

The Community of Inquiry:
Classical Pragmatism and Public Administration

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Abstract

This article argues that the “community of inquiry” notion of the classical pragmatists has much to offer PA theory and practice. The “community of inquiry” is an ideal position from which public administrators can effectively examine how they approach problems, consider data and communicate. Participatory democracy is a vital component of the community of inquiry developed by John Dewey and Jane Addams. The recognition of participatory democracy's place in public administration is underdeveloped. The community of inquiry context provides a useful lens to show how participatory democracy can nurture a creative public service.

Biographical Information

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“So he killed her, washed the knife and himself, took a knife from the
kitchen...Is that how you see it?”
“It’s a working hypothesis.” (310)

Yet she knew that Dalglish was right in not hurrying Mrs. Buckley. She had
information they needed, and too many *inquiries go wrong*, Kate knew,
because the police had *acted in advance of the facts*. (367)

P. D. James *A Certain Justice*, 1999

Introduction

The community of inquiry is a powerful idea developed by classical pragmatists¹ that has wide application to many contexts within public administration. The detectives in P. D. James novels, for example, may become a community of inquiry as they investigate a homicide. Community Justice Councils may form communities of inquiry as they deliberate about a just sentence. If they are lucky, university faculties form communities of inquiry as they consider curriculum change. In practice, the “community of inquiry” is an ideal position to which public administrators should strive. It is the position from which public administrators can most effectively examine how they approach problems, consider data and communicate.

The purpose of this article is first, to clarify the meaning of the “community of inquiry” concept as developed by classical pragmatists. The community of inquiry notion is powerful because it is an organizing principle that can be applied to diverse public administration contexts. It also reconciles some of the prominent controversies in Public Administration such as the practice/theory dichotomy, the role of expertise, and ways to include democracy in practice. Then, second, this paper shows how the community of inquiry concept can be applied to both Public Administration (PA) theory and practice. Links to PA theory and issues (leadership and role of expertise) are

made throughout the text and specific practice applications are developed in the conclusion.

Brief Definition

Common to all communities of inquiry is a focus on a *problematic situation*. The problematic situation is a catalyst that helps or causes the community to form and it provides a reason to undertake inquiry. Most problematic situations require further investigation and action (i.e., inquiry). Second, members of the community of inquiry bring a *scientific attitude* to the problematic situation. The scientific or experimental attitude is a willingness to tackle the problem using working hypotheses that guide the collection and interpretation of data or facts. Both theory and method are viewed as tools to address the "problematic situation." In addition, the community is linked through *participatory democracy*. The parameters of the problematic situation and approaches to resolution are shaped by the interaction of the community and the facts. The democratic community also takes into account values/ideals such as freedom, equality and efficiency as it considers goals and objectives. The three key ideas: problematic situation, scientific attitude and participatory democracy, reinforce each other.

Many movements or trends in public administration (scientific management, rational decision-making model, PPBS, MBO, reinventing government, performance measurement) emphasize one or two aspect of the community of inquiry. Unfortunately, these reforms often divorced the benefits of science from the democratic community. The emphasis for many of these techniques is data collection and analysis. They are also viewed as methods to rationalize government. Their proponents often offered the technique as a "solution" to some government "problem" such as inefficiency. The community of inquiry organizing principle should enable reflective public administrators to use and modify these tools as they approach problems. There is no deterministic faith that these techniques offer a definitive solution. Rather these

techniques offer data for the community to consider and use. The community of inquiry has special appeal for public administration because it is an orientation that uses a democratic approach to problem definition and interpretation of consequences.² At the same time it is conducive to the development and use of methods for fact finding, analysis and democratic decision-making.

The "community of inquiry" is not a METHOD –such as TQM, etc. rather it is an organizing principle that provides fertile grounds for methods to be developed and tried. It is conducive to making mistakes, making progress. And, it reinforces founding ideals such as democracy, freedom and equality. Thus it is an organizing principle that encourages better method, better theory, and democracy. I propose it may be the missing link in public administration discourse.

Classical Pragmatism

Classical American pragmatism, the philosophy that is the source of the community of inquiry concept has recently received significant attention by public administration scholars.³ For example, Karen Evans (2000, p.308) suggests that Public Administration should "reclaim the philosophy of John Dewey as a guiding ethos for practice."

Charles Sanders Peirce originally conceived of pragmatism as a philosophy of science with inquiry at its center. To Peirce the scientific method unlocks or at least leverages the power of individualism as people work together to address problems. Science is distinguished from all other methods of inquiry by its cooperative or public character (Buchler, 1955, p. x).

The classic Buddhist story of the three blind men confronting the "problem" of describing an elephant illustrates the need for a community of inquiry. Each blind man characterized the elephant from his own limited perspective ("it's a rope" - tail, "it's a fan" - ear, etc.) (Kyokai, 1966, p. 148).

The story's moral is that we are all trapped inside our limited selves, and can not know the truth. If, however, the three blind men were members of a community of inquiry they would behave very differently. They would talk to each other, compare perspectives, argue, and test hypotheses, as they touched, smelled and listened to the elephant (gathered facts). Under these circumstances it is possible to imagine that the blind men will eventually overcome their limited perspectives and come to a truer sense of the elephant.⁴

For example, take TQM one method that ideally employs the 'community of inquiry' idea. The power of TQM lies in it's primary goal of reducing the psychological and organizational barriers to people sharing their thoughts and ideas many of which boil down to the single barrier of 'fear.' For example, fear of contradicting or embarrassing ones boss. TQM is an approach to getting the blind men to speak- both directly by reducing the fear of speaking, and indirectly- by getting them to use the benchmark approach to measurement. In other words, it does not matter if folks are completely accurate or honest the focus is the direction the measurements take over time.

A community of inquiry is difficult to form if members are "fixated" in their belief system and impervious to fresh evidence. Charles Sanders Peirce (1958) draws a distinction between doubt and belief and the impact each has on action.

Doubt is an uneasy and dissatisfied state from which we struggle to free ourselves and pass into the state of belief; while the latter is a calm and satisfactory state.... The irritation of doubt causes a struggle to attain a state of belief. I shall term this struggle *inquiry* (p. 99).

Classical Pragmatism argues that inquiry using the methods of science is the best way to "satisfy our doubts" (Peirce, 1958, p. 107). Ideally, members of the community of inquiry recognize the value of uncertainty.

The rich "community of inquiry" concept that pertains to public administration grew out of the writing and experiences of Jane Addams and John Dewey. In the late 1890s they were both in their mid thirties and worked in Chicago (Dewey - University of Chicago; Addams Hull-House). Although they came from different backgrounds and had different life experiences, they had independently come to recognize many similar philosophic organizing principles (Westbrook, 1991). Subsequently, their shared experiences at Hull-House, their social activism and their respectful, enduring friendship helped to propel Classical Pragmatism into full fruition.

John Dewey had visited Hull-House in his Michigan years and when he arrived in Chicago he became a trustee. Jane Addams became an extremely close personal friend; she was a profound influence on Dewey and he on her. The goals of progressive education and the settlement house movement, of Jane Addams and John Dewey, were intertwined at every point (Dearborn, 1988, p. 54).

Camilla Stivers (2000) has persuasively argued that the settlement movement at the turn of the century is part of Public Administrations' heritage that should be synthesized and embraced. Jane Addams and John Dewey's "community of inquiry" notion is clearly a vehicle to do this.

Critical Optimism

Before moving on to a detailed discussion of the key components of the community of inquiry (problematic situation, scientific attitude and participatory democracy) we take a detour to examine the fundamental notion of "critical optimism"⁵. The members of a community of inquiry proceed with a sense of critical optimism. Critical optimism is the faith or sense that if we put our heads together and act using a scientific attitude to approach a problematic situation, the identified

problem has the *potential* to be resolved. This is faith in the human capacity for progress. Clearly the *spirit* of public administration identified by George Fredrickson (1997) is infused with a sense of critical optimism. In addition, the overriding theme in Charles Goodsell's (1994) classic *The Case for Bureaucracy* is one of critical optimism. Without some faith in the possibility of progress, public administrators would be trapped in a static world of standard operating procedures.

Critical optimism avoids the pitfalls of both optimism and pessimism.

"Optimism, untempered by criticism, declares that good is already realized and as a result glosses over the evils that concretely exist" (Dewey 1948, p. 178). The optimist easily becomes "callous and blind to the suffering of the less fortunate," or adopts a Pollyanna attitude and is unwilling to listen to the concerns of others. On the other hand, "pessimism is a paralyzing doctrine. In declaring that the world is evil wholesale, it makes futile all efforts to discover the remedial causes of specific evils and thereby destroys at the root every attempt to make the world better and happier" (Dewey, 1948 p, 178). Both unfettered optimism and pessimism are consistent with dogmatism and perhaps determinism. Critical optimism, on the other hand, embraces uncertainty and change but with a skeptical attitude.

Critical optimism (meliorism), "is the belief that the specific conditions which exist at one moment, be they comparatively bad or comparatively good, in any event may be bettered. It encourages intelligence to work to improve conditions and it arouses reasonableness and confidence as optimism does not" (Dewey, 1948, p. 179).

Jane Addams led the Hull-House experiment with a sense of critical optimism. She and the residents were clearly aware of all the social ills around them. Obviously they approached their work with faith that their efforts could in some measure ameliorate pressing community problems and concerns. Indeed, it was the social problems that drew them together.

Critical optimism should surround the application of any idea to public administration or any organized effort to achieve the public good. If a public administrator is not a critical optimist, as defined here they have no business being a public administrator. No more that one should be a doctor who does not believe in the sanctity of life. Critical optimism orients the practitioner towards his obligations to his duty and to his supervisor. A mature community of inquiry (one infused with a spirit of critical optimism) should mitigate or steer even selfish impulses towards results of general benefit- as a pragmatist one would never count on self-motivation alone to accomplish this goal.⁶

Today's modern public administrator is daily confronted with new challenges (problematic situations). She is also called upon to collect and analyze data. Finally, every day public administrators communicate with people. The community of inquiry approach has immediate relevance to PA because it touches all aspects of the public administration work a day world.

Essential Components

There are three essential components to the community of inquiry - problematic situation, scientific attitude and community as participatory democracy. Neither Addams nor Dewey identified these components in a separate discussion. Rather each element is found consistently within their published works and actions. The three components were distilled for their immediate relevance to public administration theory and practice.

Problematic Situation

Approaches to public administration have often used the "problem" as a focus. A classic example is Hitch and McKean's (1965) *The Economics of Defense in the Nuclear Age*. Hitch and McKean conceptualized the defense of our nation as an "economic efficiency problem." They demonstrated how the problem could be addressed using economic theory and decision-making techniques such as cost and optimization analysis. Robert

McNamara adopted many of their ideas during his tenure as Secretary of Defense.⁷ Perhaps, because of policies such as the Vietnam War, where the problem orientation and the use of efficiency techniques were applied with disastrous effect, the focus on a 'problem' has been criticized in the PA literature (See Hummel and Stiver, 1998; Adams and Balfour, 1998; and Goodsell, 1994). Critics point to the natural tendency to link problems to final (often, technical) solutions. Technical solutions may appear value-free and are not questioned because they promote efficiency. Problem solving linked to definitive solutions can close off discussion and debate and may put a public bureaucracy in an untenable position because it is expected to solve insolvable problems. *Classical Pragmatism's focus on the 'problematic situation' is fruitful because it is not solution as end-of-quest oriented and thus addresses critics concerns.* An all knowledgeable expert, for example, would never have a final solution, rather a useful approach to the problematic situation. Simultaneously, the common sense, practitioner friendly focus on the 'problem' is retained.

John Dewey's term 'problematic situation' is appealing because it speaks to practitioner's experience. Practitioners daily find themselves in problematic situations. Examples range from developing a meeting agenda, evaluating employee performance, developing rules and regulations consistent with new legislation, negotiating a contract, initiating a program, developing a budget or responding to an emergency. Most of the above situations involve a blend of standard operating procedures and new issues. Each can be conceptualized as more or less a problematic situation imbedded in practitioner "experience." Each has the opportunity to provide learning through inquiry.

The importance of practitioner experience is recognized both in the day to day practice of public administration and in formal public administration training (e.g., internships, choosing deans of schools of public affairs based on their executive level federal experience). One might even argue that historically, PA education traces its distinctiveness to the role of practitioner experience (Stivers, 2000, p. 104).

Classical pragmatism places the nature of experience as a point of departure, and as the crucial link to the 'problematic situation.' Dewey's focus on the problematic situation "recognizes that we are always beginning in the middle of things. Experience inescapably involves some kind of existential situation before language or reflection is brought to bear. ...Dewey chooses the situation as a *theoretical starting point* for his analysis of experience" (Webb, 1999, p. 26).⁸ The situation and experience are given meaning during the process of defining/understanding the problem. The 'problem' is imbedded in a past and is linked to the future because a 'problem' implies that "something that needs to be done is not yet done" (Webb, 2000 p. 5). Every situation being contingent the 'problematic situation' brings a focus to certain elements of the situation. Nevertheless there is always background that recedes into the horizon. As the problematic situation is confronted some of the background "may come into focus as pertinent to the issue at hand." In fact, from the viewpoint of the community of inquiry, "the focus will inevitably shift" (Webb, 1999 p. 13). Thus, the problematic situation is usually connected to a historical context. Aside from the influence of past decisions, for the public administrator the problematic situation is tied to deadlines and budget constraints.

Jane Addams' philosophy is *problem centered*. Her approach to social analysis was comprehensive, synthetic, and problem- as compared to profession- or discipline-centered. Her problem-centered perspective encouraged fundamental rethinking of seemingly settled issues. The problem orientation allowed her to envision communities in which cooperation crystallized around a quest to address common problems.

Inquiry is a process that has direction and organization (Dewey, 1938, p. 104). Dewey defines inquiry as a "controlled or directed transformation of an indeterminate situation." The transformation converts the "original situation into a unified whole" (Dewey, 1938, p. 104). The definition of the problematic situation emerges as part of the transformations of inquiry. "A problem that does not grow out of the original

situation...is...busy work mere excuses for seeming to do something intellectual" (Dewey, 1938, p. 108). In a community of inquiry the transformation is directed with a scientific attitude.

Scientific Attitude

John Dewey draws on Percian themes to connect the problematic situation to the scientific attitude.

A disciplined mind takes delight in the problematic, and cherishes it until a way out is found that approves itself upon examination. The questionable becomes an active questioning, a ... quest for the objects by which the obscure and unsettled may be developed into the stable and clear. The *scientific attitude* may almost be defined as that which is capable of enjoying the doubtful; scientific method is, in one aspect, a technique for making a productive use of doubt by converting it into operations of infinite inquiry (Dewey, 1929, 228) [italics added].

Dewey notes that attainment of the relatively secure and settled can take place "with respect to *specified* problematic situations" but a larger (universal) quest for certainty is destructive. "One question is disposed of; another offers itself and thought is kept alive" (Dewey 1929 p. 228).

Dewey and Addams also extended Pierce's scientific logic of inquiry to practical reasoning and social problems. The struggle to see the elephant becomes the struggle to *use* the elephant in everyday life.⁹ Science is not 'privileged' but is an unusually successful intellectual enterprise whose success relies upon openness to criticism, fallibilism, and an "explicit belief that knowledge is irrevocably and inescapably embedded in experience" (Webb, 1999, p. 16).

The hypothesis is a tool of science brought to the problematic situation. "A hypothesis is not about 'what is' but about 'what will happen' -- that is, an expectation

that certain events will occur in specified circumstances. Even what are commonly called 'data' are not 'given' but 'taken' in a process involving many hypotheses. In other words, nothing is above criticism. "No hypothesis or class of hypotheses is singled out as the foundation upon which all else rests" (Webb, 1998, p.1). Of course, some (many) hypotheses are accepted provisionally in order to conduct inquiry. Dewey often used the term 'working hypothesis' to emphasize the provisional nature of hypotheses. The 'working hypothesis' may be particularly suited to PA inquiry because it explicitly takes into account uncertainty and the ongoing process of discovery. A working hypothesis would appear to be a natural tool for a public administration practitioner in the midst of dealing with a problematic situation. A working hypothesis is one that is more or less imbedded in experience in contrast to formal hypotheses that are often tested in laboratories or conditions with more controls. Time and money constraints as well as the fluid nature of public administration problems give the flexible, contextual working hypotheses great appeal.

A practitioner that uses a working hypothesis as a tool of inquiry must be prepared for the unexpected. In other words, evidence that does not adhere to expectations is allowed to emerge. When contrary evidence emerges the practitioner may be in the uncomfortable position of telling his boss what she does not want to hear. This possibility is the strength of the "scientific attitude." Note that evidence may take many forms - both quantitative and qualitative.

John Dewey's process of inquiry begins and ends in experience. Empirical consequences, not popularity, consensus, or rhetorical prowess controls inquiry. Dewey has "faith that the conclusions yielded by the process of inquiry that he describes will be persuasive to those who engage in it for precisely the same reason that scientific explanations are persuasive. There is a community engaged in inquiry. Inquiry is an open-ended process with positive feedback. "The knowledge yielded by this process--what Dewey calls warranted assertibility--is not infallible, simply the best currently

available" (Webb, 2000 p. 5).¹⁰ From the perspective of classical pragmatism, public administration decisions that use a scientific attitude are not perfect (or truth). They are just *the best available* (at the time) and are subject to revision.

John Dewey's discourse on the scientific attitude generally had a theoretical tone. In contrast Jane Addams applied and extended Dewey's theories to her work at Hull House. For example, Addams' definition of a settlement¹¹ includes both the scientific attitude (experimental effort) and the problematic situation.

The Settlement, then is an *experimental effort* to aid in the solution of the social and industrial *problems* which are engendered by the modern conditions of life in a great city (Addams, 1930, p. 125) (italics added).

The settlement residents could not be 'fixated' in a single belief system or a single method. The settlement must welcome all perspectives and be flexible in its approach to problem solving. Furthermore, its residents (the core community) should have "scientific patience in the accumulation of facts."

From its very nature it [the Settlement] can stand for no political or social propaganda. It must in a sense, give the warm welcome of an inn to all such propaganda, if perchance one of them be found an angel. The one thing to be dreaded in the Settlement is that it lose its flexibility, its power of quick adaptation, its readiness to change its methods as its environment may demand. It must be open to conviction and must have a deep and abiding sense of tolerance. It must be hospitable and *ready for experiment*. It should demand from its residents a *scientific patience in the accumulation of facts* and the steady holding of their sympathies as one of the best instruments for that accumulation (Addams, 1910, p. 126) [italics added].

The collection of data is linked to the scientific attitude component of the community of inquiry. Sometimes data collection techniques must be developed (tailored to the problematic situation). Data collection is an often over looked activity of the Hull-House experience.

This belief in the necessity of depending upon factual data for scientific inquiry led to innovative research design and cartographic techniques developed by the residents of Hull-House. In the early 1890s Jane Addams and her colleague Florence Kelley supervised the writing and production of *Hull-House Maps and Papers*. The complete *Hull-House Maps and Papers* contains two large multicolored maps that depict the demographic characteristics within a third of a square mile near Hull-House. One map provided information on the distribution of eighteen nationality groups who resided in the area. The other large map focused on the residents' wages, occupations and housing conditions. The field-based research methods and the innovative mapping techniques developed by the residents of Hull-House has been suggested as a prototype for ideas later espoused by the Chicago Department of Sociology (Deegan, 1988).

Hull-House Maps and Papers also contained chapters that delved into some of the most important problems facing the immediate community. Florence Kelley (1970) detailed the many problems with employment in the garment industry in "The Sweating System."¹²

The aim of both the maps and subsequent narrative chapters (papers) was to present conditions rather than advance theories- to bring within reach of the public exact information concerning this quarter of Chicago rather than to advise methods by which it may be improved. While vitally interested in every question connected with this part of the city, and especially

concerned to enlarge the life and vigor of the immediate neighborhood, *Hull-House offers these facts more with the hope of stimulating inquiry and action, and evolving new thoughts and methods*, than with the idea of recommending its own manner of effort (Holbrook, 1970, p. 13) [Italics added].

Jane Addams was the overseer of the entire project. The mapping of social and demographic characteristics of a population was a methodology first adopted at Hull-House. Not only was this landmark methodological approach first used to create and publish *Hull-House Maps and Papers*, researchers at Hull-House continued using and refining this approach after the book's publication and national dissemination. Thus, the Addams neighborhood and surrounding areas became a place of ever-increasing study and ever-increasing cartographic analysis. In addition, the maps, became part of the community, an integral component of the settlement's goals of encouraging and promoting education and democracy among neighborhood residents.

Jane Addams' also stressed two key elements of the experimental approach (or scientific attitude). First, people must be willing to forgo preconceived belief systems and they must listen carefully. This was a lesson learned early while working among the immigrants.

The experience of the coffee-house taught us not to hold preconceived ideas of what the neighborhood ought to have, but to keep ourselves in readiness to modify and adapt our understandings as we discovered those things which the neighborhood was ready to accept (Addams, 1930, p. 132).

Second, the scientific attitude involves a willingness to see and learn from experimental failures. "There was room for discouragement in the many unsuccessful

experiments in cooperation which were carried on in Chicago during the early nineties" (Addams, 1910, p. 141). And, "in spite of failures, cooperative schemes went on, some of the same men appearing in one after another with irrepressible optimism" (Addams, 1930, p. 142).

The scientific attitude that characterizes Classical Pragmatism's approach to addressing problems is different from the technical rationality that Adams and Balfour link to administrative evil. Adams and Balfour¹³ harshly criticize the dominance of technical-rationality "a way of thinking and living that emphasizes the scientific-analytic mind-set and the belief in technical progress" (Adams and Balfour, 1998, p. xx). They argue that the scientific-analytic approach inevitably led to the use of experts (professionals) to solve the problems. In addition, technical rationality associates with expertise emphasized efficiencies that could be gained through science. The technical-rational approach rewards professionals dedicated to their specialized field. It also disconnects the technical expert from the people and an ethical framework. They maintain Germany's efficient, technical, rational, and disconnected public administration professionals contributed to the evil of the holocaust. Indeed, the support of the efficient technically trained professionals made the scale of the human tragedy so massive.

Adams and Balfour trace technical rationality to the Progressive Era. Taylor's scientific management is perhaps the most well known example. Ironically, this is just the time when the pragmatism of John Dewey and William James was receiving widespread attention. Clearly, the technical rationality described by Adams and Balfour is consistent with Ayer's(1952) positivism not Dewey's pragmatism. Positivism is disconnected from values and is individualistic. In contrast, Classical Pragmatism links the 'scientific attitude' with a rich participatory community.

Community as Participatory Democracy

The community as participatory democracy is both the simplest and the most profound component of the community of inquiry for public administration practice. Most practitioners and scholars immediately associate democracy with the representative democracy and its methods such as voting (both citizen and legislative behavior). For the most part the methods of representative democracy fall outside public bureaucracies. Participatory democracy, on the other hand, is a way of communicating. It is a way of communicating that according to McSwite (1997) was part of our colonial heritage. Town meetings and conversations across fences are historical examples of participatory democracy cited by McSwite (1997). Clearly, bureaucracies are places where conversations occur continuously and where participatory democracy can be employed daily.

Dewey's conception of community is also closely connected to his understanding of *democracy as a kind of cooperative experiment* (Seigfried, 1996, p. 92). The values of democratic community-"mutual respect, mutual toleration, give and take, the pooling of experience" (Dewey as cited in Campbell, 1998, p. 40) pervade all aspects of his thought. For Dewey the success of the community depends upon cooperative efforts to seek the common good in a democratic way. We may be drawn together to solve our problems, but it is the togetherness, not the solution that is the primary result (Campbell, 1998 p. 40).

Dewey's notion of community is not necessarily based on physical proximity. It is rather rooted in intellectual and cultural neighborhoods that interact with shared membership. The community might also be anchored in the desire to address a common problem. "Associated or joint activity is a condition of the creation of a community. But association itself is physical and organic, while communal life is moral, that is emotionally, intellectually, consciously sustained" (Dewey, 1954, p.151).

Dewey does not see democracy as simply giving everyone a say in a squabble over cutting up a pie of given size. Rather, his conception includes the capability of

designing a better pie or imagining and constructing something other than a pie. This characteristic requires the capability for inquiry on the part of the participants.

John Dewey reiterates the theme that democracy is not political democracy. We act "as if democracy were something that took place mainly at Washington and Albany- or some other state capital" (Dewey, 1998, p.342). Dewey viewed democracy as "a way of life controlled by a working faith in the possibilities of human nature" as human nature "is exhibited in every human being irrespective of race, color, sex, birth and family, of material or cultural wealth." Dewey's conceptualization of democracy also incorporated a "faith in human equality" or the "belief that every human being, independent of the quality or range of his personal endowment, has the right to equal opportunity with every other person for development of whatever gifts he has" (Dewey, 1998, p.342).

Democracy as a way of life includes an overarching personal faith in the "day-by-day working together with others. Democracy is the belief that even when needs and ends or consequences are different for each individual, the habit of amicable cooperation- which may include, as in sport, rivalry and competition- is itself a priceless addition to life" (Dewey, 1998, p.342).

Dewey (1954, p. 218-219) stresses that listening is a critical component of participation. "The connection of the ear with vital and out-going thought and emotion are immensely closer and more varied than those of the eye. Vision is a spectator; hearing is a participator."

Camilla Stivers (1994) discusses the role of the "listening bureaucrat" as an agent of democracy. She (p.365) argues that listening as an "embodied ability, way of knowing, moral capacity and potential administrative practice" helps to shape a "revived responsiveness, one that avoids passivity and partisanship." Mutual responsiveness is an essential component of *participatory* in participatory democracy.

Again, Jane Addams consciously used and refined participatory democracy at Hull-House. She also incorporated carefully crafted conceptualizations of participatory democracy into her pragmatism. Addams' ideal democracy was egalitarian. It was also generic enough to apply to both large and small groups (Farrell, 1967: 63). Further, Addams' democracy was not solely associated with government. "Democracy was a method of discovering truth through the combination of rational thought with equal participation of all citizens in community process" (Addams as cited in Deegan, 1988, p. 275). She incorporated a scientific method as part of the method for discovering the truth. "Democracy was weakened by excluding any group from the democratic ideal" (Farrell, 1967, p. 78). She viewed the Settlement (in all its complexity) as a "tangible expression of the democratic ideal" (Addams, 1930, p. 122). The Settlement was also an expression of "the desire to interpret democracy in social terms" (Addams, 1930, p. 125).

Addams' democracy links to a larger, moral "common good." And, part of the Settlement's job is to articulate an end-in-view associated with the common good.

The settlement is pledged to insist upon the unity of life, to gather to itself the sense of righteousness to be found in its neighborhood, and as far as possible in its city; to work towards the betterment not of one kind of people, but for the common good (Addams, 1970, p. 203) [italics added].

Jane Addams may have articulated an 'ideal' democracy in her philosophy, she, nevertheless, had an abiding reverence for the flawed U.S. democracy for which Lincoln "had cleared the title" (Addams, 1930, p. 41).¹⁴ "We must learn to trust our democracy, giant-like and threatening as it may appear in its uncouth strength and untried applications" (Addams, 1970, p. 198).

Much of her social reform efforts involved ways to make U.S. democracy more inclusive- more egalitarian. At the local level, she and the residents of Hull-House worked to effect reform within the political framework of a corrupt Cook County.

Ironically, they did not even have the right to vote. Although Addams reform efforts¹⁵ may have appeared radical at the time, she always respected and worked within the existing democratic governmental framework.

The kind of 'democratic community' envisioned by Dewey and Addams is consistent with Fredrickson's *Spirit of Public Administration* and King and Stivers' *Government is Us*. Both influential books argue for a re-conceptualizing of the role of the public administrator. George Fredrickson (1997) maintains that public administrators should view themselves as 'representative citizens.' King and Stivers (1998, p.196) advocate "active citizenship and active administration." Public Administration should emphasize citizen engagement and the facilitator role vis-a-vis the technical expert role. King and Stivers call for a world where scientific and technical approaches are balanced with "experienced based knowledge and personal skills like listening" (King & Stivers, 1998, p. 196). Addams obviously worked to achieve this balance.

Dewey and Addams have an idealized vision of democracy more radical than the one depicted in *Government is Us* and *The Spirit of Public Administration*. They saw democracy as a way of life that extended to all kinds of human ways of organizing e.g., family, school, and church. In the case of PA one would extend this vision to life inside a bureaucracy where problematic situations are purely internal. Thus, the community of inquiry organizing principle is implied when public administrators confront problematic situations (evaluate a program, develop performance measures, negotiate a contract) and consciously incorporate principles of participatory democracy into their practice. Examples include everything from active listening, to seeking out greater community support. All the while paying attention to the problematic situation, working hypotheses, and the nature and meaning of evidence. In other words - engaging in a cooperative experiment.

Leadership

The community of inquiry sounds great in theory. Unfortunately, Dewey's insight about practical questions such as who leads or directs the community of inquiry is unclear. John Dewey's insights perhaps give us clue into what a leader should *not* be. Leaders that are fixated in belief systems, unwilling to confront evidence they do not expect, unwilling to listen, and uncomfortable with uncertainty and doubt undermine the formation of a community of inquiry. Further, leaders that adopt a pessimistic attitude fore ordain failure. Alternatively, leaders that are unfettered optimists are unwilling to "see" problems or are ill prepared to adjust their approach when negative/unexpected information needs to be processed. Note Dewey would maintain that leaders (and the community) ground their inquiry in values such as equality, freedom and justice. And, some "problematic situations" incorporate conflicts between cherished values.

Fortunately, both the writing and the actions of Jane Addams, are informative about the nature of leadership in a community of inquiry. Jane Addams designation as a founder of pragmatism has been recently rediscovered.¹⁶ More importantly, from the perspective of practice she is an acknowledged early leader of social work, the settlement movement, the suffrage movement, progressive politics and the peace movement. She was also co-founder of the famous Chicago settlement - Hull-House. In addition, Camilla Stivers (2000) makes a strong case that she is also an undiscovered founder of Public Administration. Thus, her insights and actions about leadership have much to offer the larger public administration literature.

Jane Addams' actions and writings demonstrate the role of leadership in a community of inquiry. Moreover, Hull-House is a living example of a community of inquiry guided by Addams the caring leader mediator. She used a facilitator/mediator approach to dealing with the problematic situations at Hull-House (a community of inquiry). Her actions and writings show how leader-facilitators in a community of inquiry use reflection and listening to bridge problematic communication dualisms and

articulates the larger often evolving end-in-view. Thus leaders in a community of inquiry have a responsibility to keep the big picture in mind as inquiry proceeds (discussion, data collection and problem definition).

The community of inquiry has by implication an open-ended quality. Both the problem definition and the end-in-view may change as deliberation and data-collection proceeds. The leader-facilitator must be flexible and capable of adaptation. Leaders must also keep the community of inquiry focused on data collection and interpretation.

It must be emphasized that Addams guided the experimental effort. She was the leader that directed and probably most important held Hull-House together for over 40 years. Addams guided the work at Hull-House by stressing important components of the “community of inquiry” --cooperation and the mediator role. In some ways she was the personification of the pragmatic mediator role described by William James (1907) in *Pragmatism*. Her personality was non-judgmental and she encouraged diversity in points of view at Hull-House.

“Communities of inquiry” need leader-mediators because there are often language and other barriers that discourage cooperation. Mediators build bridges between different points of view and different experiential references. Addams used a labor museum as a mediation device.

It seemed to me that Hull-House ought to be able to devise some educational enterprise, which should build a bridge between Europe and American experiences in such ways as to give them both more meaning and a sense of relation. I meditated that perhaps the power to see life as a whole, is more needed in the immigrant quarter of a large city than anywhere else, and that the lack of this power is the most fruitful source of misunderstanding between European immigrants and their children, as it is between them and their American neighbors (Addams, 1930, pp. 235-236) .

The immensely successful labor museum built a bridge by including traditional old-world methods of clothes making along side new technology (sewing machines). Further, the museum bridged dichotomies (Europe/ America; young/old), enabling learning and reconstructing experience and thus, resolved problems. Addams hoped that "if these young people could actually see that the complicated machinery of the factory had been evolved from simple tools, they might at least make a beginning towards that education which Dr. Dewey defines as 'continuing reconstruction of experience.' They might also lay a foundation for ... sound progress (Using the elephant)" (Addams, 1930, pp. 236-237).

Jane Addams was often called upon to negotiate complicated and passionate, labor disputes. Although she was associated with the causes of immigrant labor, industry accepted her because she was fair and she listened. As the mediator, she was able to hear words that blocked productive discussion. Terms like friend/enemy fixated discourse and should be replaced by words like manager and employee. She listened so that others might hear and reach a negotiated settlement. Addams faith in participatory democracy as a template for negotiation was often rewarded. "And democracy did save industry. It transformed disputes about wages from social feuds into business bargains" (Addams, 1970, p. 197).¹⁷ At their best, leaders in the community of inquiry facilitate the transformations of inquiry. Since leaders and members of the immediate community may lack technical expertise, they may call upon experts to join the discourse. The role of the expert is particularly relevant to PA where many problematic situations require technical expertise.

The Role of Expertise

The public administrator as "expert" role has recently been harshly criticized. There is concern that large elements of both policy and management are turned over wholesale to experts. Scholars such as McSwite(1997), King and Stivers(1998) and

Adams and Balfour(1998) posit that experts enamored with their technical knowledge and skills often become detached from larger public purposes. How is expertise considered within the community of inquiry?

One might argue that their criticism of 'expertise' is non-sense. What is the alternative? It is hard to imagine that the country would be better off if people with specialized expertise did not inspect our meat, plan and oversee the building of roads, lead our peace keeping forces and prepare personnel policies. From Dewey's perspective the key is not whether expertise is necessary but rather what role expertise plays in the community of inquiry.

Indeed, Dewey speaks directly to these issues in *The Public and Its Problems*. He makes a distinction between administrative matters and politics.

Is not the problem at the present time that of securing experts to manage administrative matters...The important governmental affairs at present, it may be argued, are also technically complicated matters to be conducted properly by expert (Dewey, 1954, p. 123).

He also identifies 'problematic situations' such as sanitation, public health, healthful and adequate housing, planning of cities, transportation, regulation and distribution of immigrants, selection and management of personnel, preparation of competent teachers, efficient management of funds, and adjustment of taxation that are relevant even today.

These are technical matters, as much so as the construction of an efficient engine for purposes of traction or locomotion. Like it they are to be settled by inquiry into facts: and as the inquiry can be carried on only by those

especially equipped, so the results of inquiry can be utilized only by trained technicians" (Dewey, 1954, p.123-125).

Dewey anticipates the current criticism of expertise in Public Administration. Experts have the potential to become "a specialized class ... shut off from knowledge of the needs which they are supposed to serve" (Dewey, 1954, p. 206). He is concerned that the class of experts could inevitably be so removed from common interests as to become a class with private interests and private knowledge. Ideally, these experts are connected to a process of popular government and comfortable with the "common interest" even if the recognition of common interest is confused. He notes that discussion and publicity help to clarify the expert's purpose. "The man who wears the shoe knows best that it pinched and where it pinches, even if the expert shoemaker is the best judge of how the trouble is to be remedied" (Credited to De Tocqueville by Dewey, 1954, p. 207).

He warns that a government by experts in which the masses do not have a chance to inform the experts about their needs will become "an oligarchy managed in the interests of the few. A government that incorporates expertise must proceed in ways that force the administrative specialist to take account larger common purposes... The world has suffered more from leaders and authorities than from the masses." The crucial component of the community of inquiry that addresses the expertise problem is "participatory democracy." Dewey notes that there is an essential need to improve "the methods and conditions of debate, discussion and persuasion, That is *the* problem of the public." (Dewey, 1954, p.208) As Paul Appleby (1962, p.175) noted in his classic 1962 *Public Administration Review* essay, experts should be "on tap not on top."

Dewey asserts that progress depends "upon freeing and perfecting the processes of inquiry and of dissemination of their conclusions. Inquiry, indeed, is a work which devolved upon experts. But their expertness is not shown in framing and executing

policies, but in discovering and making known the facts upon which the former depend" (Dewey, 1954, p.208).

"They are technical experts in the sense that scientific investigators and artists manifest *expertise*. It is not necessary that the many should have the knowledge and skill to carry on the needed investigations; what is required is that they have the ability to judge of the bearing of the knowledge supplied by others upon common concerns" (Dewey, 1954, p.209). Dewey has identified and addressed the same issues as current critics of public administration. Thus, one contribution of the community of inquiry notion to PA is that the role and value of expertise is automatically contextualized through the emphasis on participatory democracy. Ideally, there is a 'listening expert' at the table.

In the above discussion, the role of expertise within a participatory democracy was emphasized. Keith Snider (2000, p.351) stresses another aspect of the community of inquiry (experimentalism or scientific attitude) in his investigation of pragmatism and the role of expertise in PA. "Since the late 19th century, mainstream public administration has been characterized by the pursuit of certainty through administrative expertise, whether through techniques, principles or empiricism. Since that time as well, pragmatism has offered the field a more modest alternative of experimenting that holds out no such promise of administrative 'Truth' but, rather merely the opportunity for administrators to craft themselves legitimate roles based on experience and context." One might also add a participatory community.

So What!

One might ask--So what! The community of inquiry notion is just too remote or ideal to contribute anything to public administration. The community of inquiry is subject to attack from all sides. Scholars that want PA to distance itself from the scientific way of knowing can find fault. Others can point to the world of power politics

(bureaucratic and others) and dismiss the community of inquiry as a pipe dream. Economists might ask, where is self-interest?

From the point of view of Classical Pragmatism all of these issues are points of departure for further inquiry. Patricia Shields (1996) argues that the pragmatism of James and Dewey resonates with practitioner experience. The community of inquiry is a conceptual tool that practitioners can use to help them interpret and shape experience.¹⁸ In addition, public administrators that consciously uses the 'community of inquiry' as a conceptual structure should be better able to tap into the collective and historical experience of her organizational 'community'. Analogous to the useful efficiency fable of the 90 percent untapped brain, the aware administrator may be able to extract more from a less knowledgeable community than the unaware administrator might from a crack troupe. Further, he seeks to institute, (or improve current) methods to continuously increase the "intelligence" of the community. He seeks to motivate an inquiring community to listen, share, learn and persuade (Brom, 2000).

There are many seemingly disparate "problematic situations" in Public Administration where a practitioner (or group of practitioners) might use the community of inquiry as a beneficial conceptual lens. The following examples (methods) show that the community of inquiry is an organizing principle that can be used in a variety of settings to help administrators understand what they do and how to forward the public interest (progress).

Anytime a problem is referred to a committee the community of inquiry model could be employed as a conceptual framework. If the spirit of participatory democracy prevailed, meetings would, be *civil*. This alone might improve work life in public administration. A committee or a task force is an ideal forum to employ many of the organizing principles found within the community of inquiry. Committees usually form to address some "problem." The members of the committee often are tasked to make recommendations (hopefully by gathering and analyzing facts). It is easy to see how the

leader or chair of the committee could make a difference. If the meeting is guided by a leader that encourages discourse, is centered on the problematic situation (but open to redefinition of the problematic situation), comfortable with uncertainty and encourages active listening the work of the committee should closely adhere to the community of inquiry ideal.

The crafting of performance measures is another example. If performance measures are developed using a community of inquiry approach, one would expect that the outcome or process measured to be tied to a deliberative process that defines the “problematic situation,” taking into account larger/different contexts and goals. Performance indicator development is tied to an ongoing process of hypothesis development and testing. In addition, the meaning of performance measures is interpreted through the eyes of participatory democracy. The community of inquiry model mirrors a continuous quality improvement approach to management at its best (Wilson, 2002).

The negotiated rulemaking process offers another opportunity to apply the community of inquiry notion. Negotiated rulemaking is “a consensus based process in which a proposed rule is initially developed by a committee composed of representatives of all those interests that will be affected by the rule, including those interests represented by the rulemaking agency (Center for Public Policy Dispute Resolution, 1996, p. 11). The committee composed of representatives of all those interested could act like a community of inquiry. If so, the goal of greater citizen participation by citizen and administrator would be furthered (Beechinor, 1998).

Something very close to a community of inquiry has been legislated by the Individuals with Disabilities Act of 1997 (Public Law 105-17). When disabled students become consistently disruptive in class -the teacher, parents, counselor and other specialists must work together (form a community that crystallizes around a problem). They are mandated do a Functional Behavioral Assessment (FBA). The FBA requires the

team to approach the disruptive behavior by developing and testing causal hypotheses. Interventions are suggested, tried and assessed. If the intervention fails the process begins again. Perhaps the community of inquiry could be called a team with a scientific attitude (Pratt, 2000).

The field of juvenile justice is beginning to use councils a kin to communities of inquiry to wrestle with sentencing (problematic situation) of youthful non-violent offenders. The model generally includes a panel of volunteer community members that have received training. "Community Justice Councils" examine the crime and sentencing options with the offender, the parents, the victim (if applicable - vandalism) and criminal justice professionals. The sentencing process involves deliberations with all involved (participatory democracy). The council may mandate community service or drug awareness classes. Importantly, the progress is monitored (hopefully with a scientific attitude e.g., evidence of compliance) using a process that requires follow up and continued contact with the youth (Raffray, 1997).

Three hundred sixty-degree performance evaluations can be approached using the community of inquiry. The 360 degree system uses input from the individual, peers and supervisor. This group forms the community that addresses the problematic situation (the evaluation of the employee). Using the community of inquiry model the evaluation is approached with a spirit of critical optimism. Thus, the focus is development (improvement of employee performance). Ideally, evidence of current performance is collected with a scientific attitude. Working hypotheses for improvement are proposed (and over time tested). Members of the evaluation team also approach the assessment discourse with the spirit of participatory democracy (Garza, 2000). Indeed, even a performance evaluation system limited to a smaller community (supervisor and employee) would benefit from a community of inquiry approach.

The detectives in P.D. James(1999) novel use a process similar to the community of inquiry. They work together to understand the problematic situation- 'who killed the

victim.' They find evidence, formulate hypotheses and search for more evidence. If they fail to keep an open mind (scientific attitude) they will miss or misinterpret evidence. If all are free to talk and participate multiple points of view about how to interpret evidence and form new hypotheses are considered. Even an ideal community of inquiry might arrest an innocent woman. There is no certainty.

The contributors of *Government is Us*, all want to see greater participatory democracy between citizen and public administrator. If citizen and administrator act as part of a community of inquiry, public administration would move closer to the framework King, Stivers and contributors advocate.

Participatory democracy is not a replacement for representative democracy. The two should work together. Nevertheless, participatory approaches are better equipped to reach win-win solutions. The awareness and practice of participatory democracy is probably underdeveloped in public administration. Hopefully, the community of inquiry context provides a useful lens to see how more participatory democracy can enter and influence our field. In that way, participatory democracy has the potential to bridge fixated belief systems that separate us from each other and the citizens we serve.

Finally, as public administrators we are committed to serving a democratic state. There is something at once liberating and exciting about conceptualizing our conversations as a form of democracy. The community of inquiry places our conversations within an experiential context of budgets and deadlines. It also focuses our conversations on problematic situations and subsequent data collection and interpretation. Overriding all is critical optimism - the sense that we have the potential to make a difference and connect to the common good.

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Endnotes

¹ For purposes of this article classical pragmatists include Charles Sanders Peirce, William James, John Dewey and Jane Addams.

² PA has long struggled with the seemingly conflicting roles of bureaucracy and democracy. See Redford (1969) and Garofalo and Guerras(1999). One of the final issue that Key (1964, 709) dealt with in his classic *Politics Parties and Pressure Groups* was the place of the bureaucracy in democracy.

³ See for example see Garrison, 2000; Stever, 2000a&b; and Snider 2000.

⁴Thanks to Jeff Knepp a contributor to the Peirce list serve for the elephant and the blind men example.(peirce-l@ttacs6.ttu.edu). Peirce maintained that over a long time horizon (hundreds of years) it was possible for communities of inquiry to discover scientific truth (nature's eternal laws). At any point in time, however, results using the scientific method are provisional. The uneven course of progress (a better description of the elephant) proceeds over time. Peirce describes this aspect of the scientific method as fallibilism which holds that "people cannot attain absolute certainty concerning questions of fact" (Peirce, 1955, p. 59).

⁵ Critical optimism is a synonym for meliorism. Much of this material is drawn from Dewey's *Reconstruction in Philosophy*.

⁶ James Stever (2000b) makes a similar point in *The Path to Organizational Skepticism*. He shows how "skepticism" is a destructive trend in the theory of public organizations. He contrasts organizational faith and skepticism. Organizational faith is linked with modernism and the pragmatism of John Dewey. He maintains that the managerialism of modernism, while imperfect, is checked by criticism. On the other hand, the postmodern path of organizational skepticism is akin to Dewey's description of pessimism and is worse than a dead end.

⁷ It should be noted that the Hitch and McKean's model differs from Deweyan instrumentalism because the analysis is separated from experience. Thus abstractions are never brought to the experiential context so body counts have lives of their own.

⁸ See David Hildebrand (1997) for more discussion on the importance of experience as the starting point of analysis.

⁹ Hence, unlike earlier philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, Decartes, and Kant, Dewey's real interest is *not* truth but rather the social grounds of belief. He used "warranted assertibility" as the test for the social grounds of belief (Dewey, 1938, p.14). The methods of science retain their centrality but the focus of science is no longer the "discovery of nature's eternal laws."

Dewey hoped that philosophy would be an tool of social progress, in which the "scientific method in some generalized form, is applied to problems of public policy and social morality." Thus he believed that philosophy should take the latest scientific knowledge into account. Unlike the Platonists, Positivists and Cartesians preceding him Dewey did not construe philosophy as a kind of super-science or source of knowledge superior to ordinary fallible experience. But unlike the postmodern and the End of Philosophy Movement, Dewey does not see science as merely one narrative among many competing narratives (Webb, 1999).

¹⁰ A scientific attitude is difficult to achieve if thinking is dominated by absolutist dualisms. Nevertheless, relevant distinctions grounded in particular problematic situations- and subjected to critical scrutiny and revision- are crucial to successful inquiry. Dewey maintained that common dualisms associates with the enlightenment such as mind and body, subject and object, perception and reality, form and substance have had the effect of fixating belief systems (Flower and Murphy, 1977). Dualisms in public administration such as politics and administration, fact and value, theory and practice, policy and administration may also fixate our views. If people use a philosophy that suspends or connects dualisms they can be more open to the benefits and insights from each perspective. The process of forging a community of inquiry is difficult (impossible) when members of the group are fixated in opposite belief systems.

¹¹ A common, understandable misconception is that Hull-House was an 1890s version of a modern soup kitchen/homeless shelter. Hull-House had a broader objective. It quickly became

a large complex which addressed the needs of the nearby immigrant community in a vast variety of ways. There were college extension courses, (which emphasized art, literature, language, music, history, mathematics and drawing), a summer school, Sunday concerts, a choir, at least 25 clubs, cooking classes, free kindergarten and day nursery, facilities for organized labor to meet, speaker series, dances, a gymnasium, a coffee house, a public dispensary (drug store), labor bureau, labor and art museum (Appendix *Hull-House Maps and Papers*, 1970, p. 208). John Dewey, Susan B. Anthony, and Theodore Roosevelt lectured at Hull-House. Some of the services were self-supported (coffeehouse, dispensary), others were subsidized through private funding sources.

¹² She was also able to document that the decentralized "sweating system" increased the likelihood of labor abuses and health risks. For example, 'sweaters' with typhoid often illegally worked on suits that later infected the purchaser. Florence Kelley and Alzina Stevens, (1970) both Inspectors of Workshops and Factories for the State of Illinois, reported on the enforcement of recently passed Illinois child labor laws. They documented the increased dangers of mutilation and death faced by children because they were less cautious and often unable to read directions.

¹³ The problem with Adams and Balfour(1998) is related to what John Dewey called the philosophic fallacy. A philosophic fallacy is an abstract construct derived and distilled from experience but then placed in a realm separate from experience, accessible only to those who possess a special language and knowledge (usually of a technical realm). Modernity is just such an abstract construct that is embraced with great enthusiasm but which lacks a cutting edge. Citing "modernity" as the problem is like saying "capitalism" is the problem: the "solution" then depends primarily on ideology not on relevant experience. Discussion relies primarily upon appeals to accepted authority and a specialized jargon. Facts and history are malleable anecdotes, selectively employed to confirm what one already believes.

Part of the problem that the authors see in modernity, besides technical rationality, is the attempt at the progressive development of knowledge. One does not have to swallow Whiggish

histories and rational reconstruction to be engaged in an effort to develop knowledge. Why should progress be a dirty word? The problem with neoclassical economics (which exemplifies problems of modernity in social sciences) is not that it is progressively developing knowledge but that the discipline is not only ahistorical it has been empirically regressive in terms explaining the real world economy. Indeed, do the authors not see what they are doing as better than some alternative and representing therefore progress?

¹⁴Addams devotion to democracy stemmed from her devotion to her father who was a state senator and a friend of Lincoln. Some of her earliest and most vivid memories were of Lincoln's death (she was four years old). In *20 Years* Addams describes her attraction to democracy "There was growing within me an almost passionate devotion to the ideals of democracy" (Addams, 1930:79)

¹⁵Causes which Addams championed included women's right to vote, child labor-laws, safety regulations for the workplace, restrictions on hours worked, social security for the elderly and sick, civil service reform, juvenile justice, mandatory education for teenagers (up to age 16), better and more available care for the mentally ill.

¹⁶Both Deegan (1990) and Seigfried (1996) attribute the delayed recognition to a sexist tradition within academia (and philosophy in particular) and the unorthodox institutional setting of Hull-House. Addams works, most notably, *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, is filled with her philosophy. Nevertheless, *20 Years* is unlike most philosophy texts because it is in narrative. See for example Audi(1995:638); Seigfried (1996); Deegan (1990) and Menand (2001), Luizzi and McKinney (2001). Deegan also argues persuasively that Addams is one of the founders of Chicago Sociology.

¹⁷Note that Jane Addams did not always succeed in negotiating a settlement. The community of inquiry approach includes uncertainty.

¹⁸See Shields (1998) for other ways that classical pragmatism can bring conceptual frameworks to public administration.
