

**Reimagining and Recovering a Bold and Nobel Profession:
Jane Addams and the Story of Three Sandboxes**

Patricia M. Shields
Professor
Department of Political Science
Texas State University

Ps07@txstate.edu

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This paper examines Jane Addams's influence on the emerging fields of Public Administration, Social Work, and Sociology in the US.¹ The birth of these fields coincided with and responded to social problems of the late 19th and early 20th century. The advent of railroads and factories led to rapidly expanding wealth, urbanization and industrialization throughout the United States. This in turn attracted record numbers of migrants from Europe and the rural South. The public responses to these challenges were filtered through corrupt, crony capitalism/crony democracy. Chicago like other American cities suffered from massive poverty, poor sanitation, dysfunctional local government, crime, shoddy housing, dangerous workplaces, politicized, exploited women, and exhausted, uneducated children worn out by long factory shifts (Hofstadter, 1963, Addams, 1909, 1912). Sociology, social work and public administration all trace their origin as a self-aware field to this period. Jane Addams played a role in each. This paper uses the sandbox metaphor to illustrate how Jane Addams and settlement women influenced each during this critical period. This comparative framework allows for a different kind story about the origin of public administration.

Although sociology and public administration are seldom explicitly linked, they share common roots. Sociology is a social science focused on studying the nature of social problems with a home in academia. In contrast, the professionals of public administration and social workers carry out strategies to resolve these problems. They serve society as planners, caseworkers, administrators, nonprofit employees and government workers. In the 1880s, these

¹ Much of this paper draws from chapter 4 "Jane Addams: Pioneer in American Sociology, Social Work and Public Administration." In P. Shields (ed). *Jane Addams: Progressive Pioneer of Peace, Philosophy, Sociology, Social Work and Public Administration*, 2017.

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fields evolved into modern, self-aware secular fields, which identified with scientific objectivity and eventually offered university degrees (Deegan, 1988; Austin, 1983; Shields & Rangarajan, 2011). Jane Addams is now claimed as a founder by all three fields. Her story and the role of the settlement workers who accompanied her, however, varies widely across the three fields (sandboxes).

Social work often traces its origin to 1869 and the founding of the Charity Organization Society (COS) in London. The COS sought a way to make charity more scientific and efficient through a home visit service, which identified fraudulent relief claims and prescribed ways to fix individual vices such as drunkenness or gambling. Over time the home visit evolved into social casework one of the pillars of social work practice. The settlement movement, another source of social work identity, advocated intimate community involvement, systematic investigation into the causes of poverty, infectious diseases, crime etc., and organized action to address systemic dangers to the community. (Abramowitz, 1998, 513-14). The history of social work is framed by the sustained tension between these two approaches.²

The Sociology Department at the University of Chicago and Hull House were founded in response to the aforementioned urban challenges (Deegan, 1988). During the 1890s these closely affiliated infant organizations stimulated pioneering work in sociology (Treveino, 2012; Feagin, 2001; Gross and Krohn, 2005). Eventually, settlement women such as Addams with their preference for the world of action and reform were not quite scientific or objective enough for an increasingly academic and male dominated field. They were transformed into social workers and disappeared from sociology's formal institutional memory (Dale & Kalob, 2006). In the late 20th

² See Abramowitz (1998); Bisman, (2004); Brieland, (1990); Chambers, (1986); Franklin, (1986); Haynes, (1998); Johnson (2004); Kam (2014); McLaughlin, (2002).

century, sociologists discovered and recovered the work of pioneering settlement sociologists like Addams (Deegan, 1988, Grant, Stalp & Ward, 2002). By 2001, Joe Feagin's presidential address to the American Sociology Association identified Addams as a "key founder" (p. 7) as he called for sociology to reclaim its activist roots and commitment to social justice.

Hull House operated in a city with a well-deserved reputation for dysfunction and corruption (political bosses who controlled lucrative contracts and public hiring) (White, 1963, Stivers, 2000). The field of public administration emerged as a way to redress abuses of city governments plagued by fraud and inefficiencies. Its founders sought greater municipal efficiency through business practices and a healthier democracy by incorporated merit and expertise into personnel policies (instead of political patronage) (Shields, 2008). Jane Addams (1905, 425) recognized the "shame of the city" and worked for holistic municipal reform. She, however, criticized the city as business ideal believing it left out the concerns of women and children – she instead offered the "city as home" model (Addams 1905, p. 438). At that time, the male founders of public administration were unable or unwilling to incorporate insights from the settlement perspective into PA. In the early 21st century, public administration scholars are recognizing the value of Addams's contributions to social policy, public administration theory and management practices.³ Recognition of her pioneering efforts proceeds slowly, however.⁴

In the late 19th century, women and men operated in separate spheres. With few exceptions, men were masters of the public sphere where armies, courts, business, higher education and politics resided. Strict social mores encouraged disenfranchised women to limit their vision to the private sphere (household). Addams role as a pioneer is deeply imbedded with

³ See Stillman, (1998), Stivers, (2000, 2009); Shields (2003, 2008); Ansell, (2011).

⁴ See Gabriele, (2015); Shields & Soeters; (forthcoming); Shields, Whetsell, and Hanks, (2013).

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her struggle to expand and transcend the limits of the women's sphere. After the Civil War, women used the moral authority of motherhood and an expansive network of women's clubs to shape social policy (Shields & Rangarajan, 2011; Skocpol, 1992). Social work, a field dominated by women, emerged from this tradition and, not surprisingly, social work claims Addams as a key founder. In contrast, sociology and public administration emerged as part of the male dominated public sphere where women's intellect was marginalized and emotional stability questioned. A recognized woman founder would be a liability that could emasculate a new field seeking recognition in this male arena (Stivers, 2000, 11). Patriarchy and sexism overshadowed the historical narrative informing these fields. The strict separation of the spheres has long eroded opening space for both PA and sociology to reclaim and reintegrate their lost heritage.

The remainder of this paper explores Jane Addams pioneering role in shaping public administration, social work, and sociology.

Social Work

In the early 1800's, US women played an important role in the abolitionist movement and after the Civil War (1864) they continued their political activism addressing social problems that affected families, women and children. These disenfranchised women creatively used well-organized women clubs and maternal moral arguments to fight for policies that protected women and children (Skocpol, 1992, Giesberg, 2000). Women were also active in all aspects of charitable work. The US field of social work came into being partly because college educated, post-civil war women sought appropriate service outlets outside the home (Austin, 1983).

Of the three fields, social work is the only one with a clear history claiming Addams as founder. The University of Chicago's School of Social Service Administration, founded by Hull

House residents and the Jane Addams College of Social Work (University of Illinois, Chicago), provide tangible evidence of Addams founding role in social work.

Defining Social Work

In 2000, the International Federation of Social Workers defined social work as a “profession [which] promotes social change, problem-solving in human relationships, and the empowerment and liberation of people to enhance well-being. Utilizing theories of human behavior and social systems, social work intervenes at the points where people interact with their environments. Principles of human rights and social justice are fundamental to social work” (Hare, 2004, 409). As a “profession,” social work emphasizes the world of practice (Addams’s world) and is committed to promoting “social change [and] problem-solving in human relationships,” as well as “principles of human rights and social justice.” Jane Addams is identified as a key historical source of these commitments.⁵

An Alternative to the Friendly Visitor

The field of social work identifies the “friendly visitor” program, established by the Charity Organization Society (COS), as an important pioneering effort. The London based COS quickly took roots in cities and towns across America (Abramowitz, 1998). The COS, a coordinating, umbrella agency, was established to address the many problems of “professional pauperism and unwholesome poverty” (Brandt, 1907, 11). It was designed “to check the evils of overlapping relief” (p, 15) that led to “notorious professional beggars” and systemic fraud and abuse (p. 22). It did this by bringing business-like efficiency and scientific practices to local relief programs. The friendly visitors were key to this effort. These, mostly, well educated

⁵ See Hare, (2004, p. 41); Kendall, (2000; p. 100); Specht & Courtney, (1994, pp. 73-85); Staniforth, Fouche & O’Brien, (2011, p. 193.)

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women visited homes collecting data and offering education and advice that would enable the worthy-poor to pull themselves out of poverty through self-reliance and better habits (avoiding alcohol). Mary Richmond the foremost founder of the field of social work began her career as a faithful, friendly visitor (Franklin, 1986).

When Jane Addams established Hull House in 1889 the COS was a powerful force influencing the behavior of public relief agencies and charitable organization throughout the United States (Abramowitz, 1998, 513). For example, it dominated the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, which had previously been led by the public sector and state agencies. “Influenced by the COS philosophy ... virtually all of the nation’s major cities abolished home relief between 1870 and 1900” (Abramowitz, 1998, 514). The Settlement movement was, in part, a reaction to this individualistic, punitive and moralistic approach to urban poverty. In contrast to the judgmental “visitor,” the settlement worker lived and worked in the community. Settlement houses offered services which met immediate needs. They also sympathetically investigated the conditions of the neighborhood, identified social problems and organized to address the problems. *Hull-House Maps and Papers*, for example, devoted a chapter to “Wage-Earning Children”, which documented the extent of child labor in Chicago as well as its harsh dangers (Kelly & Stevens, 1895). Subsequently, the residents of Hull-House worked diligently to change child labor laws.

Perhaps because she wanted to distance her approach from the activities of the friendly visitor, Jane Addams never referred to herself as a social worker (except in quotation marks) (Brieland, 1990, 135). In *Democracy and Social Ethics*, Addams (1902) voices her criticisms of contemporary charity efforts. Her message resonated with the public because, as the economic panic of 1893 made painfully clear, families can quickly fall into poverty through no fault of

their own. Addams identified the COS practices as outdated, “our estimate of the effect of environment and social conditions has doubtless shifted faster than our methods of administrating charity has changed. Formerly when it was believed that poverty was synonymous with vice and laziness, and that the prosperous man was the righteous man, charity was administered harshly with a good conscience for the charitable agent really blamed the individual for his poverty, and the very fact of his own superior prosperity gave him a certain consciousness of superior morality” (Addams 1902, 11-12).

Addams’s experiences working with impoverished Hull House neighbors led to different insights. In spite of their limited circumstances, her neighbors consistently demonstrate a (more ethical) generous spirit. She illustrates this with the example of a large family living in a one-bedroom apartment that takes in a penniless, pregnant friend whose husband was recently incarcerated. The unemployed father of the family willingly sleeps on a park bench. In contrast to this caring family, the “friendly visitor” (p. 30) is expected to evaluate the morals of the homeless woman’s family ignoring immediate need. No wonder her Hull House neighbors show distaste for the clueless, “daintily clad charity visitor” (p. 12).

Addams is most critical of the *system* that produces the charity visitor and is sympathetic with a state of perplexity these women experience. They enter the neighborhood around Hull House firmly situated on the moral high ground with scientific answers. But when they are in a home seeing the conditions, they come to appreciate the precarious circumstances of the family they visit. Addams (1902) sees both the family seeking aid and the friendly visitor as victims of a system that fails to recognize the catastrophic consequences of intransigent, societal, injustices such as unsafe workplaces, child labor, streets filled with rotting garbage, and meager wages.

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Hence, as early as 1902 Addams was making the case for a social work that recognized systematic problems and worked to remedy them.

Addams books were a key component of her social change agenda. For example, *Spirit of Youth* and *Ancient Evil* alerted the public to the plight of wayward juveniles and the systematic exploitation of young women through prostitution (Addams, 1909, 1912). She also joined and led influential social welfare organizations. Social workers schooled in the COS tradition and Settlement House social workers vied for control of these organizations. In 1909 Addams was elected president of the powerful National Conference of Charities and Corrections signaling that social work professionals were adopting many of her ideas (Davis, 1994, p.198). At the 20th anniversary of Hull House's founding (in 1909), the progressive reform movement was in full swing and achieving a measure of success (e.g., legislation protecting workers from dangers of the workplace, juvenile courts, state child labor laws etc.). Many former residents of Hull House such as Julia Lathrop, Florence Kelley and Grace Abbot led these efforts eventually taking top positions within social welfare agencies and influencing the direction of social work (Addams, 1935; Austin, 1983; Stivers, 2000). It should be noted that neither the friendly visitor program nor the settlement movement were exclusively female. Both men and women populated the field of social work. Nevertheless, women made up a significant majority of the profession and women's traditional values are clearly evident in social work curriculums and scholarly works.

Mary Richmond

To understand Addams pioneering role in social work it is useful to examine the influence of her rival Mary Richmond and the development of social work education. Mary Richmond began as a friendly visitor and successfully rose in the ranks to the highest position of the

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Baltimore COS. She led many social work professional organizations but had no use for social reform such as women's suffrage (Kemp and Brandwein, 2010). She was hostile to settlements viewing them as "old-fashioned missions doing harm by their cheap sprinkling sort of charity" (Franklin, 1986 510). She was fully committed to shaping the early professional literature and the curriculum of fledgling social work education programs (Franklin, 1986). In both, she developed and advocated for *casework* methodology, which drew from a medical model and focused on changing individuals and families. In an early textbook, she "established the crucial link between the attention to individual coping capacities and material resources necessary for their realization" (Lorenz, 2014, 19). She also recognized problems with the "coercive 'policing' character" of COS work. Social worker investigations evolved into casework, which became a "shared platform of insights which allowed for a 'realistic' identification of tasks to be shared between assistant and the assisted in the resolution of problems" (Lorenz, 2014, 19). Importantly, her approach focused on individuals and families.

In addition, Mary Richmond connected casework to unique, experiential, practical wisdom, which could be shared and should form the basis of the social work curriculum (Austin, 1983 p. 359). Her position dominated; by 1912 most social work curriculum emphasized casework. Perhaps more importantly, Richmond's focus on the individual provided a way to document and charge for services. The business of social reform did not provide a steady income. Not everyone had Addams inheritance or gifts for speaking and publishing. In addition, the 1930 Social Security Act incentivized the provision of services to individuals (Abramowitz, 1998, 520).

As Mary Richmond placed her stamp on social work education, Jane Addams's attention shifted to organizing the women's international peace movement and ending WWI. The newly

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evolving social work curriculum was not on her radar. After the war, the public lost interest in progressive reform. Mary Richmond and other social work leaders were glad to distance themselves from a tarnished peace activist who promoted outdated, perhaps communist, social change (Franklin, 1986).

Social Work's emphasis on casework and eventually psychotherapy has drawn criticism within the profession. For example, Specht and Courtney (1994) argued social workers had become *Unfaithful Angels* focusing on the paying, worried well (middle class Americans seeking meaning) that lost track of their true mission: promoting social justice. Kam (2014) refers the Addams heritage as he decries the "withering social justice mission in the existing social work literature" (p. 724). He calls for a way to reclaim social justice by emphasizing the "social" in social work.

Of course, Addams reform emphasis did not disappear. First, contemporary social work has an unabashed feminist perspective, which traces its roots to Jane Addams and settlement women (Kemp and Brandwein, 2010, White, 2006, Sands & Nuccio, 1992). Second, although the casework perspective may have dominated, social work curriculums include courses, which examine poverty and injustice (Haynes, 1998). Third, settlement women who continued to emphasize social reform founded social work programs. Hull House residents Edith Abbot and Sophonisba Breckenridge established the University of Chicago's program (Brieland, 1990). Fourth, social work scholars continue to look to Jane Addams for inspiration. Check the references throughout this chapter for examples. Fifth, Social Work's emphasis on social justice and concern for the disadvantaged are clearly evidenced in professional documents such as the *NASW Code of Ethics* (Haynes, 1998). In many ways, Jane Addams's perspective represents something like the *conscious* or *soul* of the profession (Haynes, 1998).

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Interestingly, the social work field appears mostly unaware of Addams status as a pragmatist philosopher. In 2001, a practitioner, exploring the nature of social work professionalism makes a case for Addams pragmatism as a fruitful unexplored resource for social work. He finds pragmatism compelling because it connects to the board “goal of helping individuals, groups, families and neighbors have better lives” (Glaser, 2001, p. 196). He is concerned that both sides of this debate have become too fundamentalist in their thinking. This “fundamentalism impairs connections to the larger system of which the group is a part” (p. 196). He is attracted to the pluralism and flexibility of pragmatism as a way to enhance knowledge. Pragmatism supports a relational model he believes should be a central guiding principle. “Social Work is ultimately concerned with the nexus of human relationships and problems. One of the reasons for the diversity of our practice forms (and subsequent conflicts about them) is the tremendous multiplicity of human relationships” (p. 198). He asks that social work hold onto the perspective that its “main purpose is assisting people in changing their relationships with larger and smaller systems.” He believes Addams’s pragmatic perspective would make many of social work’s ongoing “functional arguments disappear” (p. 198).

Addams played a founding role in social work and is perhaps the conscience of the field. This is clearly a profession (sandbox) filled with women who acknowledge the sustained influence of Addams on their organic field.

Sociology

“Hull House was for women sociologists what the University of Chicago was for men sociologists: the institutional center for research and social thought” (Deegan, 1988, p.33).

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The University of Chicago established the first US Department of Sociology (1892). Its early faculty were instrumental to the founding of American sociology, initiating the first professional organization (American Society of Sociology, 1905) and its first academic journal (*American Journal of Sociology AJS*, 1895). Key members of Chicago's department, such as its Chair and founder of *AJS*, Albion Small advocated a sociology that married "thought with action" (Small, 1896, p. 564) and that was active "in the work of perfecting and applying plans and devices for social improvement and amelioration" (p. 581). They did this in the "vast sociological laboratory" that was Chicago (p. 581).

When Chicago Sociology opened its doors, Hull House was already a bustling, innovative, high profile space filled with women engaged in a reform oriented, applied sociology (Deegan, 1988). The residents welcomed the first cohort of professors, who were soon "intimately involved with Hull House" and "assiduously engaged with applied social reform and philanthropy" (Trevino, 2012, p. 3). For example, in 1893 professors Small, Vincent and Bennis along with Addams and Kelley worked to generate legislation "banning sweat shops and employment of children" (Deegan, 1988, p. 73).

At the time the field of sociology existed prior to and independent of academic departments. "The word 'sociology had a dual meaning... referring to both a field of study and the thing being so studied" (Lengermann and Niebrugge-Brantley, 2002, p. 7). While not all universities contained a sociology department, all settlements identified themselves "in some way as concerned with 'sociology'" (p. 7). The memoirs of leading settlement residents show a "self-conscious sense of themselves as working in the field of sociology" (p. 8). A person studied sociology in the university and could do sociology in a settlement (Lengermann and Niebrugge-Brantley, 2002). Further, at a time when "little reliable information on social problems was

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available” (Davis, 1967) social settlements were conducting empirical investigations to understand the nature of social problems. *Hull House Maps and Papers* (1895) was “a pioneering contribution to many later [sociological] research studies (Moyer, 2003, pp. 6-7).

World War I also marked changes in Sociology. First, the marriage of theory with action envisioned by Albion Small was displaced by a focus on the positivist, value free works of Comte, Durheim and Weber. This shifted sociology’s focus to broad theoretical perspectives and opened the door for new theorists like Talcot Parsons. Second, the heated political climate, which conflated government intervention with the threat of communism, gave momentum to the movement away from activism. Third, the energy behind the feminist agenda dissipated after women received the franchise. For the increasingly academic sociology professors, the activist women’s agenda became ‘women’s work’ “defined as unscientific and unnecessary” (Deegan, p. 314). If sociology were to receive the social science prestige it sought, it should discard its activist and feminist tendencies.

The University of Chicago responded to these changes with an administrative realignment. In 1920, all the women sociologists in Chicago’s Department of Sociology “were moved en-masse out of sociology and into social work” (Deegan, 1988, p. 309). Women sociologists like Addams were immediately redefined as social workers and evaporated from sociology’s historical legacy. The long road to recover the settlement women’s contributions began with Mary Jo Deegan’s (1988) *Jane Addams and the Men of the Chicago School: 1892-1918*. She documented the unique synergy and cooperation between Hull House and the University of Chicago and the action and research oriented sociology practiced by both settlement workers and tenured faculty.

Was Addams a Sociologist?

In the 1970s when Mary Jo Deegan began her historical search she hoped to find at least one woman “who worked in my discipline” (1988, p. xiii). Her search took her to archives, musty organizational records and voluminous correspondence. Here she found Jane Addams, the women of Hull House and overwhelming evidence that these women sociologists, and particularly Jane Addams, made significant contributions to the field.

Deegan (1988, 9-12) begins her argument by establishing Addams as a sociologist. She uses criteria developed by German sociologist Dirk Kasler. He maintained that if one of these criteria were fulfilled an individual should be considered a sociologist. These criteria are:

1. Occupy a chair of sociology and/or teach sociology
2. Membership in an professional sociological society
3. Authorship of sociological articles or textbooks
4. Self-defined as a sociologist
5. Defined as a sociologist by others.

Deegan (1988) shows that, Addams met all five criteria. First, Addams lectured at colleges and universities throughout the country and offered University of Chicago Sociology college courses through their Extension Division. Second, she joined the American Sociological Society at its inception in 1905 and continued membership until 1930. She was active in the society, addressing it in 1912, 1915 and 1919. Third, she published widely in sociology. She contributed to the first volume of the *American Journal of Sociology* and in all, contributed five articles (Addams, 1896, 1899, 1905, 1912, 1914). *Hull House Maps and Papers* as well as *Democracy and Social Ethics* are considered sociology books. Fourth, although she preferred not

to label herself in any way, she identified sociology as her professional home on numerous occasions (Ferrell, 1967, p. 68). Fifth, Addams was acknowledged as a sociologist by the leading sociologists of her time. For example, her books were assigned in sociology classes and she spoke at the American Sociological Society. In addition, the popular press referred to her as a sociologist, and she had regular association with leading British sociologists. Indeed, Deegan (1988, pp. 9-13) provides compelling evidence that Addams was an active sociologist at the founding of American sociology.

Contributions to *American Journal of Sociology*

The next section examines Addams five *AJS* articles to see her sociological perspective and scholarly contributions. Sociology is a social science with broad scope. It is the “systematic study of the ways in which people are affected by and affect the social structures and social processes that are associated with groups, organizations, cultures, societies and the world in which they exist” (Ritzer, 2015, p. 6). Kerry Fields and Jill Stein (2014, p. 9) define sociology as the “systematic or scientific study of human society and social behavior, from large-scale institutions and mass culture to small groups and individual reaction.” Contemporary sociologists gather and analyze evidence about and within a wide array of social life with the goal of understanding social processes. Unlike social work, these textbook definitions of sociology do not include a social action or social justice component. Using these definitions, does Addams’s work fit within the umbrella of 21st century sociology?

Addams (1896, 1914) first and last *AJS* articles brought attention to women and the way they are affected by *social structures and social processes*. In the first article, she introduced her notion of “social ethics” and applied it to domestic labor – “an industry by means of which large

numbers of women are earning their livelihood.” She showed how domestic service was a “surviving remnant of the household system that preceded the factory system” (Addams 1896, p. 536). Just like a feudal lord who controlled the life of his peasants, these young women lived and worked at the call of their mistress. She [domestic worker] was “isolated from her fellow workers” and instead was “dependent upon the protection and goodwill of her employer” (p. 536). She served from sunup until the dinner dishes were cleaned and the children were in bed seven days a week (one afternoon off). These young women were cut off from their friends and social ties. Addams contrasts this harsh social isolation with the freedom of a factory worker to enjoy friends and family as well as her ability to organize to achieve better working conditions. “The isolation of the household employee is perhaps inevitable so long as the employer holds her belated ethics” (p. 539) – an ethics unable to recognize when a larger harm is occurring. Although Addams does not provide details, she obtained her data from “conversations” (interviews) in a Woman’s Labor Bureau with women who had voluntarily relinquished their domestic position (p. 536). She *gathered and analyzed evidence* (interviews) to make claims found in her article.

In her final *AJS* article, Addams (1914) analyzes the behavior of older immigrant women who lined up for six weeks outside Hull House to see the Devil Baby. A false rumor of a deformed child (devil baby) deposited on the Hull House steps triggered the prolonged and mystifying onrush. Addams insightful analysis connects the “fairy story” of the Devil Baby with the problem of domestic violence suffered by immigrant women. These, often abused, women used the power and threat of myth as a “taming effect” to “soften the treatment of men accorded to women” (p. 117). By linking this odd and disturbing event to the dynamics of immigrant family structure and process Addams demonstrated sociological insight.

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In an 1899 article Addams uses two propositions (*systematic analysis*) to show the way trade unions 1) displayed a public duty or social ethic and 2) were “persistently misunderstood and harshly criticized” (p. 448) by the public. She pointed to trade union’s demonstrated commitment to *organized social reform*, which improved the health and welfare of the nation’s children as evidence of this ethic. Outcry over disruptive strikes overshadowed union successes at policy reform unfairly tarnishing their reputation. Unions, for example, “endeavored to secure laws regulating the occupations in which children may be allow[ed] to work, the hours of labor permitted in those occupations, and the minimum age below which children may not be employed” (p. 448). This behavior demonstrated a duty to society or a social ethic, which the “public had ignored” (p. 462). While this article is clearly normative, it systematically analyzes a *large-scale institution* (labor union) and shows how this institution affects society (through their efforts to reform policy).

Unlike the labor unions, which acted to protect the nation’s young, Addams (1905) *AJS* article highlights flaws in municipal governments, which demonstrated little or no commitment or public duty. This *carelessness* is manifest as dirty, unhealthy, almost unlivable environments. Placing the situation in historical context, she analyzes why city administrations ignored or were oblivious to the needs of the people. She credits an 18th century puritan ideal “which loves the people without really knowing them” (p. 425) and which focuses more on protecting property than the life of the people. She also finds problems with municipalities held together by penalties, coercion and “remnants of military codes” (p. 427). She argues the survival of the fittest way of thinking should be replaced by a commitment to “duty of the strong toward the weak” (p. 433). In addition, she advocated for more avenues of democratic expression as a way

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to remedy the situation. This article analyzed social structure and processes within a large organization.

In 1912, she wrote a short article on the role of parks and recreation in cities in response to a “hideous murder committed by a group of six young Polish men and boys” (p. 615). She notes Huxley’s insight that a society’s environment can influence behavior – in the worst case leading to savages. She shows how the urban environment provides limited “means for social intercourse and companionship” (p. 615). She calls on recent scientific discovery, which demonstrates the ways moments of recreation can lead to greater comradeship. She sees city parks and recreational centers as a way to create urban environments where immigrants can express their individual cultures so “that variety is prized.... They meet together and enjoy each other’s national dances and games” and in the process a “sense of comradeship and pleasure grows” (p. 616). She points to the success of the 15 small Chicago parks. The number of arrests among juvenile delinquents had fallen “off surprisingly in a neighborhood where such a park has been established – a negative measure, possibly, but one which cannot be disregarded” (p. 619). Here she uses evidence to examine how social behavior is triggered by access to park environments.

The above discussion connected Addams articles to contemporary definitions of sociology. Her topics fall within the large umbrella of sociology, although their normative orientation is unlike contemporary articles. In three articles, she promotes the idea and practice of a “social ethic.” She claims this, often missing, social structure could promote large-scale social progress and social justice. The Devil Baby story provided a window into the hidden, often violent, world of early 20th century, immigrant grandmothers.

Contemporary Sociology

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The infant field of sociology during Addams lifetime was somewhat monolithic. Today, like most social sciences, it has a wide variety of subfields. These subfields are slowly reorienting the mainstream toward an activist orientation inspired by a commitment to social justice (Dale and Kalob, 2006). These subfields draw on theories (i.e., critical theory) which challenge the conventional detached “scientific inquiry” approach and push sociology toward “social and political affairs of the world” (Dald and Kalob, 2006, p. 125). Humanist sociology, public sociology, liberation sociology, and critical sociology are all examples. These groups have taken up the cause which links sociology to social justice. In addition, interdisciplinary scholarly organizations founded by sociologists, such as the Society for the Study of Social Problems and its prestigious journal *Social Problems*, focus and reward sociologists doing research on social problems and their amelioration. Leading scholars in these subfields have been elected to top leadership positions in the American Sociological Association (liberation sociologist, Joe Feagin in 2000 and public sociologist Michael Burawoy in 2003) (Dale and Kalob, 2006, pp. 132 & 135).

As members of these sub-fields examine their roots they often find Jane Addams and claim her and many of her Hull House companions as inspiring pioneers. Included in this list are humanist sociology (Dale and Kalob, 2006), clinical sociology (Fritz, 2008), public sociology (Misztal, 2009), applied sociology (Misztal, 2009), service sociology (Trevino, 2012) and liberation sociology (Feagin, 2001). Her work establishing juvenile courts and juvenile probation has led to her recognition in criminology (Moyer, 2003). While her ideas of peace and democracy are applicable to peacemaking criminology (Fritz, 2008). Some sociologists are so taken by her work that they have identified a unique Hull House School of Sociology (Deegan, 2010, 2013) and settlement sociology (Lengermann & Niebrugge-Brantley, 2002). While it is

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unlikely Addams will ever be considered along with revered founders such as Weber, Marx, Durkheim, or Comte, she has appeared in introductory texts as part of a North American social reform tradition (Henslin, 2014, pp. 8 – 12). Nearly forty years after Mary Jo Deegan began her trek among Chicago's musty documents, Addams has become an acknowledged, influential and in some circles beloved pioneer of sociology.

In sociology, Addams and settlement workers began as part of the profession. The sandbox was open to both men and women. Addams was a key player in this sandbox, contributing in many ways including by five articles in the leading journal. Women's welcome in this sandbox was short lived. This is most clearly evidenced by the University of Chicago moving the women out of the department of sociology and into their own social work department. The women of Sociology found a home in the social work sandbox.

Public Administration

Public Administration (PA) cannot claim high profile, easy to document, direct links to Addams as sociology and social work. Instead, Addams resided in a parallel universe where she participated in the founding of public administration by contributing to the creation of the administrative state and to theories of participatory democracy. In addition, she helped develop and promoted municipal housekeeping as an alternative model of city government and infused policy and administration with social justice concerns (Shields, 2003, 2008; Stillman, 1998; Stivers, 2000, 2009). These parallel universes were first described by Camilla Stivers (2000) in *Bureau Men and Settlement Women: Constructing Public Administration in the Progressive Era*.

In addition, public administration is a field of practice and like social work is defined through practice not academics. Jane Addams wore many hats during her busy life; one of these

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was as public administrator. She worked as a garbage inspector and for over forty years she directed a large, innovative, nonprofit organization (Hull House) (Addams 1910, 1930). Her practitioner experience occurred in the years' American public administration began defining itself as a self-aware field (Stillman, 1998; Shields and Rangarajan 2011).

Historical Context

Throughout most of the 18th and 19th centuries the US multi-layered, federal democracy linked politics and administration. Newly elected men threw out their opponents and populated government offices with their friends. This crony democracy resulted in, often corrupt, governments poorly prepared to carry out the nation's laws. As America grew and complicated public problems arose, reformers called for more efficient, business like, governments. Woodrow Wilson (1887), a high-profile critic, called for the separation of politics and administration and in so doing began the official story of American public administration. Wilson (1887, p. 212) defined public administration as "the detailed and systematic execution of public law." In other words, elected officials pass laws while public administrators carry them out. The efficient and effective execution of public law dictated the early scope of the science of administration. So before Woodrow Wilson became president or won the Nobel Peace Prize, he helped establish public administration as a self-aware field separate from politics.

Civil Service reform and the recognition of the need for expertise in running public programs were a natural outgrowth of this new perspective. The New York Bureau of Municipal Research (established 1909) was a noted "catalyst for the creation and expansion of a professional public service" (McDonald, III, 2010, p. 815). These pioneering Bureau men systematically advanced PA practice, knowledge and theory. They also developed influential

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education and training programs. Stivers's (2000) *Bureau Men/ Settlement Women* contrasts the perspective of these municipal reform leaders with an alternative vision of PA put forth by settlement women.

Before the US Civil War, women actively organized for the abolition of slavery, during the war women managed, the U. S. Sanitary Commission, a huge national network of war-related relief and nursing programs (Shields and Rangarajan, 2011). This set the groundwork for a post-war politically active universe of women (Giesberg, 2000). Without the right to vote, however, women were excluded from formal politics including holding office and political appointments. When the new field of administration peeled off from politics, it created yet another world populated by men. By this time, however, women had built a “maternalistic” policy domain, which contained effective, alternative ways to influence legislation and the execution of laws.

Birth of the US Administrative State

In her influential book *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers*, Theda Skocpol (1992) argues that during the 19th century, compared to other industrialized nations, the US distinguished the political world “sharply on strictly gender lines.” Lacking a working-class initiatives to build a paternalist welfare state, space was open for organized women to shape social welfare policy. “Huge maternalist associations, organized as local clubs tied into state and national federations, sought to extend into civic life and public policymaking the caring values of the separate ‘domestic sphere’ culturally ascribed to the female gender during that time” (Skocpol 1992, p. 528).

As an alternative to formal electoral politics, many middle class American women established local voluntary associations for charitable, religious and welfare purposes. By the end

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of the century, these associations were woven together into enormous nation-spanning, networked federations, that paralleled the tiered US federal structure. The women who formed these networks “increasingly thought of themselves as uniquely moral political actors who had the duty to ‘mother the nation’” (p. 529). They used their moral authority as “mothers” and their vast network to lay claim to social programs, which helped mothers and families around the nation (Skocpol, 1992, p. 529).

These activist women focused on changes within the private or women’s sphere – arenas where mother’s expertise and moral sense mattered and where PA men willingly avoided or ignored. Preferring instead to focus on important matters such as political corruption, efficiency, the Navy, railroad regulation and the science of administration. Thus, parallel universes were established. Some of these women led and worked at federal agencies such as the Women’s Bureau or the Children’s Bureau. Here they became practicing public administrators. They identified themselves, however, as social workers and eventually with social work administration (a small subfield of social work) (Skidmore, 1995).

These educated women retained a “Victorian sense of the uniqueness and special moral mission of women.” Unlike their mothers, they established separatist organizations and created “single-sex institutions where they lived permanently outside the home” (Skocpol, 1992, p. 343). Hull House was an exemplar of this trend. Their efforts laid the groundwork for the social policy component of the administrative state. Addams was a leader of this campaign; she “more than any other individual should be credited with conceiving and spawning a ... maternalist welfare state” that is caring, compassionate, and comprehensive with institutions responsible “for dealing with the urgent problems of women, mothers, children and the urban poor” (Stillman, 1998, p. 82). This alone makes Addams an important pioneer of public administration.

Democracy

Over the years, Woodrow Wilson's definition of public administration has expanded beyond the "execution of public laws". Public administrators are not puppets blindly carrying out clear laws. They often have considerable discretion in policy implementation. The legitimacy of laws, which administrators' implement, depends upon *fair and transparent democratic processes*, many of which extend beyond voting (Redford, 1969). These along with other values, which support democracy are found in the *Public Administration Code of Ethics*, which calls administrators to "promote democratic expression" (American Society for Public Administration, 2016). Long gone are the days where a strict dichotomy between politics and administration defined the field.

When a public administrator executes a law he or she makes the policy "work." Garbage is collected, roads are built, mail is delivered, abused children are removed from danger, budgets are deployed and employee handbooks written. Thus, clean streets, safe children, and public budgets are a kind of a PA "product" forged through a political/democratic system. Public administrators serve the public by making programs work within a larger, dynamic, democratic framework. For these reasons, public administration traces its roots to philosophical pragmatism.⁶ Addams role as a founder of American pragmatism helps to establish her presence as a pioneer in PA.

Using Addams pragmatism, Shields (1998, p.199) defined public administration as the "stewardship and implementation of the products of a living democracy." As stewards of a living democracy public administrators are concerned with resources (efficiency, accountability and

⁶ See Shields, (1996, 1998, 2003, 2008); Stolcis, (2004); Hildebrand, (2005); Whetsell (2013); Salem & Shields, (2011); Shields and Whetsell, (2017).

effectiveness) and the values that support the democratic administrative structure/processes (transparency, justice, equity). As a widely recognized democratic theorist, Addams has much to contribute to public administration.⁷ Her contributions to democratic theory such and sympathetic knowledge, social ethic, community of inquiry and lateral progress reviewed in Chapter two have clear implications for public administration. This is where her organic philosophical concepts leave the screenplay and enter the stage. Her ideas suggest and inform the *theory* and *practice* of a public administration which incorporates efficiency as well as social justice and social ethics.

Addams notion of participatory democracy is both simple and profound. Most informed individuals associate democracy with representative or procedural democracy and processes like voting. Participatory democracy complements political democracy and brings the benefits and joys of fraternal association (Elshtain, 2002). Her social democracy is a way of communicating that incorporates the variety of human experience. “It is most difficult to hold to our political democracy and to make it in any sense a social expression and not a mere governmental contrivance, unless we take pains to keep common ground in our human experiences” (Addams, 1902, p. 221).

Addams advocates a form of democracy, which operates independently of, as well as within, governmental structures. “Ironically, for most of her life Addams was denied the right to vote and was shut out of public office. Although she worked tirelessly for suffrage and inclusion of women in the political process, her vision and participatory prescription were developed as a person with little or no formal political power. There is a kinship between Addams’

⁷ See Elshtain, (2002); Knight, (2005); Fischer, Nackenoﬀ & Chmielewski, (2009); Ansell, (2010); Shields, (2006), Stivers, (2009).

circumstances and the powerlessness public administrators may feel as city councils or legislatures make sea change in policies” (Shields, 2008, p. 214).

Addams always looked for practical ways to effect social change through democracy, for “as democracy modifies our conception of life, it constantly raises the value and function of each member of the community” (Addams 1902, p. 80). Addams felt that a lack of democracy contributed to a society where the needs of the poor and the working men and women went unanswered (Addams 1902, pp. 96-97). Therefore, she advocated for a democracy that broke barriers through the “mutual interpretation of the social classes to one another” (Elshtain 2002, p. 88) making it possible for “human beings to realize their full sociality” (Elshtain 2002, p. 95). Her bottom-up vision of democracy is a way to incorporate the social claim or duty toward citizens (particularly the most vulnerable). The stewardship role in public administration is inclusive of this democratic claim.

These dynamic women’s networks formed outside of politics are a window into the nature of the foundational relationships of participatory democracy. The power of networks and collaboration gave Addams insight into the nature of democracy that complemented political democracy. These experiences informed Addams’s expanded notion of “participation” as a component of democracy.

Contemporary public administration is actively developing ways to gain citizen input and enhanced collaboration through mechanisms like deliberative democracy, citizen panels, public hearings, neighborhood forums, citizen surveys, interactive websites and citizen juries (Crosby, Kelly, & Schaefer, 1986) (Emerson & Nabatchi, 2015). All of these techniques are ways public administrators can learn from citizens directly and are consistent with the Addams’s messages about democracy.

Municipal Housekeeping

Addams notion of municipal housekeeping was introduced earlier through the *American Journal of Sociology* article discussed in this chapter and in the Philosophy chapter (2). Recall she argues that the natural functions of the city such as maintaining clean streets and spaces for children to play have counterparts in the home. Also, it is within this model one can clearly see that the *strong have a duty to care for the weak*. She makes these arguments in sociology journals and books on peace (*Newer Ideals*). The running of a city is clearly within the scope and purview of public administration. When a city is running smoothly, public administrators are doing their jobs. When a city commits to serving its most vulnerable citizens, it attends to its stewardship role.

Addams also promoted her ideas in public administration related literature. For example amid advertisements for “Bottom Dump Garbage Wagons” and the “next advances in sewage” Jane Addams articulates the municipal housekeeping model in the *Bulletin of the League of American Municipalities* (Addams, 1906). The “League,” led by elected officials (mostly mayors), reflected a world where politics and administration blended. Her article spanned both politics and administration because she also makes the case for expanding representative democracy by extending the right to vote to women in municipal elections. She argues that women, having been ascribed the role of housekeeper and mother, are naturally well suited by experience and temperament to understand and run a municipal household.

From a contemporary PA perspective, this article captures the scope of public administration in sophisticated, ahead-of-it-time ways. It presented a model for city government which included concrete functions of government. At the same time it made an innovative social equity argument (the city would be better able to carry out its work if it were more inclusive –

allowing women to vote). Addams has clearly linked social justice and public administration via the duty of the strong toward the weak and through her expansive notion of democracy. Her work also prefigured a focus in public administration, which incorporated social equity and social justice (Frederickson 1980, 1990; Marini, 1971).

Social Equity

As the young field of public administration matured it focused on building knowledge about the challenging job of executing public law. The men who ran government needed knowledge and skills, for example, at planning, organizing, directing, staffing, coordinating, reporting and budgeting (Gulick & Urwick, 1937). Herbert Simon (1947) ushered in positivism and decision science to public administration. These are examples of how knowledge and expertise grew and supported the men of public administration in their quest to execute public laws with economy and efficiency (two pillars of public administration).

The Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s challenged these comfortable assumptions. In response, leading public administration scholar, Dwight Waldo, called a conference in Minnowbrook, New York, with the goal of constructing a “new” public administration better able to meet contemporary challenges (Frederickson, 1990). Participants of this ground breaking conference called on public administration to incorporate new norms including social equity and social justice into its theory and practice (Marini, 1971). George Frederickson (1980, p. 37) a persistent, articulate, passionate and steadfast proponent of this position called for social equity as a “third pillar” of PA. “To say that a service may be well managed and that a service may be efficient still begs the question: Well managed for Whom? Efficient for whom? Economical for whom?” Unbeknown to the Minnowbrook participants, Jane Addams had laid the theoretical and

practical ground work for this third pillar, which provides more evidence she is a pioneer of public administration.

Positive Peace

Public administration has gone a long way toward integrating the concept of social equity into its theory and practice. But it struggles at times to articulate a clear vision of what these efforts will lead to, an image that can place a capstone, for example on the pillars of efficiency, economy and equity. Recent scholars propose the rich concept of “positive peace” as a possible answer to this question. They drew on Addams peace philosophy (see Chapter Two) to make their argument (Shields & Soeters forthcoming, Shields & Rissler 2016, Shields, 2016). Positive peace speaks to the fabric of the kind of society public administrators are trying to make work – a society infused with social justice and a functioning dynamic democracy. It focuses on factors such as the “structures that create and sustain peaceful societies” (IEP, 2015, p. 4). These structures include democratically informed law and its fair and reliable execution (a key function of PA). When these structures break down, problems like excessive use of police force in minority communities can be commonplace. Twenty first century American cities like Ferguson, MO or Chicago IL need more positive peace. Note that Addams’ *Newer Ideals of Peace* applies directly to city governance. Her first chapter is entitled “Survival of Militarism in City Government.”

Effective democracies recognize that conflict within and across societies is inevitable. Positive peace provides the framework and skills for “nonviolent and creative conflict transformation” – a skill that makes sense to be in a public administrators tool kit (Galtung, 1996, p. 9). Positive peace is also an ideal, which includes prosperity and wholeness (Freedman,

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2016), as well as humanity toward others (Gade, 2011). Attention to positive peace can create a space where innovation and moral imagination are nurtured and shared. These ideas fit well with Addams's Municipal Household model and her concept of *peaceweaving*. Social justice and social equity would surely flourish in the caring, civic household imagined by Addams—and positive peace would be strengthened. This is yet another way Addams has played a role as pioneer in public administration.

One might speculate that public administration actually set up parallel sandboxes, one for the men and another (unacknowledged) for the women. Or perhaps many of the women gravitated to the social work sandbox, where they did women's work outside the male's frame of reference.

Conclusion

The three fields examined here were part of a larger trend in professionalization across many fields in the US (e.g., business administration, engineering, journalism, teaching and nursing) (Mosher, 1975). The talented, ambitious and driven Jane Addams was clearly at the right place at the right time, making it possible to contribute as social work, public administration and sociology became self-aware. Her stature in each field, however, is framed by the status and role of women in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Women were allowed voice in a “domestic policy sphere” where the welfare of women and children were the central focus. They were less welcome and virtually ignored in the male dominated sociology and public administration.

In Social Work, a field dominated by women, she has long been considered an honored and important founder. She led the settlement movement, which social work claims as a institution, which shaped its early history. Hull House residents became part of the community,

listening and learning from their neighbors. Reform efforts bubbled up from this interchange and became an important, although sometimes neglected, component of social work identity.

The University of Chicago Sociology Department was established several years after Hull House. For a brief period the male professors and settlement women collaborated to create an activist sociology. Jane Addams was deeply involved in development of the field publishing in its major journals and speaking at professional meetings. Eventually, academic sociology turned toward a more objective and scientific world. The settlement heritage was dismissed and the women of sociology were transformed into social workers. Thanks, in large part, to Mary Jo Deegan, the sociological contributions of Jane Addams and her settlement worker sisters are being recovered, embraced by some and incorporated into the sociology literature.

Addams case as a pioneer is least well established in public administration. She never claimed to be a public administrator nor did she find their reform efforts (economy and efficiency in government, separate administration from politics) particularly interesting. She and her activist sisters of the early 20th century proposed a different model of municipal governance – the *municipal household* where a social ethic embedded with care and duty were norms that overshadowed business values such as economy and efficiency. Her world began to be retrieved and integrated into public administration's historical memory by Camilla Stivers's (2000) *Bureau Men and Settlement Women*. She is recognized as a social policy pioneer, democratic theorist, and for articulating an alternative model of municipal governance. The effort to integrate Addams' work is still at early phases.

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Three Sandboxes