Professional Public Administration: A Synthesis of an Inchoate Concept

by

Joseph Christian Heilman

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of

The College for Design and Social Inquiry in Partial

Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Florida Atlantic University

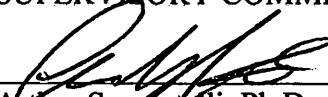Boca Raton, Florida

2016

i

ProQuest Number: 10583053

Professional Public Administration: A Synthesis of an Inchoate Concept

by

Joseph Christian Heilman

This dissertation was prepared under the direction of the candidate's dissertation advisor, Dr. Arthur Sementelli, School of Public Administration, and has been approved by the members of his supervisory committee. It was submitted to the faculty of the College for Design and Social Inquiry and was accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.
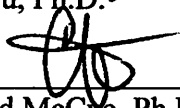
SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE:

Arthur Sementelli, Ph.D.
Dissertation Advisor
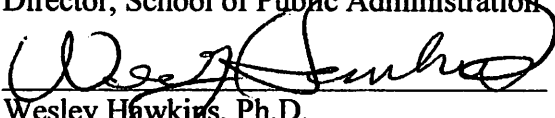
Gao Liu, Ph.D.

Clifford McCue, Ph.D.

Steven C. Bourassa, Ph.D.
Director, School of Public Administration

Wesley Hawkins, Ph.D.
Interim Dean, College for Design and Social Inquiry

Deborah L. Floyd, Ed.D.
Dean, Graduate College

November 22, 2016
Date

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my family and friends for their support and guidance. That support and guidance has enabled me to become a dedicated learner and a conscientious listener. It is with those two skills that enabled me to seek out and surround myself with remarkable thinkers and admirable people. FAU has provided a steady stream of both types. I cannot thank the entire faculty at FAU's School of Public Administration enough for their various contributions to me both academically and personally. I will, however, take a moment to thank Dr. Arthur Sementelli for his keen insight and pleasant nature. His ability to provide relevant and constructive criticism in an encouraging way is unrivaled.

Abstract

Author: Joseph Christian Heilman

Title: Professional Public Administration: A Synthesis of an Inchoate Concept

Institution: Florida Atlantic University

Thesis Advisor: Dr. Arthur Sementelli

Degree: Doctor of Philosophy

Year: 2016

The term *profession* is found throughout the scholarly literature; despite frequent use of the term, there exists little or no means of providing a common conception of the term. Consequently, calls for increasing professionalization of public administration appear to be premature. Therefore, this dissertation utilizes inductive research to generate theory, which synthesizes the inchoate concept of the professional public administrator.

The motivation to pursue this line of inquiry stems from a personal need to weigh in on the perennial debate about what skills, knowledge, and information should be communicated to future generations of public administration thinkers and practitioners. To that end, this research will provide a theoretical framework grounded in the literature, which federates the term professional and the professional concept in such a way that purposeful debates can be had. It is, as will be shown, an attempt to link understanding and interpretation.

Professional Public Administration: A Synthesis of an Inchoate Concept

List of Figures

Chapter 1: Introduction

"After all is said and done, more is said than done."— Aesop

I begin with a quote attributed to Aesop, which succinctly characterizes, what this author and many others consider to be, the current state of public administration professionalization. While much has been said about public administration's status as a profession, little has been worthy of building upon. That does not mean that the extant literature is illogical or unremarkable. Instead, I assert that public administration and the professional concept are both mercurial objects, which to date share an ambiguous nexus. As such, we have entered into a pattern of perennial debate; wherein we argue around common terms, which have uncommon conceptions.

This perennial debate leaves many unanswered questions about how both the theory and the practice of public administration can be understood. Parsons (1939) asserts that professions represent an *atypical* system of understanding, which has been afforded far less attention than the *typical* types (i.e. capitalism, science). It is, therefore, necessary that this much debated, but ostensibly irreconcilable, concept be reevaluated in a new and more purposeful manner. To that end, this dissertation utilized an inductive approach, geared toward theory generation.

1.1 Statement of purpose

The primary goal of this research was to develop a means of better comprehending the term *profession* and its relationship to public administration. Public

administration, as both an area of inquiry and practice, should, at the absolute minimum, hold a clear understanding of the term, and its cognates, before it declares professionalism as a "core value" (About ASPA, 2016). Like Caesar's wife, public administration must be above suspicion. Consequently, ascribing to an inchoate term may have profound impacts, especially when the scholarly journals publish articles associating professionalism with being anti-democratic and protectionist (Wilbern, 1954; Golembiewski, 1984; Goode, 1960).

To date, the professional term and the professional concept have shared an ambiguous nexus. Axiomatically speaking, we all know that the term *professional* is normatively preferable to being *unprofessional*. However, there are no frameworks or theories available to explicate cogently why some actions are deemed professional, unprofessional, or nonprofessional. Instead, what the literature portrays is a conceptual menagerie of interpretations, ranging from the "symbolic" (Golembiewski, 1984, p.64; Rafaeli, Dutton, Harquail, and Mackie-Lewis, 1997, p.10) to the formulaic (Schott, 1976). Such variety suggests that a deductive approach would be inappropriate, based upon the grounds that the premises or propositions found in the literature are too mercurial to draw hypothesis from. As such, the purpose of this research was to inductively generate theory, which provides a means of apprehending how the professional concept relates to the study and the practice of public administration.

So what if the professional concept remains to be an unrelated concept or an irrelevant term? While the exact perils are unknowable, it is safe to assume that public administration would be relegated to the use of what Parsons (1939) calls *typical* logics of control; which are, for example, incapable of explaining how excellence transcends

2

profits (Menand, 1995). By advancing our understanding of the professional concept, which Parsons (1939) calls an *atypical* form of occupational control, it becomes possible to understand and predict how things like knowledge, motivation, and accountability can be perceived in new and meaningful ways, which work towards meeting the needs of an increasingly complex society.

1.2: Research Question

Merriam and Simpson (2000) assert that, if "no theory fits the phenomenon under investigation, the one study goal may be to formulate a theory and/or hypothesis to explain observed events or behavior" (p.27) (Taken from Jones, 2009). The case at present has been developed to formulate a theory which seeks to explain how the professional concept relates to public administration. This author and many others contend that a sufficient professional theoretic, which cogently links the professional term to public administration, does not exist (Mosher, 1938; Green, Keller, Wamsley, 1993; Schott, 1976). As such, this research will develop theory grounded in the scholarly public administration literature, which speaks to issues of professionalism, professionalization, or any other cognate apropos to this line of inquiry.

Past efforts to deductively approach the professional concept have resulted in what might be categorized as a menagerie of specious claims. These claims are specious in the sense that there are no generally accepted definitions of the professional concept from which hypothesis can extend from. The claims presented in the literature when taken as a whole, present themselves as windows into a variety of perspectives, all of which have their own keen insights and compelling aspects. The issue at hand, however, can be reduced, logically, to the fact that the professional term, as it is presented in the

3

literature, represents a conundrum. The claims presented in the scholarly literature cannot be all true nor can they all be false. Therefore, this inquiry was conducted so as to contribute to our understanding of the professional term by inductively generating theory grounded in the literature.

1.3: Intellectual Merit

The research presented herein demonstrates a novel approach to understanding the professional concept as it relates to public administration. By employing the constant comparative method, commonly associated with grounded theory research, this inquiry contributes to both the study and the practice of public administration by advancing the professional term from being an inchoate concept to that of a concept with heuristic utility.

The professional term will, in light of this research, afford both thinkers and practitioners with a new means of conceiving this once nebulous concept. It does this by coalescing the literature into a framework comprised of abstractions. These abstractions situate professional occupational behavior into a contingent framework comprised of dynamic and complex relationships with the public. By contextualizing professional occupational behavior, it becomes possible to begin to comprehend how the professional concept can inform our understanding of a wide array of occupational behavior ranging from *public sector reform* to *public sector expansion*. Traditionally, Western civilization has eschewed the professional concept and opted to use "typical" logics rooted in capitalist or scientific terms to understand individual and collective action (Parsons, 1939, p.460).

4

This inquiry also demonstrates how theory and the practical application of theory relate to professional occupational behavior. These insights may lead to a public administrative catharsis; wherein perennial professional tensions and debates can be exchanged for meaningful and purposive discourse. That is to say, by advancing our understanding of the professional concept to the point of being more than a laundry list (Wirt, 1981), we can enter into a dialectic, which understands professional occupational behavior as the confluence of theory and practice.

1.4: Broad impact

The ultimate purpose of this research is to develop theory, which benefits those whom we serve as public administrative thinkers and practitioners. This research transcends traditional notions of efficiency and effectiveness and ventures into a realm of reason and logic. By synthesizing the extant literature in terms predicated upon social contingencies, it becomes possible to conceive of the professional term and concept in new ways, which inform how and why particular types of occupational behavior are sanctioned, while other are viewed unfavorably.

For the thinker, the professional concept will provide insight into why one should expect periods of *anomie* when developing theory. For the practitioner, this framework will help him/her understand why some organizations are staffed with diverse groups of individuals, while other organizations are homogeneous. For the student, or the faculty concerned with accreditation, this framework will provide a means of conceptualizing how the professional *in* vs. professional *of* public administration debate relates to our system of education. No matter which station you (the reader) fall into, this research is

intended to provide you with a means of understanding the professional concept and term in such a way that it can be applied, critically and purposefully.

1.5: Overview of approach

The inquiry at present is a constant comparative analysis of the scholarly public administrative literature pertaining to the professional term and concept. This research capitalizes on the heterogeneity of the literature by employing the constant comparative method so as to extract emergent phenomena pertaining to the professional term and concept. This approach, while far from orthodox in the Popperian sense of research, represents a defensible technique for inductively generating theory. This is, as will be shown, logically necessary because it would be wholly inappropriate to apply a deductive approach to such an inchoate subject.

1.6: Assumptions and limitations

As with any research there exists known and unknown biases imparted by the author. Similarly, there are also an indeterminate variety of assumptions, which invariably are imbued into every aspect of the research process. While it will be impossible to make mention of all the various assumptions, it is possible to highlight some of the limitations of this research; this section will briefly acknowledge some of the most obvious issues, which constrain the inferences that can be drawn from this research.

First, and perhaps the most glaring limitation of this research, is the manner in which this inquiry was delimited. This researcher chose to constrain the research to scholarly public administrative journals. While some outside sources (i.e. Sociology and Political Science) are included, by reference, this research has *ipso facto* perpetuated a flaw associated with much of the public administrative research. That is to say, the

6

manner in which this research was delimited has effectively added yet another example of public administration being an "interdisciplinary silo" (Perry, 2016, p.212).

Another point, which limits the type of inferences that can be drawn from this research stems from the application of a defensible, yet somewhat controversial research method. Grounded theory research is a relatively young qualitative approach, which understands everything as data. While this is explained in more detail later, suffice it to say that such a statement breeds skepticism. While skepticism is not wrong, the shift in focus from the area of inquiry (professional public administration) to research methods ultimately serves to quell substantive discussions and refocus energies toward intractable methodological debates, typically couched in terms of objectivity. This is all to say, the method applied in this inquiry is not perfect. However, it is appropriate, and the takeaway from this research should not be hamstrung by the misapplication of any empiricist tendencies.

1.7: Summary and looking ahead

This research is a synthesis of the professional concept, as it is portrayed in the scholarly public administration literature. The method used herein is designed to generate theory and thus "aims for fit, work, relevance, and modifiability" (Glaser, 1978 cited in Charmaz, 2008), rather than "scientific falsification and verification" (Cho and Lee, 2014, p.2). As such, this research is design to stimulate debate and to provide a means of advancing the professional term from being a false axiom to a theoretical concept relating theory to practice.

The notions put forth in this dissertation represent a starting point. This is, in essence, a monograph. The utility of this theoretic will only become evident when

7

purposeful debate surrounds the contentions put forth in this document. Future

discussions and research efforts should seek to avoid the pitfall that this researcher fell

victim to and actively draw from other Social and Behavioral Sciences, as they will

undoubtedly provide new insights which will help hew this new theoretical plank

Chapter 2: Literature as Data

The opening quote from Aesop intimates that the discussion surrounding an action is somehow less important than the action itself. However, concerning this area of inquiry nothing could be further from the truth. Before we, as thinkers and practitioners, begin embracing or repudiating professionalism, it is important that we understand what is being discussed. To that end, this inquiry examines the scholarly public administrative literature and treats it as qualitative data. "Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA) as a form of knowledge management is a matter of managing analytical processes to transform data into information and information into knowledge and knowledge into wisdom" (Davenport & Prusak, 1998: Cited in Chenail, 2012, p.248).

Conventional research rooted in positivist traditions favor methods, which rely on observations, to develop theory described in terms of verification and repeatability. However, in this inquiry, the development of a theoretic which favors explanatory ability is the ultimate goal. The term *theoretic* relates to a theory or idea rather than the theoretical type, which applies to *practical applications* (Collins, 2016). This qualitative research is less concerned with observable and countable variables presumed to be found in the practical application of professional occupational behavior. Instead, this inquiry examines the literature pertaining to professions and public administration in such a way that abstract patterns found across the literature emerge as data. This, of course, flies in the face of positivist traditions; nevertheless, the generation of theory is, as will be

9

demonstrated, more important that testing hypothesis derived from what amounts to little more than "laundry lists" (Wirt, 1981, p.64).

2.1 Delimiting the inquiry

In an effort to ensure relevance for public administration, this research was constrained to the examination of scholarly public administrative journal publications. This decision, to delimit the research to such journals, is predicated upon an assumption that public administration is unto itself interdisciplinary and will naturally draw from social and behavioral sciences. Waldo (as cited in Schott, 1976) makes this point exactly when he stated that "public administration may in some ways be similar to that in medicine-drawing on the contributions of a range of (social) sciences as its theoretical base" (p.258). However, according to Perry (2016), public administration has instead become an "interdisciplinary silo", which, by and large, fails to incorporate theory from other social and behavioral sciences (p.212).

This researcher acknowledges the merits of such a debate but eschews it on the grounds that the professional concept need first be understood in public administrative terms before outside conceptions can be assessed in terms of saliency. Such an approach may indeed appear to be parochial. However, the professional concept is a moving target. Advances in technology, shifts in social obligations, and increasing specialization continue to fascinate this subject matter. Consequently, to avoid being overly fascinated, this author assumes that it is prudent first to look inward.

2.2 Heterogeneity in the Literature

In an effort to avoid adopting any preconceived notions, Glaser and Straus (1967) insist that a literature review is not a part of grounded theory research. However, the

10

nature of this inquiry is, in so many words, concerned with the variety of professional perspectives associated with the professional term and the professional concept. As such, a literature review does not countermand or destabilize the theoretical sensitivity of the resultant grounded theory. Instead, the scholarly literature is the data set from which this research will draw.

Literature reviews are typically organized either chronologically, thematically, or methodologically. Concerning this subject matter, professional characteristics are too "conceptually and causally distinct" to coalesce around any of the frameworks above (Frendreis and Vertz, 1988, p.79). Rather than attempting to pound the professional literature into a procrustean bed shaped like a conventional literature review, this thesis utilizes what could be more aptly named literature overview. This section is structured so as to introduce the reader to the variety of conceptions found in the literature. This section is also intended to present assertions, which work toward explaining why such a heterogeneity of conceptions has persisted. Finally, it offers some examples of how the varieties of interpretations relate, or fail to relate, to the practice of public administration.

2.3 Shape of arguments

The existing literature, which speaks to issues relating to professional nature or behavior, is comprised of arguments. These arguments are typically shaped as a series of propositions, which rely upon deductive logic to support a concluding premise. For example, a frequently cited argument is that professionals do work, which is full-time and that the nature of their work requires specialized training. Given those premises, we could deduce that doctors are professionals. However, it would also be logical to assume that so are plumbers. The issue I wish to highlight is that deductive arguments, and the way in

11

which they are presented in the literature, can easily lead to specious conclusions (i.e. all plumbers are professionals). Consequently, it stands to reason that an alternative method be employed, which avoids generating specious claims and works toward discussions of the *quality* of arguments rather than their *validity*.

Inductive logic differs from deductive logic in mathematical terms, which are roughly analogous to the way in which they are employed during this research. "Inductive logic is a system of evidential support that extends deductive logic to less-than-certain inferences" (Hawthorne, 2014, p.1). Said differently, typical deductive arguments found in the extant literature put forth propositions, which argue from the general to the specific. This approach, as will be discussed later, forces the interlocutor into a logic problem called entrapment, which is similar to a forced-choice (valid-invalid) claim. Inductive arguments, on the other hand, are less certain in that they are more akin to probabilities (ibid).

In an effort to depart from the Boolean logic (true-false) of the deductive type approach, it is necessary to abstract from the deductive propositions in such a way that inductive logic can be applied. Once the constructed propositions are abstracted, it becomes possible to conceive of the professional debate in less than concrete terms. By doing such, this inquiry can include all possible conceptions of the professional concept simultaneously. This inductive method appears logically preferable to the deductive approach, which offers no means for comparing all the various propositions found in the literature. This argument is found elsewhere in the literature and is discussed in terms of constructed and abstracted arguments (Frendreis and Vertz, 1988).

The perennial debate surrounding the professional concept is a function of the way in which professional terms or concepts are presented in the literature. The *constructed* arguments portrayed here are different in kind than the *abstracted* arguments presented in the following section. Their differences lie in that constructions, and their respective tensions and contradictions are not suited to theory development. This assertion stems from a deconstructivist perspective, whereby the tensions, which are described or constructed are not generalizable. For example, Frendreis and Vertz's (1988), assert that many of these constructions are based upon a "stratification tradition of sociology" (p.78) whereby the professional characteristics can be roughly categorized as being process, symbolic, or conspiracy oriented.

These categories, metaphorically speaking, bookend the professional debate by presenting the concept of the profession as disparate categories. Figure 1 portrays Frendreis & Vertz's (1988) argument visually by portraying the professional debate as three disparate categories. Each category representing a professional construct in terms, which can be understood as mutually exclusive.
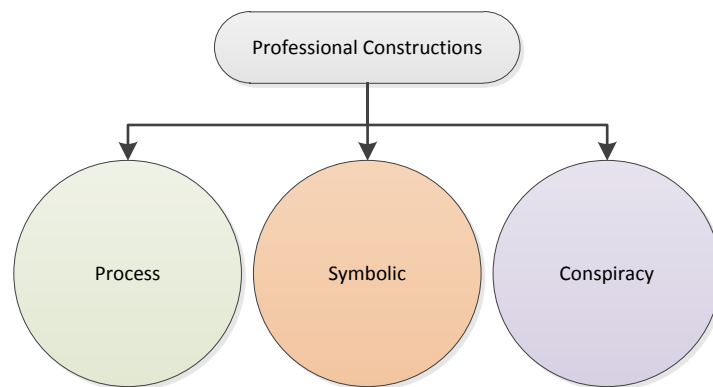
Figure 1
This research goes beyond the deconstructivist motions of unpacking the professional term and reassembling in some sort of rough categorization. It goes beyond

in the sense that processes of *understanding* and *interpretation* become the subject matter of this inquiry. This is to say, the professional concept cannot be understood as merely a categorical syllogism. As much as I wish it were possible to elegantly portray all things professional on a Venn diagram, the concept is simply too complex. So complex, I argue, that a theoretic is needed, which goes beyond identifying the difference between real presence and representation (Stocker, 2006). It must go beyond *distinguishing differences* and work towards *conveying understanding*.

According to Stocker (2006), *deconstruction* is a philosophical approach describing the effort to identify the difference between real presence and representation. The assumption incorporated into this inquiry is that there are no means to determine adequately or represent the tensions found in the literature because there is no clear relationship between the professional term and the concept. Instead, as will be explained later, latent patterns that emerged from a constant comparative analysis allowed for the development of theory, which was abstracted from the specific accounts found in the literature.

2.4 Professional constructions

"In all the lexicography, there is no less definitive term than 'profession'; and its derivatives, 'professional,' 'professionalism,' and 'professionalization' suffer from the same ambiguity" (Mosher, 1973, p.21). Mosher's statement stems from the multitude of ways in which the professional concept has been conceived over the decades. As such, there has been a concomitant increase in the development of frameworks dedicated to explaining such variation.

14

Cogan (1955), develops a typology for the mélange of definitions (tensions) associated with the term profession. He does this by parsing the types of definitions into three, ostensibly tractable, structure types. The first group is that of the *historical and lexicological* definitions, these definitions are used "to isolate the essential features of profession in general, and thus to describe- even if only tentatively- the boundaries that set it off from other allied terms: vocation, trade, craft, art, semi-profession, and so on" (ibid, p.106). The second level, Cogan identifies as the *persuasive definitions*; these definitions seek to cast a group of practitioners with some precise level of training and ethical standards as a distinctive group with requisite factors ostensibly required before being deemed professional (ibid, p.107). Finally, the third level of definition is the *operational type*. The operational type contains explicit guidelines, "designed to furnish the basis upon which individuals and associations may make decisions as to the behavioral concomitants of a profession" (p.108). These operational definitions, Cogan asserts, "restrict idiosyncratic behavior and tend to stabilize the boundaries between genuine professionalism, unprofessionalism, and nonprofessionalism" (p.109).

The taxonomy that Cogan develops, while useful, fails to aid us in terms of developing a richer understanding of the term. It fails because it maintains the stratified structure, which assumes that the historical, persuasive, and operational types are different in-kind and thus not suited for comparison. Muzio, Brock, and Suddaby (2013) approached developing a comparative model when they stated that "professionalism is not so much an inherent characteristic of an occupation, but a means of organizing and controlling and occupation" (p. 700). However, this perspective favors homogeneity of task over the more heterogeneous. As will be explained, in detail later, *organizational*

15

behavior, which they use as a referent, incorporates stratified constructions that are also not generalizable.

It is worth mentioning two efforts to inform our understanding of the profession, which differs greatly from Coogan's taxonomy or Mozio, Brock, and Suddaby's occupational control perspective. The first comes from Marutello (1981), who organizes professional status into a construct comprised of three elements: "cruciality, mystique, and denouement" (p.249). *Cruciality*, speaks to the relative importance of a particular occupation, regarding serving a society or a segment of society. *Mystique*, represent the esoteric skill set maintained by the would-be professional who seeks to help the client. And finally, *denouement* represents the actual culmination of a specific need being resolved by that person who holds the special skill or experience. The second comes from Olufs (1985), who asserts that "first step in understanding the claims to professionalism is to define the concept in such a way that we conceive of it as a problem" (p.27). This method of organization emphasizes the importance of how narratives are constructed, which influence how professions dominate issues. That is to say, problems are, as we will explore later, generally stratified into two domains, namely that of the *technical* or *political* type.

These descriptive examples, as they were, can all be reduced down to separately constructed tensions, which are not synthesizable. As such, the existing literature is a mélange of more-or-less inchoate professional constructions. Apart from these descriptive types, are a slightly more abstracted type of professional perspectives, which rely on organizational or systematic relationships to inform our understanding of the professional

16

concept. However, these prior perspectives, as will be shown, have often raised more questions than they have answered.

Previous efforts to conceptually relate the concept of the *profession* to *public administration* have been many and varied. Most commonly, the professional public administrator is related to the traditional bureaucratic framework (made famous by Weber, 2003) (Wilbern, 1954, p.15; Peters, 2001, p.332, Cigler, 1990, p.638; Pugh, 1986, p.4; Hall, 1968, p.103; Morrissey, & Gillespie, 1975, p.319; Engle, 1970). Given the traditional juxtaposition of the professional who is thought to be dominated by the hierarchy of the bureaucracy, there exists no theoretical room for the professional within the bureaucracy. As such, given this orthodox framework, the notion of the professional *in* vs. a professional *of* public administration is a non-starter (Gargan, 1989, p.967).

Practically, however, bureaucracies are frequently dominated by professions. James Q. Wilson (1989) makes this point clear with examples whereby lawyers dominate the *Environmental Protection Agency*, engineers dominate the *Tennessee Valley Authority*, and economists dominated the *Civil Aeronautics Board*. This concept of professional domination of bureaucracies serves as fodder for anti-professional sentiments, which construe professions as a hindrance to "bureaucratic responsiveness" (Kearney, & Sinha, 1988, p.574). This view understands professionals as disconnected from the public interest. "Each profession has its own world view, filtered through education, experience, socialization, and specialized knowledge of its member. This world view may not be congruent with the 'public interest'" (ibid). It is, instead, by definition the professional interest.

17

The concept of professional interest provides a point of intersection between the expansion of professionals in public service and the needs of the public. That is to say, too much is left to chance to assume that the expansion of public sector professionals is not, in some remarkable way, linked to what Lowi (1979) calls *interest group liberalism*. In Western Society, capitalism and science have been the dominant means of controlling work and workers. To paraphrase Schaefer (1988), it was not until the New Deal that the capitalist ideology of a self-regulating society was supplanted by a new ideology, which firmly established government's role in intervening in public affairs. He goes on to recognize how "Lowi traces the origin of interest group liberalism to the expansion of federal activity during the New Deal period" (Schaefer, 1988, p374).

The pluralist tenants of interest group liberalism provide a logical argument for the expansion of professionalism based upon specialization. That is to say, the public sector's expansion into specialized areas of interest has created the need for increasingly specialized types of work, which is thought by some to be a fundamental part of the professional concept (Wilensky, 1964). However, specialization has paradoxical effects regarding societal acceptance of purportedly professional occupations.

Specialization of task is a function of the "increasing complexity of modern life" (Menand, 1995, p. 17). This complexity "create[s] tasks that call for more specialized knowledge than one person can possibly acquire and professionalization is a mechanism for producing the range of experts needed to perform them" (ibid). Relative to the concept of the profession, specialization necessarily relates to theory (Wilensky, 1964, p.139). Without theory, specialization of labor is simply task-oriented specialization (i.e. Smith's pin factory), which may be done out of, or based upon, logic grounded in habit,

18

tradition, or lore, which are all far afield from being professional in terms of being an actionable method of organizing and controlling work and workers.

Freidson (1999) utilizes the term "mechanical specialization" to represent the obverse of professional specialization. This term mechanical specialization signifies "a relatively small number of simple, invariant, repetitive actions" (ibid, p.119).

Professional work is defined as specialized work that cannot be performed mechanically because contingencies of its task vary so greatly from one another that the worker must exercise considerable discretion to adapt his knowledge and skill to each circumstance in order to work successfully. Furthermore, it is believed to require abstract, theoretical knowledge. While the work of both professions and the craft is thought to be discretionary in character, professional work is distinguished from craft work by being a theoretically based discretionary specialization. This may be contrasted with both unskilled work and detailed mechanical specialization. (ibid)

As will be shown, public administration is undoubtedly becoming more specialized. However, questions remain. Is public administration becoming more task oriented or are theories undergirding the actions of practitioners? Will future practitioners be trained to perform work, which will be overseen by supervisors or will they be experts in dispensing a craft beyond reproach from the uninformed? These and questions like it provide my motivation to pursue this line of inquiry.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The area under inquiry in this research is the professional phenomenon or concept. Much has been said, but little is agreed upon in terms of the causes, consequences, or even constitution of professionalization. Consequently, to enhance our understanding of the profession as it relates to public administration, a method, which is flexible enough to deal with the heterogeneity is warranted. Grounded theory and its "all is data" philosophy, as espoused by Glaser (2012), provides the theoretical latitude to tackle such an ambiguous concept, (p.28). However, much like the term profession, *grounded theory* means many things to many people. As such, this section will be dedicated to explicating how grounded theory was utilized during this inquiry.

The methodology employed in this dissertation is a direct consequent of the nature of the area of inquiry. As mentioned previously, in the research problem, Merriam and Simpson (2000) state that, if " no theory fits the phenomenon under investigation, the one study goal may be to formulate a theory and/or hypothesis to explain observed events or behavior" (p.27). Given the elephantine nature of the professional concept, I assert that *theory formulation* is precisely what is needed. To that end, I have selected a method which allows for the development of explanatory theory rather than the typical deductive approach, which favors validity.

Deductive methods argue from the general to the specific by adopting a top-down pattern (theory→hypothesis→observation→confirmation). This process assumes that a theoretic worth testing exists and that the data need to be simply identified and gathered.

However, as is the case with professionalism and public administration, such a theoretic does not exist. It is, therefore, necessary that an inductive approach be employed, so as to facilitate the emergence of relevant information. This inductive approach follows a bottom-up approach (observation→pattern→tentative hypothesis→theory), whereby specific observations are gathered and analyzed in such a way that the method works toward the development of broader generalizations and theories (Trochim, 2006). However, in the case of this research Trochim's (2006) framework was modified to suit the constant comparative method employed herein, which takes the shape of (observation ↔ pattern ↔ recursive induction→theory). This modification simply acknowledges that new patterns and observations modify the researcher's "present state of knowledge" and thus inform the researcher's inclusion of relevant information, which cannot be determined *a priori* (Foucault, 1972, p.5).

Grounded theory (GT), as a research method, employs "two key analytic operations that occur in tandem: making constant comparisons and theoretical sampling" (Locke, 1996, p.240). This process is continual and is graphically depicted in figure 2
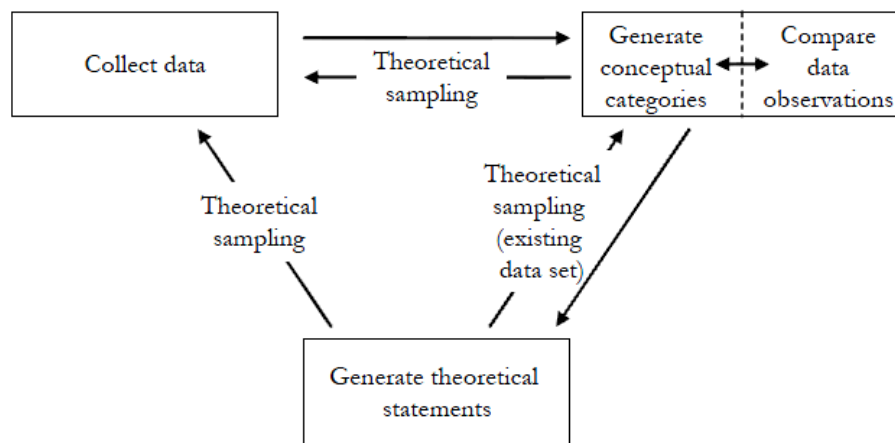
Figure 2 (Locke, 1996, p.240)

21

Grounded theory method is a product of research conducted by Glaser and Straus, which resulted in a conceptual, methodological framework. Glaser (2012) states that:

> *GT is a perspective based methodology and people's perspectives vary. And as we Showed in "Awareness of Dying" (Glaser & Strauss, 1965), participants have multiple perspectives that are varyingly fateful to their action. Multiple perspectives among participants is often the case and then the GT researcher comes along and raises these perspectives to the abstract level of conceptualization hoping to see the under lying or latent pattern, another perspective.* (p.29)

This research followed closely with Glaser's (2012) perspective based methodology in the sense that occupational behavior, be it professional or otherwise, is influenced by professional preconceptions, which vary. However, the variety of conceptions associated with the term *profession* need to be further abstracted, so that the latent patterns behind such a variety of conceptions can be identified.

3.1 Data Collection and Sampling

The most salient methodological debate being had, as it pertains to this inquiry, revolves around the notion of *theoretical sensitivity*. Strauss and Glaser's (1999) publication recommends that:

> *An effective strategy is, at first, literally to ignore the literature of theory and fact on the area under study, in order to assure that the emergence of categories will not be contaminated by concepts more suited to different areas. Similarities and convergences with the literature can be established after the analytic core of categories has emerged.* (p.37)

22

This inquiry is, in and of itself, concerned with the *professional* concept as it is portrayed in the literature. As such, the selection of grounded theory may appear, at first glance, to be inappropriate for those who are ardent classical ground theorists. However, much like Glaser and Strauss's formative work, this research is concerned with the variety of perspectives, it just so happens these perspectives are found in the scholarly literature. Consequently, Glaser's (1999) fear of the literature reducing sensitivity by forcing "'round data' into 'square categories'" is an unwarranted claim (p.37).

The literature used in this research was primarily gathered from the FAU Library . Keywords such as *public administration profession, professional, professionalization* were entered into the *SearchWise* engine. Abstracts from the returned articles were reviewed for pertinence. Pertinence was predicated upon the publication inclusion of claims or distinctions regarding the term *profession, unprofessional, or nonprofessional*. Articles that were either frequently cited or appeared to be primarily focused on the professional concept were compiled, and their references sections became the starting point of this inquiry.

This core group, which contained scholars such as Parson (1939), Wilensky (1964), Schott (1976), and Mosher(1938/1978) are, in essence, analogous to the core or kernel to an operating system, around which this research built from. From those, kernel, articles I began to back-track references found in those articles in an effort to construct what could be considered an ontological-map of the professional concept as it portrayed in the scholarly journals. These k*ernel* articles provided the essential propositions, which appeared to be particularly salient. However, saliency evolved and was reassessed throughout the constant comparison process. Figure 3 (which is not reformatted for

23

legibility) visually portrays how emergent categories were related to codes that were

deemed pertinent.

Figure 3

Specific

Pugh, D. (1989). Professionalism in public administration: Problems, perspectives, and the role of aspa. *Public Administration Review*, 49(1), 1-8. Asserts the case against PA becoming a profession is linked to irreconcilable political and professional factors.

Hall, R. (1968). Professionalization and bureaucratization. *American Sociological Review*, 33(1), 92-104. Generally and inverse relationship between professionalism and bureaucracy

Wilensky, H. (1964). The professionalization of everyone?. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 70(2), 138-158. Client orientation undermines colleague control over professional norms (p.137)

Golembewski (1983) protectionist

Wilbern (1954)

Wilson (1989) TVA

Organization/ Occupational

Client/Market Orientation

Bureaucratic

Orientation

NASPAA

PSM Vandenabeele, 2007

Dichotomy

For

Against

Profession (in)

Parsons (1939); Eulal (1973)

Professional (of)

General

Green, Keller, & Wamsley, 1993,

Waldo, 1975 "Education for PA in the Seventies," in F. Mosher's Public Administration: Past Present, Future, p.223.; Schott(1976)

Orthodox

Sociological Concept

Lexicon Profession(al,is im,etc.)

Schott (1976)

Flexner (1915)

Jackson (1970)

Weber

Jackson, J. (1970). Professions and professionalization. London: Cambridge University Press. Kornhauser, (1962); relationship between the professional institution and the practical institution, but also between the individual and the organizations (Jenkins, 1970, p.53)
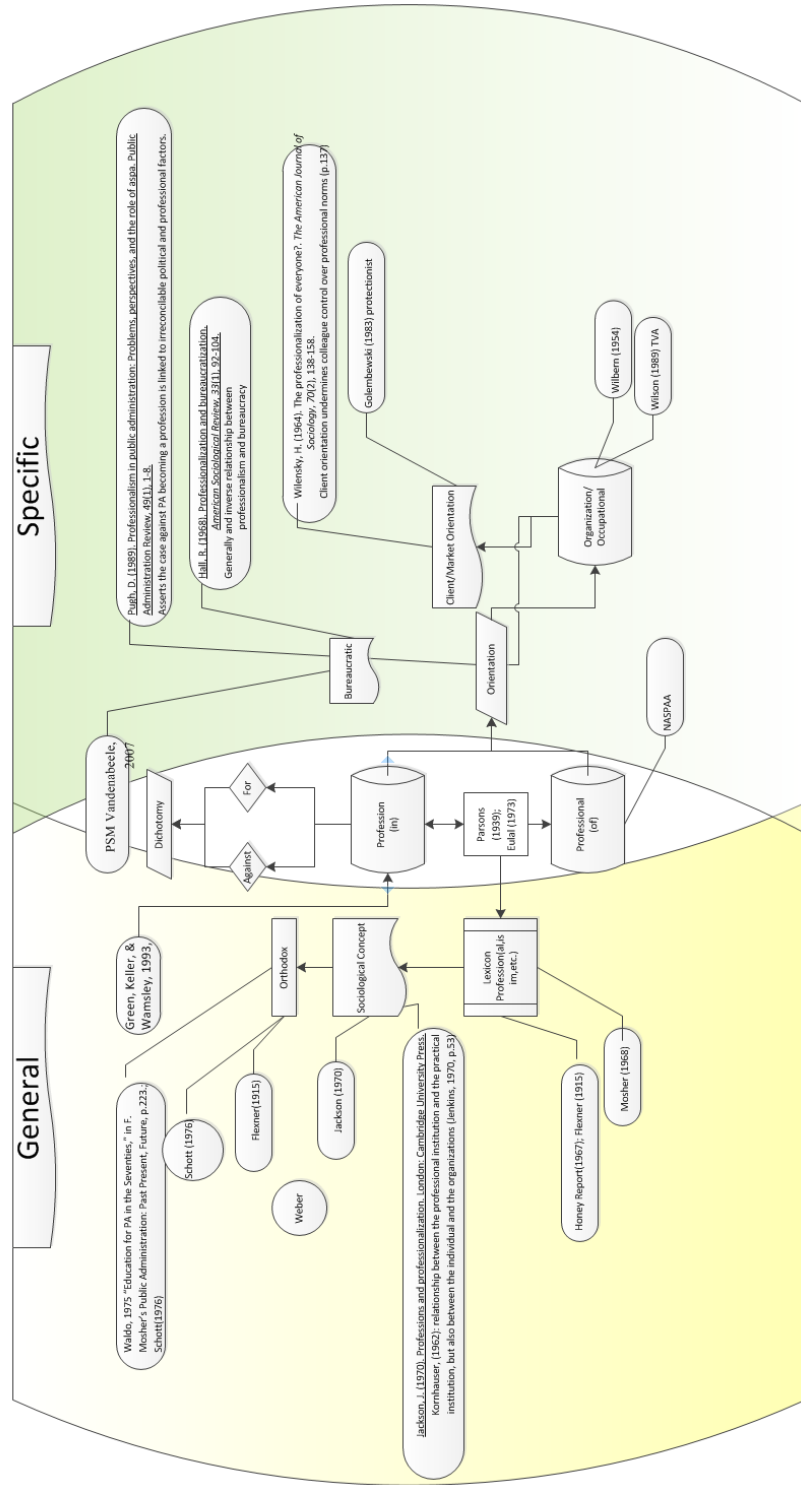
Honey Report(1967); Flexner (1915)

Mosher (1968)

25

Grounded theory utilizes a method of theoretical sampling, which is a continuous process up until the point at which no new categories or properties of categories emerge (theoretical saturation). "Theoretical sampling is done in order to discover categories and their properties and to suggest the interrelationships into a theory. Statistical sampling is done to obtain accurate evidence on distributions of people among categories to be used in descriptions or verifications" (Glaser and Strauss, 1999, p.62). The semantic variety and interrelationships of varieties under investigation in this study warranted the use of a theoretical approach.

The process of data collection involved the generation of data from the literature, which comes in the form of open codes, which are then categorized and recategorized into abstract conceptual categories. However, the process of *categorization* is a contentious topic and needs to be further explicated, as it relates directly to the interpretive nature of this research.

Glaser (2012) fervently disagrees with the writing of Charmaz (2000), who contends that there are *constructivist* elements to grounded theory. In brief, Glaser understands GT to be an unbiased method, whereas Charmaz (2000) asserts that there is a dialectical nature to the process of categorization. Glaser (2012), argues emphatically that grounded theory is not constructivist, when he said "data is rendered objective to a high degree by most research methods and GT in particular by looking at many cases of the same phenomenon, when jointly collecting and coding data, to correct for bias and to make the data objective" (p.32). This author, however, disagrees with Glaser anti-constructivist perspective because without the constructivist foundation the emergence of categories would be impossible.

26

Glaser's version of GT assumes that coding leads toward the development of categories and those categories are used to generate theoretical conceptualizations (abstractions) of the phenomena under study. This progression of the GT process is, on its face, sensible. However, despite Glaser's fervent dismissal of the constructivist perspective, he nor anyone else can wish away the fact that categories are constructions; Sacks's (1992) membership categorization analysis (MCA) supports this assertion, which Stoke (2012) describes below.

> *Categories short-cut and package commonsense knowledge about*
>
> *category members and their actions. That is by building into categorical*
>
> *formulations devices for saying 'there-is-more-to-this-category-than-I-*
>
> *need to-describe-here' (a 'common knowledge component'; an idiomatic*
>
> *quality), and by observing that such formulations are often collaboratively*
>
> *built between parties, the 'inference-rich nature of categories' is, in fact,*
>
> *an endogenous orientation of those parties.* (p.300)

The ambiguity associated with the professional term, therefore, can be understood as a *collaborative construction*, rather than a naturalistic or objective phenomenon, waiting to be discovered. As such, this constructivist or interpretivist nature of the subject matter and this author's use of grounded theory appear justified. Suddaby (2006), succinctly affirms this logic when he stated that it is "less appropriate, for example, to use grounded theory when you seek to make knowledge claims about objective reality, and more appropriate to do so when you want to make knowledge claims about how individuals interpret reality" (p.634).

27

Suddaby's (2006) perspective is similar to that of Charmaz (2006) in that it differs from the classical GT approach by not "endorsing mid-century assumptions of an objective external reality, a passive, neutral observer, or a detached, narrow empiricism" (p.13). However, efforts to comment on GT have not been received well. Glaser's disdain is evident in his rejoinder to Charmaz's (2000).

> *Charmaz (2000, p. 522) comes close to what I am saying but descriptive capture of QDA subverts it. She says: "Like wondrous gifts waiting to be opened, early grounded theory tests imply that categories and concepts inhere within the data, awaiting the researcher's discovery… Not so." This statement is unbelievably wrong. Categories, which are concepts, are not wondrous gifts, they come from the tedium of the constant comparative method linked with sensitive theoretical sampling and are constantly fitted to the data.* (Glaser, 2012, p.30)

Glaser's critique highlights a sort of inevitable type approach to GT; whereas Charmaz, in her interview with Puddephatt (2006), explains that her conception of GT differs from Glaser in that she doesn't believe that "all the patterns that he is talking about are always as important as he thinks they are" (p.13). This statement highlights that GT cannot be truly Objectivist because the context plays a role in the development of categories.

GT as a process is entirely compatible with the tenets of Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA). "MCA studies share an empirical and analytical focus on illuminating the pragmatic and categorical logic of social identities" (Littlejohn and Foss, 2009, p.650). The variation of the types of categories and identities portrayed in the literature pertaining to the profession are entirely similar to Glaser's *perspective based*

28

methodology; the only difference is that the logic underpinning the variation of perspectives is the phenomenon being examined in this inquiry.

3.2 Perspectives on data and methodology

Constant comparison is a technique, which is used to conduct grounded theory research.

> *A grounded theory has a number of characteristics: It must closely fit the substantive areas studied, be understandable to and usable by those in the situation studies, and be sufficiently complex to account for a great deal of variation in the domain examined. (Locke, 1996, p.240)*

Furthermore, according to Locke (1996), "the grounded theory approach requires not only that data and theory be constantly compared and contrasted during the data collection and analysis but also that the materializing theory drives ongoing data collection" (p.239). This process is akin to what could be understood as a Foucaultian perspective. This perspective assumes that new readings and new codes modify the researcher's "present state of knowledge" and thus inform the researcher's ability to code and interpret the literature (Foucault, 1972, p.5). This evolution of, what were, the researcher's present state of knowledge was predicated on an ability to identify claims, which associated the professional concept to either the study and/or the practice of public administration.

These claims were extracted from the literature in the form of *open codes*. Open codes according to Glaser and Straus (1967) are of two types; those that are *constructed* and those that have been *abstracted* (p.107). Constructions will tend to take the shape of *concepts* and abstractions can be understood as being *categorical* (ibid). For example, the

29

occupational category 'profession' often takes the shape of a construction, comprised of commonly associated concepts such as; education, training, altruism, autonomy, et.al. The issue as it is presented here, however, required more than simply assembling what Wirt (1981) calls a "laundry list" of the concepts associated with the term, in the hope that the relevant conceptual information would, like Athena, magically spring from the author's head. Instead, it required developing a deep understanding of the data in terms of how each assertion or code could be understood as part of a whole or as a *system-of-understandings*.

The system of terms can be understood as the universe of claims, which address any or all of the notions of professionalism, nonprofessional, or unprofessional. As Saussure explained "*Concepts are purely differential and defined not by their positive content but negatively by their relations with the other terms of the system. Their most precise characteristic is in being what they other are not*" (Saussure, 1959, p.117). This statement applies to the professional concept in the sense that any conception of the term relies upon negative terms as much as it does in positive terms. Furthermore, this system of terms or codes needed to pay homage the linguistic aspect of the signs and the signification of concepts, while also maintaining respect for nuanced claims or specifications. For a better explanation of the linguistic issue, we can look to John Locke.

> *Locke held a sortal name to signify the complex general idea of a certain sort of things. Transmuting his terminology into one more familiar to present-day ears, we may distinguish three different types of item at issue here. First, there are sortal terms, otherwise known as substantival general terms, prime examples being ' cat,' ' apple,'' Mountain ', and*

30

' star .' Second, there are sortal concepts, which are expressed or conveyed by such terms, such as the concept of a cat or the concept of an apple. Third, there are the sorts or kinds of things purportedly designated by these sortal terms and concepts, such as the kind cat and the kind Apple. Some observations are in place concerning each of these types of item. (Lowe, 2007, p.515)

Lowe's transmutation of Locke's sortal concept provides a taxonomy of the types of claims found in this literature. That is to say, *sortal terms*, *sortal concepts,* and *kinds* provide a framework for understanding the profession as a phenomenon defined by a network of relationships between the terms, concepts, and sorts found in the literature. More clearly, Lowe's framework fits well with the extant literature because the Term-Concept-Type relationship of the term profession and the professional concept are not well linked to the study and practice of public administration (Schott, 1976, p.254; Mosher, 1973, p.21). Consequently, this framework provides a means of concentrating this researcher's efforts toward developing theory, which enhances our collective understanding of this professional network.

Locke's framework does an adequate job explaining that there are different ways in which we 'sort things' however, it does not account for the variety of ways in which things are sorted. This author understands Locke's framework as being harmonious with Sacks's (1992), previously mentioned, membership categorization analysis (MCA). The MCA is relevant in for this inquiry because it goes beyond simply unpacking the term-concept-type relationship found in the text. MCA ethnomethodology provides a logical means of understanding the largely idiomatic accounts of the professional concept found

31

in the literature, based on the acknowledgment that categories are collaboratively built between parties (Stokoe, 2012, p.300). The ambiguity associated with the professional term, therefore, can be understood as a *collaborative construction*, rather than (as Glaser would assert) a naturalistic or objective phenomenon.

The lack of a clear nexus between the professional term and the concept, as it is portrayed in the public administration literature, is reminiscent of Waldo's (1961) *elephantine problem*; wherein he recalls "the fable of the blind men describing an elephant: 'There is little doubt here that a single elephant being discussed, but, by and large, each of the observers begins his description from a different point, and often with a special end in view" (p.216). Waldo's elephant, however, enjoys a distinct advantage over the professional concept, in a Saussurian sense; wherein there is a common understanding of the sortal term and signifier (word elephant) and the sortal concept and signified (the pachyderm with the trunk). The professional concept, on-the-other-hand enjoys no such relationship regarding the signifier and the signified. Said differently, the professional concept lacks significance.

Beyond the denotative issues associated with the term profession there exist a related, but different, notion of *connotation* associated with the term profession. Connotations, according to Barthes (1983), are comprised of "connotaters", which are "general, global, and diffuse; it is, if you like, a fragment of ideology" (p.91). Given the plethora of ways in which the term professional is denoted, there is no apparent clear ideology. However, the professional term and its connotations can be viewed as an indicator of at least two latent ideologies: one positive (Kearney and Sinha, 1988; Downs, 1980) and the other negative (Schott, 1976; Golembiewski, 1983).

32

This latent and dichotomous ideological framework of the term is a function of the term's inability to be universally applicable or cosmopolitan in nature. Attempts to develop broad generalizations of this enigmatic term typically fall victim to a dilemma, which limits conceptually relevancy or accuracy because these generalizations are not applicable to particular cases. According to Rodwell (1998)

Generalizations are nomothetic or lawlike in nature. In order to use them for prediction and control, generalizations must be applied to particulars. This creates a kind of knowledge problem, called entrapment in the nomothetic/idiographic dilemma. What is interesting about generalizations is that they should apply to a specific instance, but they generally do not, so one is left wanting/needing the ideographic, when only the nomothetic is possible. (p.31)

The concept of entrapment draws attention toward a *reductionist fallacy*. "This concept is an extremely difficult one to comprehend; it flies in the face of traditional positivist (and some postpositivist) postures so violently as to demand rejection" (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p.118). Some unpacking of this concept appears warranted.

Positivism, epistemologically speaking, relies upon scientific observations to justify knowledge claims. The claims are described in "closed-system" languages (i.e. mathematics, Popperian methods), which "cannot fully comprehend natural [nomathetic] (i.e. open) systems" (Hamilton, 1979: cited from Gomm, Hammersley, & Foster, 2000, p.34). The scholarly literature pertaining to the professional concept is unto itself comprised of competing languages. These languages approach the professional concept

33

in terms dictated by their individual closed-system norms. Consequently, investigations into the professional concept often become descriptive accounts of the various factions participating in the discussion (i.e. Frendreis & Vertz's (1988) assertion that the professional concept is comprised of three separate orientations *process, symbolic*, and *conspiracy*). The point being is that particular approaches or languages are incapable of describing an alternate position. This inability to transcend their respective closed-system language is the reductionist fallacy at play.

This research employs an inductive approach, which allows for the abstraction of pertinent info from all the factions found in the literature in such a way that the issues associated with entrapment can be avoided. The alternative would, of course, be a deductive approach, which would require embracing a particular language, which is incapable of relating to alternative perspectives. This approach, of favoring plurality, corresponds directly the *shape of arguments*, wherein logical propositions can be presented as either valid/invalid or in "less-than-certain" framework (Hawthorne, 2014, p.1). By abstracting deductive (arguing from the broad to narrow) propositions, which ultimately work towards parsimony, and allowing for inductive propositions (arguing from the narrow to the broad) to be included it becomes possible to avoid reductionist fallacies.

Entrapment and its reductionist fallacies are manifest in the professional literature as forced-choice (valid/invalid) propositions (i.e. all professionals undergo formal training, that training is specialized in nature. Therefore, public administration is not a profession [Schott, 1976; Pugh, 1988; Capron, 1976]). Such propositions, although logically valid, fail to embrace the heterogeneity of the professional concept. Instead, in

34

the case of the example above, the argument infers certainty, when, according to the literature, little certainty exists with regard to the term profession. The following section abstracts from those propositions emergent categories, which can be understood in less-than-certain terms. This lack of certainty provides the conceptual space to develop theory.

Chapter 4: Results

4.1 Conceptual categories

The findings presented in this section are abstracted conceptions derived from a constant comparative analysis of the existing literature on professionalism. These abstractions represent this author's interpretation of the dimensions pertinent to public administration, which emerged as being pertinent to understanding the sociological concept of the profession as it relates to public administration. To briefly preface this chapter, the three sections (knowledge, motivation, and accountability) represent points at which the nomothetic and ideographic dilemma become apparent in the literature. That is to say; these sections are not summaries or a consensus of ideas, but rather abstract points around which professional debates are being had. For example, nomothetic attempt to generalize the professional concept, by definition, seek to develop broad categorizations; however, such generalizations are antithetical to ideographic or specialized accounts of a profession, which often seek to control or limit access to those deemed qualified to practice.

4.1.1 Knowledge

The profession is a sociological concept, which at the heart of the discussion, seeks to understand how people who perform similar work functions tend to organize. Part of the organizational locus of a profession is thought to be an "organized body of knowledge" (Marutello, 1981, p.247; Wilburn, 1954, p.14; Pugh, 1989, p.1; Green, Keller, & Wamsley, 1993, p. 517; Schott, 1976, p.253; Mosher, 1938, p.334). Public

36

administration, however, is unique in terms of vocational composition and the types of knowledge associated with those assorted vocations.

Typically, people employed by the public sector are educated in an area of study other than public administration, which is technically minded and generally narrow in task. "If they perform their specialized tasks meritoriously, they are often promoted into the administrative ranks of an agency, which extends their career path and often symbolizes the pinnacle of professional life" (Green, Keller, & Wamsley, 1993, p. 516). Given this type of career track, Schott (1976) argues, the practical day-to-day experience of the individual supplants the need for a unified or coherent body of public administration knowledge (p.255). Similarly, Capron (1976) (a former NASPAA President) states that "in our pluralistic system it is not surprising…that we have not clearly identified and articulated 'profession' of public administration" (p.247). Perry (2016), artfully describes public administration as an "interdisciplinary silo", wherein "We look inward and ignore knowledge developed in the social and behavioral sciences" (p.212).

Capron's (1976) statement, as this author understands it, is predicated upon an orthodox understanding of the profession, which assumes that only vocations based upon systematically organized knowledge can be deemed a profession. However, Abcarian and Kirn (1977) contend that "[p]owerful professional behavior does not necessarily require consensus on scientific principles nor does it presuppose systematic theory. Pre-paradigmatic fields can be and often are highly professional" (p.122). At the root of this debate is a tension between those that assert that scientific methods are superior, or more professional, than political processes of problem resolution (ibid, p.121).

37

This is similar to Oulfs' (1985) statement that "first step in understanding the claims to professionalism is to define the concept in such a way that we conceive of it as a problem" (p.27). Hilling (1966), affirms this assertion when he astutely points out that "negotiation is a necessary adjunct or integral part of administration" (p.326). As such, public administrators, who traffic in problems which require negotiations are deemed political rather than professions. This appears to be a hypocritical interpretation of the professional public administrator given that private sector professions regularly participate in negotiations (Hilling, 1966).

The assumed tensions between administration and politics are made clear by Schott (1976), who borrows Price's "continuum of truth and power" (see *figure 4*) (p.254). Figure 4 displays the theoretical plane on which occupations can be typified. Across these four dimensions or estates, it becomes apparent that there are behavioral aspects of an occupation, which, at least in part, allow for a typology to be constructed. The differences across this continuum can be understood in terms of the degree to which knowledge and training inform occupational behavior.

The Four Estates			
Truth			Power
←			→
Long Formal Training			No Formal Training
Scientist	Professionals	Administrators	Politicians

(Figure 4 Schott, 1976, p.254)

38

Olufs (1985) presents the most cogent thesis on understanding how "a theory of knowledge and public administration" can help distinguish when professionalism can be sensibly applied to problems in the public domain (p.31). Olufs, argues that knowledge comes in two forms; professionals who "possess 'processed' knowledge based on measurement, systematic observation, and scientific theories" and non-professionals whom "tend to operate on personal, contextual knowledge" (Ibid, p.34). This stratification of knowledge, he argues, has "no basis for argument" and thus cannot be effectively judged in terms of when professional knowledge should be applied and visa-verse (Olufs, 1985, p.46). That is to say, professional knowledge based on technical expertise gained from long formal training may not be superior to knowledge arrived at by way of a political process based on contextual knowledge.

4.1.2 Motivation

"Money income, general prestige and specific honors or symbols of achievement are among the different forms of social reward for occupational performance" (Barber, 1963, p.673). In the public realm, the professional public administrator is presented with several problems regarding money income and general prestige. For example, politicians often campaign on platforms planked with narratives, which portray the public servant as "idle, corrupt, or self-serving" (Kline, 1981, p.278). Despite the perennial anti-bureaucratic aspersions cast by politicians a special group of people who are anything but idle, corrupt, or self-serving are motivated to join the public realm.

The motivation, despite the general lack of prestige, associated with public service is also not thought to be pecuniary for the professional man or woman (Moynihan and Pandey, 2007, p.41). Parsons (1939), succinctly states that "the professional man [or

39

woman] is not thought of as engaged in personal profit, but in the performing services to his patients or clients, or too impersonal values like the advancement of science" (p.458). What then is the motivation to join the ranks of the public servant? Commonly, the professional public administrator is assumed to portray a "sense of calling" (Kline, 1981, p.264; Mosher, 1938, p.332; Toren, 1976, p.41). These individuals are drawn to the field whereby they go through a training process, which Goode (1957) calls an "adult socialization process" (p.194). This process imbues the individual will a communal identity and depending on the individual case, a degree of prestige from within the professional cadre, if not from the unappreciative politicians. However, public administration and its many proverbial 'hats' appear to be not applicable to Goode's assertions due to the heterogeneity of what is often referred to as a "field", rather than a cadre (Snizeck, 1972; Streib, 2005).

The public sector and all its fields are under persistent pressure to become more efficient and effective. To those ends, typical reform efforts involve incorporating other logics of control or motivation into the public administrative arena. More precisely, these reforms often come in the form of an appeal toward privatization and thus the tenants of *market theory* and market rationality. However, market rationality is by no means the only rubric for assessing occupational action.

> *The fact that people act rationally has, of course, been recognized by*
> *many sociologists, but they have seen rational actions alongside other*
> *forms of action, seeing human action as involving both rational and non-*
> *rational elements. Such views of action recognize traditional or habitual*

40

action, emotional or affectual action, and various forms of value-oriented

action alongside the purely rational types of action. (Scott, 2000, p.1)

Efforts to promote market-oriented behavior are often referred to as *New public*

management (NPM). NPM is the term typically used to refer to Reagan and Thatcher era

trends which favor "decentralization, privatization, customer orientation, cutting red-tape,

competition, productivity, and efficiency" (Gültekin, 2011, p.345). Along with these

trends, came the notion that pay-for-performance in the public sector would result in

increases in efficiency and effectiveness (ibid, p.348). However, economic motivations

are not generally associated with the sortal concept of the professional (Parsons, 1939). In

fact, they are often considered to be antithetical (Hall, 1968; Mosher, 1938; Wilbern,

1954).

NPM trends rely upon an assertion that methodological individualism provides

and adequate theoretic for relating individual action with collective interests (Ostrom,

1975, p.844; Gültekin, 2011, p.349). While the merits of NPM's are debated elsewhere,

the salient point at hand regards the notion of how motivation relates to occupational

action. In keeping with the stratification tradition of sociology (Frendreis and Vertz,

1988), the literature typically portrays the motivations of individuals as being guided by

either a "simple public sector ethos/private sector ethos distinction" (Hoggett, Mayo, And

Miller, 2006, p.770). Such a stratification, however, is insufficient. The insufficiency

according to Hoggett, Mayo, and Miller (2006) stems from a need to develop a more

complex understanding of occupational action. Action, which is influenced and

influences by a variety of conceptions of public and private goods. Their point is made

clear when they state that:

41

We need a more complex understanding of the differing ways in which competing goods are prioritized and reprioritized. Rather than seeing the stakes simply in terms of public sector ethos versus private sector ethos it may be more useful to consider the existence of a variety of goods (few of which are unambiguously public or private) which constitute the moral terrain of the public service worker. Workers bring their values and identities to this environment to engage in complex negotiations about commitment and motivation. Without such understanding….our analysis of the impact of public service reforms remains significantly limited.

(Hoggett, Mayo, and Miller, 2006, p.770)

Thompson (2002) asserts that reform which focuses on "transferring functions wholesale to the private sector is a relatively blunt instrument" (Peters and Pierre, 2002, p.85). To provide a more exacting type of reform than the private ethos versus the public ethos, the NPM model attempts to blend the two together by encouraging the public sector to include: " 'Hands-on professional management', Explicit standards and measure of performance, Greater emphasis on output controls, shift to disaggregation of units in the public sector, shift to greater competition in public sector, stress on private-sector styles of management practice, and stress on greater discipline and parsimony in resource use" (Thompson cited in Peters and Pierre, 2002, p.85). However, the inculcation of private sector methods into the public sector has not been a panacea.

Peters, Hondeghem, and Wise (2010) assert that the public sector ethos is "altruistic" in nature (p.682). Such claims, however, have been contested as being a "false-dichotomy" (Parsons, 1939, p.467). Parsons' (1939) previously concluded that the

42

altruist-egoist dichotomy was false in the sense that *motivation* can be understood as a (normal) individual's pursuit of a more generic goal of "success" (p.465). This *success* need not be *egoist* or *altruist*; it only needs to be received as normatively satisfactory. Parsons (1939) assertions, however, have failed to gather much fanfare; as such, the dichotomy persists.

In contemporary public administrative parlance, the altruistically inclined cohort (if such a thing exists) is assumed to be guided by their *Public Service Motivation*. Perry (2012) asserts that the "public administration definitions of public service motivation invoke the concepts of both self-sacrifice and altruism- 'other-regarding motives' and behaviors, which emphasize concern for the well-being of others" (p.53). According to Vandenbeele (2007), "Public Service Motivation (PSM) has been developed as a counterweight to the self-interested [egoist] motivation found in rational choices" (p.546). PSM assumes that individuals who seek to establish a career in the public sector do so because they are motivated by what Moynihan and Pandey (2007) call "endogenous goals" (p.41). These goals are endogenous in the sense that employees are motivated to comply with norms set from within the organization (Moynihan and Pandey, 2007).

Endogenous goals are implicitly antithetical to market-based reforms, which seek to impart exogenous forces (i.e. market forces) into the organizations logic of control. As such, reform efforts with exogenous tendencies, while well intentioned, often have the unintended effect of disenfranchising staff. This is evidenced by Francois (2000); "using formal mathematical modeling, Francois demonstrates that when PSM exists, conditions can be created for government bureaucracy to better obtain effort from employees than a

43

standard profit-maximizing firm" (Perry, 2012, p.58). PSM is also thought to be inversely correlated to the amount of perceived "red-tape" in an organization (Moynihan and Pandey, 2007, p.46).

Public agencies, which resist NPM reforms, will attempt to appear more efficient. French and Emerson (2014) succinctly state that "with public management applying business concepts, private sector practices, and technological innovations to enhance performance accountability and fiscal responsibility, the nature of the public employee's relationship is continually being refined" (p.552). This refinement requires that public managers/supervisors understand that "extrinsic factors such as pay and other material rewards are linked to the outcome of a task or activity, while intrinsic factors are associated closely with the inherent satisfaction that derives from undertaking a task" (ibid, p.554).

Overutilization or reliance on extrinsic motivational factors can be partially understood in terms of the shift in the professional concept. Green, Keller, and Wamsley (1993) assert that there has been a modern shift in the classical interpretation of the profession. This shift understands classical professionals as the "gentlemen class," which have property and resources sufficient enough to afford them the opportunity to practice their work (p.518). This is precisely different, in kind than the modern interpretations, which presume the professional occupation begets the property and resources.

This modern conception of the profession, preceding the wealth and prestige, connotes what might appear to be egoistic or self-maximizing behavior. Freidson (1984), contends that "professionals have become subject to forms of social control that erode their very status as professional" (p.3). For illustrative purposes, we can look to the

44

Committee on Ways and Means proposed legislation (H.R. 4294). This act is referred to as the *Strengthening Access to Valuable Education and Retirement Support Act of 2015*. In brief, this legislation mandates that investment advisors maintain a fiduciary responsibility, which puts the client's needs above that of the advisor. It appears that investment advisors have achieved this professional fall-from-grace. This is precisely what Freidson (1984) was referring to when he put forth the proposition that organizational imperatives and the extrinsic forms of motivation may override professional autonomy, which would *traditionally* place the clients' interests above all else. Such a shift, according to Freidson (1984), indicates a trend toward a "consumer model, rather than a patient or client model" (p.5).

4.1.3 Accountability

Professions are assumed to be capable of controlling and regulating "the nature of their services, and they do so by the lights of what is proper for the profession rather than what market conditions demand" (Menand, 1995, p.17). The term *proper* eschews interminable debates about how, or if, professional occupations should be held accountable by those outside the professional sphere. These discussions are particularly salient in the context of a democratic society. These questions are most succinctly posed by (Wilburn, 1954) when he asks:

> *Is specialized competence attainable only at the expense of democratic*
> *control? Must professional responsibility be a substitute for rather than*
> *an adjunct to responsibility through hierarchy to the electorate?* (p.16)

These questions relate directly back to Menand's (1995) use of the word *proper*. That is to say, competence and responsibility are variables, which may be defined

45

differently given a plurality of perspectives. Evetts (2009) identifies two types of perspectives, or orientations, which may at times have differing ideological standards pertaining to professionalism. Evetts (2009), parses professionalism into two "ideal-types", organizational and occupational (p.248). This rather elegant model seeks to explain the discontinuities across the lexicon regarding authority, in particular, "rational-legal forms of authority" and "collegial authority" (p.248).

The rational-legal type is exemplified by the bureaucratic framework from which virtually all public administrators operate within. The professional bureaucrat, however, is not easily identifiable due to a lack of a "common perspective" of public administration (Gargan, 1989, p. 967). Instead, professionalization has been conceived of as an organizational concept or practice which "involves increasingly standardized work procedures and practices, consistent with managerialist controls" over a myriad of occupations within the bureaucracy (Evetts, 2009, p.248). Consequently, "the professional who is also a bureaucrat becomes less directly dependent on the professional [collegial] community for his career advancement so that ordinary sanctions of that community may have less impact" (Goode, 1957, p.197). However, Goode goes on to note that these concessions, to be more controlled by the bureaucracy, come in exchange for additional "protection against the client or lay community charges that it considers inappropriate or irrelevant" (ibid, p.198). Such efforts to employ managerialist type controls are often met with resistance, particularly when the supervisor is not part of the supervisee's profession cadre (Eimicke, 1974, p.410). This concept of the professional bureaucrat can also be understood as the stratification of a public administrator as being either a professional *in* or professional *of* public administration.

46

Professionals *in* government may be engineers, social workers, librarians or the like. Problems arise when expectations based upon perceived professional behavior within the occupation become countermanding to that of the organization. Eimicke (1974) contends that "professional behavior is more the product of the profession's norms, standards, and work ethics than the standards of the employing organization" (p.410). However, professional associations, at the occupational level, generally assume that the lay society is willing to delegate its social control to the profession. But, only to the extent that the profession must operate within societal norms or risk "both the loss of prestige in the society, and loss of community autonomy" (Goode, 197, p.198; Wilensky, 1964, p.141).

Professions are afforded a degree of autonomy provided they demonstrate the ability to self-regulate. A vehicle for developing methods of regulation and professional control is the association. According to Toren (1976), "specialized and exclusive knowledge and competence are the core elements of the professions around which other characteristics develop, such as a code of ethics, professional autonomy, and professional associations" (p.37). According to Merton (1958), "the foremost obligation of the association is to set rigorous standards for the profession and help enforce them" (as cited in Svara and Terry, 2009, p.1055). However, generalist associations, such as ASPA, have failed to emphasize exclusivity and thus have had diminishing success in attracting membership, despite there being virtually no barriers to entry. This lack of fanfare for generalist associations stands to reason considering Svara and Terry's, (2009) findings, which argue that specialist associations have tended to offer more in terms or

47

professional fulfillment; "when skill development and standard setting are linked to organizational purpose and member benefits" (ibid, p.1056).

Green, Keller, and Wamsley's (1993) argue that the field of public administration controlling access to a profession, there is a very strong connection between has evolved, but still "aspires to be a profession as reflected in our professional associations (ASPA, ICMA), a national academy (NAPA), an educational accrediting body (NASPAA), and a code of ethic" (p.516). Their conclusions do little to solve the generalist-specialist dichotomy; instead, they call for "train[ing] public administrators to become institutional leaders, as well as technically professional managers vested with public purposes as well as technically proficient managers" (ibid, p.523).

Chapter 5: Professional theoretic

5.1 Professional Theoretic

In this section, I will explicate a professional theoretic, which builds upon the heterogeneity of the professional concept as it appears in the scholarly literature. This theoretic is an occupational typology, which federates the professional conceptions, found in the scholarly public administration literature, into a singular framework. This framework utilized the extant literature to ground the professional concept in terms, which emerged as relevant through a process of constant comparative analysis. While the constant comparative analysis has been in use since the 1960's, the process of data collection and continuous interrogation until theory emerges is viewed by some as an inferior method when compared to traditional positivist approaches. However, this research concurs with Glaser and Strauss's decision to develop grounded theory "as a reaction to the passive acceptance that all the 'great' theories have been discovered and that the main task of research is to test these theories by using quantitative scientific procedures (Charmaz, 1983 cited in Hussein, Hirst, and Osuji, 2014, p.1). While the copious amounts of coding and memoing do not lend themselves to reinterpretation Appendix A provides a glimpse of the theoretically saturated outcomes of this method.

The theoretic present here assumes that a high degree of uncertainty or indeterminacy exists concerning the professional concept. So much, I assert, that indeterminacy becomes the backdrop for a theoretical model of the professional concept. This approach avoids the ontological pitfalls of explaining reality; instead, it embraces a

notion but forth by Bertrand Russell, which identifies discontinuities between appearance and reality. Occupations, public or otherwise, are subject to perceptual differences related to the various positions held by interested interlocutors. This is analogous to Russell's statement that:

> *If several people are looking at the table at the same moment, no*
> *two of them will see exactly the same distribution of colours,*
> *because no two can see it from exactly the same point of view, and*
> *any change in the point of view makes some change in the way the*
> *light is reflected.* (Russell, 2013, p. 5)

Professional behavior is similarly subjective in the sense that occupational behavior can be perceived in a multitude of ways. I borrow, at length, an anecdotal statement from Haga (1976), which cogently explains how there may exist multiple interpretations of professional behavior.

> *The bureaucratic design of organizations assumes that each*
> *organizational unit is a subsystem the output of which feeds into other*
> *subsystems. Hospital physicians, for example, assume that hospital*
> *pharmacists stock drugs in response to prescriptions and ward orders.*
> *Faculty and university administrators assume librarians purchase books*
> *that support teaching and research needs. Such assumptions, where a*
> *subsystem occupation is professionalizing its work roles, will tend to be*
> *unsupported by reality. A hospital pharmacist may take some portion of a*
> *limited organizational budget to buy items that are "musts" only by the*
> *criterion of other, professionalizing pharmacists. In the same manner,*

50

librarians will expend some part of their book acquisition resources on,

say, coffee table volumes of art prints, even though they work in an

engineering library. Such books are "must" purchases if a librarian is to

believe he or she is acting as a fully professional practitioner. By the

criterion set by professionalizing librarians, no "good" library would be

without representative art books. (Haga, 1976, p.342)

Haga's point is simple in that the professional designation may be garnered from various

sources (i.e. organizational or occupational). Haga's librarian demonstrates that

professional actions are partly constructed from an endogenous logic. However,

professional actions are also predicated upon exogenous forces to maintain their

professional status. What remains unclear from Haga's example is how and why

particular occupational activities are perceived as professional?

To begin understanding how and why actions are viewed as professional (or

otherwise) it is necessary that those interested in understanding the professional

phenomenon adopt an empathetic perspective. *Verstehen* is a method of research, which

requires a type of vicarious social understanding of occupational work or action. Said differently,

in order to understand occupational behavior by way of the verstehen method, occupational action

must be predicated upon social forces. Tucker (1965), reinforces this by saying that a*ction* is

"only social if, and then only in so far as, it takes account of the behavior of someone else"

(p.157). That is to say, to understand professional behavior, given the verstehen perspective, is to

articulate and conceive of the moral terrain, in terms which are in-line with the occupational

norms and values. For example, if one subscribes to Perry's notion of public service motivation,

occupational actions in order to be conceived of as professional, must demonstrate behavior

which is "self-sacrificing or altruis[tic]" (Perry, 2012, p.53). Similarly, those same actions may be

51

perceived of as unprofessional if conceived of in other terms (i.e. bureaucratic). This moral terrain is not, as it is used during this inquiry, objective. Rather, it is dynamic and complex. Dynamic in the sense that the present can, and does, inform the past; and it is complex in the sense that pluralism and technological innovation continue to reshape social relationships.

The *verstehen* method presents itself as the most appropriate foundation for theory to extend from, as it, according to Tucker (1965), sees the individual as the unit of analysis for understanding collectives or categories of reciprocal human action (p.159). Menand (1995), expertly portrays the concept, in terms exactly in line with Parsons (1939) typical and a-typical framework, when he stated that "professionalization is the only way of elevating excellence over profits. In a system designed to be driven by efficiency and self-interest, professions set standards for performance that value quality over dollars" (Menand, 1995, p.17). This statement succinctly defines professionalism as being different in kind from typical logics, such as that of the rational self-maximizing type. The professional logic portrayed in the scholarly literature is predicated upon an individual's knowledge, motivation, or accountability. However, the literature and its three respective avenues fail to advance our "understanding of occupational behavior, which results from relationships with other individuals" (Tucker, 1965, p.161).

The relationship between occupational action and being perceived as a legitimate profession is predicated upon an occupations ability to appear receptive to social problems. Much like the free market rational-person, there is an implicit ability to be receptive to economic forces, which then necessitate some action. In the case of a-typical occupations, the ability to be perceived of as professional is contingent upon an occupations ability to be receptive to exogenous forces. Across the literature, knowledge,

motivation, and accountability are the planks that span the professional platform. The key weakness of the existing scholarship is that it reduces the professional concept into dichotomous relationships, which are not generalizable (i.e. egoist/altruist, occupational/organizational, generalist/specialist, legal/moral, and performance/protectionist, etc.) and thus not subject to coherent debate. Consequently, this research resulted in an alternative theoretic, which seeks to advance our ability to conceive of this mercurial term in ways that foster coherent debate.
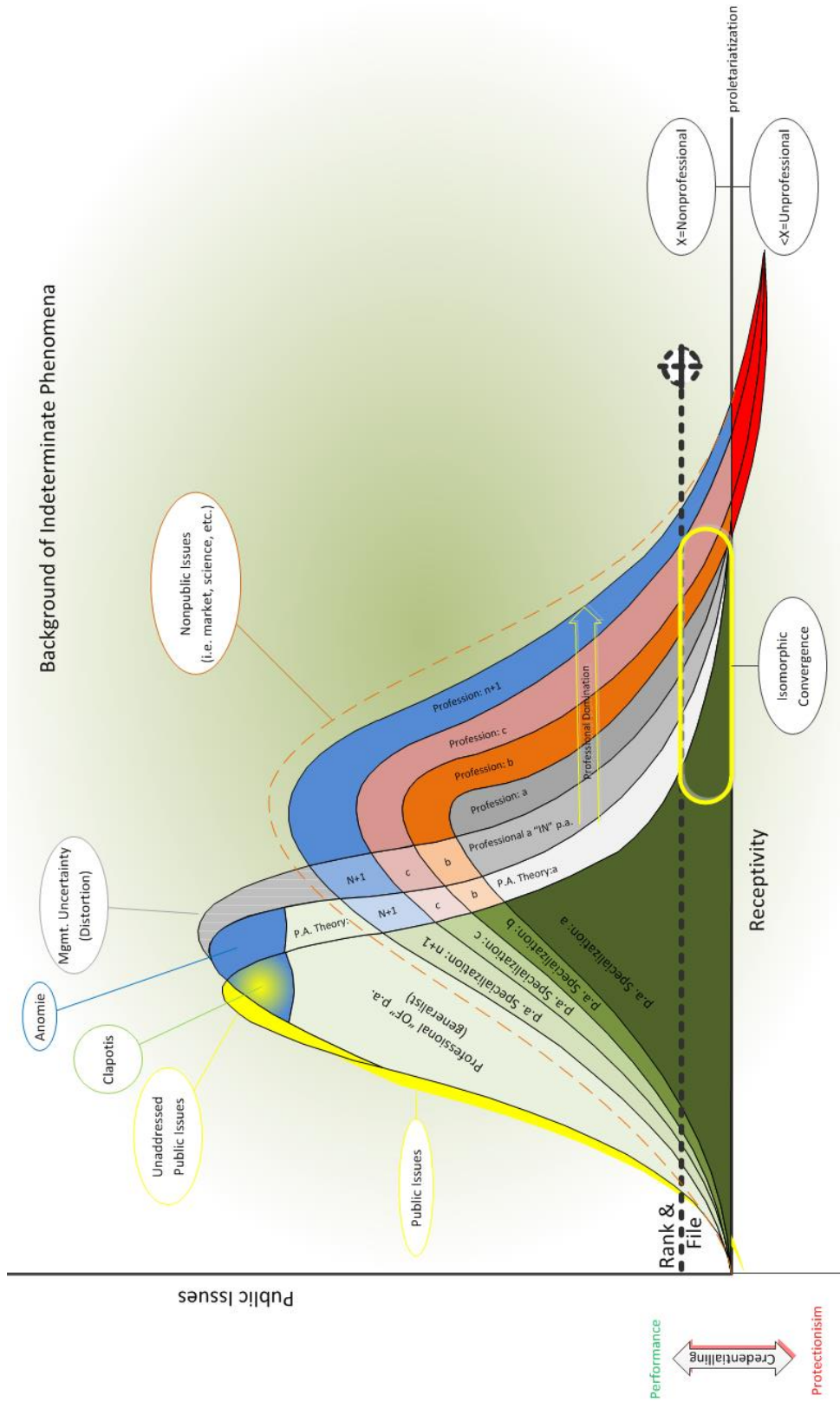
Figure 5

The graphic depicted in figure 5 has been developed to portray a theoretical relationship between professional actions and a socially-predicated demand, which I term public issues. Public issues, with reverence to Lowi's (1979) assertions, are not static. Instead, they are dynamic and require an equally dynamic referent from which discussions can draw from. That referent is the profession's receptivity. Receptivity is a grand abstraction, in which issues of knowledge, motivation, and accountability, commonly associated with professionalization, can be grounded in social terms. That is to say, to begin understanding occupational behavior the actions taken by an individual must take into consideration "the nature of the social relationship in which it was perpetrated" (Tucker, 1965, p.159).

An individual's perception of the moral terrain is not thought to be concrete, rather it will be unique to the individual, but highly structured given her/his experience, training, skills, knowledge, and/or position in an organization. Despite the variety, this model also assumes that "all forms of social practice are driven by a largely tacit and opaque background of 'intersubjective meanings,' 'constitutive distinctions,' 'and 'motivating ideals'" (Brownstein, 2010, p.62). As such, this model is itself dichotomous in that the professional concept is thought to be guided by overarching societal norms, but also guided by nuances gained throughout the course of an individual's life. Said differently, the professional concept can be conceived of either nomothetically or ideographically. However, as was discussed earlier, there remain issues associated with our ideas becoming entrapped, rightly or wrongly, in the various conceptions.

www.manaraa.com

The graphic in figure 5 addresses the problem of *entrapment*, by depicting the dynamic and complex considerations associated with the professional concept as a spectrum. This idea of presenting professional status across a spectrum is not novel (see: Schott, 1976). However, it does not portray (like Schott) the concept as a forced-choice predicated upon the Procrustean bed of his choice. Rather, it allows interlocutors to conceptually plot their perceived or ideographically specific interpretation against a nomothetically contingent background. The ability to juxtapose differing perspective to such a point that the point of entrapment can be identified is novel.

Perhaps an analogy is in order. If you can imagine a set of Russian dolls, nicely nested inside one another, each doll representing a profession and all its assorted attributes. The largest (nomothetic) doll contains simply the most generic professional notions. For example, professional "work must be full time" (Schott, 1976, p.254; Wilensky, 1964, p.142). The next smaller doll will contain a more nuanced professional notions including that the work must be full-time (ibid) and have "specialized training" (Kearney and Sinha, 1988, p.571). The dolls continually gain attributes *ad infinitum*. This analogy is meant to provide clarity to Mosher's (1978) statement that "it is tautological that every profession is in some ways different from all others; otherwise, we could hardly refer to them separately as professions" (p.146). This ability to nest differing professional conceptions together, while maintaining a distinction invariably becomes problematic. More specifically, when carried to a great extent, specialization becomes a type of task-specific invariant mechanistic function (i.e. Adam Smith's pin factory). Taken too broadly then the professional concept loses relevance (see: Wilensky, 1964).

56

This tautological view and the eventual rejection of professional differentiation rests on an undefined rubric or professionalness. If Wilensky (1964) approved of my doll analogy, he would argue that the law, the clergy, university teaching, and medicine were the first tautological dolls. However, as society is growing increasingly complex, the array of professional dolls is also expanding. Wilensky (1964) asserts that:

> *Dentistry, architecture, and some areas of engineering (e.g., civil engineering) were professionalized by the early 1900's; certified public engineering fields came along more recently. Some are still in process-social work, correctional work, veterinary medicine, perhaps city planning and various managerial jobs for nonprofit organizations-school superintendents, foundation executives, administrators of social agencies and hospitals. There are many borderline cases, such as school teaching, librarianship, nursing, pharmacy, optometry. Finally, many occupations will assert claims to professional status and find that the claims are honored by no one but themselves. I am inclined to place here occupations in which a market orientation is overwhelming public relations, advertising, and funeral directing.* (Wilensky, 1964, p.141-142)

The failure of particular occupations to gain professional legitimacy, from people other than themselves, relates back to the notion of action. Action, in the case of this theoretic, must have the ability to link individual and collective social action (see: Brownstein, 2010; Taylor, 1965). Returning to the doll analogy, an occupation's "fit" within the proverbial nest of professions is contingent upon how their actions are

57

perceived socially. In Wilensky's example, it is clear that two categories of dolls exist, the socially accepted type and the self-proclaimed.

5.1.1 Professional Field

The framework depicted in figure 5 portrays the professional concept as being a confluence of two abstract conceptions (see Appendix A). Those abstractions are (Y) the *public demand* for a good or service and (X) an occupations *receptivity* to those demands. The point at which these two abstract concepts converge is highly subjective. However, this framework allows for disparities in professional conceptions to be theoretically plotted in such a way that the interlocutor's professional contingencies can be portrayed.

The X-axis (Receptivity) represents, what I term, a *grand generalization*, which includes all claims toward being professional. Across the literature, the vast majority of professional claims fall within at least one of the three core categories (knowledge, motivation, accountability). These three categories represent professional contingencies upon which occupational actions are related back to society or the client. However, not all claims or actions are presumed to be professionally legitimate (Goode, 1960). Consequently, the X-axis is portrayed in this theoretic as spanning from highly professional, to nonprofessional, and finally into the realm of unprofessional.

Across this nomothetic spectrum, ideographic accounts of professional action can be situated. However, without an additional referent claims to being professional would, as Mosher stated, all be tautologies. To avoid a tautology, an appropriate referent must be related back to the nature of the literature and its portrayal of society. For that, I borrow from Parsons (1939) who depicts organizations and their actions as being responsive to public demands in either "typical" or "a-typical" ways.

58

Along the Y-axis is the *Demand*. Demand, in this model, represents the need for a good or service. Those demands, following Parsons (1939), assume there are two populations of service providers, (a-typical) public and (typical) non-public. This model therefore also necessarily assumes that there also exist two populations of professionals, which work towards meeting the public's demands. However, the nature of a good or service dictates the nature of who provides the service. That is to say, the demand for a good or service can be understood as a spectrum in which typical logics of occupational control (i.e. science or market) fail either nearly-none or nearly-all of the public.

This avoidance of superlatives is based upon Buchanan's (1999) assertion that "strictly speaking, no good or service fits the extreme or polar definition in any genuinely descriptive sense" (As cited in Gallouj, Rubalcaba-Bermejo, & Windrum, 2013, p.62). As such, this model avoids the purely-public/purely-private argument by assuming an asymptotic theoretic, wherein goods and services approach, but never reach a polar definition. Consequently, this theoretic portrays public and private professionals as two theoretical populations, which invariably, given Buchanan's assertion, converge. To paraphrase Dimaggio and Powell (1983), this convergence is a form of institutional isomorphism; wherein organizations become increasingly similar in structure as they "compete not just for resources and customers, but for social as well as economic fitness" (p.150).

5.1.2 Professional Curves

Within this 2-dimensional space exists theoretical room for professional generalizations to be plotted against a demand for goods and services. Beginning at what could be plotted as (0,0) represents a point at which there is no demand and, therefore, no

59

attempt to supply a good or service. Moving upward (Y) occupational logics, both public and non-public respond. The lower level plane represents the widest and proportionally most common class of workers, which are termed the "Rank & File" professionals (Freidson, 1984, p.1). Rank & file professionals are, according to Freidson, subordinate to "an administrative elite of professionals who serve as supervisors, managers, chief executives officers, and owners" (ibid). These administrative elite, however, rely upon the "knowledge elite" who are employed by professional schools and universities (ibid).

The relationship between the administrative elite and knowledge elite is made, graphically, at the interface between theory and practice. Core theory in all occupations, which claim some professional status, become institutionalized in role-relationships with society (Goode, 1954, p.903). However, these relationships evolve as theory evolves in a process, which legitimizes and delegitimizes occupational claims to legitimacy. This relationship is complicated by the complexity of public demands, which often require a mix of occupational expertise. This mixing is portrayed in figure 5, but is reformatted and simplified in figure 6 to demonstrate the convergence of typical and a-typical professions; wherein logics once thought to be outside the public domain become incorporated into the public realm.
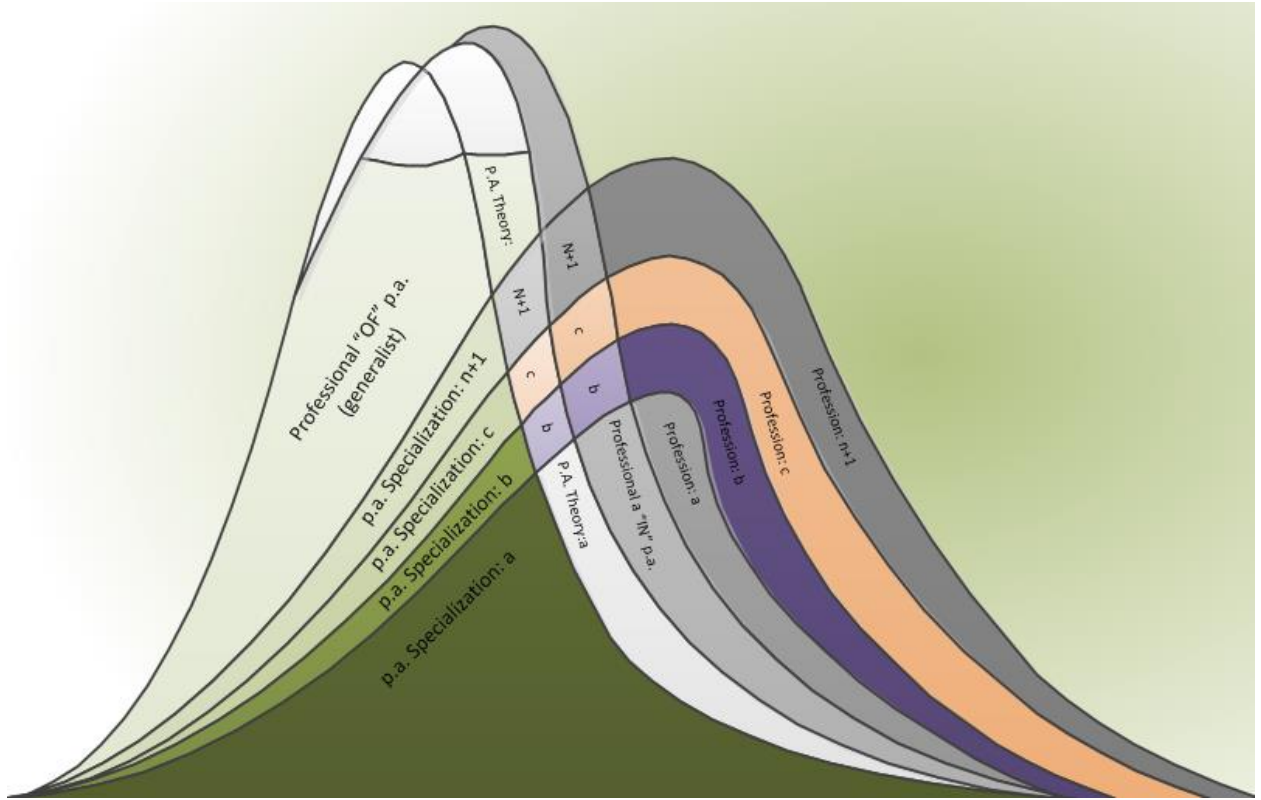
Figure 6

As noted earlier, the New Deal ushered in an era in which the government was welcomed to intervene in the purportedly self-regulating society. This intervention created the scenario in which it became difficult if not impossible to clearly distinguish between professionals *in* and professionals *of* public administration. In this framework, I portray the public and non-public goods and service providers converging. This convergence is a function of, according to Lowi (1969), interest group liberalism; wherein Congress assumes power and delegates authority, thus leading toward an expansion of government into areas not typically associated with the public sector (i.e. *Strengthening Access to Valuable Education and Retirement Support Act of 2015,* Federal Government's bailout of GM).

61

This convergence is arguably the source of much of the confusion surrounding public administration. The Network of Schools of Public Policy, Affairs, and Administration (NASPAA) has responded to this ambiguity by developing broad accreditation requirements, which promotes innovation and experimentation by allowing for public administration programs to become accredited by merely meeting the spirit of their provisions. This can be interpreted as a response to the dynamic and ever-changing needs placed upon the public sector. Whether it be a function of Congresses delegation of power or to social (i.e. environmental awareness) or technological changes (i.e. internet) the role relationship between the public sector and the public are ever changing. However, not all role-relationships survive to the point of institutionalization. As such, some trends (i.e. administration as science) fall from favor, while others endure (i.e. Fredrickson (1996) "Old wine new bottle"). The process of transitioning from the private-to-public or public-to-private realm implies a change in logic, which must be reflected in the theory. That transition is not seamless.

There is, I contend, areas in which theory and theory development become removed from society. They enter into a state of *anomie*, wherein the relationship of the theory and whom the theory will benefit, and why, become disconnected (or uncoupled). Donald Schon (1983) artfully portrays this upper portion of the curve, shown in figure 6, with what he describes as a dilemma of "rigor or relevance" (p.42).

In the varied topography of professional practice, there is a high, hard ground where practitioners can make effective research-based theory and technique, and there is a swampy lowland where situations are confusing "messes" incapable of technical solutions. The difficulty is that the

62

problems of the high ground, however great their technical interest, are

often relatively unimportant to clients or to larger society, while in the

swamp are the problems of greatest human concern. Shall the practitioner

stay on the high, hard ground where he can practice rigorously, as he

understands rigor, but where he is constrained to deal with problems of

relatively little social importance? Or shall he descend to the swamp

where he can engage the most important and challenging problems if he is

willing to forsake technical rigor?(Schon, 1983, p.42)

However, when new connections are made, and new theory is coupled with societal demand, I contend, it happens in a profound way, which I term the clapotis. *Clapotis* is a term I borrow from the hydrodynamic literature, which describes a wave being reflected, which in effect causes a doubling when two energies align. It is an appropriate metaphor for theoretic developments, which couple in new and exciting ways, which then redouble and stimulate further theory development.

The Clapotis area of the chart is a purely theoretical space wherein theory, practice, and societal demand converge. This point of convergence should be construed as an ideal-type scenario wherein the theoretical and practical dynamics are operating in harmony in such a way as to respond to a societal demand. Due to the highly abstract and largely theoretical nature of the concept, an ideal-type example does not exist. Despite the abstract nature of the concept, it can be practically understood as a confluence of events, whereby the public legitimizes the occupational behavior and the practitioners seek to extend that legitimacy by embracing new theory. Pugh (1989) provided the most appropriate proxy for this group when he stated that "the fifth characteristic of a

63

profession is a hall of fame, a gallery of luminaries" (p.3). In this category, he mentions Woodrow Wilson, Frank Goodnow, Charles Beard, and Louis Brownlow to name a few. These luminaries each contributed to public administration in such a way that the theoretical, practical, and societal aspects of public administration improved directly as a result of their efforts.

In cases where both theory and public demand fail to guide occupational action, uncertainty prevails. This uncertainty comes in the form of non-public management systems, in the public realm, failing to adapt to public goods and services. This incongruence in systems was said best by Wallace Sayre when he said: "public and private management are fundamentally alike in all unimportant respects" (as cited from Allison, 1986, p.214). Management of public systems is not the focus of this research. However, for this research, management can be understood a particular type of professional behavior. As figure 5 depicts, it is possible for professional behavior to be understood as fraught with uncertainty, particularly when goods and services are reconceived as being more public or more private. This uncertainty may also be conceived of as being the polar opposite to institutionalization.

The downward trend of the curves in Figure 5 are a theoretical function of what is described in the literature as a "paradoxical" effect of professionalism, which leads to occupations becoming nonprofessional or unprofessional (Golembiewski, 1983; Cigler, 1990). This paradox resides at the point where professions are conceived of as "an extension of Adam Smith's theory of the division of labor, made necessary by the increasing complexity of modern life" (Menand, 1995, p17); however, carried further division of labor leads to proletarianization (Freidson, 1984).

64

The proletarianization thesis emphasizes circumstances of professional

work in large organizations. This thesis stems from Marx's theory of

history, in which he asserts that over time the intrinsic characteristics of

capitalism will reduce virtually all workers to the status of the proletariat,

i.e. dependent on dealing their labor in order to survive stripped of all

control over substance and process of their work. (ibid, p.5)

This paradox is in a sense exacerbated by an attempt to resist proletarianizing

forces by attempting to maintain a monopoly over a particular occupation. Protectionism,

as it is portrayed in Golembiewski's (1983) article, represents the malign side of the

professionalization coin. This concept of protectionism is associated with

professionalization, wherein efforts to improve quality and ensure competency result is

ossification and supply destruction (ibid). Such actions, while ostensibly well intentioned,

work to the detriment of the public. More simply, occupational actions, which are

motivated by personal goals rather than by public demand should be construed as

unprofessional. In the literature, such behavior described as being egoist (Parsons, 1939)

or acquisitive (Willbern, 1954).

In figure 5 the protectionist orientation ranks as being unprofessional in the sense

that protectionist actions are antithetical to public demand for goods and services. They

are antithetical in that additional credentials and licensing are perceived as limiting the

supply of staff (and thus inflate wages) rather than ensure competency (Golembewski,

1983; Golembewski, 1984; Goode, 1957; Menand, 1995). Streib (2005) brings to light

the ostensibly specious nature of the relationship between credentials and competency

65

when he points out that professional credentials are given to those who complete the ICMA Applied Knowledge Assessment (AKA) test, which has no passing score (p.423).

5.2 Professional confluence

The professional theoretic as it is presented in this dissertation is markedly different than prior scholarly works because it can incorporate the descriptive efforts of the past into an abstract framework suited toward theory development. Within the dimensional space shown in figure 5 all variations, or permutations, of the professional concept with regard to the skills, knowledge, and training can be grounded upon a professional theoretic, which utilizes the *verstehen* method to relate occupational action to the public demand in terms, which can be construed as professional, all while avoiding the issue of nomothetic and ideographic entrapment (Rodwell 1998) . This relational space also allows for occupational behavior to be conceived of as being a professional *in* or professional *of* public administration.

This flexibility of this theoretic advances our understanding of professional behavior in public administration for several reasons. Firstly, this framework allows for the incorporation of *typical* logics into the public domain. Science, politics, education, engineering, to name a few will continue to professionalize in their own terms. As the demands upon the public sector grow, so too will public administration's ability to incorporate the knowledge and skills of non-public administration occupations. Secondly, this framework provides a logical nexus between theory and practice based upon professional assertions. The nature of the problem (be it typical or atypical) and the resolution or mitigation of said problem, according to this framework, are necessarily restricted to being discussed in terms of public utility. Finally, this framework allows for

contextual considerations. That is to say, within this theoretical space, it becomes possible to conceive of the range of various factors, which contribute to occupational action being construed as professional or otherwise.

Chapter 6: Discussion

6.1 Discussion

The theoretic presented here responds to the assertion that much has been said, but little has been worth building upon in terms of understanding how the professional concept relates to public administration. After recursively examining the extant literature it became apparent that descriptive professional characterizations are not able to be comparatively analyzed (Frendreis and Vertz, 1988). Contextual elements and subjective accounts of the professional context, as they were, failed to ground the concept in terms worthy of building upon. Therefore, a framework has been developed, which allows for descriptors found in the extant literature to be abstracted in terms of their ability to respond to public demands.

This theoretic provides the necessary link between professional claims and public sanctioning of behavior. It does so by understanding the marketplace as being comprised of what Parsons (1939) calls *typical* and *a-typical* logics of control. These logics refer to differing perspectives on the relationship between individual and collective social action. As shown in figure 5 public administration both influences and is influenced by occupations traditionally conceived of as being outside the public domain. While the causes and consequences of public sector expansion are not agreed upon, sufficient evidence exists to assert that the public sector is indeed becoming more professionalized (Cigler, 1990; Frendreis and Vertz, 1988). Professionalized, as it is used here refers to the

incorporation of occupational norms and practices, which respond to public demands for goods and services.

This professional perspective is reflexive in the Foucaultian sense, in that the professional concept is constantly being "ordered by the present state of knowledge" (1960, p.5). Knowledge, in this case, refers to the public sanctioning of particular types of occupational behavior. For those who subscribe to Lowi's (1979) interest group liberalism theory, the New Deal provides an excellent example wherein the public sanctioned public organization to participate in historically private affairs of the free market. However, if that example appears specious, there exists decades of New Public Management (see: Fredrickson, 1996) examples in which the free market attempts to recapture the duties of providing goods and services provided by the public sector; or managerial and entrepreneurial approaches are marketed as a means of improving public sector functionality (Gultekin, 2011). Either way, the theoretic presented here provides a cogent means of relating occupational behavior to the public in terms, which can be understood as being more or less professional. Furthermore, it provides a means of denoting an individual being "a professional *of* public administration or a professional *in* public administration" (Gargan, 1989, p.967). These classifications may appear overly nuanced. However, I argue there are real implications regarding the determination of what information should be conveyed to future generations.

6.2 Professional Ontic

The extant literature portrays the professional concept in what could be considered ontic terms, wherein the professional concept is treated as an object. However, as has been asserted throughout this research, there is no objective professional reality.

Said differently, there exist no grounds on which to assume that the professional concept exists anywhere external to, or apart from, humanity. Instead, categories, which emerged as relevant suggest that efforts to delimit or denote the professional concept are merely artifacts of a process of thematisation. Thematisation, according to Hung (2012), "is an intentional, conscious and active transformation of the vague and straightforward…living experiences into ordered and organized experiences according to particular goals, concepts, and interests" (p. 1122).

Societies, to a certain extent, enjoy having a common basis, or mutually understandable background of shared living experiences, which inform their ability to construct meaning. Husserl (1970) coins the term "lifeworld" to signify the way in which lived experiences contribute to the way in which we evolve to see the world. Hung (2012) describes it as "a realm of lived experiences" (p.1122). These lived experiences were far removed from the positivist perspectives, which assume that an objective reality exists. Instead, Hung (2012) asserts that the concept of the lifeworld is comprised of two perspectives. The first of which seeks "to understand the lifeworld as the world of our common, immediate, lived experience. The second one, drawing from Merleau-Ponty, is to understand the lifeworld as a personal (not completely common) world of immediate and lived experiences" (p.1124). Hung's "lifeworld" mirrors the nomothetic/idiographic framework mentioned earlier, in that there exist two planes of understanding; one common and broad, the other individual and specific. However, the professional concept when viewed from a societal perspective presents as a type of exclusive lifeworld available to specific individuals.

70

Between the first layers of higher order, societally *common*-lifeworld experiences, and the lower order, *personal*-type exists a *professional*-type. This professional level represents an occupational lifeworld, in which the occupation (or organization in some cases) employs a type of professional rubric to guide the way in which meaning is constituted. Habermas (1986) stated that "the concept of communicative action presupposes the use of language as a medium for a kind of reaching understanding, in the course of which participants, through relating to a world, reciprocally raise validity claims that can be accepted or contested" (p.99). Within the professional realm, the "world" is constrained by validity claims, which revolve around the three conceptually relevant categories mentioned earlier (knowledge, motivation, and accountability).

Knowledge, for example, provides a plethora of examples in which the communicative patterns of particular individuals or groups of individuals become uncommon. Wittgenstein (1922) said, "the limits of my language are the limits of my world" (p.74). In the case of professions, knowledge, and the language associated with that knowledge is often perceived of as an impediment to common communication. I borrow at length from Jackson (1970) who makes precisely this point by saying:

> *If one views professions along lines of the more cynical approach enjoined*
> *by Schumter it is helpful to see them in terms of their monopoly over*
> *certain resources (knowledge) which are appropriate to certain social*
> *needs. The niche which they have established as the basis of theory*
> *exploitation of these resources and the activates which derive from them*
> *will clearly vary in the extent to which they allow a development of the*
> *area- and one will see a tension develop between a process of*

71

mystification (neologisms, research, creation of knowledge, etc.) and

demythologization. (Jackson, 1970, p.7)

As was made evident by Willbern (1954), the Democratic niche of public administration affords little in the way of monopolistic latitude. However, the mercurial line between what goods and services are under the public domain are ever changing. Consequently, as professions shift into the public realm, their ability to exploit a monopoly over the knowledge resource is challenged. Conversely, when public goods and services are outsourced or privatized one may expect there to be an increase in the mystification of knowledge. Therefore, in terms of communicative action, the latter trend could be argued to impede the manner in which participants "reciprocally raise validity claims that can be accepted or rejected" (Habermas, 1986, p.99).

Regarding motivation, economic and bureaucratic systems become the purveyor of both money and power (Jutten, 2011, p.705). These systems operate simultaneously with the lifeworld to form a "two-part system known as society" (Jutten, 2011, p.704). Problems arise, however when the systems become norm-free; at which point the concept of communicative action and its process of "social integration is replaced by system integration" (ibid, p.705).

The notion of *social integration* and *system integration* as being antithetical to one another is not entirely unique to Habermas's concept of society. A similar example exists in the professionalization literature, which asserts that there exists "an inverse relationship between professionalization and bureaucratization" (Hall, 1968, p.95). This purportedly inverse relationship is analogous to Habermas's colonization thesis, wherein communicative action between professionals is considered incompatible with Weberian

72

(2003) bureaucratic systems (i.e. iron cage). However, seeing that the bureaucratic term is nearly as amorphous as the term professional it may be prudent to refine this point down to the communicative level. Organizations (public or private) are subject to reifying trends.

> *According to Honneth (2008a), reification has three progressive aspects*
> *for the subjects of commodity exchange. First, actors come to view their*
> *environments as composed of ''objects'' that serve as constraints or*
> *opportunities for commodity exchange. Second, they learn to view their*
> *fellow human beings as ''objects'' of economic transaction. Finally, they*
> *come to see themselves as ''objects,'' defined by what they can offer to*
> *others in terms of commodity exchange and human capital. Each of these*
> *forms of reification is related to the others in that each decontextualizes its*
> *respective objects from their origins in networks of social recognition,*
> *viewing things, others, or themselves in isolated, disembedded terms*
> *(Berger and Pullberg 1966).*(Islam, 2012, p.40)

Reification and the process of decontextualization develop into what Hall (1968) identifies as "a strong negative relationship between professional attitude and the procedural specifications dimension" (p.102). However, "in some cases, an equilibrium may exist between the levels of professionalization and bureaucratization in the sense that a particular level of professionalization may require a certain level of bureaucratization to maintain social control" (ibid, p.104). The point of equilibrium in the professional realm would rely upon an occupations ability to resists typical forces of "efficiency and self-interest" (Menand, 1995, p.17).

Concerning the emergent concept of *accountability,* there exist numerous points at which the professional lifeworld become uncommon. Accountability may be viewed narrowly in terms of credentialing or licensure of practitioners to perform a type of work (Streib, 2005; Golembewski, 1983). However, it may also be viewed more broadly as being societally predicated; wherein the public dictates which occupations can claim legitimacy over a particular social problem (Olufs, 1985). These endogenous and exogenous forces guide occupational behavior in such a way that their actions can be construed as being professional. The term professional in this instance is transactional in that the endogenous and exogenous forces afford an occupation its degree of prestige, autonomy, or authority over a particular domain. Haga's (1976) librarian demonstrates that a practitioner's understanding and interpretation of whom they are accountable to is highly subjective. As such, the professional life-world is heterogeneous in terms of the myriad of different ways in which a practitioner can understand and interpret endogenous and exogenous accountability efforts.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

While much has been said about public administration and its professional status, little has been worth acting upon. Assertions found in the extant scholarship offer remarkable insights into the professional concept, but they lack a means of framing or grounding their assertion in any relative fashion. As such, the ability to identify professional occupational behavior has remained a mystery. Never the less, the practice of public administration has eschewed this misapprehension and continued to work towards appearing professional; as is evidenced by the actions of both ASPA and NASPAA (Kearney and Sinha, 1988, p.574). Such efforts to simply emulate the more highly regarded professional occupations is insufficient. What is required is a deeper understanding of how the term relates to the study and the practice of public administration; only then can we begin to discuss the causes and consequences of professionalization.

The framework developed as a result of this grounded theory research affords us a degree of heuristic utility, which until now has been absent from both the study and the practice of public administration. By adopting an abstract perspective, which acknowledges, but avoids reification of professional objects it becomes possible to conceive of the professional concept in a plurality of ways. By doing so, the debate as to the roles, skills, and requirements of future generations of public administrators becomes theoretically grounded to the presumed nexus between individual action and public demand for goods and services.

The framework depicted in figure 5 is a generalization in which the dynamics of occupational action can be juxtaposed to changes in the public sphere. Historical accounts of public sector expansion, as it is perceived by both Lowi and Wilson, fit nicely into this framework; for it allows both the expansion of the public into the private sector and the private into the public. Issues of congressional abdication (Lowi, 1979) and agency capture (Wilson, 1989) can (I argue) be explained as a confluence of typical and atypical forms of occupational control. Neither of which is unto itself superior; instead, each offers their own utility in terms of relating individual to collective social action. However, the lack of a common denominator, so to speak, has resulted in an ontological stalemate, whereby occupational status was unnecessarily parsed into mutually exclusive terms (i.e. professional *of* vs. professional *in*) designed to protect supposed professional domains. The theoretic, as I have attempted to portray it, provides an ontological denominator, which allows for not only competing claims and interpretations, but it also provides space for theory development and evolution.

Public administration has continuously struggled to delineate why it should rank highly amongst the other purportedly more recognized fields, such as political science, sociology, and economics. However, the absence of a transferable and intellectually rigorous domain of knowledge has relegated public administration to be known as a *field* and even "big-tent" rather than an area of study (Perry, 2016, p.212). This is not a weakness. It is a common conception, which incorrectly assumes that public administration is subordinate to lexicologically minded professions. The framework presented in this thesis, I hope, will begin to disabuse people of that perception. What I have attempted to do is celebrate, rather than diminish, the fact that public administration

76

can and does incorporate theory from typical occupations. When public administrators pursue actions predicated upon theory to ends, which work toward the public's betterment, there leaves little doubt that public administration can be, and often is, a true profession.

7.1 Application and limitation of this inquiry

This framework will be of the most utility to Universities with public administration programs, which seek to refine or adapt their coursework to fit the evolving public sector. Anecdotally, we have witnessed transitions in public administration, which have shifted from the engineering intensive mindset presented after WWII to a post-Great Recession mindset steeped in fiscal responsibility. These events as well as 9-11, the proliferation of the internet, and climate change all, to paraphrase Foucault (1960), reorder our present state of knowledge. This reordering enlightens our perception of professional behavior. As such, the consideration with which we choose what knowledge and information should be transferred to future generation should be subject to a theoretic such as this one, which allows for a plurality of perspectives based on contingencies held by the interlocutors.

The theoretic presented in this inquiry is a product of the constant comparative method. In effect, this method allowed for the synthesis the extant literature into a framework, which favors explanatory power rather than validity and reproducibility. As such, this theoretic should be used to develop new lines of inquiry. Inquiries, which transcend this research by entering into the theoretical (practical) realm. This inquiry is just the first step. The ultimate goal of this researcher is to contribute towards the development of a means of understanding the causes and consequences of

77

professionalization. To that end, I will conclude with what I feel would be useful and novel inquiries.

7.2 Future Research

At the outset of this research, I acknowledged Davenport & Prusak's (op. cit.) elegant description of qualitative research, which describes it as a process in which data is used to develop information, which then leads toward the development of knowledge and eventually wisdom. The framework presented in this research can be understood as being a first step toward developing knowledge pertaining to the professional concept in public administration. That is to say; this researcher has taken the first step and utilized the scholarly public administration literature as data. After applying a constant comparative technique, new information became apparent, which took the shape of a theoretical framework, which portrays professional occupational behavior as being a confluence of the application of theory to resolve societal issues. In this section, I will make mention of future research which can utilize this new framework as information toward the ends of creating knowledge.

Future researchers should first understand that the implications of utilizing the professional concept to embody the nexus of theory and practice could be profound. However, the professional concept, much like public administration theory, must continue to evolve and adapt to meet not only the needs of today but also the needs of tomorrow. As such, this framework as you see it is already outdated. While I assume that professional arguments will continue to be predicated upon propositions involving things like knowledge, motivation, and accountability there is little room for doubt that new propositions will arise, which will challenge or redefine how we perceive this

78

professional concept. As such, it will be incumbent upon future researchers to identify how those propositions evolve and to be cognizant of if those new propositions in keeping with the thesis presented here, which understands professional occupational behavior as the confluence of theory and practice, which works towards resolving societal issues?

Armed with this new theoretical information pertaining to the professional concept, it becomes possible to begin to drill down into this professional concept in a more purposeful manner. That is to say; future researchers should utilize this framework, but also be critical of it, and seek to challenge and/or refine this information in such a way that we can avoid (or resolve, depending on your perspective) what McGuian (2011) calls a "crisis of professionalism" (p.560). A prudent starting point (I suggest) would be to seek out or develop data sets to test the hypothesis that public administration theory is expanding by incorporating and developing public administration specific theory. Anecdotally, the engineering intensive mindset presented after WWII and the post-Great Recession mindset steeped in fiscal responsibility appear to be appropriate examples in which societal needs have driven the need for public administration to revise and adapt theory to meet the needs of society.

If the thesis presented in this research is even partially valid, such data would presumably show that P.A. theory "a," "b," "c," "n+1" may become evident during the application of exploratory statistical techniques such as principal component analysis. Furthermore, from an obverse perspective it stands to reason that professions outside of public administration have had to incorporate theory from public administration; such an occurrence could be understood as evidence of isomorphic convergence. The point of

79

these rather narrowly constructed examples is that the theoretic presented in this research represents a theoretical framework grounded in the literature, which is worthy of extending theory from.

Regardless of what line of inquiry you (the reader) pursue, I would ask that if you consider invoking the professional term, you do it in a purposeful manner. I suggest that the professional framework presented herein be used to predicate any professional public administrative propositions so that your propositions can be appropriately subject to further and future scrutiny in a testable and repeatable fashion. It is with this move toward developing a more refined or structure conception of the professional concept that we can begin to create knowledge surrounding the professional public administrator.

Appendices

81

Appendix A

Reformatted approximation of hand written open codes and focused codes.
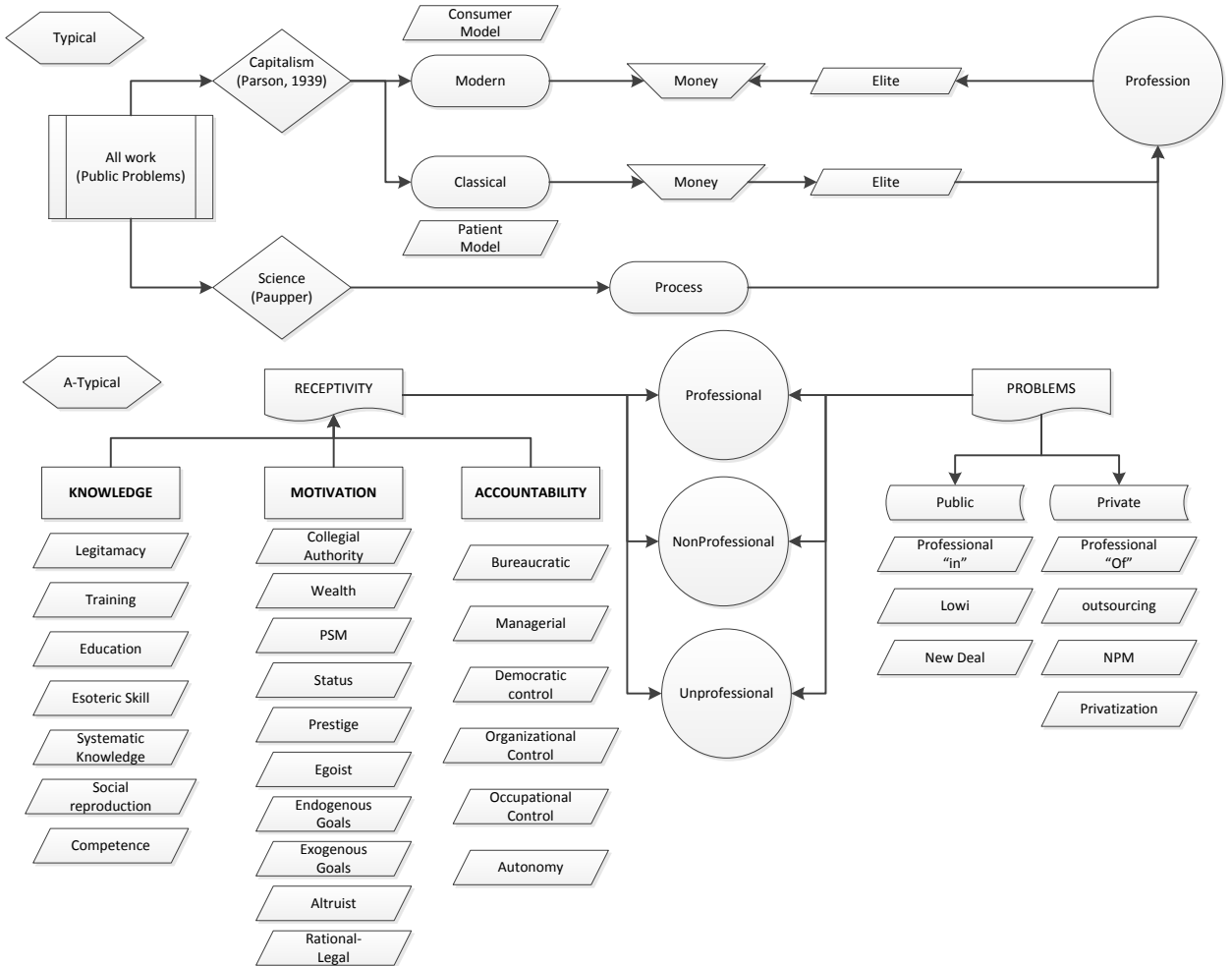
Bibliography

Abcarian, G., & Kirn, M. (1977). Professionalism and public administration: A critique. *Public Administration Review*, *37*(1), 121-122.

About ASPA. (n.d.). Retrieved January 13, 2016, from

http://www.aspanet.org/public/ASPA/About_ASPA/About_ASPA.aspx

Allison, G. T. (1986). Public and Private Management: Are they Fundamentally alike in All Unimportant respects? *Current Issues in Public Administration*, 184-200.

Barber, B. (1963). Some problems in the sociology of the professions. *Daedalus*, *92*(4), 669-668.

Barthes, R. (1983). *Elements of semiology*. New York, NY: Hill & Wang.

Berard, T. (2009). Membership categorization analysis (mca). In S. W. Littlejohn & K. A. Foss (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of communication theory* (Vol. 2, pp. 650-650). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd. doi: 10.4135/9781412959384.n241

Brownstein, M. (2009). Conceptuality and Practical Action: A Critique of Charles Taylor's Verstehen Social Theory. *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, *40*(1), 59-83. doi:10.1177/0048393109350841

Buchanan, James M. *The Demand and Supply of Public Goods*. 1999. Library of Economics and Liberty. Retrieved December 3, 2015, from the World Wide Web: http://www.econlib.org/library/Buchanan/buchCv5c4.html

83

Bureau, S., & Suquet, J. (2009). A professionalization framework to understand the structuring of work. *European Management Journal*, *27*(6), 467-475. doi:10.1016/j.emj.2009.02.001

Capron, W. M. (1976). A response to Thayer. *Public Administration Review*, *36*(2), 247-248.

Charmaz, K. (2000). Constructivist and objectivist grounded theory. In N. K. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 509–535). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. London: Sage Publications.

Chenail, R. J. (2012). Conducting qualitative data analysis: Qualitative data analysis as a metaphoric process. *The Qualitative Report*, *17*(1), 248-254. Retrieved from http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR17-1/chenail-metaphor.pdf

Christiaens, W. (2006). Basic Ontology and the Ontology of the Phenomenological Life World: A Proposal. *Foundations of Science*, *11*(3), 249-274. doi:10.1007/s10699-004-5909-y

Christiansen, Ó. (2007). A Simpler Understanding of Classic GT: How it is a fundamentally different methodology. *Grounded Theory Review: An International Journal, 6*(3).

Cho, J. Y., & Lee, E. (n.d.). Reducing Confusion about Grounded Theory and Qualitative Content Analysis: Similarities and Differences. *The Qualitative Report, 19*(64), 1-20.

Cigler, B. (1990). Public administration and the paradox of professionalization. *Public Administration Review*, *50*(6), 637-653.

Cogan, M. (1955). The problem of defining a profession. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *Jan*, 105-111.

Denhardt, R. (2008). *Theories of public organization*. Belmont, CA: Thomas Wadsworth.

Dimaggio, P. J., & Powell, W. W. (1983). The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields. *American Sociological Review, 48*(2), 147-160. doi:10.2307/2095101

Dreyfus, H. L. (1991). *Being-in-the-world: A Commentary on Heidegger's Being and Time, Division I*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

Eimicke, W. (1974). Professionalism and participation: Compatible means to improved social services?. *Public Administration Review*, *34*(4), 409-414.

Evetts, J. (2009). New professionalism and new public management: Changes, continuities, and consequences. *Comparative Sociology*, *8*, 247-266.

Ferdinand de Saussure. *Course in General Linguistics. (1959)* The Philosophical Library, New York City. http://www.decodedscience.org/saussure-understanding-the-linguistic-value-of-language-signs/20941

Flexner, A. (1915). Is social work a profession? *National conference of charities and correction*. Hildman Printing Co., Chicago.

Foucault, M., & Sheridan, A. (1972). *The archeology of knowledge*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Freidson, E. "The Changing Nature of Professional Control." *Annual Review of Sociology* 10.1 (1984): 1-20.

1

French, P., & Emerson, M. (2014). Assessing the Variations in Reward Preference for

      Local Government Employees in Terms of Position, Public Service Motivation,

      and Public Sector Motivation. *Public Performance & Management Review, 37*(4),

      552-576.

Frendreis, J. P., & Vertz, L. L. (1988). A model of decision making and the public

      service professional. *Political Behavior*, *10*(1), 77-93. doi:10.1007/bf00989381

Gallouj, F., Rubalcaba-Bermejo, L., & Windrum, P. (2013). *Public-private innovation*

      networks in services.

Gargan, J. (1989) The Public Administration Community and the Search for

      Professionalism, Rabin, J., Hildreth, W., & Miller, G. (1989). *Handbook of Public*

      Administration. New York: M. Dekker.

Glaser G. Barney and Strauss L. Anselm (1965). Awareness of dying. *The Annals of the*

      American Academy of Political and Social Science, 366(1), 202-203.

      doi:10.1177/00027162663660018Glaser, B. G. (2012). Constructivist Grounded

      Theory? *Grounded Theory Review, 14*(1), 11th ser., 28-38.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1999). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for*

      qualitative research. New Brunswick, N. J.: Aldine Publishing.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (2009). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for*

      qualitative research. New Brunswick, N. J.: Aldine Publishing.

Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for*

      qualitative research. Chicago: Aldine Pub.

Golden, R. (2013). Northern Twilight: SUNY and the decline of the public

      comprehensive college. *Thought & Action, 29*, 45.

Golembiewski, R. T. (1983). Professionalization, Performance, and Protectionism: A

Contingency View. *Public Productivity Review*, *7*(3), 251-268.

doi:10.2307/3380328

Gomm, R., Hammersley, M., & Foster, P. (2000). *Case study method: Key issues, key

texts*. London: SAGE.

Goode, W. (1957). Community within a community: The professions. *American

Sociological Review, 22:* 194-200.

Goode, W. (1960). Encroachment, charlatanism, and the emerging profession:

psychology, medicine, and sociology. *American Sociological Review*, *25*, 902-

914.

Green, R, Wamsley, G, & Keller, L. (1993). Reconstituting a profession for American

public administration. *Public Administration Review*, *53*(6), 516-524.

Gültekin, S. (2011). New public management: Is it really new? *International Journal of

Human Sciences* [Online]. 8:2. Available: http://www.insanbilimleri.com/en

Habermas, J. (1990). *Moral Consciousness and Communicative Action*. Cambridge,

Mass: MIT Press.

Haga, W. (1976). Managerial professionalism and the use of organization resources.

American Journal of Economics and Sociology, *35*(4), 337-348.

Hall, R. (1968). Professionalization and bureaucratization. *American Sociological

Review*, *33*(1), 92-104.

Hilling, Helen C. (1966) Public Administration: Study, Practice, Profession, *Public

Administration Review,* 26(Dec.): 320-328.

Hoggett, P., Mayo, M., & Miller, C. (2006). Private Passions, the Public Good and Public Service Reform. *Social Policy & Admin Social Policy & Administration, 40*(7), 758-773. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9515.2006.00531.x

Honneth, A. (2008a). Reification and recognition: A new look at an old idea. In M. Jay (Ed.), Reification: A new look at an old idea (pp. 17–96). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hung, R. (2012). A Lifeworld Critique of 'Nature' in the Taiwanese Curriculum: A perspective derived from Husserl and Merleau-Ponty. *Educational Philosophy and Theory, 44*(10), 1121-1132. doi:10.1111/j.1469-5812.2009.00629.x

Hussein, M. E., Hirst, S., Salyers, V., & Osuji, J. (n.d.). Using Grounded Theory as a Method of Inquiry: Advantages and Disadvantages [Abstract]. *The Qualitative Report, 19*(13), 1-15.

Islam, G. (2012). Recognition, Reification, and Practices of Forgetting: Ethical Implications of Human Resource Management. *J Bus Ethics Journal of Business Ethics, 111*(1), 37-48. doi:10.1007/s10551-012-1433-0

Jennings, B. (1987). Public Administration: In Search of Democratic Professionalism. *The Hastings Center Report*, *17*(1), 18-20.

Jones, J. (2009). Selection of Grounded Theory as an Appropriate Research Methodology for a Dissertation: One Student's Perspective. *Grounded Theory Review: An International Journal, 8*(2), None-None. Retrieved September 13, 2015, from http://groundedtheoryreview.com/2009/06/30/908/

Jütten, T. (2011). The Colonization Thesis: Habermas on Reification. *International Journal of Philosophical Studies, 19*(5), 701-727. doi:10.1080/09672559.2011.629672

Kearney, R, & Sinha, C. (1988). Professionalism and bureaucratic responsiveness: conflict or compatibility?. *Public Administration Review*, *48*(1), 571-579.

Kingdon, J. (1984). *Agendas, alternatives, and public policies*. Boston: Little, Brown.

Kline, E. (1981). To be a professional. *Southern Review of Public Administration*, *5*(3), 258-281.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Lowe, E. J. (2007). Sortals and the Individuation of Objects. *Mind & Language*, *22*(5), 514-533. doi:10.1111/j.1468-0017.2007.00318.x

Lowi, T. (1979). *The end of liberalism: The second republic of the United States* (2d ed.). New York: Norton.

Mankiw, N. (2015). *Principles of microeconomics*. Stamford, CT: Cengage Learning.

Marutello, F. (1981). The Semantic Definition of a Profession. *Southern Review of Public Administration*, *5*(3), 246–257. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/40860032

iMayring, Philipp. Qualitative Content Analysis. Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research, [S.l.], v. 1, n. 2, June 2000. ISSN 1438-5627. Available at: <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1089/2385>.

McGuigan, G. S. (2011). Crisis of professionalism in public services: Addressing challenges to librarianship from a public administration perspective. *Library Review*, *60*(7), 560-574.

Menand, L. (1995). The Trashing of Professionalism. *Academe, 81*(3), 16-19.

Merriam, S. B., & Simpson, E. L. (2000). A guide to research for educators and trainers of adults (2nd Edition). Malabar, FL: Kriege

Merton, R. K. (1958). The functions of the professional association, *American Journal of Nursing*, *58*(1), 50-54.

Morrissey, E, & Gillespie, Initials. (1975). Technology and the conflict of professionals in bureaucratic organizations. *The Sociological Quarterly*, *16*(3), 319-332.

Mosher, F. (1978). Professions in public service. *Public Administration Review*, *38*(2), 144-150.

Mosher, F. C. (2011, October 17). *Monograph* [Mosher (1973)]. University of California.

Mosher, W. (1938). Public administration: the profession of public service. *The American Political Science Review*, *32*(2), 332-342.

Moynihan, D. P., & Pandey, S. K.. (2007). The Role of Organizations in Fostering Public Service Motivation. *Public Administration Review*, *67*(1), 40–53. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4624539

Muzio, D., Brock, D., & Suddaby, R. (2013). Professions and Institutional Change: Towards an Institutionalist Sociology of the Professions. *Journal of Management Studies, 50*(5), 699-721.

Olufs, D. (1985). The limits of professionalism. *Southern Review of Public Administration*, *9*(1), 26-47.

Ostrom, V. (1975). Public Choice Theory: A New Approach to Institutional Economics. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics, 57*(5), 844-850. doi:10.2307/1239090

Perry, J. L. (2016). Is Public Administration Vanishing? *Public Administration Review Public Admin Rev, 76*(2), 211-212. doi:10.1111/puar.12534

Perry, J. L., & Valotti, G. (2012). Public Service Motivation: The Other Side of the Public Sector Productivity. In G. Tria (Ed.), *Reforming the Public Sector: How to achieve better transparency, service, and leadership* (pp. 51-67). Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute.

Parsons, T. (1939). The professions and social structures. *Social Forces*, *17*(4), 457-467.

Peters, G. (2001). *The politics of bureaucracy*. New York, NY: Routledge

Peters, B. G., & Pierre, J. (2002). *Handbook of public administration*. London: Sage Publications.

Puddephatt, A. J. (2006). An interview with Kathy Charmaz: On constructing grounded theory. *Qualitative Sociology Review, 2*(3) Retrieved from http://ezproxy.fau.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1002327329?accountid=10902

Pugh, D. (1989). Professionalism in public administration: Problems, perspectives, and the role of ASPA. *Public Administration Review*, *49*(1), 1-8.

Rafaeli, A., Dutton, J., Harquail, C. V., & Mackie-Lewis, S.. (1997). Navigating by Attire: The Use of Dress by Female Administrative Employees. *The Academy of Management Journal*, *40*(1), 9–45. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/257019

Rodwell, M. K. (1998). *Social work, constructivist research*. New York: Garland Pub.

Russell, B. (2013) *The Problems Of Philosophy*. Retrieved from

    http://www.gutenberg.org/files/5827/5827-h/5827-h.htm#link2HCH0001

Savers Act of 2015, H. R. 4294, 114th CONGRESS Cong.,

    Https://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/114/hr4294/text (2016).

Schaefer, D. (1988). Theodore J. Lowi and the Administrative State. *Administration &*

    Society, 19(4), 371-398.

Schön, D. A. (1983). *The reflective practitioner: How professionals think in action*. New

    York: Basic Books.

Schott, R. (1976). Public administration as a profession: problems and prospects. *Public*

    Administration Review, *36*(3), 253-259.

Scott, J. (2000) Rational Choice Theory. In Browning, G. K. Editor, Halcli, A. Editor, &

    Webster, F. Editor (2000). *Understanding contemporary society: Theories of the*

    present. (p.126-139) London: SAGE.

Sherwood, F. P. (1997). Responding to the decline in public service professionalism.

    Public Administration Review, 57(3), 211-217. Retrieved from

    http://ezproxy.fau.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/839054512?

    accountid=10902

Sloan, L., & Wahab, S. (2004). Four categories of women who work as topless dancers.

    Sexuality & Culture, 8(1), 18-43. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s12119-004-1003-4

Snizek, W. E.. (1972). Hall's Professionalism Scale: An Empirical Reassessment.

    American Sociological Review, *37*(1), 109–114. Retrieved from

    http://www.jstor.org/stable/2093498

Stewart, D. (1985). Ethics and the Profession of Public Administration: The Moral Responsibility Of Individuals In Public Sector Organizations. *Public Administration Quarterly*, *8*(4), 487–495. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/40861050

Stocker, B. (2006). *Routledge Philosophy Guidebook to Derrida on Deconstruction*. London: Routledge.

Stokoe, E. (2012). Moving forward with membership categorization analysis: Methods for systematic analysis. *Discourse Studies, 14*(3), 277-303. doi:10.1177/1461445612441534

Streib, G.. (2005). Quantifying the Knowledge of Public Management Professionals: Developing an Assessment Tool for Local Government Managers. *Public Performance & Management Review*, *28*(3), 418–436. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/3381160

Svara, J. H., & Terry, L. D. (2009). The present challenges to aspa as an association that promotes public professionalism. *Public Administration Review*, *69*(6), 1050-1060.

theoretic. (n.d.). *Collins English Dictionary - Complete & Unabridged 10th Edition*. Retrieved January 08, 2016 from Dictionary.com website http://www.dictionary.com/browse/theoretic

Toren, N. (1976). Bureaucracy and professionalism: A reconsideration of weber's thesis. *The Academy of Management Review*, *1*(3), 36-46.

Trochim, W. (2006). Deduction & Induction. Retrieved from http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/dedind.php

9

Tucker, W. T. (1965). Max Weber's Verstehen. *Sociological Quarterly*, *6*(2), 157-164. doi:10.1111/j.1533-8525.1965.tb01649.x

Vandenabeele, W. (2007). Toward a public administration theory of public service motivation. *Public Management Review*, *9*(4), 545-556. doi:10.1080/14719030701726697

Waldo, D. (1961). *Organization theory: An elephantine problem*. Berkeley: University of California.

Weber, M., & Parsons, T. (2003). *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications.

Wilbern, Y. (1954). Professionalization in the public service: Too little or too much?. *Public Administration Review*, *14*(1), 13-21.

Wilensky, H. (1964). The professionalization of everyone?. *The American Journal of Sociology*, *70*(2), 138-158.

Wilson, J. (1989). *Bureaucracy: What government agencies do and why they do it*. New York: Basic Books.

Wirt, F. (1981). Professionalism and Political Conflict: A Developmental Model. *J. Public Pol*icy *1*(01), 61-93. doi:10.1017/s0143814x00001367

Yan, S., & Ming, F. (2015). Reinterpreting some key concepts in Barthes' theory. *Journal of Media and Communication Studies, 7*(3), 59-66. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.5897/JMCS2014.0412