

6-28-2022

Decision-making Culture and Change: Toward Democratic Equity and Inclusion

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FLORIDA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Miami, Florida

DECISION-MAKING CULTURE, AND CHANGE:
TOWARD DEMOCRATIC EQUITY AND INCLUSION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

by

Dale H. Francis

2022

To: Dean John F. Stack Jr.
Green School of International and Public Affairs

This dissertation, written by Dale H. Francis, and entitled Decision-Making Culture, and Change: Toward Democratic Equity and Inclusion, having been approved in respect to style and intellectual content, is referred to you for judgment.

We have read this dissertation and recommend that it be approved.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION
DECISION-MAKING CULTURE, AND CHANGE:
TOWARD DEMOCRATIC EQUITY AND INCLUSION

by

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Florida International University, 2022

Miami, Florida

Professor Allan Rosenbaum, Major Professor

This dissertation is a study of challenges to the development of democratic equity and inclusion in administration. It examines Woodrow Wilson's and the 1968 Minnowbrook Conference participants' thoughts about public administration in environments of political constraint and crisis. The study consists of four essays. Essay 1 is an overview of Wilson's concerns for the development of administration and thoughts on a prescribed role for the study. Essay 2 presents an overview of the Minnowbrook Conference concerns, including the traditional political rationality. Essay 3 surveys contemporary equity and inclusion literature and assesses the linkages to the ideas of Wilson and the Minnowbrook Conference. Essay 4 examines the thoughts that describe the reasons for the slow onset of the racial equity research agenda. The dissertation posits a link between the Wilson and Minnowbrook concerns and the external and internal constraints affecting the discipline. It also provides a set of guidelines on how the field can address the democratic equity and inclusion issues through training, theory, and practice.

Key points of the study are, first, Wilson (1887) points to the relevance of pre-enlightenment rationality, focus on Constitutional issues, and political neglect of administrative development. Second, Wilson lists economic, political, and social factors of racial inequity and exclusion. As such, his critical theory sets a normative development goal for the PA field to achieve. Third, the Minnowbrook Conference ideas are a second step toward addressing equity

and inclusion issues and helping overcome internal constraints faced by the field. Fourth, recent PA scholarship provides evidence that the discipline is taking a third step toward operationalizing social equity and inclusion. Thus, this dissertation provides a descriptive model that traces the challenges to achieving culture change. Normatively, this work suggests a potential for a policy environment in which PA scholars and practitioners feel free to raise and address social equity issues.

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INTRODUCTION

The transcendent question in this study is; given a specific challenge to a public organization, what are the corresponding cultural factors, and elements of change? More specifically, if PA decision-making is challenged by racial inequity and exclusion, what are key corresponding cultural factors, and elements of change? This examination of decision-making culture and change will analyze the United States public administration (PA) doctrine and practice from a theoretical perspective. It seeks to explain the impact that the development pattern - including regulatory capture (Laffont and Tirole 1991; Dal Bo 2006) - has had on PA decision-making.

The study considers traditional rationality that cultivates what is currently known as racial paralysis (RP), which is part of the decision-making. Racial paralysis is a product of economic, political, and social forces and thought that deter individual racial equity research and development. The premise is that the individual deterrence slows the diffusion of democratic equity and inclusion in PA teaching, theory, and practice.

More specifically, traditional rationality, self-interests, and lack of autonomy are key decision-making variables. Theoretically, economic forces drive the traditional rationality, which may be reformed through operational equity and inclusion practices. Self-interest is a social behavioral response to structural political and bureaucratic control (Frederickson et al. 2016) of the PA environment. The behavior may be changed through teaching about the correlation between 1) professional ethics and the decision-making environment, and 2) the negative outcomes and alternatives to self-interest behavior. On one hand, lack of autonomy reflects the incomplete administration development. On the other, there is an opportunity for politics and administration to develop theory that conceptualizes democratic equity and inclusion.

Key decision-making behavior findings

This decision-making behavior perspective is used to create a model of PA culture change. The model is based on Wilson and Minnowbrook Conference descriptions of PA development, structure, and operations. Key findings of the study are:

- Woodrow Wilson's (1887) theory reflects pre-enlightenment rationality that prioritizes Constitution and neglects equity and inclusion in politics and administration.
- The political structure formed an environment in which PA scholars and practitioners are bound to the pre-enlightenment traditional rationality. Due to the lack of autonomy, scholars would need courage to overcome self-interest avoidance (Marini 1971) to address equity and inclusion.
- The field is impacted by political influence on individual decision-making, which in this context is defined as racial paralysis. Therefore, there is need for developmental teaching, theory, and practice to make the field more autonomous based on professional ethics, enlightenment (Wilson 1887), and morality (Marini 1971) If scholars do not feel free to pursue racial equity questions, the field would respond less and slower to racial inequity.
- Wilson addresses the issues of class and describes the economic, political, and social factors of racial inequity and exclusion. His critical theory sets a normative PA development goal for the field to achieve.
- The Minnowbrook Conference ideas are a second step toward confronting inequity and exclusion in the discipline.
- Recent PA articles provide evidence that contemporary scholars are taking a third step - from the Woodrow Wilson developmental foundation through Minnowbrook Conference structures - to operationalize social equity. Therefore, the study is designed to provide managers with a descriptive model for assessing organization culture change.

The model outlines major categories of constraint and change that managers can assess to create a policy environment in which scholars and practitioners can feel free to raise and address social equity issues. However, the constraint and change behaviors are subject to government development, structure, and operation protocols. Therefore, culture change is explained within the framework of agency and decision theories.

Agency theory

According to agency theory, the principal – the elected official – sets the policies and the civil service agent implements them and provides services (Frederickson et al 2016). In this relationship, the elected buyer shapes the products, transactions, and contracts to acquire the desired service (Frederickson et al 2016). While the bureaucracy may value ethical public service, it also has to use professional expertise to respond to the laws and serve the political clients. In this public facing position (Wilson 1887), bureaucrats have the “opportunity and incentive to manipulate politicians and processes for political gain” (Frederickson et al. 2016, 36). Therefore, agency theory highlights a complex relationship between the political system, administration, and the constituent consumers, and reveals the potential for conflicts of interest.

Decision theory

The conflict of interests in the politics-administration-constituent interaction fosters an environment of complex decision-making challenges. Simon’s (1947) decision-making theory draws from rationality to explain how choices are made to link organization means to ends. Simon (1947) found that due to information processing limits, humans are ‘satisficers’ (Frederickson et al. 2016). Charles Lindblom’s extension to this premise is that bureaucracies use a process of incremental decision-making based on information from the immediate past (Frederickson et al. 2016). In this “muddling through” process un-gathered and unconsidered information are excluded and means, and ends may get misplaced (Frederickson et al. 2016). The

garbage can theory describes the circumstances in which means and ends are not tightly coupled (Cohen et al. 1972). Causal assumptions are reversed, decision-making is ad hoc, and goals may be found during or after the action is complete (Cohen et al 1972).

Predictable irrationality suggests that information processing biases in decision-making can also prevent change (Frederickson et al. 2016). Similarly, Waldo (1946) attributes the low performance of Simon's decision-making theory to the reliance on separating facts from values (Frederickson et al. 2016). This, in turn, created a challenge for decision-making theory to define the organization's purpose and describe the processes that link means to ends. In the complex US political-administration environment, the low performance of PA decision-making theory is a factor in the slow emergence of a competent racial equity research agenda.

Simon's (1946) critique of the management principles as 'proverbs' (Frederickson et al. 2016) is consistent with this study perspective that the low performance of decision-making theory is due in part to one-dimensional contexts. Both Wilson and Minnowbrook concerns raise developmental, structural, and operational issues that require categorical and temporal contexts (Constas 1992). The nature of the problems suggests that analyses with a single context would not provide adequate knowledge to produce informed decisions. Therefore, Simon (1947) would regard the decision as having bounded rationality. Contexts narrow the proverb to a meaningful principle. For example, Bible proverbs are statements removed from their story contexts and applicable to a wide variety of circumstances. Therefore, to deduce specific meaning, proverbs may be triangulated with categorical and temporal contexts from the words of the Law - the Commandments - and the professors' - teachings and revelations from different eras. Similarly, correlative triangulation may be needed to produce rational management principles that are applicable to specific problems such as democratic equity and inclusion.

Problem

The problems require competent decision-making to advance the racial equity research agenda in public administration. One decision-making problem is racial paralysis (RP) defined as a “tendency to opt out of decisions involving members of different races” (Norton et al. 2012). Thus, RP in PA is a tendency to opt out of decisions involving racial inequity and exclusion.

This study considers the organization power and social influence (French and Raven (1959; Shafritz et al. 2016, 251) that results in individual RP decision-making. On one hand, the analysis is limited to the individual scholar and practitioner and does not contend that PA is monolithic and subject of RP decision-making as a field. Similarly, French and Raven (1959 Shafritz et al. 2016, 251) state that the “theory of social influence and power is limited to influence on the person”. On the other hand, each individual racial equity research contributes to the development and diffusion of equity and inclusion innovation throughout the field. Therefore, the reduction in research addressing RP negatively impacts the development and diffusion of the racial equity research agenda. This social influence (French and Raven 1959) contributes to the slow emergence of the racial equity research.

The social influence (French and Raven 1959) element of RP is operationalized within the organization culture. Culture consists of attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. Attitudes may materialize as salient or minor responses to a need such as racial equity research. Beliefs are thoughts on whether a rationality is right, wrong, acceptable, or not, and behaviors are actions, deeds or words found in policy outcomes and their implementation. In this context, the RP attitude is driven by a choice between responding to a research need, and self-interests of avoiding friction in the politics dominated PA environment (Wilson 1887). In such a case, a belief of whether the rationality for inequity and exclusion is right or wrong is not required. However, if there is a belief that inequity and exclusion is unacceptable, and the capable

individual avoids (Wilson 1887; Casciaro and Piskorski 2005; LaPorte 1968, Marini 1971; Rice 2004) responding with pertinent research or practice, the RP is implicated in such a choice. To the contrary, if the behavior does not contradict the belief, the social influence is not attributed to racial paralysis.

In this choice context, racial paralysis may be viewed as a point from which diverse types of change may occur. Therefore, RP is among forces of resistance to change, or negative change (French and Raven 1959). In instances when RP is due to social influence, managers may use incremental, transactional, or transitional programs to decrease the negative force and stimulate racial equity research. Theoretically, the change programs would reduce resistance and stimulate normal levels of social equity diffusion throughout the field. Consequently, concerned policy makers and managers that seek to reduce inequity and exclusion may view RP as a point of inaction on a continuum opposite transformative change. This model would enable managers to visualize stepwise strategies for achieving culture change by creating an environment that is free of social influences that deter racial equity research.

If a 'choice' to opt out is associated with systematic accountability to the upper class at the expense of responsibility to the lower class (Jackson 2009) it may be associated with bounded rationality (Simon, 1947) regarding the cost to democracy, equity, and inclusion (Ouchi 1981). In this sense, the present study attempts to 1) reveal the mechanisms of rational decision-making problem, 2) examine class equity and inclusion decision-making reflected in the thoughts from the Wilson (1887) and Minnowbrook Conference documents (Marini 1971), and 3) understand PA culture and change. It examines efforts to include racial justice as a consideration in modern public administration thought drawing on public administration texts to model PA racial equity research agenda development. The model begins with Woodrow Wilson's (1887) ideas on reconciling bureaucracy with democracy by 1) improving training, theory, and practice, 2)

developing internal organization efficiency techniques, and 3) using comparative analysis to advance understanding of the field.

By the 1960s, the gap between the internal focus of public administration and the external sociopolitical turmoil reached a point of crisis. That crisis was the focus of the landmark Minnowbrook Conference in 1968, which in turn marks the official start of social equity as a subfield of public administration research. Even though the growth of New Public Management in the 1980s would shift emphasis to issues of internal organizational efficiency and business-like customer service, public administration began to develop racial equity as a central concern of the discipline. This dissertation examines the 1) slow acceptance of racial equity as a major focus of public administration thought and 2) powerful disciplinary constraints that threaten to confine the study of public organizations to internal, apolitical, and technocratic questions.

Theoretical framework, methodology, and approach

The theoretical framework holds that in both governance and popular culture there has been constraints to addressing racial inequity. Therefore, the theoretical framework examines the internal two-way relationship between politics and administration as well as the external two-way influences in the relationship between government and popular culture. The decision-making challenges to internal and external development, structure, and operation change will be assessed. Therefore, the method is to examine the relationships to describe or explain the influence of endogenous an exogenous factor on PA decision-making. More specifically, this considers a three-way relationship between 1) political and economic influences, 2) administrative decision-making, and 3) constituent class dynamics. The approach utilizes Woodrow Wilson's (1887) dichotomy of politics and administration. This dichotomy helps to define 1) the internal and external administration domains, and 2) the politics-administration development, structure, and operation environments.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

QUESTION: ISSUES:	CHALLENGE RERA*	CULTURE Constraint	PA CHANGE (+, -) Movement	NORMATIVE Responsiveness
INTERNAL Rationality Relevance	Development	Structure	Operations	Morality
	Institutional	Traditional	Teach Theory Practice	Justice
	Neutrality	Traditional	Autonomy	Advocacy
EXTERNAL Political Interests	Majority	Power Game	Conflicts of Interest	Equity, Inclusion
	Domination	Control	Majority-Minority	Enlightenment
	Imperial	Mercantile	Republic-Democratic	Democratic

The theoretical framework is for assessing challenges, culture and change in public organizations
 *Racial Equity Research Agenda (RERA)

The approach is to analyze the decision-making culture and societal characteristics in the public administration environments. Therefore, the PA development, structure and operation is described from a perspective of open system (Katz and Kahn 1966) input, throughput, and output. The included thoughts and events explain the relationship between the decision-making processes and outcomes. The decision-making should reflect the Constitution principles and professional ethics of PA theory and practice. Regarding how well administrative theory and practice reflect Constitutional democratic principles, Chomsky frames the question as whether government is what it says it is (Landau et al. 2011).

Overview, Research Agenda and Political Rationality:

In general, this study explores the constraints to PA racial equity research agenda at the intersection of classism and racial inequity and exclusion. In this context, a robust racial equity research agenda is constrained by institutionalized political rationality, which includes imperialist and mercantilist economic theory and practice from preceding eras. One premise is that policies in this traditional political culture of operations 1) deter individual civil servant research

development (Wilson 1887) and 2) constrains the diffusion of equity and inclusion throughout the field.

As a result of traditional rationality, PA racial equity research remains constrained in part by an underdeveloped democratic system (Wilson 1887), resistance to change, and a color code narrative that perpetuates symbolic (Miller 2012) inequity and exclusion. These constraints to constitutional, political, and administrative advancement (Wilson 1887) form an immutable racial class system. More specifically, institutional inequity and exclusion has been operationalized through Jim Crow laws, Black Codes, and political domination of administration. Such policies constrain equal participation in the 1) democratic system, 2) free market, and 3) constitutional protections of government. In sum, US public administration has lacked the development and autonomy to respond to racial equity, freedom, justice, and caste issues. These issues of PA development, rationality, and relevance are raised by Wilson (1887) and the 1969 Minnowbrook Conference participants (Marini 1971).

Racial caste class construction principles

The traditional rationality (Marini 1971) constraint to modern PA, is associated with class-race social construction (Stanford 2021). In the US, social construction of black and white race establishes symbolic skin color as a factor in the labor class hierarchy. (Stanford 2021). The social construction of class is an established factor in political economies. For instance, Arian dominance in India (Armstrong 2002) led to the division of society into four occupational classes (Dalal 2017) that in principle are similar to the four feudal estates subsequently developed in Europe (Armstrong 2002, 14). The Aryans classes were brahmins, priests; ksatriya, warriors devoted to government and defense; vaisya, farmers and stock breeders that maintained the economy; and sudras were the enslaved and outcasts that did not assimilate into the Aryan system

(Armstrong 2002). Initially, people had class mobility based on achieving the required skills. The caste system emerged when the hierarchy acquired sacred significance (Armstrong 2002).

Although hierarchies may have different classification contexts – occupation, ethnic, religious, income, or wealth – the operationalized culture (Martin 2002) determines the values, and reveals how the balance between economic interests, political benefits, and social costs are weighted. This study uses two contexts to describe how economic, political, and social interests are operationalized. One context is economic, and the other is social. The economic context benefits from an internal relationship with the established political economy. The social context is concerned with external sociopolitical development. On one hand, the economic interests are operationalized through top-down state structure with corporate influence (Wilson 1887). On the other hand, the social context prioritizes bottom-up equity and inclusion. It relies on the salience of public issues to facilitate external influence on government operations (Light 1997). This external approach to policy change is awkward (Wilson 1887) due to a lack of direct connection to political negotiation, and policy research, development, and implementation processes.

More broadly, there is conflict between economic top-down, and social bottom-up principles throughout the discussion of 1) democratic equity and inclusion, 2) development, structure, and operation processes, and 3) politics and administration. Different political systems require the professional services of the civil servant core, administrators, and scholars to realize the potential of their agendas (Wilson 1887). Considering the diverse political controls, and fluctuating requirements, the field values the principle of neutrality, and avoids advocacy, conflict, and controversial issues such as equity and inclusion. However, if a public organization has a challenge, PA has a role in identifying the problem and proposing solutions. From a normative perspective, this research agenda role applies to PA's challenges with advocacy, avoidance, conflicts, and neutrality associated with equity and inclusion. From this perspective,

the problem is aversion to addressing the challenges. In this case the solution is to remove the obstacles to a robust racial equity research agenda.

Alternative hierarchy contexts

The role of administration is relatively the same under different systems of government (Wilson 1887). In this case, PA is challenged to achieve equity and inclusion within the current republic-democracy conflict dynamics. One option is to pursue alternative hierarchy protocols. Two management theories developed during the progressive era offer a context for operationalizing democratic equity and inclusion. Fayol's (1916) management principles hierarchy values unity of purpose, equity, and communication among the employee class levels. The purpose is to maximize productivity. In addition, Pareto efficiency principles consider social values in decision-making, and provides protocols for balancing majority interests with minority wellbeing. The finding here is that there are means of managing hierarchical class systems that are more democratic, equitable, and inclusive than the current adversarial system.

Examples of alternative hierarchical systems include family, tribe and servant leadership religious structures that value individual sociopolitical benevolence as opposed to prioritizing state political and economic interests (Wilson 1887). One element of the alternative systems is homogeneity of the people. In the US, plural interests is a factor in the inequity and exclusion and decision-making problems. This suggests an alternative system should include an element of national monism. Furthermore, Wilson (1887) advocated for comparative governance to find best practice alternatives to political adversity (Rohr 1986) and economic domination. One example is Hegel's (2004) description of the Roman empire as having a system based on state interests that minimized ruling class personal gains. The principle is that the ruling class also ascribed to the stoic culture of state values. For instance, the Roman empire chose not to colonize territories. Instead, acquired territories became a part of the state.

A modern example of the anti-imperialism principle is that French outposts such as Martinique is part of France rather than a territory. In contrast, US territories have a variety of colonial relations. Also, some societies value social organization for communal survival. This is different to the survival context in which imperial era polities sought to maximize state power, wealth, and domination capacity to guard against colonization from other imperial entities. For example, European nations engaged in wars in the Americas - including the Caribbean islands - that resulted in relatively quick rounds of acquisition and loss of territory. In this environment, US politics neglected equitable and inclusive development of the constituency and public administration (Wilson 1887). Consequently, Wilson (1887) 1) describes the role of enlightenment in the transformation from imperial to republic governance that provide greater democratic equity and inclusion and 2) notes the lack of transformation of US politics.

Class roles

In the absence of enlightenment, the US class system evolved into a skin color caste system. The racial-caste system distinguishes the class to be dishonored or honored (Alkadry and Blessett 2010) by the bureaucracy and society. This caste inequity and exclusion is consistent with the principles of imperialism and colonialism. From this perspective, the class domination is well established in the canons of governance. European feudalism is an example of an economic interest driven class hierarchy. More specifically, the European feudalism was based on a king's grant of land to people and institutions of high standing such as important lawyers, noblemen, merchants, officials, and monasteries (Dalal 2017). The implication is that sovereign control was upheld by class relations, loyalty, and unity (Ouchi 1981) and economic interests. The landlords would maintain peace and justice within their jurisdiction of control. In succession to the landlord's loyalty to the king, the subjected vassals had to pledge fealty to the lord (Dalal 2017).

In a more recent example, Mujkie (2015) raised the issue of “‘class subjection’ through ethnic alienation, enforced by the wider ideological mechanisms of control and discipline characteristic of the ethno-politically predetermined position of citizens in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) society.” Consequently, the three constituent ethnic peoples of the Dayton Peace Agreement consist of two classes: “the class of agents of ethno-political entrepreneurship and the class of objects of these entrepreneurs’ appropriation” (Mujkie 2015). The similarities in operational outcomes (Martin 2002) suggest that modern political and ethnic-nationalist control structures (Mujkie 2015) are new forms of imperialistic control. By extension, in the US, imperialistic means of controlling loyalty and unity is reflected in the political control of the subject classes and public administration. Consequently, the relationship between political, corporate, and majority interests raises concern for the conflict between purpose of control, and democratic governance (Wilson 1887).

According to these principles, economic, political, and social hierarchies and PA constraints have been used as top-down control mechanisms that reflect the traditional rationality (Marini 1971) in administrative theory and practice ideals (Wilson 1887). Furthermore, the Aryan caste system, and the William of Normandy feudalism, which counted people as chattel property highlight economic principles associated with the Atlantic slave trade. The institutional means of class subjection highlights the lack of enlightenment (Wilson 1887) and morality (Marini 1971) that is antithetical to PA professional development in the US where politics dominate administration (Wilson 1887; Marini 1971).

From a management perspective, immoral class, and bureaucratic domination (Weber, in Fry and Raadschelders 2014), and traditional rationality (Marini 1971) are negatively related to democratic governance, and economic, political, and social development. In this analysis, the negative correlation - of increasing economic influence, and declining influence of social systems

such as family, community, and religious structures - is a loss of support for the PA cause of democratic equity and inclusion. Public administration theorists and practitioners may consider the consequences and implications if the negative correlation between economic and social influence contributes to moral decline and greater division that impede the development of democracy and productive management of the classes (Fayol 1916). The implication is that in the absence of culture change, unresolved conflicts between economic and social interests may further constrain the autonomy, methods, and relevance of modern PA racial equity research.

Literature Review:

Public organization theories explain the development, structure, and operation challenges that constrain public administration (PA) equity and inclusion research agenda. Power, influence, culture, and change theories show 1) how dependence relationships trap the political economy government, industries, and the people in a classical mode of operation, and 2) why traditional imperialistic class control rationality constrains the advancement of equity and inclusion. The theories also suggest the possibility of predicting behavior and culture change by observing historical economic, political, and social event trends that account for inequity and exclusion. In this study, internal and external relationship dependencies and class inequity and exclusion are factors that constrain PA racial equity research agenda. This study uses the Katz and Kahn (1966) open system framework to examine the internal and external environment and equity and inclusion factors that constrain the racial equity research agenda.

In this study, the capacity to manage the classes in a state of dynamic homeostasis requires the system to become a learning entity (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978). The premise is that an open system has greater capacity to maximize class development for economic, political, and social sustainability. However, one challenge to maximizing professional PA operations is overcoming conflicts between the US democratic values found in the constitution and traditional

republican governance traditions. Theoretically, democratic values promote bottom-up administrative theory and practice while republic values promote top-down state principles. The opposing perspectives creates division and lack of unity of purpose (Fayol 1916) in both the politics and administration. The choice to avoid conflicts in politics-administration dependence (Casciaro and Piskorski 2005) relationship is a decision-making factor that constrains racial equity research and development. From another perspective, the resulting complex environmental issues constrain organization learning needed to establish a state of dynamic homeostasis (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978) among the classes.

More specifically, the complex US system (Wilson 1887; Marini 1971), requires PA to split allegiance between democratic and republic ideals. In this complex space, PA has 1) historically been subjected to the political system (Wilson 1887; Marini 1971), and 2) been constrained by social power dependence (French and Raven 1959). Under these circumstances, a lack of autonomy to pursue internal comparative (Wilson 1887) and external innovative (Marini 1971) approaches to the key issues such as democracy, equity, and inclusion. So, this study considers internal and external PA constraints.

These development and structure constraints are two-dimensional with a categorical, and time component (Constas 1992) which considers the relationship between the classical and contemporary (McGregor 1957) culture ideals. For instance, the classic understanding of organization focuses on internal management as a closed system of controls and resources while contemporary theories consider organization processes that are shaped by external influence and resource dynamics (Katz and Kahn 1966). This framework aligns the era differences with Wilson (1887) and Minnowbrook Conference (Marini 1971) thoughts.

This comparative analysis 1) discusses classic and contemporary era rationality that were concerns in the literature, and 2) uses the open system (Katz and Kahn 1966) to frame the

organization processes. This study design makes it possible to account for the internal and external change factors associated with PA existentialism, rationality, and relevance topics as well as the development, structure, and operations environment over time. This assessment is inclusive of both internal technical and methodical advancement factors and changing societal values that influence culture change movement.

Traditional and contemporary theories

More generally, contemporary theories show how organizational structures impact administrative culture, shape social relations, and influence the dynamics among the classes. McGregor's (1957) explanation of Theory X and Theory Y articulates the difference between the classical and contemporary organization management. In this study, Theory X describes classical era management, and the traditional class control structure and operations. They both reflect the structure and operation of the classical production view that people are self-interested, indolent and need to be controlled (McGregor 1957). Furthermore, in both classical and contemporary periods, PA focus is on efficiency and economy (Hart 1974). Considering the dominant focus on efficiency and economy, and lack of contemporary culture change, from this perspective, the labor class remains under the classical era economic rationality and production philosophy McGregor (1957) describes. So, the class system transition to Theory Y (McGregor 1957), is constrained by traditional rationality controls. This phenomenon slows the 1) constituent transition from Theory X to Theory Y and 2) emergence of racial equity research agenda in public administration.

Social control

In this form of social control, the political power structure constrains administrative autonomy, and class mobility. March (1966) presents six elements of simple force for the understanding of social choice. While all six apply, number four, power modified by past

outcomes, and five, force by depletion of resources specifically relates to this political control of constituent classes, which includes the administration. Mintzberg (1983) found that organization behavior is a power game in which internal and external players seek to control the organization's actions and decision-making. The players include the sovereign majority and corporations (Wilson 1887) and political representatives (Light 1997). The control processes and mechanisms display Mintzberg's (1983) bases of power. They show that Class B political players control government decision-making through power bases such as having 1) resources, 2) technical skill, 3) a body of knowledge, 4) legal prerogative such as a right to impose choices (Rohr 1986), or 5) association with others that have access to the other four bases.

Power hierarchy

In the power hierarchy, the authorities, Class A political decision-makers, use different power strategies to control Class B (Bureaucracy), C (Civil servants), D (Disenfranchised), and E, the excluded (Dahrendorf, 1959, 2012). These organization classes are divided into two distinct groups and four subgroups. Through this structure, Class A may induce the actors to execute the desired directives and enforce the norms through three kinds of power (Etzioni 1975). In this case, the means of control for Class E is coercive power – threat or physical harm. Classes B and C are controlled by remuneration power – control of material resources, and rewards such as opportunity to earn salaries (Etzioni 1975), and Class D is controlled by normative power – manipulation of symbolic rewards or deprivations such as in employment, or esteem, prestige, ritualistic symbols, and acceptance and positive responses (Etzioni 1975). The specialized use of each single power prevents the neutralization of effects due to simultaneous use of different powers over the same subject group (Etzioni 1975). In the case of public administration, Class B controls Class C, and Class C controls classes D and E. Historical events indicate that labor-class control efforts, which target Class E (Schneider and Ingram 1993) for economic, political, and

social exclusion, are operationalized through political power game (Mintzberg 1983) mechanisms. Operationalization of Class E participation constraints are through governing narratives (Miller 2012). Governing narratives (Miller 2012) include color code stereotypes and prejudices, which produce spillover impacts that contribute to Class D inequity and exclusion. The results of the inequity and exclusion are found in disparities data, which indicates the democracy equity and inclusion deficits in the current contemporary politics and administration regime of traditional rationality.

Classical control rationality

One example of classical rationality is Thomas Hobbes' contention that even tyrannical rule of society is better than the presumed chaos of having no political social control (Weeks 2014, 176). On one hand, there is lack of evidence of chaos in societies that do not have a conventional government. On the other hand, there is chaos and potential for abuse of organizational power (Weber, in Fry and Raadschelders 2014) that account for internal and external inequity and exclusion. Colonialism is an example of external abuse of power in imperial and republic government entities that prioritize state interests over individual working-class interests. Both internal and external examples of political colonialism indicate deficits in benevolence and morality reflected in the administration of government.

However, this organized authority relies on theoretical narratives such as a social contract (Weeks 2014) that permits a politics-administration regime to attain and maintain power and justify the use of force to control entities within the political sovereignty. Under the political system, administrative agencies, and bureaus 1) dutifully engage in maintaining and increasing political support and 2) are led by influential groups that sustain them (Long 1949). Since decision-making does not occur in isolation (Wilson 1887; Marini 1971) from external forces (Katz and Kahn 1966) such as the invisible hand of the market (Smith 1776), there is a need for

benevolent government to balance economic, political, and social interests in the administration of the public wellbeing. The premise in this study is that the distribution of costs and benefits between these interests are 1) linked to past, present, and future alliances, and 2) associated with mutual dependence (Casciaro and Piskorski 2005) and decision-making based on economic rationality (Smith 1776). So, the study captures the PA research agenda constraints by examining power, influence, and control dynamics that indicate inequity and exclusion in administration and among the classes.

Dependence

Power and resource dependence (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978; Casciaro and Piskorski 2005) constrain (Dahrendorf 1968) normative administrative and subject class (Dahrendorf 1959, 2012) development. The premise is that mutual dependence (Casciaro and Piskorski 2005) behavior controls are important to 1) power balance, 2) sovereign stability, and 3) system protection. Mutual dependence (Casciaro and Piskorski 2005) economic, political, and social activity is operationalized among the ruling and subject classes. More specifically, the classes that are not controlled by resource dependent loyalty and unity are subjected by other means such as economic, political, and social exclusion. Exclusion controls may be operationalized within the framework of “iron cage” domination in which the new economic order pursuit of material goods controls the modern individual’s life (Weber, in Fry and Raadschelders 2014, 33).

In the US, domination has been operationalized through Jim Crow laws, Black Codes, unfair labor, housing, and criminal justice practices that are observable in policy timelines (Du Bois 1903, 2003). The more concise carrot and stick description is that privilege controls the included class as well as punishment subjects the excluded. For instance, the classical era principle of self-interest (Ouchi 1981) suggests that PA would choose to protect the system (Casciaro and Piskorski 2005) and neglect social causes to survive without friction (Wilson 1887)

within the ruling class. The self-interest perspective (Ouchi 1981) is one means of showing how organization behavior theories explain PA's constraints to racial equity research agenda. The ignorance of comparative analysis (Wilson 1887) also suggests a pattern of avoidance that constraints social equity development (Marini 1971). This study views the self-interest (Ouchi 1981) and or avoidance (Wilson 1887; Marini 1971) as products of dependence.

Among the included, the power-dependence relations theory (Emerson 1962) explains the relationship between the sovereign Class A and classes B and C. Emerson (1962) provides an explanation why the included classes reciprocate power dependence and balance in the control of the classes. According to Emerson (1962), the mechanisms of control may be 1) motivational withdrawal, 2) extension of power networks (Baker 1992), 3) emergence of status and 4) ruling-class group coalition formation. These mechanisms establish class norms, role structure, and status hierarchy that balance the power relations, and legitimize the power and authority with coalition processes in which norms and roles have been formed (Emerson 1962). These norms establish the included and excluded classes (Mujkie 2015).

Class division

Class division conflicts have been exacerbated by negative color code (Du Bois 1903, 2003; Alkadry and Blessett 2010) stereotypes that justify hierarchical divisions between the upper and lower classes as well as among the subject classes. One impact is that class divisions disable the subject groups' ability to unite as a force (March 1966) for common causes such as to mitigate the negative affect in class control. For example, racial profiling has not been collaboratively challenged by the subjected groups. Obstacles to unity include incentives for the disenfranchised groups to support the imperialistic narratives of social class hierarchy. Incentives include 1) a desire to be included, and 2) the colonial conditioning that drives a desire to conform and model the imperialistic mode of operations (Fanon 1952, 2008). So, there is motivation to at

least be more included than others. In today's terms, this would be a race to the top of imperialistic control.

More specifically, the majority (Wilson 1887) narrative establishes a hierarchy among the subjected classes. This hierarchy reinforces imperialistic ideology that one group is superior to another (Bob Marley (1976) and that the excluded class is the lowest. Under these circumstances, subject class division is a barrier (Fanon 1963) to developing human rights and social movement (Stammers 2009) change forces that can create a more democratic, equitable, and inclusive social control system. It is notable that the structural division among the subjected classes is different from the Aryan system in which the outcasts and enslaved were in the same class (Armstrong 2002; Dalal 2017). However, the US racial-caste divisions are comprised of a complex set of barriers (Marini 1971) to unity that challenge PA racial equity research agenda.

Du Bois (1903, 2003) referred to the US racial class barriers as a 'color line' problem. An example of how barriers are operationalized through force (March 1966) is found in the relationships between the included street-level-bureaucrat Class C and excluded Class E. In this relationship, the process of maintaining power balance may lack reward as a source of power (Molm 1989). Therefore, punishment is the more likely strategy of control (Molm 1989). This supports the probability that punishment accounts for some of the inequity, exclusion, and disparities found in the administration of public goods, services, and equal rights and justice.

Excessive punishment that results in education, health, incarceration, and income disparities is counter intuitive to PA equity and inclusion research agenda. In response to this operational failure, PA equity and inclusion initiatives such as diversification and representation are efforts to develop knowledge resources and information to eliminate the negative outcomes. Kanter (1979) finds that lack of access to resources and information results in power failure in management. The administrative power failure reflects the level of immorality in the relationship

between the street-level bureaucrat and the excluded class. Therefore, enforcement accountability without the power to use reward is embedded in the dysfunctional politics-administration management that creates frustration and failure (Kanter 1979). In addition, this failure negatively affects communication in the ruling-subject class relationship and constrains the ability to develop a racial equity research agenda. In sum, PA powerlessness diminishes the use of reward and increases punishment, corrupts the good will of public policy, and makes getting cooperation more difficult (Kanter 1979). The complex class division factors indicate that a successful PA equity and inclusion change initiative would have to exceed the force (Lewin 1952) of the constraints.

The constraints indicate that Class D is subjected by social power narratives (French and Raven 1959) that manipulate information, cultural assumptions, perspectives, and prescribes class relations. French and Raven (1959) find that the base of social power can be attractiveness rather than traditional reward and punishment. This social power comes from a perceived legitimate right to prescribe a cultural behavior or social structure of acceptance, designation, or dependence (French and Raven 1959). In this case, institutionalized color code racial identity supports power narratives that justify inequity and exclusion. Official color codes produced by government authority provide the perception that skin color forms a legitimate constituent classification. Empirically, the designated (French and Raven 1959) color code narratives are major factors that account for the inability of the excluded classes to overcome the economic, political, and social divisions. Due in part to the power of color code division narratives, subjected classes have been unable to form a mutual dependence coalition to absorb the lack of social power and inter organizational action (Casciaro and Piskorski 2005). Therefore, the historical data, PA operations culture, and class relationships reveal the color code factor as a constraint that accounts for the slow emergence of racial equity research agenda.

Societal culture

According to Shafritz et al. (2016), societal culture has intangible artifacts, assumptions, behavior patterns, behavioral norms, beliefs, perceptions, and values. In the diverse US, the intangible culture factors are all embedded in the economic, political, and social heuristics of the color code hierarchy. Therefore, the association between intangible cultural artifacts and color codes provide a framework for explaining why the governing narratives (Miller 2012) that target Class E (Schneider and Ingram 1993) spillover from the bottom up into Class D and pose risks to the middle classes. Moreover, the risk of exclusion creates incentives for the middle class to segregate their status by defending the barriers to Class E upward mobility. The socially constructed (Berger and Luckman 1967; Stanford 2021) culture of inequity and exclusion also diffuses outward from the individual to the organization and society (Rogers 1962, 2003; Valenti 1996). Therefore, cultural narratives spillover effects constrain upward mobility, outward diffusion, and contributes to the slow emergence of racial equity research agenda in public administration.

Berger and Luckman (1967) find that social construction of reality is associated with 1) cultural manipulation, and 2) the operationalization of symbolic management. Although societal culture is methodologically difficult to identify, organizational culture can be defined through patterns of integration that depict larger paradigms of gestalt (Schein 2004). Another systematic approach to understanding culture is to focus on how it is operationalized (Martin 2002). In this case, the color codes are a social construction of reality that support Jim Crow policy narratives and operationalize symbolic management in a manner that constrains the PA racial equity and inclusion research agenda. Over time, this social construction of reality establishes the required shared history to form a culture (Schein 2004). As a result, the social construction (Berger and Luckman 1967) of inequity and exclusion among the classes constrains 1) the development of a

unified culture (Schein 2004), and 2) capacity to establish Fayol's (1916; Shafritz et al. 2016) unity of purpose for equity and inclusion in organization class management.

Structural mechanisms

From a management perspective, the class system has characteristics of the Z Organization (Ouchi 1981). It is highly invested in loyalty and unity, the defense classes are consensual, and there is an elevated level of consistency in the internal structure for clan narrative formation (Ouchi 1981). In this case, the clan narrative is consistent with the economic rationality. Consequently, both loyalty and unity and economic rationality are operationalized in a transactional control structure that holds inclusion as a reward for defense of the system. Since the control system is based on loyalty and unity (Ouchi 1981) rather than hierarchy, all individuals that seek to participate may defend the barriers to equity and inclusion in what is presented as a 'free' market. However, individuals in the class hierarchy may be unaware of the deeper hidden value of their services since the clan socialization, teamwork, and change over time make their contribution to the system ambiguous (Ouchi 1981). The hidden effects are sustainable since the classes are 1) unaware of the social construction impacts and 2) culturally opposed to intragroup cooperation and constructive external relationships (Ouchi 1981). These circumstances exist in association with 1) xenophobia, 2) division of labor, 3) industrialized political economy market principles and ideals, and 4) self-interest (Ouchi 1981) willingness to defend systemic inequity and inclusion. Consequently, self-interest (Ouchi 1981) is a factor in the slow emergence of the racial equity research agenda in public administration.

Organization culture change

Given the structural constraint forces, organization change requires the knowledge and use of 1) human motivation, 2) leadership, 3) group and 4) intergroup behavior (Ott et al. 2008) development strategies to counteract the antisocial power, and influence in the culture.

Transformative power changes organization culture by violating organizational assumptions, beliefs, norms, realities, values, and creating a new vision through conscious manipulation or symbols, and winning support of stakeholders (Ott et al. 2008). Moreover, although transformative change is the gold standard for responsive governance, the emergence of a racial equity research agenda can be described within the framework of distinct types of change.

Incremental change is significant because organizations rest at states of no change, a stable quasi-stationary equilibrium (Lewin 1952). So, Lewin's (1952) approaches to change are to 1) add force in the desired direction or 2) diminish the force that opposes change. The events trend suggests that both approaches contribute to the change over time as new democracy, equity and inclusion movements add force, and emerging social values diminish the forces of traditional classical era economic rationality. Since the 1980s, theories of organization and society (Ott et al. 2008) have introduced philanthropic forces for greater equity and inclusion in governance. This indicates that firms value social responsibility in corporate citizenship (Carroll and Buchholtz 1989; McWilliams and Siegel 2001), social entrepreneurship (Light 2008; Mair et al. 2006), and social enterprise (Haugh 2006). These theoretical and practical developments are indicators of incremental steps toward transformative change.

However, a prediction of transformative change depends on society's capacity to transform the traditional political rationality from economic amorality to social morality. To drive transformative change from an amoral to moral research agenda, would require human motivation and behavior change (Ott et al. 2008), that violates the traditional political rationality and establishes PA relevance and phenomenological inquiry (Marini 1971) as prominent values in PA theory, practice, and education. Such a transformation would align public administration with the values, emerging environmental trends, and contemporary equity and inclusion theories that are poised to advance the racial equity research agenda.

ESSAY I

Public Administration Foundation and Normative Theory

Background:

A key finding in this essay is that Woodrow Wilson established a comprehensive normative theory for assessing and advancing public administration as a field. The purpose of this essay is to draw attention to the equity and inclusion factors in Wilson's conceptual model of PA development, structure, and operations. In the 1887 article, Wilson's discussion about enlightenment compares pre and post enlightenment relationships between government and the governed. This transition to an enlightened relationship between government and governed has not occurred in the US. Wilson's (1887) discussion suggests that US is resistant to the consideration of comparative analysis between The US government and the pre and post enlightenment governments and governed relationship in Europe. Wilson (1887) also suggests that the neglect of 1) administration 2) the relationship between the governed and government, and 3) the labor class development (Dahrendorf 1968) was studied and planned. The implication is the application of the development rationality required a concerted response to develop the study of administration. The evidence of the political theory and administrative practices described would lie in the thoughts and events that occurred during the founding and development of the nation.

From a broadly intuitive perspective, Wilson's (1887) thoughts on the wayward development raises a moral enlightenment question why the government established in trust of God - rather than church - produces unenlightened outcomes from a well-defined democratic structure and operations. The premise is that the devil is in the details of the political-administrative-constituency relationship. Since there is conflict between the constitutional values and the operations of government or more succinctly - between the political theory and administrative practices - there is need to investigate the structure and operation systems to

describe or explain why the outcomes deviate from the principles and values developed for constitutional democratic governance.

Development challenges to uniform theory and practice

Logically, the incongruence between theory and practice would draw attention to individual thoughts and events that influenced the political administration when the US gained independence in 1776. Therefore, these thoughts must be explored. A major contribution is separation of church and state by John Locke (Landau et al.2011). The public facing rationality for this separation is set up in his 1689 Letter Concerning *Toleration* (Landau et al. 2011). However, supporters may see Locke's views as an effort to set up political development and decision-making autonomy from the hegemony of religious systems. Critics may view the Doctrine as a means of excluding religious morality from the secular system. Locke was also known for his view on natural rights to private property.

Other political influencers such as Hobbes and Hume conceptualized man as an instrument of production (Landau et al. 2011). Such classical views minimize the spiritual and human relations characteristics at the intersection of work and social existence. Hobbes promoted a theory of social contract between the government and the governed (Landau et al. 2011). However, in his construction of social contract, it is better to have tyrannical leader than loose social order (Landau et al. 2011) although both may result in chaos. This suggests that his social contract has greater value as a means of social control than and ends that supplies a good relationship between government and the governed. Both Wilson and later Minnowbrook discussions were concerned with political and administrative focus on means rather than outcome ends such as democracy, equity, and inclusion.

Foundational influences

Furthermore, the principles of means are codified in Smith's (1776) work *The Wealth of Nations*. This work describes the development structure and operations of imperialism and colonialism. It also presents the economic theory that showed the means of production, land, labor, and capital. Moreover, Smith (1776, 1994) found labor to be more important to the wealth of a nation than gold or precious metals. However, critics found that his theory was incomplete since it did not account for the role and wellbeing of the labor class, which included women (Landau et al. 2011). The extension of Smith's (1776, 1994) theory of production may be associated with the domination of (Native American) land, (African American) labor, and capital, and management. *The Wealth of Nations* explains the classical organization principle of dominating the resources and control of government through imperial-colonial relationships.

Thomas Paine (1776, 2018), a participant in the development of US democratic theory objected to the established inequalities that would perpetuate the legacy of imperialism and mercantilism in governance. He questioned the rationality of perpetuating injustices of past monarchical systems that led to upper-class dynasties of wealth and political control (Paine 1776, 2018). Paine's views on liberty for the labor class citizen was not well received by the upper classes" in France or the US (Paine 1789, 2018). After his extraordinary service to the US independence war, he faced execution in France if he was not a US citizen. The US ambassador, Gouverneur Morris, refused to verify his US citizenship claim so he felt George Washington had betrayed him (Paine 1789, 2018). This active rejection of Paine's thoughts on working class liberty supports Wilson's contention that the system of inequity was studied and planned. Furthermore, Wilson's questions, who shall develop the laws, how shall the laws be administered (Rousseau 1762, 2018), equitably, without friction, also reflect Paine's (1776, 2018) concerns for

common sense concerning the rights of man. For the current public administration field, the question is who shall resolve these issues?

Wilson's foundation

The value of *The Study of Administration* (Wilson 1887) rests in the accuracy of the comprehensive and objective thoughts on US administration development, structure, and operations. These qualities have earned its legacy as a 1) foundation for a study of PA and 2) framework of challenges to the (a) development of the field (rationality), and to (b) internal and external research agenda (relevance). In this document, Wilson (1887) supplies a historical narrative that conceptualizes public administration PA as a political science subfield, which has potential to address issues that are between the political and bureaucratic functions of governance.

Also, he highlights unique democratic structure and culture factors that constrain the development of the study of United States public administration. In part, his legacy is the accuracy of his thoughts on the historical influences and unique power structure that continue to constrain the professional development of PA. The challenges raise issues of how PA navigates its professional development in an environment of plural interests, which pose conflicts in the relationship between the political control, PA, and diverse public interests (Huntington 1952). The implication is that the conflicts of interests in US political control constrain and PA development. This organization culture influences the research agendas.

For this study, PA development and operation functions are classified as internal. Functions, which are shared or linked to political or public initiatives are classified as external. The internal and external research agendas that Wilson (1887) presents are disaggregated into three categories (Constas 1992), development, structure, and operations. His discussion explains how the incremental transition from the monarchial imperialism to modern republic influences the cultural norms and research agenda. More specifically, the traditional rationality shapes the

narratives in the culture of administrative operations. Furthermore, the cultural narratives, symbols, and practices form a cycle in which the development influences the structure, structure influences the operations, and the operations influence the development. This feedback loop, which may produce positive or negative movement is a factor in the process of both internal and external change. Wilson's dichotomy of politics and administration provides a framework for modeling the linkages between the internal and external change processes.

Motives for a professional public administration

Wilson (1887) contention is that a trained administrative core of professionals along with scholars would supply a forum for studying and resolving the constraints to democratic administration. The implication is that this maturation of the field would be contingent on the level of administrative autonomy from the political system. To analyze this concept, he conceptualized a dichotomy of politics and administration. However, the underlying concern for democratic structure and operations is at the core of Wilson's dichotomy of politics and administration. Based on this dichotomy (Svara 1994, 2001), an internal research agenda would comprise operational issues that are under the authority of public administrators and would be guided by professional standards for public policy implementation. The external research agenda would comprise democratization issues outside of the authority, authority, or control of administrative implementation. The external agenda issues intersect with PA interests and are endogenous to operations in the field, and impact development of theory and practice, or ethics or professional standards. They assign PA to 'relegated duties' (Wilson 1887).

Given the symbiotic relationship between politics and administration, the external research agenda comprises administration issues that intersect with Constitutional and political questions. External issues also affect the constituents. So complex external research agenda issues may intersect Constitution, politics, administration, bureaucracy, and the constituent peoples. The

chain of interaction between the Constitution, political and administrative systems and the pluralistic interests can be depicted within a hierarchical organization structure of classes. The class hierarchy reflects the direction of power, influence, authoritarianism, majority rule and control dynamics between the rulers and the excluded class. Therefore, the class hierarchy model is useful for deconstructing the environment dynamics at different time periods to describe phases of change in the democratization process.

PA development constraints

Wilson (1887) discusses the development of PA as a subfield in a political system. In that environment, a primary concern for Constitutional issues minimized the development of PA. So, issues unique to the US such as political development, balance of power, and sovereignty majority rule and constituent equity and inclusion remain complex external environment distractions to PA development. Wilson's (1887) advocacy for a study of administration articulates key political development factors that present unique challenges to PA development. One major challenge is conforming administrative practice to the democratic theory. These issues intersect Constitution, politics, and administration, and would be challenging external research agenda topics. However, Wilson (1887) contends that core elements theory and practice can be gleaned from engaging in comparative analysis. This is to help the process of developing a field of administration that is competent to address the challenges. The current equity, inclusion, majority rule, representation, voting, and labor class development issues exemplify the accuracy of Wilson's concerns.

The Woodrow Wilson legacy

Consequently, Wilson's (1887) legacy is the articulation of PA development, structure, and operation challenges that are still prevalent today. However, his own inability to resolve the issues as President of the United States decades later shows the 1) magnitude of the challenges

and 2) current need for PA to - equitably and inclusively - operationalize the democratic theory found in the Constitution. More specifically, efforts to operationalize equity and inclusion are constrained by lack of internal autonomy (Wilson 1887) and external relevance (Marini 1971). The internal and external environments include economic, political, and social interests that constrain equity and inclusion. More broadly, Wilson (1887) implicated the majority rule political structure of US popular sovereignty as a factor in the constraints to democratic equity and inclusion. Therefore, according to his framework, a key contemporary challenge is to get PA operations to reflect an unbiased interpretation of the democratic principles of governance found in the Constitution.

Internal and external research agenda

This analysis discusses internal, and the external research agendas Woodrow Wilson presented in his 1887 article *The Study of Administration*. The internal research agenda includes concerns that are within the domain of PA operations, and the external research agenda are concerns outside of the exclusive domain of PA operations but impact operation outcomes. This article reveals his concept of administration as a profession including thoughts about PA functions, relationships with the political power structure and the governed, and responsiveness to plural influences concerning the development, structure, and operations of US system of democracy. His essay explains how power and influence (Mintzberg 1983) in the political environment led public administration to focus primarily on issues related to internal functions. His thoughts are supported by the subsequent Minnowbrook Conference and contemporary analyses.

One general problem is that PA research agenda has been constrained by the political system. As a result, PA theory and practice is also subjected to political influences that are based on pre-enlightenment thought on government operations. This pre-enlightenment structure in the

political culture restrains the democratization of governance in an environment that constrains equitable and inclusive professional administration. Therefore, PA has struggled to be an autonomous profession, to advance under the structure of political rationality, and to be relevant to the issues concerning the plural interests among the constituent groups. Wilson's framework has laid the foundation for studying the root causes of the challenges of internal development and contributing to the external development of the democratic system. In addition, this study will 1) discuss dynamics in the constraints to racial equity and social justice for the working class, and 2) explain why the later public administration research focused on the internal functioning of governmental organizations in the development of the field of study.

Challenges to normative public administration

In *The Study of Administrative*, Wilson (1887) described PA as the most visible and interactive representation of government actions, which is as old as government itself. Despite the close connection with the people, he saw that US PA lacked a formal development as a field and study, which would codify administrative development, structure, and operations. One problem is that early writers did not produce scholarship about the US PA as a science of government (Wilson 1887). Instead, political writers focused on the constitution of government.

Motivation and aversion

Although the discussion suggests that a professional PA would be capable of addressing the issues, it also shows an aversion to comparative governance and best practice studies (Wilson 1887). This aversion could be attributed to 1) the ambitious central focus creating a political system to replace the British imperialism or 2) an aversion to the challenges of reigning in popular pluralistic sovereignty in favor of a fair and inclusive system of democracy. Wilson's (1887) historical narrative suggests that the neglect of democracy, equity, and inclusion development, structure and operations is a consequence of the external political focus. The

challenges of 1) developing democratic pluralism, and 2) a new identity equal to that of the former imperial master became factors in the modern constraints to professional autonomous public administration. In the voids of professional administrative development, PA is constrained by oligarchic strongholds, privilege, and opportunities for tyranny (Wilson 1887). These interests undermine the Constitution, which should guide PA democratic development, structure, and operations.

Lack of comparative governance

Wilson discussed two notable characteristics of early US PA 1) lack of formal development, and 2) the difference between US PA and other democratic systems. Each change is influenced by 1) input from former systems, 2) US theory throughput, and 3) operations of a young nation seeking to set up its economic, political, and social stability. This process of US administration culture change (Miller 2012, occurs within an environment of ideals from the age of revolution, European enlightenment, and slave society.

Unique development

Considering this transmission of conflicting plural interests - such as proslavery and abolitionist positions, Jim Crow, and segregation – Wilson (1887) attributes the lack of formal PA development to a focus on Constitution development issues, which supplied political cover and space for neglect of administration. Secondly, the imperialistic structure and operations were reformed into less objectionable principles and practices that would maintain economic, political, and social stability. However, because of lack of development, administration was inadequate to ensure the monarchical practices would not supersede the democratic principles in the intent to run the Constitutional democracy.

Developing constitutional principle

Wilson (1887) discussed the need for development of principles that would supply cohesion between the Constitution and administrative practice. To illustrate this concern of cohesion, Wilson (1887) discussed the application of freedom either granted in the Constitution or operationalized through administrative practice. The contention is that both forms of freedom need to be cohesively applied. Another uniquely US issue is that the Constitutional rejection of former colonial administration created an aversion to comparative analysis that considers the older democratic systems (Wilson 1887). However, the absence of administrative reform left the old colonial administrative culture and policies in place.

Development, structure, and operation

So, Wilson presents three questions about the administrative development, structure, and operations that reflect 1) his legacy in defining a framework for the study, and 2) a foundation for explaining the challenges, including current equity and inclusion constraints. His first question is, who should make the laws (Wilson 1887, 198)? This question raises deeper questions such as, how the ones will who make the laws get the authority or responsible to make the laws (Paine 1776, 2018). When or wherever issues of equity and inclusion arise in administration, does it matter how these powers are or were acquired? Or does the economic, political, or social environment in which the laws are made influence the administration of the equity and inclusion? These deeper thoughts reflect Wilson's follow up question, would the laws be equitable (Wilson 1887,198) and inclusive? Would laws be developmentally subjective and bias? By extension, Would PA be equitable and inclusive?

The second question is what shall the laws be (Wilson 1887, 196)? The laws would be based on governing values of the lawmakers. However, in the post slavery political environment, equity and inclusion were not accessible to all classes in the development, structure, and

operations of administration. So, the laws would be inequitable and exclusive. These first two questions explore the status of the political structure on a monarchial-democratic continuum that is also pondered in the third question, how should the laws be administered: equitably, exclusively? This major constraint confounds PA. How could inequitable and exclusive laws be administered equitably and inclusively?

Moreover, how the laws are administered - equitably or inclusively - would be a matter of perspective from either the ruling or subject class cohorts. Due to the heritage of imperialism in the political power structure (Wilson 1887), and slow culture change development, PA would be constrained to stand for interests of the established political class and influential interest groups.

A. Traditional Rationality and Administrative Development:

Historically, administrative culture change has been driven by advances in new methods and technological developments. Similarly, administrative ethics and principles are advanced through new behavioral societal change concepts such as enlightenment, morality, and equity. However, the earlier -classical era- US PA had limited input into its own development since it was relegated to “practical detail” (Wilson 1887, 199) of clerical implementation of the established political rationality (Wilson 1887, 198). Due in part to the political constraints, administrative development was geared toward the internal technical processes. So, under the external political control and majority rule environment (Wilson 1887), PA benefited from the development of new internal technologies and methodologies at the costs of autonomous advancements in ethics and morality.

Rationality, external development and internal neglect

Much is written of the separation of executive, legislative, and judicial powers, and the jurisdiction of federal, state, and local government powers (Rohr 1986). The general

organizational concerns were about anticipating and curtailing undesirable individual and government institution behaviors. These thoughts on the nature of the Constitution were associated with the rationality for neglecting PA development. Consequently, this rationality neglected the practical development of equity and inclusion including the broader operationalization of equitable sovereignty among the people and means of orchestrating plural and conflicting interests. So, in the administration of the Constitution, the problems of majority rule (Wilson 1887), and lack of minority representation through voting remain unresolved issues and challenges in the act of running the constitution (Wilson 1887; Rohr 1986).

Rationality, progressive era advancements

Nevertheless, the early advancement of PA was incremental aided by the findings of research commission reports and other initiatives (White 1926; Rohr 1986) that improve equity and inclusion through Federal government authority. By the progressive era while the political thoughts were on establishing Federal, state, and local government relationships (Rohr 1986), PA started transitioning from the classical spoils system (Stivers 2000) and scientific management to the emerging human behavior theories (Shafritz et al. 2016). However, during the early development period, economic and social structures were simple, and the population size was manageable (Wilson 1887). So, the simple PA structure was commensurate with the political control system. The exception is that the simplicity did not address salient issues such as discord between “master and workmen” (Wilson 1887, 199) which notably affected industrial society and started to become more ominous in Wilson’s era.

Conflicting rationales, new PA roles, culture change, and constraints

Regarding equity and inclusion, by the time of Wilson’s (1887) essay, slavery had ended approximately twenty years earlier. Less than twenty years later during the progressive era, there was political structure and administrative operations shift to municipal government systems

(Stivers 2000). This became the genesis of new roles for both politics and administration, but the culture of racial inequity and exclusion persisted. The resistance to culture change can be observed in the excluded labor class civil rights movement (Stammers (2009) events for democratic equity and inclusion. Empirically, the political and administrative change was constrained by resistance, and rationality that evolved into other constraints to equity and exclusion such as challenges to affirmative action and other judicious corrective measures.

A summary of Wilson's legacy

Wilson established a description of the unique culture of governance in the US and made a case for the study of public administration. His theme is that civil service needs to improve the personnel as well as the organization and methods of government offices (Wilson 1887). At that time, PA theory and practice were limited to internal initiatives So, administrative study was to discover what administration can properly and successfully do, and how it can do these things efficiently and effectively (Wilson 1887). These thoughts remain viable. However, over time, the PAs capacity is expanding and changing. the Wilson's thought on the two pillars of PA considers three points. It looks at 1) what others have contributed to the study of PA throughout the relevant time periods, 2) what should be the subject matter in the study of public administrations and 3) what are the best methods for developing these initiatives (Wilson 1887, 197). In the current era, it should be clear that the answers to these questions are contingent on whether the scope of the problems are internal, intersectional, or external to PA domain. However, by moving along with the societal change PA has advanced from being relegate to clerical detail to developing theories on internal and external means of operationalizing social equity.

B. Lack of Relevance in Internal and External Domains:

Relevance is defined here as 1) responsiveness to economic, political, and social needs in the relationship between government and the people and capacity to address plural interests in the

relationship between groups and classes. Wilson (1887) makes an association between 1) governance complicated by master and labor class discord and 2) difficulties of governmental action. (Wilson 1887, 199-200). The relationship between class discord and governmental action is exemplified in the discussion of the Black Death event, which 1) gave the labor class the upper hand in the 'free market,' and 2) changed the master-laborer relationship. (Dalal 2017).

Similarly, today, in response to the Covid-19 pandemic, there are tensions between service industry, employees, and 'free market' control policies. This illustrates the plural interests, and different perspectives among the classes. The interests that arise with these external events challenge the governance choices and the relationship between politics and administration. The policy conflicts that arise in events such as the pandemic highlights the challenges of running the Constitution with democratic principles. It also exposes the effects of what Chomsky regards as incongruence between the democratic theory and administrative practice (Landau et al. 2011).

Historical lack of relevance

According to Wilson's (1887) historical perspective, the lack of relevance between theory and practice includes the unresolved master-labor class relationship (Wilson 1887; Dahrendorf 1959) issues and the challenges of achieving a PA change in thinking from the imperialistic political economy to an equitable and inclusive democratic system. On one hand, the article implies that political arm constrains administration functions. On the other hand, a professional PA would provide inputs for addressing economic, political, and social equity and inclusion issues. So, PA lack of relevance is due to political constraints in the internal and external research agenda.

Relevance through open system external research agenda

According to Wilson's (1887) research agenda, in addition to developing individuals and 'technical' competence, the field would benefit from comparative analysis of external issues. For example, to contribute to democratic governance, a study may focus on operationalizing equity and inclusion despite plural sovereignty, majority rule, and voting protocols that challenge democratic functions. To overcome the relevance constraints, external research agenda may need to be developed, structured, and operationalized in a way that reconciles the democratic theory and administrative practice. In sum, opening the external domain to PA may fill a major gap in the lack of relevance.

Relevance in reconciling theory and practice

Wilson's (1887) concern for reconciling democratic theory and practice was reasserted by Waldo's challenge for PA to reconcile democracy and efficiency. Both approaches would make PA more relevant to economic, political, and social problems. The focus on administrative operations has heightened the focus on internal techniques that make government efficient and effective. So, the public administration research agenda evolution reflects PA's deficit in intersectional research to reconcile the plural interests in the Constitution, democratic governance, and among the diverse constituencies (Wilson 1887). The irony Wilson (1887) raises is that although the administrative bureaucracy intersects with the public, the relationship between the public and administration is relegated to the political system. As a political system subfield (Wilson 1887), administrative development is impacted by issues that are external to its research agenda domain. Consequently, Wilson's (1887) advocacy for professionalism focused on internal development as depicted in the following tables.

Conclusion, Development Dichotomy and Teaching, Theory, and Practice:

ADMINISTRATION DEVELOPMENT DOMAINS

HIERARCHY	WILSON CONCERNS	INTERNAL	EXTERNAL
Constitution	Early Writing Constitution focus		X
	Prior Control T., Monarchy, Oligarchy		X
	Broad new Constitution principles		X
	Imperialism-Democracy policy conflict		X
	Neglect democratic administrative dev		X
Politics	Early writing lacks systemic thought		X
	Lack practical detail development		X
	Who controls what, how law administered		X
	Enlightenment, equity, speed, friction		X
	Majority rule as an imperialistic principle		X
Administration	Improve individual personnel (Teaching)	X	
	Improve organization, methods (Theory)	X	
	Civil service reform movement (Practice)	X	

Source: (Wilson 1887)

The above table shows that in Wilson’s era, teaching, and technical development, and civil service reform issues are within the administration research agenda. Developmental issues such as democracy equity and inclusion are external to PA and within the political domain.

WILSON RELEVANCE DOMAINS

	Concerns	Internal	External
Teaching	Comp Analysis	X	
	Best Practices	X	
Theory	Administrative	X	
	Systematic thought	X	
Practice	Democracy		X
	Equity		X
	Inclusion		X

In this table, operational issues such as democracy equity and inclusion are outside of the administrative domain although they are factors within PA practice. So, PA practice is relegated (Wilson 1887) to clerical and technical duties and responsibilities. The models show that Wilson’s (1887) normative theory established a hierarchical development structure that outlines internal and external domains, and a teaching, theory, and practice foundation.

ESSAY 2

Minnowbrook Conference:

Examining Public Administration Challenges During Crisis

Introduction:

In this essay, a key finding is that the Minnowbrook Conference discussion focused on resolving issues of traditional rationality and irrelevance. These factors are constraints to PA social equity advancement. Therefore, the purpose of this essay is to present discussions that describe what would be considered normative rationality and relevance. More specifically, this essay describes the 1) sociopolitical environment that drives the concerns for the status of the field, 2) challenges to developing normative teaching, theory, and practice, and 3) similarities between Woodrow Wilson and Minnowbrook Conference normative theory.

The Minnowbrook conference was conceived and organized to address what some scholars saw as a PA that acted blind (Marini 1971), to sociopolitical dynamics that ignited the social movements of the 1960s regarding the civil rights issues and Vietnam war. The issues highlight PA's deficiencies in autonomy, morality, and professional identity discussed in this study. The implication is that a well-developed PA would have the capacity to produce normative analyses on internal as well as external issues such as Civil Rights.

Public administration professionals disconnect from the 1960s social movement issues highlight the political structural and behavioral controls that relegate PA to technical internal work (Wilson 1887). The Minnowbrook perspective presents a need to advance the field with relevant training and addresses the unique US challenges at the intersection of constitutional values, democratic theory (Wilson 1887), political control power (Etzioni 1975), and administrative practice. Therefore, this essay takes an in-depth look at the 1968 Minnowbrook Conference, which was organized by PA scholars precisely because the discipline seemed blind to the social and political upheavals of the 1960s (Marini 1971). So, this essay will examine the Conference discussions to consider how the events impact subsequent research agenda and concern for racial equity in PA theory and practice.

Minnowbrook Conference concerns

The Conference considered 1) normative PA frameworks, 2) relevance, 3) traditional rationality constraints, and 4) means of change through methods, morality, and training initiatives (Marini 1971). Discussions explore the efficacy of established methods and administrative culture that seemed too outdated and irrelevant to external events (Marini 1971). The irrelevance was due in part to a focus on internal management techniques. Therefore, discussions considered the development of a New Public Administration (NPA). Ideally, a NPA would institutionalize a normative morality that seeks to resolve salient societal issue through social equity and phenomenological approaches. Consequently, the relationship between politics and administration would be different. The old PA research agenda is to serve the political interests and fulfill the political needs, while a new PA may have an autonomous research agenda and serve moral causes, needs, and the people's interests. In terms of the Friedrich-Finer debate, PA may be both accountable to the political system and responsible to the people (Jackson 2009).

Relevance Discussions:

Dwight Waldo's article *PA in the time of Turbulence*, and the Honey Report were circulated among the participants prior to the Conference (Marini 1971). So, these critical articles about "real problems" and issues were among the factors that influenced the internal protests of PAs irrelevant research agenda (Marini 1971, 6). The Conference discussions considered the disconnect between the unjust public policies and the field's reliance on traditional formats (Marini 1971). The implication is that the research agenda's structure reflects what Wilson (1887) would have classified as being within the old monarchical traditions. Conference documents by two of the organizers, *Toward a new public administration* edited by Frank Marini (1971), and articles by Frederickson, articulate the discussion of issues such as the development of relevance through conceptual frameworks for a New Public Administration.

Like Wilson (1887), the MC was similarly concerned about democracy, equity, and inclusion. The prior political science conference, and the democratic convention issues spilled over into the Minnowbrook Conference “revolt” (Marini 1971). Considering the preconference circulation of controversial Honey Report, and Waldo’s *Public Administration in Time of Turbulence* literature (Marini 1971, 2), the Minnowbrook participants were prepared to engage in comprehensive analysis of the democracy, equity, and inclusion problems.

ISSUE DOMAINS AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

ISSUE Minnowbrook Reasons for New PA	DOMAIN		FRAMEWORK		
	In	Ex	Dev	St	Op
PA Relevance		X	X		
Administrative Organization	X				X
Conceptual Convergence		X	X		
Normative Bases for Conceptual Choice	X	X			X
Analytical basis for convergence	X	X		X	
Policy Making Constraints		X		X	X
Questions, Implications of demo, freedom, equality		X			
Influence on civic action, domination		X	X		X

Source: (Marini 1971)

The table shows the Meadowbrook conference discussed internal and external issues that traditionally resulted in developmental, structural, and operational constraints to PA. These constraints are intersectional across constitutional and democratic issues, and political and administrative domains. This includes operational equity and inclusion factors - which NPA would normatively consider as within the PA domain - that impact the administration and constituent relationship.

Relevance through intersectional equity and inclusion

Traditionally, for issues to be considered by the political, they must be salient (Light 1997) This means that majority issues have greater potential and more opportunities to be addressed by the political system (Light 1997). Considering the political salience and external forces for change in the environment at that time, the external issue overlapped into the internal research agenda domain. This may be one driver of the internal-external domain intersectionality. Also, the overlap of internal and external issue may be attributed to Minnowbrook’s phenomenological approach to relevance, and normative need to respond to external

sociopolitical dynamics. However, the Minnowbrook research agenda is open to cultural change to a new PA that has intersectional relevance to public affairs. As a result, in comparison to the traditional practices, the MC research agenda is comprehensive and does not seem to distinguish between internal and external domains.

Relevance through domain aggregation

From another perspective, although Constitution development and political structure issues have been external to PA, Minnowbrook analyses aggregate both internal and external issues to analyze factors that constrain the development of systematic approaches to social equity (Marini 1971) and inclusion. In efforts to develop solutions to these systemic constraints (Marini 1971), Minnowbrook Conference participants discussed administrative approaches and methods that have potential to address the turmoil (Marini 1971) between the political system and constituents. Therefore, the NPA discussion produces a space for addressing traditional external Constitution development, political structure, and constituent culture change constraints from an internal operations domain. This is described as the intersectional domain space.

Intersectionality of issues

Wilson (1887) presents a scenario of the Minnowbrook intersectional domain that exemplifies an administrative response to a constitution issue. That example discusses a case in which freedom is granted by administration and not the Constitution (Wilson 1887). The discussion suggests that the one-legged franchise would not provide equitable comprehensive institutionalization of the freedom. The point is that freedom would not be fully instituted unless granted by all governing bodies including public administration (Wilson 1887). The problem would be the same vice versa if the Constitution granted freedom and not the administration. This issue is the problem at hand regarding equity and inclusion. In the absence of comprehensive action, there is persistent class inequity and exclusion. The implication here is that administration

has a significant role in government development, structure, and operations. So, the intersectional structure may enhance potential for comprehensive development of public administration.

Relevance through structural innovation

The display above shows Minnowbrook Conference topics that were discussed in the consideration of how to address PA relevance shortfall (Marini 1971) through a political structure and administrative culture that traditionally viewed intersectional issues as solely external to PA duties and responsibilities (Wilson 1887). In contrast to the traditional constraints, the Minnowbrook Conference proposals presented NPA and social equity protocols that address problems through an intersectional structure that aggregates internal and external administrative policy domain issues.

Wilson, Minnowbrook Conference, and Contemporary PA Linkages:

From a culture change perspective, this describes the linkages from Wilson's concerns to the contemporary social equity thoughts and research agenda ideals. The theoretical linkages between Wilson (1887) and Minnowbrook Conference raises questions about practical relevance of the research agenda. A key factor of the linkages is that the research agendas are all rooted in normative principles. But, more specifically, the normative principle is progressive, with the latter building and extending from the former. The difference is that each is centered on the concept that reflects the temporal circumstances in the environment and is relevant to the stage of PA development. For instance, Wilson's (1887) central theme considered how domination carried over from the imperialist society into majority rule and impacts the democratic culture and administrative operations. The Minnowbrook Conference was centered on the rationality of the traditional PA theory and practice, which is a legacy of the domination culture. Similarly, the contemporary literature is centered on building responsiveness from the new PA rationality and

relevance espoused at Minnowbrook, which provides a framework for moving “toward a New Public Administration” (Marini 1971).

From another perspective, this PA movement trend indicates that the majority form of domination is institutionalized into PA theory and practice. Consequently, the evolution away from the traditional rationality may require new more autonomous theory and practice protocols in the structure and operations. The subsequent contemporary response reflects the rationality of implementing equity and inclusion by current internal means while developing methods and culture change that responds to intersectional issues. The theories are displayed in the following Continuum Table.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION CONCERNS

	1. Wilson	2. Minnowbrook	3. Contemporary
Equity and Inclusion	Developmental	Structural	Operational
Challenge	Domination	Rationality	Responsiveness
Description	Imperialistic political development	Social equity research agenda structure	Operationalize equity and inclusion

*These categories reveal a systemic evolution of PA incremental change.

Democracy linkages

One question in this Essay 2 is: What is the relationship between Minnowbrook Conference and Wilson’s concerns regarding the democratic structure? A review of the literature indicates that Minnowbrook addresses democracy (and freedom) directly. For instance, one discussion states that “Freedom and democracy have both been given in variety of content meanings. Various descriptions of personal circumstance and arrangement of governance have been offered as answers to the question of: “I would be free if…” or “We would be democratic if…” “A content-oriented definition or approach appears, however, to miss the most important element of both concepts. Both are essentially process-oriented ideas and should be so defined” (Biller1968, Marini 1971, 109).

Consequently, in this study, democracy and freedom are defined based on the outcome of political and administrative processes. In this case, democracy is operationalized through intersectional theory and practice protocols. So, the MC discussions suggests there is no conflict between NPA and the US construction of democracy. The problem is in creating an administrative practice that conforms to democratic theory in environments where traditional politics dominate administrative activities (Wilson 1887). Consistent with Wilson's (1887) concerns, NPA is focused on making PA relevant to the- constitutional democratic principles, which would address persistent longitudinal problems at the intersection of administrative operations and equity and inclusion.

Traditional Rationality Challenges to Normative Structure:

Consequently, to achieve relevance, NPA social equity protocols are structured within normative methods and morals perspective of policy development and operations despite the outmoded rationality (Marini 1971) that constrains PA development (Wilson 1887). Contrary to the traditional practice of relegating administration to operational details (Wilson 1887), the new rationality shows the need for PA to lead in the development of intersectional initiatives. The general implication is that this new rationality would operationalize greater 1) responsiveness in PA interaction with the public, 2) autonomy in theory and practice development, and 3) professional ethics and moral standards. For instance, Marini (1971) cited a *Public Administration Review* article that stated, "A majority of participants, however, now find the present field of public administration wanting, not only a reliable set of concepts and techniques to guide the contemporary public administrator, but equally a set of concepts and ideas to explain the modern world of administration (Marini 1971, 14).

Responsiveness, inadequate methodology, outdated political rationality problem

More specifically one problem is that lack of responsiveness, inadequate methodology, outdated political rationality (Marini 1971) and majority ideals constrain the diffusion (Rogers 1962, 2003) of PA equity and inclusion research agenda outside of social equity scholar circles. Therefore, one solution is to develop a theory and practice framework from which PA could address intersectional equity and inclusion. Another problem is the traditional rationality (Wilson 1887; Marini 1971) would require a cultural change in the field. Therefore, Minnowbrook proposals included teaching both new 'methods and morality to overcome the shortfalls in research capacity and outmoded ideology (Marini 1971).

To facilitate this culture change, proposals include a teaching agenda that promotes morality among efforts to develop PA students beyond self-interest career development mold (Marini 1971). The implication is that the new moral culture would also address the administrative evil, administrative racism (Williams and Duckett 2020), Arndt's concept of banality of evil (Landau et al. 2011) and over compliance with traditional inequitable theories and exclusive practices that may be strongholds of resistance to change. There is a premise that the desired rationality and morality would secure culture change in environments that may otherwise revert to systemic inequity and exclusion.

Culture change challenges

However, unlike the development of new analytical methods, teaching behavior change is a complex endeavor. The complexity may require internal and external collaboration that promotes the necessary intersectional standards and regulations. The multidisciplinary approach will need to be designed to achieve change that will result in morality, equity and inclusion becoming dominant behaviors that replaces centuries old classical self-interest behavior tradition that are institutionalized into the economic, political, and social fabric of governance and majority

rule in society. Therefore, culture change support would require application of all internal methods that establish incremental change. The contemporary response may provide empirical evidence of the potential for this type of change.

While it is important to start culture change, it would need to be transformative to produce short term results considering the slow rate at which political structures change (Rohr 1986; Light 1997). However, in the short term, the circumstances favor technical development, which is in the domain of internal methods. In contrast, moral development is slow unless these external issues for which there is no political mechanism for change (Wilson 1887) become salient (Light 1997) to public policy decision-makers and the PA external research agenda. Given the challenges to teaching external behavior change, the MC also produced methods for advancing democracy, equity, and inclusion through internal and intersectional modes of operation. For instance, NPA and PPB methods provide social equity implementation approaches to move PA toward democracy in theory and practice.

The New Public Administration Solutions:

In sum, Minnowbrook Conference participants proposed potential solutions including normative research agenda that explores morality training, appropriate methods, and phenomenological approaches. This includes a new PA theory and practice such as using PPB (Marini 1971) to deliver social equity protocols. This research agenda solution operationalizes greater autonomy in theory and practice (Wilson 1887). It is consistent with a focus on teaching and developing methods and culture to foster the professional ethics and morality needed to advance social equity and resolve problems at the intersection of PA, politics, and minority constituent needs.

NPA implications

Some implications are that NPA integrates the research agenda to 1) produce comprehensive analysis of the internal and external issues and 2) establish a means of operationalizing a rational structure that values equity and inclusion. Consequently, the rationality provides for 1) constitution development (Wilson 1887), 2) political structure, and 3) administrative operations to be intersectional in research agenda and eventually in the theory and practice of administration. A second implication is that this new rationality would provide administrative autonomy to operationalize equity and inclusion without friction (Wilson 1887). Wilson (1887) suggests the PA field should be independent of political science to freely engage in both internal and external research agenda. Theoretically, the autonomy would facilitate greater focus on the development of relevant methods and new rational behaviors. This would be a goal of normative public administration. Another implication is that greater autonomy would foster intersectional research agenda to improve the relationships between 1) administration and constituents, 2) politics, and constituents, and 3) the constitution and constituents. The Conference concern for a wider context includes consideration of rebuilding “intense awareness of the problem of our society, social and economic injustice, and the role of administrators in societal injustice” (Marini 1971, 15).

In sum, this suggests that PA would be within its domain to address issues regarding the relationship between administration and its constituents including issues that raise conflicts between PA and the political system. To counter this challenge, the research agenda provides for development in teaching, theory, and practice. These mechanisms of the research agenda are a framework from which PA may consider the challenging social and political issues. The following table displays the relationship between research agenda initiatives and the intersectionality of the domains based on the Conference discussions.

MINNOWBROOK RESEARCH AGENDA

	Concerns	Internal	External
Teaching			
	Relevance	X	X
	Morality	X	X
Theory			
Social Equity	Equity	X	X
NPA	Inclusion	X	X
Practice			
	Democracy	X	X
PPB	Equity	X	
Social Equity	Inclusion	X	X

Teaching:

Minnowbrook teaching agenda promotes relevance that is developed through comprehensive analysis of internal and external issues. It would teach PA professionals to reconcile internal and external issues to develop methods, and culture that values democratic equity and inclusion. The implication is that relevance and morality would be pillars in NPA teaching. Whether or not they stem from constitutional or political issues, they may not be considered eternal. Regarding constitutional and political relevance, PA responsiveness may be determined by professional ethics, morality, and values. So, NPA teaching may address traditionally external issues as intersectional topics within the PA domain.

The NPA teaching framework is linked to Wilson’s research agenda since they both express normative views about the relevance of PA to the constitutional values and democratic principles. Wilson (1887) observed that constitutional concerns were a distraction from PA development. Therefore, administration development was considered external to constitution development. This historical development institutionalized the culture in which constitution issues are external and PA research agenda is relegated to internal issues. Therefore, Wilson raised this externality issue that MC addresses through its intersectional teaching program.

Overcoming external research agenda constraints

Although the NPA framework accommodates teaching at the intersection of administration and democracy, it acknowledges the “tensions apparently inherent in the ideas of freedom and democracy” (Biller 1968, Marini 1971, 109) that may explain why “normative issues have been shunned” (Biller 1968, Marini 1971, 108). Minnowbrook considered the tensions within the context of the turbulent confrontations for “new sociology,” “new politics,” and “new public administration” (Marini 1971, 13). This reflects Wilson’s normative thoughts on democratic administration and concern for the role of PA in a political system dominated by a majority rule system. In such an environment, normative views may seem “less ascertainable than facts about organizations, (and) administrative processes” (Biller 1968, Marini 1971, 109). This suggests that teaching may favor an internal research agenda. rather than one perceived as external and unattainable (Marini 1971).

Theory:

Phenomenology options

The capacity to integrate internal and external research agenda is found in the Minnowbrook Conference construction of PA phenomenology. According to Larry Kirkhart in *Toward a Theory of PA*, there are two theory considerations. One is the relevance of PA to changing society, and another is the relationship of PA to social science (Kirkhart 1968, Marini 1971). So, the first is important for understanding PA functions and roles in changing dynamics, and the second is important for PA to establish the autonomy and domain to address the intersectional issues (Kirkhart 1968, Marini 1971). In comparison, Wilson’s (1887) dichotomy established the ideas that administration could be autonomous.

Similarly, the MC referred to the PA autonomous space as the terrain, which implies a range and variety of surfaces. In theoretical discussion about conceptual boundaries and PA organization questions, Kirkhart notes that the “problem is a consequence of the dominant role that political scientist played in the inception and development of PA (Kirkhart 1968, Marini 1971, 129). This echoes Wilson’s observation, and the thoughts of subsequent scholars (Kirkhart 1968, Marini 1971,128).

Narrow theory challenges

One challenge to the external research agenda is that the development of social science led to the narrowing of theory, which resulted in the “triumph of positive science” (Kirkhart 1968, Marini 1971, 132) Kirkhart (1968) notes that “despite advances in analytical techniques... theoretical developments are somehow constricted, limited” (Kirkhart 1968, Marini 1971, 132). The theory development is associated with intersection issues. So, the contributions of logic and semantic analysis is too withdrawn form contemporary life and its manifold problems” (Kirkhart 1968, Marini 1971, 133). This suggests that there may be challenges to applying comprehensive or eclectic phenomenological approaches

Traditionally, advances in analytical techniques are associated with internal process improvements. Similarly, advancements in theory are needed to address external issues. This MC theoretical achievement established a phenomenological approach that results in intersectional analyses of the problems. However, the concept of new PA embraces the use of phenomenon approaches that attempt to capture the human experience. A key difference with the phenomenological approach is the openness to the certainty of ideas, and alternatively the critical consideration of the contingency of “facts” in positivism (Kirkhart 1968, Marini 1971, 132). Therefore, phenomenology provides an alternative theory base from which PA can engage in an intersectional research agenda and consider problems that would traditionally be internal domain.

The implication is that NPA represents advances in theoretical framework, culture, phenomenology, and a move away from the traditional ideals of public administration.

Practice:

Conclusion, Practical Connections:

The teaching and theory development are factors of practice. Intuitively practice will evolve with professional development of personnel, and capacity to conduct advanced internal analyses, and address intersectional problems in the field. Consequently, the MC theory was built on the more “macro” (Kirkhart 1968, Marini 1971, 132) theory reminiscent of what Wilson (1887) presented before the turn of the century. In the subsequent decades including the 1960s, practice advanced with studies based on more narrowly defined units of analysis and positivists “facts” (Kirkhart 1968, Marini 1971, 132). Therefore, PA practice advancement is based on methods and techniques that afforded the field more duties and responsibilities within the politically relegated (Wilson 1887) internal domain. Similarly, the introduction of NPA and social equity also led to PA’s expansion of research agenda that addresses external and intersectional issues. Contextually, practice should impact both internal methods and external culture change (Marini 1971).

ESSAY 3

Racial Equity and Inclusion in Contemporary PA Research

Introduction:

The key finding in this essay is that contemporary social equity scholars provide normative theory that builds capacity for the diffusion of equity and inclusion throughout PA. Their theories address the development, structure, and operation issues raised by Wilson (1887) and at the Minnowbrook Conference (Marini 1971). The purpose of this essay is to describe 1) the range of equity and inclusion approaches developed to resolve the development structure and operation issues, and 2) the teaching, theory, and practice solutions.

This essay surveys the current racial equity research. It will indicate if 1) racial equity has become an accepted focus of public administration research thought 2) displays the same ardent concern for social justice that is characteristic of the 1968 Minnowbrook Conference or 3) if the study of racial equity has taken a technical turn which threatens to narrow the focus of the discipline away from the external operating environment. This set of contemporary social equity articles and books indicate that the issues raised by Wilson (1887) and the 1968 Minnowbrook Conference are being addressed in contemporary PA theory and practice.

In this essay, the contemporary literature topics are compared with concerns raised in the Wilson (1887) and the Minnowbrook essays (Marini 1971) that advocate for the development of the PA field. The thoughts form a line of succession with three concepts. First, Wilson was concerned with the broad development issues of democratic equity and inclusion, as well as the challenges of resolving majority, voting, and civil service training issues. Secondly, Minnowbrook Conference was concerned with the efficacy of the structures and narrow focus constrains to social equity theory development. Teaching relevant methods and morality, and establishing a new rationality were among the proposed PA responses. Thirdly, contemporary literature is built on the advancements of the former development and structure and focuses on means of operationalizing equity and inclusion.

The implicit linkages consider the 1) core issues, democracy, equity, and inclusion and 2) dynamics of majority rule, voting representation, and civil service training. These concerns overlap, and the internal and external development trends depict the general status of social equity and inclusion in public administration. Therefore, the selected literature indicates that social equity and internal research agenda are complimentary. Similarly, inclusion literature establishes a framework for external change initiatives. Both sets of literature address teaching, theory, and practice. The following literature analysis considers how the internal and external research agenda relate to development, structure, and operation change.

Equity Literature Thoughts on Teaching Theory and Practice:

EQUITY LITERATURE

Date	Title	Authors
2019	Social Equity in PA: A Call to Action	Blessett, B. et al.
2015	Social Equity and PA	Frederickson, HG
2015	Justice for all: Promoting Social Equity in PA	Johnson, NJ & Svara, JH
2012	Promoting Social Equity in PA: A needed topic...	Johnson III, RG
2011	Balancing the four Es: can we achieve equity	Norman-Major, K
2005	State of Social Equity in American PA	Frederickson, G.
2005	Social Equity is a Pillar of PA	Svara, JH & Brunet, JR
2004	Organization Culture, Social Equity, and Diversity:	Rice, MF
1990	Public Administration and Social Equity	Frederickson, HG
1974	Social Equity, Justice, and equitable administrator	Hart, DK

Source: Google Scholar. Retrieved 11/10/ 2021

The table shows studies in order of date with the most recent first. Teaching, theory, and practice articles are assessed for relationship between internal and external research agenda and development, structure or operations change. For Example, if the question is which domain would produce the most effective operations change, internal or external? The answer may be development, structure, and operation changes may be addressed from either internal or external research agenda. The degree to which they are effective depend on internal and external culture and change factors and influences in the organization environments. The same contingencies

apply to the relationship between teaching, theory or practice, and equity and inclusion. So, this assessment reveals contingencies that appear in the literature. Therefore, the politics and administration thought and external events account for significant impact on PA advancement toward equity and inclusion, democracy, and civil service training. These articles gauge the status of the advancement.

Teaching

Organizational culture, social equity, and diversity (Rice 2004) focuses on social equity (SE) in public service delivery. First, it discusses the traditional public organization cultural environment in which social equity is a subculture. Therefore, social equity exists within rather than among the economy, efficiency, and effectiveness pillars. Second, the article finds that teaching diversity is a means of enhancing a social equity focus on the classroom. It presents a premise that “social equity can best be achieved if public administrators, public managers, and public service delivery personnel have a clear understanding and appreciation of diversity and diversity management... built into the organization’s culture” (Rice 2004). This suggests that linking SE to diversity in teaching and training would improve the advancement of social equity in the public service delivery process. Furthermore, there is current need for social equity and diversity to be included in PA coursework, and curricular, and public administration faculty should be racially and ethnically diversified (Rice 2004). This expresses normative developmental thoughts within the PA internal domain.

In *Social equity is a pillar of public administration* Svara and Brunet (2005) express normative principles of social equity. The article addresses social equity training and pedagogical gaps in PA and provide an operational definition of social equity for introductory PA courses (Svara and Brunet 2005). This is considered important part in the process of developing working mechanisms that outfit social equity to be a pillar of PA theory and practice (Svara and Brunet

2005). So, this article expresses internal operational social equity training concerns raised by Wilson (1887) and discussed at the Minnowbrook Conference (Marini 1971).

Similarly, balancing the Es (Norman-Major 2011) considers areas in which social equity can be elevated to equal status with economy, efficiency, and effectiveness. It examines how PA values are defined, measured, and taught and presents thoughts on how social equity can become an equal standard of practice (Norman-Major 2011). This highlights social equity advancements that need to occur outside the core of social equity scholars to achieve culture change (Norman-Major 2011).

Social equity in public administration: A call to action (Blessett et al. 2019) explores the status of equity in PA research, teaching, and practice, and identifies approaches to achieving social equity. It discusses initiatives including nondiscrimination and diversity management to address the inequities in policies and programs (Blessett et al. 2019). The implication is that exposing PA students to social equity perspectives in the curricular can foster a culture in which more graduates are responsive to the needs of all people (Blessett et al. 2019). It is notable that these issues reflect Wilson and MC concerns about majority rule inequity and exclusion, and challenges of overcoming PA developmental, structural, and operational constraints. This article promotes an internal development training objective that addresses constraints to social equity in PA theory, and practice.

Theory

Public administration and social equity (Frederickson 1990) analyzes historical and theoretical concerns in the relationship between the external domains and internal PA framework. It discusses social equity principles in US PA theory and discusses constraints that are impacted by historical development factors and complex structural sociopolitical problems (Frederickson 1990). These factors and problems indicate the need to establish social equity principles as a third

pillar of the field (Frederickson 1990). Similarly, *Social equity and public administration* (Frederickson 2015) looks at origins, developments and application of social equity theory and practice in relation to efficiency and economy, and concern for organization fairness (Frederickson 2015). This article focuses on internal approaches to address a social equity theme of institutionalizing and operationalizing justice.

Practice

Social equity, justice, and equitable administrator (Hart 1974) points out that both classic and conventional PA seek to answer the same two questions of efficiency and economy. “Conventional or classic public administration seeks to answer either of these questions:(1) How can we offer more or better services with available resources (efficiency)? or (2) How can we maintain our level of services while spending less money (economy)” (Hart 1974)? In practice, New Public Management (NPM) and other external practice programs are predicated on how they fit within the efficiency and economy pillars of PA (Hart 1974). In comparison, a social equity pillar would require policies to fit within an equity and inclusion frameworks. However, the word ‘we’ poses big underlying questions about equity and exclusion. How inclusive is we? So, in the hegemony of established efficiency and economy orthodoxy, this study suggests that in the absence of an inclusive decision-making culture protocols, democratic external policy implementation may require linkages with other programs such as coproduction (Hart 1974) to facilitate social equity initiatives.

The state of social equity in American public administration (Frederickson 2005) acknowledges PA contributions to justice, equality, and fairness development so far. So, it contends that social equity is no longer new (Frederickson 2005). Yet, there is need for PA to contribute more to justice, equality, and fairness principles (Frederickson 2005) to achieve change

in the field that results in the desired equity outcomes in governance and society. This presents an internal development assessment of the contemporary social equity issues.

The conclusion and implication of *Promoting social equity in PA: A much needed topic in the twenty-first century* (Johnson 2012) is that in the present, social equity remains underdeveloped and is a much-needed topic in PA and in the governance culture going forward. Promoting social equity will contribute to “The fair, just and equitable management of all institutions serving the public directly or by contract; the fair, just and equitable distribution of public services and implementation of public policy; and the commitment to promote fairness, justice, and equity” (Johnson 2012). This makes an internal structural assessment of the status of social equity that is applicable to date.

Justice for All (Johnson and Svara 2015) examines theory, context, history, policy study implications, applications to practice, and an action agenda. The book sections are 1) Context and Background, 2) Measuring SE, and 3) Leadership outreach and organization development. So, this book covers key foundational areas for advancing PA practice through development, structure and operation mechanisms in a way that facilitates social equity diffusion through training and theory (Johnson and Svara 2015). One factor of being the first comprehensive book of social equity in US PA is that it is approximately 50 years after the 1960s civil rights movement and MC introduction of social equity to the field (Marini 1971). It is also a benchmark that after 50 years, social equity theory and practice is not new (Fredrickson 2005), but still under construction - not a finished or operational product throughout PA. This is an internal developmental contribution to the solutions.

EQUITY META-ANALYSIS TABLE

Date	Contemporary Equity Article Meta-Analysis	TTP	In	Ex	Dev	St	Op
2019	Social Equity in PA: A Call to Action	T	X		X		
2015	Social Equity and PA	R	X				X
2015	Justice for all: Promoting Social Equity in PA	R	X		X		
2012	Promoting Social Equity in PA: A needed topic	R	X			X	
2011	Balancing the four Es: can we achieve equity	T	X		X		
2005	State of Social Equity in American PA	P	X		X		
2005	Social Equity is a Pillar of PA	T	X				X
2004	Organization Culture, Soc Equity, and Diversity:	T	X		X		
1990	Public Administration and Social Equity	R		X		X	
1974	Social Equity, Justice, equitable administrator	P	X				X

TTP: Teaching (T), Theory (R), Practice (P). Source: Google Scholar. Retrieved 11/10/ 2021

The table above shows equity issues are addressed more in the internal domain. Of the internal articles, five consider developmental issues, one addresses structural, and three operational. The external article considers a structural issue.

Inclusion Literature Thoughts on Teaching, Theory and Practice:

INCLUSION LITERATURE

Date	Title	Authors
2021	PA collaborative innovation in labor market inclusion	Lindsay, C., et al.
2017	Inclusion in PA: Developing the concept of inclusion	dos Santos, MP, et al
2015	Representation and inclusion in public organizations:	Andrews, R., Ashworth, R.
2014	Is diversity management sufficient?	Sabharwal, M.
2013	It takes two to tango? Understand co-production	Osborne, SP, & Strokosch, K.
2008	On inclusion and network governance:	Hendriks, CM
2007	Sustainable development in PA planning:	Leuenberger, DZ., Walin, M.
2000	Putting more public in policy analysis	Walters, LC, et al.
1998	Governance without government? Rethinking PA	Peters, BG, Pierre-

Source: Google Scholar Retrieved 11/10/ 2021

Teaching

Inclusion in public administration (dos Santos et al. 2017) is an analysis of the first of three parts in action research about developing inclusion cultures, policies, and practices. This analysis links training, and practice, and culture change. More specifically, it considers the collective meaning that can be derived from a course to sensitize a group to inclusion (dos Santos

et al. 2017). The results show 1) how participants "built" their inclusion concept, 2) the institutional need for participative citizenship practices, and continuous evaluation of teaching-learning processes (dos Santos et al.2017). The takeaway is that this article focuses on developing inclusion practices by fostering a culture of inclusion through a training mechanism. This is relative to MC concern for developing a moral culture in administration. In comparison, the MC framework pursues moral development teaching initiative to foster equity, inclusion, and culture change (Marini 1971).

Theory

Throughout this century, public administration has been challenged by the inclusion of organized interests, which has capacity to confront the public bureaucracy with powerful societal actors (Peters and Pierre 1998). *Governance without government*, (Peters and Pierre 1998) considers the strengths and weaknesses of European governance without government literature, which is like new public management. The authors discuss how this class of literature, which stresses the importance of markets, networks, and partnerships can be applied to US PA to better understand the challenges and negative impacts of including organized interests in the implementation of public policy (Peters and Pierre 1998). This has an external developmental focus.

This article considers the external structural issues of democratic inclusion. *Putting more public in policy analysis*. (Walters et al. 2000) proposes a model for systemic public inclusion in policy analysis to ensure that rational decision-making is paired with democratic engagement protocols. This can help the US PA field members understand the imbalance of power and influence on (Mintzberg 1983) governance by organized interests (Walters et al. 2000) that can crowd out the unorganized powerless groups public policy interests. This highlights a similar type

of exclusion problem Wilson considered in his concern for majority rule system in the development of US administration.

Leuenberger and Wakin (2007) examines the potential of integrating sustainable development and public administration principles to promote citizen participation, equality, and social justice in public decision-making. The study discusses a role for sustainable stakeholder participation development and public risk management systems approaches to promoting social justice (Leuenberger and Wakin 2007). This has an internal approach to inclusive operations that is relevant to MC internal strategy for equity and inclusion.

Regarding workforce diversity, *Representation and inclusion in public organization* (Andrews and Ashworth 2015) find that both gender and minority ethnic representativeness are associated with inclusive work climate. It is also associated with higher perceptions of inclusion as well as lower levels of bullying and discrimination (Andrews and Ashworth 2015). This addresses Wilson's concern and MC's initiative for internal development of equity within a majority dominated administrative culture. This representativeness is a path toward the development of government workforce diversity and inclusion.

A Collaborative Innovation in Labor Market Inclusion (Lindsay et al. 2021) study of unemployed parents and local labor market stakeholders show the benefits of inclusion partnerships. The study finds that policy makers should consider the potential value of collaborative innovation in the coproduction of services (Lindsay et al. 2021). This fills a gap as an internal operations model of narrowly defined labor market mechanisms for inclusion. This reflects the MC phenomenological basis for change based on ideas rather than circumstantial facts.

Practice

On inclusion and network governance (Hendriks 2008) considers both threats and opportunities political networks pose to democratic governance. It explores a relationship between network governance and legitimate democratic inclusion (Hendriks 2008). The study contends that “any account of ‘democratic’ network governance must look beyond outputs and consider the extent to which network arrangements include both ‘functional’ and ‘descriptive’ representatives of those potentially affected by decisions” (Hendriks 2008). Based on an analysis of Dutch energy reform network governance inclusivity, this study finds that the network partnerships were dominated by government and industry elites at the cost of normative democratic engagement (Hendriks 2008). The study proposes strategies to make network governance more accountable and accessible to stakeholder publics (Hendriks 2008). This focus on network dynamics and impacts at the intersection of decision-making models and democratic engagement. It considers a range of operation outcomes that may be due to the power structure. This is within the sphere of Wilson’s (1887) concern for the political structure impacts on democratic governance.

In It takes two to tango? Understanding co-production of public service by Integrating the Services Management and Public Administration Perspectives, Osborne and Strokosch (2013) expand co-production by combining public administration and services management theory. This approach highlights the operational and strategic capacity of coproduction to address social need, and the potential for transformational change in public services (Osborne and Strokosch 2013). This co-production is an external operations approach to resolving social equity issues and achieve transformational change.

Is diversity management sufficient? (Sabharwal 2014) a survey of public managers in Texas shows that organizational inclusion is associated with workplace performance. However,

this relationship between inclusion and performance requires supportive leadership and employee empowerment that takes employee perspectives into account and promotes self-esteem (Sabharwal 2014). Also, the typical diversity management initiative is not sufficient to improve workplace performance (Sabharwal 2014). This performance study contributes to internal operation strategies needed to increase effective inclusion initiatives. It further justifies the performance initiative with the capacity to improve employee empowerment and supportive leadership.

INCLUSION META-ANALYSIS TABLE

Date	Contemporary Inclusion Article Meta-Analysis	TTP	In	Ex	Dev	St	Op
2021	Collaborative Innovation in Labor Market Inclusion	R	X				X
2017	Inclusion in PA: Developing the concept inclusion	T	X		X		
2015	Representation and inclusion in pub orgs: Evidence	R	X		X		
2014	Is diversity management sufficient?	P	X				X
2013	It takes two to tango? Understanding co-production	P		X			X
2008	On inclusion and network governance:	P		X		X	X
2007	Sustainable development in PA planning:	R	X				X
2000	Putting more public in policy analysis	R		X		X	
1998	Governance without government? Rethinking PA	R		X	X		

TTP: Teaching (T), Theory (R), Practice (P). Source: Google Scholar Retrieved 11/10/ 2021

Internal and External Research Agenda Trend:

Among the inclusion articles, the majority have an internal research domain focus. This may suggest that the public administration research focused more on the internal functioning of governmental organizations. While this is the trend among the equity and inclusion articles, there are other contributing factors such as the movement of external issues into the internal domain. So, the Wilson to contemporary research agenda trend suggests increasing focus on the internal functions despite the range of concerns raised in the PA development, structure, and operation environment. The following table shows Wilson's (1887) concerns within a government development, structure, and operation hierarchy. The model shows that as a political science

subfield (Wilson 1887), administration development is preempted by Constitutional and political structure initiatives. Therefore, these issues are external to the administration domain.

INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL CONCERNS HIERARCHY

HIERARCHY	WILSON CONCERNS	INTERNAL	EXTERNAL
Constitution	Early Writing Constitution focus		X
	Prior control theory, Monarchy, Oligarchy		X
	Broad new Constitution principles		X
	Imperialistic - Democratic policy conflicts		X
	Democratic administration development		X
Politics	Lack of systemic administrative thought		X
	Lack practical administrative details		X
	Who controls how, why law administered		X
	Enlightenment, equity without friction		X
	Majority		X
Administration	Improve personnel (teaching)	X	
	Improve organization and methods	X	
	Civil service reform movement	X	

The Wilson (1887) concerns display the topics that skew the PA research agenda domain toward internal operations. On one hand, Wilson (1887) found the focus on Constitutional and intergovernmental relation excluded the development of administration. On the other, administration development should be included to reflect the Constitutional values (Wilson 1887). These polar views highlight a gap between the normative and actual development process. Wilson also contends US democracy was underdeveloped compared to 1) other (older) democratic nations and 2) its own Constitution values and political ideals (Wilson 1887). In this environment, government operation issues including administrative responsibilities were external to the PA domain at a critical development stage.

In Wilson's general assessment of democracy, equity, and inclusion, he highlights the development status of administration in relation to the Constitution and the political system. His assessment is described with a dichotomy between politics and administration. This contextual disaggregation of politics and administration also established a clear distinction between internal

and external research agenda. So, in the environment of political domination, Wilson’s dichotomy presents democracy, equity, and inclusion as external to administration. However, due to subsequent development of PA duties and responsibilities, equity and inclusion became accepted as internal domain issues.

In other words, in the absence of a professional field of administration with development autonomy, the civil service was excluded from decisions regarding research agenda (Wilson 1887). This research development constraint continued until the progressive era developments of formal municipal government systems, which expanded PA professional duties and responsibilities (Stivers 2000). However, PA has not overcome the institutionalized culture of research constraints of the political structure (Marini 1971). One implication of Wilson’s (1887) advocacy for professionalizing administration is that external issues may be internally resolved. In the process of PA advancement, the internalization of external issues has occurred. This foresight is a testament to Wilson’s (1887) legacy.

WILSON RESEARCH AGENDA AND DOMAINS

Wilson	Development Agenda	Internal	External
Teaching			
	Comp Analysis	X	
	Best Practices	X	
Theory			
	Administrative	X	
	Systematic thought	X	
Practice			
	Democracy		X
	Equity		X
	Inclusion		X

In comparison to the internal research agenda domain in Wilson’s era, Minnowbrook Conference discussions produced NPA intersectional approaches that expanded PA domain and government operations responsibilities. Approaches such as PPB may address external research agenda issues through internal initiatives (Marini 1971). Minnowbrook Conference also

considered culture change mechanisms to address internal and external concerns through teaching initiatives, and it introduced social equity as a pillar of PA theory and practice (Marini 1971). From this perspective, the MC established a PA structure that has the capacity to be more relevant, rational, and equitable in theory and practice.

Relevance may be achieved through a variety of internal and external domain programs. The ‘NPA’ also introduced the applicability of phenomenological research approaches, the reconsideration of neutrality, and the consideration of advocacy (Marini 1971) in the development, structure and operation of administrative theory and practice. So, the concept of a new PA is a framework from which PA can eclipse the traditional political and administrative rationality to address intersectional concerns through both internal and external research agenda as depicted in the table below.

MINNOWBROOK RESEARCH AGENDA AND DOMAINS

Minnowbrook	Research Structure	Internal	External
Teaching			
	Relevance	X	X
	Morality	X	X
Theory			
	Social Equity	X	X
NPA	Rationality	X	X
Practice			
	Democracy	X	X
PPB	Equity	X	
Social Equity	Inclusion	X	X

In the table above, NPA depicts the concept of using a phenomenological approach and post traditional rationality to address exclusion including issues that impact the relationship between government and underrepresented people. At this point, the young professional field has democracy, ethical and moral, and equity and inclusion duties and responsibilities. However, the analyses show that the new construction of PA remains constrained by traditional administrative

culture and political power (Etzioni 1975) and control (Wilson 1887; Marini 1971) that are factors in the slow diffusion (Rogers 1962, 2003; Valenti1996) of social equity training and operations. However, with the new responsibilities, there is a structural change in which external and internal issues intersect, and traditionally external issues shift to within the PA research agenda domain. The domain change depicted in the tables is one factor that explains the shift from external to internal social equity technicist approaches.

CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH AGENDA AND DOMAINS

Contemporary Teaching	Operation Agenda	Internal	External
	Relevance	X	
	Best Practices	X	
Theory			
	Equity	X	
	Inclusion	X	
Practice			
	Democracy		X
NPM	Equity	X	
Coproduction	Inclusion	X	X

In comparison to the MC research agenda, the contemporary literature is rooted in more narrowly defined theory and practice. Approaches such as collaboration (Lindsay 2021), coproduction (Osborne and Strokosch 2014), diversity training (Sabharwal 2014), inclusion (dos Santos 2017), operationalize justice (Johnson and Svara 2015), may operationalize equity and inclusion as intersectional initiatives. Cumulatively, the broader responsibilities and innovative approaches move the trend toward internal research agenda, which has incremental impacts on equity and inclusion. It is notable that in Wilson’s (1887) environment, when the administration research agenda was limited, equity and inclusion were out of bound external issues. Since then, MC discussions and contemporary literature creatively established equity and inclusion within the research agenda by various means. Cumulatively, the three tables show 1) a trend towards internal research agenda but also 2) the significance of PA development and narrowing of theory

and 3) more impactful practice. The tables indicate a move from development and structural phases into a phase that operationalizes equity and inclusion.

It is important to acknowledge that PA advances and trends did not occur in isolation. Wilson (1887) discourse indicates, there are environmental factors such as community movements, new methods, and morality development driven by economic, political, social, and culture change. As Wilson (1887) suggests, the environmental influences impact both political action and administrative development. For instance, scientific developments such as the automobile, railroad train, airplane, and steamship, print radio, television, and now social media are major mechanisms for the diffusion of ideas that change equity and inclusion perspectives. The premise is that unless PA initiatives occurred before external equity and inclusion initiatives, changes in PA are responses to extra governmental forces. On one hand, PA is slowly responsive to society on the other it may appear to be a constraint to change. So, the MC raises the issue of neutrality versus advocacy in the relationship between PA and society.

Conclusion:

This chapter surveyed current equity and inclusion research. It describes the political development, structure, and operations constraints and the extent to which racial equity is an accepted focus of public administration research thought. It also addresses expanding PA responsibilities and duties as factors that explain why the contemporary concern for social justice may have different characteristic from the 1968 Minnowbrook Conference era framework. It explains why the racial equity theory has narrowed and taken an internal technical turn away from the external research agenda.

In sum, contemporary theories provide more narrowly defined solutions to the problem of democracy equity and inclusion internal practice perspective. More narrowly defined theories promote social equity such as diversity, social entrepreneurship, co-production. The more

narrowly defined theory is also a framework for the Minnowbrook application of PPB, NPA, and NPM that have indirect impact on the broader external democracy and political structure. These contemporary concepts focus on operationalizing democracy, equity, and inclusion within the structure. Theoretically, overtime, as these theories are implemented into practice, they would be among the factors of culture change based on new operational norms. Modern era theories are more narrowly defined, but extends Minnowbrook NPA social equity and PA relevance concepts, which were built on Wilson's (1887) concerns for democracy.

ESSAY 4

Slow Emergence of Racial Equity Research Agenda

Introduction: Problem, Question, and Approach

This study examines Wilson's (1887) essay *The Study of Administration*, and the 1968 Minnowbrook Conference book, *Toward A New Public Administration* (Marini 1971) to describe and explain factors of the slow emergence of racial equity research. More specifically, it examines three concerns 1) the development structure and operations frameworks, 2) relevance of public administration to external affairs and 3) methods and morality factors associated with the racial equity research agenda. This study also surveys contemporary equity and inclusion articles to gauge the research agenda response to the concerns raised by Wilson (1887), and at the 1968 Minnowbrook Conference. Therefore, the analysis describes the thoughts and research and considers the significance of the internal or external development, structure, or operation factors.

The key finding of this essay is that traditional rationality and lack of relevance are factors in the slow emergence of PA racial equity research agenda (Wilson 1887; Marini 1971). Therefore, the discussion describes the constraint and change factors to provide public managers with a framework for fostering 1) productive equity and inclusion research environments, and 2) administrative autonomy. The public administration racial equity research agenda seems slow in light of the 1) long-term movements for change, and 2) legacy of constraints in government and societal events. This study is concerned with slow development issues Wilson (1887) raised in the founding document of US public administration. Therefore, it considers the development of social equity associated with the 1960s civil rights movement activities and Minnowbrook Conference contributions to the contemporary research agenda efforts and protocols.

Wilson's Thoughts on the Slow Emergence of Racial Equity Research:

Wilson's (1887) development, structure, and operations concerns highlight issues that constrain the emergence of racial equity in PA research agenda. His historical review contends that "Up to our own day all the political writers whom we now read had thought, argued,

dogmatized only about the constitution of government; about the nature of the state, the essence and seat of sovereignty, popular power and kingly prerogative; about the greatest meanings lying at the heart of government, and the high ends set before the purpose of government by man's nature and man's aims" Wilson 1887, 198).

This concern for popular sovereign power and kingly prerogatives highlights ruling class issues that have been external to PA research agenda domain. This thought is centered around ruling class interests, and the relationship between government and the people. It is notable that Wilson's thoughts on government relations and individual rights reflect those of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1762, 2018), and Thomas Paine (1776, 2018). In the era covered by Wilson's thoughts, there is concern for the universal rights of man (Payne 1791-1792, 2018), a premise of democratic propensity for justice, yet absence of prominent racial equity discussion.

"The central field of controversy was that great field of theory in which monarchy rode tilt against democracy, in which oligarchy would have built for itself strongholds of privilege, and in which tyranny sought opportunity to make good its claim to receive submission from all competitors. Amidst this high warfare of principles, administration could command no pause for its own consideration" (Wilson 1887, 198).

In the warfare of principles between imperialism and democracy, administration does not have command over equity and inclusion considerations. Here, Wilson (1887) is highlighting the imperial legacy of subjecting administration to the political system for the benefit of maintaining power and control of the organization theory and practice. Therefore, this structural problem explains the constraint to equity and inclusion and operational conflicts with Constitutional principles of democracy, which have been external to the PA research agenda domain.

Constitution concerns and governance principles

Regarding the Constitution principles, the new system is not a traditional monarchy with kingly prerogatives (Wilson 1887), however, in principle, the popular power with plural majority interests is a seat of sovereignty. So, among the majority, 1) what or who's principles will become the standards of governance, 2) how will the government respond to the plural majority, and minority interests if interests or principles conflict? Wilson raised this concern in the statement "The question was always: Who shall make law, and what shall that law be? The other question, how law should be administered with enlightenment, with equity, with speed, and without friction was put aside as " practical detail " which clerks could arrange after doctors had agreed upon principles" (Wilson 1887, 198-199).

These questions raise class and racial equity concerns that European countries addressed in response to the enlightenment. Although Paine (1776) advocated for enlightenment principles in the process of developing the US structure, equity and inclusion were set aside, and development and structure issues were external to the PA franchise. Similar explanations of the conflicts between Constitution democratic theory and administrative practice can be found through examination of the Declaration of Independence principles. One issue is that the proclamation that "all men are created equal" cannot be reconciled with the administration of government since the birth of the nation. However, Wilson's statement indicates that in the shadow of European enlightenment, the opportunity for moral administration was lost to efforts to develop the Constitution, which affirms democracy. Coincidentally, the Constitution became the principal document for defining US equity and inclusion principles.

Conflicting principles within PA

Powerful industry and economic factors are among the plural class interests "which now so often disturb industrial society began before the Black Death and the Statute of Laborers; but

never before our own day did they assume such ominous proportions as they wear now. In brief, if difficulties of governmental action are to be seen gathering in other centuries, they are to be seen culminating in our own.” (Wilson 1887, 199-200). The first part of this statement indicates his concern about class structure and class conflict. It references the feudal era which was transformed by the Black Death (Dalal 2017), which changed the relations between laborers and monarchs. Furthermore, this discussion takes place when emancipation placed African Americans in a labor market that excluded their full equitable participation despite the factors and contexts of their qualifications (Elkin1972). The political inequity and exclusion constrained access to land and capital, the means of production (Smith 1776).

The longevity and institutionalization of this system creates a complex challenge for PA to understand and resolve the contemporary PA equity and inclusion through effective teaching and research agenda initiatives. For instance, Collins (1995) presents a participation management study on class conflict, constituent reactions, and democratization used organization and political science literature to study the events and outcomes of a gainsharing system. While management and labor benefitted from the gainsharing and democratization, the system did not resolve issues of class distinctions or the concentration of capital (Collins 1995). This suggests the limitations of short term internal technical approaches, and the challenges of achieving desired class equity, constituent inclusion, and organization culture change.

Constitution – administration challenges

“It is getting to be harder to run a constitution than to frame one” (Wilson 1887, 200). First, this synopsis highlights the issue of developing an administration that supports the Constitution principles. Second it indicates that running a constitution is a separate agenda within a process of structural conformation and operational administration, within an environment of external influences (Katz and Kahn 1966) The administration development problems include

absence of developmental writing, monarchical culture, and lack of democracy focus on administration. This resulted in democracy, equity, and inclusion being relegated to political (Wilson 1887) external research agenda.

Majority rule structure

“There is scarcely a single duty of government, which was once simple which, is not now complex; government once had but a few masters; it now has scores of masters. Majorities formerly only underwent government; they now conduct government. Where government once might follow the whims of a court, it must now follow the views of a nation. And those views are steadily widening to new conceptions of state duty; so that, at the same time that the functions of government are every day becoming more complex and difficult, they are also vastly multiplying in number” (Wilson 1887, 200-201).

This majority rule statement is also concerned with equitable plurality. It reflects to the questioned who shall make the laws. The answered is in the master-laborer relationship and submission of competitors (Wilson 1887) mentioned earlier. The economic subjection and exclusion principles are contrary to the pure form of a free market, which normatively, would not systematically restrain the labor class with racial inequity means of majority structure power and control.

Increasing corporate and societal complexity

With population growth, urban development, and industrialization governance evolved from simple agrarian to complex industrial society duties and responsibilities (Wilson 1887). This environment influenced the development of new government policy and decision-making roles that further established interests of the influential classes. This created additional opportunities for majorities to conduct government and determine expanding views of state duty.

Wilson phrased his concern as “Whatever hold of authority state or federal governments are to take upon corporations, there must follow cares and responsibilities which will require not a little wisdom, knowledge, and experience. Such things must be studied in order to be well done” (Wilson 1887, 201). And these, as I have said, are only a few of the doors which are being opened to offices of government. The idea of the state and the consequent ideal of its duty are undergoing noteworthy change; and the idea of the state is the conscience of administration” (Wilson 1887, 201). “Seeing every day new things which the state ought to do, the next thing is to see clearly how it ought to do them” (Wilson 1887, 201).

For this analysis, the greater concern is if corporate influence conflict with constitutional values, ideals, and administrative progress or operations. So, power and influence of corporations, the legacy of impacts of corporations is also an area of consideration regarding the development of administration within the domain of political control. Considering campaign contribution prerogatives, and the prohibitive costs of being a representative, there may be an argument that the corporate impact includes the monetization of the government structure and operations at the cost of democratic enlightenment.

Challenges to Developing PA as a Professional Science:

“This is why there should be a science of administration which shall seek to strengthen the paths of government, to make its business less unbusinesslike, to strengthen its organization, and to crown its duties with dutifulness. This is one reason why there is such a science” (Wilson 1887 201). “But where has this science grown up? Surely not on this side the sea. Not much impartial scientific method is to be discerned in our administrative practices. The poisonous atmosphere of city government, the crooked secrets of state administration, the confusion, sinecurism, and corruption ever and again discovered in the bureaux at Washington forbid us to believe that any clear conceptions of what constitutes good administration are as yet very widely current in the

United States. No; American writers have hitherto taken no very important part in the advancement of this science” (Wilson 1887, 201).

Characteristically, Wilson’s (1887) comments are that the path of government is on a weak, wavering democracy that lacks morality and impartial scientific methods. In sum, the operational environment is described as a poisonous atmosphere in government. The implication is that an internal research agenda is needed to change operations and advance the science to pure and dutiful public administration (Wilson 1887).

Adapting foreign PA to complex US multiform state system

“It has found its doctors in Europe. It is not of our making; it is a foreign science, speaking very little of the language of English or American principle. It employs only foreign tongues; it utters none but what are to our minds alien ideas. Its aims, its examples, its conditions, are almost exclusively grounded in the histories of foreign races, in the precedents of foreign systems, in the lessons of foreign revolutions. It has been developed by French and German professors, and is consequently in all parts adapted to the needs of a compact state, and made to fit highly centralized forms of government; whereas, to answer our purposes, it must be adapted, not to a simple and compact, but to a complex and multiform state, and made to fit highly decentralized forms of government” (Wilson 1887, 202).

The historical development of comparable foreign democracies - for which PA scholarship is available - led to the development of perhaps ‘more manageable’ centralized forms of government that are suited to the compact homogeneous state. According to open systems theory (katz and kahn 1966) external environment differences influence organizations. This means that states with less complexity may have more unified interests. Population characteristics in the comparable democracies include greater homogeneity, smaller population, and absence of

onsite institutionalization of race-based slave society structure and operations, and legacy of inequity and exclusion.

Consequently, the economic, political, and social environment is a factor in the culture change challenges to racial equity research agenda in the US highly pluralistic and heterogeneous population. Since Wilson's (1887) observation, the US environment has increased in complexity in tandem with the challenges to PA equity and inclusion development. However, the thought of adopting best practices from foreign systems may still be beneficial. Methods of unifying the interests of people may be a strategy for resolving traditional divisions. For example, foreign and domestic concepts for improving the relationship between the people and the state can be informative. Fayol's (1916) general management principles for unifying workforce classes (Shafritz et al. 2016), and Pareto efficiency, are among contemporary approaches as options for workplace democratization in US public administration. The underutilized options suggest there are complex constraints to culture change and democratization efforts. Collectively, these constraints contribute to the slow emergence of racial equity in the research agenda.

Imperative for Limitless PA Science Development:

“If we would employ it, we must Americanize it, and that not formally, in language merely, but radically, in thought, principle, and aim as well. It must learn our constitutions by heart; must get the bureaucratic fever out of its veins; must inhale much free American air” (Wilson 1887, 202).

There is need for radical adoption of PA science capable of addressing US historical and management complexities that constrain equity and inclusion research agenda. From a historical perspective, US PA would seek to understand the key areas in the problem of racial inequity and inclusion including the economic, political, and social impacts, and role of systemic justice in fostering democracy. Wilson (1887) critical thoughts prescribe that the “Bureaucratic fever” be

removed from the veins of the Constitution to Americanize PA. The premise is that PA is not American unless it reflects the Constitution values. So, from a management perspective it is imperative for PA to contribute to the advancements regarding constitutional, political, administrative, bureaucratic and the constituent class issues. One implication is that adequate advancement would occur if the relevant issues were open to PA racial equity research agenda.

Making useful science available

“If an explanation be sought why a science manifestly so susceptible of being made useful to all governments alike should have received attention first in Europe, where government has long been a monopoly, rather than in England or the United States, where government has long been a common franchise, the reason will doubtless be found to be twofold: first, that in Europe, just because government was independent of popular assent, there was more governing to be done; and, second, that the desire to keep government a monopoly made the monopolists interested in discovering the least irritating means of governing” (Wilson 1887, 202).

The applicable question here is how can the US system of governance advance to a stage at which useful administrative theory and practice is available to address the internal and external issues that constrain racial equity research agenda? The implication is that there are a variety of cultural, institutional, political and PA field constraints that contribute to the slow emergence of racial equity. Yet, the quagmire is that the constrained research is not available to be useful for resolving the internal and external problems.

Tempered slow transition from aristocracy to democracy

Wilson contextualizes the change process from aristocracy to democracy as tempered and slow. “They were, besides, few enough to adopt means promptly. It will be instructive to look into this matter a little more closely. In speaking of European governments I do not, of course,

include England. She has not refused to change with the times. She has simply tempered the severity of the transition from a polity of aristocratic privilege to a system of democratic power by slow measures of constitutional reform which, without preventing revolution, has confined it to paths of peace” (Wilson 1887, 202).

The takeaway is that sociopolitical culture change can be slow but purposeful. This type of change driven by external forces such as enlightenment and other civil rights movements that over time impact government politics and decision-making (Stammers2009). From the government perspective, it is clear here that the focus is not on internal governance or means of administration, but on the administrative relationship between government the people. In comparison, the young US government has no historical record of adopting an enlightened view of governance and administration, or making concessions to the subject classes, which in the US is the issue of racial inequity.

Resistance to change and placating rationality

“The countries of the continent for a long time desperately struggled against all change, and would have diverted revolution by softening the asperities of absolute government. They sought so to perfect their machinery as to destroy all wearing friction, so to sweeten their methods with consideration for the interests of the governed as to placate all hindering hatred, and so assiduously and opportunely to offer their aid to all classes of undertakings as to render themselves indispensable to the industrious” (Wilson 1887, 203).

The struggle against is systematically endemic. In the US, there is insufficient evidence of comparable ruling majority compromises with the labor class minority. From another perspective, there is no established social contract based on improving class relations, democracy, equity, and inclusion. Furthermore, a major theme in Wilson’s (1887) essay is that the government structure and operations are inconsistent with the Constitutional ideals, which would grant the minority the

basic reprieves of democracy, freedom, and justice sought. Therefore, racial equity research agenda is constrained in part by 1) lack of concessions of the traditional majority rationality, and 2) the problem of reconciling politics and administration with the democratic values of the Constitution (Wilson 1887).

Middle ground enlightened political structure

“They did at last give the people constitutions and the franchise; but even after that they obtained leave to continue despotic by becoming paternal. They made themselves too efficient to be dispensed with, too smoothly operative to be noticed, too enlightened to be inconsiderately questioned, too benevolent to be suspected, too powerful to be coped with. All this has required study; and they have closely studied it” (Wilson 1887, 203).

A key point of this passage is that Wilson (1887) contends that the political theorists created the structure of the practice and developed strategies to implement the new ruling class system, which maintains power and control and placate the population to avoid rebellion. The implication is that similarly, US PA theorists should study the relationship between the government and the people to achieve an American equivalent of the compromise based on the Constitution. The lack of this compromise is a factor that constrains racial equity research agenda.

US Governance Equity and Inclusion Challenges:

“On this side the sea we, the while, had known no great difficulties of government. With a new country, in which there was room and remunerative employment for everybody, with liberal principles of government and unlimited skill in practical politics, we were long exempted from the need of being anxiously careful about plans and methods of administration. We have naturally been slow to see the use or significance of those many volumes of learned research and

painstaking examination into the ways and means of conducting government which the presses of Europe have been sending to our libraries” (Wilson 1887, 203).

Wilson (1887) identifies economic success as a factor in the government rationality for neglecting equity and inclusion. Note that the “remuneration for everyone” does not include those subjects to racial inequity and exclusion. In addition, the social domination Weber (Fry and Raadschelders 2014) identifies in the power of slave society governance, and labor class minority control provided an environment that had little prospect of revolution equivalent to the threat in the European democracies. Therefore, the legacy of majority control, the political environmental, population demographics, and traditional ruling class rationality are sources of constraint to the slow development of racial equity research agenda in public administration.

US entrenchment, nonresponsive culture, and structure

The traditional rationality and lack of relevance Wilson (1887) expressed in his concerns and advocacy for a study of administration highlight the impediments to normative movement toward a better relationship between politics, administration, and constituent classes. This relationship requires adjustments to finetune democratic structure and operation of the civil society. Wilson notes that, “Like a lusty child, government with us has expanded in nature and grown great in stature, but has also become awkward in movement. The vigor and increase of its life has been altogether out of proportion to its skill in living. It has gained strength, but it has not acquired deportment. Great, therefore, as has been our advantage over the countries of Europe in point of ease and health of constitutional development, now that the time for more careful administrative adjustments and larger administrative knowledge has come to us, we are at a signal disadvantage as compared with the transatlantic nations; and this for reasons which I shall try to make clear” (Wilson 1887, 201-203).

In its success, it had gained strength but not compassion. Therefore, racial inequity significantly diminishes the relationship between the government and the people, and the status of the democracy compared to European democratic systems. Despite all the attention to Constitution development (Wilson 1887), the political system and administrative operations do not provide a vital space for a healthy Constitution to thrive breathing “free American air”, free of the “bureaucratic fever”, and advance by means of administrative adjustments (Wilson 1887, 202).

The complexity of the system, and entrenchment of the government on the issue affecting the historically marginalized minorities also highlight the challenges to belief in good government. Historically, then, the constraint to racial equity research agenda reflects the early American writers’ lack of contribution to the advancement of the science and other issues Wilson (1887) raised that explain the slow development of racial equity research agenda.

Minnowbrook Thoughts on the Slow Emergence of Racial Equity:

Minnowbrook concerns about racial equity are also categorized as developmental, structural, or operational research agenda needs. They are theoretically and practically associated with Wilson’s concerns. Similarly, both Wilson and MC concerns are reflected in subsequent contemporary literature as research agenda solutions. This Minnowbrook Conference section focuses on thoughts in three categories (Constas 1992) regarding the development of a new PA, relevance, and rationality.

A. New Public Administration Perspective on Developing Racial Equity Research Agenda:

This essay by H.G. Frederickson provides a framework that distinguishes traditional from the normative concept of public administration referred to in this study as New Public Administration (NPA). Regarding a movement “Toward a New Public Administration,

Frederickson notes that there is need for “Fundamental commitment to social equity means, new Public Administration is anxiously engaged in change. ... new PA seeks to change those policies and structures that systematically inhibit social equity.” (Frederickson in Marini 1971, 312).

Commitment to change inequity structure

This suggests that the problem of slow emergence of racial equity research agenda in PA is due in part to a lack of commitment to change the structures that constrain social equity. From this perspective, if the structure constrains equity and inclusion, the problem is structural, and the proposed solution is commitment to change the structural policies that “inhibit social equity.” However, the success of this solution is contingent on a culture change that promotes equity and inclusion and eradicates biases in the administration of public goods and services. Contemporary theories that consider inequity due to administrative discretion, administrative evil, and administrative racism (Williams and Duckett 2020) provide a path toward addressing inequity structures.

The politics-administration continuum and neutrality

“The policy-administration dichotomy lacks empirical warrant, for it is abundantly clear that administrators both execute and make policy. The policy-administration continuum is more accurate empirically but simply begs the theoretical question. New PA attempts to answer it in this way: Administrators are not neutral. They should be committed to both good management and social equity as values, thing to be achieved, or rationales” (Frederickson in Marini 1971, 312.). This raises the issue of whether a structural dichotomy or continuum is more conducive to PA autonomy and normative advocacy. That question is beyond the scope of this study.

However, the view that administrators are to be neutral is a factor in the slow emergence of racial equity research agenda when the principle constrains advocacy for structure change. On select topics, administrators are not neutral because they make and execute policy (Frederickson

1968, Marini 1971). So, the neutrality exclusions of normative research agenda suggest that the administrative structure does value social equity achievement or view it as a rationale for good management (Frederickson in Marini 1971). This is an operational issue because there is no legal structure that prohibits administration from advancing social equity. The operational behavior appears cultural based on institutionalization of traditional attitudes and beliefs, which do not hold social equity as a value. Therefore, administrative culture is an explanation for lack of commitment to both good management and social equity in operations.

Zero-Sum, Administrative efficiency vs political representativeness

“Others have argued that changes in public administration resembles zero-sum game between administrative efficiency and political representativeness. Any increase in efficiency results in a priori in a decrease in responsiveness” (Frederickson in Marini 1971, 310). In this concept of “What is NPA” Frederickson discusses the relationship between efficiency and representation as values that impact social equity decision-making. This suggest that in the US administrative culture, social equity is constrained by two systemic mechanisms 1) institutionalized majority block responsiveness (Light 1997), and 2) the problem of inadequate system of representation (Rohr 1986). So, the slow emergence from this perspective may be associated with the institutionalization of majority interests at the costs of minority. Theoretically, the decision-making system and processes could be made Pareto efficient. Therefore, the zero-sum problem is structural. The implied solution is to develop a social equity structure that creates new traditions of social equity in PA theory and practice.

Efficiency, economy, class objectives and rationale

“The rationale for public administration is almost always better (more efficient or economical) management new public administration adds social equity to the classic objectives and rationale” (Frederickson Marini 1971, 311). However, contemporary social equity articles

indicate there are a variety of challenges to raising the status of social equity among the principles of efficiency and economy in politics and administration.

Systematic discrimination in pluralistic governance

“The phrase social equity is used here to summarize the following set of value premises. Pluralistic government systematically discriminates in favor of established stable bureaucracies and their specialized minority clientele (the Department of Agriculture and large farmers as an example) and against those minorities (farm laborers, both migrant and permanent, as an example) who lack political and financial resources” (Frederickson in Marini 1971, 311).

So, systematic discrimination can be observed in the administration of public goods and services. For example, disparities data indicate the impacts of institutionalized systemic discrimination. This comment raises the issue of discrimination due to the US pluralistic system (Wilson 1887; Marini 1971). This suggests that systemic discrimination is a factor in the slow emergence of racial equity research agenda. In this case, the problem is a for and against dynamic in the relationship between the administration and the minority.

From this perspective, this is an operational problem rooted in administration that may be exacerbated through administrative discretion, and at the level of the street-level bureaucracy. According to this concern, a solution would be to eliminate the systematic discrimination which favors the well-resourced group over those that lack resources (Frederickson in Marini 1971, 311). The success of resolving this issue is contingent on how well the internal research agenda can produce theories and practices that could create a more equitable management within the system of pluralistic operations (Wilson 1887). The success is also contingent on the initiative’s saturation throughout the academy and diffusion (Rogers 1962, 2003) out to practice in the field. In such a case of administrative discretion, the pluralism is an operations problem that may be

eliminated by assigning new values through a training research agenda as advocated by Wilson (1887) and the Minnowbrook discussions (Marini 1971).

Systemic failure of representative democracy to reverse discrimination

Frederickson summarized the issue of systematic discrimination with a thought that “The procedures of representative democracy presently operate in a way that either fails or only very gradually attempts to reverse systematic discrimination against disadvantaged minorities.”

(Frederickson in Marini 1971, 311) “social equity, then, includes activities designed to enhance the political power and economic wellbeing of these minorities.” (Frederickson in Marini 1971, 311)

This highlights the challenges of using representative democracy to advance social equity. To the contrary, underdeveloped representative democracy (Wilson 1887), or inadequate representation systems (Rohr 1986) contribute to the slow emergence of racial equity. The problem identified here is systemic failure of representative democracy, which by nature favors the majority interests. Therefore, if the majority interests are inequitable or exclusive, the minority will be subjected to inequity and exclusion.

This problem is operational as far as the majority and representative system traditions may be changed through social equity administrative theory and practices. Prospective solutions include those being developed in contemporary theory and practice that seek to use social equity internal and external mechanisms to enhance the political power and economic wellbeing of minorities. The contingency is that changing the procedures is a way around changing the representation structure and majority interest decision-making system outcomes.

- **Uncovering PA Relevance Through Methods**

Minnowbrook Conference essays (Marini 1971) on relevance are presented in a section titled recovery of relevance. However, from this study perspective relevance was neglected in the process of developing a technical US administration, and the historical events suggest that the

political system did not intend to make administration relevant to the external societal issues. Therefore, this discussion views the topic as the discovery of relevance. In this section on relevance, La Porte (1968) discusses new analytical concepts and normative perspectives through which relevance may be found. This discussion starts with concepts of major and minor theory development impacts.

Major and minor theory development

“It is clear that theoretical developments do not spring, even in infancy, from itself. Analytical concepts are most often derived from the major conceptual questions asked about the phenomenon” (La Porte 1968, Marini 1971, 30). This view that theory development comes from major questions echoes Wilson’s (1887) contention that the US political system derived from theoretical constructs from the monarchial political structure and operations culture. This linkage is key to understanding the relationship between the organization and the external environment (Katz and Kahn 1966). One example of theoretical lineage is culture change that moves from Church Reformation, through secular European enlightenment to the fall of monarchies and the development of republics. Wilson’s discussion centered on the pre and post European enlightenment relationships between the governments and the people.

From a US social equity perspective, the abolition movement and Harlem Renaissance moved into progressive era administrative developments and the 1960s Civil Rights activities. This lineage is a US examples of theory development from major conceptual questions. The Harlem renaissance provided theoretical foundation from which the Progressive Era administration developed. Closer examination would indicate systemic line of development in which the abolition movement may be considered developmental, the Harlem Renaissance and PA progressive era structural, and the 1960s Civil Rights Movement as operational activities. This is comparable with the European Enlightenment with the exception that the US political

structure did not accommodate the equity and inclusion needs of the people (Wilson 1887).

Therefore, there is a propensity for intermittent movement activities such as seen in 2020 in the class struggle for equity, and inclusion.

More specifically, Harlem Renaissance theory provides a structural framework for pragmatic democracy (Stanford 2012), equity, and inclusion in the works of Alaine Locke (1925), W. E. B. Du Boise (1896, 1897, 1899, 1903,1935), and Booker T. Washington (1901) respectively. Franz Fanon (1952, 1963) contributed significantly to modern thoughts on the impact of imperialism and colonialism in the 1950s and 60s. *The Narrative of the life of Frederick Douglas* (1845) is a classic resource that describes the US sociopolitical dynamics before the abolition of slavery. So, the statement that “analytical concepts are most often derived from the major conceptual questions” (La Porte 1968, Marini 1971, 30) affirms that external environment impacts internal operations (Katz and Kahn 1966) and organization change. Considering that PA is the public facing government sector (Wilson 1887), the racial equity movement prevalence and impacts provide evidence of how major African American thought fueled the progressive era advancements.

However, the absence of Harlem Renaissance pedagogy, or curriculum that links the minority thought to advances in administration are among the factors in the slow emergence of the racial equity research agenda. This exclusion of historically significant minority thought exemplifies the challenges of developing racial equity research agenda in PA under political domination in a majority rule system (Wilson 1887; Marini 1971). The lack of autonomy (Wilson 1887) to explore beyond the dominant political concepts is a developmental problem. In this example, lack of autonomy, equity and inclusion constrains development of new theories and analytical models. A solution would be for PA to consider the racial inequity phenomenon from a developmental, structural, and operational stage perspective. The success of such theory

development would be contingent on the will of the field to consider autonomy that is open to thoughts that are external to the political hegemony in the traditional majority orthodoxy.

Structural constraints to relevant normative approaches

One problem is the constraint on developing relevance through normative principles, in a structure that holds fast to the traditional orthodoxy of efficiency and effectiveness in PA theory and practice. Traditionally, efforts to solve social problems are subject to the economic measures of success. The limited success and ongoing major problems indicate a need for other approaches (Marini 1971) such as political or social methods for solving the major democratic, equity, and inclusion problems. The premise is that relevant targeted approaches with more inclusive data, program development, and decision-making would be more effective at resolving the problems.

In education initiatives, the relevance path toward achieving a competent racial equity would also begin with development of a competent frame of reference on the topic in PA curriculum. Kirkhart (1968, Marini 1971, 127) found a need to develop PA with more input from the other social sciences, philosophy, sociology, psychology. So, this study finds that a relevant PA would provide a curriculum for teaching the relevant history, philosophy, psychology, and sociology (Marini 1971) associated with racial equity and inclusion. The following is an example of a curriculum that may provide a competent foundation for racial equity research agenda.

History

- Frederick Douglas, abolition movement, and slave society perspectives
- Crispus Attucks, African American perspectives on the independence war
- Declaration of independence, abolition – slavery debate,
- Civil War, Gettysburg Address

Philosophy

- Alain Locke – Democratic theory based on pragmatist views on pluralism; relativism; aesthetics; and philosophy of race

Psychology

- Hegel – historical existentialism, individual consciousness, and group spirit
- Fanon – Colonialism and imperialism impacts on individuals and institutions

Sociology

- WEB Du Bois, Booker T. Washington social equity and economic inclusion

An inclusive social science curriculum would provide a broader base of approaches and methods from which solutions to the social problems may be derived. Expanding the approaches beyond economic methods would open a path to enlightenment and morality that facilitates transformative change to a culture that prioritizes democracy, equity, and inclusion over self-interests (Marini 1971).

External environment influences

This study uses open systems theory (Katz and Kahn 1966) to consider the influence of the external environment on decision-making. The first vignette considers the role of Harlem Renaissance influence on PA in the progressive era. The second and third vignettes are examples of external influences on presidential decision-making.

Evidently, the public administration and Harlem Renaissance progressive era occurred simultaneously, between 1890 and the 1930s – when municipal government system diffused throughout the United States (Stivers 2000). Therefore, this study uses Katz and Kahn 1966) open systems theory to examine linkages in the coexistence of these movements. This relationship is centered around the progressive era professional development and democratization of administration, which are two concerns Wilson (1887) raised in his essay. More specifically, the progressive era benchmarks a change from spoils to municipal systems (Stivers 2000) which advanced professional development of civil servants, methods, public service needs assessments, and greater democratic participation.

Similarly, the Harlem Renaissance movement promoted democratic governance and a philosophy of pragmatic democratic equity, and inclusion (Locke 1925, 1992; Stanford 2012), throughout major urban areas across the United States. The implication is that the external Harlem Renaissance environment provided PA activists with influence force (French and Raven 1959) to make moves toward administrative democracy and professionalism in the midst of the political spoils system. The Harlem Renaissance external environment benchmarks a rebirth of the social order and new aspirations for the excluded classes. One example of the Harlem Renaissance influence is found in the US Virgin Islands political development after the 1917 transfer from Denmark to the United States. In the transition period, Harlem Renaissance activists collaborated to end the US Navy administration of the Virgin Islands and replace it with a civilian government. The municipal government proposal was based on the latest progressive thoughts on democratic governance and likely included best practices from the former Danish West Indies municipal system.

Between 1917 and 1924, Virgin Islands civil rights and labor leader Rothschild Francis, with the support of Harlem Renaissance activists Asa Phillip Randolph, Attorney Burle, W. E. B. Du Bois, New York NAACP, and the New York American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) lobbied the Department of Interior and testified in Congress for a Virgin Islands municipal government system (Mawson 1987). The local colonial council voted against adopting the democratization initiative. However, Congress later passed the 1936 Organic Act, which established a municipal government system, and ended wealth-based restrictions on labor class voting rights, which were protected by the 1870, 15th Amendment to the Constitution.

In sum, the Harlem Renaissance produced 1) prominent economic, political, and social philosophies, 2) wide ranging influence from the Federal to state and local governments throughout the US, and 3) progressive era sociology research, education, labor, democratic equity

and inclusion, and professional development activities. The complementarity with PA activities suggests the Harlem Renaissance is an external environment (Katz and Kahn 1966) from which PA activists were empowered to create means for professional development and democratic change - despite the political challenges.

Wilson's (1887) discussion of European enlightenment presents a similar scenario in which external societal culture created salience for political change (Light 1997) from monarchies to republics. Prior to the progressive era, PA was subjected to political control (Wilson 1887). After the progressive era, the field is described as stuck in traditional rationality and irrelevance (Marini 1971). The before and after literature suggests that due to the unabated external political influence on PA, and internal neutrality and adversity to activism (Marini 1971), it seems unlikely that the progressive era movement could occur without the symbiotic external environment. Based on the open system (Katz and Kahn 1966) model of including external networks, resources, and influences to understand organization processes, this relationship between the Harlem Renaissance and PA progressive movements warrants further study.

There are two notable examples of external influence on presidents Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D Roosevelt. In the first case, Wilson opted to not act to end the spate of lynching across the US in 1919 despite requests from African Americans. Instead, Wilson responded with Federal troops upon requests from segregationists in the South to help deter African American efforts to defend themselves. The event became known as the Red Summer, in which African Americans were randomly attacked and lynched. The decision to opt out of taking action to stop racially motivated violence is an example of racial paralysis.

However, the cultural context of this study stipulates that if Wilson believed African Americans should be lynched, then this behavior does not represent racial paralysis. Although Wilson was not immune from the prejudices of his era, it is beyond the scope of this research to

determine whether personal beliefs or politics account for his behavior in this case. The relevant issue is that the decision-making and action contradict Wilson's (1887) professional thoughts on democracy, equity, and inclusion. This interaction of professional and personal values is an issue managers face in efforts to fairly adjudicate majority interests and minority rights and achieve transformative culture change.

The consideration of external influences reveals that individual cultural attitude, belief and behavior may positively or negatively impact decision-making and organization culture change. So, decision-making is disaggregated into a range from no action to dialectic change (Hegel 1977, 2004). This study defines the range as from paralysis to transformative change, and the intermediary incremental, transactional, and transitional management actions are not ordinal. Regarding culture, the study contextualizes attitudes as having low or high salience (Light 1997). Beliefs are forces for or against change (Lewin 1952; French and Raven 1959; March 1966). They may be subjected to satisficing decision-making behavior (Simon 1947), and rest dormant in transactional change. Behaviors are actions or activities found in policy events, which may produce regressive or progressive transitional change.

In another case of external influence, FDR signed the Fair Employment Act in time to avert a protest march on Washington. The 1941 executive order 8802 prohibited discrimination in the defense industry to relieve the violence and exclusion African Americans faced when seeking employment in war products related industries. In this case, the highly salient issue of fair employment, equity, and inclusion overcame the influence of majority interests. The FDR decision is an incremental step toward an organizational culture of greater equity and inclusion.

These vignettes highlight the prominent role of a salient attitude (Light 1997) in organization culture change. In the Wilson vignette, the southern majority commanded the salience narrative. In the FDR vignette, the minority commanded the salience narrative. In the

progressive era, both PA and Harlem Renaissance activists viewed democracy and professionalism as salient. The implication is that the duplicate efforts would double the salience potential. Given the circumstances, one explanation for the progressive era success is that from a developmental perspective, the popular influence (French and Raven 1959) of new initiatives decreased the spoils system stagnation forces (Lewin 1952). From a structural perspective, the combined democracy and professionalism initiatives increased the force of resources (March 1966) for transformative change. A third explanation is a simultaneous decrease of resistance and increase of change forces (Lewin 1952) during the process of operationalizing new programs.

This discussion describes how the external environment can positively or negatively influence PA equity and inclusion. Secondly, cultural attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors pose challenges to transformative change. Therefore, managers may draw from the power, influence, culture and change literature to develop transformative change to resolve a range of development, structure, and operation issues. Furthermore, Light (1997) finds that reform may change direction in response to political interests. Therefore, decision makers may consider the role of changing attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors in both the internal and external environmental.

Relevant model, analytical, and normative linkages

“When students of public organization attempt to reduce or sought out useful theory, they need to have this linkage between model, analytical question, and normative presuppositions clearly in mind” (La Porte 1968, Marini 1971, 30). This suggests the slow emergence of racial equity research agenda is a lack of linkages between model, analytical question and normative presupposition in PA theory and practice. The problem is theories that lack the linkages are not useful to public organization students understanding of PA social equity problems. This problem is structural since the structure for equity is not well understood in the PA academy and field.

A resolution would create opportunities to develop theory with the prescribed linkages. Based on the statement, this remedy is contingent on the quality of the racial equity curriculum. On one hand, there is need for greater success opening the field to consider factors of institutionalized inequity in the established theoretical framework. On the other hand, there is need to ensure that the next established model, analytical question, and normative presuppositions are inclusive of a social equity research framework

- **Relevance Through Normative Contemporary Choice**

The previous section questioned the development, structure, and operations that are factors in the slow emergence of racial equity research agenda. This section, which features thoughts from La Porte's (1968) presentation focuses on normative contemporary choices for making PA relevant.

Overcoming racial paralysis avoidance and policy neutral decision-making

“The mode of objective social science applied to complex organizations has for the most part resulted in either avoidance of the question of what conditions are preferable, or policy neutral attention to the process of decision making.” (La Porte 1968, Marini 1971, 31). This suggests that objective social science does not apply well to the complexities in the US organization structure. They are negatively correlated and produce two negative outcomes, avoidance, and neutrality. This statement suggests that social science objectivity is constrained by lack of autonomy to objectively address racial inequity in the complex organization. One problem is that institutionalization biases create an organization culture (Rice 2004) that avoids complex normative questions about what conditions are preferable. Regarding the challenging questions, the entity reverts to a policy neutral position in the decision-making process.

The problem is structural because it is a throughput cultural practice that constrains the research agenda after development and before operation processing. The proposed solution is to

acknowledge the problem of institutionalized avoidance and neutrality and create an environment for normative choice in PA research (Marini 1971). One way to accomplish the desired outcome is to address the culture that reverts to avoidance and a pseudo neutrality through developmental means such as teaching about this issue or using internal mechanisms that opens the field to addressing the challenging questions of complex organization issues such as racial equity. This success is contingent on the diffusion of social equity practices such as coproduction with external entities that are focused on addressing the exclusion problems and eliminating the neutrality double standard.

Normatively undesirably efficiency and rational decision-making structures

LaPorte (1968) associated the decision-making structure with the lack of relevance. His contention is that in “most contemporary theories of organization it seems simple to assume that productivity is good if it is efficient, that rational decision making will somehow return good decisions in terms of the social conditions associated with them, and that organizational control systems and structures which promote efficiency and rationale decision making are desirable social arrangements for individuals.” (LaPorte 1968, Marini 1971, 31)

There is a set of unproductive organizational assumptions about desirable individual social arrangement that are factors of slow emergence of racial equity research agenda. The problem is a PA assumption that the classical/traditional constructs of organization management such as efficiency and productivity, rational decision-making, and control structures produce desirable social arrangements such as democracy, equity, and inclusion. This problem is operational since it is within the domain of PA to address these assumptions through teaching, theory, and practice in the field. For example, the proposed solution is to discontinue the practice of trying to address social issues solely through economic policies and consider a range of internal and external social and political options as policy choices. This may work though

creative use of collaborative governance, coproduction with nongovernment entities, and operationalizing and supporting social entrepreneurship and social enterprises that address the social problems of inequity and exclusion in public affairs.

This highlights an assumption that the classic economic control structure will or can address social needs. This assumption exemplifies the Marxists error (Marx and Engels 1888, 2018) that manipulating capitalism, the economic structure would resolve the equity and inclusion, social problem. This confusion of economic and social causes and solutions is a factor of the slow emergence of racial equity research. The constraint is due to the ubiquitous use of the economic hammer to nail efficiency into the social and political problems results in lack of innovative choice to access better policy development options.

Relevance beyond output and maintenance

“Recently, some social-psychologically derived theories widened the scope a little, raising questions about the potentiality of personal development, “self-actualization,” the quality of encounter maintained within organizations, and the possibility of greater individual as well as collective productivity. These norms are relevant and pertinent to organizational life. However, the role of public organizations in the polity must be seen in wider perspective than either output or internal maintenance as prime virtues allow.” (La Porte 1968, Marini 1971, 31). The perceived role of public organization is a factor in the slow emergence of the racial equity research agenda. The problem is that the scope is too narrow and does not exceed the focus on organization life. This is a structural problem since the scope may extend beyond the bounds of PA into the political economy and governance culture.

The following statement succinctly presents the proposed solution. “Since public organizations are becoming the major vehicles for social change, the direction of change is increasingly important. More attention to the impact of public organizations on surrounding

social conditions is required in evaluating either analytical questions or emerging theories of organization” (La Porte 1968, Marini 1971, 32). This will require deliberate efforts in PA to broaden the research agenda to address the “impacts of public organizations on the surrounding social conditions” (La Porte 1968, Marini 1971, 32). La Porte (1968) argues that “our primary normative premise should be that the purpose of public organization is the reduction of economic, social, and psychic suffering and enhancement of life opportunities for those inside and outside the organization” (La Porte 1968, Marini 1971, 32).

Inadequacies of incrementalism in the public interests

“Incremental advance toward the “public interest” is not enough, though it may be one way to proceed. But incrementalism begs the question: which increment, for how long? Clearly, organizational action can make some increments more possible than others.” (La Porte 1968, Marini 1971, 32) Regarding democracy and administrative equity, La Port (1968) notes that the broader scope of analysis will lead toward assessing the public organization’s ability to fulfill its purposes in the democratic polity (La Porte 1968, Marini 1971, 34). From a broad practical quality of life point of view, on one hand, incremental change is progress. On the other hand, in circumstances of inequity and exclusion, incrementalism delays resolution, perpetuates injustice and denies equity and democratic participation for the minority population. Under the circumstances Wilson (1887) described plurality as a system of haves and have nots that is the basis of injustice and disparities found in the contemporary society.

In the following table, La Porte (1968) presents variables for the study of public administration that would address relevance by broadening the scope of research beyond the traditional assumptions of output and internal organization maintenance dogma. His approach considers how the independent variables would impact the dependent variables that represent the environment, the exchange, and the internal factors.

The questions are what factors account for variation in:

- Power of public organizations relative to agencies of political regimes?
- Administrative productivity of public organizations?
- Internal authority structures of public organizations
- Role behavior of public executives and other organizational members?
- Reciprocal consequences of administrative actions for the political, social, and economic conditions of the polity

Source: (La Porte 1968, Marini 1971, 34)

LA PORTE'S MAJOR RELEVANCE VARIABLES

Relevant	Environment	Exchange		Internal	
	Conditions	Power	Productivity	Structure	Behavior
Social economic conditions					
Organizational power					
Organizational productivity					
Authority structure					
Role behavior					

Source: (La Porte 1969, Marini 1971, 34).

B. Rationality, Analysis, and Decision Making: PPB Inadequacy and Potential:

This section discusses Kenneth Howard's Minnowbrook Conference presentation on administrative rationality. David Parker presented the commentary on the presentation that considers the inadequacy of traditional theories and the promise of PPB. The discussion about PPB highlights the benefits and shortfalls - the pros, and cons of PPB. The 1968 Minnowbrook Conference considered 1) democracy, 2) systemic inequity and exclusion, 3) lack of responsiveness to the people, 4) constraint and change factors, and 5) means of developing a new public administration.

The presentation by S. Kenneth Howard (1968) proposed using PPB as a systemic approach to achieving changes in PA *Analysis, Rationality and Administrative Decision Making*. This discussion is centered on administrative rationality (Marini 1971), which includes comments on *The Inadequacy of Traditional Theories and the Promise of PPB as a Systems Approach* by David F. Parker. This discussion focuses on the efficacy of PPB, which represents an internal technical approach to achieving equity and inclusion in the administration of public policy. The

following direct quotes are discussed to highlight factors of the slow emergence of racial equity regarding rationality and decision-making.

- **Government Failure to Resolve Racial Inequity**

“The recurring outbreaks of civil disobediences over the past few years are only one example of the failure of governments at all levels to satisfactorily fulfill the increasing responsibilities delegated to them. As pointed out by the Kerner Commission, “No democratic society can long endure the existence within its major urban centers of a substantial number of citizens who feel deeply aggrieved as a group yet lack confidence in the government to rectify perceived injustice and in their ability to bring about needed change.” At the same time governments are beset by a large and increasing array of unresolved organization needs.” (Parker 1968, Marini 1971, 302).

Here, the problem is that government failures contribute to the slow emergence of racial equity research agenda. The issues include failure to equitably fulfill government responsibilities enumerated in the Constitution (Wilson 1887). Due to the failures to rectify the injustice, there is lack of confidence that the government can bring about the needed change (Marini 1971) This institutionalized scope of this problem at all levels (Marini 1971) means it spans the boundaries of developmental, structural, and operational research agenda characteristics. This discussion references the Kerner Commission Report, which made recommendations for resolving the issues. The research agenda categories are inserted as follows:

KERNER COMMISSION REPORT RECOMMENDATIONS

- better definition of government responsibilities in tackling major social problems. (Structural)
- improving the effectiveness of present government programs in meeting societal requirements (Operational)

- more rapid and more meaningful responses to emerging state and local problems. (Operational)
- stimulation of innovation with state and local government organizations to resolve public problems; (Structural)
- acquisition and retention of a significant percentage of highly qualified professionals in all fields. (Developmental)
- more efficient and effective use of scarce resources (men, money facilities); more efficient and effective inter-governmental and public private relationships in tackling major public problems; (Operational; Structural)
- improved means of coordinating development planning, program planning, and fiscal planning. (Operational)

Source: (Marini 1971, 302)

Shortcomings of traditional theory

Parker (1968) (Marini 1971) concisely summarizes the problems of the relationship between the critical organization needs and major social issues raised in the report, and proposed solutions. “These organization needs have become more apparent to government leaders as public awareness of unresolved social problems has increased. But changes in the present complex systems of governments to meet these needs have thus far been largely unsuccessful. It seems that these critical organization needs - and closely related major social problems - will not be resolved until government leaders become fully aware of the shortcomings of traditional management and organization theories and implement corrective measures throughout the government organizations” (Parker 1968, Marini 1971, 303).

Here the slow emergence of social equity is attributed to inaction and unsuccessful government changes that are inadequate in relation to the complexity of the systems and problems. Therefore, the core problem outlined is that leaders may lack cognizance of the shortcomings of organization theories and traditional management. Also, the implication is that the problems could be solved if leaders 1) are held accountable to resolve the problems, 2)

grasped the magnitude of the problem, and 3) made adequate corrective measures and implemented them throughout government organizations. This is an operational issue.

Parker (1968, Marini 1971, 303) categorized the inadequacy in three major areas, and provides practical details from which solutions could be derived. These areas of inadequacy are consistent with the developmental, structural, and operational framework of this study. “The shortcomings of traditional theories of government management and organization in resolving current organization needs and social problems might be synopsized in terms of three major areas of inadequacy (Parker 1968, Marini 1971, 303).

THREE MAJOR AREAS OF INADEQUACY

- The formulation and evaluation of objectives was initially regarded as the exclusive responsibility of elected officials.”303 (Developmental)
- “Traditional theories of government organization concentrated upon means.”303 (Operational)
- “But, as pointed out by Philip Selznick, the tendency to emphasize methods rather than goals has the value of stimulating full development of these methods, but it risks loss of adaptability and sometimes results in the radical substitution of means for ends.” 304
- “Of perhaps greatest importance in assessing the current inadequacy of traditional theories is the basic concept of centralized structure of authority” 304. (Structural)
- according to Herbert Simon, “a man does not generally work well with his fellow man in relations saturated with authority and dependence, which control and subordination even though these have been the predominant human relations in the past.”

Source: (Parker 1968, Marini 1971, 304).

Considering the outmoded inadequate traditional theory and management, Parker (1968) considered the established system of administrative rationality as a factor of the slow emergence of racial equity in the society. “In sum, I find it impossible to condone Howard's plea for support of “administrative rationality,” for I firmly believe that it is precisely this kind of rationality, based on values rooted in outmoded traditional theories of organization and management, which

is suppressing innovation and effective action you know a so-called modern government” (Parker 1968, Marini 1971, 304).

- **PPB and Systems Approaches to Social Equity**

Despite disagreement with PPB based on its limitations, objectionable contexts, and past constructs, Parker (1968) found a framework within which PPB may contribute to the development of new analysis, rationality, and decision making. His statement is “I would define planning programming budgeting as an attempt to introduce the systems approach (as defined by Simon) into government organizations.... But, when conceived in its entirety as a systems approach to government decision making, PBB offers a means for the restructuring of traditional organization and management theories into a framework for a new “administrative rationality” whereas management decisions at all levels of the organization are made and evaluated with respect to planned and produced goods and services to specific clientele groups” (Parker 1968, Marini 1971, 306).

PPB and the traditional focus on mean rather than ends

Regarding planning-programming-budgeting, Parker (1968) contends that “inability to delineate ends leads to a focus on means as the criteria for decision making, a situation which constrains government administration to the traditional response function. But Howard states, the administrator” has developed a capacity for equating the work of his organization with the public interest.” “This statement must be subject to serious question in these days of rising civil unrest and obviously unresolved major public problems” (Parker 1968, Marini 1971, 306). A great concern is that this is too dependent on the administrator. This program may be beneficial when the administrator is interested and capable of implementing such practices at a level that address equity and inclusion. However, there are concerns about the practical systemic expectation for

such an individualized program to be ubiquitously implemented throughout the field, which is necessary to produce the end benefit to the excluded population.

Means rationality constrains racial equity research agenda

So, the slow emergence of racial equity research agenda is due in part to inability to delineate ends (goals) leads to a focus on means (methods) as the criteria for decision making. This is where scientific methods and techniques become the default in the process of administration. However, in hindsight, this discussion seems to have been a step toward evaluating the efficacy of using technical means to address social equity end goals. Although this program seemed to have fallen short of a universal solution. In a positive light, partial solutions may be the extent to which internal means programs may be able to fill the gaps in social equity until culture change occurs. Moreover, further analysis indicate that contemporary social equity research has closed the gap between internal and external means and ends. Consequently, in instances, the contemporary methods are intersectional, and have potential to capture the goals within the scope of the methods. In hindsight, PPB seems to have been a benchmark attempt at applying a systemic (technical) decision-making approach to capture the social equity goals.

The problem with PPB as noted by Parker (1968), is that the means may constrain administration to the traditional response. In today's jargon, traditional constraints, deter action and cause administration to opt-out of developing social equity policy. This constraint behavior is also described as racial paralysis (Norton et al. 2012). If the constraint problem occurs due to the political authority, it is structural. However, if the choice of inaction is within the internal administrative domain, the problem is operational.

PPB means of facilitating new decision-making rationality

However, whether the problem is structural or operational, Parker (1968) points out that "Planning programming budgeting now offers a means whereby inputs and outputs can be

considered together at all levels of the organization, thus making it possible for central leaders to decentralize many input decisions and still maintain responsibility through management by objectives and output effectiveness information” (Parker 1968, Marini 1971, 307). Nevertheless, the “system relies for its success on immediate change in the practices, procedures, and attitudes of administrators to facilitate meaningful policy participation by program professionals and clientele groups in order that the truly effective approaches can be developed for the resolution of public problems and organizational difficulties.” (Parker 1968, Marini 1971, 307)

Complex systemic constraints

Parker (1968) notes systematic constraints that have slowed the success of this approach to social equity. “Despite the apparent logic and necessity of such major change, efforts towards this achievement have been frustrated by the lack of understanding of the present system and its inadequacy's and by the tremendous complexity of the current system even in relatively small state and local governments” (Parker 1968, Marini 1971, 307).

In this statement, Parker’s (1968) concerns focuses on the complexity of the problem and need for the program initiative to be widely accepted and address large goals. One statement concludes that “Unless planning-programming-budgeting is recognized as a major innovation toward the larger goal of increased decentralization and rationalization of decision making, it appears doomed to a role of instigating continual but relatively meaningless minor improvements in the information flows of centralized decision-making systems” (Parker 1968, Marini 1871, 307).

Change or Fail Threats to Organization Survival:

“It is Kenneth Howard’s view that “*sweeping changes... may generate a level of conflict that is intolerable to the survival of the organization.*” But the survival of the organization may be equally threatened by the failure to implement basic changes. (Parker 1968, Marini 1971, 307) As pointed out by Kahn and Wiener in *The Year 2000*, “*if we are intellectually unprepared for*

events at the beginning of the twenty-first century, and lack as much understanding of the issues as we did in 1929, 1941, and 1947, we are not only likely to be subjected to some very unpleasant surprises, but unnecessarily to exacerbate and prolong their negative consequences--perhaps to the extent that desirable institutions and values will be irrevocably overwhelmed”(Parker 1968, Marini 1971, 307).

Empirical lack of urgency

This statement considers the potential for irreversible impacts due to the positive correlation between the compounding problem and the lack of urgency to resolve the issues. “These authors may well be optimistic in allowing 30 years for such preparation. A lesser time period may be more realistic if government leaders continue the slow-response trends of past years and public problems continue to accelerate in scope and number” (Parker 1968, Marini 1971, 307).

PA role in moving forward in time of rapid change

“As Dwight Waldo makes clear in “Public Administration in a Time of Revolution,” we are living in an era of great and rapid change. Where courageous and far-sighted political leaders are not forthcoming to redirect the course of government, the challenge for change in government organizations must be taken up by concerned administrative professionals--not to give the practicing administrator support and assurance in adhering to antiquated theories and practices, but to help him move forward to a new era of government management specifically designed for rapid and effective action on mounting public problems” (Parker 1968, Marini, 1971, 308). Given the continuum between politics and administration, in times of policy failure, a professionally established PA would have the capacity to preserve government stability by making the required changes, as Wilson (1887) observed in the transition from pre to post enlightenment in Europe. His prospectus for a professional PA is consistent with the Minnowbrook Conference concerns that explain the slow emergence of the racial equity research agenda.

Slow Racial Equity Research Agenda Change:

RACIAL EQUITY ENVIRONMENT CHANGE

	Classical	Wilson	Minnowbrook	Contemporary	Normative
Theory	Political	Pro PA	NPA	NPM	Autonomous
Rationality	Domination	Enlightened	Moral	Coproduction	Equity and Inclusion
Relevance	Political	Administrative	Social Equity	Operational	Democratic
Research	Excluded	Internal	Intersectional	Intersectional	Internal and External
Dichotomy	Yes	Yes	No	No	No

The change assessment is based on selected literature that describes the racial equity environment based on normative theory, political rationality, societal relevance, and the scope of the research agenda. Theories such as agency explain the constraints phenomena from the perspective of a politics-administration dichotomy. The Racial Equity Environment Table above depicts the change assessment model. The categories in the left column are factors associated with change. The row categories display the sequential change. For this analysis, the mutually exclusive dates capture a set of factors that describe the era. The item labeled classical refers to the pre-enlightenment era thoughts on administration and governance Wilson (1887) discussed in his advocacy for a professional field of public administration. Therefore, the Classical era column includes any relevant factor before 1776.

The Wilson column presents his normative thoughts of a US professional field of public administration. His description of PA examines the classical era development, structure, and operation of the US polity from 1776 to 1900. Similarly, the Minnowbrook Conference assessment applies to 1900 to the 1980s including the Harlem Renaissance views and progressive administration development era. The contemporary theory and practice highlight the 1990s to the present when new technological developments, internal and external forces, and New Public Management contracting-out protocols are factors of increasing complexity and culture change.

The normative column presents the residual views in the gap between Wilson and Minnowbrook Conference ideals, and the current stage of the field.

The Racial Equity Environment Table also presents the major concerns of the discussions and analyses. The normative PA theory, relevance, and rationality are categorical topics discussed in the Wilson (1887) article and Minnowbrook essays (Marini 1971). The Wilson (1887) and Minnowbrook Conference (Marini 1971) normative PA theories are associated with developmental constraint and change factors. In general, the rationality issues are structural while relevance is operational, and the research agenda is institutional. The disaggregation of developmental, structural, and operational processes is to categorize the activities for a clear understanding how the process of change occurs despite internal and external constraints.

More specifically, the classical era constraint factors reflect the dominant thoughts developed at the founding of the national system of administration. Wilson (1887) frames the discussion of the classical era as a conflict between imperialist thought and the democratic theory and Constitutional values. Similarly, Minnowbrook Conference discussed the incongruence between institutional methods and morality, and external constituent needs as traditional rationality. Both discussions provide explanations of impediments to equity and inclusion in public administration. Considering these two assessments, contemporary PA social equity proponents are discovering operational means of addressing constraints to autonomy, equity, and inclusion through theory and practice that resolves development, structure, and operation issues.

CONCLUSION

This study finds that the Wilson (1887) and the 1968 Minnowbrook Conference discussions (Marini 1971) present consistent descriptions of constraints to the diffusion of a robust racial equity research agenda. However, the later concerns, studies, and initiatives are more narrowly defined. This disaggregation of the issues reveals a means by which structural

equity and inclusion issues may be resolved through operational programs and social equity management initiatives. However, democracy, equity and inclusion issues that affect PA development and decision-making persist as unresolved challenges in the external domain. For instance, majority rule decision-making and minority representation has not been reconciled with the administration of the constitutional democratic values. This thought identifies a hierarchical politics-administration relationship as a major structural constraint factor. Therefore, there is need to resolve the external political challenges to PA development, structure, and operations. In sum, traditional theory, rationality, and relevance contribute to the slow emergence of racial equity research agenda in public administration.

Slow research agenda factors

The following constraints and implications are from the Wilson (1887) and Minnowbrook (Marini 1971) thoughts about PA development, structure, and operation.

- late development of public administration as a profession (Wilson 1887)
- Traditional political rationality (Wilson 1887; Marini 1971)
- Lack of normative consideration (Marini 1971)
- Relevance of internal technical methods (Marini 1971)
- Lack of comparative analysis with other democratic states (Wilson 1887)
- Structure that makes change awkward (Wilson 1887)
- Exclusion of enlightenment (Wilson 1887) and morality (Marini 1971)

Source: Wilson (1887, Marini 1971)

The following are major implications:

- Awkward and slow change processes are due to operation constraint factors
- Rationality factors are core sources of resistance to change
- Lack of autonomy is a factor of slow emergence of racial equity research agenda
- Slow describes an excessive time for development or adoption
- Time required to cure the early underdevelopment of PA is circumstantial
- Time to develop a structure for new methods and thoughts is circumstantial.

Despite the delayed development (Wilson 1887) and structure constraints (Marini 1971), contemporary PA literature articulates means by which the problems may be resolved with new PA teaching, theory, practice, and robust support from the field and other stakeholders. Collectively, the thoughts suggest that the emergence of the racial equity research agenda is contingent on the development of 1) relevant curriculum, 2) professional competence in equity and inclusion, and 3) PA autonomy. These developments would establish an environment in which PA may address major issues such as conflict between democratic constitutional principles, and the majority rule system (Wilson 1887).

Change dynamics

This study examined explanatory thoughts to consider factors of developmental, structural, and operational change. The prior literature provides a development and structure foundation for contemporary research. However, there is concern for the slow emergence of the racial equity research agenda. The slow emergence may be defined more accurately if distinguished by type of change, which include incremental, transactional, transitional, and transformative. Each change type reveals unique characteristics about the emergence of racial equity in the research agenda. From a management perspective, each type of change presents specific development, structure, or operation constraint factors, and highlight internal or external domain challenges.

Incremental change is associated with periodic points of rest and balance in which new protocols are established (Lewin 1952). Incremental change is a mode of PA advancement (Wilson 1887, White 1926) which is exemplified by events such as the periodic adoption of more inclusive laws. Incremental change is characteristically associated with commission reports and other policy influences including political initiatives (White 1926; Rohr 1986), which in turn influence the research agenda. However, LaPorte (Marini 1971) points out inadequacies,

inconsistencies, and inefficiencies of incremental change including the inability to target controversial external issues. There are also risks that the increments may reverse direction (Light 1997). Therefore, incremental change is circumstantial rather than permanent.

Transactional change is similarly circumstantial if it is associated with quid pro quo political negotiating that links the change to the existence of another policy or short-term goals of one administration. This poses a risk to the racial equity research agenda since short-term goals may change to accommodate subsequent political priorities. One concern is that transactional change may end development of programs that target the problems, phenomenological approaches, and technical expertise needed to advance the equity and inclusion research agenda. The reversal of Affirmative Action and constraints to low-income community empowerment initiatives are examples of transactional change associated with equity and inclusion policy and the reallocation of resources.

Transitional change may be an interim step that is inadequate to resolve the racial equity research challenges. In transitional change, the organization may be able to ‘do something’ with symbolic representation, or passive boards that are inadequate to target or resolve the target problems. LaPorte’s (Marini 1971) comments suggests that transitional change may add complexity to the problems if it lacks development and structure needed to transform the organization culture. From a PA management perspective, the phrase ‘kicking the can down the road’ may indicate a lack of preliminary research agenda development or resources.

This study defines transformative change as actions and outcome that permanently change operations culture. To achieve transformative change, the racial equity research agenda would need to ensure that PA equity and inclusion initiatives go beyond the circumstantial characteristic of the other forms of change. However, the lack of commitment to systemic change (Marini 1971) reflected in PA curriculum and instruction inadequacies, suggests a need for change that

moves PA toward a politics-administration relationship that facilitates a new democracy, equity, and inclusion rationality, and greater relevance. Moreover, the Wilson (1887) and Minnowbrook (Marini 1971) thoughts suggests the need for greater commitment to change through teaching.

Commitment to change through teaching about:

- Conflicts between economic, political, and social class interests
- Democracy-Republic conflict that impacts PA racial equity research agenda
- How the political development, structure, and operations impact administration
- Relating technical methods to constitutional democratic theory and practice
- Conflict between traditional political rationality and contemporary PA
- Lack of Pareto efficiency in the majority - minority representation system.
- Excluded class perspectives in public administration scholarship

The premise is that a curriculum that considers the impacts of traditional rationality and need for relevance would include a framework for developing solutions that match the complexity of the problems. The remaining question is, are the concerns raised by Woodrow Wilson (1887) and at the Minnowbrook Conference discussions (Marini 1971) empirical? The timelines in the appendix present events that are empirical evidence of the thoughts. The events support the thoughts that account for the slow emergence of racial equity research agenda.

The overarching question in this study is: Given a specific challenge to a public organization, what are the corresponding cultural factors, and elements of change? In this case, if PA decision-making is challenged by racial inequity and exclusion, what are key corresponding cultural factors, and elements of change? With this agenda, this inquiry examined PA development, structure, and operation for indicators of change toward adoption of the normative thoughts over time. The original problem is that PA developed in a politics dominated environment of traditional rationality (Wilson 1887) and lack of relevance (Marini 1971). Both

the Wilson (1887) and Minnowbrook Conference (Marini 1971) era thoughts propose a solution of teaching, theory, and practice to counteract the constraints to a competent racial equity research agenda. The premise is that social equity development initiatives would resolve the negative economic, political, and social dynamics associated with PA internal and external political affairs. As an extension of the Wilson (1887) thoughts, the Minnowbrook Conference has a narrower focus on structural constraints, and social equity protocols are introduced to operationalize a competent racial equity research agenda.

More broadly, the study examines the organization culture and decision-making as an open system process (Katz and Kahn 1966) with internal and external influences. The approach sought to provide a model of the Wilson (1887) and Minnowbrook Conference (Marini 1971) concerns for PA development, structure, and operations. The internal and external influences are assessed by examining the legacy of the normative thought in the contemporary literature. This change assessment includes textual analysis of the PA thought, and positive correlation between the normative concerns and actual development, structure, and operation hermeneutics.

From a development perspective, the discussions highlight the constraints to racial equity research and the trend toward using internal methods to achieve equity and inclusion. The finding is that both the Wilson (1887) and Minnowbrook (Marini 1971) treaties on PA identify the same categories of concerns - normative PA, traditional rationality, and relevance – and propose teaching theory and practice as solutions. The problems and solutions are negatively correlated constraint and change factors. Therefore, the premise is that 1) targeted curriculum 2) effective teaching, theory, and practice, and 3) racial equity research agenda would change PA rationality and relevance to positive attributes, which lead to democratic equity and inclusion. From another perspective, the contemporary literature suggests there is potential to develop internal administrative morality and external political enlightenment. If there are no transformative

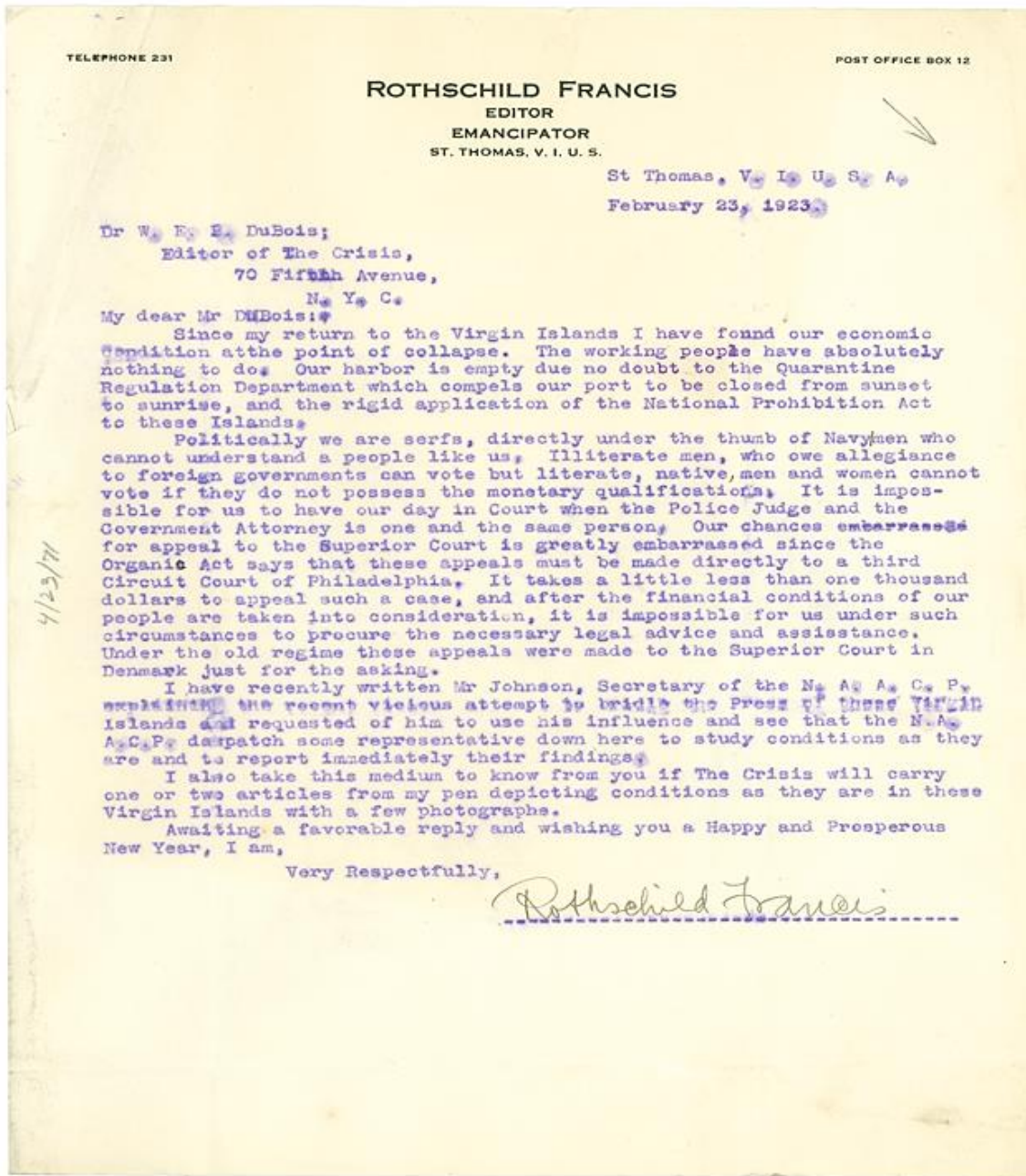
events, change may occur within cycles of incremental development, structure, and operation reform. Therefore, change is contingent on PA's commitment to improving organization learning and developing capacity to overcome the institutionalized culture of inequity and exclusion.

The PA equity and inclusion development trend suggest that the conflicts between constraint and movement is more soluble than the aversion to change under the current decision-making rationality. If so, countering resistance to change would require politics and administration to diffuse theory and practice that equitably and inclusively reflect the democratic principles in the Constitution. Consequently, the thoughts in this study suggest a need for unity of purpose and equitable management (Fayol 1916) of the class system, a better system of representation (Rohr 1986), and Pareto efficiency in decision-making that resolves the inherent inequity and exclusion of the majority rule system (Wilson 1887).

The implication is that in the underdevelopment of equity and inclusion, the spoils system culture (Stivers 2000) and adversarial structure (Rohr 1986) contribute to the change or fail status of the traditional rationality (Marini 1971). In 1858, Abraham Lincoln expressed the need for unity with the proverb "A house divided against itself cannot stand" (Matthew 12:25). In this context, the proverb applies to decision-making failures to reconcile the democratic principles of the Constitution with the political theory that drives administrative practice.

APPENDIX

Harlem Renaissance Letter; Rothschild Francis to W. E. B. Du Bois



Source: W. E. B. Du Bois Collection Rutgers University

This letter addresses the 1917 administrative culture change after the US Navy Administrator negotiated with the local council to dissolve the Virgin Islands Danish municipal system. This describes the impact of political structure on administrative operations.

INTRODUCTION TO TIMELINE RESOURCES

The event timelines display internal and external influences on PA decision-making. The influences include forces for and against change toward a more democratic, equitable and inclusive society. These events are considered in the assessment of PA racial equity and inclusion development. In addition, the sequence of events provides a framework for assessing economic, political, and social change. The categories of African American influencers are abolitionists, arts, civil rights leaders, educators, federal government officials, first, pioneers, scientist and inventors, and women. The institutional timelines display political, organization theory, US history 100 milestone, and communication and diffusion technology events. In correlation, they provide empirical evidence for the organization culture and change discussions.

POLITICAL EVENTS, 1

Year	Influence	Activity
1761	Dissention	
1763	Stamp Act	
1767	Townsend Act	
1775	Independence War	
1776	US Independence	
1857	S. Court Dread Scott	No Court rights once free, Congress prohibition wrong
1862	Merrill Act	Established Land Grant Universities excluded AA
1865	13th Amendment	Abolish slavery after Civil War
1865	Racial Segregation	Jim Crow laws exclude AA class after abolition
1865	Freedman's Bureau	To assist freedmen and poor whites in South
1866	Ku Klux Klan	To secure AA class immutability after Civil War
1866	Fisk University	American Missionary Association
1867	Reconstruction Act	Universal manhood suffrage in South w/No 14th Am.
1868*	Johnson Impeached	Proslavery influence, vetoed reconstruction, fired Stanton
1868	14th Amendment	Freed AA citizenship, and guarantee civil rights
1870	15th Amendment	African American men right to vote
1881	Booker T. Washington	Tuskegee, AL industrial train for financial independence
1885	Captain Henry Metcalf	<i>Cost of Manufactures and Adm of Workshop</i> . Science
1887*	Woodrow Wilson	Study of Administration, Pol.-Adm. Dichotomy
1886	Henry Towne	Engineer as economist, scientific management
1890*	Morrill Act 2, HBCUs	Land grant AA colleges, excluded from 1862 Act
1895	Booker T. Washington	Atl. Speech econ. Independence before social equity
1895	W.E.B. Du Bois	1st AA Harvard Ph.D.
1896	US Supreme Court	Segregation, Plessey v. Ferguson, separate equal
1898	John Dewey	Progressive era...
1896	NACW	Nat. Association of Colored Women
1898	Anti-imperialism League	Consent of the governed opposed Philippines annexation
1899	Booker T. Washington	Nat. Negro Business League, Pro. econ. Independence

Source: The Souls of Black Folk (1903, 2003)

POLITICAL EVENTS, 2

Year	Influence	Activity
1903	W. E. B. Du Bois	<i>Souls of Black Folk</i> , w/race solution, criticize BTW
1909	NAACP, The Crisis paper	Du Bois criticizes segregation and gender inequal.
1914	Marcus Garvey, UNIA	United Negro Improve Assn. Racial pride, Pan Africa
1915	NAACP	Boycott <i>Birth of a Nation</i> , DW Griffith stereo film
1919	Red Summer	President Woodrow Wilson era lynching
1920	19th Amendment	Women right to vote (AA women excluded)
1922	Max Weber	Explanation of Bureaucracy
1925	Malcolm X	Muslim minister, human rights activists
1932	Tuskegee Experiment	AA untreated to observe a terminal disease process
1935	W.E.B. Du Bois	<i>Black Recon. in America... Demo.1860-1880:</i>
1939	World War 2	To decide conquest & domination, >30 Countries
1941	Fair Employment Act	FDR avoid jobs, equal parti. In Defense protest
1943	Abraham Maslow	Hierarchy of human needs, theory of motivation
1945*	United Nations	Chartered and starts decolonization initiative
1946	Herbert Simon	Decision-making bounded rationality, proverbs
1948	Dwight Waldo	Irreconcilable Efficiency and Democracy
1954	US Supreme Court	Prohibits pub. school segregation <i>Brown v. Bd. of Ed.</i>
1955	Rosa Parks	Arrested for equality on pub. Bus, MLK led protest
1957	Martin Luther King Jr	South. Christian Lead. Conf. nonviolent struggle
1964	Civil Rights Act	Ease AA voting and election restrictions in states
1966	Black Panther Party	Challenge police brutality against the AA community
1968	Minnowbrook Conference	Define the intersection of PA and Society
1969	Rich Nixon War on Drugs	Criminalize AA, antiwar hippies. Impeach & resigned
1970	Bob Marley	Rastafarian movement pop culture
1981	R. Regan War on Drugs	Nonviolent incarceration 50k to 400k btw 1980–1997
1986	Office of Minority Health	Heckler Re. 1st Task force on Black & min. Health
1993	B. Clinton War on Drugs	Punitive increase of AA incarceration disparities
2010	Barack Obama	1st AA US President

Source: *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903, 2003).

The above timeline shows institutional events associated with slow emergence of racial equity policies that affect equity and inclusion. One is the Morrill Act of 1862, which set up land grant universities but excluded African Americans. This occurred before the abolition of slavery. The second Morrill Act occurred in 1890. At this time, education was segregated. Another is that in 1896, the Supreme Court ruled that separate is equal. This was overturned in 1954.

AFRICAN AMERICANS IN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

From	Influencer	Influence	Birth	To
1823	Mifflin W Gibbs	Judge, US Counsel	Ph PN	1915
1825	Richard H. Cain	House of Rep, Minister ME to AME, Bishop	CO; VA	1887
1832	Joseph Hayne RaiRainey	US HOR, Anti-KKK, "Carter Woodson"	Ge SC	1887
1833	Ebenezer D Bassett	Diplomat	Li CN	1908
1837	Pinck Berton Stewart Pinchback	Customs, US Marshall	Ci, OH	1921
1837	James T. Rapier	US HOR, Lawyer, Pub., Mont Sentinel, Con., IRC	Mo, AL	1883
1839	Robert Smalls	Congress	Be SC	1915
1840	James Melton Turner	Consul Gen. Liberia, Lincoln U MO and free school.	SL, MO	1915
1841	Blanche Kelso-Bruce	US Senate	Fa, VA	1898
1842	Robert C. DeLarge	Congress, lobbyist, SC Legislature party chair	Ai SC	1874
1842	Robert Brown Elliott	US House of Rep.	Britain?	1884
1842	James Monroe Trotter	Army, Author, PO, Music book, Deeds Recorder	Gg MS	1892
1847	John R. Lynch	Congress	Vi LA	1926
1849	Archibald Henry Grimke	Lawyer, Journalist, DR Consul	Ch SC	1930
1852	George M White	US HOR, last post recon. Congressman, Howard U	Ro NC	1918
1855	Richard R Wright Sr.	Teach, Publish, Land Dev. Pay Master, Ass Schools	Da GA	1947
1857	Henry P. Cheatham	House of Rep. from enslaver person	He, NC	1935
1871	Oscar S. DePriest	1st to Congress, 1st from N. 1900	FI AI	1951
1907	Dr. Robert C Weaver	Economist, TR's Black Cabinet, JFK Housing Adm. Urban Dev.	DC	
1908	Adam Clayton Powell Jr.	NY Councilman, Congress, Black Power Protests	NH	1972
1919	Edward W. Brooke	US Senate, Boston U Law School	Mass	
1932	Yvonne Brathwaite-Burke	Congress, USC education, pol sci, and law	LA	
1936	Barbera C. Jordan	Congress House of Rep.	Ho, TX	

Source: (Green 1990, 1996).

African Americans in the Federal Government influenced the Federal policies and perspective of the African American. One of the earliest known instances of African Americans in the Federal government is 1823. These appointments were before abolition. The US elected the first African American president in 2008.

AFRICAN AMERICAN ABOLITIONISTS

From	Influencer	Influence	Birth	To
1735	Prince Hall		Barbados	1807
1760	Bishop Richard Allen	AME Church Founder 1/17/1794	Ph PA	1831
1785	David Walker	Studied slave system, Book banned as radical,	Wi NC	1830
1789	Rv Josiah Henson	Model slave for Uncle Tom's Cabin	Ch MD	1883
1800	Nat Turner	Black Prophet, Rebel Leader		1831
1803	Maria W Stewart	1st AA Woman lecturer, Economic Advancement	Ha CN	1879
1810	Robert Pervis	Wealthy Under Ground Railroad activists	SC	1898
1810	Charles L Remond	Lecturer	Sa MA	1873
1810	David Ruggles	Speaker and writer, Grocery store	No CN	1849
1812	Martin R Delany	Physician, author, black nationalist	Ch WV	1885
1814.c	William Wells Brown	Physician, author, historian	Le KY	1884
1815	Henry W Bibb			1854
1815	Rev Henry Highland Garnet		Ne MD	1882
1816	John Jones		Gr NC	1879
1816	William C Nell	Writer	Bo MA	1874
1817.c	Frederick Augustus Douglas	Feminist, author speaker	Tu MD	1895
1817	Rev Samuel Ringold Ward	AKA BDW, Min, Ed, Anti-Slavery, Autobiography, News Pa	MD	1866
1819	Rev Alaxander Crummel		NY	1898
1821	William L Still	UGR conductor, Philanthropist YMCA	NJ	1902
1826	Sarah P Remond	Physician	Sa MA	1894
1830	Osborne P Anderson	Wrote A Voice from Harper's Ferry, Union NCO	Ch PA	1871
1837	Charlotte L Forten		Pi PA	1915

Source: (Green 1988).

One of the earliest known abolitionists was active in the 1730s. This activity did not bear fruit until 1863 despite the large antislavery population in the North.

AFRICAN AMERICANS IN THE ARTS

From	Influencer	Influence	Birth	To
1799	Alexander Segrgeyvich Pushkin	Russian Poet	Russia	1837
1802	Alexandre Dumas	Author, Plays, Three Musketeers	France	1870
1807	Ira Frederick Aldridge	Theater	NY NY	1867
1817	Robert Duncanson	Painter	NY NY	1872
1819	Justin Holland	Guitarist, Author, educator	No VA	1886
1849	Thomas Green Bethune	Pianist	Co GA	1908
1859	Henry Ossawa Tanner	Artist, religious and war paintings	Pi, PA	1937
1868	Scott Joplin	Ragtime composer, operas, ballads	Te TX	1917
1869	Matilda Sissiereth Joyner-Jones	Voice	Po VA	1933
1873	William Christopher Handy	Blues	Fl AL	1958
1873	Bert Williams	Theater, blackface entertain, act, banjo, dance, sing	Pr Nassau	1937
1877	Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller	Sculptress	PA	1968
1878	Luther Robinson (Bill Bojangles)	Vaudeville performer, Tap dancer	Ri, VA	1949
1882	R. Nathaniel Dett	Choral composer	Ontario Canada	1943
1894	Bessie Smith	Blues entertainer	Ch TN	1937
1895	Florence Mills	Entertainer, sing dance	Wa DC	1927
1898	Paul Robeson	Lawyer, star actor singer 300 rec, Stalin Peace Prize	Pr NJ	1976
1899	Edward Kennedy (Duke) Ellington	Composer 900 songs	DC	1974
1902	Langston Hughes	Writer	Jo MO	1967
1903	Marian Anderson	Contralto	Ph PA	
1906	Josephine Baker	Dancer and Singer	SL MO	1975
1915	Charles Dean Dixon	Symphony conductor	Ha NY	1976
1924	James Baldwin	Playwright	NY NY	1987
1930	Lorraine Vivian Hansberry	Playwright, Raisin in the Sun	Ch IL	1965

Source: (Green 1989).

Influencers in the arts were particularly impactful due to their public facing activities, and audiences. This was particularly important in times before broadcast media. These notable artists particularly incorporated civil rights activities into their agenda and programs as they ventured across the US to perform at a variety of venues.

AFRICAN AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS

From	Influencer	Influence	Birth	To
1819	George Thomas Downing	Equitable justice and Ed privilege during civil war	NY NY	1903
1835	Isaac Myers	Shipyard, Business, Mason, 1st Black National labor union	Ba MD	1891
1842	Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin	Black women Clubs, 1st Black woman newspaper	Bo MA	1924
1850	Francis James Grimke	Outspoken minister	Ch SC	1937
1863	John R. Mitchel Jr.	Banker, Politician Journalist	Ri VA	1929
1866	Mary Burnett Talbert	Christian cul con, NACU, NAACP (France)	Ob OH	1923
1868	Dr. W.E.B. Dubois	Sociologist, 100 + books	GB MA	1963
1880	Dr. George Edmond Haynes	Sociologist and NUL, Socioeconomics	PB AR	1960
1882	Channing H Tobias	Regio. Leader YMCA, Interracial coop.	Ag GA	1961
1887	Marcus Mosiah Garvey	Black Nationalist	SAB Jamaica	1940
1889	Asa Philip Randolph	Writer, Union, CRA and wages, BSCP Pullman Co.	CC FL	1979
1896	Walter Francis White	Voting, lynching, Segregation, discrimination, Author, legal advisor	At GA	1955
1917	Fannie Lou Hamer	MFDP VP	Ru MS	1977
1920	James Leonard Farmer	CORE Director, HEW & NAACP (not ordained)	Ma TX	
1921	Whitney Moore Young Jr.	National Urban League, Skills, and job placement	LR KY	1971
1922	Daisy Gatson Bates	Little Rock 9 Integration	Hu AK	
1925	Malcolm X		Om NE	1965
1929	Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.		At GA	1929
1941	Rev Jesse Louis Jackson	President Candidate, South Christian Leadership Conference director	Gr SC	

Source: (Green 1987, 1996).

Civil rights activities are not exclusive to civil rights leaders, but these individuals were dedicated to civil rights advancements.

AFRICAN AMERICAN EDUCATORS

From	Influencer	Influence	Birth	To
1818	Charles L Reason		NY	1893
1829	Peter Humphries Clark	Black Soc. National civil rights leader, NCCM, RP Ut. Edi, Prin. (OH free soil)	Ci OH	1925
1833	Joseph C Corbin	Mason	Ch OH	1911
1837	Fanny Jackson Coppin		Wa DC	1913
1841	William G Cogman		StMartin	1931
1841	Fannie Moore Richards		Fr VA	1922
1845	Hallie Quin Brown	Civil rights NACW, Author	Pi PN	1949
1854	Luch Craft Laney		MA GA	1933
1854	Joseph C Price		EC, NC	1893
1856	Booker T Washington		FC, VA	1915
1863	Kelly Miller		Wi SC	1939
1867	Robert Russa Moton		Fa VA	1940
1868	John Hope	Unified Atl. Black colleges	Ag GA	1936
1873	Emmitt J Scott		Ho TX	1957
1874	Arthur Alphonso Schomburg		SJ, PR	1938
1880	Leslie Pickney Hill	Poetry, drama, community organizer, NEA Defense of democracy through education	Ly VA	1960
1881	William Pickens		Pe SC	1954
1883	Charlotte Hawkins Brown	Palmer Institute founder	He NC	1961
1890	Mordecai W Johnson		Pa TN	1976
1893	Charles Spurgeon Johnson		Br VA	1956
1894	Dr. E. Franklin Frasier	Sociologist, race relations development, culture, and change, Black Bourgeois etc.	Ba MD	1962
1895	Benjamin E Mays		Ep SC	1984
1900	Rufus E Clement		Sa NC	1967
1901	Frederick Douglas Patterson		Wa DC	1988

Source: (Green 1990, 1996).

African American educators made great sacrifices to acquire an education and teach in communities that needed the services.

AFRICAN AMERICAN FIRSTS

From	Influencer	Influence	Birth	To
1762	Dr James Derham	Med Practitioner	Ph PA	1805
1765	Joshua Johnston	Portrait painter	Ba MD	1830
1767	Denmark Vesey	Extensive Slave revolt	West Indies	1822
1799	John B Russwurm	Abolitionist, Newspaper publisher, Liberia colonizer, 3 rd graduate from US college	PA Jamaica	1851
1825	John Sweat Rock	US SC practice, MD, Dentist, lawyer	Sa NJ	1866
1829	John Mercer Langston	Elect OH township clerk, Congressman, lawyer etc.	LC, VA	1897
1830	Bishop James Augustine Healy	Priest and Bishop	JC, GA	1900
1849	George Washington Williams	1st historian and soldier, minister, journalist lawyer politician	BS PA	1891
1852	William S Scarborough	Classics scholar, University president, Greek texts	Ma GA	1926
1856	Henry Ossian Flipper	US Military Academy, West Point graduate	Th GA	1940
1856	Dr Daniel Hale Williams	Open heart surgeon, Founded Provident Hospital and Training school for Nurses	Hb PA	1931
1861	Isaac 'Ike' Murphy	3x Derby winning jockey	Le KY	1896
1872	Paul Laurence Dunbar	Creative writer	Da OH	1906
1877	Gen Benjamin O Davis Sr	US General	Wa DC	1970
1878	Jack Johnson	Heavy weight boxing champion	Ga TX	1946
1884	Oscar Micheaux	Independent film producer	Cairo IL	1951
1885	Alain LeRoy Locke	Rhodes Scholar	Ph PA	1954
1895	William Grant Still	Classical composer	Wo MI	1978
1904	Dr. Ralph J Bunch	Diplomat	De MI	1971
1908	Thurgood Marshall	SC Justice, Solicitor General	Ba MD	1993
1913	James 'Jesse' Owens	Olympic Track n field 4 gold medals	Da AL	1980
1919	Jackie Robinson	Major league baseball	Ca GA	1972
1924	Shirley A Chisolm	Congress Woman, Presidential Candidate	Br NY	
1924	Patricia Roberts-Harris	President's cabinet, Secretary in two posts	Ma IL	1885

Source: Green 1989, 1993, 1996).

African American Firsts are notable glass ceiling breakers. They were competitive in fields and spaces that typically excluded their participation.

AFRICAN AMERICAN PIONEERS

From	Influencer	Influence	Birth	To
1500.c	Esteban	Discovered Arizona and New Mexico	Morocco	1539
1723	Crispus Attucks	Seaman, Patriot, 1 st American Revolution martyr for US independence	Fr MS	1770
1745	Jean-Baptiste De-Sable	Father of Chicago	SM Haiti	1818
1759	Paul Cuffee	Ship builder, Humanitarian, Sierra Leon Colonization	CH, MA	1817
1790	Abraham	Seminole negotiator w/US	Pn FL	1870
1790	George W Bush	Oregon Explorer, Farmer	PA	1863
1798	James P Beckworth	Rocky Mountain guide	Fr VA	1866
1803	Clara Brown	Laundry and 1st Church	Ga TN	1885
1805	William Whipper	Bus. Phil, Negro Con. Movement, Moral Reform Society, Non-violent to aggression	Co, PA	1885
1809	James W C Pennington	Abolition, clergy African American history, United Missionary Society, AMA president	WC, MD	1870
1810	William Alexander Leidesdorff	San Francisco founder, CA Dev, US Consul, School board, Steamboat, Horse Race, wealth	SC, VI	1848
1817	George Washington	Founded and developed Centralia Washington	FC, VA	1905
1818	Biddy Mason	Won freedom in CA. Nurse, Midwife, rental property business owner and philanthropist	Hc, GA	1891
1824	Barney Ford	Barney Ford (Nigger) Hill 1964, Hotelier	VA	1902
1834	Mary Fields	Freight/Mail and Laundromat	To OH	1914
1834	Nancy Green	Aunt Jemima Flour sales actress	MC, KY	1923
1866	Matthew Alexander Henson	Nort Pole	CC, MD	1955
1870	Bill Pickett	Black Rodeo Cowboy, 'bulldogging' technique	WC, TX	1932
1871	James Weldon Johnson	Teacher, Composer, Lawyer, Diplomat, NAACP	Ja FL	1938
1875	Dr Carter G Woodson	Educator, Documented AA history, achievements	NC, VA	1950

Source: (Green 1986, 1996).

African Americans were pioneers in fields that provide significant contributions to the national development and quality of life.

AFRICAN AMERICAN SCIENTISTS AND INVENTORS

From	Influencer	Influence	Born	To
1731	Benjamin Banneker	Astronomer, Almanac	Ba MD	1806
1766	James Forten Sr.	Sail businessman, Rights reform movement	Ph PA	1842
1800	Lewis Temple	Temple Iron (Toggle) Whaling harpoon	Ri VA	1854
1806	Norbert Rillieux	Sugar Refining	NO, LA	1894
1843	Elijah J McCoy	Mechanical engineer, operating lubrication	Canada	1929
1848	Lewis Howard Larimer	Electric light bulbs, and patents, Author	Ch MA	1928
1849	Andrew Jackson Beard	Railroad coupler	JC AL	1921
1849	Joseph Lee	Baking technology inventions	Bo MA	1905
1852	Jan Earnst Matzeliger	Shoe lasting invention	Surinam	1889
1856	Granville T Woods	Electromechanical devices, Rails, egg incubator, inductor telegraph, > 50 patents	Co OH	1910
1860	George Washington Carver	Botanist, Agri chemist, (International products, south states agriculture production	DG MO	1943
1875	Garrett A Morgan	Auto traffic light, Gas mask, Hair strait	Pa KY	1963
1883	Ernest Everett Just	Bio Scientist	Ch SC	1941
1891	Louis Tompkins Wright	Antibiotic research, Intradermal Vaccine, Chemotherapy, 89 publications	LG GA	1952
1892	Frederick McKinley Jones	Truck refrigeration ships and rails, other patents	Ci OH	1961
1894	Dr Lloyd Augustus Hall	Food preservation 50 papers, 105 patents	El IL	1971
1899	Percy L Julian	Organic Chemist Julian Labs	Mo AL	1975
1904	Dr Charles Richard Drew	Blood plasma preservation bank, During WWII no mix of Black & White red blood.	Wa DC	1950

Source: (Green 1985, 1996).

African American scientists and inventors developed modern conveniences that define National progress and leadership in ingenuity.

AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN

From	Influencer	Influence	Birth	To
1753	Phillis Wheatley	Poetess,	Africa:	
1797	Sojourner Truth	1 st Women rt. & Abolition orator, prophetess	Kin NY	1883
1809	Elizabeth Taylor Greenfield	Vocalist	Nat MS	1876
1814	Mary Ellen Pleasant	Wealthy Invest. & Bus. dev., Cal. Civil Rights	Phi PA	1904
1820	Harriet Ross Tubman	Underground railroad, Army Scout, spy nurse	MD	1913
1823	Mary Ann Shad Cary	Newspaper	Wil Del	1893
1825	Frances E. Watkins- Harper	Novelist, Antislavery lecturer	Bal MD	1911
1826	Ellen Craft	Escape artist, Industrial school	Clin GA	1897
1845	Mary Eliza Mahoney	1 st RN, Women suffrage, NAGCN, ANA MMA	Rx MA	1926
1846	Mary J. Richards, E. Bowser	Civil War Spy	Rich VA	?
1846	Mary Edmonia Lewis	Sculptress,	G OH	1890
1848	Susan McKinney- Steward	1 st MD, Choir, Women Royal Union, Homeopath	Br NY	1918
1862	Ida B Wells-Barnett	Editor, NAACP founder	H.S MS	1931
1863	Mary Church Terrell	Women rights. Segregation Lectures 3 languages, Supreme Court case	Me TN	1954
1867	Dr. Ida Gray	1 st Fem Dr. dental surgery	Ck. TN	1953
1867	Madame C. J. Walker	1 st Fem Millionaire, hair, philanthropy, charity	Delta LA	1919
1867	Maggie Lena Walker	1 st Fem Bank President	Rm VA	1934
1875	Mary J. Mcleod Bethune	Educator	May SC	1955
1883	Nannie Helen Burroughs	Writer, Educator	Ora VA	1961
1885	Florence Bea. Smith- Price	Composer	L-R AR	1953
1893	Bessie Coleman	Pilot	Atl TX	1926
1893	Crystal Bird Fauset	State Legislator	P-A MD	1965
1893	Ella Philips Stewart	Pharmacist, NACW P. Bk, UNESCO lecture...	Ber VA	1987
1913	Nina Mae McKinney	1 st Movie Star	Lan SC	1967

Source: (Green 1996)

ORGANIZATION THEORY EVENTS, 1

Date	Influence	Organization Theory or Practice Event
1513	Nicolo Machiavelli	Unity of Command
1532	Nicolo Machiavelli	Advocates practical rather than moral actions
1776	Adam Smith TWON	Influential econ rationality factors, division of labor
1813	Robert Owen	Manage employees as virtual machines 'inanimate'
1832	Charles Babage	<i>Man. Prin. Econ. of Machines and Manufactures</i>
1856	Daniel McCallum	Six Admin principles in NY and Erie RR Co. report
1885	Cap Henry Metcalfe	Army arsenal management. Observable principles
1886	Henry Towne	Engineer as Economist scientific man. Movement
1902	Vilfredo Pareto	Social Systems, pre-Mayo hum rel. in org systems
1903	Frederick W Taylor	Shop Management
1904	Fred & Lillian Gilbreth	Time & motion, sci man, and applied psychology
1910	Louis Brandeis	SC "Scientific Management" railroad case
1911	Frederick W. Taylor	<i>The Principles of Scientific Management</i>
1912	Harrison Emerson	<i>The Twelve Principles of Efficiency</i> , man system
1913	Hugo Munsterberg	<i>Psychology and Industrial Efficiency</i>
1914	Robert Michels	<i>Who says org says oligarchy</i> , pol party & unions
1916	Henry Fayol	<i>General and Industrial Management</i> , 1st com. T.
1922	Max Weber	Bureau structure, Ideal type real world approach
1924	Hawthorne studies	Rel. btw work environment, motivation, and pro
1926	Mary Parker Follett	<i>On giving of orders</i> . Part. man, power with & over
1933	Elton Mayo report	<i>Human problems of indus. Civil</i> , hum relate move
1937	Luther Gulick	Notes on the theory of org. Exec. POSDCORB
1938	Chester Barnard	<i>Exec Functions</i> . Sociological postwar org behavior
1939	Roethlisberger & Dickson	<i>Man. and the Worker</i> . Define account of Hawthorn
1940	Robert K Merton	<i>Bureau Struct and Personal</i> . Ideal type inefficient
1943	Abraham Maslow	<i>A Theory of Human Motivation</i> , needs hierarchy
1946	Herbert Simon	<i>Proverbs of Adm. Man Principles</i> app inconsistent
1947	National Training Lab	for app behavioral science group dynamics res.

Source: (Shafritz et al. 2016)

ORGANIZATION THEORY EVENTS, 2

Date	Influence	Organization Theory or Practice Event
1947	Herbert Simon	<i>Adm. Behavior</i> . D-M, logical positivism needs phenomenological question
1948	Dwight Waldo	<i>Admin. State</i> , attacks gospel of efficiency
1949	Norton Long	<i>Power and Administration</i> , attain, maintain increase
1950	George Homans	<i>The Human Group</i> , app systems to org. analysis
1951	Kurt Lewin	Change model; unfreezing, change, refreezing
1951	Ludwig von Bertalanffy	<i>General Systems Theory</i> , basis for systems T.
1954	Peter Drucker	<i>The Practice of Management</i> , man by objective
1956	Talcott Parsons	<i>Sugg. for Socio Approach</i> . Orgs are social systems
1956	Kenneth Boulding	<i>Gen. Systems T.</i> , Intro systems app to org. T
1957	Chris Argyris	<i>Personality and Organizations</i> , conflict between
1957	Douglas McGregor	<i>Human Side of Enterprise</i> . X Y Self-fulfill org behave
1957	Philip Selznick	Leadership in Adm. Trans leader change org environ
1957	Alvin Goulder	<i>Cosmopolitans and Locals</i> . loyal, skills diff in org
1958	Leon Festinger	<i>Motivating Effects of Cog. Diss.</i> Inequity mot. T.
1958	Tannenbaum, Smith	<i>How to Cho. a Lead. Pattern</i> auto-demo continuum
1959	Charles Lindblom	<i>Science of Muddling Through</i> , Incrementalism
1959	Cyert & March	<i>A Behavior Theory of Org. Obj.</i> Pow, pol, ~ goals
1959	French & Raven	<i>Bases of Social Power</i> . referent, reward, legitimacy
1960	Richard Neustadt	<i>Presidential Power</i> . Essential power is persuasion
1960	Herbert Kaufman	Forest Ranger. Org and pro socialization ~ conformity
1961	William Scott	<i>Org. T.</i> Sys and org T, and micro & macro perspectives
1962	Robert Presthus	<i>Org. Society</i> . Individual-org Up, in, am classifications
1962	Blau and Scott	<i>Formal Orgs...</i> formal & informal org struct elem.
1962	David Mechanic	<i>Sources of Power of Lower Participant in Complex Organizations</i>
1964	Michael Crozier	<i>Bureau Phenomenon</i> . No error learning behave change
1965	Don Price	<i>Scientific Estate</i> . Deci auth from exec to tech office
1966	Katz and Kahn	<i>Social Psych of Orgs</i> . Open sys unify finds on behavior
1966	David McClelland	<i>That Urge to Achieve</i> . Maj no concern, min challenged
1966	Warren Bennis	Changing Orgs. Institute inadequate for future part/pro
1966	James March	<i>Power of Power</i> Social power in orgs and communities

Source: (Shafritz et al. 2016)

ORGANIZATION THEORY EVENTS, 3

Date	Influence	Organization Theory or Practice Event
1967	James D. Thompson	<i>Orgs in Action</i> . Closed, open system responses to outside world
1967	John Kenneth Galbraith	<i>New Indus State</i> . Technocrat structure control concerned w/stability
1967	Anthony Jay	<i>Man. and Machiavelli</i> . Principles applied to modern org.
1968	Harold Wilensky	<i>Org. Intelligence</i> . Flow and perception of information in orgs
1968	Cartwright & Zander	<i>Group Dynamics</i> . Nature of groups, & individual, institution relations
1968	Walker & Lorsch	<i>Organizational Choice Product vs. Function</i>
1969	Lawrence and Lorsch	<i>Org. and Envi</i> . Contingency T for simultaneous differ & integration
1970	Campbell et al.	<i>Expectancy T</i> . People motivated by calculate how to get things
1970	Chris Argyris	<i>Intervention T and Mets</i> . Change behave/develop perspective
1971	Irving Janis	<i>Group Think</i> . Grp cohesion can lead to ineffective decisions
1972	Kast & Rosenzweig	<i>Gen. Sys. T: App for Org and Man</i> . Rec Contin. T.
1973	Jay Galbraith	<i>Designing Complex Orgs</i> . Sys contingency of info needs
1974	Cohen and March	<i>Carnegie Com on Higher Ed</i> . U. leadership needs 'org. anarchies'
1977	Salancik & Pfeffer	<i>Who Gets Power...</i> & politics is survival needs adaptation resource
1977	Myer and Rowan	Socially constructed practices & norms create formal org.
1978	Pfeffer & Salancik	<i>External Control of Orgs: A Resource dependence perspective</i>
1978	Thomas Peters	<i>Symbols, Patterns, and Settings; Get things done</i> . Symbol man.
1980	Mintzberg	<i>Structure in 5s</i> . Simple, Machine, Professional, Division, adhocracy
1981	Richard W. Scott	<i>Orgs: Rat, Nat., & Open Systems</i> . Formal, Social, Interdependent
1981	Oliver Williamson	<i>Econ of Orgs; Transact Cost App</i> . Market hybrid hierarchy
1981	Jeffrey Pfeffer	<i>Power in Orgs</i> . Tenets and applications of power and politics
1981	Ouchi; Pascale & Athos	<i>Theory Z; and Pascale and Athos' Art of Japanese Man. Movement</i>
1982	Peters & Waterman	<i>In Search of Excellence</i> . Organization Culture becomes hot topic
1983	Henry Mintzberg	<i>Power in and Around Orgs</i> . Power & pol coherent man policy
1983	Rosabeth Moss Kanter	<i>Change Masters</i> . Architects of org change. Right people place time
1983	Michael Keeley	<i>Values in Org...</i> Exists for constituencies not to achieve org goals
1983	Ian Mitroff	<i>Stakeholders of the Org Mind</i> . Int & ex influence on behavior
1983	Linda Smircich	<i>Orgs as Shared Meanings</i> . Dev & sustain symbol communication
1984	Siehl & Martin	<i>Role of Symbolic Man: How can Manager transmit org culture</i>
1985	Nils Brosman	<i>Irrational Org</i> . Rat lead to good decision, cost action & change
1986	Harmon & Mayer	<i>Organization Theory for PA</i> . Comprehensive public sector text
1988	Michael Keeley	Social Contract T of Org. Multiple constituencies, purposes, justice systems, values, and org worth.

Source: (Shafritz et al. 2016)

ORGANIZATION THEORY EVENTS, 4

Date	Influence	Organization Theory or Practice Event
1990	Goodman & Sproull	<i>Technology and Orgs.</i> Org behavior affected by tech so there is need for new ways to conduct enterprise to survive
1990	Peter Senge	<i>Fifth Discipline.</i> Org learning disabilities, learning orgs overcome disabilities
1990	Roosevelt Thomas Jr.	<i>From Affirmative Action to Affirming Diversity.</i> Cultural diversity is org concept and definable goal
1991	Manfred Kets de Vries	Organizations on the Couch. Individual rational and irrational behavior influence orgs
1992	Jeffery Pfeffer	<i>Managing With Power.</i> How to consolidate power for constructive org goals, or someone else will
1992	Barbera Czamiawska-Joetges	<i>Explaining Complex Orgs: A Cultural Perspective.</i> Cross-cultural cross-contextual sensemaking in large orgs
1992	Osborne & Gabler	<i>Reinventing Government. Enterprising spirit transforms public sector. Protects agency from political & bureau power</i>
1992	Ralph Stacey	<i>Managing the Unknowable: Strategic boundaries between order and chaos</i>
1993	William Bergquist	<i>Postmodern Org.</i> *Five dimensions of org life
1993	Taylor Cox Jr	<i>Cultural Diversity in Orgs.</i> Benefits and difficulties
1993	Hammer & Champy	<i>Reengineering the Corp.</i> Radical redesign of processes, org, and culture for quantum performance advances
1993	Camilla Stivers	Gender Images in PA. Role of profession, leaders, and citizens play in gender bias
1993	Michael Diamond	<i>Unconscious life of Orgs.</i> Unconscious hierarchy and relation dynamics produce values, rituals, emotions, and identities
1993	Cook & Yanow	<i>Culture and Org Learning.</i> Processed by aggregate not individuals
1993	National Performance Review	<i>Gore Report on Reinventing Government</i>
1994	Douglas Keil	<i>Managing Chaos and Complexity in Government.</i> Chaos theory shows agency structure and processes foster learning
1994	Victor & Stevens	<i>Dark Side of New Org Forms.</i> Virtual office advocates need acknowledge the importance of loyalty, dedication and belong
1999	Thomas & Gabarro	<i>Breaking Through: Making of Minority Executive in Corporate America.</i> Path to corp. success different for people of color.
1999	Howard Aldrich	<i>Organizations Evolving.</i> Development and institution change, inter-org. diversity and interdisciplinary perspectives.

Source: (Shafritz et al. 2016)

ORGANIZATION THEORY EVENTS 5

Date	Influence	Organization Theory or Practice Event
2001	Taylor Cox Jr	Creating a Multicultural Org: Strategy for cap power of diversity. Multicultural environment through leadership research & education
2001	Neil Fligstein	<i>Architecture of Markets: Econ Sociology of 21st Cent Capitalist Societies</i> . 'Market institutionalism' dev in globalism & gov. role
2001	David Knoke	<i>Changing Orgs: Bus Networks in the new pol-econ</i> . Institutionalism, power, resource depend, transaction costs, learning, and evolution to under corporate issues
2002	Charles Perrow	<i>Wealth Power Origins of Corp Capitalism</i> . Exploit res., market
2002	Joanne Martin	<i>Org Culture: Mapping the Terrain</i> . The extent of diversity and realities of differentiation in org culture
2002	Sahlin-Andersson, Engwall	<i>Expansion, of Management Knowledge: Carriers Flows, and Sources</i> . Development, refinement, and diffusion of global management ideas
2004	Edgar H Shein	<i>Concept of Org Culture: Why Bother</i> . Defines model with 3 levels
2005	Cosby Bryson	<i>Leadership for the Common Good</i> . Powerful groups define 'rational' Altering power distribution & relations undermine rat.
2005	Gerald Davis et al.	<i>Social Movements and Org T</i> . How movement orgs and strategic movements inform each other
2006	Helen Haugh	Social Enterprise: Beyond Eco Outcomes and Individual Returns. Direct and indirect economic, social, and environmental outcomes
2006	Guy Adams et al.	<i>Aubu Ghraib, Admin Evil, and Moral Inversion</i> . Group, org roles, social structures greater powerful part in behavior than understood
2006	Johanna Mair et al	<i>Social Entrepreneurship</i> . Profit motive for NP sector, philanthropies support individual & bus soc. venture cap-like investment portfolio
2006	Buchanan & Connell	<i>A Brief History of Decision Making</i> . Intellectual contribution from Chester Barnard to 21st Century
2006	Gili Drori et al.	<i>Globalization and Org: World Society and Org Change</i> . Expand, formalize, and standardize from global, universal, rat., social acts
2006	Gary Johns	<i>Essential Impact of Context on Org Behavior</i> . Context not sufficiently recognized and modeled in org theories.
2006	Worly and Lawler III	<i>Designing Orgs built to Change</i> . Failing change efforts due to poor org design, cultural barriers, and poor management
2008	Barrett & Davison	<i>Gender and Communication at Work</i> . Gender affects communications, decisions, opportunities, individual development
2009	Frank Dobbins	<i>Inventing Equal Opportunities</i> . Personnel define discrimination and influence equal opportunity, work-family balance policies/practices
2010	Hofstede et al	<i>Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind</i> . Org culture influence & reflects national culture, nationality affects rationality
2012	Adam & Fligstein	<i>A Theory of Fields</i> . Environments affect each other and stimulate social change. (1960s Civil Right Movement & Mortgage Markets)
2012	Rice Mathews	<i>New Kind Public Service Pro</i> . Cul Competency (Aware-know-skill) = good diversity man, creative problem solving, innovation, change
2012	Thornton et al.	<i>New App to Culture, Structure, and Process</i> . Chang in perspective of institutional logic transforms its T, and entrepreneurship
2012	Padgett & Powell	Emergence of Orgs and Mkts. New orgs social relations influence

Source: (Shafritz et al. 2016)

US HISTORY 100 MILESTONE DOCUMENTS, 1

Date	Milestone
1776	<u>Lee Resolution</u>
1776	<u>Declaration of Independence</u>
1777	<u>Articles of Confederation</u>
1778	<u>Treaty of Alliance with France</u>
1782	<u>Original Design of the Great Seal of the United States</u>
1783	<u>Treaty of Paris</u>
1787	<u>Virginia Plan</u>
1787	<u>Northwest Ordinance</u>
1787	<u>Constitution of the United States</u>
1787-	<u>Federalist Papers, No. 10</u> HYPERLINK
1788	"https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=10" & HYPERLINK "https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=10" No. 51
1789	<u>President George Washington's First Inaugural Speech</u>
1789	<u>Federal Judiciary Act</u>
1791	<u>Bill of Rights</u>
1794	<u>Patent for Cotton Gin</u>
1796	<u>President George Washington's Farewell Address</u>
1798	<u>Alien and Sedition Acts</u>
1803	<u>Jefferson's Secret Message to Congress Regarding the Lewis</u> HYPERLINK "https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=17" & HYPERLINK "https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=17" Clark Expedition
1803	<u>Louisiana Purchase Treaty</u>
1803	<u>Marbury v. Madison</u>
1814	<u>Treaty of Ghent</u>
1819	<u>McCulloch v. Maryland</u>

Source: National Archives. Retrieved December 15, 2021, from [Our Documents - 100 Milestone Documents](#)

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US HISTORY 100 MILESTONE DOCUMENTS, 2

Date	Milestone
1820	Missouri Compromise
1823	Monroe Doctrine
1824	Gibbons v. Ogden
1830	President Andrew Jackson's Message to Congress 'On Indian Removal'
1848	Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo
1850	Compromise of 1850
1854	Kansas-Nebraska Act
1857	Dred Scott v. Sanford
1861	Telegram Announcing the Surrender of Fort Sumter
1862	<u>Homestead Act</u>
1862	Pacific Railway Act
1862	Morrill Act
1863	Emancipation Proclamation
1863	War Department General Order 143: Creation of the U.S. Colored Troops
1863	Gettysburg Address
1864	Wade-Davis Bill
1865	President Abraham Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address
1865	Articles of Agreement Relating to the Surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia
1865	13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: Abolish slavery
1868	Check for the Purchase of Alaska
1868	<u>Treaty of Fort Laramie</u>
1868	14th Amendment to the US Constitution: Due process and equal protection of law
1870	15th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: Prohibit race, color voting restrictions
1872	<u>Act Establishing Yellowstone National Park</u>
1880	<u>Thomas Edison's Patent Application for the Light Bulb</u>
1882	<u>Chinese Exclusion Act</u>
1883	Pendleton Act
1887	<u>Interstate Commerce Act</u>
1887	<u>Dawes Act</u>
1890	<u>Sherman Anti-Trust Act</u>
1896	Plessy v. Ferguson
1898	<u>De Lôme Letter</u>
1898	Joint Resolution to Provide for Annexing the Hawaiian Islands to the United States

Source: National Archives. Retrieved December 15, 2021, from [Our Documents - 100 Milestone Documents](#)

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US HISTORY 100 MILESTONE DOCUMENTS, 3

Date	Milestone
1903	<u>Platt Amendment</u>
1905	<u>Theodore Roosevelt's Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine</u>
1913	<u>16th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: Federal Income Tax</u>
1913	<u>17th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: Direct Election of U.S. Senators</u>
1916	<u>Keating-Owen Child Labor Act of 1916</u>
1917	<u>Zimmermann Telegram</u>
1917	<u>Joint Address to Congress Leading to a Declaration of War Against Germany</u>
1918	<u>President Woodrow Wilson's 14 Points</u>
1920	<u>19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: Women's Right to Vote</u>
1928	<u>Boulder Canyon Project Act</u>
1933	<u>Tennessee Valley Authority Act</u>
1933	<u>National Industrial Recovery Act</u>
1935	<u>National Labor Relations Act</u>
1935	<u>Social Security Act</u>
1936	<u>President Franklin Roosevelt's Radio Address unveiling the second half of the New Deal</u>
1941	<u>President Franklin Roosevelt's Annual Message (Four Freedoms) to Congress</u>
1941	<u>Lend-Lease Act</u>
1941	<u>Executive Order 8802: Prohibition of Discrimination in the Defense Industry</u>
1941	<u>Joint Address to Congress Leading to a Declaration of War Against Japan</u>
1942	<u>Executive Order 9066: Resulting in the Relocation of Japanese</u>
1944	<u>General Dwight D. Eisenhower's Order of the Day</u>
1944	<u>Servicemen's Readjustment Act</u>
1942	<u>Manhattan Project Notebook</u>
1945	<u>Surrender of Germany</u>
1945	<u>United Nations Charter</u>
1945	<u>Surrender of Japan</u>

Source: National Archives. Retrieved December 15, 2021, from [Our Documents - 100 Milestone Documents](#)

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US HISTORY 100 MILESTONE DOCUMENTS, 4

Date	Milestone
1947	Truman Doctrine
1948	<u>Marshall Plan</u>
1948	<u>Press Release Announcing U.S. Recognition of Israel</u>
1948	<u>Executive Order 9981: Desegregation of the Armed Forces</u>
1953	Armistice Agreement for the Restoration of the South Korean State
1954	<u>Senate Resolution 301: Censure of Senator Joseph McCarthy</u>
1954	Brown v. Board of Education
1956	<u>National Interstate and Defense Highways Act</u>
1957	<u>Executive Order 10730: Desegregation of Central High School</u>
1961	President Dwight D. Eisenhower's Farewell Address
1961	<u>President John F. Kennedy's Inaugural Address</u>
1961	<u>Executive Order 10924: Establishment of the Peace Corps.</u>
1962	Transcript of John Glenn's Official Communication with the Command Center
1962	<u>Aerial Photograph of Missiles in Cuba</u>
1963	<u>Test Ban Treaty</u>
1963	<u>Official Program for the March on Washington</u>
1964	<u>Civil Rights Act</u>
1964	<u>Tonkin Gulf Resolution</u>
1965	Social Security Act Amendments
1965	<u>Voting Rights Act</u>

Source: National Archives. Retrieved December 15, 2021, from Our Documents - 100 Milestone Documents

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COMMUNICATION AND DIFFUSION TECHNOLOGY

Year	Narrative Diffusion Technology	Source
800-200 BC	Axial Age word of mouth	Rational intellectual, philosophical, and religious systems replace mythology
1400s	Renaissance public music and arts	From church and royal court
1440	Print press	Johannes Gutenberg
1809	Water voltameter electrical telegraph	Samuel Thomas von Sömmerring
1810	Printing press improved	Frederick Koenig (German)
1814	First steam locomotive design	George Stephenson
1830s	Minstrelsy and Jim Crow	Thomas Dartmouth Rice
1838	Telegraph	Samuel F. B. Morse
1820	Port of New York Passenger Ships	National Archives List
1827	First US passenger train	Baltimore and Ohio Railroad
1876	Telephone	Alexander Graham Bell
1893	Radio	Nikolai Tesla/Guglielmo Marconi
1914	First US passenger trip	Orville Wright
1927	Television	Philo Taylor Farnsworth
1948	US Cable TV	
1953	Tokyo TV advertisement	
1955	UK TV Advertisement	
1962	Satellite TV	Maine to France Images
1962	Internet public network	MIT
1973	Cellphone	Motorola
1979	First Cellular Network Japan	Nippon
1983	Cellphone Commercially available	
	SOCIAL MEDIA	
1970s	Social Media Pluto	
1980	Social Media Bulletin Boards	
1990s	Myspace and Facebook	
1995	Social Media Site Classmates	
2000s	Instant messaging	
2001	Wikipedia	
2003	First POD Cast	Lydon's Blog
2010s	LinkedIn, Snapchat, Twitter	

Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline_of_social_media

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t=1%20Lee%20Resolution%20%281776%29%202%20Declaration%20of%20Independence,10
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