

# 5 | *Professions and Civic Engagement: Trends in Rhetoric and Practice, 1875–1995*

STEVEN BRINT

CHARLES S. LEVY

**I**N *Democracy in America*, Tocqueville placed great importance on the “art of association” as a key to the strength of American democracy: “Americans of all ages, all stations of life, and all types of disposition are forever forming associations. There are not only commercial and industrial associations in which all take part, but others of a thousand different types—religious, moral, serious, futile, very general and very limited, immensely large and very minute.”<sup>1</sup> Since the mid-1980s, a number of commentators have expressed unease about trends in community and civic involvement in the United States.<sup>2</sup> Many have contrasted Americans today with those described by Tocqueville a century and a half ago. Virtually all of the contemporary discussion has focused on

We would like to thank the following people from the professional associations in our sample for help in the preparation of this paper: Jean Bonwill, Rena Calabrese, Rhea Farberman, Ann Kurzius, Daryl Limpus, Darnea S. McCoy, Kimya Morris, Tracy Moxley, Rosemary Rathz, June Scangarello, Robert Tenuta, Phil Simon, and Tony Wrenn. We would also like to thank the following people from colleges and universities in our sample: Curtis Ayres, Cory Bowman, Irene Hegarty, Sidney Holmes, Debra S. Levine, Don Pattison, William Roberts, Jack Shannon, Bonnie Wallis, and Henry S. Weber. We are grateful for comments we received on the paper from Thomas Brante, Marshall Ganz, Peter Dobkin Hall, Virginia Hodgkinson, Robert Putnam, Theda Skocpol, and Robert Wuthnow. Jerry A. Jacobs offered assistance in data collection at the University of Pennsylvania.

1. Tocqueville ([1840] 1961, Vol. 2: p. 128).

2. Bellah et al. (1985); Etzioni (1993); Putnam (1995); and Putnam (1996).

trends in the participation of individuals—in political activities,<sup>3</sup> in community organizations (such as the PTA and the Rotary Club),<sup>4</sup> in charitable giving,<sup>5</sup> and in institutions of religious worship. A few related studies have examined individuals' understandings of the relationship between commitments in their own lives and the lives of their communities.<sup>6</sup>

In view of the current focus on individual participation, it is worth recalling that Tocqueville's discussion of voluntary association was only one part of his analysis of civic engagement in American democracy. In Tocqueville's view, the energies generated in associational life supported democratic society at least in part because institutional forces restrained and channeled those energies in supportive ways. If we stretch the everyday meaning of the term "civic engagement" a little, it is possible to think of Tocqueville as having been interested in two types of civic engagement: one based on the participation of individual citizens in the associations of civil and political society, and the other based on normative orientations sustained, above all, by institutions and institutional leaders.<sup>7</sup>

In several chapters of the first volume of *Democracy in America*, Tocqueville considered institutional forces that provided guidance for American democratic society and restraint against both the passions of the majority and the biases of powerful minorities. The structure of government itself is a major topic, taking up six early chapters of the first volume. In addition, institutional forces in society are carefully discussed for their role in providing intellectual and moral support for democratic

3. Rosenstone and Hansen (1993); Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995).

4. Putnam (1995); Ladd (1996); Putnam (1996).

5. Hodgkinson (1996, pp. 24–33).

6. Bellah et al. (1985); Wuthnow (1996); Wolfe (1998).

7. The terms "civic" and "engagement" have primary and secondary meanings. The primary usage of the term "civic" has to do with the activities of citizens, particularly with their rights and duties in relation to this legal status. Civic activity requires no absence of partisanship or self-interest, and indeed nearly all proponents of civic life applaud the play of partisanship and self-interest as a reflection of the healthy contention necessary to democratic government. A secondary, but also frequent meaning of the term "civic" emphasizes a normative position, a broad (rather than narrow) and objective (rather than self-interested) orientation to the needs of the civilized political community. It has connotations of a broad, nonpartisan perspective when, for example, someone is referred to as having a "civic spirit." In its primary meaning, the term "engagement" suggests active participation—in this case, active participation in civic life. A secondary, but still frequent meaning of the term "engagement" emphasizes depth of involvement. In this sense, the opposite of engagement is a superficial or reflex reaction. Thus, someone engaged with a public issue gives it deep and careful consideration, while someone less engaged reacts more reflexively.

societies. The legal profession and the judiciary, he argued, served to safeguard the long-range interests of society against the short-run passions of popular opinion.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, Protestant religious doctrine provided essential moral restraints to balance the freedoms guaranteed by the liberal state.<sup>9</sup> And the culture of democracy itself helped to regulate social relations through their extensions into everyday activities—from the honoring of parliamentary forms around the dinner table to the respect for others' opinions in childhood games.<sup>10</sup> Even in his discussion of voluntary associations, Tocqueville emphasized the importance of intellectual and moral associations over other types. "Nothing," he wrote, "is more deserving of our attentions than the intellectual and moral associations of Americans."<sup>11</sup>

### From Individuals to Institutions

Although institutional life has received relatively little attention in recent discussions of civic engagement in American democracy, it has not been entirely ignored. Ann Swidler has argued pointedly against the idea that a civic community can be created through increasing emphasis on voluntary associations. These usually devolve, she argues, into "lifestyle enclaves." Instead, to "create a civic community,—a community that can link us to those unlike ourselves . . . we must place greater emphasis on strengthening American institutions—including families and schools, governments and universities." And, she observes, while "America still has vibrant community participation . . . our institutional life is a shambles."<sup>12</sup>

This chapter shares Swidler's premise that discussions of community and civic engagement should pay more attention to institutions. We suggest that one reason commentators so often feel a sense of unease about the strength of "civic America" is that important institutions in American society rarely represent themselves publicly as having larger social or civic purposes. The paper does not entirely share Swidler's conclusions, however.

8. Tocqueville ([1835] 1961, Vol. 1: chap. 16).

9. *Ibid.* (chap. 17).

10. *Ibid.* (chap. 14).

11. Tocqueville ([1840] 1961, Vol. 2: p. 133).

12. Swidler (1997, p. B4). Discussions of the role of particular institutions in building and sustaining "civic life" in the United States can be found in Bryk, Lee, and Holland (1993); Popeneo (1993); Brint (1994, chaps. 1, 2); Skocpol (1996); and Valley (1996).

political activities,<sup>3</sup> in com-  
Rotary Club),<sup>4</sup> in charita-  
ship. A few related studies  
the relationship between  
their communities.<sup>6</sup>

participation, it is worth  
ary association was only  
American democracy. In  
sociational life supported  
tutional forces restrained  
ways. If we stretch the  
nt" a little, it is possible  
ed in two types of civic  
individual citizens in the  
the other based on nor-  
tutions and institutional

*Democracy in America*,  
provided guidance for  
st both the passions of  
es. The structure of gov-  
arly chapters of the first  
ty are carefully discussed  
l support for democratic

(1995).

ary meanings. The primary usage  
ly with their rights and duties in  
anship or self-interest, and indeed  
l self-interest as a reflection of the  
but also frequent meaning of the  
arrow) and objective (rather than  
munity. It has connotations of a  
ed to as having a "civic spirit." In  
tion—in this case, active partici-  
"engagement" emphasizes depth  
erficial or reflex reaction. Thus,  
nsideration, while someone less

A focus on the absence of public-oriented voices in American institutions can be misleading if it leads us to overlook a conflicting (and at least equally important) trend: the incorporation of community and civic impulses in the bureaucratic structure of those same institutions.

In this chapter we concentrate on professions and professional associations. The professions are a strategically important focus for discussions of civic engagement in American democracy. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, professional elites saw themselves as guardians of important social values. By encouraging a link between community welfare and professional authority, their ideology of "social trustee professionalism" provided a salient and visible contrast to the more exclusively economic orientations of farmers, businessmen, and organized workers.<sup>13</sup>

We provide evidence that expressions of connection to community and civic life began in the 1920s to decline markedly among leaders of the major professions. In this respect, we agree with those who see the 1920s and 1930s as a key turning point in the tenor of professionals' connection to American civic and community life. We also show that community and civic activities are embedded in the organizational life of the professions to a greater degree than they were in the past. The historical trajectory suggests less a decline of social purpose in the professions than a bureaucratization of social purpose. Our interpretation of the causes of this change emphasizes the role of professionals in the status politics of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the influence of organizational developments in the professions since that time. We conclude by discussing the implications of our analysis for contemporary discussions of civic engagement in American democracy.

### *Sampling and Data Collection*

Our sample includes both professional associations and colleges and universities. We selected ten professional associations and five colleges and universities to study.

We attempted to find professional associations that are representative of the full range of professional life—those that represent major and minor professions, predominantly humanistic and predominantly scientific/technical occupations, and occupations both close to and remote from the

13. Haskell (1984); Brint (1994, chaps. 1, 2).



state.<sup>14</sup> Four of the professional associations we studied can be described as mainline professional associations: the American Bar Association (ABA), the American Institute of Architects (AIA), the American Medical Association (AMA), and the American Society of Mechanical Engineers (ASME). Two others, the American Chemical Society (ACS) and the American Psychological Association (APA), are part mainline professional associations and part academic discipline associations. In both cases, most members are practitioners rather than academic researchers. For this reason, we treat them as mainline professional associations. Three other organizations are academic discipline associations: the American Historical Association (AHA), the American Political Science Association (APSA), and the Modern Language Association (MLA). One of the organizations, the National Education Association (NEA), has a mixed history. For more than 100 years it was a mainline professional association, but it was remade as a trade union in the 1960s.

We have two reasons for including colleges and universities in the sample. First, they are gatekeepers for and conduits into the professions, and in this sense they are central to the organization of professional labor markets. Second, they are comparatively active in community and civic affairs. Most organizations that employ professionals are rather single-mindedly concerned with practical, business-related activities. This is somewhat less true of colleges and universities. Including colleges and universities, therefore, provides a sense of the maximum extent of community and civic engagement in professional work settings other than churches and social service agencies that are explicitly devoted to social welfare activities. Two of the colleges and universities in our sample are liberal arts colleges: Dartmouth and Pomona. Three are research universities: the University of California, Berkeley (UCB), the University of Chicago (Chicago), and the University of Pennsylvania (Penn).

We collected three types of information on each of the organizations in the study. First, we collected presidential inaugural speeches. It is our view

14. We had hoped to include new as well as older professional associations. However, professional associations founded in recent decades are often organized more like trade associations than like the classic professional associations of the past. They provide job- and product-related information but eschew scientific and scholarly communications, investigations of standards, mechanisms for collegial control, and other structural characteristics of the classical nineteenth-century associations. New professional associations in computer software engineering, such as the Association of Computer Professionals (founded in 1982) and the American Computer Scientists Association (founded in 1993), are examples of the trade association form of professional organization.

that content analysis can be an invaluable tool for understanding patterns of cultural change, and we have used these speeches to measure trends in the discourse of professional leaders. In the case of the professional associations, these speeches were collected at the time of founding and at ten-year intervals beginning as early as 1875 and continuing through 1995.<sup>15</sup> We collected speeches from the middle of each decade—that is, from presidents of the associations in 1875, 1885, 1895, 1905, and so on.<sup>16</sup> For colleges and universities, we collected all presidential inaugural speeches from 1875 onward.

Second, we collected information on the community and public service activities of the organizations. This included information on such matters as the existence and volume of business of speakers' bureaus, the date of founding and activities of public affairs offices, the date of founding and activities of government relations offices, institutionalized relationships with charitable organizations, sponsorship of voluntary help for people in need of professional services, and the beginning date of any annual visitors' days. It also included information about committees, commissions, and research units explicitly concerned with community and civic affairs. Because much of this information was not available longitudinally, we had to settle in many cases for current or recent catalogues of community and civic activities. Some catalogues contained information on the longevity of the programs; others did not. A few histories were available to provide supplementary information on the civic and community activities of the organizations.<sup>17</sup> We also conducted interviews with several community and public affairs officers about the history of their organizations' involvement with community activities.

Finally, we collected information on changes in the structure and size of the organizations over time. This organizational information included

15. In the twentieth century, the professional associations in our sample elected new officers annually. In the nineteenth century, presidents sometimes served multiyear terms. In a few cases, a speech for the designated year could not be located or consisted of only a short report on the activities of the association. Short reports were typically given by presidents in the middle of their terms or at the end of multiyear terms. In these cases, we substituted an inaugural speech from the next year available in the series. The first important president of the University of California, Daniel Gilman, was inaugurated in 1872, and the first president of the American Bar Association, James O. Broadhead, assumed office in 1879. We included the speeches of Gilman and Broadhead in the sample.

16. The year 1875 is an appropriate starting point. The formal organization of professional life in the United States began for the most part in the decade after the Civil War. Only five of our fifteen organizations (Dartmouth, the University of Pennsylvania, the American Medical Association, the National Education Association, and the American Institute of Architects) were founded before 1875.

17. See, e.g., Campion (1984) on the activities of the American Medical Association.

the membership (or for colleges and universities, the enrollment), the budget, the staff size, and the number of sections or departments in the organization and the dates of their incorporation.

### The Rhetoric of Organizational Leaders, 1875-1995

We begin by looking at the changing character of professional concerns and commitments as expressed in the speeches of leaders of the fifteen organizations in our sample. We have analyzed the content of some 160 speeches given by professional association and college and university presidents over the 120-year period covered in our study.<sup>18</sup> We have grouped the data into four time periods of comparable length and acceptable correspondence to distinctive periods in the history of the American professional middle class: 1875-99, 1900-29, 1930-69, and 1970-95.<sup>19</sup>

Presidential speeches are, of course, only one possible source of data on changing patterns of professional concerns and commitments. A complete study of professional ideology would necessarily examine editorials in leading professional publications, the writings of highly regarded thinkers

18. Not all speeches that would fall into our sampling framework could be obtained for coding. Some were never published or appeared in obscure and difficult-to-obtain publications. When we could not obtain a specific speech, we substituted presidential speeches from an adjacent year where possible. For this paper, we were able to code thirteen presidential speeches for the ABA, thirteen for the AIA, twelve for the AMA, twelve for the MLA, twelve for the NEA, eleven for the APA, eleven for ASME, eleven for the AHA, ten for the APSA, and nine for the ACS. Speeches of college and university presidents were in some cases also difficult to obtain. Some presidents did not participate in inaugurations and some inaugural speeches were not preserved. Substitutions were not generally possible for inaugurations of college and university presidents, although in some cases the first convocation represented a substitution in the president's own mind for an inaugural speech that under the press of circumstances was never given. In these cases, we substituted first-convocation speeches for inaugural speeches. For this paper, we were able to code sixteen speeches for presidents and chancellors of UCB, ten for Chicago, eight for Dartmouth, six for Pomona, but only five for Penn. The total number of speeches is 159. However, we excluded the speeches from Penn in reporting the findings because we could only find a small number of presidential speeches relative to the potential pool of presidential speeches from this institution. Therefore, the effective total number of speeches is 154, not 159.

The primary virtue of our method of sampling is that it allows us to cover a wider range of organizations than would otherwise be possible. We have enough speeches to see patterns of variation over time in the themes of speeches given in each professional organization. However, because we must rely on a relatively small number of speeches in each era, we inevitably run the risk of giving too much weight to an unrepresentative speech that happens to fall in our sample. For a few institutions, we have been able to draw on more comprehensive studies of presidential speeches. These studies tend to confirm the trends we have found. See Ausubel (1950); Parker (1953); and Murphy and Bruckner (1976).

19. On distinguishing periods of American middle-class politics, see Brint (1994, chap. 2).

in the profession, the speeches and writings of rank-and-file professionals, and other sources. Such a comprehensive study is beyond the scope of this chapter.

At the same time, presidential speeches have important advantages as a source of data on the concerns and commitments of the leaders of professional organizations. It is at ceremonial occasions that leaders are empowered to speak *ex cathedra* about the purposes of their organizations and the issues that affect those purposes. The presidential speeches are both more detached from passing events and more likely to concentrate on the evolving interests of leading professionals than other kinds of speeches or articles usually are. In addition, the highly focused ceremonial context requires presidents to use rhetoric that will elicit a positive response from the assembled membership. Most speeches, therefore, are about issues that speakers believe their audiences will find appropriate and important to think about. We believe that most of these speeches are authentic records of the concerns and commitments of professional elites. However, even if our findings reported *only* the changing nature of socially acceptable pieties among professionals, they would be of considerable interest for what they would tell us about the climate of socially acceptable thought surrounding the professions in different eras. Some methodological advantages also exist in the choice of presidential speeches as data for the study of professional ideologies. Because presidential speeches represent similarly situated, naturally occurring historical series, we are able to eliminate many selection problems that could otherwise bias a content analysis of professional discourse.<sup>20</sup>

#### *Measuring Presidential Discourse*

In each speech, we have coded the incidence of more than a dozen types of expressed concerns and commitments.<sup>21</sup> These expressed concerns

20. Presidential speeches do also have certain limitations as a source for data. These speeches can be highly conventional in content and style. Indeed, some association presidents have analyzed the rhetorical form of the genre as part of their speeches. See Wright (1976) and Ziowolkowski (1986). Moreover, organizational leaders are not always motivated to discuss their more controversial priorities or act on the priorities they do discuss.

21. We coded thematic movements in the speeches and distinct new mentions within and between thematic movements, not every specific reference. These thematic movements usually covered several paragraphs, but they sometimes covered only a sentence or two. Thus, we marked a page-long discussion of the role of law in the history of civilization as one reference to a value function of the profession, but we also coded a sentence on the need for recruiting more women into the legal profession as one social reform reference.



and commitments refer to purposes of the professional organization and to forces within and outside the professional organization that affect its activities. Together, these references cover nearly all of the themes developed in the speeches.

In our discussion, we aggregate these references into four primary content categories: (1) the sociocultural and (2) instrumental purposes of the organization or profession, (3) the internal activities and issues of the organization or profession, and (4) the external forces of regulation that are seen as influencing the organization or profession. These neutral-sounding terms should not obscure the meaningful concerns they represent. *Sociocultural purposes* are the animating ideal purposes of the organization—the role leaders expect members to play in the life of the society. *Instrumental purposes* are the technical achievements of members of the professions—advances in expertise that have, for example, cured new diseases or created new technologies. *Internal activities* are the lifeblood of the organization: the priority projects, committees, task forces, and internal factions that absorb the energies and interests of most members. *External forces* refers to pressures in the environment—from interpretations of the meaning of changing client demographics to issues posed by new forms of government regulation.

Because sociocultural references are particularly relevant to discussions of the civic engagement of institutions, we examine that content area in a more disaggregated way. The four sociocultural reference categories we discuss are: (1) the civilizational purposes of the professional activity (e.g., a reference to the diffusion of knowledge for the good of society or to the benevolence of the medical profession); (2) community-serving purposes (e.g., a reference to the contributions of the profession to the improvement of community life); (3) civic purposes (e.g., a reference to the contributions of the profession to the health of the state or to the creation of good citizens); and (4) social reform purposes (e.g., a reference to the advancement of women or racial and ethnic minorities or a reference to the housing needs of the poor).<sup>22</sup>

22. Altogether we coded fourteen reference categories. The four categories related to the sociocultural purposes of the organizations and professions are discussed in the text, leaving ten other reference categories. The second set of reference categories has to do with the instrumental and technical purposes of the organizations and professions: (1) purposes involving the practical application of science (e.g., a discussion of the use of scientific knowledge to purify water and thereby prevent disease); (2) purposes involving responsiveness to a relevant market (e.g., responding to the need for more trained legal manpower); and (3) other instrumental and technical purposes (e.g., standardizing civil law across

f rank-and-file professionals,  
y is beyond the scope of this  
ve important advantages as a  
ents of the leaders of profes-  
ons that leaders are empow-  
F their organizations and the  
tial speeches are both more  
concentrate on the evolving  
inds of speeches or articles  
eremonial context requires  
ve response from the assem-  
e about issues that speakers  
l important to think about.  
ntic records of the concerns  
ever, even if our findings  
eptable pieties among pro-  
for what they would tell us  
urrounding the professions  
es also exist in the choice of  
ssional ideologies. Because  
d, naturally occurring his-  
tion problems that could  
discourse.<sup>20</sup>

ce of more than a dozen  
These expressed concerns

ce for data. These speeches can be  
ion presidents have analyzed the  
(1976) and Ziowolkowski (1986).  
their more controversial priorities

ew mentions within and between  
movements usually covered several  
Thus, we marked a page-long  
erence to a value function of the  
ing more women into the legal



*From Social to Organizational Concerns*

Table 5-1 provides a breakdown of the thematic content of the speeches for the four primary content categories in four time periods.<sup>23</sup> The data show that the number of references to broad sociocultural purposes declined over time. As references to sociocultural purposes declined, they were replaced by discussions of internal affairs and to a lesser extent by discussions of the instrumental and technical achievements of members.<sup>24</sup>

A clear example of this pattern can be found in speeches by presidents of the American Bar Association. In the first two periods, nearly all the

---

jurisdictions). The third set of reference categories has to do with internal forces of organization. Specifically, these included: (4) internal constituencies and their relations, including appeals for cooperation among these constituencies (e.g., a reference to the leader's hope that faculties of science and humanities can each see what the other contributes to the institution); (5) the rules, practices, and assumptions of the organization, including discussions of the need for reform or validation of these rules, practices, and assumptions (e.g., a reference to the mechanisms by which members of committees are chosen or to the rules regulating charges of misconduct); and (6) the institution's resource needs and plans for the use of resources (e.g., calls for new facilities or new types of financial help). The final set of reference categories has to do with external forces of regulation: (7) the state or its representatives as a regulating force (e.g., a reference to the importance of appreciating the role of a governing board or a discussion of a change in the federal law regulating the profession); (8) other occupations or organizations as a regulating force (e.g., a reference to the need of a university to coordinate with other four-year colleges); (9) a relevant market as regulating force (e.g., a reference to the number of practitioners in a field as compared to the market demand); and (10) all other external regulating forces (e.g., wealthy benefactors, public opinion, war, or other historical circumstances).

23. In most cases, a number of reference categories are represented throughout the 120-year period studied. Early leaders of the bar may, for example, at once extol the civilizational purposes of their profession while advocating that lawyers "reduce the law to a science to develop its usefulness" and mention in passing the need to overcome sectional and political rivalries within the association. See Carter (1895). Some rhetorically gifted presidents managed to cover most of the reference categories in a single speech.

24. Speeches in several of the associations did not fit these two major patterns of change. Presidents of two of the academic discipline associations closely associated with civic life (the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association) largely resisted the trend away from expressions of broad sociocultural concerns. In those two academic discipline associations, civilizational and civic references remained relatively constant (and rather high) throughout the period. By contrast, the presidents of two scientific-industrial societies (the American Chemical Society and the American Society of Mechanical Engineers) began with little interest in sociocultural matters and continued (so far as we can say from the limited data) to have little interest in them throughout most of the period studied. (Several presidents of ASME in the years between 1930 and 1970 did become interested in the intersection of technology and social life, leading to a temporary surge in themes concerning the civilizational and civic values of engineering.) In the APA, sociocultural references increased somewhat over time as clinicians and academics interested in humanistic and social psychology entered the association in larger numbers after World War II; they soon outnumbered the behaviorists and replaced them as leaders. See Crawford (1992). The speeches of presidents of the AIA and UCB included themes of both conservation and development throughout the period studied.

thematic content of the in four time periods.<sup>23</sup> The road sociocultural purposes ar purposes declined, they s and to a lesser extent by achievements of members.<sup>24</sup> d in speeches by presidents wo periods, nearly all the

with internal forces of organization. air relations, including appeals for eader's hope that faculties of science itution); (5) the rules, practices, and ed for reform or validation of these ns by which members of committees l (6) the institution's resource needs w types of financial help). The final on: (7) the state or its representatives iating the role of a governing board ofession); (8) other occupations or a university to coordinate with other .g., a reference to the number of ) all other external regulating forces circumstances), ted throughout the 120-year period the civilizational purposes of their ence to develop its usefulness" and rivalries within the association. See er most of the reference categories in

major patterns of change. Presidents h civic life (the American Historical gely resisted the trend away from discipline associations, civilizational throughout the period. By contrast, Chemical Society and the American ocultural matters and continued (so rem throughout most of the period and 1970 did become interested in ary surge in themes concerning the tural references increased somewhat and social psychology entered the bered the behaviorists and replaced the AIA and UCB included themes id.

Table 5-1. Themes of Speeches by Presidents of Selected Professional Organizations, 1875-1995<sup>a</sup>

Organization	Sociocultural purposes				Internal organization				Instrumental purposes			
	1879-99	1900-29	1930-69	1970-95	1879-99	1900-29	1930-69	1970-95	1879-99	1900-29	1930-69	1970-95
<i>Mainline professional organizations</i>												
American Bar Association	93	83	43	28	4	13	38	57	4	4	13	9
American Chemical Society	...	12	36	9	...	10	21	53	...	72	33	13
American Institute of Architects	41	73	10	34	44	16	57	18	0	0	18	25
American Medical Association	46	38	33	20	36	42	26	22	14	10	16	16
American Psychological Association	9	33	47	38	18	13	4	30	64	0	33	4
American Society of Mechanical Engineers	24	21	56	29	18	7	17	0	57	71	23	71
National Education Association	80	94	32	41	8	3	48	34	0	3	8	10
<i>Academic discipline associations</i>												
American Historical Association	...	64	76	81	...	7	9	4	...	0	6	0
American Political Science Association	...	52	62	52	...	29	10	0	...	16	5	36
Modern Language Association	41	46	37	27	15	11	50	43	30	14	0	7
<i>Colleges and universities</i>												
Dartmouth College	50	57	34	33	50	30	59	60	0	0	3	0
Pomona College	...	69	58	...	...	0	0	...	...	24	22	...
University of California, Berkeley	42	22	37	22	27	50	37	58	16	22	12	8
University of Chicago	...	53	41	6	...	41	37	65	...	6	4	10

Source: Authors' presidential speech files.

a. Percentages reported only where more than one speech was available for coding in each time period.

speeches had to do primarily with the contribution of the profession to improving civilization or civic life. James Broadhead, the first president of the ABA, for example, evoked a common theme of wise guidance in the light of liberal principles: "It is the business of those who have studied [the law] . . . to see that public sentiment springs from a pure fountain and flows in an unobstructed channel, and [that] pursuance of its mandates shall secure to each citizen the fulness of individual existence and impose so much restraint on each as is necessary for the good of all."<sup>25</sup> By the last period, these kinds of broad sociocultural references constituted only about a quarter of the themes in presidential speeches of the ABA. Issues related to membership concerns and internal activities, particularly task groups and committee work, assumed a correspondingly larger share of attention. ABA President James D. Fellers used his speech in the mid-1970s, for example, to describe the formation of fifteen commissions and projects to examine controversies in such areas as information technology and the law, accounting practices, media law, and medical malpractice.<sup>26</sup>

The same general pattern—decreasing emphasis on broad sociocultural purposes and increasing emphasis on internal affairs—is evident also in two of the other major professional associations (the American Medical Association and the National Education Association), four of the five colleges and universities (Dartmouth, Pomona, Chicago, and Penn), and one of the academic discipline associations (the Modern Language Association). As in the ABA, the emphasis is no longer on the special thing the profession or institution does in society, but rather on the special place it is for those who are a part of it. A speech by a president of the American Psychological Association in the mid-1990s illustrates one kind of internal issue—what to do about divisions that arise in the association. The speech criticizes two groups of members—research scientists for using science as "a cudgel to pummel practitioners" and practitioners who "besmirch the image" of the profession by marketing superficial advice in pursuit of personal celebrity.<sup>27</sup> Most themes in this area, however, focus on the accomplishments of task forces and committees of the organization or on new membership services.

We also found some increase over time, though less striking, in references to instrumental and technical purposes. Closely tied to industrial

25. Broadhead (1879, p. 70).

26. Fellers (1975).

27. Fox (1996).



tribution of the profession to broadhead, the first president of theme of wise guidance in the of those who have studied [the ings from a pure fountain and nat] pursuance of its mandates individual existence and impose or the good of all."<sup>25</sup> By the last eferences constituted only about eches of the ABA. Issues related ivities, particularly task groups dingly larger share of attention. speech in the mid-1970s, for en commissions and projects to mation technology and the law, cal malpractice.<sup>26</sup>

emphasis on broad sociocultural ternal affairs—is evident also in ations (the American Medical Association), four of the five iona, Chicago, and Penn), and s (the Modern Language Asso- longer on the special thing the ut rather on the special place it by a president of the American s illustrates one kind of internal e in the association. The speech h scientists for using science as ractitioners who "besmirch the uperficial advice in pursuit of s area, however, focus on the ittees of the organization or on

e, though less striking, in refer- oses. Closely tied to industrial

advance, leaders of the ACS focused on the practical scientific achievements of their discipline from the beginning. Shifts in this direction were evident in five other of the professional associations (the American Bar Association, the American Institute of Architects, the American Medical Association, the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, and the National Education Association), one of the colleges and universities (the University of California, Berkeley), and one of the academic discipline associations (the American Political Science Association). Recent presidents of the NEA have, for example, more often talked about changing school practices on the basis of research results. Emblematic of this trend, one recent president of the APSA used as the central trope of his speech the idea that the founding fathers of the United States were not learned visionaries but social engineers.

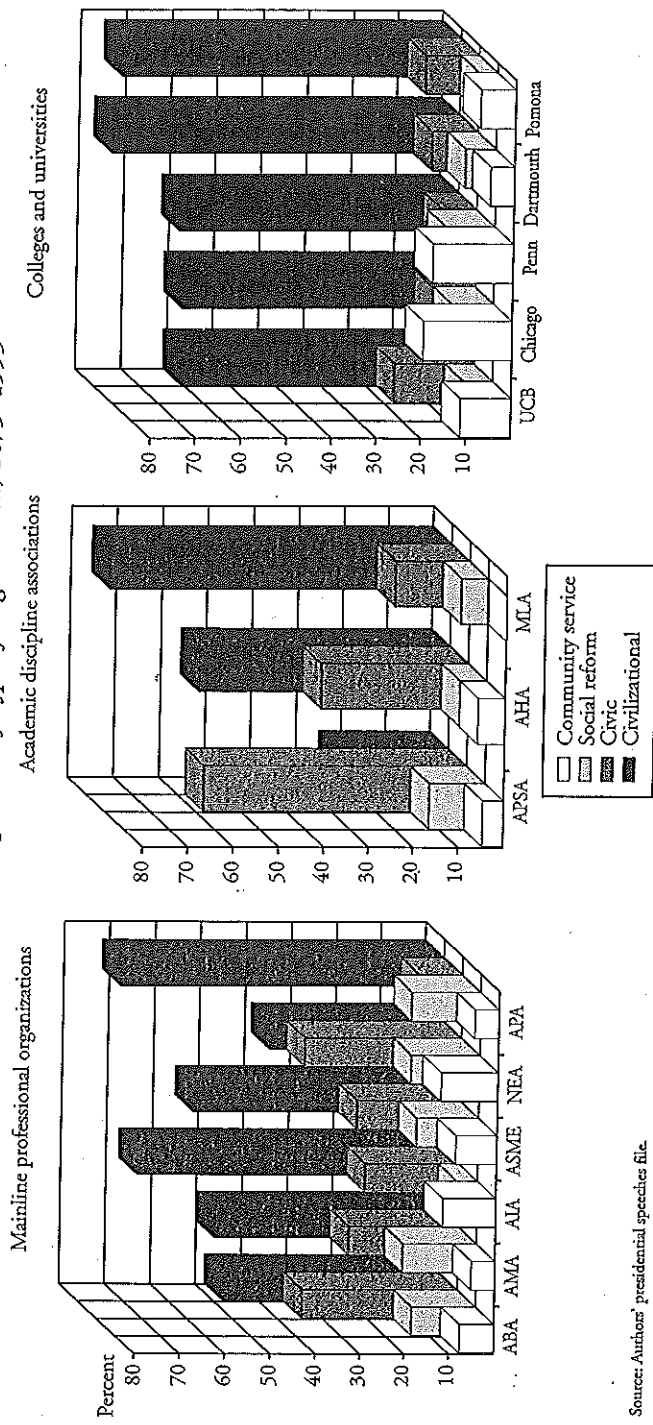
### *The Content of Professional Ideals*

We have shown that references to the broad sociocultural purposes of professional life declined over time in this sample of professional speeches. But what specific sociocultural purposes have organizational leaders had in mind when they did express a sense of connection to the broader society?

Figure 5-1 compares the number of references to civilizational, civic, and social reform and community-serving concerns by leaders of each of the organizations over the 120-year period. The data show that references to the civilizational purposes of professions have been the most common rallying point of leaders concerned with the relationship between professions and the larger society. References to civilizational functions were three times as common in the speeches as references to civic life, and they were four to five times as common as references to the community-serving purposes of professions or to social reform concerns.

What did professional elites mean by serving civilization? This varied from profession to profession. College and university presidents emphasized the importance of the diffusion of knowledge, the creation and perfection of "a higher vision" of life, and the cultivation of desirable qualities of mind. Leaders of the bar emphasized the ideals of justice, the protection of individual freedoms, and the improvement of human abilities to meet social needs in an orderly and nonviolent fashion. Presidents of the American Institute of Architects evoked the spiritual and social benefits of beauty in the built environment. Presidents of the American

Figure 5-1. Sociocultural References in Presidential Speeches, by Type of Organization, 1875-1995



Source: Authors' presidential speeches file.



Medical Association focused on the application of scientific intelligence to the humane project of curing disease. Although references to sociocultural purposes are most evident in the years before 1930, they rarely disappeared entirely in this set of organizations. So, for example, in 1945 the speaker of the AMA's House of Delegates, H. H. Shoulders, proclaimed, "Let us again concern ourselves with advancing the science of medicine, with meeting the standards of medical education and with delivering a higher quality of medical service, ever mindful that science without a soul may be cruel and inhumane, whereas science possessed of a soul is the very highest achievement, the apotheosis of humanity."<sup>28</sup>

References to civic ideals were less frequent. As many historians of middle-class progressivism have emphasized, tensions have periodically flared between "nonpartisan" experts and deal-making politicians comfortable with the give and take of partisan politics. It should not be surprising therefore that leaders of professional associations in our sample often took a dim view of government and politics.<sup>29</sup> Among leaders of the mainline professional associations, government was depicted as a threat to the aspirations of the professions nearly as often as it was depicted as a legitimate object of the professions' civic concern. Both disdain for low governmental standards and fear of the state as a heavy-handed and biased regulator are evident in the speeches of leaders of the organized legal, medical, and architectural professions. Civic purposes were hardly ever mentioned by presidents of private colleges and universities or by leaders of the more humanistic academic associations.<sup>30</sup>

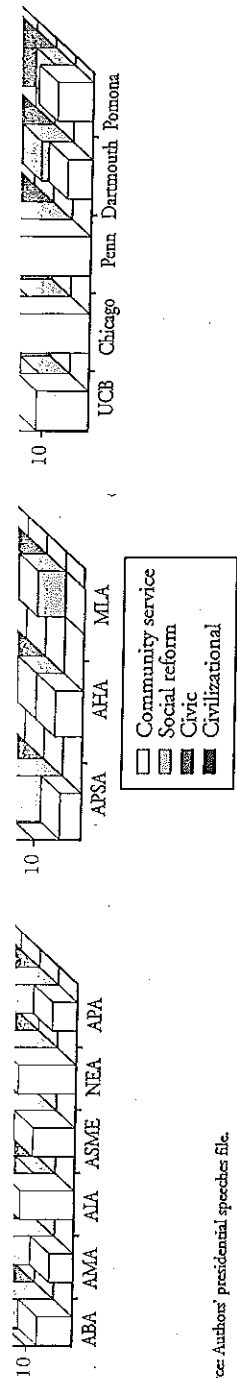
Presidents of the American Political Science Association were, by some measure, more likely than others to see the work of their association as serving civic purposes. They were followed by leaders of the bar, public school teachers, and academic historians. Thus, in the presidential speeches of the ABA, the bar was frequently depicted as the enemy of corruption and slipshod legislation and the protector of individual rights. The ideal of well-crafted law was frequently connected to the health and strength of the state. In the words of James C. Carter: "Considerable mischief arises from a passion for ill-advised and ill-considered law making."<sup>31</sup> Presidents of the

28. Shoulders, quoted in Fishbein (1947, p. 483).

29. Hofstadter (1955, chaps. 5, 6); Tyack and Hansot (1982, pp. 129-80); Schudson (1996); and Wiebe (1995).

30. For a provocative epistemological approach to interprofessional differences, see Halliday (1985).

31. Carter (1895).



American Historical Association saw lessons for government and public choices in the historical record, and presidents of the National Education Association often spoke of the public schools as the cornerstone of republican virtue and democratic fellowship. Among the colleges and universities, only presidents of the public University of California, Berkeley, showed a relatively high level of explicit concern about civic life. Most often this concern was expressed as an expectation that the university would help to create thoughtful and productive citizens who could contribute to the resolution of public problems.

In spite of the social reform ferment of the Progressive and New Deal eras, social reform references were almost completely absent from presidential speeches until the 1960s, and even in the 1970-95 period they were rare. In the 1960s, minority representation became a significant topic in the colleges and universities and the NEA. During the same period, the health and legal needs of disadvantaged populations began to emerge as concerns in the American Medical Association, the American Psychological Association, and the American Bar Association. Otherwise, only a small number of scattered references exist to such matters as antipoverty activity, the design of good housing for workers, and opportunities for women in the profession. References to the community-serving purposes of professional life were rarer still.

#### *The Disappearing Presidential Voice*

A narrowing of concerns can be measured not just in the themes of presidential speeches. Presidential speeches also grew shorter and in many cases more peripheral to the main focus of professional meetings.

One measure can be found in the diminishing time allotted to presidential speeches. Between 1875 and 1929, speeches that ran fifteen or twenty pages in print (or longer) were the norm for presidents of institutions like the American Bar Association and Dartmouth College, both places where oratory has historically been highly valued. Even in the ABA and at Dartmouth, presidential speeches in recent decades were more likely to run three to seven pages in comparable print. Even briefer speeches were typical in some of the organizations.

One reason for this change is that over the course of the century association leaders began to specialize in administrative work, and celebrity authors and public figures stepped in to provide a sense of larger purpose and inspiration. Presidents became hosts rather than intellectual leaders.

for government and public  
 ts of the National Education  
 as the cornerstone of repub-  
 ng the colleges and universi-  
 ty of California, Berkeley,  
 ncern about civic life. Most  
 ection that the university  
 tive citizens who could con-

ne Progressive and New Deal  
 pletely absent from presiden-  
 e 1970-95 period they were  
 became a significant topic in  
 During the same period, the  
 ulations began to emerge as  
 n, the American Psychologi-  
 tion. Otherwise, only a small  
 matters as antipoverty activity,  
 opportunities for women in  
 -serving purposes of profes-

ed not just in the themes of  
 so grew shorter and in many  
 ofessional meetings.  
 ishing time allotted to presi-  
 speeches that ran fifteen or  
 m for presidents of institu-  
 d Dartmouth College, both  
 hly valued. Even in the ABA  
 ent decades were more likely  
 t. Even briefer speeches were

r the course of the century  
 nistrative work, and celebrity  
 ide a sense of larger purpose  
 er than intellectual leaders.

Only two of the five post-1960 chancellors of the University of California, Berkeley, for example, gave full-scale inaugural orations. Celebrity speakers became the center of attention at these "Charter Day" events, even when a new chancellor was installed. One chancellor, Edward Strong, self-consciously cut short his already brief acceptance speech to give more time to the guest speaker, President John F. Kennedy. Similarly, in the 1980s presidents of the American Institute of Architects ceded pride of place to celebrity guest speakers. In the American Bar Association from the late 1970s onward, presidents became publicly responsible only for the business affairs of the association. Presidential speeches in the American Society of Mechanical Engineers also came to focus on business affairs. The ASME presidents' speeches apparently came to be considered so peripheral to the life of the organization that they were no longer preserved in the 1980s and 1990s.

### The Bureaucratization of Civic Engagement, 1930-95

As themes related to civic engagement receded from the speeches of professional leaders, activities connected to civic engagement became institutionalized in the formal bureaucratic structure of most of the professional organizations in our sample. However, the scope of this institutionalization was highly variable. Only two of the organizations show markedly high levels of activity in civic and community life. In the American Bar Association and the University of California, Berkeley, the public ethos of professionalism may have diminished, but practices of civic engagement have flowered through bureaucratic channels. In those two institutions, civic engagement through bureaucratic means began in the 1930s but grew substantially after the activist 1960s. Although a late starter, the University of Pennsylvania is now nearly as civically engaged as the ABA and Berkeley. The University of Chicago, the American Chemical Society, the American Institute of Architects, and the American Medical Association show somewhat less activity in civic and community life, but they are far from entirely enclosed in their own cocoons. In the other eight organizations, civic engagement does not appear to be a high priority.

From these data, we draw two tentative conclusions: first, resources are a major influence on civic and community activity in professional organizations—the resource-rich organizations are more able to be engaged.



Second, among these resource-rich organizations a close connection to the state is associated with high levels of activity.<sup>32</sup>

For the purposes of this chapter, we consider activity to have a civic or community orientation if time, talent, or money is donated by members of the organization to activities that primarily serve people outside the organization. We also count activities in which time and talent are heavily subsidized by individuals or by the organization for these purposes. Even so, in some cases, it is impossible to separate professional from community-serving activities. When the ABA makes judgments about the qualifications of judges nominated to the federal judiciary, it serves professional and public interests simultaneously. Similarly, a good case can be made that the American Medical Association has been active in public health throughout its history through the dissemination of research findings to clinicians and in setting standards for medical education and procedural terminology within the profession. Here we therefore focus on activities for which individuals gain no important *professional* distinction other than recognition as contributing members of a community outside the profession.

In the cases we know most about, our sense is that the growth of community and civic activity dates from the 1960s and especially the 1970s. This activity increased in the 1980s and 1990s, particularly in the universities and the well-to-do professional associations.<sup>33</sup> In many respects, this growth appears to have followed and compensated for the problems of the federal welfare state. But we must be tentative about the dating of trends toward increasing civic and community engagement. It is entirely possible that at least some of the organizations were more active earlier but simply did not retain evidence of their activities. For this reason, we do not make strong statements about trends in civic engagement. We

32. A third conclusion is still more tentative: Apart from the universities, many of the more active organizations—including the ABA, the AIA, and the AMA—are professional associations composed largely of independent business people in private and group practice rather than in corporate or government employment. Some mirroring may exist at the national level of the long-standing relation between small business people and leadership in local civic and community affairs.

33. It is impossible to know precisely what proportion of budget and time these organizations devote to community and civic activities. Budget categories often mix programs that are and are not pertinent. Much time is volunteered and so are some property resources that, if counted as potential income, would inflate the total going to these activities. Our best estimate is that community and civic activities account for no more than 2 percent of the total budget in any organization, and in most cases substantially less. The American Bar Association may be an outlier in this regard, higher both in budget and time volunteered than the other organizations in our sample.

concentrate instead on the current profile of civic engagement in the fifteen organizations.

*Highly Engaged Organizations: The ABA and UCB*

From the beginning, the ABA saw itself as engaged in community improvement primarily through activities to standardize law in the various states. These efforts led to a number of uniform laws and model codes, including the Uniform Commercial Code. From the beginning, the ABA was also involved in numerous community and civic activities. These increased in the 1930s when the ABA became involved in assisting with the provision of legal services for indigent defendants. In 1942, it instituted its first self-described public service activity, the traffic court program to improve laws related to drunk driving.<sup>34</sup> Today, the ABA is engaged in literally thousands of community and civic activities, the great majority of them instituted since 1960. These activities are of four types: committees that allow ABA members to engage in action on public issues, civic education projects, activities that assist in the legal representation of persons in need, and community activities in and around the ABA's Chicago-area community.

The ABA has more than fifty committees and commissions that allow members to be involved in a wide range of issues connected to the law. Many are concerned with strictly professional issues—rules of conduct, discipline, continuing education, and the like. Approximately one-third, however, treat issues that are more relevant to the public at large than to the profession itself. These include committees on bioethics, domestic violence, drugs and substance abuse, campaign finance, the environment, homelessness and poverty, immigration, literacy, national security, the mass media, the elderly, and the legal needs of children.

One of the major civic education activities of the association is Law Day, which began in the 1950s. As part of Law Day, the ABA provides interested teachers throughout the country with lesson plans appropriate to different grade levels. These introduce processes of conflict resolution, the American legal system, and constitutional law; and they outline scenarios for mock trials. More recently developed civic education projects include efforts to bring lawyers into classrooms and work settings to talk

34. American Bar Association, Division for Media Relations and Public Affairs (1997).



about the law and legal issues as well as more comprehensive instructional programs for school use.

The ABA's committee on legal aid for indigent persons began in the 1930s. Several other ABA committees—all constituted since 1960—help organize legal representation for people in need, including children, the elderly, the homeless, victims of disasters, lower-ranking military personnel, and immigrants. ABA statistics indicate an increase since 1985 in the number of lawyers who participate in pro bono activities through organized programs. According to these statistics, which may overstate participation, some 150,000 lawyers (17 percent of all attorneys) are reported to have donated an average of twenty hours to pro bono activities in 1995. Nearly a quarter-million legal matters were handled in this way.<sup>35</sup> The ABA publishes a directory of pro bono projects, helps young lawyers make connections to public interest organizations, and holds conferences on pro bono and public interest law. In the 1990s it also organized donations of computer equipment and training activities by large law firms to resource-poor public service organizations.

Activities in the Chicago area include the ABA's "adoption" of South Loop School on Chicago's South Side, the provision of ten speakers a year for the Chicago public schools, the organization of charitable giving of food, clothes, and toys to the local community around the December holidays, and participation in local walkathons, marathons, and other fundraising activities. The ABA also allows employees to support charities of their choosing through deductions from their paychecks.

The University of California, Berkeley, currently lists some 300 public and community service activities.<sup>36</sup> Nearly every department and every professional school in the university is involved in community outreach and public service activities. These activities can be divided into five types: (1) facilities and performances open to the public; (2) volunteer and charity work and charitable donations; (3) educational outreach; (4) research specifically designated as oriented to public service; and (5) community economic development activities. The first two have a long history, but they became stronger and better organized after 1960. The last three are products of the period since 1970.

Since its founding in 1868 the campus has opened some of its facilities to the public and invited the public in for performances, lectures, and

35. American Bar Association, Division of Legal Services (1998).

36. University of California, Berkeley, Office of Community Relations (1997).

comprehensive instructional

indigent persons began in the  
constituted since 1960—help  
need, including children, the  
lower-ranking military person-  
an increase since 1985 in the  
pro bono activities through orga-  
which may overstate partici-  
all attorneys) are reported to  
pro bono activities in 1995.  
handled in this way.<sup>35</sup> The ABA  
helps young lawyers make  
and holds conferences on pro  
also organized donations of  
by large law firms to resource-

the ABA's "adoption" of South  
division of ten speakers a year  
ation of charitable giving of  
unity around the December  
rsons, marathons, and other  
employees to support charities  
their paychecks.  
currently lists some 300 public  
every department and every  
ved in community outreach  
can be divided into five types:  
e public; (2) volunteer and  
educational outreach; (4) re-  
public service; and (5) com-  
first two have a long history,  
ed after 1960. The last three

s opened some of its facilities  
performances, lectures, and

998).  
Relations (1997).

symposiums. A number of "community resources" in the city of Berkeley and adjoining areas are, in fact, owned and operated by UC Berkeley. Some of these facilities (the University Herbarium, Sather Tower carillon, the Phoebe Hearst Anthropology Museum) date to the early years of the university, a few others (e.g., the Lawrence Hall of Science) are products of the Cold War, but many others (e.g., the Berkeley Art Museum, the Pacific Film Archive, KALX, the Blackhawk Automotive Museum) are recent additions. The university also donates playing fields and rents buildings at \$1 a year for a homeless shelter and to house city offices.

Students and faculty at Berkeley have a long history of volunteering in causes. Volunteering as an institutionalized feature of university activity began, however, only during the activist 1960s. The campus volunteer center founded in 1967 now places some 2,000 students a year in volunteer activities. Other volunteer activities provide medical and legal services through community clinics. The university also participates in the AIDS walkathon, charity events for the Special Olympics, and fundraising for the United Way. A small element of this volunteer effort (e.g., *Clinica de la Raza*) remains oriented to ideals of self-determination for minority communities that were popularized by ethnic nationalists in the 1960s.

The university is involved in more than three dozen educational outreach programs, nearly all of which began in the 1970s or later. The major activity involves a pledge of the university to improve K-12 education in the Bay Area. The pledge has three components: a K-12 partnership with four Bay Area school districts, an academy that brings school children onto campus during the academic year and the summer, and an "interactive university project" designed to build an information infrastructure for area schools through the Internet and other media. Some outreach programs involve specific departments (such as the Chemistry Scholars and Young Musicians programs), others are organized efforts to improve low-performing schools (in one case, through the "adoption" of a local middle school), and still others incentive programs aimed at encouraging high-ability, low-income high school students (such as the Incentive Awards Program and the Pre-Collegiate Academy). The university also operates a large continuing education program for adults.

The most recent programs connected to civic engagement are publicly oriented research centers and community development centers. Many research centers combine scholarly and public service activities. Others are predominantly oriented to improving community and civic life. The latter, founded since the 1970s, include the Center for Environmental Design,

the PACE Center (Policy Analysis for California Education), the Center for Family and Community Health, and the Center for Occupational and Environmental Health. In the 1980s and 1990s, UCB became involved in a variety of economic community development programs to revitalize impoverished neighborhoods and towns near the university. These programs operate in the East Bay communities of Oakland and Richmond and in south Berkeley. Some involve aid to small business; others provide funds and organization for residents interested in improving the safety, attractiveness, and economic vitality of areas near the university.

*Moderately Engaged Organizations: Private Universities and High-Revenue Professional Associations*

The moderately engaged organizations are financially as strong (or nearly as strong) as the ABA and UCB, but they are not as closely connected to the public sector. These moderately engaged organizations include the two private universities in the sample (Chicago and Penn) and three mainline professional associations (the American Chemical Society, the American Institute of Architects, and the American Medical Association).

Penn is not far behind Berkeley as a center of community and civic activism in academe. Quite a bit of its activity is related to programs that serve both institutional and community interests. According to Penn's director of economic development, the university expects to spend \$50 million between 1998 and 2003 on community economic development activities. This money will be used for joint planning with local leaders, to create a loan fund for strategic acquisitions, to help existing and new businesses gain access to capital, and to attract businesses to the neighborhoods surrounding the campus. Penn is also working with local businesspeople to make a nearby commercial corridor a "keystone" (or tax-free) zone. It is encouraging faculty and staff to live in and revitalize the surrounding neighborhoods through highly subsidized mortgage plans. Penn has also started a targeted job training program to provide employment opportunities to local residents. In 1998 it employed twelve program graduates in construction work.

Penn's primary educational outreach program creates courses for West Philadelphia schools. Seventy-two of the courses are currently being taught by Penn students. Each of the courses aims to combine teaching, research, and service. The courses are in such subjects as diet and nutrition, urban

a Education), the Center for Occupational and UCB became involved in programs to revitalize the university. These programs in Oakland and Richmond provide business; others provide in improving the safety, for the university.

#### *universities and*

financially as strong (or are not as closely con- gaged organizations in- (Chicago and Penn) and American Chemical Society, American Medical Associa-

of community and civic related to programs that its. According to Penn's ty expects to spend \$50 economic development ing with local leaders, to help existing and new sinesses to the neighbor- orking with local busi- a "keystone" (or tax-free) re in and revitalize the sized mortgage plans. ram to provide employ- mployed twelve program

creates courses for West e currently being taught bine teaching, research, iet and nutrition, urban

planning, and environmental improvement. Penn also sends nearly 2,000 students into local schools to volunteer as recreation and teachers' aides. In addition, each of the professional schools at the university operates clinics in the community that provide services ranging from dental screen- ing to conflict mediation to opportunities for developing artistic skills.

Community and civic activity at Penn also involves a large number of "bite-sized" programs: small-scale computer and furniture donations, a panhandling program that places containers in stores for donations to be used by homeless shelters and other social service organizations, the provi- sion of extra street-sweeping and "safety ambassadors" in the surrounding Spruce Hill neighborhood, and a graduation ceremony for a job training program for single mothers.

Like Berkeley and Penn, the University of Chicago has worked with community leaders to improve the poor neighborhoods surrounding it. The university provides substantial financial support for the Southeast Chicago Association, which is involved in crime prevention, business recruitment, and retention and code enforcement in neighborhoods adja- cent to the university. The university has also been involved in a number of educational outreach programs, including its long-established Labora- tory School and a new charter school. It has also provided modest subsidies for academic enrichment programs in Chicago, such as Saturday science classes and operates a program that sends some 160 volunteer teachers' aides into community schools. Like UCB, it provides Internet instruction and an Internet curriculum for a number of local public schools. Three research units at the university can be characterized as oriented to public issues. The Center for School Improvement is intimately connected to ongoing reform in the Chicago schools and provides policy-relevant re- sources for the school system. Chapin Hall is a center for research on children that works to strengthen networks of social service providers. The Chicago Health Policy Research Program, which is largely foundation- sponsored, investigates critical health issues in the region.

The American Chemical Society, a very well supported professional association, has also taken an active role in public and community affairs in recent years. In 1995 it spent some 4.2 million dollars on community and public affairs activities (nearly 2 percent of its budget). These activities include educational materials and workshops for children, fellowships for college and graduate students, production of television and radio shows on chemistry-related topics, and relations with the Smithsonian Museum. One office of the ACS organizes community outreach projects and pro-



vides speakers for schools and community groups. These activities date from the mid- and late 1970s.

The primary activities of the American Institute of Architects are in the areas of public education and city neighborhood renewal. None of these activities began before the 1960s. The AIA supports and operates its own philanthropic foundation, which concentrates on providing resources for improving architectural education in grades K-12. The association recently participated in a Carnegie Foundation evaluation of architecture education in grades K-16, one aspect of which was to raise student consciousness about how architecture contributes to the quality of community life. It also created a public television series, "Back from the Brink," about the revitalization of downtown areas in American cities. For a number of years, the AIA has fielded regional disaster assistance teams to help in the reconstruction of disaster areas. More recently, the association has fielded regional urban design assistance teams that provide three-day intensive consultations for community groups. In 1995 the AIA initiated the "Legacy Project," which is designed to leave a lasting architectural contribution to the city that hosts its annual meeting. These contributions have included building homes with Habitat for Humanity, designing and building homeless shelters and employment centers, and submitting new designs for one city's public housing. The AIA is organized in a decentralized way and, like the ABA, its hundreds of local chapters sometimes mount their own public service activities.

During the Progressive Era, the American Medical Association was very active in public health reforms, and it even looked sympathetically on government "sickness insurance" plans. However, since the end of World War I, the AMA has been active primarily in representing its members' scientific and political-economic interests.<sup>37</sup> Considering the membership and budget of the AMA, its involvement in civic and community activities is relatively modest. Much of the public service work of the AMA has been hortatory—resolutions passed by the association and disseminated to physicians and policymakers. These resolutions began in 1876 when the association urged communities to adopt sanitary water supplies. They continued through the early twentieth century on such issues as smallpox vaccinations (1901), health fraud and quackery (1913), milk standards (1914), and sharing the burden of care for the poor (1937). In 1924 the

37. Burrows (1963); Campion (1984, pp. 50-54).

ty groups. These activities date  
 an Institute of Architects are in  
 neighborhood renewal. None of  
 he AIA supports and operates its  
 concentrates on providing resources  
 grades K-12. The association  
 lation evaluation of architecture  
 of which was to raise student  
 tributes to the quality of com-  
 on series, "Back from the Brink,"  
 reas in American cities. For a  
 onal disaster assistance teams to  
 s. More recently, the association  
 ce teams that provide three-day  
 rops. In 1995 the AIA initiated  
 to leave a lasting architectural  
 al meeting. These contributions  
 at for Humanity, designing and  
 nt centers, and submitting new  
 AIA is organized in a decentral-  
 ds of local chapters sometimes

erican Medical Association was  
 even looked sympathetically on  
 owever, since the end of World  
 ly in representing its members'  
 37 Considering the membership  
 a civic and community activities  
 vice work of the AMA has been  
 iation and disseminated to phy-  
 ons began in 1876 when the  
 sanitary water supplies. They  
 tury on such issues as smallpox  
 ackery (1913), milk standards  
 r the poor (1937). In 1924 the

AMA began making radio broadcasts with health messages, and it added televised messages in 1946. It continued its advocacy of health and safety legislation in 1954 by recommending that seat belts be required equipment in all automobiles.

The association began to take a more activist stance in public health in 1960 when it helped to organize a countrywide polio prevention program using the Sabin oral vaccine. In its public service activities since that time, the AMA has continued to favor large-scale campaigns that it pursues simultaneously on the national and state levels. In 1972 it launched a campaign to educate the public on health risks associated with tobacco. In the 1980s it began efforts to raise the legal drinking age to twenty-one and opposed all forms of discrimination against AIDS patients. In 1991 it helped to create a grassroots program against family violence in 700 communities. Like the ABA, its committee structure allows members to become involved in public issues such as control of tobacco and domestic violence, women's health issues, and health insurance reform. The association has developed a series of "physician guidelines" on public health issues, including recognizing and treating substance abuse, confronting media violence, and AIDS prevention. These guidelines are distributed to physicians free of charge. The AMA is also involved in patient education programs, such as Partners-in-Care, and has sold millions of consumer health books, videos, and brochures on topics ranging from child care and first aid to an encyclopedia of medicine. The AMA does not keep track of charitable medical work, although a majority of doctors apparently do some charitable work.

*Less-Engaged Organizations: Academic Discipline Associations,  
 Liberal Arts Colleges, and Others*

Eight of the fifteen organizations are only minimally involved in civic and community activities. These eight include the three exclusively academic discipline associations (the American Historical Association, the American Political Science Association, and the Modern Language Association), one association whose membership includes both academics and clinicians (the American Psychological Association), the lower-budget professional association in science (the American Society of Mechanical Engineers), and the teachers' association (the National Education Association). The two liberal arts colleges, Dartmouth and Pomona, are also in this group of less-engaged organizations.

The American Political Science Association was involved in the 1930s and 1950s in "citizenship training" activities with Carnegie Foundation support. It also operated a Government Affairs Institute in the 1950s directed toward service and public affairs. Scientifically minded political scientists often strongly opposed these activities.<sup>38</sup> Today, none of the three academic discipline associations contribute to charities, work with their local communities in any way, or even operate speakers' bureaus. The only current public service activity of any of the academic discipline associations is the AHA's involvement in National History Day. It is, of course, not surprising that academic discipline associations are relatively disengaged from public life. Neither their function nor their status-allocating structures nor their level of discretionary resources leads in the direction of an active public presence. As learned societies, their primary purpose is to publish scholarly materials and to assemble once a year for a scholarly meeting. Their members' public service activities are connected not to the discipline but to the procedures used by colleges and universities for evaluating candidates for promotion. Even if the academic discipline associations were motivated to be engaged in civic and community affairs, they would not have the resources to engage in many of these activities and at the same time attend to their priority activities. Their budget-to-membership ratios are among the lowest of the organizations in our sample (see Table 5-2).

The American Psychological Association is a hybrid organization—part academic discipline association and part mainline professional association representing the interests of mental health clinicians and psychologists in corporate and private employment. Only one-third of APA members, however, work in colleges and universities. (Three-fifths work in clinical settings.) The APA is more involved in public service activities than the purely academic discipline associations, but it is not as active in the mental health area as the AMA is in other health areas. It has published and distributed public service brochures on topics related to mental health, and it has also developed a website that provides information on a variety of topics connected to psychology and mental health. Its main contribution to public affairs and civic action is through the research of its members on topics such as behavioral health, smoking cessation, and promotion of good teaching and parenting skills.

38. Somit and Tanenhaus (1962).



Table 5-2. *Operating Budget of Ten Professional Associations, 1995*

<i>Association</i>	<i>Ratio of budget (in dollars) to members</i>	<i>Budget (in millions of dollars)</i>
<i>Mainline professional associations</i>		
American Chemical Society	1,599:1	231.1
American Medical Association <sup>a</sup>	685:1	193.9
American Psychological Association	450:1	53.1
American Institute of Architects	561:1	32.0
American Bar Association	339:1	127.0
National Education Association	74:1	147.5
American Society of Mechanical Engineers	n.a.	n.a.
<i>Disciplinary associations</i>		
Modern Language Association	219:1	7.0
American Political Science Association	125:1	1.5
American Historical Association	75:1	1.5

Sources: American Medical Association (1995, p. 49); Calabrese (1998); Gale Research (1996).

a. AMA data are for 1994.

n.a. = not available.

ASME also has only a small involvement in civic and community activities. Nearly all of ASME's activity is related to engineering education. Its members have been involved in promoting precollegiate engineering education through an annual robotics competition and through collaboration with the Girl and Boy Scouts and the Junior Engineering Technical Society (JETS). It has also provided instructional and guidance materials to middle schools for engineering-related units in science classes.

The two liberal arts colleges provide entertainment and lectures that are open to the public, but they are otherwise quite uninvolved in civic and community life. Dartmouth's Rockefeller Center brings politicians and policymakers to speak on campus, and it operates study groups on issues of public interest. However, the presence of the institutions in public affairs is minimal. These colleges see their task as highly focused on the education of their students. This purpose is supported by the major resource providers for the colleges—parents who prefer a focused educational experience for their children over the diversity of experiences available at larger schools.

The National Education Association is a special case. Although it operated for its first hundred years as a mainline professional association,

ation was involved in the 1930s ties with Carnegie Foundation Affairs Institute in the 1950s. Scientifically minded political charities.<sup>38</sup> Today, none of the three e to charities, work with their rate speakers' bureaus. The only academic discipline associations story Day. It is, of course, not tions are relatively disengaged or their status-allocating struc- ces leads in the direction of an es, their primary purpose is to ble once a year for a scholarly ivities are connected not to the y colleges and universities for if the academic discipline asso- vic and community affairs, they many of these activities and at ities. Their budget-to-member- ganizations in our sample (see

ation is a hybrid organiza- and part mainline professional ental health clinicians and psy- yment. Only one-third of APA iversities. (Three-fifths work in l in public service activities than s, but it is not as active in the r health areas. It has published topics related to mental health, ovides information on a variety ntal health. Its main contribu- ough the research of its members ag cessation, and promotion of



it converted to a trade union-style organization in the 1960s. Since that time, its primary mission has been to lobby for support of public education and to promote the economic well-being of its members. It also weighs in on issues of controversy surrounding the public schools. But it is no longer organized like the mainline professional associations to raise standards, disseminate research, and represent a "disinterested" body of occupational specialists. Its relative inactivity in civic and community life follows from its primary identity as a trade union.

### Interpreting Patterns of Civic Engagement

Our findings show a decline in the expression of public-oriented themes in the speeches of leaders of most professional organizations, relatively little in the way of civic and community engagement until the 1960s and 1970s, and the development of specialized offices and committees concerned with civic and community life in many (although by no means all) of the organizations since that time. Our interpretation of the causes behind this pattern of change combines an emphasis on the external political environment and the internal characteristics of the organizations themselves. In particular, we emphasize: (1) the status politics of early industrializing America, (2) the shifts in professionals' orientation to public life occasioned by the rise of consumerism and pluralism in the 1920s and the growth of the federal welfare state in the 1930s, and (3) the increasing bureaucratic capacities of professional organizations due to their growth, institutionalization, and growing internal complexity. Each of these developments has tended to redirect professionalism away from its patrician roots and its original ideal interests in protecting and improving society. As the professional associations' interest in public service declined, the organized professions gave way to the welfare state as the primary legitimate guardian and improver of society. At the same time, as professional associations grew in membership and resources, they developed the organizational capacity to engage in civic and community life. Since the 1960s, this capacity has been exercised in varying degrees by the professional associations according to their constitutive identities and self-defined purposes, their degree of connection to the public sector, and the size of their budget. An important context for this activity is the perceived end of "the era of big government" and the resulting sense that other organizations must contribute more than they have to social progress and the amelioration of social ills.

*The Political Environment as a Source of Change*

Historians of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century America have emphasized the distinctive role of middle- and upper-middle-class professionals in the politics of the period. During this age of tremendous industrial growth, increasing urban problems, and frequently violent class conflict, many professionals came to see themselves as guardians of the public interest against the more purely partisan interests of businessmen, workers, and farmers. Richard Hofstadter emphasized status competition as an underlying force, arguing that members of old, respectable families rebelled inwardly against the social prominence of the crude and ruthless businessmen and urban politicians they saw dominating the landscape.<sup>39</sup> Other historians, such as Robert Wiebe and David Tyack, have emphasized the underlying interests of the new professionals in carving out a place for themselves as nonpartisan experts in the new areas of economic and social organization opening up in the advanced sectors of an industrializing society. These historians have argued that professionals found in organization and expertise an alternative foundation for social order appropriate to a world of large urban centers rather than small village communities.<sup>40</sup>

Men like Daniel Coit Gilman and Arthur D. Little shared a genius for organization-building. To use a phrase popular in the American Chemical Society, they saw themselves at the head of an "advancing front of science." Even so, the leading interpretations of "the search for order" in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century America may give too much weight to organization and expertise as the dominant expressions of professionalism. Businessmen and professionals were clearly not the only organization builders during the period. Instead, the evidence suggests a general wave of associationalism and organizational development beginning as early as the 1840s.<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless, we have been unable to detect a comparable level of interest in nonmaterialistic values expressing "the public good" in the associations that represent either more- or less-privileged groups.<sup>42</sup> Thus our findings suggest that the professional middle class asserted itself as much through ideological as through organizational means. Its substitute for religious idealism was not so much organization and expertise as a different kind of "religion"—the religion of occupational activity in the

39. Hofstadter (1955, chap. 4).

40. Wiebe (1967, chap. 5); Tyack and Hansot (1982, part 2).

41. Gamm and Putnam (1999).

42. See, e.g., Wilentz (1984); Hattam (1993); and Clemens (1997).

name of civilization. As a foundation for professionals' claims to priority in the social order, expertise played a secondary role in most of the professional associations we studied. (The two associations representing professionals in scientific-industrial occupations were exceptions to this rule.) Over and over again, professionals put themselves forward as the agents of civilization and civic improvement. Individuals, not organizations, were the agents of social improvement, and these motivated individuals were to be directed both by cultural aspirations and by expertise.

The regularly repeated injunction to serve civilization appears to have had at least three cultural sources: the strictures of an activist Christianity,<sup>43</sup> the optimism of Enlightenment currents in philosophy,<sup>44</sup> and the law and culture of fiduciary relationships.<sup>45</sup> Each of these cultural currents helped during the course of the nineteenth century to transform the inwardly turned guild and aristocratic values of earlier professional elites.

Although one sees some lingering fidelity to this "social trustee professionalism" in the 1920s and 1930s, the overall tenor of professionalism clearly began to change. Others have argued that the market for patrician stewardship gradually declined by the end of the Progressive Era. The causes of the decline are numerous, but three of the more important were the disenchantments of war, the consumerism of the prosperous 1920s, and the growing acceptance of cultural pluralism among educated elites.

World War I created a deep sense of resentment and alienation among younger intellectuals, attitudes that later reverberated in professional life. To younger intellectuals, the war seemed to have nothing grand about it—it was marked by power politics, national dissensus, and carnage—and it sapped the enthusiasm of many. As Henry Allen has written, "the war would make cynicism a sort of etiquette and irony a motive and tone in art and literature right up through the present day."<sup>46</sup> Many intellectuals,

43. From the presidential speeches of the period, see, e.g., van Brunt (1875), Campbell (1885), Holden (1886), and Blaisdell (1911). The Christian motifs in these speeches are consistent with the outward-looking, society-reforming upper-class Christianity promulgated by New England theologians, such as Henry Ward Beecher, from the 1820s on. See Hall (1994).

44. From the presidential speeches of the period, see, e.g., Gilman (1872), Carter (1895), Wheeler (1899), and Hughes (1925).

45. From the presidential speeches of the period, see, e.g., Kellogg (1893) and Meldrim (1915). After an absence in the 1920s and 1930s, the imagery of professionals as social fiduciaries returned in several speeches from the Cold War and Civil Rights eras. See, e.g., Yarnell (1947); Kerr (1952); Silcox (1955); and Alexander (1969).

46. Allen (1998, p. 26).



professionals' claims to priority secondary role in most of the two associations representing professions were exceptions to this put themselves forward as the agent. Individuals, not organizations, and these motivated individual aspirations and by expertise. Service civilization appears to have features of an activist Christianity,<sup>43</sup> a philosophy,<sup>44</sup> and the law and order of these cultural currents helped to transform the inwardly turned professional elites.

Depleted from within, the old ideals of professional stewardship were buffeted from without by the successes of consumer capitalism. In the prosperous 1920s consumer sovereignty became a watchword not only in merchandising but also in government, education, popular culture, and other spheres of American life.<sup>48</sup> Profiles in popular magazines of "heroes of production" (business, scientific, and political leaders) gave way to profiles of "heroes of consumption."<sup>49</sup> Sports and then other extracurricular activities (band, glee club, drama, etc.) became focal points for high school students in the 1920s and 1930s. As one high school principal of the period put it, extracurricular activity "pulsates with life and purpose," whereas the formal curriculum "owes its existence to a coercive regime, loosely connected and highly artificial."<sup>50</sup>

When the demand for socially responsive leadership returned after the Great Depression, the organizational focus of civic engagement shifted from professional institutions (and the political leaders influenced by them) to the federal welfare state. The professions were left, for the most part, standing on the sidelines as the Roosevelt administration took the initiative to mount a massive federal assault on economic and social problems. Some of the professional associations added activities in harmony with the New Deal, such as the ABA's committee on legal aid for the indigent, but most resisted on the grounds that the federal government threatened to intrude on the capacity of private associations to regulate their own affairs. Only after the welfare state was fully institutionalized after World War II did the organized professions and the private colleges and universities fully make their peace with it.

47. Bourne, quoted in Lasch (1965, pp. 92-93).

48. Fox and Lears (1983); Olney (1991); and Lears (1994).

49. Lowenthal (1961, chap. 4).

50. Quoted in Cohen (1985, p. 257).

professionals' claims to priority secondary role in most of the two associations representing professions were exceptions to this put themselves forward as the agent. Individuals, not organizations, and these motivated individual aspirations and by expertise. Service civilization appears to have features of an activist Christianity,<sup>43</sup> a philosophy,<sup>44</sup> and the law and order of these cultural currents helped to transform the inwardly turned professional elites.

Depleted from within, the old ideals of professional stewardship were buffeted from without by the successes of consumer capitalism. In the prosperous 1920s consumer sovereignty became a watchword not only in merchandising but also in government, education, popular culture, and other spheres of American life.<sup>48</sup> Profiles in popular magazines of "heroes of production" (business, scientific, and political leaders) gave way to profiles of "heroes of consumption."<sup>49</sup> Sports and then other extracurricular activities (band, glee club, drama, etc.) became focal points for high school students in the 1920s and 1930s. As one high school principal of the period put it, extracurricular activity "pulsates with life and purpose," whereas the formal curriculum "owes its existence to a coercive regime, loosely connected and highly artificial."<sup>50</sup>

When the demand for socially responsive leadership returned after the Great Depression, the organizational focus of civic engagement shifted from professional institutions (and the political leaders influenced by them) to the federal welfare state. The professions were left, for the most part, standing on the sidelines as the Roosevelt administration took the initiative to mount a massive federal assault on economic and social problems. Some of the professional associations added activities in harmony with the New Deal, such as the ABA's committee on legal aid for the indigent, but most resisted on the grounds that the federal government threatened to intrude on the capacity of private associations to regulate their own affairs. Only after the welfare state was fully institutionalized after World War II did the organized professions and the private colleges and universities fully make their peace with it.

e.g., van Brunt (1875), Campbell (1885), and others in these speeches are consistent with the philosophy promulgated by New England theologians like Nathaniel Hawthorne (1850) and William Hall (1994).

43. Gilman (1872), Carter (1895), Wheeler

Kellogg (1893) and Meldrim (1915). After the 1920s, professionals as social fiduciaries returned in several forms (see Yarnell (1947); Kerr (1952); Silcox (1955);



*The Organization as a Source of Change*

Organizational developments paralleled and reinforced the changes in the political environment. When progressivism reigned, professional organizations had structural incentives to mobilize their members' normative commitments. By the 1920s, most professional associations had become well institutionalized. Growth in membership led to an increasing number of sections, committees, and offices and encouraged a tendency, to focus on internal concerns. Finally, however, continuing growth after World War II enhanced the capacity of organizations to respond to a wide range of environmental demands through specialized, bureaucratic offices. As we have shown, in many professional organizations, this capacity has been used (in limited ways) since the 1970s for activities aimed at civic and community improvement.

It must be remembered that professional elites in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were for the most part leaders of small and struggling bands of practitioners. In the 1880s, only the National Education Association and the American Medical Association had more than 500 members. Issues of legitimacy were necessarily salient. Many of the new national associations faced periodic battles to secure their position against other organizations hoping to supplant them. Critics still saw professionalism as a kind of conspiracy against the laity, and liberal economists were suspicious of professional association as a means of monopolizing job opportunities in particular fields. Scientists had established material bases of legitimacy (and were often well supported by industry), but other professionals mobilized their own constituencies in part by projecting a familiar set of "high-minded" values in relation to the large problems of community and civic life. Like D. Everett Waid, president of the American Institute of Architects in 1925, they insisted that "the highest form of leadership is not money or power but professional service" and that by holding fast to the highest professional standards, architects "contribute to the future welfare of the race."<sup>51</sup> In statements such as Waid's, sociologists often read a bid for preeminence on the part of men of culture against the economically powerful who dominated a practically minded and commercial age. But we should not forget that these expressions were also proven political tools for organization builders. They helped to mobilize members and to mollify outside critics.

51. Waid (1925, p. 12).

ed and reinforced the changes in  
 ssivism reigned, professional or-  
 mobilize their members' normative  
 ssional associations had become  
 ship led to an increasing number  
 encouraged a tendency to focus  
 ntinuing growth after World War  
 is to respond to a wide range of  
 ized, bureaucratic offices. As we  
 nizations, this capacity has been  
 for activities aimed at civic and

ional elites in the nineteenth and  
 most part leaders of small and  
 1880s, only the National Educa-  
 tional Association had more than  
 e necessarily salient. Many of the  
 c battles to secure their position  
 supplant them. Critics still saw  
 against the laity, and liberal econo-  
 sociation as a means of monop-  
 fields. Scientists had established  
 often well supported by industry),  
 ir own constituencies in part by  
 ed" values in relation to the large  
 Like D. Everett Waid, president of  
 1925, they insisted that "the highest  
 er but professional service" and that  
 al standards, architects "contribute  
 statements such as Waid's, sociolo-  
 n the part of men of culture against  
 ated a practically minded and com-  
 t that these expressions were also  
 builders. They helped to mobilize

All of the professional associations experienced strong growth in the early twentieth century (see Figure 5-2.) This growth was accompanied, predictably enough, by substantial internal differentiation. In the interwar period, professional associations added many of the sections and committees that remain important to them today. The American Chemical Society, for example, is more than 100 years old, but one-third of its sections were founded in the twenty years between 1919 and 1940. During the same period, several of the associations reorganized in response to the increasing size of their memberships and the increasing complexity of their activities. The ACS stopped publishing reports of its annual meetings in 1934 owing to their increasing distance from the concerns of rank-and-file members, which then numbered more than 20,000.<sup>52</sup> Many introduced new layers of bureaucracy. The NEA, with a membership already over 80,000, created its Representative Assembly in 1921. The AMA founded or acquired seven new specialty journals in the decade after the end of World War I, and it officially recognized specialty boards in medicine in 1934.<sup>53</sup> The ABA created a representative structure, the House of Delegates, in 1936.<sup>54</sup> Even when growth was not a pressing matter until the 1950s and 1960s (as it was not for the AIA and the APA), the models of the age proclaimed that professional associations could not be efficient and respectable if they were not well staffed and organized into appropriate offices, sections, and committees. The APA reorganized in 1946, greatly expanding its number of divisions.<sup>55</sup>

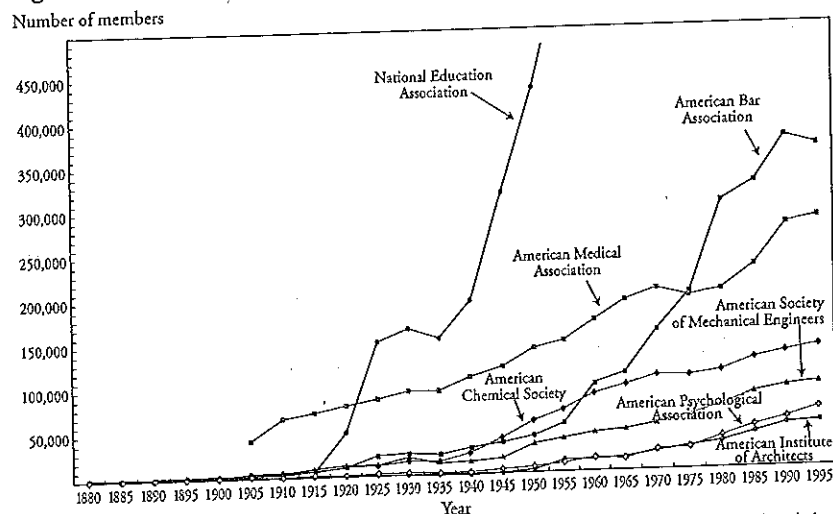
Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that professional elites tended to focus on the inner workings of their own organizations. Five of the professional associations already had more than 5,000 members by 1920 and even the academic discipline associations had that many members by 1955. In contrast to the founding generations, professional elites in the mid-twentieth century became leaders of large and successful organizations. The inner workings of organizations were complicated and challenging, as well as of great interest to the majority of members who found a niche in sections and committees and the interests these generated and set in play.

52. Skolnik and Reese (1976, pp. 236-37).

53. American Medical Association Archives (1996).

54. American Bar Association, Division for Media Relations and Public Affairs (1997).

55. On the APA, see Evans, Sexton, and Cadwallader (1992, pp. 187-89). On the AIA, see Saylor (1957).

Figure 5-2. *Membership in Professional Associations, 1880-1995*

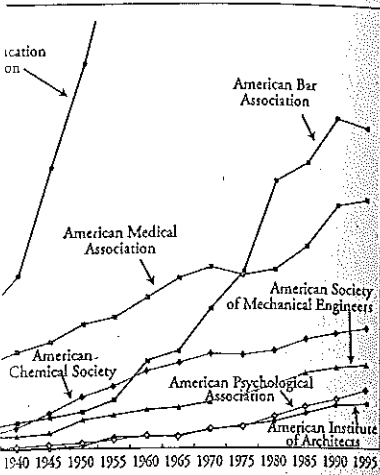
Sources: Gale Research (1957-1995); Saylor (1957, p. 30); Skolnik and Reese (1976, p. 456); American Bar Association, Division of Marketing Research (1998); American Medical Association, Department of Database Services (1998); American Psychological Association (1998); American Society of Mechanical Engineers Archives (1998); National Education Association, Business and Financial Department (1998).

In his presidential speech of 1935, Ernest Russell, president of the AIA, noted with regret the triumph of organizational interests over the institute's original cultural mission. "The programs of conventions," he observed, "are criticized because of the time consumed by organization or internal matters, and because the practice of architecture as a profession and as an art receives too little attention. The criticism is justifiable, but it is difficult to correct." In what seems to be (but probably was not) a self-consciously ironic commentary on the problem, Russell goes on to suggest that an organizational device be used to solve the problem of organizational dominance: "I will strongly recommend that this question of convention programs be given special study by a committee appointed for the purpose."<sup>56</sup> Howard Mumford Jones, president of the Modern Language Association, lamented, "The central problem . . . has two faces: gigantism and multitudinousness. Can the giant of 1980 continue to wear the clothes, however stretched and patched, of the pygmy of 1883?"<sup>57</sup>

56. Russell (1935, p. 3).

57. Jones (1966, p. 5).

Associations, 1880-1995



1940 1945 1950 1955 1960 1965 1970 1975 1980 1985 1990 1995  
 ...nik and Reese (1976, p. 456); American Bar Association, ... Department of Database Services (1998); American ... American Engineers Archives (1998); National Education

5, Ernest Russell, president of the ... of organizational interests over the ... The programs of conventions," he ... time consumed by organization or ... tice of architecture as a profession ... a. The criticism is justifiable, but it ... s to be (but probably was not) a ... the problem, Russell goes on to ... be used to solve the problem of ... ngly recommend that this question ... al study by a committee appointed ... d Jones, president of the Modern ... central problem . . . has two faces: ... the giant of 1980 continue to wear ... ched, of the pygmy of 1883?"<sup>57</sup>

During this period of growth and differentiation, the presidencies themselves became much more clearly political offices. Men who were interested in office had to make the rounds of the constituencies. Campaigning and horse-trading became a part of organized professional life. Donald E. Wood, an unsuccessful candidate for president of the AMA in 1964, recalled: "As I made my rounds of the hospitality suites and the caucuses, I recognized that at least the major states—California, New York, Illinois, Texas—all had their own axes to grind, their own candidates to get elected. It was just as it is at the national Republican or Democratic convention. You back my candidate. I'll support yours."<sup>58</sup> Professionals themselves developed a sense that the president was as much a favorite of a faction as the representative of the whole body.

While growth and institutionalization led professional organizations away from a focused concern with their occupations' contribution to public life, these forces eventually also brought new resources and structures that could, in time, be used for civic and community activities. As the leaders of professional organizations focused on internal dynamics and lost touch rhetorically with public life, they created specialized offices and programs to represent the organizations concretely in their efforts to contribute to public life. Colleges and universities created public affairs and community relations departments as early as the 1920s. By the 1930s, the ABA had organized a number of committees and projects connected to public issues. The AMA and ASME began to develop such a presence around 1960. Other organizations (the ACS, the APA, the AIA) did so for the first time in the supportive climate of the 1970s at a time of continued rapid growth.

In the 1980s and 1990s the budgets of several of the professional associations grew to an impressive size. The American Chemical Society is a particularly notable example. Its 1997 budget topped \$300 million. Most of its income comes from publications rather than membership dues (the latter representing less than 5 percent of revenue). *Chemical Abstracts* abstracts and indexes the world's chemistry-related research and provides access to the resulting scientific database in electronic and hardcopy formats. This division alone generated \$163 million in 1997, primarily through charges for electronic services. Another large contributor (\$82 million in 1997) was the Publications Division, which publishes a wide range of scientific journals, periodicals, and books. Other well-supported

58. Wood, quoted in Campion (1984, p. 95).



associations, such as the AMA and the ABA, are much more dues-dependent. Dues are more than \$400 per year in these associations.

These resources, encouraged by a supportive political climate, have helped foster an expectation for *some* civic and community involvement among the leaders and staff of the mainline professional associations. This expectation is no doubt related also to the perception that the federal role in social policy has diminished and that government should not attempt to solve all social problems. Instead of relying on the federal government to solve social ills, private and public institutions have moved toward collaborative and partnership models. Some associations that speak frequently about the need for civic activism do relatively little themselves—the National Education Association and the American Psychological Association are two examples—but only academic discipline associations, chartered for scholarly purposes and limited by small treasuries, have so far been entirely exempt from this climate of expectations promoting civic engagement.

### Implications

How one evaluates the transformation we have described depends on the degree of importance one attaches to ideology. Those who attach great importance to ideology can plausibly interpret our findings as showing decline in the connection of the professions to public life. Those who attach importance to practices alone will interpret our findings as showing that professional associations are actively engaged in civic and community life, in all likelihood more than ever before. Accepting neither of these two interpretations, in this last section we discuss the implications of our findings for the question of civic engagement in American democracy.

We do not believe our findings should be interpreted as a paean to the civic virtue of professional leaders of the past or as a criticism of the organizational concerns of today's professional elites. Professional leaders may have expressed themselves more consistently and more eloquently in the past about their civilizational and civic roles, but they did not necessarily act successfully on their expressed ideals.<sup>59</sup> Moreover, the ideals of the

59. Strong ideals can mask weak positions. The early presidents of the University of California were, for example, notoriously weak and subject to the direct intervention of the Regents in everyday university affairs. The first strong president of the university, Benjamin Ide Wheeler, was less given than his predecessors to eloquent rhetoric about the social role of universities, but he diminished the role of the Regents and raised buildings and programs out of previously fallow soil. See Stadtman (1970, pp. 88–106).

are much more dues-dependent than these associations. In a supportive political climate, have a record of community involvement and community involvement in professional associations. This is an exception that the federal role in government should not attempt to rely on the federal government to address. These associations have moved toward collaborations with professional associations that speak frequently for themselves—the National Psychological Association and other discipline associations, chartered for professional purposes, have so far been entirely ineffective in promoting civic engagement.

past showed characteristic weaknesses and blind spots, even when they were effective. They often encouraged arrogance and purism in dealings with the public, and they coexisted, as is well known, with a nearly total exclusion of minorities and women from positions of leadership—and indeed from membership in many cases.<sup>60</sup>

In the broader political culture, too, social trustee professionalism left an ambiguous political legacy. In the nineteenth century, professionals supported a conservative politics of nation-building, opposed in many ways to the populist impulses of Catholics and Jews, poor farmers, urban workers, and Democrats.<sup>61</sup> And yet by the turn of the century the professional ideology of civilization-building clearly also nourished the Progressive movement.<sup>62</sup> The consequences of professional ideology depended on the level of mobilization of more-advantaged and less-advantaged groups in society and on the kinds of political alliances made between middle-class professionals, upper-class businesspeople, and lower-status groups. When lower-status groups were highly mobilized, professionals' concerns about civilizational values could be a progressive force in political life, one that tended to support populist energies for change, while encouraging them along a reformist rather than a radical path. When professionals acted alone or were allied primarily with business elites, civilizational concerns usually supported the existing social and political order.<sup>63</sup>

Civic engagement through bureaucratic means has had equally ambiguous implications. There are reasons for professional organizations to feel proud of their recent civic record—many of their civic and community activities have had an important impact. But most of the professional organizations we studied are only minimally engaged, and even the most involved devote but a comparatively small proportion of resources to civic activities. Clearly, professional organizations cannot hope to substitute for institutions that are more directly and continuously involved in civic and community life. Insofar as the professions are perceived to be a major vehicle for the "new volunteerism" or "new communitarianism" in American society, they are likely to prove a poor form of transportation.

More important, the bureaucratization of civic engagement encourages a compartmentalization of consciousness. If organizations have special

60. On the racist views of representative figures of the professional elite of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Lagemann (1989, pp. 30, 46, 48, 74, 79–80 ff.).

61. Ladd and Hadley (1976); and Meyer, Tyack, Nagel, and Gordon (1979).

62. Hostadter (1955); and Wiebe (1967).

63. Brint (1994, pp. 104–5, 112–14).

64. The presidents of the University of California were, in the tradition of the Regents in everyday university life, more like the president of the University of California at Berkeley than like the president of the University of California at San Diego. The president of the University of California at Berkeley, Richard I. Hodder-Grant, was less given than his predecessors, but he diminished the role of the Regents in the university's governance. See Stadtman (1970, pp. 88–106).

offices of community and public affairs, members may feel that their community and civic responsibilities are "taken care of." Instead of fostering a culture of connection to the broader society, the bureaucratization of civic engagement frees many professionals from any marked sense of connection to the life of their society. It thereby aids in the transformation of professionalism from an ideology linking community and authority into an ideology linking markets and skills. A paradox results: for all of the increased civic and community activity of professional organizations, the cultural connection of professionals to public life may in fact be declining.

However we may feel about these developments, it would be unwise to indulge in feelings of nostalgia for the old professionalism. Its day has passed. The watchwords today are participation and responsiveness, not authority. John Busby put this shift in cultural expectations well in his 1985 presidential speech to the AIA: "The architect today doesn't—and can't—work in a vacuum. Those days are gone. . . . Paternalism is out. Responsiveness is in."<sup>64</sup> Undoubtedly, any new professional ideology that emphasized community and civic engagement would have to combine its normative priorities and expert skills with a genuine respect for dialogue and pluralism. No such ideologies may emerge as alternatives to today's more purely expert forms of professionalism, but it is impossible to envisage the professions once again becoming coherent vehicles for civic engagement without the development of a new ideology of professionalism similar in some respects to the old, but better adapted to the demands of contemporary democratic society.

#### Appendix 5A: The Presidential Speeches File

This appendix lists the presidential speeches coded in the content analysis. The speeches are grouped by the president's organization and are in chronological order.

##### *American Bar Association*

1879, James O. Broadhead, "Address of James O. Broadhead."

1885, John W. Stevenson, "The Address of the President, John W. Stevenson."

64. Busby (1985, p. 17)



s, members may feel that their  
 'taken care of.' Instead of foster-  
 society, the bureaucratization of  
 als from any marked sense of  
 hereby aids in the transformation  
 g community and authority into  
 A paradox results: for all of the  
 f professional organizations, the  
 blic life may in fact be declining.  
 velopments, it would be unwise  
 old professionalism. Its day has  
 ipation and responsiveness, not  
 cultural expectations well in his  
 he architect today doesn't—and  
 e gone. . . . Paternalism is out.  
 y new professional ideology that  
 ment would have to combine its  
 a genuine respect for dialogue  
 emerge as alternatives to today's  
 sm, but it is impossible to envis-  
 oherent vehicles for civic engage-  
 ew ideology of professionalism  
 etter adapted to the demands of

#### Speeches File

speeches coded in the content  
 president's organization and are

James O. Broadhead."

of the President, John W. Steven-

- 1895, James C. Carter, "Address of the President, James C. Carter."  
 1905, Henry St. George Tucker, "Address of the President, Henry St.  
 George Tucker."  
 1915, Peter W. Meldrim, "Address of the President, Peter W. Meldrim."  
 1925, Charles Evans Hughes, "Annual Address. Liberty and Law."  
 1935, Scott M. Loftin, "Independence of the Judiciary. Annual Address."  
 1945, David A. Simmons, "The Supremacy of the Law. Annual Ad-  
 dress."  
 1955, Lloyd Wright, "Milestone and Concepts of the Lawyer-Citizen.  
 Annual Address."  
 1965, Lewis F. Powell, "The State of the Legal Profession."  
 1975, James D. Fellers, "State of the Legal Profession."  
 1986, William W. Fallsgraff, "A Year in the Life of the ABA: Remarks to  
 the House of Delegates."  
 1996, Roberta Cooper-Ramo, "President's Statement to the ABA House  
 of Delegates."

#### *American Chemical Society*

- 1894, Henry W. Wiley, "Synthetic Food of the Future."  
 1913, Arthur D. Little, "Industrial Research in America."  
 1924, L. H. Baekland, "Prospects and Retrospects."  
 1932, L. V. Redman, "Stabilized Research—A National Asset."  
 1945, Bradley Dewey, "The Chemist and the Public."  
 1966, William J. Sparks, "President's Message."  
 1976, Glenn T. Seaborg, "What's Past Is Prologue."  
 1986, Ellis K. Fields, "President's Message."  
 1996, Ronald C. Breslow, "Interesting Times for Chemistry."

#### *American Historical Association*

- 1895, George B. Hoar, "Popular Discontent with Representative Govern-  
 ment."  
 1906, J. B. McMaster, "Old Standards of Public Morals."  
 1916, H. M. Stephens, "Nationality and History."  
 1926, C. M. Andrews, "The American Revolution: An Interpretation."  
 1936, Michael I. Rostovtzeff, "The Hellenistic World and Its Economic  
 Development."  
 1946, Carlton J. H. Hayes, "America and Europe."