

Article

A Tribute to H. George Fredrickson

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Abstract

During his 50-year career, H. George Frederickson contributed on multiple fronts: to better government, to a more thoughtful and rigorous public administration field, to better scholarship, to a network of scholars, and to collaborative interaction among practitioners and scholars. He was the founding Editor of the *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* as well as the *Journal of Public Administration Education*. He was one of the founders of the Public Management Research Association (PMRA) and was instrumental in establishing the world headquarters of PMRA at the University of Kansas School of Public Affairs, where he was the Edwin O. Stene Distinguished Professor. He was President of Eastern Washington University. A gifted writer and thinker who excelled in both breadth and depth, George published important articles and books, and won many awards for his scholarship. Most importantly, he was a catalyst for establishing social equity as the “third pillar” of public administration. In this article, five public administration scholars pay tribute to H. George Frederickson’s most influential scholarly works, with an emphasis on social equity and accountability. George’s impact outside of the United States, especially in South Korea, also is highlighted.

H. George Frederickson died on July 24, 2020, one week after his 86th birthday, surrounded by his wife and children. George was known for many things, including his intellectual leadership in public administration, his building of important institutions and programs, his dedication to social equity, his leadership within the Academy, and his mentorship of many around the world.

George was born in Twin Falls, Idaho, and often credited his work with his siblings at the family drive-in and Frederickson’s Fine Candy and Ice Cream for instilling in him both a strong work ethic and a talent for

working collaboratively with others. After 2 years at Brigham Young University, George traveled to South Africa for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, witnessing apartheid first-hand, which greatly influenced his future work on social justice and equity. After earning a Ph.D. at the University of Southern California, his first academic jobs were at the University of Maryland, Syracuse University, Indiana University, and the University of Missouri, often serving as department chair or associate dean, building new programs along the way.

Amid the civil unrest and turmoil of the late 1960s, much of it relating to racial injustice and inequality, there was a sense among many younger scholars that the field of public administration was increasingly out of touch. As a response, at the 1967 conference of the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA), George and several others organized a parallel

The first and last sections of this article are excerpted from an unpublished tribute written for the National Academy of Public Administration in November, 2020, by Rosemary O’Leary (in collaboration with Fran Berry, Chuck Epp, Dave Frederickson, Marilu Goodyear, Jonathan Koppell, Steven Maynard-Moody, John Nalbandian, Barbara Romzek, and David Warm).

conference and called it “the Unconvention.” By the end of the conference, the Unconvention drew more participants than in the regularly scheduled ASPA panels. Shortly after the Unconvention, Dwight Waldo recommended to George and his fellow Maxwell School assistant professors, Harry Lambright and Frank Marini, that they clarify their criticisms of public administration. Waldo worked with the young professors to organize the first Minnowbrook Conference in 1968 (Marini, 1971). George carried on the tradition by organizing the second Minnowbrook conference 20 years later in 1988 (Frederickson 1989).

George was President of Eastern Washington University for over 10 years and was particularly proud of how the university grew from a small regional college into a full-service university with strong science, humanities, and sports programs under his leadership (see figure 1). He returned to full-time scholarship when he was appointed the Edwin O. Stene Distinguished Professor of Public Administration at the University of Kansas (KU), a position in which he

thrived for 25 years (see figure 2). He was a visiting scholar at Oxford University and traveled to Korea nearly 50 times to forge linkages with scholars there.

While at KU, George founded and edited the *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* (JPART). JPART flourished under George’s editorial leadership and is now one of the top journals in public administration. In addition, George helped create and run the Public Management Research Association (PMRA), establishing the world headquarters of PMRA at KU. He started the *Journal of Public Administration Education* and wrote a monthly column for *PA Times* with insightful perspectives on current events and inspiring ideas for public administration.

George served as President of ASPA in 1977–78 and was elected as a Fellow of the National Academy of Public Administration (NAPA) in 1979. He energetically served in these organizations for several decades. George was a founding member of the NAPA Standing Panel for Social Equity in Governance. He was particularly active on this panel, attending and contributing for many years to the Social Equity conferences. Noting that the body of Fellows was decidedly



Figure 1. George Frederickson as President of Eastern Washington University with Gerald Ford, 1984.

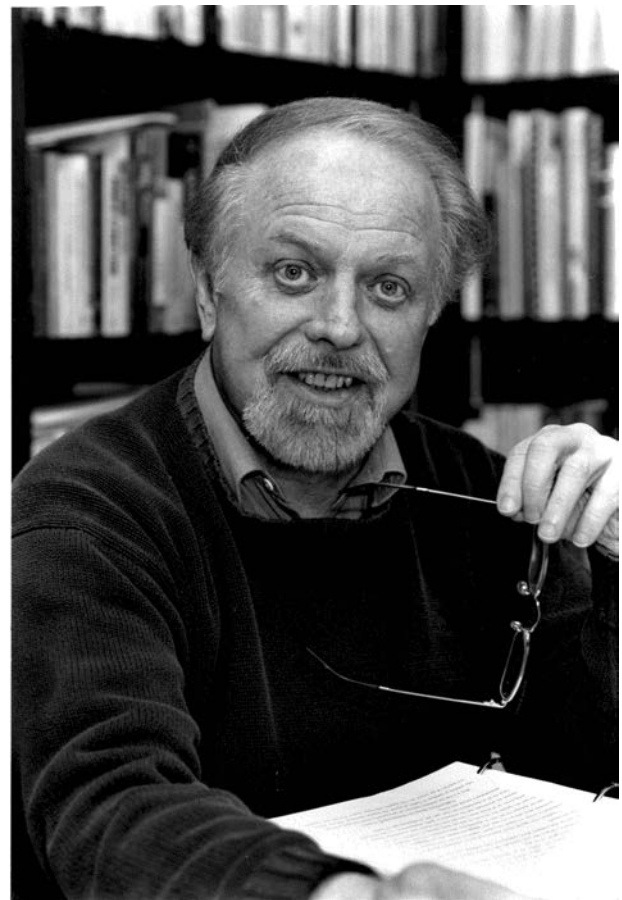


Figure 2. George Frederickson as the Edwin O. Stene Distinguished Professor at the University of Kansas, 1990.

lacking in diversity, he and Phil Rutledge of Indiana University agreed that together they would annually nominate outstanding minorities for membership in the Academy. Later, he argued successfully for opening NAPA membership to individuals from outside the United States. Much of the progress that the Academy made on diversifying its membership can be traced to these efforts (see [figure 3](#)).

A gifted writer and thinker who excelled in both breadth and depth, George always described himself as “a public administration generalist.” He published dozens of important articles and books in his 50-year career. As Brint Milward put it at George’s festschrift, “George Frederickson was a larger-than-life figure in public administration. . . . His reputation was formidable as a slayer of tired shibboleths and normative assumptions that justified the status quo.”

In this essay, Don Kettl leads with an overview of George’s most influential works and then hands off the discussion to Mary Guy, who digs deeply into George’s impact in the area of social equity. Mel Dubnick follows, telling the story of George’s research in the area of accountability. Pan Suk Kim then explains George’s



Figure 3. George Frederickson speaking at a National Academy of Public Administration conference, 2000.

impact outside of the United States, especially in South Korea. We close with an opportunity sponsored by NAPA for readers to memorialize George’s life and contributions to the field while furthering the cause of social equity.

Reviving the Spirit of Public Administration— Donald F. Kettl

The late 1960s and early 1970s cast a dark and powerful shadow across the study of government. Urban violence tore away at the social fabric and assassinations stole away too many political and social leaders who offered hope to reset governance in America. The war in Vietnam and Watergate combined to rob the country of its sense of purpose and its confidence in its leaders. [Pressman and Wildavsky \(1973\)](#) famously worried about “*How Great Expectations in Washington Are Dashed in Oakland; Or, Why It’s Amazing That Federal Programs Work at All,*” as part of the subtitle for their classic, *Implementation* ([Pressman and Wildavsky 1973](#)). For scholars of that generation, it was a time of great peril. Citizens were precipitously losing trust in their governments’ ability to solve problems, and governments’ efforts seemed trapped in a profound funk where, if they worked at all, it was amazing.

It was a time that left a deep mark on the career of a promising young scholar, H. George Frederickson. A few years later, he sadly wrote, “Something is wrong. Virtually all of our institutions seem to be in trouble” ([Frederickson 1982](#), 501). Worse, he argued, “Government is at the center of virtually all of the problems,” with citizens “groping for changes that they believe will improve the effectiveness of government agencies” ([Frederickson 1982](#), 501). Public administration, Frederickson believed, had an important role to play in strengthening government, but the field “needs to sharpen its creative abilities and its capacity to develop alternatives,” he argued ([Frederickson 1982](#), 502).

Frederickson came of professional age when the world—political, policy, social, and academic—all around him seemed under incredible stress. Politicians made promises they struggled to keep. Policy solutions to big problems too often seemed out of reach. The social tensions, especially dealing with issues of race and inequality, were inescapable. And on the academic side, Frederickson concluded that three-quarters of a century of thinking in the field had left it with a blind eye to one of the most important issues that had grown out of the 1960s: social equity ([Frederickson 2015](#)).

In what was the single most important insight of his storied career, Frederickson identified a “glaring inequity in both thought and practice” that plagued the

field. Since the turn of the twentieth century, scholars in the field, along with most government managers, focused on economy and efficiency. Traditional approaches to the field tended to ask how policymakers could turn their ambitious ideas into practical results. Public administration was an instrument. Its job was to create and run the mechanisms that made government work, producing the best possible product at the least possible cost. But in surveying the damage that the 1960s and 1970s left across America's political landscape, Frederickson concluded that we had missed a critically important "third pillar" for public administration. As he explained,

To say that a service may be well managed and that a service may be efficient and economical, still begs these questions: Well managed for whom? Efficient for whom? Economical for whom? We have generally assumed in public administration a convenient oneness with the public. We have not focused our attention or concern to the issue of variations in social and economic conditions. It is of great convenience, both theoretically and practically, to assume that citizen A is the same as citizen B and that they both receive public services in equal measure. This assumption may be convenient, but it is obviously both illogical and empirically inaccurate (Frederickson 1980, 3).

Efficiency and economy were important, Frederickson firmly believed. But they were not enough. They needed the "third pillar" of social equity.

Frederickson was a Hamiltonian who believed in the power of the executive (Frederickson 1997). That led him, in turn, to embrace the argument put forward by John Gaus and then developed by Dwight Waldo that "a theory of public administration means in our time a theory of politics also" (Gaus, 1950; Waldo, 1990). And he took this notion two steps further: A theory of both politics and administration needed an explicit case for social equity, and only in connecting those dots could both politics and administration tackle the crises they faced on all sides. For Frederickson, this was not just an intellectual argument. It was a cause for which he felt tremendous passion. Politics had let down the American people in failing to solve the crises of the 1960s and 1970s. Indeed, politics had even fueled those crises. Public administration had let down politics because it had missed the signal importance of social equity. And only in building that third pillar could public administration shore up the government for which so many Americans were so clearly yearning.

Indeed, Frederickson mused that "public administration itself is part of the problem" (Frederickson 1997, 27). But he was equally firm that many of the government

reform movements created new problems. In fact, he often grew tired of the "re" movements of reform and reinvention, and he worried deeply about efforts to formalize administrative theory through rational choice and new public management approaches. The "reinventing government" strategy of the Clinton administration was a special concern because, he worried, it had "purchased some increased efficiency but at a considerable cost in the long-range capacity of public institutions and professional public management." Clinton's "reinventing government" reform, in fact, was "flamboyant"—and, most notably, rooted outside the traditions of public administration (Frederickson 1996a,b, 269).

This was double trouble, as far as Frederickson was concerned. Government was in trouble, he sadly concluded. "The reform era died," in a fusillade of antibureaucratic venom. Moreover, "The era of positive government is dying," he wrote, as citizens came to have less confidence in government's ability to deliver (Frederickson 1996a,b, 269). The country needed a new approach to the puzzle, one that was "neither public administration nor reinventing government." The next generation would put together that approach, he believed. But Frederickson was not about to sit on the sidelines waiting for others to lead the charge.

He attacked the problem by dividing it into three parts. One was to create an approach to social equity that put it at the center of the field. The omission of this important issue had not only impoverished the field's ability to tackle its most important problems but opened it—and the country—up to the corrosive attacks that weakened the positive role for government that Frederickson believed in. Building a theory of social equity thus became his signal contribution to the field and to society's broader effort to attack its biggest challenges (Frederickson 1990, 1997; Johnson and Svara 2011).

From that insight came, second, a fresh imagining of "public administration" by looking carefully at both "public" and "administration." In examining "administration," with its traditional emphasis on hierarchy, he pointed to the "declining relationship between jurisdiction and public management," in an era where boundaries were crumbling and network-based strategies were rising, as part of the "disarticulation of the state," as he put it (Frederickson 1999, 702, 703). But for Frederickson, the "public" side of the equation was even more important. He pointed out that in defining "the public," "we ordinarily beg the question (Frederickson 1991, 396).

In fact, he developed a five-fold approach to understanding the public, with the public understood as interest groups (with roots in political science and pluralism); consumer (with roots in economics and public choice); the represented (with roots in the legislative

theories that flowed from political science); as clients (with roots in private sector market theory); and as citizens (in the rich classical tradition). But into this *mélange*, he added one more ingredient rarely seen in the field's writings. "Probably the most important of the requisites for a theory of the public for public administration is benevolence," he concluded (Frederickson 1991, 415). A theory rooted in self-interest would never serve the public well, and it certainly would not prove effective in advancing social equity. A mutual understanding and respect for each other would not only provide the elements for civility in discourse. It would build the foundation for ensuring that citizens, in the end, were served. That, he believed was the core of public administration, and it was why he was often alarmed at efforts to wring the issue out through some reform movements and formal theories.

Third, Frederickson built his work on a strong appreciation for local government and federalism. He had a keen sense that social equity built on the interactions of citizens with their government, and that so often occurs at the state and local level. His keen understanding of social equity was that the concept was meaningless unless it became real, and it could not be real unless it was real for each citizen. That thread of federalism, with deep appreciation for the founders' efforts to weave the fabric of democracy, was at the very core of his approach to the field.

From these three elements, a powerful, positive view of administration emerged. It was a view rooted deeply in the field's traditions. Indeed, to read Frederickson's sweeping work and references is to get a sense of the vast expanse of his mind. His most-cited work, *The Spirit of Public Administration*, is an intellectual tour from Plato through Alexander Hamilton to the early-twentieth century founders of the field to the most prominent thinkers of the day (Frederickson 1997). Indeed, the 17 pages of references for the book are a broad and sweeping compendium of ideas that, in itself, is a remarkable contribution.

Indeed, the book emerged from his decades-long effort to understand the deep and enduring spirit of the field. In his search, he settled on this: The spirit of public administration, he wrote, focuses on "how to do things effectively, efficiently, and equitably" (Frederickson 1997, 1). In just a few sentences, prefaced by a reference to Hamilton, Frederickson captured not only the central nuggets of his work. He brought to vigorous life the very spirit of the field—and his own prodigious energy to shape and lead it.

There is a strong and remarkable trajectory to his work, with an increasingly deeper exploration of how social equity has the potential to inform—indeed, to transform—the most important issues facing the field. Tracking that work provides insight into his own

intellectual development but also in his constant efforts to find the right forum for advancing the field's most important issues. He was, at the core, a student of public administration, deeply imbued with its spirit. But he worried that the field of public administration increasingly struggled to deal with the questions he thought were most fundamental. His quest to advance the field led him from the discipline of public administration into political science, where he had great hopes that "public administration now has important things to say to political science," as part of an effort toward "the repositioning of public administration as a field in political science" (Frederickson 1999, 710).

That quest, of course, proved exceptionally difficult and frustrating. Public administration was one of the four founding subfields of political science, but it has increasingly struggled for a place in a discipline that has increasingly drifted away from the principles that Frederickson and others sought to advance, with "governance, governance everywhere," but sometimes without enough attention to the issues that Frederickson held most dear (Frederickson 2005a,b).

George's powerful intellectual leadership through six decades of profound social and political change for the country—and for the remarkable changes in the field of public administration and public management—was not only the story of his quest for the spirit of public administration. His energy, enthusiasm, empathy, and leadership made him, in fact, the living embodiment of the field's spirit. But the field is fortunate indeed to have the inspiration of that spirit as its driving energy through the new challenges it—and the country—will face.

Finding the Right Language and Levers for a More Just Society—Mary Guy

Two months before George Frederickson died, George Floyd, an African American man arrested for a minor offense, died at the hands of a white police officer who knelt on Floyd's neck long enough to kill him. As news of Floyd's death spread, protests against police brutality erupted across the United States and internationally. While Frederickson may have spent his last days feeling like Sisyphus—pushing the social equity rock up the hill, just to have it roll down again—in fact, he bequeathed to the field a language for talking about the dynamics that gave rise to George Floyd's killing.

Frederickson (2005) couched his exhortations in the classics. Woodrow Wilson (1887), Paul Appleby (1947), and Henri Fayol (1916/1949) had mentioned equity as an imperative of governance and of management, but there was not yet a term with the right cachet until the 1960s when *social equity* was popularized. Frederickson adopted the term and through his

work, laced it throughout the field's nomenclature. The concept equipped public administration with words that put guardrails in place to identify inequity and do something about it.

From popularizing the term, to legitimating it in the literature, to integrating it into the canon, Frederickson's work set the stage for social equity theory, research, and practice. How did he accomplish this? As mentioned previously, he was a student of the 1960s, an era that brought race riots, urban unrest, the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, and draft rules that disproportionately sent the working class to Vietnam while the advantaged hunkered down in colleges and comfortable offices. It was obvious that what is efficient is not always fair; what is economical is not always just, and what is effective is not always equitable.

Interest in social equity flourished in the 1970s and 1980s. John Rawls (1971) added theoretical fuel to the social equity fire when he asserted that a just society is one that designs and implements policies to benefit the least advantaged, not the most advantaged. Frederickson's 1974 PAR symposium on social equity stoked the fire, with essays homing in on social equity as it relates to justice, public management, fiscal policy, human resource management, productivity, and policy analysis. The essays set the stage for operationalizing social equity and situating it in every policy domain.

Operationalizing the Concept

While the concept of equity evolved from the philosophical framing of the social contract, Frederickson began the long, uphill, climb to transform concept into action (see Frederickson 1971, "Toward a New Public Administration."). With the nation's social fabric in tatters, Frederickson argued that public administration could be better served by emphasizing fairness not *in tandem* with efficiency but *over* efficiency. Pointing at administrators, he suggested that they ask not only about policy and administrative actions but also who benefits from those policies and actions.

Scholarly interest ebbs and flows as social discontent ebbs and flows, and interest in social equity subsided in the 1990s as marketization and reinventing government turned the spotlight. As it became obvious that the market was not a magic elixir, however, interest in social equity and the role of government as a leveler and equalizer came roaring back (Gooden 2015). Income inequality, and all the misery it brings, could be ignored no longer. This time, the field had a language for it—a way to identify and name inequity in process, access, quality, and outcomes. Frederickson beat Sisyphus.

Problems come to government when no one else wants—or has the capacity—to address them. Social

equity is the challenge that confronts every public service professional. From homelessness to transportation, from rules that help to rules that hinder, from policing to child welfare, equity concerns accompany every policy domain. Frederickson urged that everyone in the field—students of today and public executives of tomorrow—understand what social equity is, what inequities look like, how they occur, and what levers are at their disposal.

Few now dispute the place and importance of social equity as a pillar of public administration and it is common to see purposeful social equity efforts in cities and counties. For example, Seattle and King County, Washington, have adopted a pro-equity stance in policy-making, decision-making, planning, operations, services, and workplace practices (King County, Washington 2018). This was Frederickson's goal when he first wrote about social equity. Again, Frederickson beat Sisyphus.

Inserting Social Equity into the Canon

George knew how to harness the power of organizations to promote ideas and embed them in the discipline. Social equity is a beneficiary of his wizardry. Partnering with Phil Rutledge, the then most persuasive advocate for social equity, they leveraged the intellectual domain of NAPA to twist arms and persuade the field's luminaries that social equity should be embedded in the canon and that NAPA should be at the forefront.

With nudging, prodding, and help from many, the duo succeeded. NAPA's definition is now the one that prevails. It operationalizes social equity and expresses a moral imperative: Social equity is:

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 in the formation of public policy (NAPA 2006).

As the definition makes obvious, social equity requires commitment from all corners of public administration, from problem identification to development of solutions, to program design and implementation, to service delivery and outcomes assessment. Laws are to be administered fairly and equitably, and service delivery—whether by government or contractors—is to be delivered with a commitment to fairness, justice, and equity. Consistent with Frederickson's commitment to move social equity from a philosophical assertion to an operationalized framework, NAPAs embrace legitimated it, due in large part to his perseverance and organizational savvy.

Social Equity as Moral Leadership and Obligation

Frederickson's research imprimatur was to probe questions about the nature and quality of governance and to nudge examination of who benefits. In a retrospective essay published in 2005, he acknowledged the acceptance of social equity as a concept but pointed to skyrocketing inequality as evidence that talking the talk is easier than walking the walk. Pursuing fairness, justice, and equality is public administration's imperative and, in his words, "laws do not carry out themselves; implementation is our work" (Frederickson 2005, 32).

While lawmakers set the stage by creating statutes, it is up to administrators to breathe life into them in a way that advances equity. To drive the point home, Frederickson argued that data are not enough to compel equitable access, process, quality, and outcomes. Citing the disproportionate percentage of incarcerated African Americans, he noted that numbers on spreadsheets do not cause administrators to walk the talk. In fact, he said, statistics lack passion and smother indignation. As timely now as when he wrote in 2005, he argued for the power of narrative, urging stories that would grab public opinion and spark indignation. Surely the Flint water crisis, the Dakota Access Pipeline, the George Floyd killing, and so many other recent examples, reveal the gap between talk and walk. He was right when he closed the essay by saying "it is time to walk the social equity talk" (Frederickson 2005a,b, 38).

Frederickson urged public leadership throughout his work. Government and nonprofits cannot do all the work of creating an equitable society. This is where public leadership must frame narratives that impel people to do the honorable thing. His steadfast commitment to the discipline, to the practice community, to theory development, and to honorable work, served the field well. His work is not done, but it points the way forward.

Creating a More Accountable Government—Mel Dubnick

I was among that generation of newly minted PA scholars in the early 1970s who knew of George Frederickson through his work in convening the first Minnowbrook collective. Aside from intermittent sightings at different ASPA and NASPAA meetings, I had little contact with him other than as a reader of academic journals and general observer of his growing status in the field and in higher education administration. Between 1977 and 1987, just as I was becoming more active in the PA and policy studies fields, George was otherwise engaged in his role as president of Eastern Washington University. In short, until 1987, we never really had any interaction and I have no doubt he would have wondered who I was if my name came up at all during those years.

This, of course, changed in 1987 when George was recruited as the Edwin O. Stene Chair at University of Kansas. I left KU in 1988, and during that brief time as faculty colleagues, each of us was too preoccupied with other matters—George with the settling into his new position, the convening of Minnowbrook II, and creating the *Journal of Public Affairs Education*; me with faculty governance obligations and my editorial role at the *Policy Studies Journal*—to engage in any form of scholarly discourse. In fact, it was not until the fall of 2004 that we actually sat down to discuss our shared concerns about administrative reforms being pursued under the banners of accountability and performance measurement.

At that time, George was in the midst of completing his work with his son David on *Measuring the Performance of the Hollow State* (Frederickson and Frederickson, 2006) and I had recently circulated and submitted a critical paper on performance measurement that would eventually be published in *Public Performance and Management Review* (Dubnick 2005). In general terms, each of us regarded the increasing reliance on performance measurement and its relationship to accountability as problematic, especially in light of the growing complexities of Third-party governance. My arguments were primarily theoretical and conceptual, reflecting a somewhat skeptical view of efforts to improve government productivity through performance-based accountability. Ignoring the critical tone of my work, George perceived my underlying presentation of the "promises of accountability" as a potentially useful framework for understanding the complexities of applying performance measures as a form of accountability in an increasingly "hollow state."

While George always (and without consultation) gave me top billing in our co-authored publications, the partnership was, in fact, a unique collaboration between two very different perspectives about the value of performance-based accountability. What drew him to my work was the conceptual framing I provided, and what he did with my two-by-twos, three-by-threes, and four-by-fours was to construct insightful analyses that gave structure and empirical life to issues involving the relationship between accountability and performance.

The most visible product of our collaboration was *Accountable Governance: Problems and Promises*, an edited volume published in 2011 that was based on a symposium convened on the Kettering Foundation's Dayton campus in May 2008. With the generous support of Kettering's David Matthews, we were able to bring together 30 of the world's leading scholars to address a wide range of issues related to accountability. Our own joint contribution to the

volume was a lengthy “Introduction: The Promises of Accountability Research” that provided an elaboration of the “promises of accountability” framework while offering an overview of the 18 chapters that followed.

But my task here is to present George’s perspective on the performance-accountability nexus, and to do so requires a closer look at two other publications that came from our collaboration. These were the papers where George took charge, and both should be read as articulations of his views on the subject.

In “Accountable Agents: Federal Performance Management and Third-party Government” (Dubnick and Frederickson 2010), George melded our two perspectives into an analysis that highlighted a range of accountability challenges faced by the six agencies he and David had examined in detail in their earlier work. What emerged from the reframed study was a picture of how those federal programs handled what I contended to be the unsubstantiated (if not false) “promises of accountability.” For me, each of the promises—including the promise of improved performance—was rooted in an unwarranted optimism about how accountability-based reforms can work. For George, the achievement of improved performance-through-accountability in a Third-party “state of agents” was an empirical question. In the end, his more optimistic view won out. “In many ways,” George wrote in the article’s conclusion, “it is remarkable that such a jumble of principals, agencies, policies, and agents is accountable.” He concluded the article by noting that while we can see how performance-based accountability was “working-in-practice,” we still lacked an understanding of how it works-in-theory.

An even better example of how our collaboration worked is found in a relatively obscure 80-page monograph published under the joint sponsorship of the NAPA and The Kettering Foundation (Dubnick and Frederickson 2011a,b). Here I need to stress again how George and I differed in our views of the “promises of accountability” that were central to our jointly published work. I retained my skeptical view of accountability-based reforms that sought to accomplish the major objectives of modern governance, that is, to enhance democracy, to achieve justice, to foster administrative integrity, and to improve the performance of government agencies. George, in contrast, regarded accountability—and specifically what he termed “public accountability”—as a credible means for achieving the various promises. And so, while I was otherwise preoccupied with our co-edited *Accountable Governance* volume, George drafted the “Public Accountability” monograph as an argument favoring the use of accountability in pursuit of those very promises.

Although rarely cited, I believe the NAPA/Kettering paper best reflects George’s views on the relationship between accountability and performance. For me, watching the monograph develop over time was like attending a master class on how to present and extend what was essentially a middle-range theory framework into a manifesto for change. Once again, George transformed my somewhat cryptic ideas into a readable and coherent elaboration of the various forms that accountability has taken in recent decades. And once again, he focused in on the problematic connection between accountability and performance and its application in third-party (“Extended State”) programs.

But most impressive was his call in the monograph’s final section for greater attention to *public accountability* as a credible solution to problems of governance in the modern state. To establish and maintain a truly accountable Extended State, we need to get a “handle” on what it means to be accountable and expand our appreciation of “public”-ness. Moreover, fostering effective forms of public accountability that can achieve the “promises” requires “cultural changes” that produce “high-trust” environments within which “governmental and nongovernmental organizations, working individually or together, are dedicated to public service and to accountability to the public.” (69)

In hindsight, I now regard the monograph as more than merely another co-authored paper. I believe George intended this monograph to be the basis for a future project—perhaps a co-authored book that would provide the field with a useful “theory” of accountability’s role in modern governance. After 2011, George and I would chat intermittently at NAPA and ASPA meetings and exchange emails now and then, but nothing more came of our collaboration. In the weeks following his passing, I have wondered how George would have reacted to the proposition that accountability might stand as another pillar of public administration, complementing efficiency, economy, effectiveness, and social equity. Given what he had already written, I have no doubt we would be working on that project at this very moment.

George’s Impact Outside the United States—Pan Suk Kim

George Frederickson’s work was inspirational to many around the world. Outside the United States, George’s largest impact may be seen in the country of South Korea. The close connection between the United States and Korea can be traced back to the US Occupation Army in 1945–48 as well as the Korean War in 1950–53. During the 1950s and the 1960s, Korea’s socioeconomic situation was quite difficult and only

a few students were able to come to the United States for graduate studies. When George was a doctoral student at USC, he met Chong Mo Pak, who was then an Instructor of Public Administration at USC. George was very impressed with him and with his grasp of public administration. A friendship and an interest in Korea were born.

When George began to teach at the Maxwell School of Syracuse University in 1967, Yong-Hyo Cho was just leaving Syracuse. George and Yong-Hyo Cho worked together on a Ford Foundation-funded project on election district adjustments each 10 years as part of the American census system. Their work was published in a SAGE monograph, *Determinants of Public Policy in the American States: A Model for Synthesis* (Frederickson and Cho 1973a,b). Yong Hyo Cho served as the President of the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA) in 1996–97. Another friendship and deepened interest in Korea blossomed.

Among George's graduate students at Syracuse at the time was Chang-Lo Park. He and Yong Hyo Cho arranged George's first trip to Korea in 1974 to lecture at Dongguk University and SNU. George stayed in the Chosun Hotel near Seoul City Hall and always remembered the nighttime curfew. He also lectured at Yonsei University and remembered the shacks on the steep hills behind Yonsei. At that time, he met Chung-Hyun Ro and Jong-Hae Yoo at Yonsei University. Chung-Hyun Ro served as the President of the Korean Association for Public Administration (KAPA) in 1977–78. Jong-Hae Yoo served as the President of KAPA in 1983.

There was still a good bit of poverty amid the construction projects in Seoul. There were mostly buses, military and company cars and trucks on the road, as well as taxis. There were very few private cars. American soldiers were seen regularly in the streets. It was at the later stages of the move of Seoul National University (SNU) to the new campus. The subway had not been constructed yet, so traveling to SNU was a major undertaking, but this did not deter George.

George's book titled *New Public Administration* (1980) was published in several languages, including Korean and inspired a large number of public administration scholars and practitioners to pay more attention to social equity and other important public values. In the next couple of years, George occasionally taught public administration courses at the US Military Camp in Yongsan, Seoul, meeting with Korean scholars each time. During this period, he met and became friends with dozens of Korean professors. His Korean network continued to expand.

While President of ASPA, as well as President of Eastern Washington University, George continued to reach out to many Korean colleagues and students. In 1981, he visited Korea and delivered a memorable lecture on "Public Administration Education in

the United States" at the KAPA Conference in June 1981. This speech was published in the *Korean Public Administration Review* (Frederickson, 1981). In 1988, another article of his, "Public Administration for a New Democracy," was published in the *Conference Proceedings of the Korean Association for Public Administration* (Frederickson, 1988).

Not long thereafter, Bun-Woong Kim at Dongguk University, along with Chang-Lo Park, came up with the idea of a sister program with Dongguk and EWU. They put that program in place and for years had very successful exchange programs for both students and faculty. Dongguk University awarded George an Honorary Doctor of Law in 1980. He also visited the second Dongguk campus in Kyungju and he was able to see the Seokguram Grotto, which was designated as the UNESCO Cultural Heritage on December 6, 1995.

During this period, George began to work with Chung-Hyun Ro on their mutual interest in Confucius and the origins and evolution of Korean bureaucracy. They wrote several things together, including an edited book titled *Confucian Thought and Bureaucracy in East Asia* (Ro et al. 1997). George also published an article in *Administration and Society* extolling the virtues of Confucian ideology that focus on cultivating good public servants through moral conventions and practices, rather than through good laws; This article is still mandatory reading today at the Maxwell School of Syracuse University and at the University of Kansas (Frederickson 2002).

By that time, it was the mid-1980s and Chung-Hyun Ro had become the President of the Korea Institute of Public Administration (KIPA) and served for several years. He invited George to lecture several times and they worked together on their mutual interests. During this period, there was much unrest in Korea, particularly on and near the university campuses. George once got caught in a cloud of pepper spray near the Dongguk campus due to college students' street demonstration.

After 10 years, George left the presidency of EWU and became the Edwin O. Steen Distinguished Professor of Public Administration at the University of Kansas. From 1987 to 1990 he visited Korea at least twice each year, staying for about 2 weeks each visit, lecturing, and studying. In 1990, he received a 6-month Distinguished Fulbright Fellowship to study and lecture in Korea. Rather than being affiliated with one university, he traveled throughout Korea, lecturing at many universities. He lived in an apartment just behind the Deoksugung (Korean Royal Palace) in downtown Seoul. Each day when he was not traveling or lecturing, he would go to the Fulbright offices, which were, at the time, near Insa-dong and Anguk Rotary (old town). After the Fulbright, he continued to visit Korea often.

As a newly minted PhD student in the late 1980s, I was able to meet George at ASPA conferences.

After earning my doctoral degree from the American University, I taught public administration at Old Dominion University from 1991 to 1994. During this period, I was able to collaborate with George and we became friends. After I returned to Korea in 1994, I did not see George for a while. Nonetheless, he visited Korea several times in the 1990s, including the KAPA conference on Jeju Island. In February 1997, Yong-Hyo Cho and George organized a seminar at San Francisco State University based on a grant from the Korean Foundation. Sixteen people contributed their chapters and published a book titled *The White House and the Blue House: Government Reform in the United States and Korea* (Cho and Frederickson 1997). This book is an in-depth consideration of the patterns of change in government in the United States and Korea. It is the first such detailed study and comparison between the two countries. Each chapter is a consideration of a particular aspect of reform in either the United States or Korea.

In all, George visited Korea nearly 50 times, making many dear friends and developing a great fondness for the Korean people and for their struggles for democracy and economic development. In doing so, he has helped many Korean experts to expand their capacities and experiences in the field of public administration and public policy in Korea (Frederickson 1988). George especially inspired many Korean students to study public administration in the United States. Many of these students became faculty members at American institutions and some returned to Korea to teach or work in public administration.

The Korean public administration community was not well developed a half century ago. Today, public administration in Korea is fully developed and is a popular major at most Korean universities, due in part to the contributions of people like George (Frederickson 1981). Many Koreans remember George's contributions to the development of public administration and public policy in Korea. He loved Korea: its culture, food, and people. George Frederickson's legacy lives on in Korea today.

Conclusion

To paraphrase Fran Berry's comments at the time of George's retirement, no one has had a greater impact on our professional field of public administration than George Frederickson. Over a long and distinguished career, George was frequently recognized for his achievements. Not merely items for George's curriculum vitae, these honors were meaningful to him and reflected lasting contributions in scholarship and civic engagement. He was the recipient of the Dwight Waldo, John Gaus, Charles Levine, and Donald Stone

Lecture awards, as well as the Order of Meritorious Diplomatic Service Award from the Republic of Korea. Today the best article award at ASPA's *PA Times* is called "The George Frederickson Award," as is the PMRA lifetime achievement award.

George promoted the best in people and helped many achieve their best. He served as "major professor" to those "at home" but also to many who did not attend Kansas, Syracuse, Indiana, or Missouri. Today his *Public Administration Theory Primer* (Frederickson et al. 2015) is used by Ph.D. students around the world. Many scholars and leaders claim George as one of their mentors though they were never formally his students. As one who saw the potential in every individual—and the value in cultivating that potential—George helped the public administration profession get stronger and become richer. His firm commitment to social equity and justice, where he both "talked the talk" and "walked the walk," helped many individuals but just as importantly, made the academy a more welcoming place for faculty and students of all races, creeds, and approaches. Undoubtedly this has made our society better in the long run and improved how government functions.

George was an inspiration in how to take big ideas and manifest them. His organizing efforts generated an incredible amount of social capital and positive externalities, often through actions that reflected his good humor and sometimes mischievous personality. George was simultaneously courtly and wry. He was unfailingly gentlemanly but never made it hard to discern when he thought someone would be better served keeping their thoughts to themselves. His good sense of humor was somewhat hidden and often deployed as he contributed on multiple fronts: To better government, to a more thoughtful and rigorous public administration field, to better scholarship and a network of scholars, to collaborative interaction among practitioners and scholars, and to deep personal friendships based on caring concern and help. We are so much richer for having H. George Frederickson as a colleague and friend.

George, congratulations on a life well lived. You were, and will continue to be, an inspiration to all of us. And now that you are gone, it is time, as you always advised us, to "move ahead boldly."

To that end, we invite readers to donate to the NAPA's new social equity distinguished speaker series in honor of H. George Frederickson. George was devoted to NAPA and NAPA gratefully devotes this speaker series to memorializing George's life and his contributions to the field of public administration and especially to the importance of social equity. The speaker series will be held at the Academy's annual conference and will not only validate George's passion and legacy but help the Academy advance the cause of social equity through

public administration at a time when it is central to the national conversation. Please contribute online at <https://napawash.org/memoriain/h-george-frederickson> or via check mailed to: NAPA, 1600 K St N.W., Suite 400, Washington, DC 20006. Join us in honoring a life dedicated to fostering social and racial equity by helping to fund the H. George Frederickson Distinguished Lecture at the NAPA. Together, we can ensure that we continue George's work in social equity and elevate this discussion that is so vital to America's future.

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