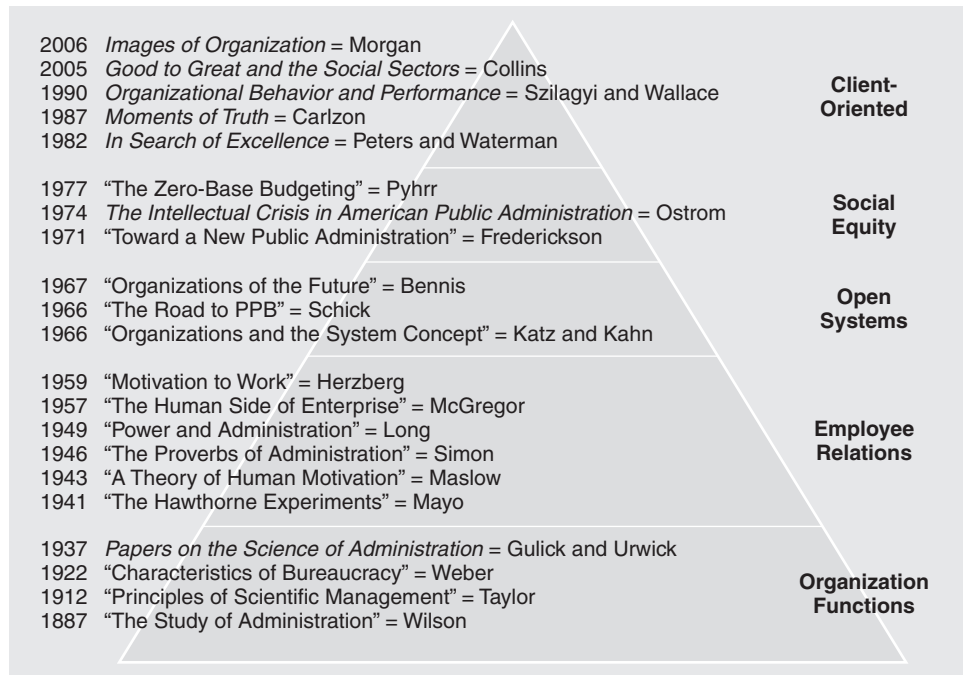


Figure 1.2 Contextual Themes Model and Key Milestones

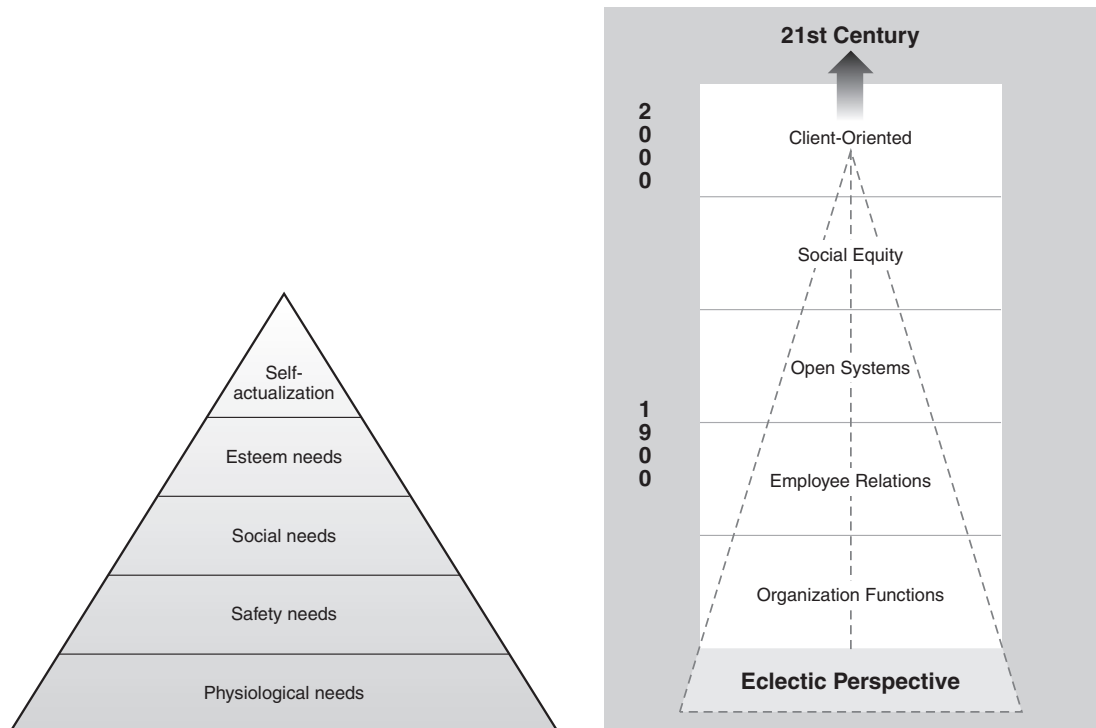


Figure 1.3 Comparison of Maslow's Hierarchy of Human Needs and the Contextual Themes Model

It should be acknowledged at this point that Maslow's work has been criticized as having little empirical support (Williams 1980). Nevertheless, the hierarchy remains today as a well-known model of motivation. One of the reasons for the endurance of Maslow's model is that it is logical and easy to understand.

A review of the development of public administration during the past 150 years reveals an interesting correlation with Maslow's Human Needs Model. As previously reviewed, the history of administrative theory provides five themes:

1. Establishment of Organization Functions (beginning in the 1880s): a focus on efficiency
2. Emphasis on Employee Relations (beginning in the 1940s): a focus on human relations within the organization
3. Development of an Open Systems outlook (beginning in the 1960s): a focus on input, output, and feedback relating to the external environment of the organization
4. Commitment to Social Equity (becoming a focal point in the 1970s): protect the individual rights of the public as well as employees
5. Movement to Client-Oriented service (became a central theme in the 1980s and continued into the 21st century): a focus on the interest of, and gaining and maintaining the trust of, the public

A challenge for public administration in the 21st century is to recognize the relevance of these historical themes to current issues. This requires an **Eclectic Perspective**, that is, an understanding of the past themes and related concepts and the ability to tailor and apply them to current situations. The Eclectic Perspective allows one to "mix and match" various administrative concepts to meet given contemporary situations.

During the Open Systems period, in 1966, Allen Schick wrote "The Road to PPB: The Stages of Budget Reform," and in 1977, during the Social Equity period, Peter Pyhrr wrote "The Zero-Base Approach to Government Budgeting." In both cases, the focus of public administration was temporarily diverted to a previous contextual theme because of a downturn in the economy. Reductions in budgets forced public administrators to return their attention to the efficiency interests of the Organization Functions period.

Maslow's Hierarchy of Human Needs was later modified by Clayton P. Alderfer in his ERG theory. Alderfer condensed the Maslow hierarchy into three needs categories: existence, relatedness, and growth. Two changes that the ERG theory made to the needs hierarchy should be noted. First, Maslow's hierarchy theory was based on a satisfaction–progression approach in that a movement to a higher-level need would occur once a lower need had been satisfied. The ERG theory, by contrast, incorporated not only a satisfaction–progression component but also a frustration–regression approach. Frustration–regression describes the situation in which a higher-order need remains unsatisfied, or frustrated, and greater importance or desire is placed on the next lower need. The second change is closely related to the first. Unlike Maslow's approach, the ERG theory indicates that more than one need may be operative at any one time (Landy 1976, 301).

These two changes, particularly the latter, are important in understanding the Contextual Themes Model of public administration. As the history of public administration has progressed through evolutionary phases, earlier themes remain important and function as building blocks that support and serve as a foundation for developing new themes, theories, and concepts.

For example, Elton Mayo's Hawthorne experiments at the Western Electric plant were intended to study Frederick Taylor's scientific management theory of the Organization Functions period. Mayo's study was motivated by an established Organization Functions theory and resulted in the discovery of yet another theory that moved the attention of private, as well as public, administration to a new theme.

It should be understood that when interest develops in a new theme, the themes of earlier periods remain important. Today's public administrator must attend to all the themes developed in the previous periods, as they provide a contextual guide when current and future public sector issues are confronted.

This approach postulates a contextual understanding based on historical themes. Samuel Bois, a clinical psychologist, wrote, “Humankind’s ability to know phenomena is limited and the rational mind acknowledges its limitations. Postulating is at best approximating. No formulation is one hundred percent valid” (Bois 1978, 166).

For example, the historical periods of the Contextual Themes Model of public administration are divided by the boundaries of decades. In reality, theme shifts may and do occur at any time, although these shifts conveniently can be identified with decades.

The Contextual Themes Model is an evolutionary structure that is meant to be expanded and built on in the future. The titles of the themes for each level should serve as reminders of the numerous milestone concepts and theories that are products of each historical period. They should serve as reminders of the many administrative tools that can be incorporated into the task of overseeing current and future criminal justice agencies.

Focusing on these themes illustrates how theories are enhanced and changed with experience and time. The intent of this text is to provide a historical perspective from which insight and intuitive action may be generated and applied to current and future public sector issues. Alfred Korzybski suggested that man is a “time-binder,” as distinguished from other animals that he labeled as “space-binders.” He defined time-binding as having “the capacity to summarize, digest, and appropriate the labors and experiences of the past, . . . the capacity of which man is at once the inheritor of bygone ages and trustee of posterity” (Korzybski 1958, 59). It may be concluded from this that past theories and concepts are essential components of today’s Eclectic Perspective administration.

The importance of this epistemological aspect of public administration was supported by J. Williams when he wrote:

The epistemological profile is an instrument for bringing history into a contemporary evolution and cultural science, in order to enable us to go beyond the macroscopic in finding direction and postulating new meanings. It can be used to facilitate understanding of individuals, groups, nations, international situations, institutions and systems. It is theory and therapy. It is a matter of moving from descriptive (history) to history in action; from what was, what is, to what might be. (Williams 1980, 40)

Albert Einstein was quoted as saying that he had “always believed that the invention of concepts and the building of theories upon them was one of the great creative properties of the human mind” (*World Book Dictionary* 1979, 429). Public administrators should contemplate the writings of Williams and Einstein, and they should apply and enhance the theories and concepts that are the legacy of the history of public administration.

The contextual themes Model should be used as a reminder of the themes, and related theories and concepts, that are the products of the history of public administration. The ability to energize several of these themes simultaneously, and to be continually aware of all the themes, is important in confronting contemporary criminal justice issues. Using the Contextual Themes Model as a management and “academic prompter” is consistent with Dwight Waldo’s definition of the two usages of public administration.

The contextual themes serve as indexes under which a multitude of key concepts can mentally be stored. The Chunking Theory is based on scientific studies that found that humans, no matter how intelligent, can contemplate only five to nine items at a time. However, by “packing hierarchies of information into chunks,” people could remember large amounts of information as they related to five to nine index subjects (Ross 2006). The Contextual Themes Model serves as a mental “Filing Cabinet” (Figure 1.4) into which key concepts can be stored and retrieved for current and future administrative applications.

As an “area of intellectual inquiry,” the Contextual Themes Model can be used as a structure for assimilating knowledge. The model furnishes a structure for categorizing theories and concepts for a clearer understanding of the volumes of public administration literature. In the same way that Douglas McGregor’s Theory X and Theory Y and Maslow’s Hierarchy of Human Needs assist in the study of motivational theory,

the five building block themes in the Contextual Themes Model are intended to organize the theories of public administration into key terms that serve as reminders of detailed concepts.

The Contextual Themes Model provides a structure for acknowledging the contextual development of U.S. public administration themes and their eclectic application to criminal justice issues in the 21st century. In this model, the Eclectic Perspective is a lens through which past themes, theories, and concepts are modulated to focus on current and future issues. It represents an understanding that the themes compose a spectrum of theories, all of which are useful in today's environment.

In taking this perspective, it is understood that many of the theories and concepts developed during the past 100 years play a role in the administration of contemporary criminal justice agencies, and that the importance placed on any given theme depends on the present social, economic, and political environment. Within the Eclectic Perspective can be included what some call "theories of emergence," as well as the works of scholars such as Karl Weick (1979) and Frederick Thayer (1981), who asserted that rationality and the discovery of "truth" often happen after the fact. Retrospective learning allows for the reconsideration of contextual themes and their related theories and concepts as a guide to alternatives for the future.

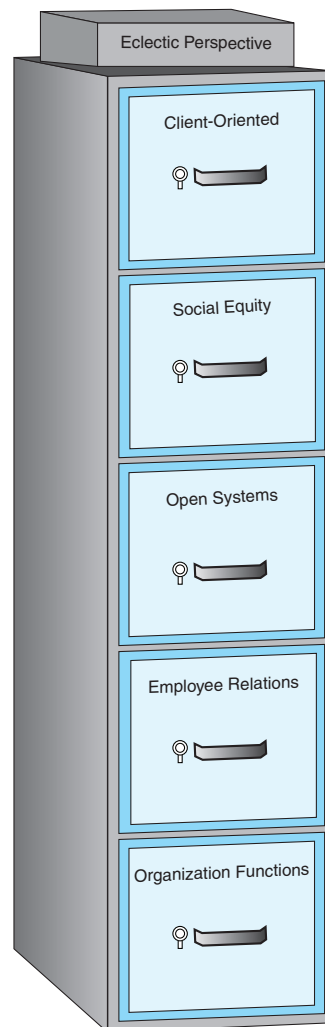


Figure 1.4 Filing Cabinet of the Five Contextual Themes in Which to "Mentally" Store Key Concepts and Terms

Key Concepts and Terms

- Administration—Both a science and an art
 - Science = the study of concepts and theories
 - Art = the converting of concepts and theories into practice
- Basic administrative terms
 - Organization
 - Management
 - Leadership
 - Missions
 - Goals
 - Objectives
 - Efficient
 - Effective
- Historical development of the building blocks of administration
 - The Industrial Era (1880s–1950s)
 - Organization Functions theme
 - Employee Relations theme
 - The Civil Rights Era (1960s–1970s)
 - Open Systems theme
 - Social Equity theme
 - The Transition to the 21st-Century Era (1980–)
 - Client-Oriented theme
 - Eclectic Perspective
- Constructing a Contextual Themes Model from historical building blocks of administration
 - Maslow’s Hierarchy of Human Needs Model
 - “Juggler” metaphor

Chapter Activity

Explore the Internet for advertisements for criminal justice administrative positions. Review the qualifications and job descriptions for these positions and compare them with administrative responsibilities discussed in this chapter.

Review Questions

1. Define “public administration.” How does the term “administration” relate to the terms “management” and “leadership”?
2. Explain why administration is called both a science and an art. Can you relate the metaphor of playing a musical instrument (used in this chapter) and other metaphors (such as learning to play golf) to that of learning to be an administrator?
3. What are the two major tasks of an administrator? How does the concept of synergy apply to these tasks?
4. Explain why efficiency may be a better measure of management skills, whereas effectiveness is better associated with leadership.
5. Explain the relationship between the contextual themes, the Eclectic Perspective, and the comparison of an administrator to a “juggler.” Explain how the contextual themes can serve as indexes for “chunking” administrative key concepts. How does the model compare to Maslow’s Hierarchy of Human Needs?

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Relevant Publication

This article was written by a prominent public figure who later became the 28th president of the United States. His milestone article first recognized public administration as "the clerical end of government." He set the stage for the professionalizing of public service and the direction for public administrators for many decades to come. This article marked the beginning of the public sector's focus on Organizational Functions. (Reprinted from Wilson, W. [1887]. "The Study of Administration." *Political Science Quarterly* June, pp. 197–222. Permission to reprint from the publisher.)

"THE STUDY OF ADMINISTRATION" BY WOODROW WILSON

I suppose that no practical science is ever studied where there is no need to know it. The very fact, therefore, that the eminently practical science of administration is finding its way into college courses in this country would prove that this country needs to know more about administration, were such proof of the fact required to make out a case. It need not be said, however, that we do not look into college programmes for proof of this fact. It is a thing almost taken for granted among us, that the present movement called civil service reform must, after the accomplishment of its first purpose, expand into efforts to improve, not the *personnel* only, but also the organization and methods of our government offices: because it is plain that their organization and methods need improvement only less than their *personnel*. It is the object of administrative study to discover, first, what government can properly and successfully do, and secondly, how it can do these proper things with the utmost possible efficiency and at the least possible cost either of money or of energy. On both these points there is obviously much need of light among us; and only careful study can supply that light.

Before entering on that study, however, it is needful:

- I. To take some account of what others have done in the same line; that is to say, of the history of the study.
- II. To ascertain just what is its subject-matter.
- III. To determine just what are the best methods by which to develop it, and the most clarifying political conceptions to carry with us into it.

Unless we know and settle these things, we shall set out without chart or compass.

I.

The science of administration is the latest fruit of that study of the science of politics which was begun some twenty-two hundred years ago. It is a birth of our own century, almost of our own generation.

Why was it so late in coming? Why did it wait till this too busy century of ours to demand attention for itself? Administration is the most obvious part of government; it is government in action; it is the executive, the operative, the most visible side of government, and is of course as old as government itself. It is government in action, and one might very naturally expect to find that government in action had arrested the attention and provoked the scrutiny of writers of politics very early in the history of systematic thought.

But such was not the case. No one wrote systematically of administration as a branch of the science of government until the present century had passed its first youth and had begun to put forth its characteristic flower of systematic knowledge. Up to our own day all the political writers whom we now read had thought, argued, dogmatized only about the *constitution* of government; about the nature of the state, the essence and seat of sovereignty, popular power and kingly prerogative; about the greatest meanings lying at the heart of government, and the high ends set before the purpose of government by man's nature and man's aims. The central field of controversy was that great field of theory in which monarchy rode tilt against democracy, in which oligarchy would have built for itself strongholds of privilege, and in which tyranny sought opportunity to make good its claim to receive submission from all competitors. Amidst this high warfare of principles, administration could command no pause for its own consideration. The question was always: Who shall make the law, and what shall that law be? The other question, how law should be administered with enlightenment, with equity, with speed, and without friction, was put aside as "practical detail" which clerks could arrange after doctors had agreed upon principles.

That political philosophy took this direction was of course no accident, no chance preference or perverse whim of political philosophers. The philosophy of any time is, as Hegel says, "nothing but the spirit of that time expressed in abstract thought"; and political philosophy, like philosophy of every other kind, has only held up the mirror to contemporary affairs. The trouble in early times was almost altogether about the constitution of government; and consequently that was what engrossed men's thoughts. There was little or no trouble about administration—at least little that was heeded by administrators. The functions of government were simple, because life itself was simple. Government went about imperatively and compelled men, without thought of consulting their wishes. There was no complex system of public revenues and public debts to puzzle financiers; there were, consequently, no financiers to be puzzled. No one who possessed power was long at a loss how to use it. The great and only question was: Who shall possess it? Populations were of manageable numbers; property was of simple sorts. There were plenty of farms, but no stocks and bonds; more cattle than vested interests.

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There is scarcely a single duty of government which was once simple which is not now complex; government once had but a few masters; it now has scores of masters. Majorities formerly only underwent government; they now conduct government. Where government once might follow the whims of a court, it must now follow the views of a nation.

And those views are steadily widening to new conceptions of state duty; so that, at the same time that the functions of government are every day becoming more complex and difficult, they are also vastly multiplying in number. Administration is everywhere putting its hands to new undertakings. The utility, cheapness, and success of the government's postal service, for instance, point towards the early establishment of governmental control of the telegraphs system. Or, even if our government is not to follow the lead of the governments of Europe in buying or building both telegraph and railroad lines, no one can doubt that in some way it must make itself master of masterful corporations. The creation of national commissioners of railroads, in addition to the older state commissions, involves a very important and delicate extension of administrative functions. Whatever hold of authority state or federal governments are to take upon corporations, there must follow cares and responsibilities which will require not a little wisdom, knowledge, and experience. Such things must be studied in order to be well done. And these,

as I have said, are only a few of the doors which are being opened to offices of government. The idea of the state and the consequent ideal of its duty are undergoing noteworthy change; and “the idea of the state is the conscience of administration.” Seeing every day new things which the state ought to do, the next thing is to see clearly how it ought to do them.

This is why there should be a science of administration which shall seek to straighten the paths of government, to make its business less un-businesslike; to strengthen and purify its organization, and to crown its duties with dutifulness. This is one reason why there is such a science.

But where has this science grown up? Surely not on this side of the sea. Not much impartial scientific method is to be discerned in our administrative practices. The poisonous atmosphere of city government, the crooked secrets of state administration, the confusion, sinecurism, and corruption ever and again discovered in the bureaus at Washington forbid us to believe that any clear conceptions of what constitutes good administration are as yet very widely current in the United States. No; American writers have hitherto taken no very important part in the advancement of this science. It has found its doctors in Europe. It is not of our making; it is a foreign science, speaking very little of the language of English or American principle. It employs only foreign tongues; it utters none but what are to our minds alien ideas. Its aims, its examples, its conditions, are almost exclusively grounded in the histories of foreign races, in the precedents of foreign systems, in the lessons of foreign revolutions. It has been developed by French and German professors, and is consequently in all parts adapted to the needs of a compact state, and made to fit highly centralized forms of government; whereas, to answer our purposes, it must be adapted, not to a simple and compact, but to a complex and multiform state, and made to fit highly decentralized forms of government. If we would employ it, we must Americanize it, and that not formally, in language merely, but radically, in thought, principle, and aim as well. It must learn our constitutions by heart; must get the bureaucratic fever out of its veins; must inhale much free American air.

If an explanation be sought why a science manifestly so susceptible of being made useful to all governments alike should have received attention first in Europe, where government has long been a monopoly, rather than in England or the United States, where government has long been a common franchise, the reason will doubtless be found to be twofold: first, that in Europe, just because government was independent of popular assent, there was more governing to be done; and, second, that the desire to keep government a monopoly made the monopolists interested in discovering the least irritating means of governing. They were, besides, few enough to adopt means properly.

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The English race . . . has long and successfully studied the art of curbing executive power to the constant neglect of the art of perfecting executive methods. It has exercised itself much more in controlling than in energizing government. It has been more concerned to render government just and moderate than to make it facile, well-ordered, and effective. English and American political history has been a history, not of administrative development, but of legislative oversight—not of progress in governmental organization, but of advance in law-making and political criticism. Consequently, we have reached a time when administrative study and creation are imperatively necessary to the well-being of our governments saddled with the habits of a long period of constitution-making. That period has practically closed, so far as the establishment of essential principles is concerned, but we cannot shake off its atmosphere. We go on criticizing when we ought to be creating. We have reached the third of the periods I have mentioned—the period, namely, when the people have to develop administration in accordance with the constitutions they won for themselves in a previous period of struggle with absolute power; but we are not prepared for the tasks of the new period.

Such an explanation seems to afford the only escape from blank astonishment at the fact that, in spite of our vast advantages in point of political liberty, and above all in point of practical political skill and sagacity, so many nations are ahead of us in administrative organization and administrative skill. Why, for instance, have we but just begun purifying a civil service which was rotten fully fifty years ago? To say that slavery diverted us is but to repeat what I have said—that flaws in our Constitution delayed us.

Of course all reasonable preference would declare for this English and American course of politics rather than for that of any European country. We should not like to have had Prussia’s history for the

sake of having Prussia's administrative skill; and Prussia's particular system of administration would quite suffocate us. It is better to be untrained and free than to be servile and systematic. Still there is no denying that it would be better yet to be both free in spirit and proficient in practice. It is this even more reasonable preference which impels us to discover what there may be to hinder or delay us in naturalizing this much-to-be desired of administration.

What, then, is there to prevent?

Well, principally, popular sovereignty. It is harder for democracy to organize administration than for monarchy. The very completeness of our most cherished political successes in the past embarrasses us. We have enthroned public opinion; and it is forbidden us to hope during its reign for any quick schooling of the sovereign in executive expertness or in the conditions of perfect functional balance in government. The very fact that we have realized popular rule in its fullness had made the task of organizing that rule just so much the more difficult. In order to make any advance at all we must instruct and persuade a multitudinous monarch called public opinion—a much less feasible undertaking than to influence a single monarch called a king. An individual sovereign will adopt a simple plan and carry it out directly; he will have but one opinion, and he will embody that one opinion in one command. But this other sovereign, the people, will have a score of differing opinions. They can agree upon nothing simple: advance must be made through compromise, by a compounding of differences, by a trimming of plans and a suppression of too straightforward principles. There will be a succession of resolves running through a course of years, a dropping fire of commands running through a whole gamut of modifications.

In government, as in virtue, the hardest of hard things is to make progress. Formerly the reason for this was that the single person who was sovereign was generally either selfish, ignorant, timid, or a fool—albeit there was now and again one who was wise. Nowadays the reason is that the many, the people, who are sovereign have no single ear which one can approach, and are selfish, ignorant, timid, stubborn, or foolish with the selfishness, the ignorances, the stubbornness, the timidities, or the follies of several thousand persons—albeit there are hundreds who are wise. Once the advantage of the reformer was that the sovereign's mind had a definite locality, that it was contained in one man's head, and that consequently it could be gotten at; though it was his disadvantage that that mind learned only reluctantly or only in small quantities, or was under the influence of someone who let it learn only the wrong things. Now, on the contrary, the reformer is bewildered by the fact that the sovereign's mind has no definite locality, but is contained in a voting majority of several million heads; and embarrassed by the fact that the mind of this sovereign also is under the influence of favorites, who are none the less favorites in a good old-fashioned sense of the word because they are not persons but preconceived opinions; i.e., prejudices which are not to be reasoned with because they are not the children of reason.

Wherever regard for public opinion is a first principle of government, practical reform must be slow and all reform must be full of compromises. For wherever public opinion exists it must rule. This is now an axiom half the world over, and will presently come to be believed even in Russia. Whoever would effect a change in a modern constitutional government must first educate his fellow-citizens to want some change. That done, he must persuade them to want the particular change he wants. He must first make public opinion willing to listen and then see to it that it listen to the right things. He must stir it up to search for an opinion, and then manage to put the right opinion in its way.

The first step is not less difficult than the second. With opinions, possession is more than nine points of the law. It is next to impossible to dislodge them. Institutions which one generation regards as only a makeshift approximation to the realization of a principle, the next generation honors as the nearest possible approximation to that principle, and the next worships as the principle itself. It takes scarcely three generations for the apotheosis. The grandson accepts his grandfather's hesitating experiment as an integral part of the fixed constitution of nature.

Even if we had clear insight into all the political past, and could form out of perfectly instructed heads a few steady, infallible, placidly wise maxims of government into which all sound political doctrine would be ultimately resolvable, *would the country act on them?* That is the question. The bulk of mankind is rigidly unphilosophical, and nowadays the bulk of mankind votes. A truth must become not only plain but also commonplace before it will be seen by the people who go to their work very early in

the morning; and not to act upon it must involve great and pinching inconveniences before these same people will make up their minds to act upon it.

And where is this unphilosophical bulk of mankind more multifarious in its composition than in the United States? To know the public mind of this country, one must know the mind, not of Americans of the older stocks only, but also of Irishmen, of Germans, of Negroes. In order to get a footing for new doctrine, one must influence minds cast in every mould of race, minds inheriting every bias of environment, warped by the histories of a score of different nations, warmed or chilled, closed or expanded by almost every climate of the globe.

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II.

The field of administration is a field of business. It is removed from the hurry and strife of politics; it at most points stands apart even from the debatable ground of constitutional study. It is a part of political life only as the methods of the countinghouse are a part of the life of society; only as machinery is part of the manufactured product. But it is, at the same time, raised very far above the dull level of mere technical detail by the fact that through its greater principles it is directly connected with the lasting maxims of political wisdom, the permanent truths of political progress.

The object of administrative study is to rescue executive methods from the confusion and costliness of empirical experiment and set them upon foundations laid deep in stable principle.

It is for this reason that we must regard civil service reform in its present stages as but a prelude to a fuller administrative reform. We are now rectifying methods of appointment; we must go on to adjust executive functions more fitly and to prescribe better methods of executive organization and action. Civil service reform is thus but a moral preparation for what it is to follow. It is clearing the moral atmosphere of official life by establishing the sanctity of public office as a public trust, and, by making the service unpartisan, it is opening the way for making it businesslike. By sweetening its motives it is rendering it capable of improving its methods of work.

Let me expand a little what I have said of the province of administration. Most important to be observed is the truth already so much and so fortunately insisted upon by our civil service reformers; namely, that administration lies outside the proper sphere of *politics*. Administrative questions are not political questions. Although politics sets the tasks for administration, it should not be suffered to manipulate its offices.

This is distinction of high authority; eminent German writers insist upon it as of course. Bluntschli, for instance, bids us separate administration alike from politics and from law. Politics, he says, is state activity "in things great and universal," while "administration, on the other hand," is "the activity of the state in individual and small things. Politics is thus the special province of the statesman, administration of the technical official." "Policy does nothing without the aid of administration"; but administration is not therefore politics. But we do not require German authority for this position; this discrimination between administration and politics is now, happily, too obvious to need further discussion.

There is another distinction which must be worked into all our conclusions, which, though but another side of that between administration and politics, is not quite so easy to keep sight of; I mean the distinction between *constitutional* and administrative questions, between those governmental adjustments which are essential to constitutional principle and those which are merely instrumental to the possibly changing purposes of a wisely adapting convenience.

One cannot easily make clear to every one just where administration resides in the various departments of any practicable government without entering upon particulars so numerous as to confuse and distinctions so minute as to distract. No lines of demarcation, setting apart administrative from non-administrative functions, can be run between this and that department of government without being run up hill and down dale, over dizzy heights of distinction and through dense jungles of statutory enactment, hither and thither around "its" and "buts," "whens" and "however," until they become altogether lost to the common eye not accustomed to this sort of surveying, and consequently not acquainted with the use of the theodolite of logical discernment. A great deal of administration goes

about *incognito* to most of the world, being confounded now with political “management,” and again with constitutional principle.

Perhaps this case of confusion may explain such utterances as that of Niebuhr’s: “Liberty,” he says, “depends incomparably more upon administration than upon constitution.” At first sight this appears to be largely true. Apparently facility in the actual exercise of liberty does depend more upon administrative arrangements than upon constitutional guarantees; although constitutional guarantees alone secure the existence of liberty. But—upon second thought—is even so much as this true? Liberty no more consists in easy functional movement than intelligence consists in the ease and vigor with which the limbs of a strong man move. The principles that rule within the man, or the constitution, are the vital springs of liberty or servitude. Because dependence and subjection are without chains, are lightened by every easyworking device of considerate, paternal government, they are not thereby transformed into liberty. Liberty cannot live apart from constitutional principle; and no administration, however perfect and liberal its methods, can give men more than a poor counterfeit of liberty if it rest upon illiberal principles of government.

A clear view of the difference between the province of constitutional law and the province of administrative function ought to leave no room for misconception; and it is possible to name some roughly definite criteria upon which such a view can be built. Public administration is detailed and systematic execution of public law. Every particular application of general law is an act of administration. The assessment and raising of taxes, for instance, the hanging of a criminal, the transportation and delivery of the mails, the equipment and recruiting of the army and navy, etc., are all obviously acts of administration; but the general laws which direct these things to be done are as obviously outside of and above administration. The broad plans of governmental action are not administrative; the detailed execution of such plans is administrative. Constitutions, therefore, properly concern themselves only with those instrumentalities of government which are to control general law. Our federal Constitution observes this principle in saying nothing of even the greatest of the purely executive offices, and speaking only of that President of the Union who was to share the legislative and policy-making functions of government, only of those judges of highest jurisdiction who were to interpret and guard its principles, and not of those who were merely to give utterance to them.

This is not quite the distinction between Will and answering Deed, because the administrator should have and does have a will of his own in the choice of means for accomplishing his work. He is not and ought not to be a mere passive instrument. The distinction is between general plans and special means.

There is, indeed, one point at which administrative studies trench on constitutional ground—or at least upon what seems constitutional ground. The study of administration, philosophically viewed, is closely connected with the study of the proper distribution of constitutional authority. To be efficient it must discover the simplest arrangements by which responsibility can be unmistakably fixed upon officials; the best way of dividing authority without hampering it, and responsibility without obscuring it. And this question of the distribution of authority, when taken into the sphere of the higher, the originating functions of government, is obviously a central constitutional question. If administrative study can discover the best principles upon which to base such distributions, it will have done constitutional study an invaluable service. Montesquieu did not, I am convinced, say the last word on this head.

To discover the best principle for the distribution of authority is of greater importance, possibly, under a democratic system, where officials serve many masters, than under others where they serve but a few. All sovereigns are suspicious of their servants, and the sovereign people is no exception to the rule; but how is its suspicion to be allayed by *knowledge*? If that suspicion could but be clarified into wise vigilance, it would be altogether salutary; if that vigilance could be aided by the unmistakable placing of responsibility, it would be altogether beneficent. Suspicion in itself is never healthful either in the private or the public mind. *Trust is strength* in all relations of life; and, as it is the office of the constitutional reformer to create conditions of trustfulness, so it is the office of the administrative organizer to fit administration with conditions of clearcut responsibility which shall insure trustworthiness.

And let me say that large powers and unhampered discretion seem to me the indispensable conditions of responsibility. Public attention must be easily directed, in each case of good or bad administration, to just the man deserving of praise or blame. There is no danger in power, if only it be not irresponsible.

If it be divided, dealt only in shares to many, it is obscured; and if it be obscured, it is made irresponsible. But if it be centred in heads of the service and in heads of branches of the service, it is easily watched and brought to book. If to keep his office a man must achieve open and honest success, and if at the same time he feels himself entrusted with large freedom of discretion, the greater his power the less likely is he to abuse it, the more is he nerved and sobered and elevated by it. The less his power, the more safely obscure and unnoticed does he feel his position to be, and the more readily does he relapse into remissness.

Just here we manifestly emerge upon the field of that still larger question—the proper relations between public opinion and administration.

To whom is official trustworthiness to be disclosed, and by whom is it to be rewarded? Is the official to look to the public for his need of praise and his push of promotion, or only to his superior in office? Are the people to be called in to settle administrative discipline as they are called in to settle constitutional principles? These questions evidently find their root in what is undoubtedly the fundamental problem of this whole study. That problem is: What part shall public opinion take in the conduct of administration?

The right answer seems to be, that public opinion shall play the part of authoritative critic.

But the *method* by which its authority shall be made to tell? Our peculiar American difficulty in organizing administration is not the danger of losing liberty, but the danger of not being able or willing to separate its essentials from its accidents. Our success is made doubtful by that besetting error of ours, the error of trying to do too much by vote. Self-government does not consist in having a hand in everything, any more than housekeeping consists necessarily in cooking dinner with one's own hands. The cook must be trusted with a large discretion as to the management of the fires and the ovens.

In those countries in which public opinion has yet to be instructed in its privileges, yet to be accustomed to having its own way, this question as to the province of public opinion is much more readily soluble than in this country, where public opinion is wide awake and quite intent upon having its own way anyhow. It is pathetic to see a whole book written by a German professor of political science for the purpose of saying to his countrymen, "Please try to have an opinion about national affairs"; but a public which is so modest may at least be expected to be very docile and acquiescent in learning what things it has not a right to think and speak about imperatively. It may be sluggish, but it will not be meddling. It will submit to be instructed before it tries to instruct. Its political education will come before its political activity. In trying to instruct our own public opinion, we are dealing with a pupil apt to think itself quite sufficiently instructed beforehand.

The problem is to make public opinion efficient without suffering it to be meddling. Directly exercised, in the oversight of the daily details and in the choice of the daily means of government, public criticism is of course a clumsy nuisance, a rustic handling of delicate machinery. But as superintending the greater forces of formative policy alike in politics and administration, public criticism is altogether safe and beneficent, altogether indispensable. Let administrative study find the best means for giving public criticism this control and for shutting it out from all other interference.

But is the whole duty of administrative study done when it has taught the people what sort of administration to desire and demand, and how to get what they demand? Ought it not to go on to drill candidates for the public service?

There is an admirable movement towards universal political education now afoot in this country. The time will soon come when no college of respectability can afford to do without a well-filled chair of political science. But the education thus imparted will go but a certain length. It will multiply the number of intelligent critics of government, but it will create no competent body of administrators. It will prepare the way for the development of a surefooted understanding of the general principles of government, but it will not necessarily foster skill in conducting government. It is an education which will equip legislators, perhaps, but not executive officials. If we are to improve public opinion, which is the motive power of government, we must prepare better officials as the *apparatus* of government. If we are to put in new boilers and to mend the fires which drive our governmental machinery, we must not leave the old wheels and joints and valves and bands to creak and buzz and clatter on as the best they may at bidding of the new force. We must put in new running parts wherever there is the least lack of strength or adjustment. It will be necessary to organize democracy by sending up to the competitive examinations for the civil service

men definitively prepared for standing liberal tests as to technical knowledge. A technically schooled civil service will presently have become indispensable.

I know that a corps of civil servants prepared by a special schooling and drilled, after appointment, into a perfected organization, with appropriate hierarchy and characteristic discipline, seems to a great many very thoughtful persons to contain elements which might combine to make an offensive official class—a distinct, semicorporate body with sympathies divorced from those of a progressive, free-spirited people, and with hearts narrowed to the meanness of a bigoted officialism. Certainly such a class would be altogether hateful and harmful in the United States. Any measures calculated to produce it would for us be measures of reaction and of folly.

But to fear the creation of a domineering, illiberal officialism as a result of the studies I am here proposing is to miss altogether the principle upon which I wish most to insist. That principle is, that administration in the United States must be at all points sensitive to public opinion. A body of thoroughly trained officials serving during good behavior we must have in any case: that is a plain business necessity. But the apprehension that such a body will be anything unAmerican clears away the moment it is asked, What is to constitute good behavior? For that question obviously carries its own answer on its face. Steady, hearty allegiance to the policy of the government they serve will constitute good behavior. That *policy* will have no taint of officialism about it. It will not be the creation of permanent officials, but of statesmen whose responsibility to public opinion will be direct and inevitable. Bureaucracy can exist only where the whole service of the state is removed from the common political life of the people, its chiefs as well as its rank and file. Its motives, its objects, its policy, its standards, must be bureaucratic. It would be difficult to point out any examples of impudent exclusiveness and arbitrariness on the part of officials doing service under a chief of department who really served the people, as all our chiefs of departments must be made to do.

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The ideal for us is a civil service cultured and self-sufficient enough to act with sense and vigor, and yet so intimately connected with the popular thought, by means of elections and constant public counsel, as to find arbitrariness or class spirit quite out of the question.

III.

Having thus viewed in some sort the subject-matter and the objects of this study of administration, what are we to conclude as to the methods best suited to it—the points of view most advantageous for it?

Government is so near us, as much a thing of our daily familiar handling, that we can with difficulty see the need of any philosophical study of it, or the exact point of such study, should it be undertaken. We have been on our feet too long to study now the art of walking. We are a practical people, made so apt, so adept in self-government by centuries of experimental drill that we are scarcely any longer capable of perceiving the awkwardness of the particular system we may be using, just because it is so easy for us to use any system. We do not study the art of governing; we govern. But mere unschooled genius for affairs will not save us from sad blunders in administration. Though democrats by long inheritance and repeated choice, we are still rather crude democrats. Old as democracy is, its organization on a basis of modern ideas and conditions is still an unaccomplished work. The democratic state has yet to be equipped for carrying those enormous burdens of administration which the needs of this industrial and trading age are so fast accumulating. Without comparative studies in government we cannot rid ourselves of the misconception that administration stands upon an essentially different basis in a democratic state from that on which it stands in a non-democratic state.

After such a study we could grant democracy the sufficient honor of ultimately determining by debate all essential questions affecting the public weal, of basing all structures of policy upon the major will; but we would have found but one rule of good administration for all governments alike. So far as administrative functions are concerned, all governments have a strong structural likeness; more than that, if they are to be uniformly useful and efficient, they *must* have a strong structural likeness. A free man has the same bodily organs, the same executive parts, as the slave, however different may be his

motives, his services, his energies. Monarchies and democracies, radically different as they are in other respects, have in reality much the same business to look to.

It is abundantly safe nowadays to insist upon this actual likeness of all governments, because these are days when abuses of power are easily exposed and arrested, in countries like our own, by a bold, alert, inquisitive, detective public thought and a sturdy popular self-dependence such as never existed before. We are slow to appreciate this; but it is easy to appreciate it. Try to imagine personal government in the United States. It is like trying to imagine a national worship of Zeus. Our imaginations are too modern for the feat.

But, besides being safe, it is necessary to see that for all governments alike the legitimate ends of administration are the same, in order not to be frightened at the idea of looking into foreign systems of administration for instruction and suggestion; in order to get rid of the apprehension that we might perchance blindly borrow something incompatible with our principles. That man is blindly astray who denounces attempts to transplant foreign systems into this country. It is impossible: they simply would not grow here. But why should we not use such parts of foreign contrivances as we want, if they be in any way serviceable? We are in no danger of using them in a foreign way. We borrowed rice, but we do not eat it with chopsticks. We borrowed our whole political language from England, but we leave the words “king” and “lords” out of it. What did we ever originate, except the action of the federal government upon individuals and some of the functions of the federal supreme court?

We can borrow the science of administration with safety and profit if only we read all fundamental differences of condition into its essential tenets. We have only to filter it through our constitutions, only to put it over a slow fire of criticism and distill away its foreign gases.

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Let it be noted that it is the distinction, already drawn, between administration and politics which makes the comparative method so safe in the field of administration. When we study the administrative systems of France and Germany, knowing that we are not in search of *political* principles, we need not care a peppercorn for the constitutional or political reasons which Frenchmen or Germans give for their practices when explaining them to us. If I see a murderous fellow sharpening a knife cleverly, I can borrow his way of sharpening the knife without borrowing his probable intention to commit murder with it; and so, if I see a monarchist dyed in the wool managing a public bureau well, I can learn his business methods without changing one of my republican spots. He may serve his king; I will continue to serve the people; but I should like to serve my sovereign as well as he serves his. By keeping this distinction in view—that is, by studying administration as a means of putting our own politics into convenient practice, as a means of making what is democratically politic towards all administratively possible towards each—we are on perfectly safe ground and can learn without error what foreign systems have to teach us. We thus devise an adjusted weight for our comparative method of study. We can thus scrutinize the anatomy of foreign governments without fear of getting any of their diseases into our veins; dissect alien systems without apprehension of blood-poisoning.

Our own politics must be the touchstone for all theories. The principles on which to base a science of administration for America must be principles which have democratic policy very much at heart. And, to suit American habit, all general theories must, as theories, keep modestly in the background, not in open argument only, but even in our own minds—lest opinions satisfactorily only to the standards of the library should be dogmatically used, as if they must be quite as satisfactory to the standards of practical politics as well. Doctrinaire devices must be postponed to tested practices. Arrangements not only sanctioned by conclusive experience elsewhere but also congenial to American habit must be preferred without hesitation to theoretical perfection. In a word, steady, practical statesmanship must come first, closet doctrine second. The cosmopolitan what-to-do must always be commanded by the American how-to-do-it.

Our duty is to supply the best possible life to a *federal* organization, to systems within systems; to make town, city, county, state, and federal governments live with a like strength and an equally assured healthfulness, keeping each unquestionably its own master and yet making all interdependent and cooperative,

combining independence with mutual helpfulness. The task is great and important enough to attract the best minds.

This interlacing of local self-government with federal self-government is quite a modern conception. It is not like the arrangements of imperial federation in Germany. There local government is not yet, fully, local *self*-government. The bureaucrat is everywhere busy. His efficiency springs out of *esprit de corps*, out of care to make ingratiating obeisance to the authority of a superior, or, at best, out of the soul of a sensitive conscience. He serves, not the public, but an irresponsible minister. The question for us is, how shall our series of governments within governments be so administered so that it shall always be to the interest of the public officer to serve, not his superior alone but the community also, with the best efforts of his talents and the soberest service of his conscience? How shall such service be made to his commonest interest by contributing abundantly to his sustenance, to his dearest interest by furthering his ambition, and to his highest interest by advancing his honor and establishing his character? And how shall this be done alike for the local part and for the national whole?

If we solve this problem we shall again pilot the world. There is a tendency—is there not?—a tendency as yet dim, but already steadily impulsive and clearly destined to prevail, towards, first the confederation of parts of empires like the British, and finally of great states themselves. Instead of centralization of power, there is to be wide union with tolerated divisions of prerogative. This is a tendency towards the American type—of governments joined with governments for the pursuit of common purposes, in honorary equality and honorable subordination. Like principles of civil liberty are everywhere fostering like methods of government; and if comparative studies of the ways and means of government should enable us to offer suggestions which will practicably combine openness and vigor in the administration of such governments with ready docility to all serious, well-sustained public criticism, they will have approved themselves worthy to be ranked among the highest and most fruitful of the great departments of political study. That they will issue in such suggestions I confidently hope.