Jane Addams and the Hull-House Maps & Papers. A Knowledge-Culture Approach[1]

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Jane Addams – social researcher, socio-political activist, and Nobel Peace Prize winner – is one of those „women in sociology" (Honegger/Wobbe 1998) who are seldom remembered today in the history of the discipline. Although Addams' research and sociopolitical activities shaped academic and public life in Chicago significantly at that time, her work has been overshadowed by the „Men of the Chicago School" (Deegan 1988) at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. Our contribution intends to pay tribute to Jane Addams as a classic figure of problem-oriented social research and is structured as follows: We begin with a brief biographical portrait of Jane Addams (1) and then describe the Hull-House and the *Hull-House Maps & Papers* in the socio-historical context of the settlement movement (2). In the next step we outline the approach of sociological cultures of knowledge, in order to proceed with a knowledge-culture interpretation of Addams' work (3). We conclude with a plea for a greater reception of the Maps & Papers and for the recognition of Jane Addams' pioneering role in sociology, which unfolded beyond the confines of university and non-university research and the later established lines of academic discourse (4).

1. Jane Addams: A brief biographical portrait

Jane Laura Addams was born on September 6, 1860, in Cedarville, Illinois, the eighth child in the family of Sarah Weber Addams and John Huy Addams. The father was a member of the Quaker community, a mill owner, Republican state senator in Illinois and a friend of Abraham Lincoln. The family belonged to the upper U.S. middle class. When Addams was two years old, her mother died, and she grew up with her father, stepmother, and siblings. After graduating from high school, Addams attended Rockford Female Seminary in Rockford, Illinois, one of the first colleges for women in the United States. She became class president, graduated at the top of her class in 1881, and gave the valedictorian speech at graduation (Deegan 1991: 37; Shields et al. 2022: 4 f.). A sentence from that speech, which aptly illustrates her life's work and guiding principles, can be found today on the Rockford Female Seminary website: „We stand today united in a belief in beauty, genius and courage, and that these can transform the world."[3]

1 The paper is based on our talk at the conference „Women in the History of Sociology" at the University of Braunschweig on November 9–11, 2022 (Halatcheva-Trapp/Poferl 2022) as well as on an entry in the online-series published by Soziopolis „Die unsichtbare Hälfte. Frauen in der Geschichte der Soziologie" [The Invisible Half. Women in the History of Sociology, transl. M.H.T & A.P.] (Halatcheva-Trapp/Poferl 2023).

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3 https://www.rockford.edu/community/jacce/janeaddams/ (16. 10. 2023).

After college, Addams began studying at the Women's Medical College in Philadelphia in 1881 and soon, due to illness, had to discontinue her studies. That same year, her father died, to whom she had been very close and who had also been a socio-political role model for her. Addams fell into a depression, searched for fulfilling social tasks, became involved in charitable work, and traveled to Europe for the first time in 1883. She made her second trip to Europe four years later with Ellen Gates Starr, a former fellow Rockford student and later social reformer. In London in 1888, they visited Toynbee Hall – the first house of the settlement movement. This place inspired them, back in America, to found a similar project: the Hull-House, an aid agency for migrants, the unemployed and especially for women in a so-called 'slum' area of Chicago (Deegan 1991: 38; Shields et al. 2022: 4 f.).

Jane Addams believed in the changeability of the social world and lived this belief throughout her life. Her worldview was marked by various influences. She was inspired by the literature of the Romantic period, but also by Leo Tolstoy, whom she met in person in 1896, and his interpretation of Christian human love: „love is the creative force of the universe, the principle which binds men together and by their interdependence on each other makes them human." (Addams et al. 1893, cit. from Fischer 2002: 281). Besides these humanist, pacifist and at the same time socially critical positions, Addams was also influenced by the US Protestant social gospel tradition, which combined Christian ethics with the solution of social problems and social reform, and by Auguste Comte's theory of evolution (cf. Misheva 2019; Fischer 2022; Villadsen 2022). Throughout her life, she was a co-founder and leader of various organizations that fought for social justice, especially the rights of women and workers. As a pacifist, Addams protested against U.S. involvement in World War I, founded the first Women's Peace Party in the U.S. in 1915, and joined with other feminists from twelve nations to create the International Women's Peace Congress. The latter took place for the first time in April 1915 in The Hague and called for an end to the war and for political equality for women (Gerhard 2009: 80). Addams served as congress president and was also a member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, which grew out of the congress and remains active around the world until today.[4] She was a sought-after speaker and author of several books and numerous essays. Because of her international commitment to peace, Addams came under public scrutiny and was declared the „most dangerous woman in America" (Blasi 2005: 441) by the U.S. Department of Justice. Jane Addams was honoured with the Nobel Peace Prize for her influential pacifist and socio-political activities. After Bertha von Suttner, Addams was the second woman to receive this prize. She shared it with Nicholas Murray Butler in 1931. The committee gave the following reasons: „for their assiduous effort to revive the ideal of peace and to rekindle the spirit of peace in their own nation and in the whole of mankind".[5] Due to health reasons, Addams was unable to accept it in person. Jane Addams died in Chicago on May 21, 1935.

4 https://www.wilpf.org/who-we-are/our-herstory/ (16. 10. 2023). The website of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom contains the report on the 1919 congress in Zurich, including the opening speech of the president Jane Addams: https://www.wilpf.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/WILPF-Congress-Report_Extract-for-website.pdf (16. 10. 2023).

5 https://www.nobelpeaceprize.org/laureates/1931 (05. 01. 2023).

2. The *Hull-House Maps & Papers:* The settlement approach to exploring and addressing social problems

The settlement movement developed in the late 19th century in Europe and the United States in response to the massive spread of poverty and unemployment in the wake of industrialization and urbanization. At the same time, the social survey movement, which was supported by intellectuals and social reformers, expanded. Its adherents systematically analyzed social inequality, wrote social reports and demanded political reforms.[6] It was a time of upheaval and new beginnings: poverty was defined as a socio-structural problem and was no longer considered a 'trait'; women's education became increasingly important; philanthropic action spread and various social reform movements were formed. The latter campaigned, for example, for women's suffrage, for better working conditions and the strengthening of trade unions, for the abolition of child labor, and for environmental protection. It was in this socio-historical context that the first settlement houses were established, first in Great Britain and shortly thereafter in the United States. Toynbee Hall, which opened in London in 1884, became the model for numerous settlements and is closely linked to the history of Hull-House. The settlements were particularly attractive to young and educated women, because they offered opportunities to live in communities beyond traditional family relationships, where they could apply their knowledge and commitment to public causes. At that time, women were excluded from teaching at universities, but in the settlements, they were able to have a legitimate public impact by supporting people in difficult social situations (Sklar 1991; Font-Casaseca 2022: 526 f.; Oakley 2022: 647).

2.1 The Hull-House

Jane Addams was a key figure in spreading the settlement movement in the United States. In 1889, she and Ellen Gates Starr founded the Hull-House, a settlement house in Chicago's 19th ward. As the second largest city in the United States, Chicago faced a whole new bunch of social problems, including poverty, immigration, exploitative labor, cramped as well as unsanitary housing conditions, pollution, and organized crime, for which solutions were not yet available. As Addams' intellectually, professionally and personally close friend George H. Mead (1908: 110) writes: „You will find the settlements at the points where the most intensely interesting problems in modern industrial and social life are centered."

A special feature of Hull-House is its dual function as a social aid agency and an experimental research workshop (Font-Casaseca 2022: 526). On the one hand, Hull-House carried out educational work for the poor and migrants. Hull-House residents, including students, social workers, and volunteers, taught English and history classes, organized lectures, art exhibitions, and Sunday concerts, as well as union meetings and local sociopolitical actions

6 In the last decades of the 19th century, the social survey became an important instrument of social analysis, closely associated with social policy reforms and applied by public administrations as well as individuals. Surveys focused predominantly on the individual as well as on fieldwork in smaller contexts rather than on aggregate data. An important protagonist of the social survey movement was Florence Kelley, who, together with Jane Addams, edited the *Hull-House Maps & Papers* (Font-Casaseca 2022: 530; see also Bulmer et al. 1991).

(such as inspecting garbage collection). Addams, together with other residents, advocated for regulation of working hours, restrictions on child labor, sanitary working conditions, and cooperative relationships between workers and employers (Fischer 2002: 286 f.; Miethe 2012: 113 f.). In order to support families in everyday urban life, the Hull-House set up a crèche, a community kitchen, and provided after-school leisure activities for young people. Addams' understanding of family as an institution closely interwoven with the neighborhood community was a guiding principle to this work (Sklar 1991: 135; Fischer 2002: 292). On the other hand, Hull-House became the focal point of socio-political and reform-minded research that took sides with socially weak and marginalized people and was conducted in an independent, sometimes unconventional type of research work unimaginable to the changing political climate at the universities of the time (Sklar 1991: 115). Research as a way of advocating for a more equitable world, making social grievances public and improving people's lives: Addams realized this motif of the social survey movement through research in and around Hull-House. Together with residents of the district, the 'settlers' developed and tested new research methods, explored their own district, whose problems they knew only too well, and thus actively participated in its socio-structural transformation (Font-Casaseca 2022: 525).

Addams (1910: 52) understood settlement as a method, an approach to exploring and addressing social inequalities. What distinguishes the settlement approach? It is the interweaving of everyday life and research, the partiality for the researched and the priority of setting their needs over those of the researchers. Research was seen as an instrument for political reform, participation and practical intervention. Also, the researchers were recognizable as such – a circumstance that was new at the time and different from the usual practice of undercover research in the context of investigative reporting (Miethe 2012: 121 f.). The approach combined sociological observation and analysis with political claims and ethical norms for a more just society. Mead (1908: 108) particularly emphasizes the embedding of research in the home environment:

„The settlement worker distinguishes himself from either the missionary or the scientific observer by his assumption that he is first of all at home in the community where he lives, and that his attempts at amelioration of the conditions that surround him and his scientific study of these conditions flow from this immediate human relationship, this neighborhood consciousness, from the fact that he is at home here."

With the founding and directing of Hull-House, Addams became a pioneer in innovative research and management of social problems and inequalities in the industrialized metropolis. Quickly, Hull-House established itself as a leading institution in Chicago and a prime example of the settlement movement on a local and even national level. Addams' interest in and openness to new ideas helped establish a practice of collective decision-making at Hull-House that, according to its claim, was driven by respect, creativity, and constant exchange among the residents, guests, and residents of the neighborhood. Unlike its London model Toynbee Hall, Hull-House was more egalitarian in structure, less religiously oriented, and more focused on the needs of women. Both women and men lived and worked at Hull-House, yet it was clearly a space led and dominated by women (Deegan 1991: 39; Fischer 2002: 292; Font-Casaseca 2022: 527).

2.2 The Hull-House Maps & Papers

Addams' approach to social research is described as „sympathetic, relational, and experimental" (Font-Caseseca 2022: 525). The Hull-House Maps & Papers are an impressive record of this approach. Edited by Jane Addams and Florence Kelley in 1895, the *Hull-House Maps & Papers* assemble the findings of research conducted in and around the settlement from 1892 to 1894. The maps include graphical representations of the income („Wages Map") and ethnic composition („Nationalities Map") of residents in the district. From a methodological point of view, the maps are considered groundbreaking because they translate statistical data on income and origin into graphs. They provide an accurate and comprehensive picture of the social structure of the district, including the spatial concentration and distribution of nationalities in the neighborhood and their differential exposure to poverty (Sklar 1991: 123; Miethe 2012: 118 f.; see also Font-Casaseca 2022). The Papers contain, in addition to a prefatory note by Jane Addams, ten contributions and an appendix. In the first contribution, Agnes Sinclair Holbrook explains the maps; in another, Florence Kelley, who also directed the research, writes about economic exploitation using the sweating system as an example and, together with Alzina P. Stevens, about wage-earning children. A further contribution, written by Isabel Eaton, provides information on receipts and expenditures of cloakmakers in Chicago. Three other contributions, written by Charles Zueblin, Josefa Humpal-Zeman and Alessandro Mastro-Valerio, portray the Chicago Ghetto and the Bohemian and Italian communities in the district. Julia C. Lathrop studies the Cook County charities; Ellen Gates Starr looks at the role of art in a working-class neighborhood. The final contribution by Jane Addams analyzes the significance of the settlements for the labor movement. Except for two contributions, all texts are written by women – an absolute rarity at that time (cf. Hull-House 2007 [1895]).

The *Hull-House Maps & Papers* provide detailed insights into everyday life in the settlement and its surroundings and were therefore jokingly referred to by the residents as „the jumble book" (Sklar 1991: 122). Addams used the research reports as a political tool to initiate support measures, such as the introduction of the 8-hour workday and the minimum wage. For forty years after the publication of the *Hull-House Maps & Papers*, Hull-House residents continued to map and depict the social as well as cultural life of the neighborhood. During this time, twenty-three studies had been conducted, including trash collection, truancy, the lives of newsboys, and the social importance of bars. The results were presented on the walls of Hull-House so that they could always be noticed and discussed. In addition, the residents published regularly in the prestigious *American Journal of Sociology* (Deegan 1988: 47 f.; Miethe 2012: 116) and thus received attention for their work.

The *Hull-House Maps & Papers* are considered as a masterpiece of empirical social research in the late 19th century, innovative and groundbreaking, and an impetus for metropolitan research and urban sociology. Until the publication of the multi-volume Pittsburgh Survey (1909), they had a state-of-the-art status in terms of social science research on urban life of the U.S. working class (Sklar 1991: 122). They combine different types of data – ethnographic observation, interviews with policy makers as well as statistical surveys and graphic visualizations – and can be counted among the beginnings of sociographic research in socio-historical terms. At the same time, the *Hull-House Maps & Papers* represent „a major

work of the progressive movement“ and „reflect the deeply political nature of settlement work in its early days“ (Schultz 2007: 1).

3. A knowledge-culture approach to Jane Addams' work

Jane Addams always refused to see the settlement as merely a sociological laboratory, reasoning as follows: „Settlements should be something much more human and spontaneous than such a phrase connotes, and yet it is inevitable that the residents should know their own neighborhoods more thoroughly than any other, and that their experiences there should affect their convictions.“ (Addams 1910: 130). She was interested in the practical and participatory application of knowledge, explicitly set herself apart from the university, and formulated according to Mead (1908: 110) a dual claim: „The settlement is practical in its attitude, but inquiring and scientific in its method.“ Despite the appreciative collegial and personal relationships between Addams and several members of Chicago University, despite the lively exchanges and quite a few joint academic and political activities, her relationship to university sociology remained ambivalent (cf. Deegan 1988). Addams felt that the university culture was too academic, politically restrained, and focused on specialization and abstraction (Sklar 1991: 136; Ross 1998: 149 f.). This brings us to a consideration of Addams' work from a knowledge-culture perspective.

3.1 Sociological cultures of knowledge

The scope of research on cultures of knowledge in general is rather wide. It contains a variety of term-usages and specific understandings, goes back to historical predecessors (such as Friedrich Nietzsche, Max Scheler or Ludwik Fleck) and can be found in different disciplines – ranging from humanities and cultural studies, history, science studies as well as to societal and professional fields of action (e. g. art, design, music). Divergent disciplines such as the natural sciences, humanities, and social sciences have themselves been differentiated as cultures of knowledge (Lepenies 1989). However, the concept of „epistemic cultures“ has also been used to analyse different practices of knowledge production within scientific areas, such as, for example, the natural sciences (Knorr Cetina 2002 [1999]). Our understanding connects to studies on knowledge cultures within *sociology* (Keller/Poferl 2016; Poferl/Keller 2017, 2018), while taking a sociology-of-knowledge-perspective (Berger/Luckmann 1966). Doing so, enables a focus on knowledge culture formations of scientific work, which are embedded in specific fields and disciplines and can be examined via discourse analysis as well as pragmatic action-centred theory. On the one hand, the formation of sociological knowledge is thus based on institutionalized, more or less stabilized, discursive structures that predetermine what *science* may be. This is central for questions of scientific recognition. On the other hand, it is also rooted in concrete, situated knowledge orientations of scientific action, which are aimed at working out (specific) solutions to (specific) knowledge problems – therein lies its 'inventive' and creative potential (in the German original: Poferl/Keller 2018: 19 f.).

Both the scientific activities and their backgrounds and infrastructures come into view. Theories and methods, styles of thinking and ways of acting, but also linguistic matters and societal conditions within local, regional and national scientific contexts — they all generate different manifestations of the understanding of scientificity and the practice of science, be it sociological writing, speaking or researching. Which approach seems valid, feasible, theoretically and methodologically consistent and legitimate? Is there room for deviation from what is considered established? And vice versa: Where and how can non-established research unfold? What role does creativity play? The knowledge-culture perspective raises awareness for differences in the production of knowledge as well as differences in the justification of knowledge and scientific claims. Epistemic ideals, canonized procedures and self-understandings of science – such as objectivity, truth and verifiability – are, in this sense, components of scientific construction of reality and of scientific relation to the world itself (in the German original: Poferl/Keller 2018: 19). They are historically, politically, culturally and socially situated, and – for this very reason – by no means arbitrary yet bound to the materiality of the objects. The question of the political and practical relevance of research is also part of this. Knowledge cultures shape and mold scientific action and its specific regularity. In the best case, they design a space of possibilities, a space of exploration, of trying things out and experimenting. In the worst case, they impose prohibitions on thinking or promote a short-sighted approach.

What can we learn from such an approach for an understanding of Jane Addams' work? Back to her and the *Hull-House Maps & Papers.* First, we take a look at Addams' relationship to university sociology. We then undertake a knowledge-culture interpretation of Addams' work through a historical lens.

3.2 Jane Addams and the university sociology

Addams' relationship to university sociology was complex, characterised by a lively exchange and joint academic and political activities. Members of the University of Chicago were regular guests at Hull-House, where they held lectures and debates, reviewed Addams' books and together with her founded the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, where Addams lectured from 1907 to 1914 (Deegan 1988: 76; Miethe 2012: 115; Villadsen 2022: 391). Albion W. Small (1854–1926), who founded the Department of Sociology at Chicago University in 1892, was one of the cooperation partners and supported Addams in many ways: together they advocated for the fight against child labour; Small offered Addams a part-time position as professor in his department; asked her several times to be an author for the *American Journal of Sociology*[7]; integrated the *Hull-House Maps & Papers* into his teaching; lobbied for Addams to be awarded an honorary doctorate;[8] and finally even proposed that Hull-House be institutionally affiliated with the university (Deegan 1988: 80 ff.). Addams shared intellectual and socio-political interests with George H. Mead (1863–1931) and John Dewey (1859–1952) – especially in the fields of education, ethics and democracy as well as

7 From 1896 to 1914, Jane Addams published five articles and one commentary in the *American Journal of Sociology.*

8 This was denied at Chicago University. In 1910, Yale University awarded Jane Addams an honorary doctorate, the first woman to do so (https://yalealumnimagazine.org/articles/4881-women-of-honor, 16. 10. 2023).

feminist commitment –, but they also had a lifelong private friendship (cf. Lowe 2022; Ralston 2022). Addams and Mead had some considerable epistemological overlappings, which inspired each other, and addressed social inequalities together (Deegan 1988: 118 ff.; Villadsen 2022: 395). Dewey developed a close relationship with Hull-House and is referred to in this context as the „Hull House convert" (Martin 2002: 165). In his lectures, he worked with Addams' book „Democracy and Social Ethics" (1902) and identified the research in and around Hull-House as significant for the development of his conception of education and democracy (Fischer 2002: 279). On the occasion of his 70th birthday, Addams gave a speech entitled „A Toast to John Dewey" (1929) in which she paid tribute not only to his philosophy but also to his commitment – unusually great for a scientist – to the common good and his continued support of Hull-House. A few days after the celebration, Dewey wrote to her: „I hope you know, […] that there is no one in the world whom I would have so much desired to be present and speak." (Martin 2002: 376).

Addams turned down Albion Small's job offer as well as his offer to institutionally link Hull-House to Chicago University because she wanted to preserve the independence of the settlement element as well as her own (Ross 1998: 140). She was always concerned with the practical application of knowledge and driven by a universal interest in a better, more just society: „Sympathetic knowledge is the only way of approach to any human problem." (Addams 1912:11). Inspired equally by pragmatism, humanitarianism and the belief in the usefulness of social science knowledge for the realization of social reform and democracy she wanted to move people to ethical action – an ideal Addams realized with her kind of research in and around Hull-House.

3.3 Jane Addams' work between different and gendered cultures of knowledge

The professional classification of Addams' work and activity is contradictory and has a checkered history. Although Addams and other Hull-House residents were recognized by contemporaries as sociologists, they were later marginalized and assigned primarily to social work (Addams was considered one of its founders). Various factors play a role here. They concern the role of women in the social sciences, but also the upheavals in the development of social sciences itself.

The research surrounding Hull-House was conducted predominantly by women, and they did so without payment. As a political and practical active reformer and committed researcher who was not employed by any university, Addams received little attention in later sociological reception. She was not alone in this, as she belonged to a generation of women reformers who set the settlement movement and the Progressive Era in the USA in motion and confronted social problems with ethical solutions. For these women, social science was a „double-edged sword" (Sklar 1991: 113): On the one hand, it gave them the vocabulary and analytical methods that their male contemporaries also had at their disposal. On the other hand, social science deepened their identification with 'women's issues' which were not scientifically recognised to the same extent. The more convincingly and adeptly these women addressed

general social problems, the more they became associated with women's specific problems, both inside and outside academia.

Moreover, around the turn of the century and especially since the 1920s, profound changes occurred in the scientific landscape. They affect the understanding of academic sociology and its criteria, which placed Addams in an outsider position:

„HHM&P is a work of social science whose contributors believed that sociological knowledge was the result of the integration of social investigation and advocacy, an opposite approach from the canonical model that was just beginning to emerge in the late 1890s and became by the 1920s the only acceptable way to be a professional social scientist. By the 1920s the kind of sociological investigations undertaken at Hull-House no longer fit the criteria of academic research." (Schultz 2007: 3)

In Addams' work, the „tensions between the pure and applied tendencies in early American sociology" (Blasi 2005: 1) can be traced. Nevertheless, she had a crucial influence on Chicago sociology, especially by her unusual choice of topics and methods, thus advancing the development of sociology as an empirical science. Our answer to the polemical question of whether Jane Addams was a sociologist (cf. Villadsen 2022) is: Of course she was. She was a sociologist at the forefront of developing problem-oriented sociology and empirical social research.

But why did Addams' work and the outstanding *Hull-House Maps & Papers* receive so little attention in later sociology – despite setting a benchmark for doing scientifically relevant work?

From our point of view, this has structural reasons that are grounded in the context of social history and politics of science of its time and are tied to the establishment – and simultaneously the demarcation – of two different and also gendered cultures of knowledge. We call them: *a (masculinized) scientific-academic* and *a (feminized) political-practical culture of knowledge.* In terms of content, Jane Addams' research displays traits of both. Institutionally, however, her research remained outside the university and was therefore quasi 'automatically' assigned to the non-academic field. The development of a sociology of social problems that followed later (strongly influenced by the Chicago School, pragmatism and interactionism) indirectly points to the differences and frictions between the two spheres.[9]

4. Conclusion

This paper sought to recall a piece of sociological history and Jane Addams as a historical figure and as a pioneer of sociological research.

The concept of knowledge cultures helps us to historicize scientific knowledge by examining its specific temporal-spatial context of emergence. Furthermore, we render visible the structural dynamics and entanglements involved in the establishment or exclusion of sociological knowledge. In the case of Jane Addams, it is the confluence of gender ascriptions,

9 For example, the *Society for the Study of Social Problems*, which was founded in 1951 in the USA as a spin-off of the *American Sociological Association*, took a socio-politically committed position from the very beginning; the analysis of social problems was to contribute directly to their solution (Groenemeyer 2001: 9). With the symbolic-interactionist turn of the sociology of social problems in the 1960s, this intention took a distinctly sociological and later also analytically more distanced direction (cf. Groenemeyer 2012; Keller/Poferl 2020).

formal (non-)affiliation with the institutional context of the university and a bifurcation of knowledge cultures that condition the comparatively poor reception of her significant piece of research. The *Hull-House Maps & Papers* were rediscovered in their social scientific relevance predominantly in the 1990s in the context of sociological women's history, and to some extent gender studies. Nevertheless, the narrative of simple exclusion would be too simplistic. At the level of the actors, the interplay of institutional developments and individual decisions becomes apparent. At the level of historiography, the foci of attention and blind spots of retrospective typification, categorization, interpretation, and classification are reflected. Hull-House's research unfolds in a unique historical constellation[10]. At the same time, Addams' work raises further questions that are highly relevant in terms of a culture of (scientific) knowledge and also point far beyond the historical context of her time: What understanding of science can be realized where and how? What does this mean for the institutionalization of scientific standards, for the organization of science, and not least for the respective scientific self-understandings? For the history of sociology, for the sociology of knowledge, and for the sociology of science, this opens up a broad field. It is time to connect these strands.

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10 In this respect, the research approach of Addams and her colleagues, as represented in the Hull-House Maps & Papers, is difficult to categorize in the German-speaking debate on the freedom of value judgement. Max Weber's sociology, which strictly separates science and politics, and its postulate of objectivity (cf. Weber 1904) also concedes the value-bound nature of research questions as well as the – practically relevant – analysis of means to achieve ends. Addams wanted to pursue an intervening sociology that is ethically inspired and at the same time makes social ethics its object. A purely analytical sociology, as it later established itself internationally, stands in sharp contrast to this. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that Addams knew how to distinguish between the scientific, moral and political dimensions of her work, which was dedicated to social reform (cf. with regard to democratic theory and public administration, e. g. Shields 2011). An instructive consideration of Addams' work from an 'experimental' perspective, which is located in and shapes concrete social fields, can be found in Gross (2009).

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