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The Heterogeneous State:
A Pluralist Historical Analysis of U.S. Federal Agencies

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Technology Governance & Digital Transformation

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

The U.S. State is often treated as a unary polity, both by policymakers and researchers. However, qualitative and quantitative methods are limited in providing understanding into phenomena as pluralistic, mutable, and discontinuous as U.S. Federal agencies and policy that fails to understand key historical factors within the bureaucracy are prone to failure. A different approach to the State is presented here: the Heterogenous State treatment.

Utilizing Abbott Payton Usher's pluralist approach to historical analysis, a history of the U.S. bureaucracy is presented in terms of the creation, destruction, and movement of Federal agencies within three approximate periods of varied heterogeneity and homogeneity in U.S. administrative history. Through this analysis, restrained independence and dynamism are identified as important factors that have led to and sustain the heterogeneity of the U.S. State. Further, the U.S. bureaucracy is still within the ideology of the Reagan Administration and its homogeneous vision of the State, which has had lasting effects on its heterogeneity and how the State is studied for the last four decades.

Keywords: bureaucracy, public administration, history, pluralism

INTRODUCTION

The 2019 President's Management Agenda (PMA) sets fourteen goals for information technology (IT) modernization, data, and workforce transformation for the U.S. bureaucracy to carry out by October 2020. Its stated purpose to lay "the foundation needed to address the critical challenges where Government as a whole still operates in the past" (PMA 2018) appears common sense. Legacy IT, poor data, and a workforce which has fallen behind in skills acquisition are problems, and future-looking modernization and transformations seem in the best interest of citizens. However, the PMA (and its effect on policy and budget allocation) is missguided. Like most of the Government modernization genre coming out of the White House and Office of Management and Budget (OMB) for the past 40 years, the PMA is ambitious in scope and guaranteed to fail for the following two reasons.

First, the "past" the bureaucracy "operates in" is not linear or composed of agencies fully willing and/or able to implement the PMA. Holden points out that up to half of Federal agencies have IT policies at odds with law, regulations, and official policy, and agencies inconsistently follow their own policies or the directives from the OMB (1996, 71-73). When accounting for the reality that the Government is a set of 322 (or 351[1]) Cabinet-level departmental agencies, independent agencies, bureaus, commissions, committees, foundations, corporations, directorships, units, and other organizations each having unique histories scattered along a timeline between 1789 and the present, as well as individual cultures, norms, characteristics, and various levels of will, ability, and resources to implement all or any of the PMA's goals, a linear view of the bureaucracy, its past, and its abilities becomes quickly tenuous.

Second, the PMA's statement that the Government is "a whole" is less about a fact than an ideology, and an ideology that has intentionally prevented the sort of government the PMA makes the rhetorical case for. The assumption that the Government is a unified whole is not

[1] The definition of "agency" is discussed further in **3. A History of the U.S. Bureaucracy**

limited to policymakers and misguided PMAs. In the research literature —whether regarding innovation, IT systems, public administration, or otherwise, which is itself extensive and multi-faceted—the State is treated as a unary polity rather pluralistic entity. Further, much like the PMA and its fourteen goals, studying the State as a comprehensive whole limits understanding of important aspects of the State and the validity and practicality of recommendations.

This approach to the State explicitly or implicitly as a unary entity is termed here the Homogeneous State treatment. It assumes the State is cumulative, continuous, and comparable. This is the State as it is typically studied and discussed. Analysis of the State as a homogeneous entity utilizes a range of qualitative methods (often case-study based) and quantitative methods (often using metrics such as GDP, R&D, Federal budget as well as econometric analysis). The object of analysis is typically at the level of a government writ large, of specific features pertaining to government(s), of agencies or institutions, or some combination generalized to comprising in cumulation an entity called "the State". The Homogeneous State is a flattened, top-down view of the State.

This thesis presents a different treatment of the State: the Heterogeneous State. This approach is characterised by treating the State as pluralistic, multilinear, and mutable. Treating the State thusly makes it a difficult (though not impossible) object of study from which to create generalized knowledge and options for analytical methodology are limited. The argument is made here that approaching the State as a heterogeneous entity provides a better means to understand the State's inherent organizational and functional complexity and provides a means of understanding why such as the PMA's ambitions fail. U.S. Federal agencies are the object of analysis as their non-homogeneity, with many disparate, independent and interdependent parts, are difficult to quantify and qualify using the methods and viewpoint of the Homogeneous State treatment. The goal of this thesis is to demonstrate that the U.S. State, due to the plurality, independence, and mutability of its agencies, is best understood when viewed as an **array of particular systems of events** in a Heterogeneous State.

Ironically and important to the conclusions of this thesis, treating the State as homogeneous does not provide a holistic view of the State, but rather a piecemeal one that must rely, due to

methodology, on a handful of cases or statistical inference to create general understanding. The Heterogeneous State treatment attempts to provide a holistic view to the "whole of Government" by beginning with its parts and their history to show empirically how disjointed the State is before moving towards unifying concepts.

This thesis is structured towards answering its primary research question: What factors have led to and sustain the heterogeneity of the U.S. Federal bureaucracy? Its central problem in answering this question is how to create general knowledge when the premise is that the State's parts are independent, dynamic, and not comparable.

This thesis is structured as follows. **1. Two Treatments of the State** structures descriptions of the two treatments around four manifestations from which the Homogeneous State's conceptual unity begins: These are presented in the following subsections: **1.1. Type-driven**; **1.2. Cumulative**; **1.3. Continuous**; and **1.4. Comparable**.

2. "A Particular System of Events" provides, as a framework for the Heterogeneous State treatment, Abbott Payson Usher's pluralistic approach to historical analysis. It lays out the method for analysis in three sections: **2.1. History, pluralism, events, discontinuities, particular systems, arrays**; **2.2. Diagrams and boundaries**; and **2.3. Conceptual unity through approximation or synthesis**.

3. A History of the U.S. Bureaucracy demonstrates the Heterogeneous State treatment through three layers of analysis inspired by Usher. **3.1. Four boundaries** and **3.2. Three layers of analysis of 842 systems of events** establish the parameters and means of analysis. The analysis is structured around three approximate historical trends into fourteen vignettes split between **3.3. 1789 to ~1930: More Heterogeneous & less homogeneous**, **3.4. ~1930 to ~1980: The most heterogeneous & least homogeneous**, and **3.5. ~1980 to 2015+: Less heterogeneous & more homogeneous**.

In terms of conceptual unity, the history of the U.S. bureaucracy has three approximate periods of variance in how more or less heterogeneous or homogeneous the State is. This thesis finds that restrained independence and dynamism are important factors leading to and

sustaining the heterogeneity of the U.S. State as well as that the U.S. is still within the ideology of the Reagan Administration and its homogeneous vision of the State.

The dataset for **3. A History of the U.S. Bureaucracy** is from the "History of Agency Organizational Changes" section of the 2019 edition of the United States Government Manual (USGM) (USGM 2019, 33-139). These agency data are from 1789 to 2015[2] and are provided with the note that "[s]ome dates prior to March 4, 1933 are included to provide additional information". Though the USGM is the authoritative source of historical agency data, it has errors, duplications, omissions, and inconsistencies (such as agencies with no establishment date that have a termination date). As much as possible, these have been removed from the dataset. Additionally, agencies that existed less than or equal to one year have been removed.

Agency data are cleaned and structured with the following attributes for each agency: agency name, year established, year terminated, year transferred (with the year given for each transfer, where applicable). What constitutes an "agency" and what is meant by "established", "terminated", and "transferred" are discussed further in the third section. The cleaned dataset can be found at https://tinyurl.com/yyxljtjn. **Appendix 1. Agency Change Figures and Tables** provides the data and calculations summarized and used in the graphs for each time period in the third section in tabular form. **Appendix 2. A Visual History of the U.S. Bureaucracy** provides a large-scale visualization of the entire timeline of the U.S. bureaucracy in terms of its agencies, including a key and schematic for how to arrange the pages. As a visual aid and framing device, it is recommended to print and view **Appendix 2. A Visual History of the U.S. Bureaucracy** while reading through this thesis.

Further verification and resolution of entities in this dataset would enhance the analysis, though the data on the 842 agencies over a period of 226 years utilized here is sufficient for the purposes and findings of this thesis.

Academic sources are used in the discussion of the two treatments in the second section and in exploring factors leading to the U.S. bureaucracies heterogeneity in the third section. A

[2] Typically updated when the USGM is published each year to include agency history up until the year prior, Agency Organizational Changes has not been updated during the current administration.

number of data common to other histories of the U.S. bureaucracy and its public administration are not used as, as discussed in **2. "A Particular System of Events"**, because "[t]he principle of historical continuity does not warrant any presumption about the relations among events occurring at the same time" (Usher 2013, 19). Examples of these are population, territory, and Federal workforce data. Legislature, policy, regulations, and political cycles are likewise omitted. Though they may have some causal relation with changes in the bureaucracy, these data are too prone to, as Michael Nelson notes in "A Short, Ironic History of American National Bureaucracy" the unintended consequences that characterize this system (1982, 774). Also, as noted above, agencies often fail to carry out mandates such as the PMA. Wading into the complexity of causality between a myriad of variables (or a cherry-picked few) over the course of 226 years of American history is not the purpose of this thesis. Rather, it seeks to describe in simple terms something very complex by providing multiple glimpses of the whole bureaucracy.

The method of analysis is derived from Abbott Payson Usher's pluralistic approach to historical analysis. Usher does not provide a robust analytical methodology or framework; rather, he gives a way to read and visualize history. Usher provides the tools, terms, and a visual language used to examine the State's heterogeneity and produce findings. The analysis in the third section is numerically and visually descriptive. Findings are derived general characteristics of change within the data and conceptual approximation, based on Usher, rather than comparative techniques.

The origin of this thesis is a feeling that the literature on government innovation, technology, and digital transformation is too safe and too general. The result here is not so sophisticated as to offer a robust theory of the State, bureaucracy, or government, nor is that its purpose. Rather, in the most basic sense, it makes a distinction between two ways of describing the State, recommends that the pluralist one is better, and hopes to add some modicum of value to the discipline.

This thesis was originally imagined as a two-part analysis, with Charles Ragin's Fuzzy-Set Comparative Analysis (fsQCA) offered as a comparative analytical method for analyzing factors sustaining U.S. Federal heterogeneity, specifically regarding IT systems. Due to

failures of public administration in the U.S. during the Covid-19 pandemic, key resources and data for this section were unavailable. In my mind, this remains a thesis about government technology and innovation even if IT systems are no longer the unit of analysis. Many of the sources are from the innovation literature. The result is a history which is foundational to understanding government, which in turn (more so than other alternatives and proposed solutions) explains why the U.S. bureaucracy still has so many mainframe computers.

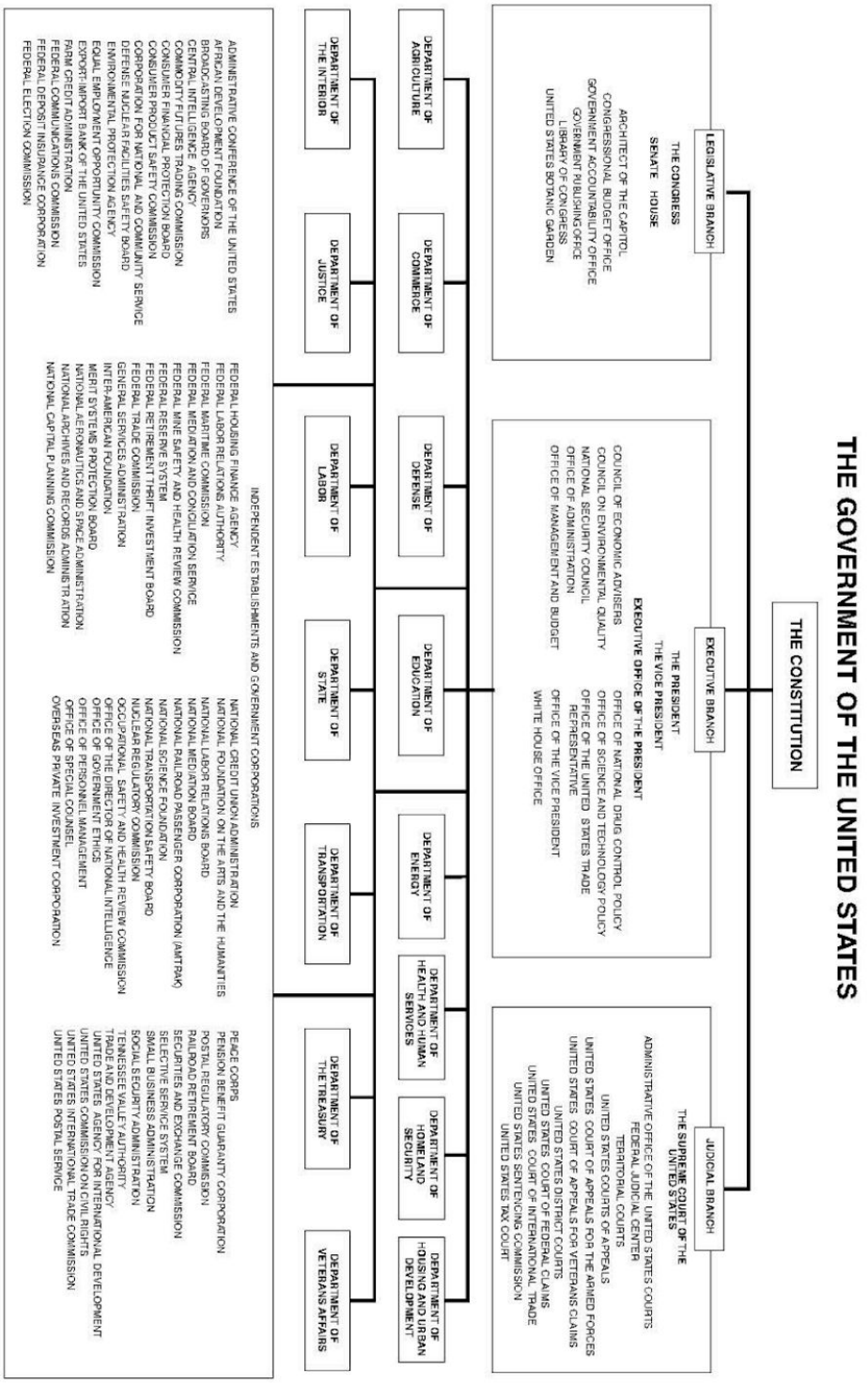
1. TWO TREATMENTS OF THE STATE

The picture of the American State is typically a top-down hierarchy. As seen in **Figure 1: The Government of the United States**, the Constitution mandates and divides three separate branches (Legislative, Executive, and Judicial), which further subdivide into the Senate and House; the President, military, Cabinet-level, and independent agencies; and the Federal courts, respectively. This is how the Federal government is viewed at all levels of education, in the literature, in the media, and in everyday usage. It is a connected, unified entity, and its parts are comparable and, at the bureaucratic level, fairly interchangeable. It has a history, but its history is not essential to description. This is the picture of the homogeneous State.

A second picture of the American State is found in **Appendix 2. A Visual History of the U.S. Bureaucracy**. It does not include the Constitution or the branches of government. Parts are disconnected. The structure is limited to time and a unifying style of three shapes and two types of lines. Many parts established and transferred; many are terminated. It is not a simplification; rather, it is the full skeleton. Complex, patternless, and with a shape is difficult to grasp. The State as a collection of parts with histories and internal movements. This is the picture of the homogeneous State.

This section describes the two treatments of the State. Beginning with conceptual unity is the primary characteristic of the Homogeneous State treatment. Each subsection (1.1. Type-driven, 1.2. Cumulative, 1.3. Continuous, and 1.4. Comparable) gives a manifestation of this purported unity under which the two treatments are each presented and contrasted.

Figure 1: The Government of the United States



Source: Office of Personnel Management (2020)

1.1. Type-driven

1.1.1. The Homogeneous State

Much of the scholarship[3] concerned with what is here termed the Homogeneous State is type-driven. This is seen in the corpus on a *type* of State (i.e., Maazucato's *The Entrepreneurial State* (2015) and Block's Developmental Network State (2008)), a *type* of governance (i.e., Margett's *Digital Era Governance* (2006)), a *type* of bureaucracy (i.e., Kattel, Drechsler, Karo's innovation bureaucracy (2019) and Nelson's ironic bureaucracy (1982)). These and others provide an angle of what the State is or can be and creates a thread connecting similar phenomena such that they can be used compared. This leads to a wide net for such as Schumpeterian creative destruction and Weberian bureaucracy as one-to-one relationships between a type and syntactically similar concepts are connected. The type is extrapolated up to a general characteristic of the State, which helps connect the causal dots during analysis. The types of states, governance, and bureaucracy drive the topics, questions, unit of analysis, data, and findings.

1.1.2. The Heterogenous State

The type is rarely the State itself, but an idea that drives the State, whether connected to reality or not. Treating the State as heterogeneous allows that parts of the U.S. State are entrepreneurial, but the State as a whole is not, and nor should it be expected to be. This manifestation of the Homogenous State mistakes a phenomena for a unifying concept.

The Homogenous State treatment is not type-driven, but rather is type agnostic, even extending beyond types qualifying the State to types of states. Beyond just the U.S., democracies, monarchies, and dictatorships each have bureaucracies with structure and history. The U.S. State, as becomes clear in **3. A History of the U.S. Bureaucracy** is too multifaceted to fall within a type.

[3] This is in no way meant to belittle the accomplishments of this canon of research, which continues to aid decision makers within such as the EU, the UK, the OECD, among others. It is more of a commentary on method and data usage.

1.2. Cumulative

1.2.1. The Homogeneous State

The Homogeneous State treatment assumes the State, to some defining degree, is cumulative. It is the sum of its parts and a unitary entity. The parts may change, but the core remains. If the State is assumed to be the cumulative whole of its parts, then analysis across a given State, another State, and their parts is equally possible and practical, and conclusions can be generalized with some confidence.

This assumption allows for accepting quantitative analysis without further qualification and qualitative analysis without understanding every case is an exception.[4] One part is treated like a cog among similar cogs that make up the whole. R&D spending, various market indicators such as GDP, and other metrics are taken at face value. DARPA is a common case study (Block 2008, 175-178, 181-182; Mazzucato 2013, 80-85) but also the NIH (Block 2008, 178-179), NACA (Nelson 1977, 111-112) and other technology-specialized agencies. Because the State is a whole made of parts, its parts are similar enough and can be aggregated, sampled, and compared with some confidence and improved through shared best practices. Starting from the concept that the State is unified as a whole, analysis can then pick parts, note what makes them unique, and draw conclusions, such as Block's causal connection of U.S. legislation such as the Bayh-Dole Act to positive economic effects (2008, 180-181).

1.2.2. The Heterogenous State

Problematic to the Homogeneous State treatment's assumption of cumulativeness is that, in the context of the U.S. Federal government, it is very hard to point to a cohesive core.[5] In such a system, it is hard to run a causal thread between events when agencies have a high level of independence and policies are unevenly adhered to. When the unit of analysis is Federal agencies, this problem's complexity is compounded. A posteriori, it is easily seen that in both

[4] This statement jumps ahead a little to Usher's terms in **2. "A Particular System of Events"**

[5] And it is discouraged. Within the American system and mindset, any claim by a part of the State to be "the State" would be regarded as a form of tyranny.

form and function few U.S. Federal agencies are similar. Picking the winners (or losers) is not representative[6] unless the State is assumed to be cumulative.

The data of the aforementioned study by Holden that found up to half (and he uses more precise sounding numbers) of Federal agencies have IT policies out of line with directives from the OMB (1996, 71-73) is from agency surveys, which is a common method of data gathering but it is both prone to the normal selection bias and problems with survey data and, importantly, the response cannot be a representative sample from which to draw conclusions because, due to heterogeneity, there is no such thing as "representative". If DARPA, the U.S. Postal Service, the Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service, the Office of Special Education and Rehabilitative Services, or any number of agencies pulled randomly or selectively from the Federal government make up the whole that is the Federal bureaucracy, then they can be studied much easier than otherwise. Except that they do not and cannot. As a unifying concept, cumulativeness is appealing, but further analysis shows that there is no cohesive whole made up from similar-enough parts.

1.3. Continuous

1.3.1. The Homogeneous State

The homogeneous State literature assumes the State has continuity throughout its history, even though when history begins varies slightly across disciplines. As noted by Michael Nelson in "A Short, Ironic History of American National Bureaucracy", for political scientists America's bureaucracy begins with the New Deal and for sociologists its history is largely unexplored (1982, 748). For scholars of government innovation, history usually begins as WWII ends (see Block 2008, 176).

This allows history to be a grand narrative where, once again, it is easy to connect events and phenomena. Thus, Nelson's conclusion that, in discussing the history of government R&D policy and industrial outcomes, the "wide diversity of technological and institutional details, of knowledge structures and incentive structures, among American industries recommends

[6] As in seen in the following sections, no sample from the U.S. agencies as a set is or could be representative.

against an industrial policy to boost "industrial innovation" in some global sense in the hope of affecting macroeconomic problems" is likely valid, his means of stringing together R&D methodologies and policies from the across the 20th century is tenuous (Nelson 1983, 814-818). On the government side, the U.S. Census Bureau can connect the Hollerith Machine of 1890 to the internet in the 1990s because both are part of its history of technology (U.S. Census 2020). Historical change occurs, but usually along defined lines of progress. History is a set of defining moments while the State marches on largely (thought this may just be the case for the U.S.) unchanged. History, when the State has it, is defined in eras or discreet-sounding events, such as the Jacksonian Era, Post–World War II, and Emancipation. Beginning from the concept of continuity, the State is seen as progressing linearly.

1.3.2. The Heterogenous State

Problematice to the assumption of continuity is that the history of the U.S. Federal government lacks a cohesive grand narrative, as is seen in **3. A History of the U.S. Bureaucracy**. Agencies have unique histories and functions, as to policies and the government's effects on the country writ-large, and are subject to constant flux in budgetary, organizational, and regulatory allocation. Continuity is hard to hold onto when the shape of the State is dynamic. Comparing such systems across and within States, when taking these realities into account, becomes extremely difficult. DARPA and NIH may have similarities, but they are not just unique but completely separate, even in terms of some vague tradition of U.S. government technology, as deeper analysis would quickly show. Their innovations and achievements are "discontinuous", as defined by Usher in the next section. As seen in **3. A History of the U.S. Bureaucracy**, distinct eras are not a hard and fast defining characteristic occuring along the straight line of history.

1.4. Comparable

1.4.1. The Homogeneous State

The Homogeneous State treatment assumes the State is cumulative and continuous because it must in order for comparative analysis to work. Methodology, in some real sense, requires

this simplification of the State. Cumulation and continuity normalize and homogenize data, assisting with the suggestion and generalization of qualitative and quantitative conclusions.

For example, Margette's analysis of tax systems in the U.S. and U.K. rest on the assumption that the U.S. and the U.K. (Margetts 2012) are similar enough to compare. However, as Margetts herself seems to realize by utilizing Ragin's fuzzy-set methodology for describing complex government systems, such as IT systems (Margetts et al 2006), similar enough is not possible, or at least it is not using the typical analytics tools and frameworks of the Homogeneous State.

Describing the State in terms of a type also aids comparison analysis by shaping the State into something more easily understood. Data usage within the Homogeneous State tends to emphasize the bright spots or the dark spots, but rarely all the spots. The State, taken as a whole, has too many dissimilar parts for case studies and too few similar parts for inferential statistics. Hence, a blindspot between qualitative and quantitative methods.

1.4.2. The Heterogenous State

Ragin sees a dilemma within social science methodology. Complexity can be described through qualitative methods for a small set of evidence, and generalities can be described through quantitative methods for a large set of evidence (2000, 21-23). The former provides depth without breadth; and the latter is "broad but shallow", Margetts et al. describe it in discussion of how to look across complex data (2006, 65-66). Ragin proposes his Fuzzy-Set Comparative Analysis (fsQCA) as a way to describe phenomena with a medium-sized set of evidence in a way that increases understanding of complexity and can be generalized (2002, 149-180).

Problematic to treating the State as homogeneous is its ability to provide useful analysis of something as complex and multifaceted as the U. S. State, its bureaucracy, and even many individual agencies. The most common methodologies are not built to capture this subject. Ragin offers one alternative methodology. This thesis adopts yet another by looking to Abbott Payton Usher in the next section to provide the foundation of this treatment of the State,

Usher dismisses comparative analysis as phenomena are too independent, too unique, too "discontinuous". Arriving at conceptual unity is the goal, not the starting point as with much of the Homogeneous State treatment. Truth is more elusive. Usher does propose approximation and synthesis as possible paths to conceptual unity, the former of which is utilized in **3. A History of the U.S. Bureaucracy**.

When viewed as a Homogeneous State, the State is treated as holistic, and yet to achieve this its analysis must fragment the State through case studies and anecdotes, or metrics and aggregations. The critique of the homogeneous State's assumption of cumulation is not that it has parts, but that the State has too many too different parts. The critique of its assumption of continuation is not that it is ahistorical; only that it is not historical enough. But this does not mean, as discussed in **3.5. ~1980 to 2015+: Less heterogeneous & more homogeneous**, that this treatment of the State has not been tried. A Heterogeneous State, as seen in the following section, treats the state as fragmented and yet achieves this through analysis that is holistic, which allows it to arrive at findings that improve conceptual understanding of complex phenomena.

2. “A PARTICULAR SYSTEM OF EVENTS”

Developing the empirical foundation of the Heterogeneous State treatment begins with a look into the literature on the history of technology, namely Abbott Payson Usher’s pluralist approach to historical analysis in *A History of Mechanical Inventions*. Usher does not provide a robust analytical methodology or framework; rather, he gives a way to read history. “The phenomena may be complex, but they are not beyond the scope of historical analysis” (2013, 25). As Usher’s theory of innovation is inspired, rather than determined, by Gestalt psychology (*Ibid.* 61), so is the analysis in **3. A History of the U.S. Bureaucracy** is inspired by Usher. In *A History of Mechanical Inventions*, he provides the tools for an “operational” (rather than speculative) analysis to examine the State’s multidimensional heterogeneity in order to build further knowledge of its parts, or as he terms them, its *particular systems of events*. Usher is used to define a descriptive and visual language through which to construct multiple views of the Heterogeneous State.

2.1. History, pluralism, events, discontinuities, particular systems, arrays

The four-chapter prolegomena of Usher’s *A History of Mechanical Inventions*, before the bulk of the work’s meticulously detailed history of technology from antiquity to the 19th century, presents a pluralist, multilinear approach to history that both offers a way of thinking about the historical complexity of entities and guides the reading of the history of the U.S. bureaucracy in **3. A History of the U.S. Bureaucracy**. Between the first chapter, which details an argument against any geography-centric reading of economic history that omits technology’s role, and the fourth, which provides the theory of innovation for which this work is best known,[7] are two chapters which give Usher’s pluralistic approach to historical analysis which is, for the purposes of this thesis, key to constructing the theoretical foundation of the Heterogeneous State.

[7] Usher’s theory of invention, based on Gestalt psychology and cumulative synthesis, which is the main idea of the book, is a fascinating read, even as its application to the subject of this thesis is limited.

Usher's pluralistic approach to historical analysis is antithetical to the homogeneous State treatment. He does not allow for broad speculation, abstraction, or universal theories. "Over the historical period, however, only rather heroic abstraction could conceive of the whole array of extant civilizations as part of one world" (*Ibid.* 26). His rationale for this is practical: *one*-ness impedes analysis. "Monistic idealism of any type is likely to obscure important problems of analysis . . . Pluralism at least affords a basis for operational analysis with the least possible intrusion of speculative philosophy" (*Ibid.* 21).

Usher worries that methodologies and frameworks can be too prescriptive for legitimate analysis, saying that "analytic procedures that have developed in many systems of sociology and anthropology are so completely pervaded by the concepts of mechanism and determinism that they cannot be used for explicit historical analysis without some modification" (*Ibid.* 18). Unity of any sort is only "by discreet omissions. Unity on such a level is lost by more comprehensive description" (*Ibid.* 25). He does, however, offer an alternative, saying "Our so-called cultures are not logically comprehensive wholes" but are rather *systems of events* which are "independently conditioned" (*Ibid.*).

History consists of "arrays of particular systems of events", a phrase Usher uses very intentionally with very specific definitions. HAn *event* as unique and temporal. Commonsense statements like "the present is derived from the past and the future from the present" incorrectly rest, according to Usher, on the assumption that there is a sum which equals the whole of its assumed parts (i.e., cumulation). Rather, "[t]he present does not grow out of the totality of the past; nor does the future grow out of the totality of the present" (*Ibid.*). For Usher "[t]he proposition must be formulated in much more specific terms: every event has its past. The present consists of numerous events which cannot be assumed to be connected and which themselves contain an uneven past (i.e., continuity). "The principle of historical continuity does not warrant any presumption about the relations among events occurring at the same time" (*Ibid.* 19). Just because two things happen at the same time does not suffice for them to be considered together.

Usher has two types of "discontinuities" that exist between events. The first type are those that do not synthesize over time. For Usher, most events are this type. The second type are those "that may be overcome, through some act of synthesis" (*Ibid.* 21).[8]

However, events usually exist together, even if discontinuous of either type, which Usher groups as *systems*, which are themselves *particular*. Systems are unique and relationships between them cannot be presumed. An entity, such as the U.S. Federal Government, or the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), or even agencies within DHS (Usher's example is a "particular culture", but it is applicable to any entity containing events,) "must be conceived as an array of systems of events that are incompletely integrated" (*Ibid.* 26). He continues,

> In the total array of systems of events, as we find that at any given moment, many systems have persisted from a remote past, and have lost all significant contact with current patterns of behavior. At best, they are conventional acts that persist without having any present meaning. At worst, they obstruct desirable forms of action. (Usher 2013, 23)

Usher includes actions, behaviors, concepts, and ideas as all valid phenomena within an array of systems of events and emphasizes that their composition and relevance is uneven across time. Behavior and proximity influence some events within a system (and some systems within an array); others are independent. Some can be classified as obsolete, others current, and still others nascent. The pluralistic approach does not seek "any comprehensive resolution of these conflicts" but rather "accepts them as distinct systems of thought with appropriate patterns of behavior and action" (*Ibid.* 28).

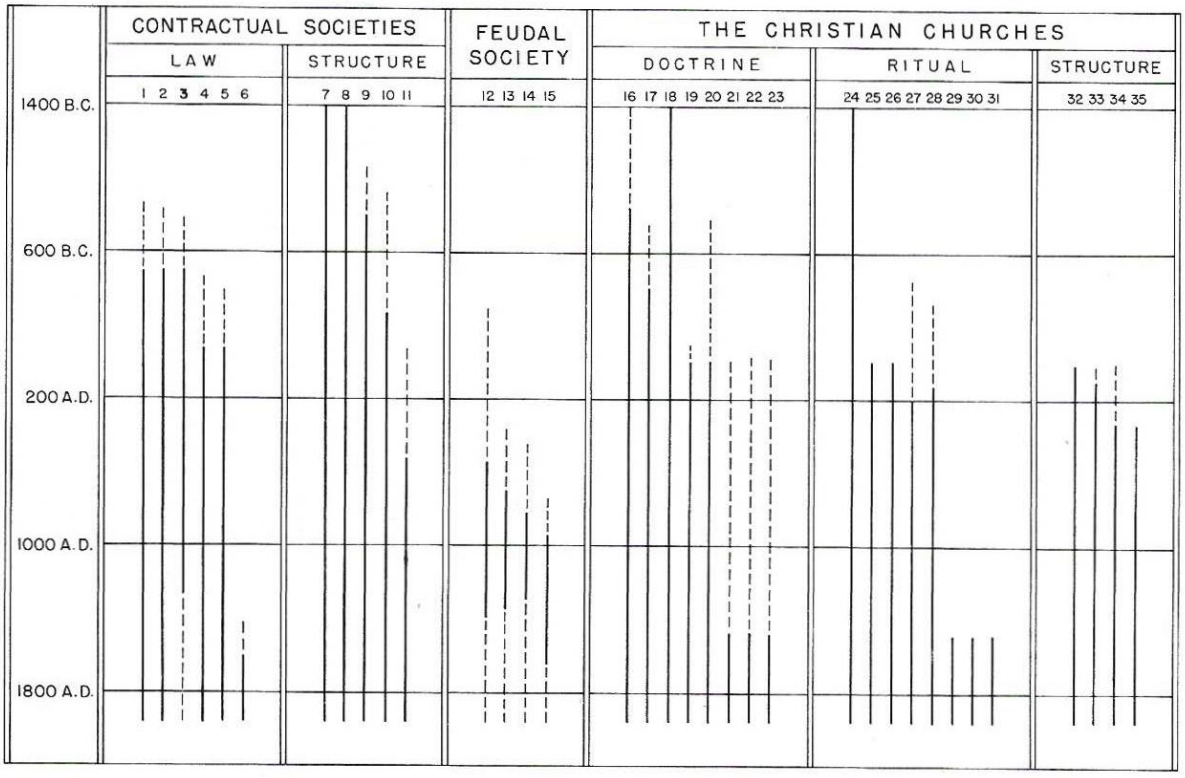
2.2. Diagrams and boundaries

Helpful to understanding Usher (and instrumental to the analysis of the U.S. bureaucracy) is his use of a simple visualization style as part of analysis, which is shown in **Figure 2: The**

[8] Building towards his theory of invention, Usher follows this point by stating that "The establishment of new organic relations among ideas, or among material agents, or in patterns of behaviors is the essence of invention and innovation." (2013, 21)

development of civilization in Mediterranea and northwest Europe. This "expresses broadly the plurality of systems of events that have dominated the development of civilization in Mediterranea and northwest Europe." Each line "represent[s] selected systems of events, and in some cases groups of events which should be analyzed separately if there were space for full treatment" (Usher 2013, 37).

Figure 2: The development of civilization in Mediterranea and northwest Europe



Source: Usher (2013, 36)

Which systems to include and designing the diagram is determined by "the boundaries of a system of events" which "can be determined only in terms of our purpose in analysis" (*Ibid.* 28). Boundaries are important to framing systems of events to then move towards unifying concepts and conclusions (*Ibid.* 47). The boundaries of this thesis' analysis are discussed in **3.1. Four boundaries**.

2.3. Conceptual unity and synthesis

Usher's pluralistic analysis hinders comparative analysis. He advises to stay away from the "fundamental weakness of the comparative method" (*Ibid.* 47). Comparative analysis is difficult because of the discontinuities between and within particular systems of events.

Since pluralism does not allow comparison between systems of events for findings, Usher allows for conceptual unity, which he says is not an easy part of analysis. "We may seek to achieve unity, but comprehensive unity will elude us. We find many truths, or many aspects of truth, rather than any single eternal truth" (*Ibid.* 39). He continues, "It is not easy to define the precise limits of unity that can advisedly be sought in describing a system of events, but there should certainly be some underlying unity of principle in the technique involved" (*Ibid.* 41).

Usher's means of conceptual unity is synthesis of events in the form of invention (or "novelty in thought and action"). He discusses this and his theory of innovation as the last step before walking through, in keeping with the book's title, the history of mechanical inventions. His type of synthesis, however, does not provide a useful resolution as, unlike the synthesis of discontinuous events that lead to novel innovation, synthesis within the bureaucracy comes about by Legislative or Executive mandate.

This does not, however, mean there are not other ways to arrive at conceptual unity. **3. A History of the U.S. Bureaucracy** sets up historical U.S. Federal agency data to then approximate unifying concepts to provide aspects of its truths. Even if material synthesis is out of the question, approximation of historical trends is allowed and useful.

Finally, there remains the question of why this matters. As Usher notes, "Inadequate concepts of historical process have led to inadequate interpretations of the movement of events" (*Ibid.* 32). Turning now to the U.S. bureaucracy, it quickly becomes apparent that "movement of

events" is, historically, one of its key characteristics, though seldom and inadequately studied and often ignored. The following aims to provide some remedy to this.

3. A HISTORY OF THE U.S. BUREAUCRACY

The official origin story is that the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) was "established in 2002, combining 22 different federal departments and agencies into a unified, integrated Cabinet agency." (Department of Homeland Security 2020). A more accurate story is that DHS is a construct made up of 22 agencies—including 15 agencies from seven other Cabinet-level Agencies, three agencies from two independent agencies, and 4 independent agencies—synthesized and rebranded into roughly 14 agencies within one new Cabinet-level agency, which gives the agencies greater authority and budget. A yet more accurate story would be to detail each of these 22 agencies that were synthesized into DHS, each bringing unique systems, histories, cultures, etc. and how these factors continue to cause all sorts of difficulty realizing the aspiration of a "unified, integrated" agency.[9] This story, unlike the official one, is better because it is useful. DHS[10] became something not so much because it was written into existence by the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (Department of Homeland Security 2002), but because of the parts it cobbled together, parts which already existed (some of them since the early 20th century). DHS is a political construct, albeit a powerful one able to set policy and justify its appropriation. It is the agencies which do the work of the State.

This analysis presents the history of the U.S. bureaucracy from its beginning until 2015. Four boundaries are determined, in line with Usher, for analysis of these systems of events' history: 1) Primary data, 2) Definitions, 3) Secondary data, and 4) Visual style.

A small scholarship exists that argues various rates of U.S. Federal agency turnover. In "The Politics of Agency Termination: Confronting the Myth of Agency Immortality" (2002), Lewis

[9] (**find report on how this still isn't the case**)
[10] DHS was not chosen here as one story that best supports this idea, but as the most recent such story.

questions what he calls an "axiom of American politics": that U.S. Federal agencies are rarely, if ever terminated (*Ibid.* 89). He finds most of the literature on the topic is biased towards agency durability, such as Kaufman (1981), who finds only 27 of the 421 agencies, or 6.41%, in existence between 1923 and 1973 faced termination. Lewis finds that 251 of the 426 agencies in his dataset (58.92%) were terminated (Lewis 2002, 93). He faults Kaufman on limiting data to between 1923 and 1973 and only including agencies in Cabinet-level departments, which skews the results towards durability. Lewis has the same critique of scholarship that tries to correct Kaufman's selective use of the data while massaging it in their own way to reach the same results (Lewis 2002, 91). The main inadequacy of Lewis' analysis, as well as the others, is that, for no stated reason, they do not use all available historical data and their findings wander into speculative inference.

Lewis is primarily interested in the causal reasons for agency survival or termination. He finds that war, unemployment, political turnover, and how agencies are created (legislative or executive action) are significant factors that lead to agency creation and termination (*Ibid.* 97-98). Though his conclusion that the U.S. bureaucracy is mutable is in line with the findings here, his data has some of the same errors as the scholarship he critiques. Two of the four boundaries of this analysis correspond to dissensions from how Lewis constructs his examination of the U.S. bureaucracy.

3.1. Four boundaries

3.1.1. Primary data

The first boundary on the systems of events under analysis, and first dissent from the scholarship, is to include the full time period of available data. In the Agency Organizational Changes section of the USGM, this is currently agency data from 1789 to 2015. The USGM has been published every year since 1935 and Agency Organizational Changes dataset was available to, though with various final years, and used by Lewis, Kaufman, and others. However, each selects a subset of the data. Lewis uses USGM data from 1933 to 1997. He does not state why his analysis begins in 1933 and 1997 is the most recently available year when he wrote the article. He is guilty of the same critique of selective data usage he levies at

the others. To show the full array (i.e., the U.S. bureaucracy) of particular systems of events (i.e., agencies), the full available data are included.

3.1.2. Definitions

The second boundary, and scholarly dissension, is the definition of agency and those of agency change. Lewis limits his dataset to agencies in Cabinet departments, as well as administrations, bureaus, and large offices while omitting offices outside the scope of the USGM as well as support offices, advisory boards, commissions, committees, and educational and research agencies. This leaves him with a dataset of 426 agencies between 1946 and 1997 (2002, 102-104). His decisions of which agencies to include are narrow for two reasons. First, it conflicts with what the Office of Personnel Management (OPM) considers to be an agency. OPM's current data (i.e., of agencies existing today) includes support offices, commissions, committees, etc. (Office of Personnel Management 2020). Second, though units, offices, commissions, and committees tend to be small and temporary (such that all existing less than one year where removed from the dataset used here), it is not uncommon for them to exist for decades and/or become bureaus or large offices. Agencies are in constant flux and hard to define.

The definition of agency used here is in line with OPM, inclusive to all departmental agencies, independent agencies, bureaus, offices, commissions, committees, foundations, corporations, directorships, education entities, and other types of agencies found in the data set. Variance still exists–OPM lists 351 current agencies while the dataset used here contains 322 current agencies out of a total of 842–but this can be explained by inconsistencies already noted in the USGM data and that OPM likely has better, more current data.

For definitions of agency change, an agency can be "established", "terminated", or "transferred". The first two can occur once and the latter multiple times. In the dataset, "established" and "created" are used for when an agency is established (e.g., the Bureau of Prohibition was "Established by act of May 27, 1930"). Termination and transfer are not so straight forward. Lewis considers "an agency terminated if it has been eliminated with all of its functions or if it has had a name change, location change, and change of function" (2002,

92). Looking at the data, “terminated”, “abolished”, “replaced”, and “superseded” are used to indicate agency termination (e.g., the Technology Administration was “Abolished by act of Aug. 9, 2007”). Instances where an agency changes name, location, and function are few, especially as “change of function” is not a criteria expressed in the dataset. More in line with the data is “function transferred”, whis is the same as Lewis’ “location change”. “Transfer”, “merge”, and “consolidate” are used to signify a change of function or location (e.g., the Federal Aviation Agency was “Transferred to Secretary of Transportation by act of Oct. 15, 1966”). This does not mean a termination, by itself or in combination with other attributes, especially name changes (which are inconsequential). The definition of agency termination used here is limited to where it is stated explicitly. A transfer of an agency or function(s) is indicated without further speculation.

Within the analysis, a distinction is made between “first transfers”, which are noted when an agency transfers for the first time. This is important to how period totals are calculated, and “transfers” which includes all such changes. The total number of agencies for each period is provided along with how many of the total are unchanged since formation and how many have been transferred elsewhere in the bureaucracy. Transfer does not necessarily mean an increase or decrease in function or identity; it indicates a type of change.

3.1.3. Secondary data

The third boundary of analysis is supplementary data, both omitted and included. Granted, the U.S. bureaucracy is reactive to change. However, unlike Lewis’ analysis, what it reacts to suggesting causal significance is not included here. Other such data, such as population and territory (i.e., that which the U.S. bureaucracy administers) are treated as discontinuous events in relationship to the life and death and function transfer of Federal agencies, and are omitted to avoid “presumption about the relations among events occurring at the same time” (Usher 2013, 19). However, events included elsewhere in the scholarship, though discontinuous, are set in relief against the primary dataset where needed. The analysis includes commentary on their validity when first taking in the whole of the bureaucracies history.

3.1.4. Visual style

The third boundary of analysis is the visual presentation of the data[11]. Visualizing the changes of 842 entities across a 226-year time period is neither simple nor small in scale. However, it is possible. Usher's visual style is used as a guide (see **Figure 2: The development of civilization in Mediterranea and northwest Europe**) with the aim to "expresses broadly the plurality of systems of events" (Usher 2002, 36). The full visualization is provided in **Appendix 2. A Visual History of the U.S. Bureaucracy**. The treatment of the data in this analysis assumes a viewing of the full diagram. For relevant parts of the analysis, references to **Appendices 1** and **2** ajoin subsection titles to aid wayfinding.

3.2. Three layers of analysis of 842 systems of events

The historical analysis 842 U.S. Federal agencies and their 490 transfers and 520 termination comprises three layers, each of which is a different view of the agency data. The first is **Appendix 2. A Visual History of the U.S. Bureaucracy**. By itself, this is sufficient proof of the heterogeneity of the U.S. State. Indeed, the key finding from viewing it is the merit of the Heterogeneous State treatment.[12]

The second layer is the calculations of agency change found in tabular form in **Appendix 1. Agency Change Figures and Tables** and in the exposition on the history of the U.S. bureaucracy as presented in fourteen vignettes: one for the first 110 years[13], one each for the decades that followed until 2009, and one for 2010-2015, all grouped within the three approximate periods of the third layer of analysis. Each vignette provides exposition on possible factors influencing agency heterogeneity and historical change, when necessary, and numeric and visual descriptions of the agencies established, transferred, and terminated during that time period.

[11] Visualizing interactions as agencies and functionare are transferred would likely reveal numerous insights and patterns, but also requires a dynamic (i.e. digital) visualization. Omitting interactions, and being bound to a static median (i.e. paper/PDF), is sufficient for the analysis here.

[12] As well as the merits of Usher's visual style, with slight modification, to show the historical plurality of phenomena.

[13] Slicing the vignettes into a 110-year chunk, twelve decades, and one five-year chunk is for convenience.

The vignettes are primarily descriptive summaries of the simple math of agency change. Some are longer than others and some are more interesting than others. Each vignette contains a discussion of the agency datas. The data are provided as figures and tables in **Appendix 1. Agency Change Figures and Tables**. Each includes at the following views of the data:

1) The number of agencies established, transferred, and terminated during that period, as well as the number of agencies unchanged, number of agencies transferred, and total number of agencies at the period's beginning and end giving the total size of the bureaucracy in terms of number of agencies; and
2) The number of agencies established during the given time period and the number terminated or transferred in each of the following decades along with the number of unchanged, transferred, and total agencies at the end of 2015.

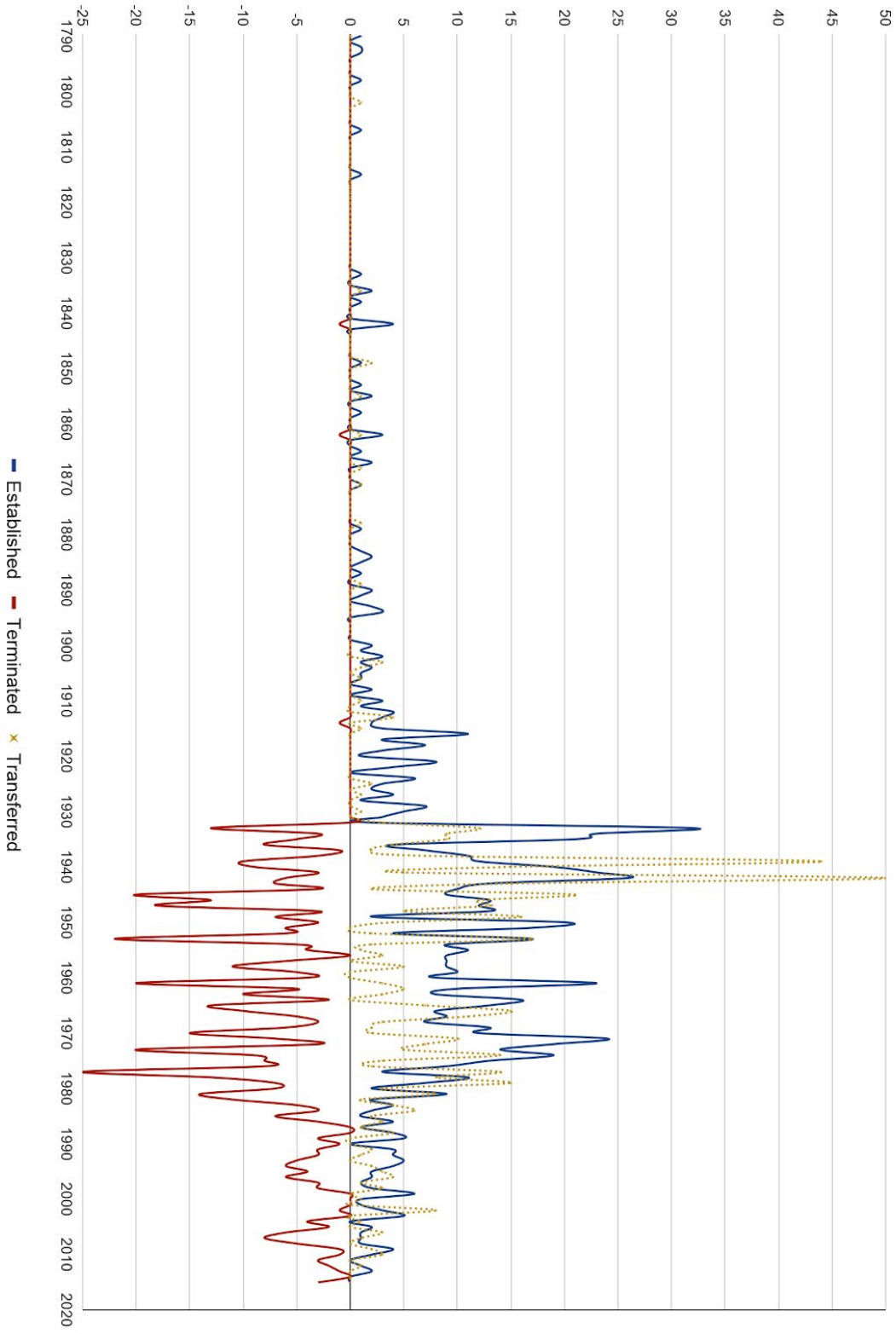
This layer of analysis is used to elucidate factors leading to and sustaining the State's heterogeneity as well as show how the findings and views of others do not line up with empirical changes within the U.S. bureaucracy.

The third layer of analysis is three approximate periods laid over the U.S. bureaucracies timeline to qualify general trends in terms of the two treatments of the State. These trends are derived from the shape of the data rather than presumption and were the last piece of this thesis' analysis. These approximate periods are used to frame the following analysis, though they should be regarded as suggestions of trends, not full findings or recommendations in themselves.

Conceptual unity, as narrowing allowed by Usher, and as arrived at in this third layer, fulfills the purpose of analysis. Synthesis within the U.S. bureaucracy, such as the DHS' noted above, is forced and rather than organic. Carrying the analysis to completion requires unity through an approximation of truth(s).

Figure 3: Agency change between 1789 and 2015 gives the historical timeline of agency creation, transfer, and termination, the basic of these three layers of analysis.

Figure 3: Agency change between 1789 and 2015



Source: USGM (2019, 33-139), author's calculations

Each layer of analysis shows that the history of U.S. bureaucracy is a history of change, creation, and destruction. Its systems of particular events are an uneven, disparate, fluctuating array. Factors affecting its heterogeneity seldom line up with historical events and forces generally regarded as significant. Cabinet-level Departments are political constructs, and Ronald Reagan is the antagonist. Homogeneity is rare, and yet is present, more as an ideology than inherent characteristic. The State is heterogeneous inherently and in practice. Usher's pluralistic approach to historical analysis shows that restrained independence and dynamism are important factors leading to and sustaining the heterogeneity of the U.S. State.

3.3. 1789 to ~1930: More Heterogeneous & less homogeneous

In terms of agency change, from founding until roughly the 1930s the State is characterized by becoming more heterogeneous and less homogeneous. Three separate powers underneath the Constitution are joined by the "fourth branch", which grows in its heterogeneity as its agencies establish independence and slowly proliferate.

3.3.1. 1789-1899 [Appendix 1: pp. 48-49; Appendix 2: pp. 73, 74, 75]

For the purposes of this study, the history[14] of the U.S. bureaucracy begins roughly the same time as the U.S., somewhere between the almost full and full ratification of the U.S. Constitution[15]. On August 7, 1789, Congress established the Department of War and the Bureau of Lighthouses. The next decade would see the establishment of eight further agencies. Between 1810-1819, one agency was established as well as the first of 490 transfers of agency function (the Patent Office moved from committee to a Bureau within the Department of State, the first of its four moves). No changes were made in 1820-1829. The Patent Office was transferred again in 1836 and four more agencies were established during this decade. After 50 years, the U.S. Federal bureaucracy had fourteen agencies, one of which had been transferred twice.

[14] The discontinuous events that preceded the U.S. bureaucracy include the Continental Congress (which which, for example, established in 1775 what would become the U.S. Postal Service), and the Articles of Confederation (Postell 2017, 26-27) and continue still farther back to public administration in England, France, and beyond.
[15] North Carolina was the twelfth state to ratify the Constitution in late 1789, and Rhode Island was the thirteenth and last on May 29, 1790 (National Archives 2016).

Through these early years, while the source and authority of the U.S. bureaucracy and its mandate was not settled–nor has it been since (Nelson 1982, 752)–its agencies' independence was becoming established. As Nelson points out, "without tying them securely to the presidency...forced agencies to find and exercise relatively independent power….if neither president nor Congress was supreme, then law was, and the agencies interpreted and implemented the law " (Nelson 1982, 755). Further establishing agency independence was the fact that, as Nelson states, the bureaucracy was not yet "organized bureaucratically" and was staffed through patronage (*Ibid.* 763). Agencies "were to be run in the same way as the law firms, small businesses, plantations, and military units" the well-connected gentry and elites who were established as agency heads were used to leading (*Ibid*. 756).

Treating agencies as particular systems of events is not just for the sake of this thesis' hypothesis. Independence from the government's three branches, from the other agencies, and even from law itself has been and continues to be a defining characteristic of the U.S. bureaucracy as well as an important factor leading to and sustaining its heterogeneity. However, as Kaufman points out, the bureaucracy is still bound, however imperfectly and unevenly, by the rules, regulations, budgets, cultural norms, and other factors (1981, 4-6). This unifying concept should be further qualified, as seems to be the case, as restrained independence. What "restrained" means exactly varies, along with the trends of heterogeneity and homogeneity, across the history at hand.

A merit-based professional bureaucracy would not begin until Andrew Jackon's presidency in the 1830s, which took the patronage system to its extreme while establishing a rules-based administration. The Jacksonian Era's spoils system and managing the Indian Removal Act changed the bureaucrats (*Ibid.* 759) but not the bureaucracy in terms of its agencies except in terms of formalized rules and restraints. Three agencies were established during Jackson's presidency and they had little to do with his populism or the Trail of Tears. Contrary to Nelson, Postell, and others such as Crenson, who frames Jackson as the founding father of U.S. bureaucracy (Crenson 1975), in terms of agency change, growth, and movement, the Jackson administration was not particularly significant.

Between Jackson and the Civil War, the 1840s saw the first agency termination with the end of the Board of Navy Commissioners in 1842 as well as two agency transfers and five new agencies. The new Department of the Interior cobbled together the Patent Office, the Commissioner of Pensions, and the Office of Indian Affairs[16] in 1849. In the 1850s, four agencies were established and one was transferred.

The Civil War and Reconstruction have been considered an important period in the expansion of the U.S. bureaucracy. Postell notes that "[f]rom 1860 to 1890 there was an explosion of administrative departments...[t]he Department of Agriculture was created in 1862 (and elevated to Cabinet-level status in 1889), the Department of Justice was created in 1870, and the Department of Labor was established in 1888" (2017, 129).

Looking more closely at this "explosion of administrative departments", during 1860-1869 six new agencies were established, two transferred, and one terminated. The 1870s added two new agencies and two transfers, the 1880s added five with one transfer, and the 1890s a further eight new agencies. The Department of Agriculture had existed in some form since 1837, first as the Agriculture Division within the Patent Office, which was moved into the Department of Interior at its formation in 1849, then as an independent agency in 1862, and then, as stated above, as a Cabinet-level department in 1889. Three further agencies were established within the Department of Agriculture during this period, two of which were transferred elsewhere in 1903 and 1940 respectively.[17] The Department of Justice and Department of Labor had likewise existed in nascent name, form, and function prior to their elevation to Cabinet-level departments.

Postell, who is quick to place such as the Pendleton Act of 1883 and Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 in their historical contexts to question their general acceptance as watershed moments in ending the spoils system and beginning Federal regulation, as well as U.S. administrative history (*Ibid.* 127), takes the units of the administrative state at face value. Even as an insightful history of the interplay between Constitutional law, Congress, the Executive

[16] Not included in the USGM data.
[17] The Bureau of Biological Survey was established in 1884 and made its own bureau in 1904 before moving to the Department of the Interior in 1939, and the Weather Bureau which was transferred to the Department of Commerce in 1940.

Branch, and the bureaucracy (the "fourth branch"), Postell assumes a homogeneous view of the administrative state that limits what is otherwise a very rich and detailed analysis of public administration and power in the U.S.

Nelson, who takes a more heterogeneous view that includes acknowledging the historical movements of agencies and their independence, treats the State as a homogeneous, though evolving, administrative polity. However, he overly categorizes agencies grouping of cause and effect his discussion of the "clientele" agencies and regulatory agencies of the late 19th and early 20th century (Nelson 1982, 768-771) and structure his conceptual rubric of the "ironies" that have shaped the history of the U.S. government (*Ibid.* 774).

In the first 110 years of the U.S. bureaucracy, 44 agencies were established, seven agency transfers occurred, and two agencies were terminated. At the end of 1899, the U.S. bureaucracy had 42 agencies, 35 of which were unchanged since their creation and seven transferred elsewhere.

The 44 agencies from the first 110 years of the U.S. bureaucracy, from their establishment until 2015 went through 55 transfers and sixteen terminations. The most transfers occurred in the 1930s (twelve) followed by the 1930s (eight) and the most terminations were in the 1940s (five) followed by the 1980s (three). Many decades saw one or zero terminations. Of the 44 agencies established during this period, 28 still exist as of 2015, of which seven remained unchanged in terms of original place in the bureaucracy, and 21 of which remained had been transferred from their original position to another part of the bureaucracy.

3.3.2. 1900-1909 [Appendix 1: pp. 49-50 Appendix 2: pp. 76, 81]

In 1900-1909, thirteen agencies were established. During this period four agencies from 1789-1899 had their functions transferred, each for the first time, elsewhere in the bureaucracy. Within 1900-1909, only the Census Office, which was fully established in 1902, was transferred, in its case from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Commerce and Labor in 1903. The bureaucracy grew from 42 agencies in 1900 to 55 in 1909, a net change of thirteen, with twelve agencies having had their functions transferred and 31 agencies unchanged since their establishment.

Of the thirteen agencies, eight still exist as of 2015 (one unchanged; seven transferred). Between establishment and 2015, these thirteen agencies experienced eighteen transfers and five terminations. The 1930s had the largest effect (one termination; seven transfers followed by the 1950s (one termination; four transfers).

3.3.3. 1910-1919 [Appendix 1: pp. 51-52; Appendix 2: pp. 76, 81]

In the 1910s, 40 agencies were established. One agency from 1789-1899 was terminated and three from 1900-1909. Two new agencies were transferred. The main change during this decade was growth from 55 agencies in 1910 to 94 in 1919 (80 unchanged; fourteen transfers), a net change of 39 new agencies.

Fifteen agencies from the 1910s (4 unchanged; 11 transferred) still exist as of 2015. Between their establishment and 2015, these agencies experienced 38 transfers and 25 terminations. The 1930s and 1940s were the most formative in terms of these agencies' transfers (twelve in each decade) and terminations (twelve in the 1930s; 4 in the 1940s).

3.3.4. 1920-1929 [Appendix 1: pp. 53-54; Appendix 2: pp. 76, 81, 86]

Between 1920-1929, 36 agencies were established. During this period one agency from each of the previous three periods had their functions transferred, and there were no agency terminations. The key feature of this decade was growth. The bureaucracy grew from 94 agencies in 1920 to 130 in 1929 (114 unchanged; sixteen transferred)

The change and stasis to this decade is similar to those preceding it. For the 1920s' 36 agencies, the 1930s (nine terminations; thirteen transfers) and 1940s (three terminations; eight transfers) were the decades of the most change. By 1980, nineteen of the 36 agencies remained (four unchanged; fifteen transferred). Thirty-five years later, in 2015, the numbers had only changed slightly to eighteen still in existence (three unchanged; fifteen transferred). Of the 34 transfers and 18 terminations, only three of the former and one of the latter have occured since 1980.

3.4. ~1930 to ~1980: The most heterogeneous & least homogeneous

In terms of agency change, this period of the State is characterized by being the most heterogeneous and least homogeneous. The Great Depression brought new levels of agency creation, change, and destruction that are sustained through this period. This level of dynamism appears to be an important factor in sustaining the State's heterogeneity.

3.4.1. 1930-1939 [Appendix 1: pp. 55-56; Appendix 2: pp. 77, 82, 87, 91, 95, 99]

The 1930s mark a huge increase in change in the U.S. bureaucracy. The Great Depression resulted in "myriad new agencies to alleviate the crisis" which were "granted immense power but in a haphazard manner due to the hurried nature of the response to the crisis" (Postell 2017, 208). One hundred and twenty agencies were established in the 1930s, a massive increase compared to prior periods. Further, the 1930s reshaped those periods' agencies on a new scale. For agencies established prior to 1930, 28 of 44 total transfers were for the first time and 22 were terminated. Of the 120 agencies established in the 1930s, 42 were transferred elsewhere, five more than once, and 21 were terminated. The U.S. bureaucracy grew from 130 agencies in 1930 to 207 in 1939 (122 unchanged; 85 transferred), a net change of 77. To some, such as Postell, the administrative state, especially its regulatory role, became during this time the main feature of the U.S. government (*Ibid.*).

The data shows a new level of dynamism in the early 1930s across all three types of change. The level of creation, destruction, and movement of agencies, affecting that decade and prior periods, in terms of conceptual unity, see a general trend of the most heterogeneity and least homogeneity during the history of the U.S. Haphazard or not, the level of agency churn seen in response to the Great Depression was not limited to the 1930s but rather continued until approximately 1980.

Fifty-one of the 1930s agencies still exist as of 2015, (seven unchanged; forty-four transferred; 128 total transfers). A large amount of churn to these agencies occurred in the 1930s. as well as in the 1940s (28 terminations; 59 transfers) and in the 1950s (10 terminated;

7 transferred). From the 1960s onward, the agencies from the 1930s and the Great Depression are largely unchanged in terms of first-time transfers and terminations.

3.4.2. 1940-1949 [Appendix 1: pp. 57-58; Appendix 2: pp. 77, 82, 87, 91, 95, 99, 103, 107]

During the 1940s, the U.S. bureaucracy continued to create and destroy itself in large numbers. 140 agencies were established. During this decade, the 1930s' agencies were subject to the most changes among the prior periods (28 terminations; 26 first-time transfers of 59 total transfers). The 1940s' bureaucracy was in many ways, much like the 1930s, a decade of flux, with the most changes occurring to agencies established during this decade with 51 first-time transfers out of 65 total and 48 terminations. In total, the 1940s had 85 first-time transfers of 154 total transfers and 89 terminations. The bureaucracy grew from 207 to 258 agencies, with a small change in agencies unchanged since their founding and 1949 (from 122 to 126) and a large growth in transferred agencies (from 85 in 1940 to 132 in 1949).

The 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s saw the end of a further 35 agencies from the 1940s (with seventeen, eight, and ten terminations respectively). Fifty-five of 1940s' agencies have existed unchanged since the 1980s (ten unchanged; 45 transferred).

3.4.3. 1950-1959 [Appendix 1: pp. 58-60; Appendix 2: pp. 77, 82, 87, 91, 95, 99, 103, 107, 111, 115, 119]

The 1950s had less churn than the 1940s and 1930s though still a fair amount of creation and termination. Thirty-five of the 115 agencies established during this period were terminated within the decade. Ten agencies from the 1930s were terminated as were seventeen from the 1940s. The 1950s saw nineteen first-time agency transfers out of 34 total including nine agencies from the 1950s. The bureaucracy continued to grow from 258 agencies in 1950 to 305 in 1959 (166 unchanged; 139 transferred), a net change of 47.

The 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s terminated nearly 75% of the bureaucracy created in the 1950s with 84 of the 87 terminations leading up to 2015 (the last two of which were in the 1990s). Similarly, 27 of the 31 transfers happened by the end of the 1970s, with three further transfers in the 1980s and one in the 2000s. The agencies established in the 1950s are in 2015 largely the same as in the 1980s, with 28 remaining (six unchanged; 22 transferred).

3.4.4. 1960-1969 [Appendix 1: pp. 61-62; Appendix 2: pp. 78, 83, 88, 92, 96, 100, 104, 108, 112, 116, 120, 123, 126]

In 1960-1969, 115 agencies were established and 78 were terminated, mostly from the 1950s (38) and 1960s (nineteen). Thirty-one agencies were transferred for the first time and a total of 49 transfers were made, sixteen of which were during the 1960s and eleven from the 1950s. During the 1960s, the bureaucracy grew from 305 agencies to 342 (177 unchanged; 165 transferred), a net change of 37.

Of 1960s' 115 agencies, nineteen were terminated in the 1960s and sixteen were transferred for the first time. These agencies continued to shrink and move through the 1970s (5 terminations; 17 first-time transfers), the 1980s (eight terminations) and 1990s (six terminations), reducing the number to 37 remaining agencies (9 unchanged; 28 transferred), which is the state of these agencies as of 2015.

3.4.5. 1970-1979 [Appendix 1: pp. 63-64; Appendix 2: pp. 78, 83, 88, 92, 96, 100, 104, 108, 112, 116, 120, 123, 126, 129, 132, 135]

The 1970s are the last decade of large-scale change to the Federal bureaucracy. Even with 131 new agencies, in total terms the bureaucracy did not grow very much. The 342 agencies 1970 became 358 in 1979, a change of 16. During this decade 115 agencies were terminated: 44 from the 1970s, 45 from the 1960s, eleven from the 1950s, ten from the 1940s, and four from the periods prior. The 1970s saw 62 first-time agency transfers, out of 80 total, of which 29 were created in the 1970s and sixteen from the 1960s. Despite the relatively modest total growth, the number of agencies that had, by 1979, been transferred grew to 223, a much larger number than the 135 agencies unchanged since their establishment.

Forty-four of this decade's agencies were terminated during the 1970s, a further 28 in the 1980s, ten in the 1990s, and three in the 2000s. Of the 115 agencies established in the 1970s, 46 still existed in 2015 (10 unchanged; 36 transferred).

3.5. ~1980 to 2015+: Less heterogeneous & more homogeneous

In terms of agency change, during this period the State is characterized by becoming less heterogeneous and more homogeneous. The ideology of limited government of the Reagan's Administration breaks from the treatment of the State through the middle decades of the 20th century. The ideology, more than just shrinking the size government[18], has stalled to some real degree the creation, transfer, and termination (i.e., the dynamism) of the U.S. State. This is where the U.S. bureaucracy is today. That the agencies prior to this period were forged in a dynamic bureaucracy which instilled independence may be one of the main factors perpetuating heterogeneity during this period.

3.5.1. 1980-1989 [Appendix 1: pp. 65-66; Appendix 2: pp. 78, 83, 88, 92, 96, 100, 104, 108, 112, 116, 120, 123, 126, 129, 132, 135]

There are few, and fewer successful, histories of the U.S. Federal bureaucracy. One such attempt, James Q. Wilson's often-cited *Bureaucracy*, shows little more than the poor state of scholars interested in the U.S. bureaucracy. Among other conclusions, Wilson makes the historically vacuous claim, in a book first published in 1987, that "[t]oday there is not much chance to create a new agency; almost every agency one can imagine already has been created" (Wilson 2019, 370).

The 1980s saw a shift in the U.S. public administration with the Reagan administration. Wilson's statement that "almost every agency one can imagine already has been created" is not an empirical conclusion but is rather a statement of ideology. The Reagan Administration, which Wilson served in, was, as Newland points out, "to a significant extent, ideological political administration" with limited central government as a core tenant (1983, 1). Newland delves further into how Reagan's moved this agenda forward through politicization of the OMB, OPM), and the Inspectors General (IGs).

[18] However, how much it has limited government is debatable given the growth of "government by contractor" and ongoing maintenance of 40 years of intentional technical debt.

Except for Jackson (to comment on how his presidency is not an important factor in this analysis) and Reagan (because the data suggests his presidency is), presidents and political parties are not part of this analysis as they too are discontinuous events. Reagan is included here because his two-terms were a moment of change in public administration. When compared to the general characteristics of change in the U.S. bureaucracy as a whole, since Reagan the bureaucracy, in large, has stopped changing. Reagan's treatment of the bureaucracy was not a two-term phenomena, but one that persists to 2015 (and it is assumed to the present). In many ways but especially in terms of agency composition and rate of change, the U.S. bureaucracy is still in the Reagan Era.

During Reagan's presidency, from 1981-1989, 27 agencies were established. During the full decade of the 1980s, 34 agencies were created. The 1980s are the first decade in U.S. history that saw a contraction of U.S. agencies. Fifty-three agencies were terminated including 28 agencies from the 1970s and eight from each the 1980s and 1960s. This decade saw ten first-time agency transfers out of 32 total. The bureaucracy shrank from 358 agencies in 1980 to 339 in 1989, a net change of nineteen agencies.

Of the 26 agencies from the 1980s that survived the 1980s, ten were terminated in the 1990s, three in the 2000s, and one between 2010 and 2015. In 2015, twelve remained (6 unchanged and 6 transferred).

3.5.2. 1990-1999 [Appendix 1: pp. 67-68; Appendix 2: pp. 79, 84, 89, 93, 97, 101, 105, 109, 113, 117, 121, 124, 127, 130, 133, 136, 138]

The 1990s were in many ways a continuation of the 1980s. Thirty agencies were established and 34 were terminated: one from the 1990s; ten each from the 1970s and 1980s; thirteen from the decades prior. The bureaucracy continued to shrink, from 339 to 335 agencies (102 unchanged; 233 transferred).

Of the 30 agencies, thirteen agencies were terminated in the 2000s in addition to the one termination in the 1990s. Sixteen still exist as of 2015 (10 unchanged; 6 transferred).

3.5.3. 2000-2009 [Appendix 1: pp. 69-70; Appendix 2: pp. 79, 84, 89, 93, 97, 101, 105, 109, 113, 117, 121, 124, 127, 130, 133, 136, 138]

The 2000s were also a continuation of the 1980s in terms of general trends in the U.S. bureaucracy. During this decade–which saw 9/11, the U.S. enter two wars, and enter and partially exit its second largest (at the time) financial collapse–the U.S. bureaucracy continued to contract and its largest changes were jigsawing constructs such as DHS together.

Nineteen agencies were established between 2000 and 2009 and 27 were terminated (seven from the 2000s, thirteen from the 1990s, three each from the 1980s and 1970s, and one from 1789-1899). The size of the bureaucracy shrank from 335 to 327 agencies (84 unchanged; 243 transferred).

A further four agencies from the 2000s were terminated from 2010 and 2015. Of the nineteen agencies from this decade, eight remain (four unchanged; four transferred) as of 2015.

3.5.4. 2010-2015 [Appendix 1: pp. 71-72; Appendix 2: pp. 79, 84, 89, 93, 97, 101, 105, 109, 113, 117, 121, 124, 127, 130, 133, 136, 138]

The decade from 2010 to 2019 is only half known as the Trump Administration has not updated these data since 2016 in the USGM. It is assumed, from the five known years from 2010 to 2015, that this decade is likewise a continuation of Reagan's administrative ideology. Each of the five agencies established between 2010 and 2015 were terminated during that five-year period, as were a further four agencies from the 2000s and one from the 1980s. The bureaucracy shrunk further from 327 to 322 agencies (76 unchanged; 246 transferred), which is the most current total size of the U.S. bureaucracy in terms of USGA agencies data.

A practical concern is how thinking on the State has been conditioned by Reagan's ideology for nearly 40 years. How much of taking of phenomena as granted (i.e., "that's just the way government is") is rooted in the self-fulfilling prophecy (rhetorically and practically) of Reagan's administrative ideology. In terms of the U.S. bureaucracy, how many of its

problems (such as IT modernization) are due to a treatment of the State limits what the State can achieve simply by making it old.

Reagan ensured that, to return to Usher, the bulk of Federal agencies "have persisted from a remote past, and have lost all significant contact with current patterns of behavior. At best, they are conventional acts that persist without having any present meaning. At worst, they obstruct desirable forms of action" (Usher 2013, 23). Part of Reagan's legacy, and that of each Congress and president since, is creating a legacy system of particular events in lieu of the creative destruction that characterizes so much of the history of this array of particular systems of events. Fortunately, as Usher's pluralistic approach to historical analysis has shown, restrained independence and dynamism were and remain important factors sustaining the heterogeneity of the U.S. State.

Analysis of U.S. Federal agencies as particular systems of events–visually, descriptively, and conceptually–has shown that "movement of events" is historically one of the key characteristics of the U.S. bureaucracy. To paraphrase Usher, it is hoped that by providing an adequate concept of historical progress, that this thesis may lead to a more adequate interpretation of such movement of events, whether it be IT modernization, government innovation, or a general critique of what Reagan did to the U.S. government.

CONCLUSION

The U.S. State's heterogeneity is not merely a complimentary feature of the State. Rather, evidence has been presented that the Heterogenous State treatment captures this primary feature of the U.S. bureaucracy better and without the same methodological problems as the Homogenous State treatment. Abbott Payton Usher's pluralist approach to historical analysis was discussed, both its terminology and his visual style, as a foundation for analysis. Utilizing Usher and USGM agency data, the history of the U.S. bureaucracy as an array of particular systems of events was detailed through a three-level analysis that provided a large-scale visualization, detailed calculations with exposition, and three approximate periods of conceptual unity prividing how more or less heterogeneous or homogeneous the State is.

Through exploring the history of creation, destruction, and motion of U.S. Federal agencies, this thesis found that restrained independence and dynamism are important factors leading to and sustaining the heterogeneity of the U.S. State. Further, the U.S. bureaucracy is still within the ideology of the Reagan Administration and its homogeneous vision of the State, which has had lasting effects on its heterogeneity and how the State is studied for the last four decades.

Four avenues of further research are recommended to expand on this thesis:

1) using Usherian pluralistic historical analysis and treatment of agency data to examine other States besides the U.S.;
2) further study, using such as Charles Ragin's Fuzzy-Set Comparative Analysis (fsQCA), to provide comparative analysis of Heterogeneous systems of events, such as Federal IT or innovation systems;
3) interactive and web-based visual analysis of interactions between agencies and the motion of change within the bureaucracy; and
4) network analysis of the U.S. bureaucracy or a particular agency as a distributed rather than centralized system towards insight into such as IT modernization or organizational change.

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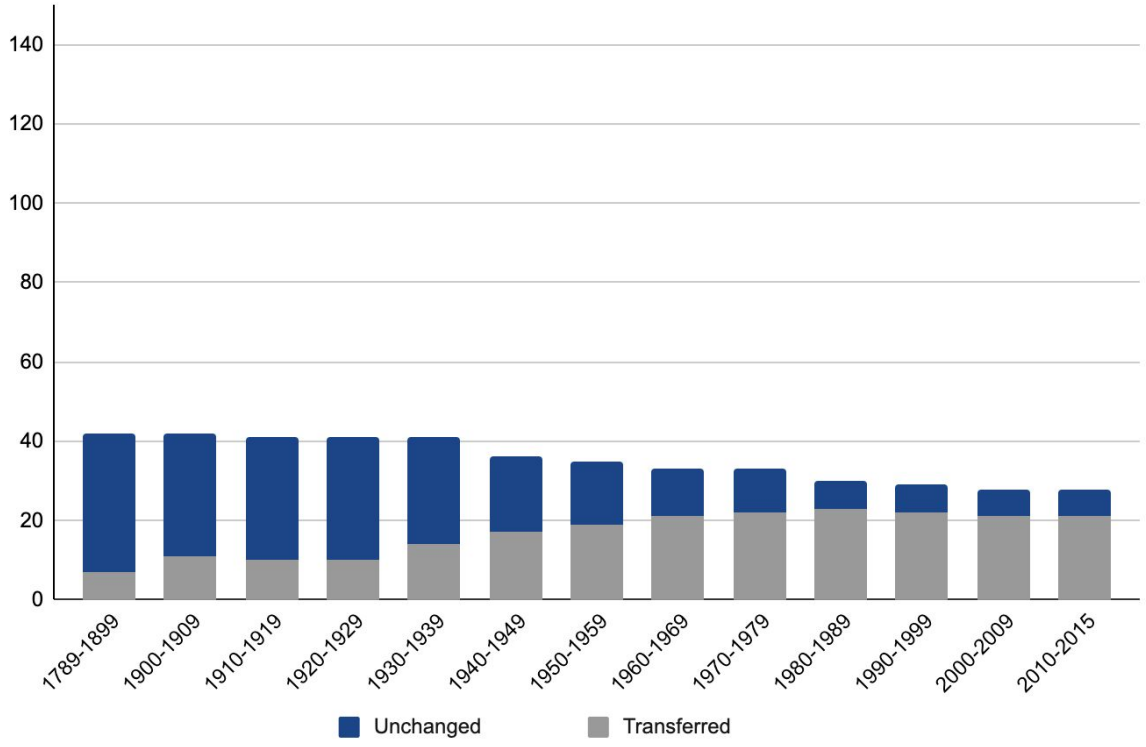
APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Agency Change Figures and Tables

Source for all Figures and Tables: USGM (2019, 33-139), author's calculations

Figure 4: Changes to 1789-1899's 44 agencies by time period



	Changes to 1789-1899's 44 agencies by time period				
	transferred	terminated	transferred remain	unchanged remain	total remain
1789-1899	10	2	7	35	42
1900-1909	4	0	11	31	42
1910-1919	3	1	10	31	41

1920-1929	1	0	10	31	41
1930-1939	12	0	14	27	41
1940-1949	8	5	17	19	36
1950-1959	4	1	19	16	35
1960-1969	6	2	21	12	33
1970-1979	3	0	22	11	33
1980-1989	2	3	23	7	30
1990-1999	0	1	22	7	29
2000-2009	2	1	21	7	28
2010-2015	0	0	21	7	28
Total	55	16	21	7	28

Source: USGM (2019, 33-139), author's calculations

Figure 5: Changes to prior time periods during 1900-1909

	Changes to prior time periods during 1900-1909		
	first time transferred	total transferred	terminated
1789-1899	4	4	0
1900-1909	1	1	0
Total	5	5	0
	transferred	unchanged	total
Size at start	7	35	42
Size at end	12	43	55

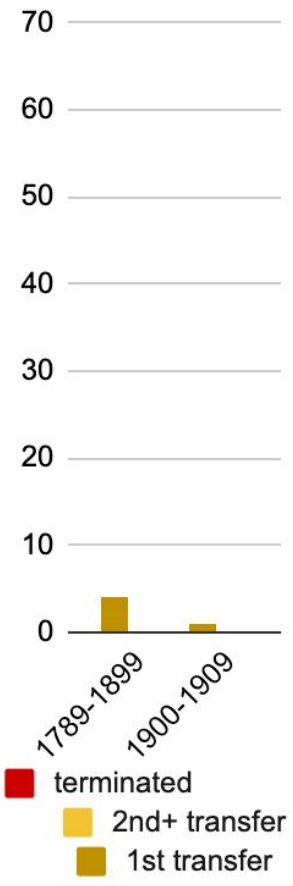
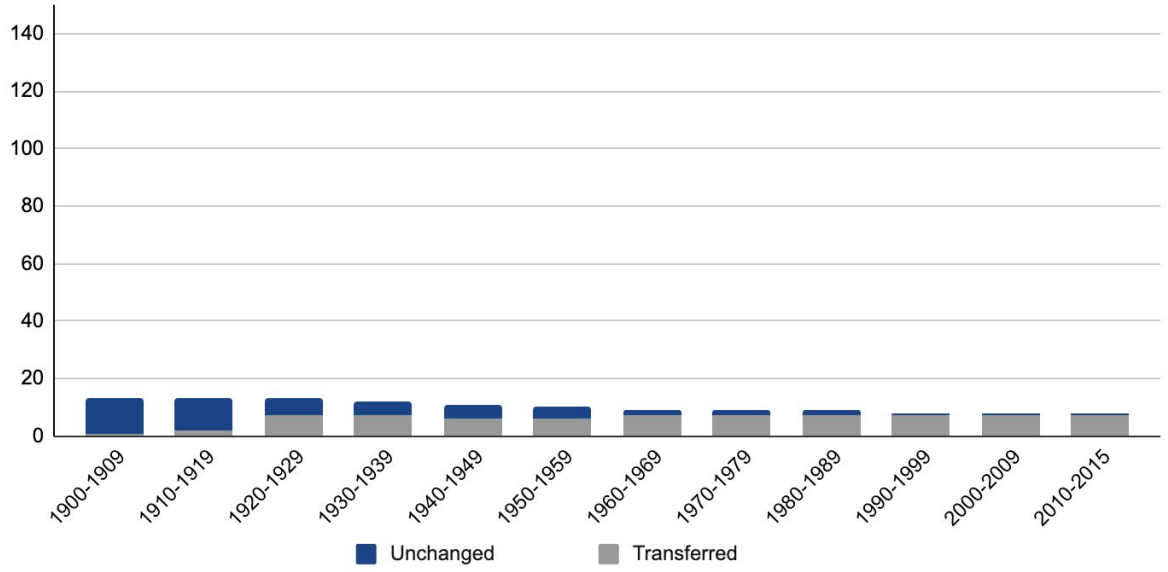
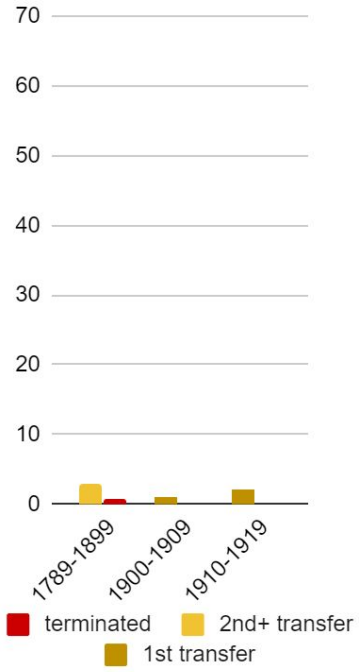


Figure 6: Changes to 1900-1909's 13 agencies by time period



	Changes to 1900-1909's 13 agencies by time period				
	transferred	terminated	transferred remain	unchanged remain	total remain
1900-1909	1	0	1	12	13
1910-1919	1	0	2	11	13
1920-1929	1	0	7	6	13
1930-1939	7	1	7	5	12
1940-1949	2	1	6	5	11
1950-1959	4	1	6	4	10
1960-1969	1	1	7	2	9
1970-1979	1	0	7	2	9
1980-1989	0	0	7	2	9
1990-1999	0	1	7	1	8
2000-2009	0	0	7	1	8
2010-2015	0	0	7	1	8
Total	18	5	7	1	8

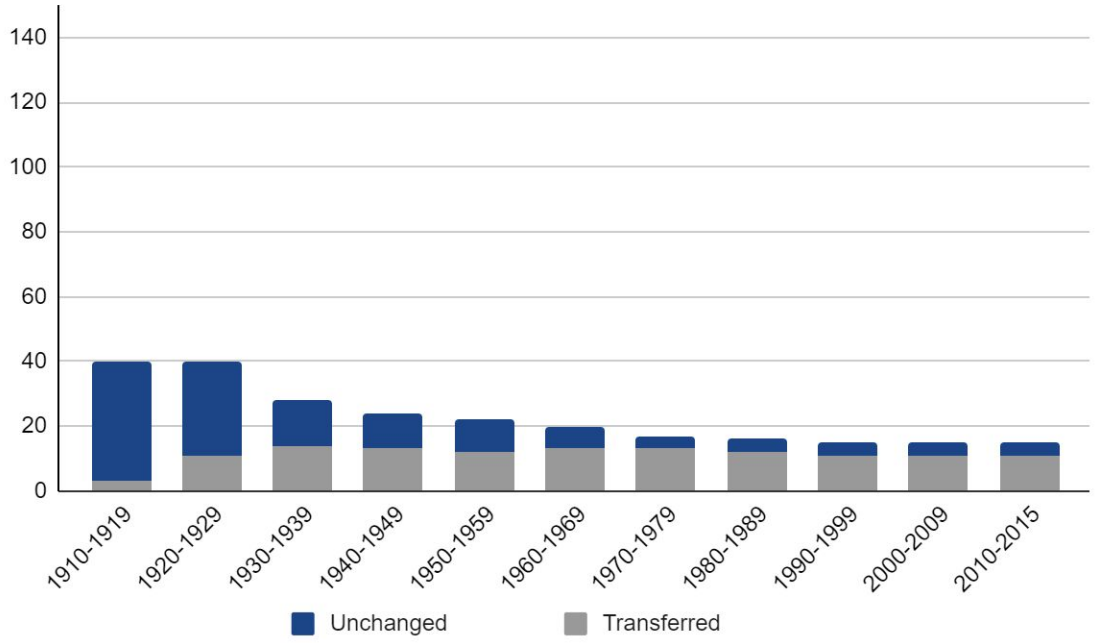
Figure 7: Changes to prior time periods during 1910-1919



	Changes to prior time periods during 1910-1919		
	first time transferred	total transferred	terminated
1789-1899	0	3	1
1900-1909	1	1	0
1910-1919	2	2	0
Total	3	6	1

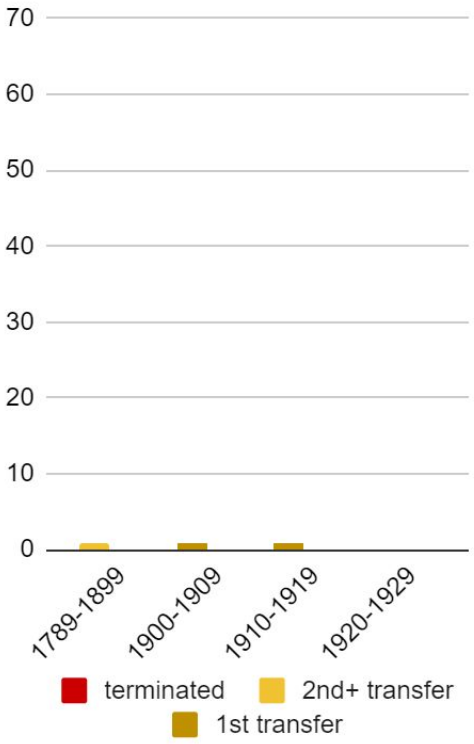
	Transferred	Unchanged	Total
Size at Start	12	43	55
Size at End	14	80	94

Figure 8: Changes to 1910-1919's 40 agencies by time period



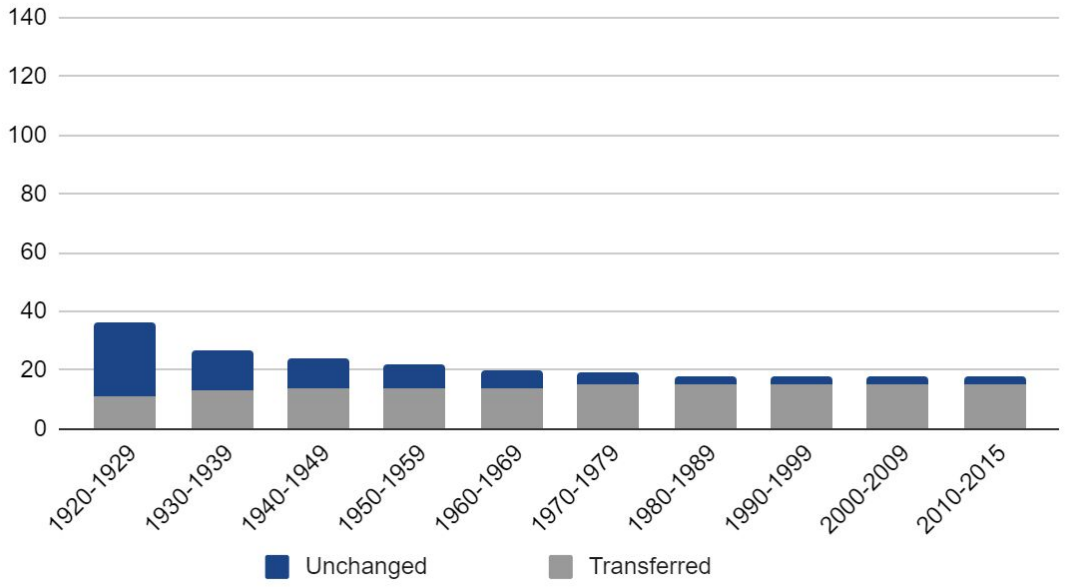
	Changes to 1910-1919's 40 agencies by time period				
	transferred	terminated	transferred remain	unchanged remain	total remain
1910-1919	2	0	3	37	40
1920-1929	1	0	11	29	40
1930-1939	12	12	14	14	28
1940-1949	12	4	13	11	24
1950-1959	0	2	12	10	22
1960-1969	6	2	13	7	20
1970-1979	2	3	13	4	17
1980-1989	1	1	12	4	16
1990-1999	1	1	11	4	15
2000-2009	1	0	11	4	15
2010-2015	0	0	11	4	15
Total	38	25	11	4	15

Figure 9: Changes to prior time periods during 1920-1929



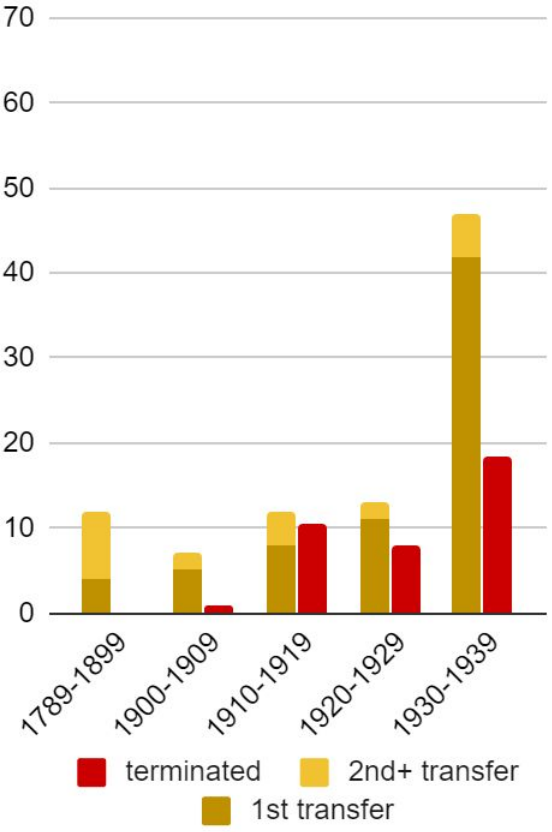
	Changes to prior time periods during 1920-1929		
	first time transferred	total transferred	terminated
1789-1899	0	1	0
1900-1909	1	1	0
1910-1919	1	1	0
1920-1929	0	0	0
Total	2	3	0
	Transferred	Unchanged	Total
Size at Start	14	80	94
Size at End	16	114	130

Figure 10: Changes to 1920-1929's 36 agencies by time period



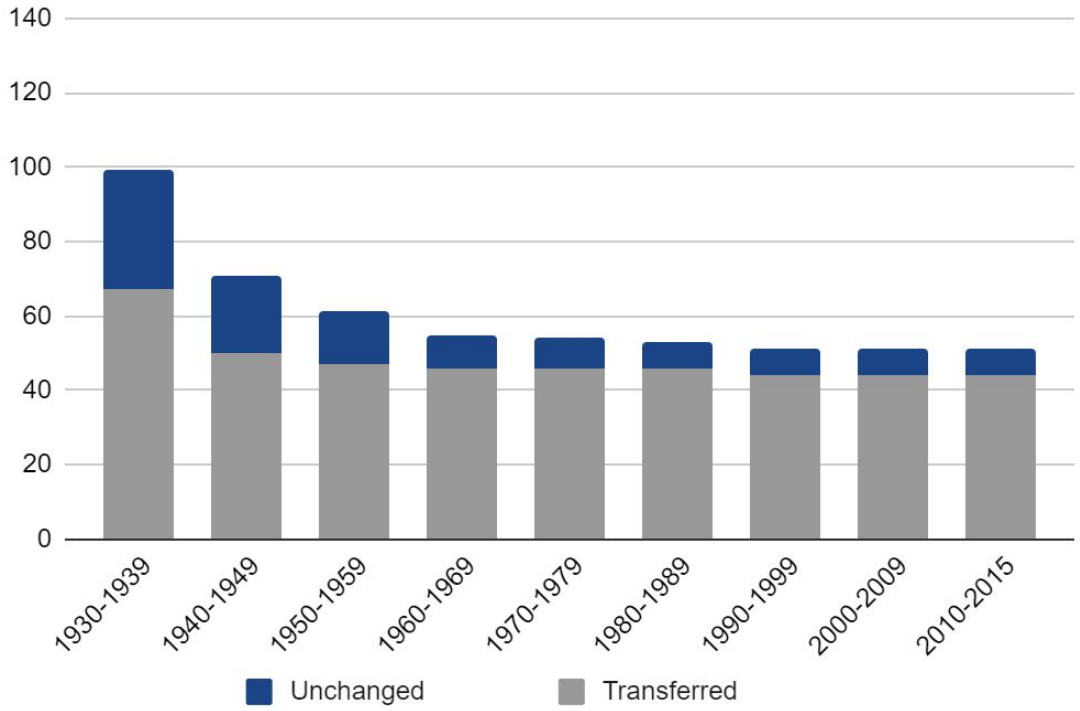
	Changes to 1920-1929's 36 agencies by time period				
	transferred	terminated	transferred remain	unchanged remain	total remain
1920-1929	0	0	11	25	36
1930-1939	13	9	13	14	27
1940-1949	8	3	14	10	24
1950-1959	5	2	14	8	22
1960-1969	0	2	14	6	20
1970-1979	5	1	15	4	19
1980-1989	2	1	15	3	18
1990-1999	0	0	15	3	18
2000-2009	1	0	15	3	18
2010-2015	0	0	15	3	18
Total	34	18	15	3	18

Figure 11: Changes to prior time periods during 1930-1939



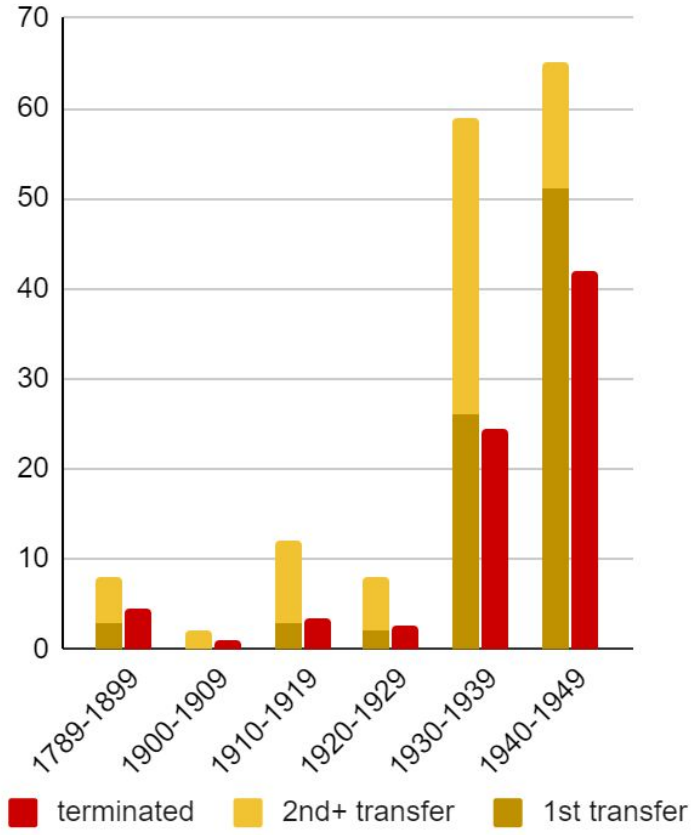
	Changes to prior time periods during 1930-1939		
	first time transferred	total transferred	terminated
1789-1899	4	12	0
1900-1909	5	7	1
1910-1919	8	12	12
1920-1929	11	13	9
1930-1939	42	47	21
Total	70	91	43
	Transferred	Unchanged	Total
Size at Start	16	114	130
Size at End	85	122	207

Figure 12: Changes to 1930-1939's 120 agencies by time period



	Changes to 1930-1939's 120 agencies by time period				
	transferred	terminated	transferred remain	unchanged remain	total remain
1930-1939	47	21	67	32	99
1940-1949	59	28	50	21	71
1950-1959	7	10	47	14	61
1960-1969	4	6	46	9	55
1970-1979	6	1	46	8	54
1980-1989	4	1	46	7	53
1990-1999	1	2	44	7	51
2000-2009	0	0	44	7	51
2010-2015	0	0	44	7	51
Total	128	69	44	7	51

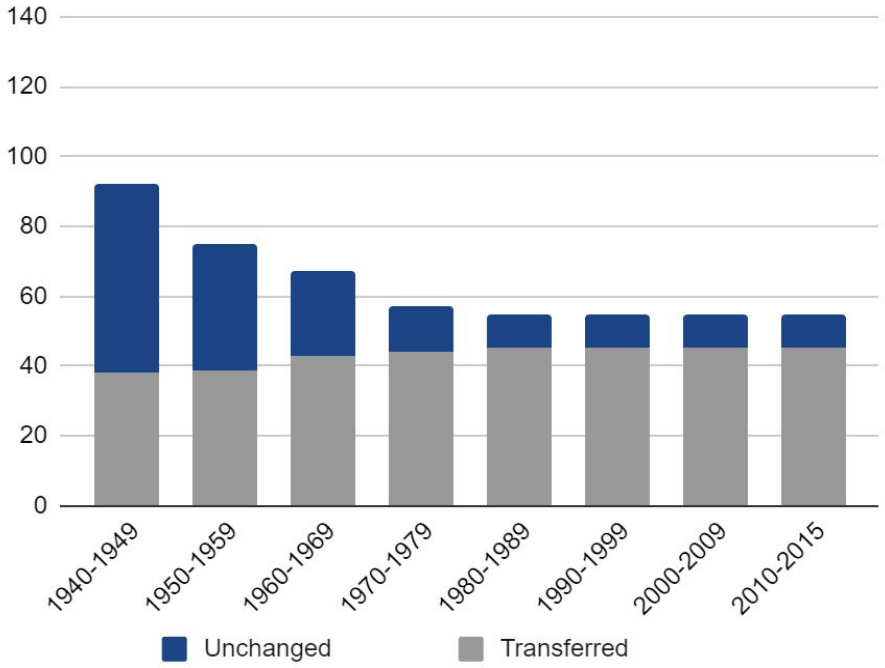
Figure 13: Changes to prior time periods during 1940-1949



	Changes to prior time periods during 1940-1949		
	first time transferred	total transferred	terminated
1789-1899	3	8	5
1900-1909	0	2	1
1910-1919	3	12	4
1920-1929	2	8	3
1930-1939	26	59	28
1940-1949	51	65	48
Total	85	154	89

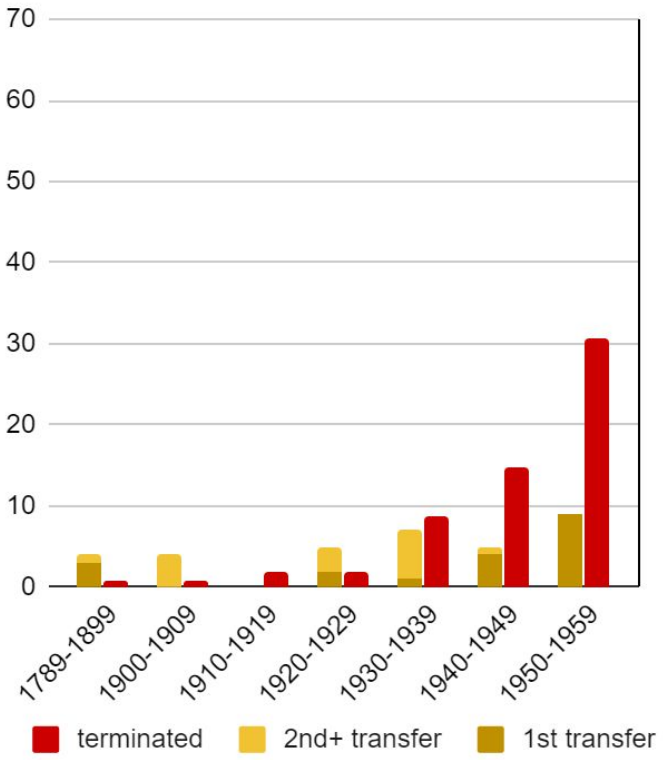
	Transferred	Unchanged	Total
Size at Start	85	122	207
Size at End	132	126	258

Figure 14: Changes to 1940-1949's 120 agencies by time period



	Changes to 1940-1949's 120 agencies by time period				
	transferred	terminated	transferred remain	unchanged remain	total remain
1940-1949	65	48	38	54	92
1950-1959	5	17	39	36	75
1960-1969	4	8	43	24	67
1970-1979	7	10	44	13	57
1980-1989	1	2	45	10	55
1990-1999	1	0	45	10	55
2000-2009	1	0	45	10	55
2010-2015	0	0	45	10	55
Total	84	85	45	10	55

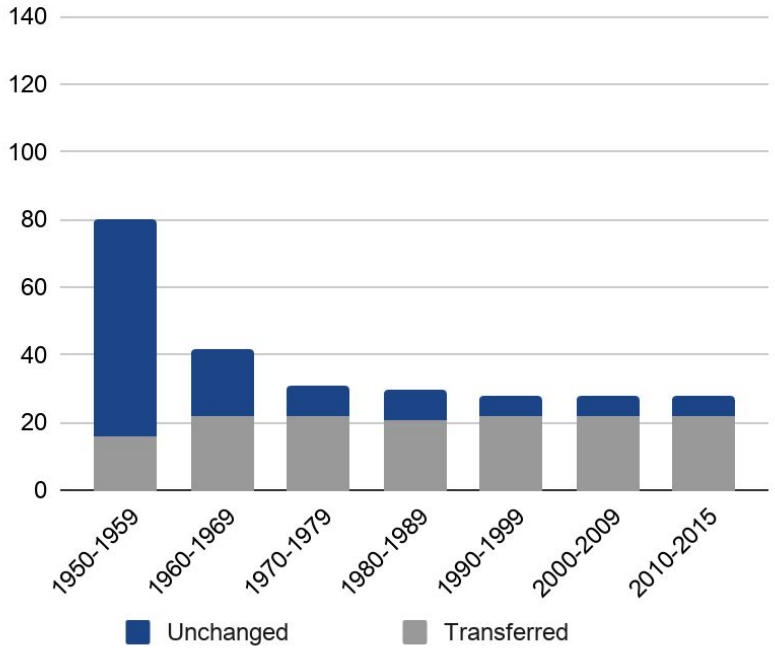
Figure 15: Changes to prior time periods during 1950-195



	Changes to prior time periods during 1950-1959		
	first time transferred	total transferred	terminated
1789-1899	3	4	1
1900-1909	0	4	1
1910-1919	0	0	2
1920-1929	2	5	2
1930-1939	1	7	10
1940-1949	4	5	17
1950-1959	9	9	35
Total	19	34	68

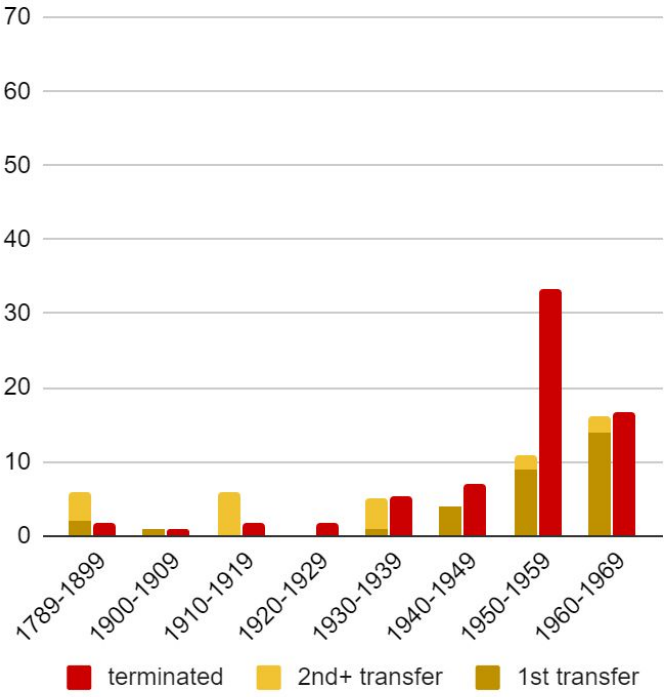
	Transferred	Unchanged	Total
Size at Start	132	126	258
Size at End	139	166	305

Figure 16: Changes to 1950-1959's 115 agencies by time period



	Changes to 1950-1959's 115 agencies by time period				
	transferred	terminated	transferred remain	unchanged remain	total remain
1950-1959	9	35	16	64	80
1960-1969	11	38	22	20	42
1970-1979	7	11	22	9	31
1980-1989	3	1	21	9	30
1990-1999	0	2	22	6	28
2000-2009	1	0	22	6	28
2010-2015	0	0	22	6	28
Total	31	87	22	6	28

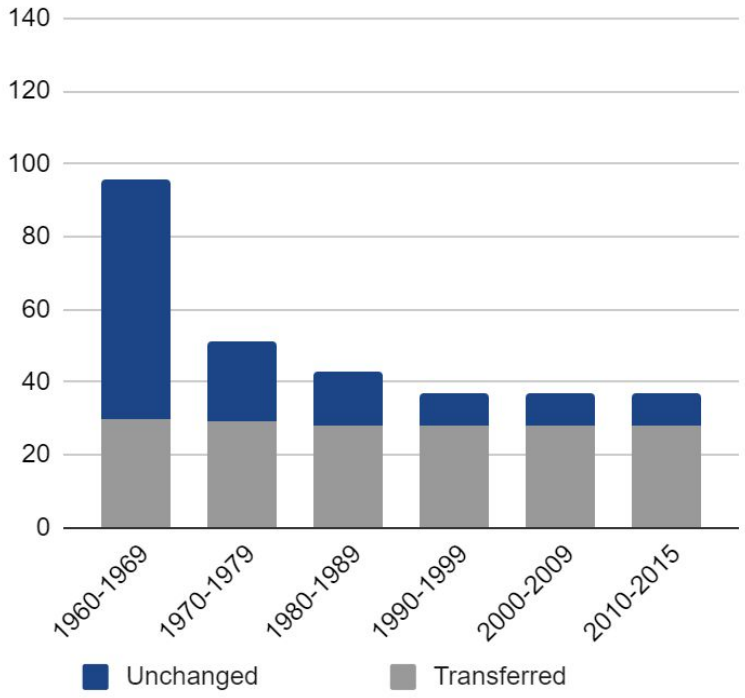
Figure 17: Changes to prior time periods during 1960-1969



	Changes to prior time periods during 1960-1969		
	First Time Transferred	Total Transferred	Terminated
1789-1899	2	6	2
1900-1909	1	1	1
1910-1919	0	6	2
1920-1929	0	0	2
1930-1939	1	5	6
1940-1949	4	4	8
1950-1959	9	11	38
1960-1969	14	16	19
Total	31	49	78

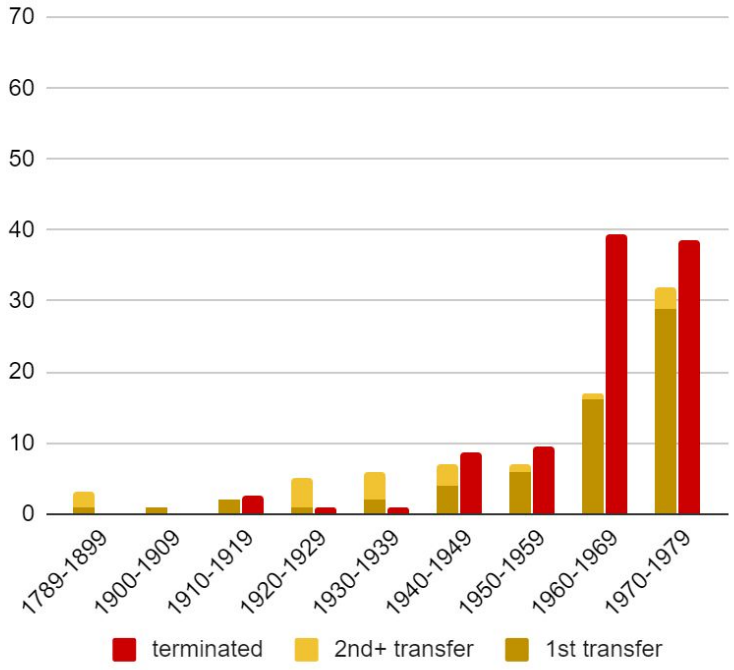
	Transferred	Unchanged	Total
Size at Start	139	166	305
Size at End	165	177	342

Figure 18: Changes to 1960-1969's 115 agencies by time period



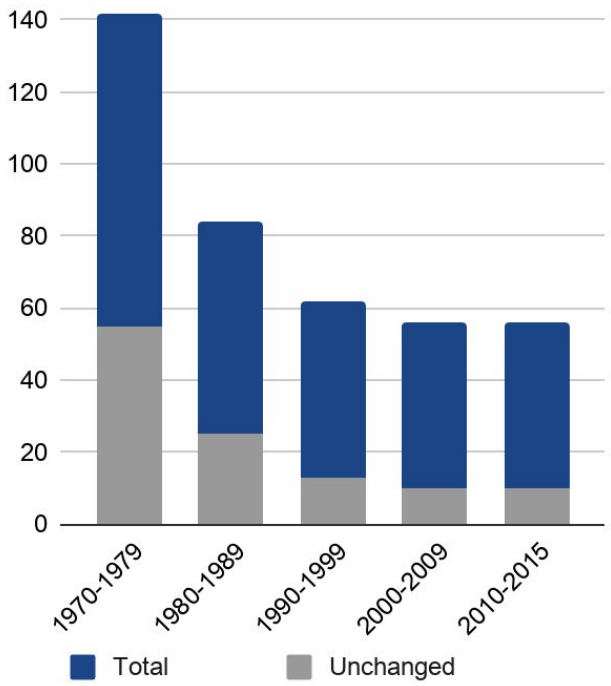
	Changes to 1960-1969's 115 agencies by time period				
	transferred	terminated	transferred remain	unchanged remain	total remain
1960-1969	16	19	30	66	96
1970-1979	17	45	29	22	51
1980-1989	6	8	28	15	43
1990-1999	2	6	28	9	37
2000-2009	0	0	28	9	37
2010-2015	1	0	28	9	37
Total	42	78	28	9	37

Figure 19: Changes to prior time periods during 1970-1979



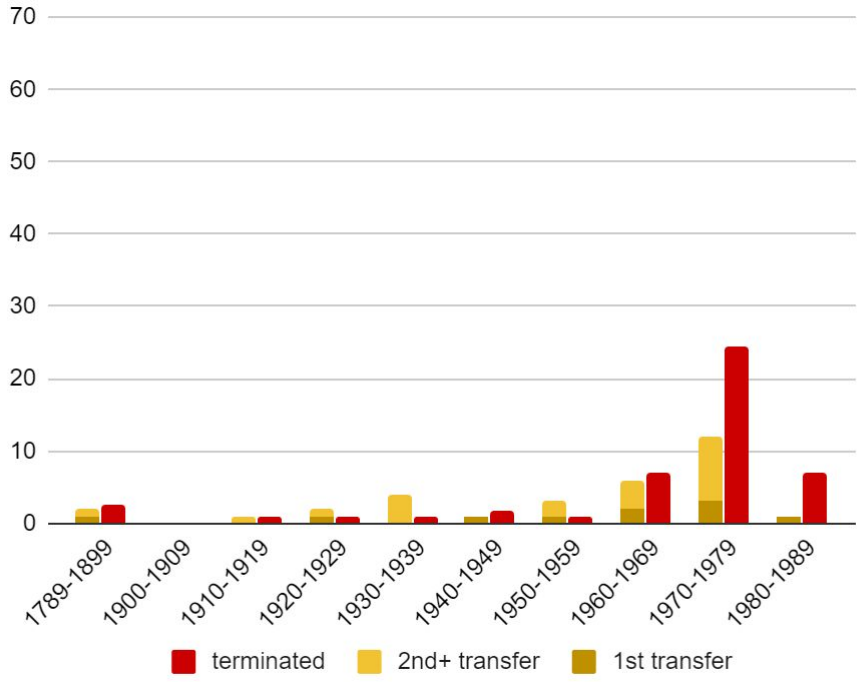
	Changes to prior time periods during 1970-1979		
	first time transferred	total transferred	terminated
1789-1899	1	3	0
1900-1909	1	1	0
1910-1919	2	2	3
1920-1929	1	5	1
1930-1939	2	6	1
1940-1949	4	7	10
1950-1959	6	7	11
1960-1969	16	17	45
1970-1979	29	32	44
Total	62	80	115
	transferred	unchanged	total
Size at start	165	177	342
Size at end	223	135	358

Figure 20: Changes to 1970-1979's 131 agencies by time period



	Changes to 1970-1979's 131 agencies by time period				
	transferred	terminated	transferred remain	unchanged remain	total remain
1970-1979	32	44	32	55	87
1980-1989	12	28	34	25	59
1990-1999	6	10	36	13	49
2000-2009	4	3	36	10	46
2010-2015	0	0	36	10	46
Total	54	85	36	10	46

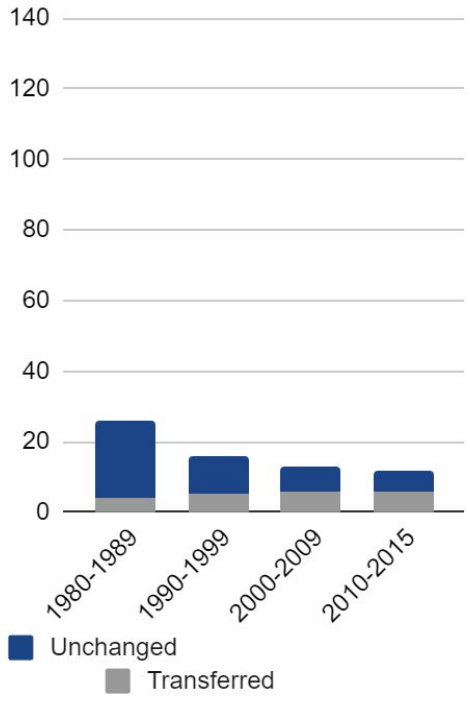
Figure 21: Changes to prior time periods during 1980-1989



	Changes to prior time periods during 1980-1989		
	first time transferred	total transferred	terminated
1789-1899	1	2	3
1900-1909	0	0	0
1910-1919	0	1	1
1920-1929	1	2	1
1930-1939	0	4	1
1940-1949	1	1	2
1950-1959	1	3	1
1960-1969	2	6	8
1970-1979	3	12	28
1980-1989	1	1	8
Total	10	32	53

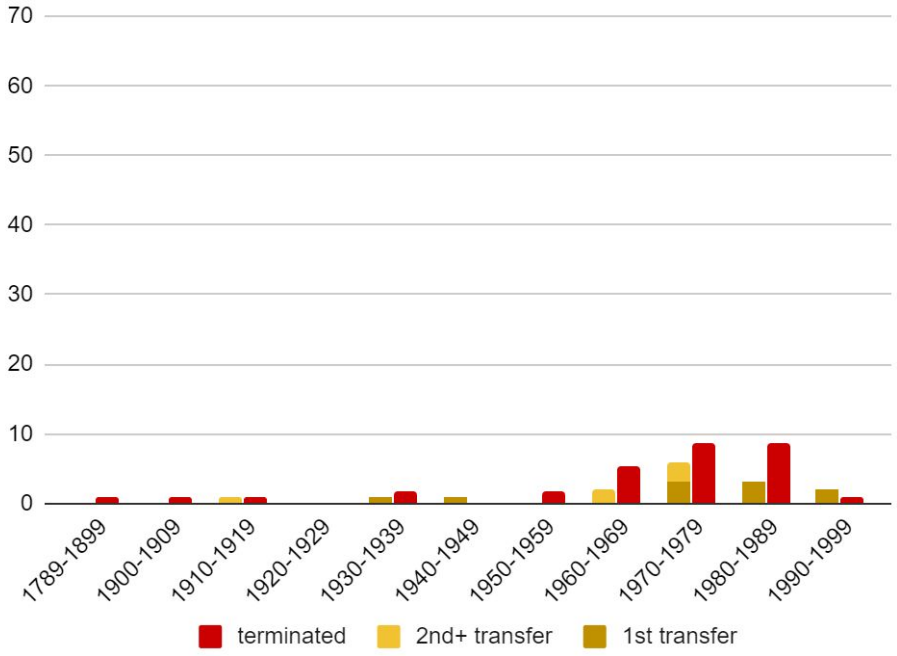
	transferred	unchanged	total
Size at start	223	135	358
Size at end	228	111	339

Figure 22: Changes to 1980-1989's 34 agencies by time period



	Changes to 1980-1989's 34 agencies by time period				
	transferred	terminated	transferred remain	unchanged remain	total remain
1980-1989	1	8	4	22	26
1990-1999	3	10	5	11	16
2000-2009	1	3	6	7	13
2010-2015	1	1	6	6	12
Total	6	22	6	6	12

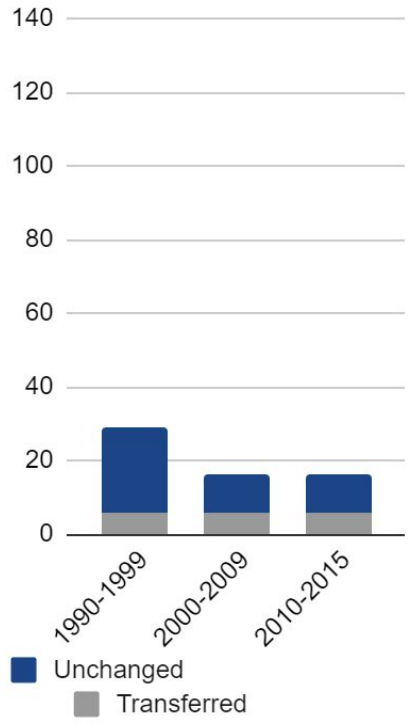
Figure 23: Changes to prior time periods during 1990-1999



	Changes to prior time periods during 1990-1999		
	First Time Transferred	Total Transferred	Terminated
1789-1899	0	0	1
1900-1909	0	0	1
1910-1919	0	1	1
1920-1929	0	0	0
1930-1939	1	1	2
1940-1949	1	1	0
1950-1959	0	0	2
1960-1969	0	2	6
1970-1979	3	6	10
1980-1989	3	3	10
1990-1999	2	2	1
Total	10	16	34

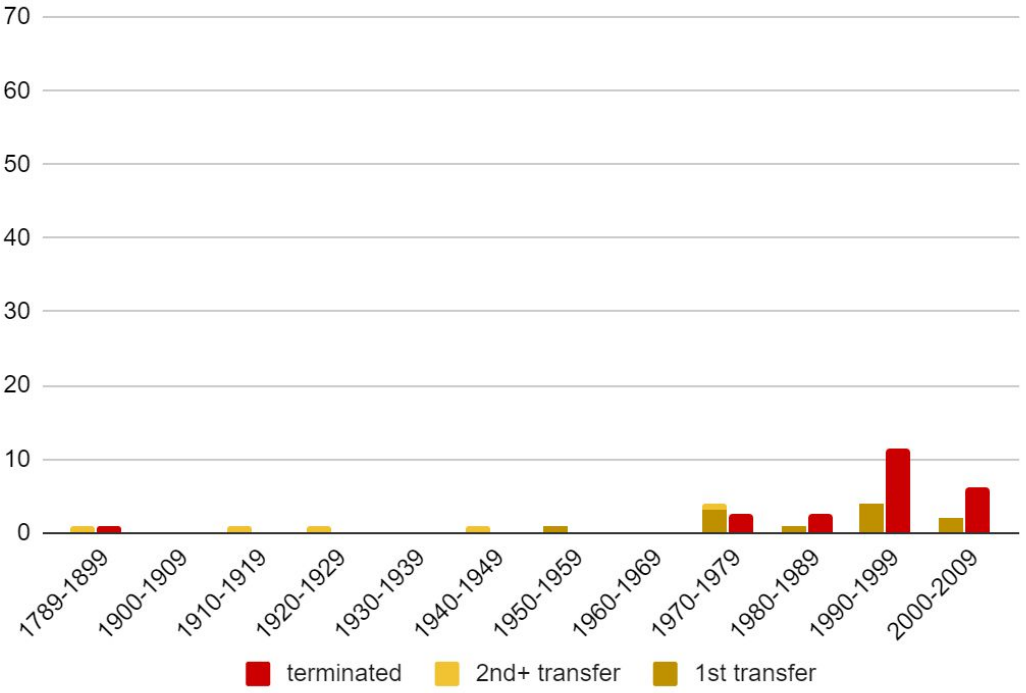
	Transferred	Unchanged	Total
Size at Start	228	111	339
Size at End	233	102	335

Figure 24: Changes to 1990-1999's 30 agencies by time period



	Changes to 1990-1999's 30 agencies by time period				
	transferred	terminated	transferred remain	unchanged remain	total remain
1990-1999	2	1	6	23	29
2000-2009	4	13	6	10	16
2010-2015	0	0	6	10	16
Total	6	14	6	10	16

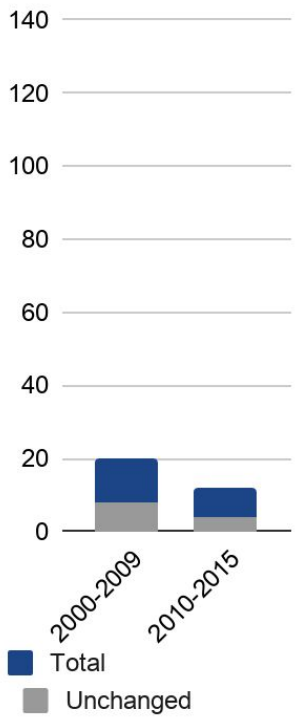
Figure 25: Changes to prior time periods during 2000-2009



	Changes to prior time periods during 2000-2009		
	First Time Transferred	Total Transferred	Terminated
1789-1899	0	1	1
1900-1909	0	0	0
1910-1919	0	1	0
1920-1929	0	1	0
1930-1939	0	0	0
1940-1949	0	1	0
1950-1959	1	1	0
1960-1969	0	0	0
1970-1979	3	4	3
1980-1989	1	1	3
1990-1999	4	4	13

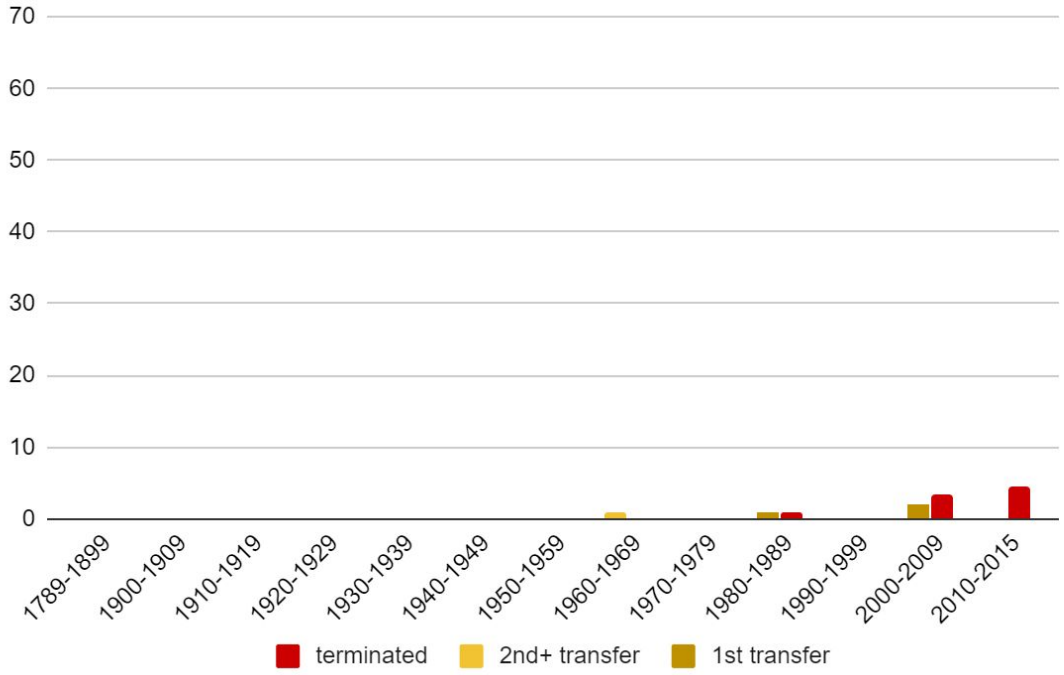
2000-2009	2	2	7
Total	11	16	27
	Transferred	Unchanged	Total
Size at Start	233	102	335
Size at End	243	84	327

Figure 26: Changes to 2000-2009's 19 agencies by time period



	Changes to 2000-2009's 19 agencies by time period				
	transferred	terminated	transferred remain	unchanged remain	total remain
2000-2009	2	7	4	8	12
2010-2015	2	4	4	4	8
Total	4	11	4	4	8

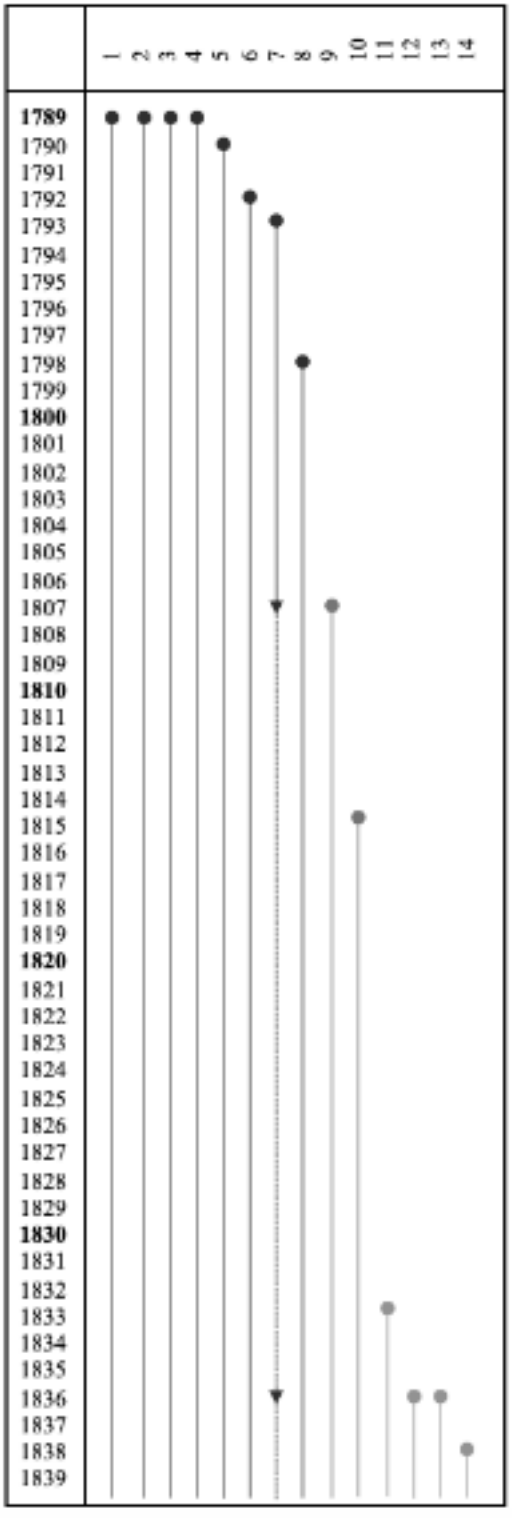
Figure 27: Changes to prior time periods during 2010-2015



	Changes to prior time periods during 2010-2015		
	First Time Transferred	Total Transferred	Terminated
1789-1899	0	0	0
1900-1909	0	0	0
1910-1919	0	0	0
1920-1929	0	0	0
1930-1939	0	0	0
1940-1949	0	0	0
1950-1959	0	0	0
1960-1969	0	1	0
1970-1979	0	0	0
1980-1989	1	1	1
1990-1999	0	0	0
2000-2009	2	2	4

2010-2015	0	0	5
Total	3	4	10
	Transferred	Unchanged	Total
Size at Start	243	84	327
Size at End	246	76	322

Appendix 2. A Visual History of the U.S. Bureaucracy



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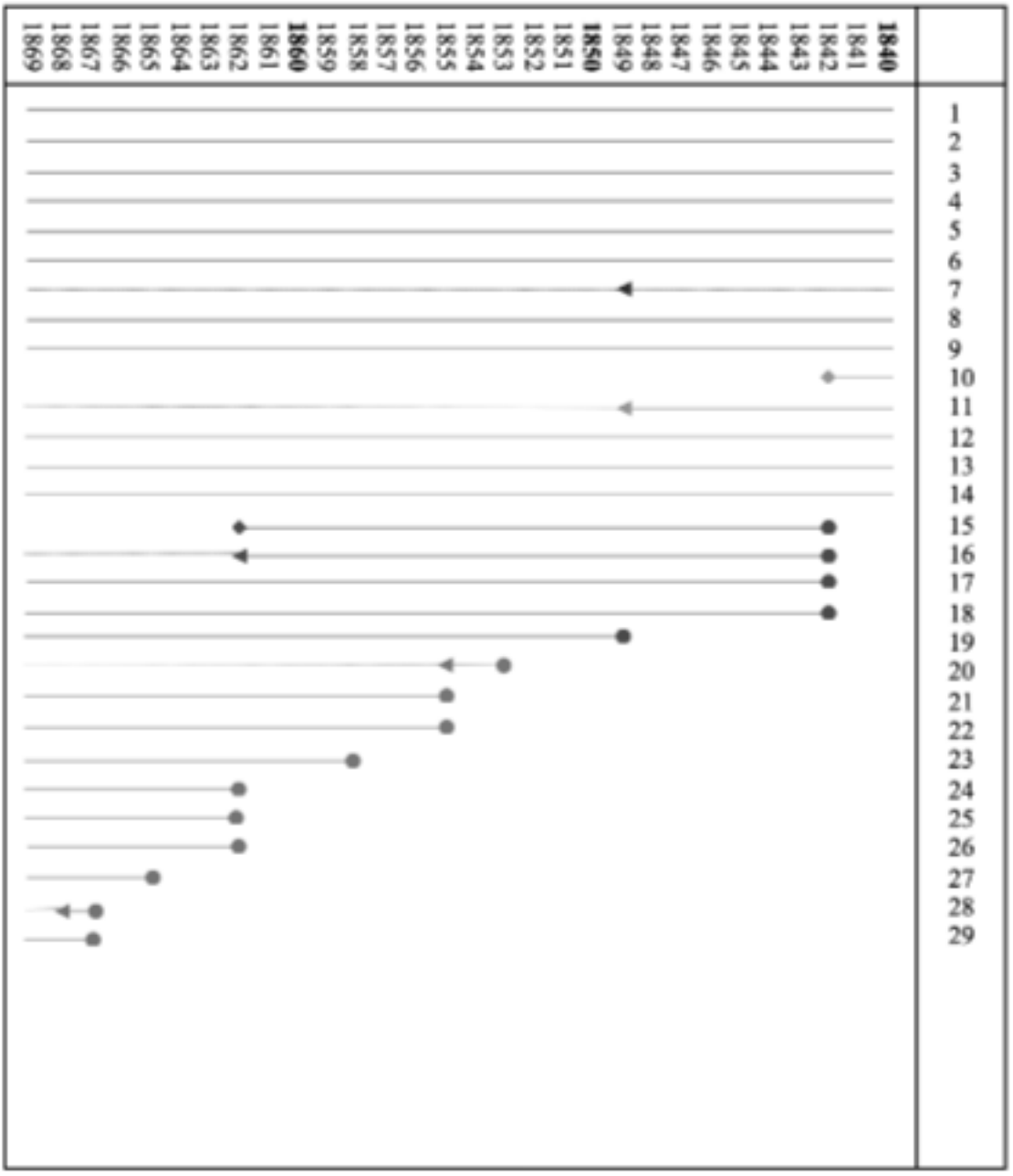
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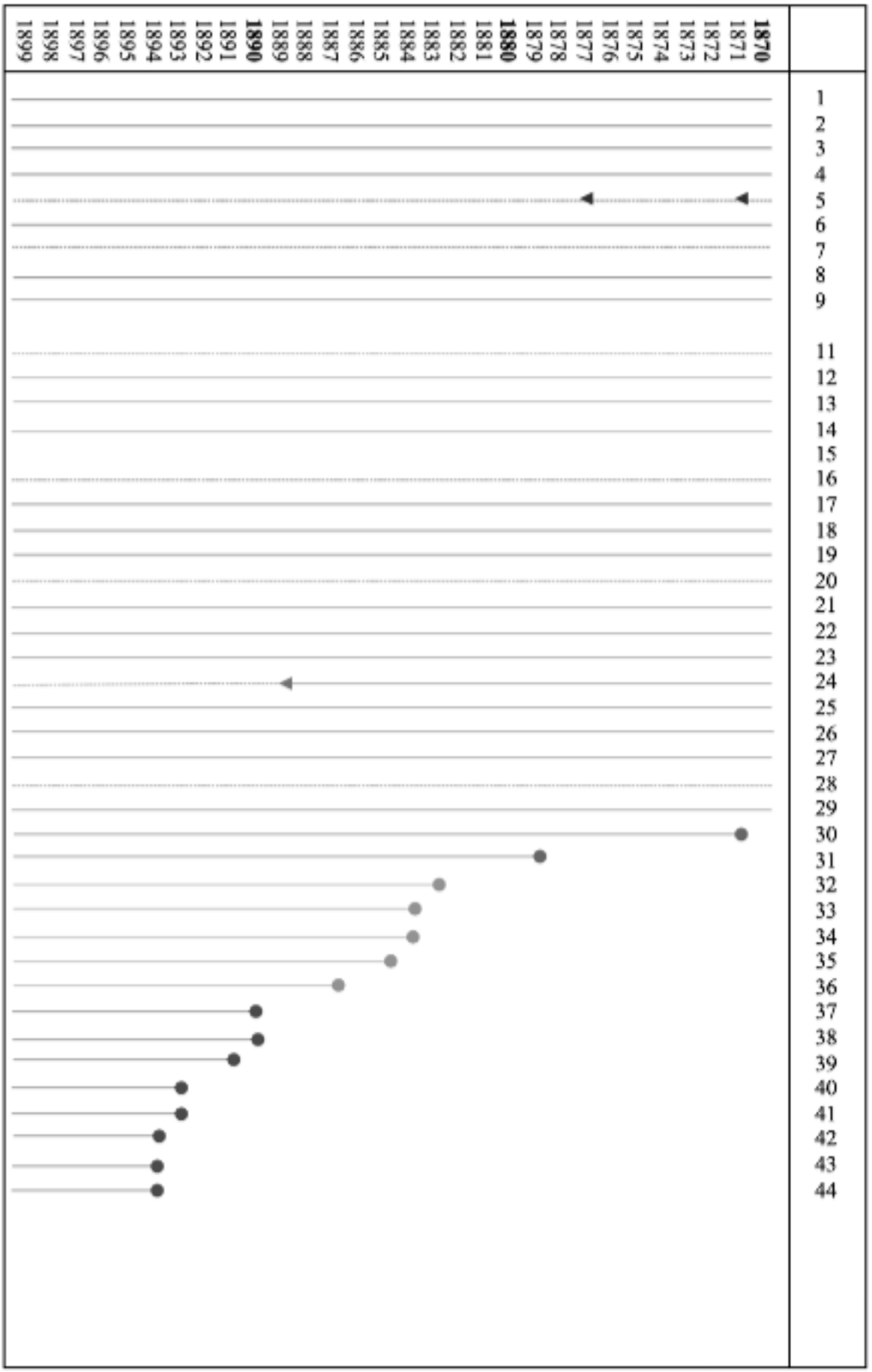
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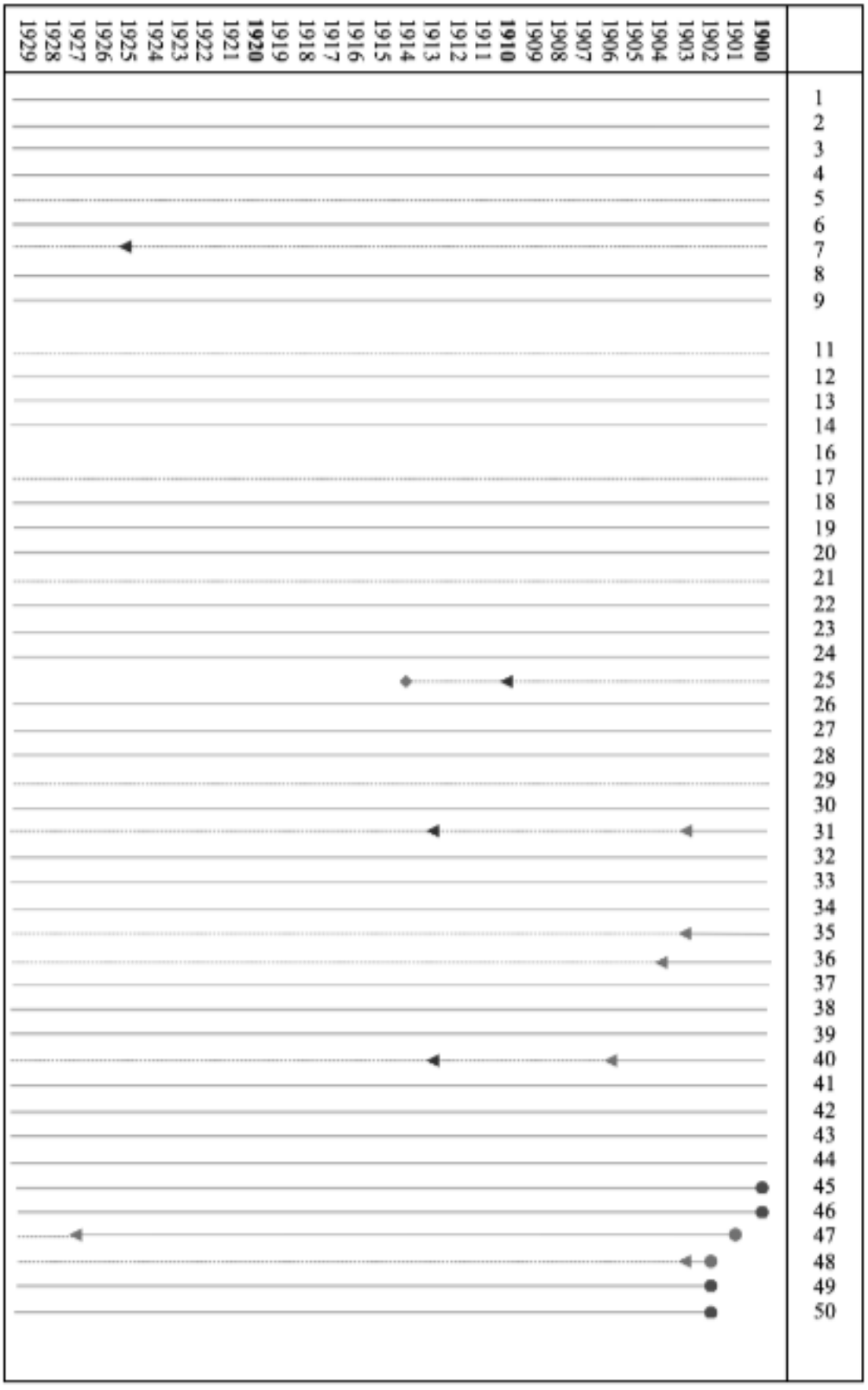
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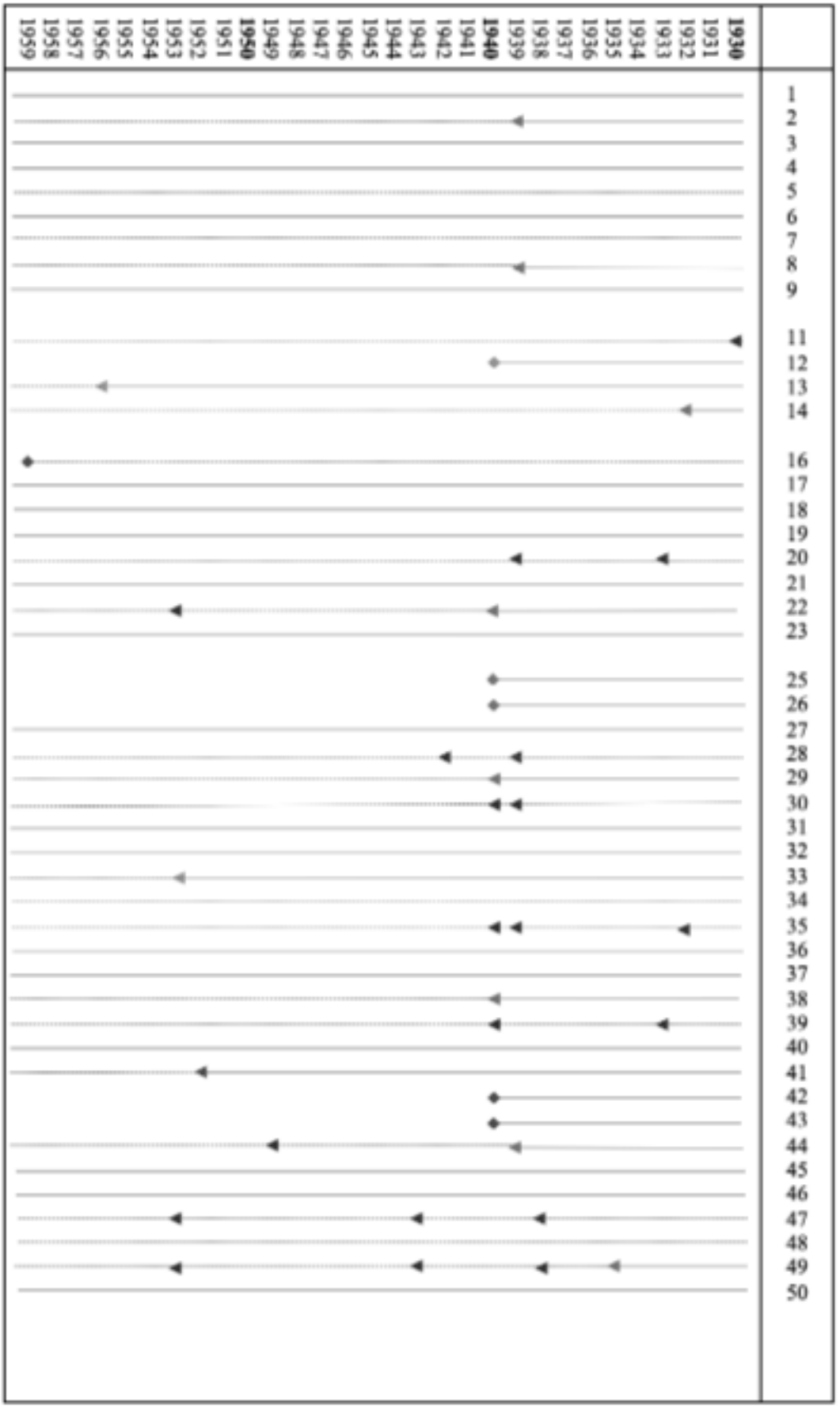
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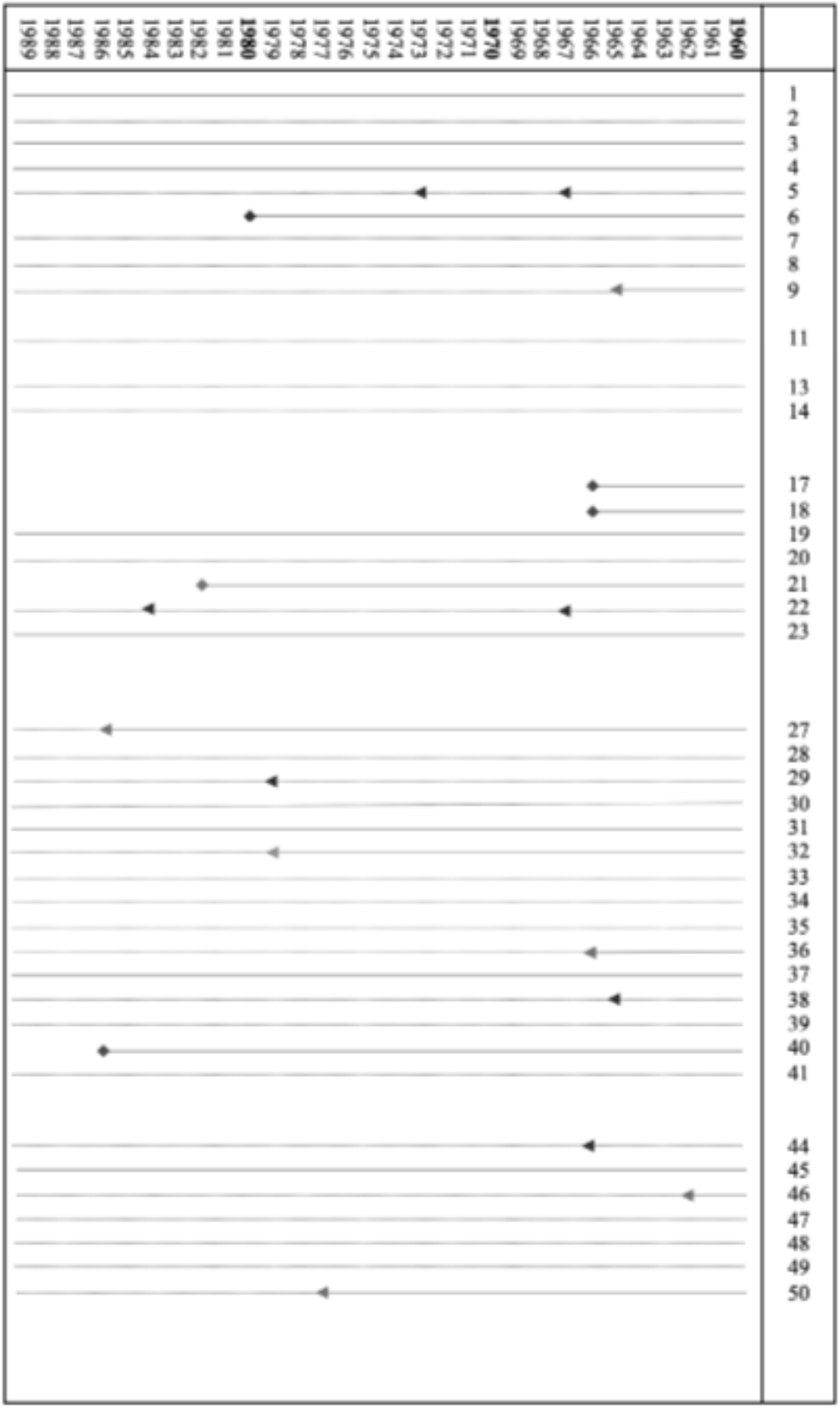
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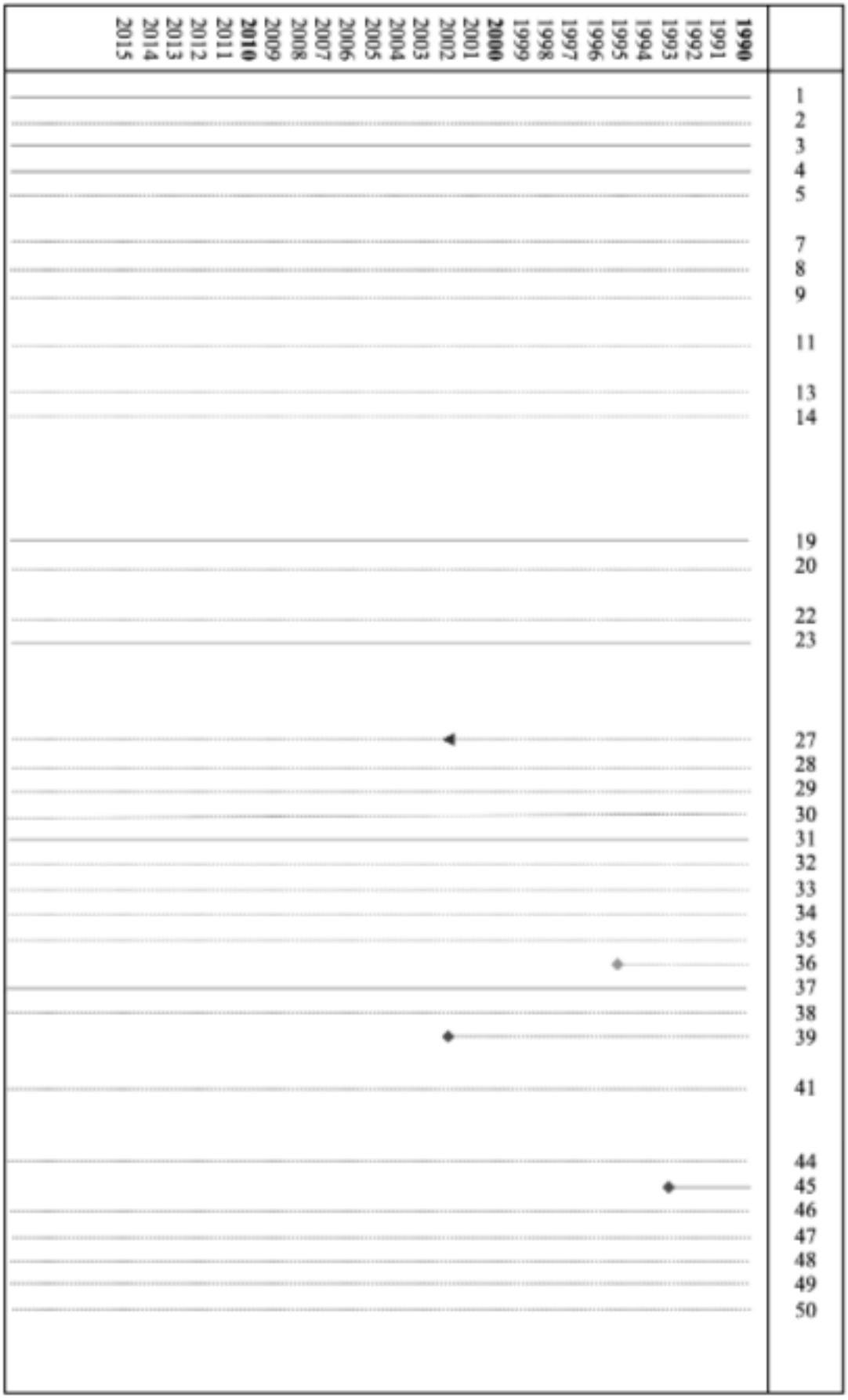
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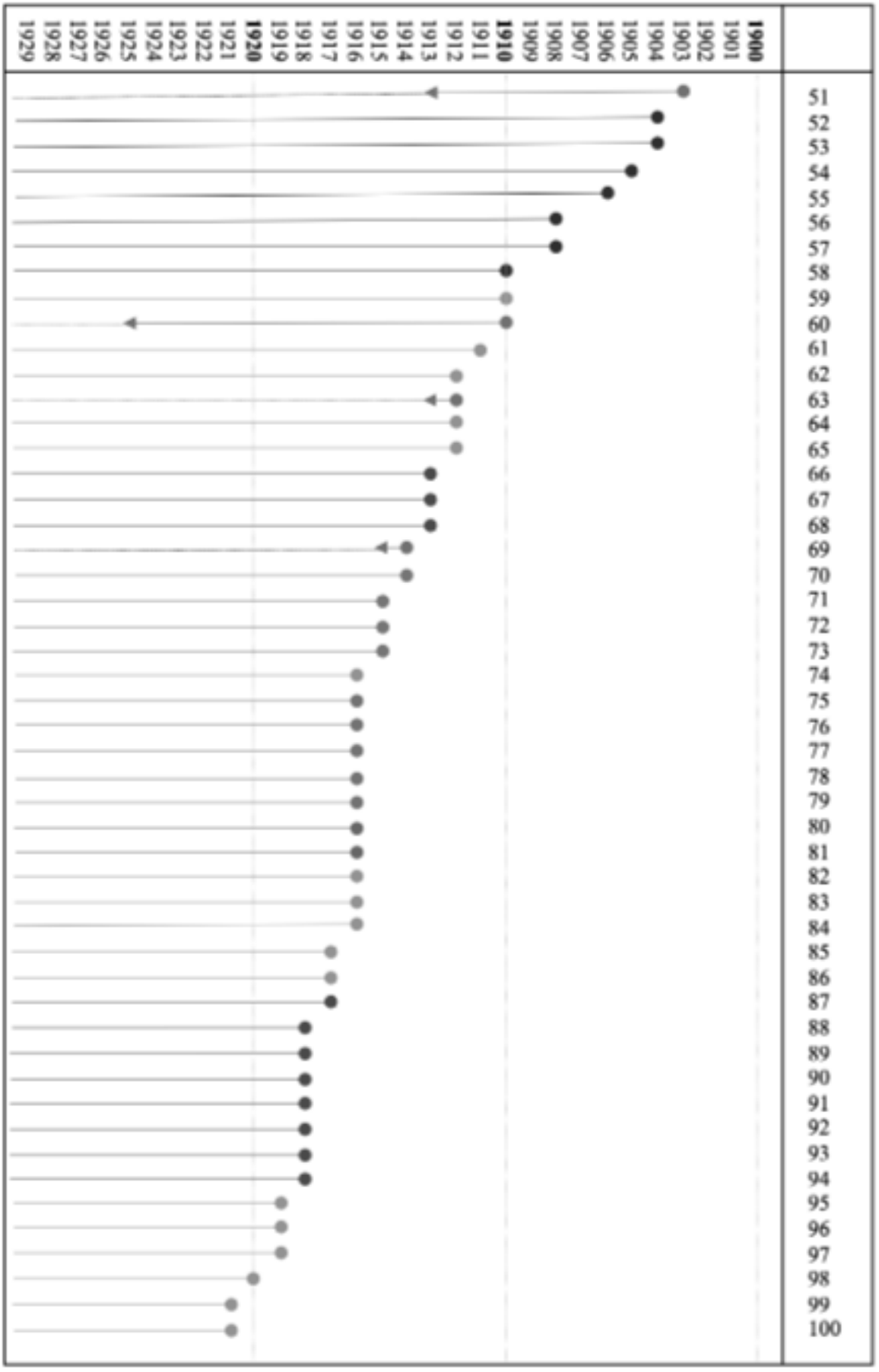
2	Bureau of Lighthouses	27	Secret Service Division
3	Postal Service	28	Office of Education
4	Department of State	29	Howard University
5	District of Columbia	30	U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries
6	Annual Assay Commission	31	Geological Survey
7	Patent Office	32	U.S. Civil Service Commission
8	Public Health Service	33	Bureau of Animal Industry
9	Coast Survey	34	Bureau of Navigation
10	Board of Navy Commissioners	35	Bureau of Biological Survey
11	Commissioner of Provided Pensions	36	Interstate Commerce Commission
12	Office of Recorder of the General Land Office	37	U.S. Customs Court
13	Armed Forces Medical Library	38	Weather Bureau
14	Steamboat Inspection Service	39	Bureau of Immigration
15	Bureau of Construction, Equipment and Repairs	40	California Debris Commission
16	Bureau of Ordnance and Hydrography	41	Highway Commission of the District of Columbia
17	Bureau of Provisions and Clothing	42	Offices of Commissioners of Immigration
18	Bureau of Yards and Docks	43	District Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization
19	International Exchange Service	44	Office of Road Inquiry
20	Construction Branch	45	Commission on National and Community Service
21	U.S. Court of Claims	46	Alaska Communication System
22	Government Hospital for the Insane	47	Bureau of Chemistry and Soils, Bureau of Agricultural and Industrial Chemistry
23	American Printing House for the Blind	48	Census Office
24	Bureau of Equipment	49	Bureau of Plant Industry
25	Bureau of Construction and Repair	50	Reclamation Service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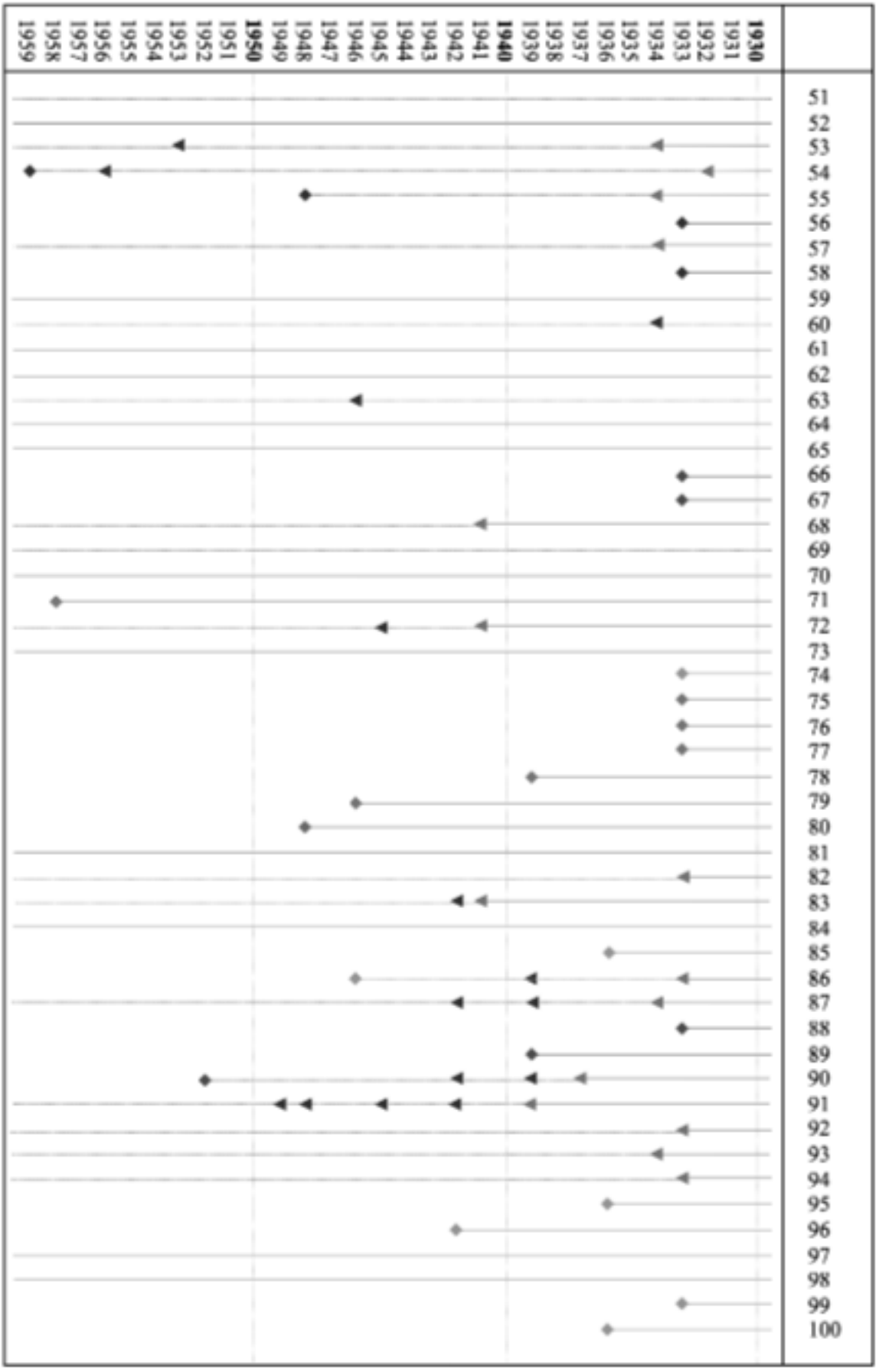
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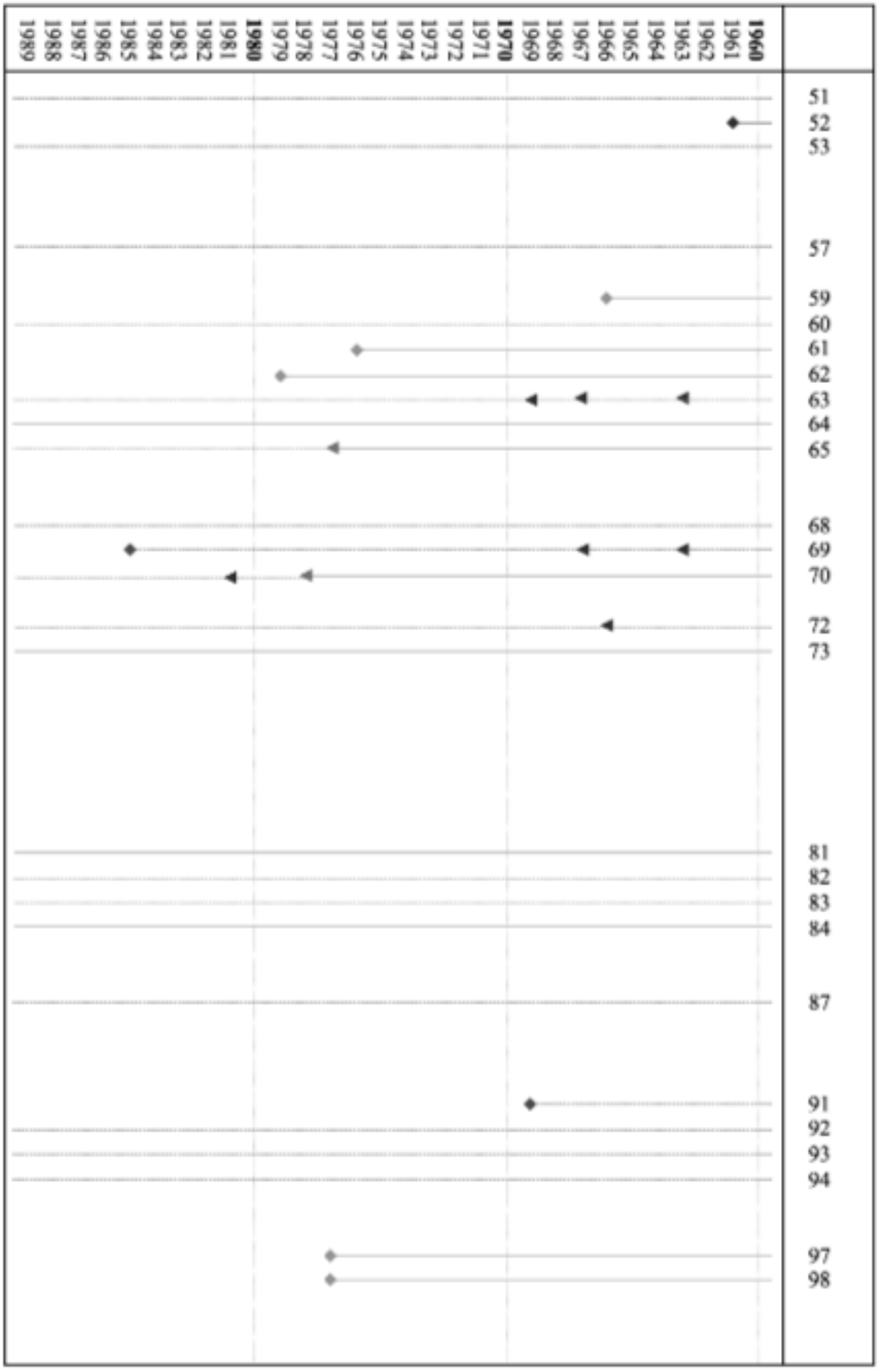
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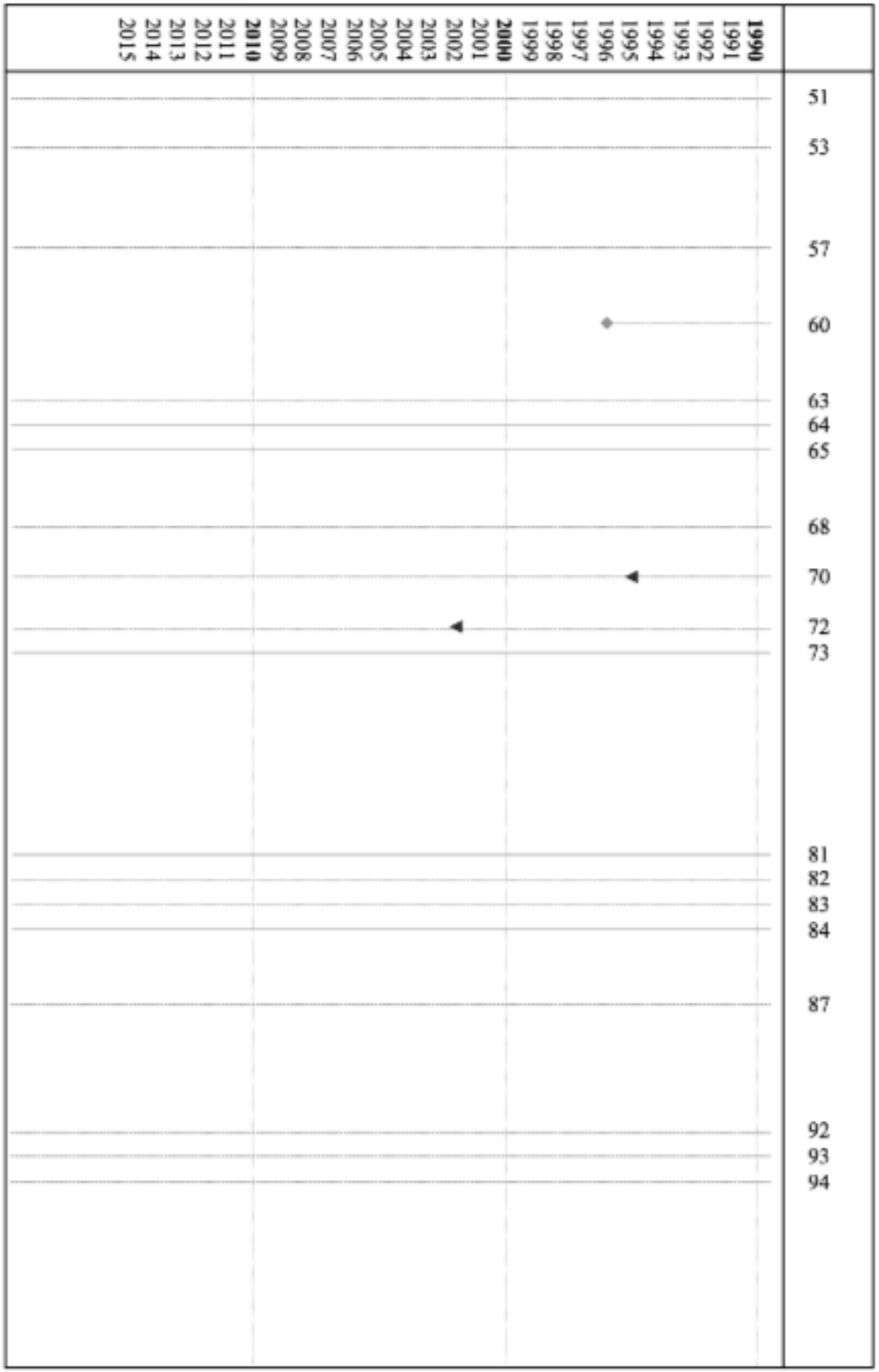
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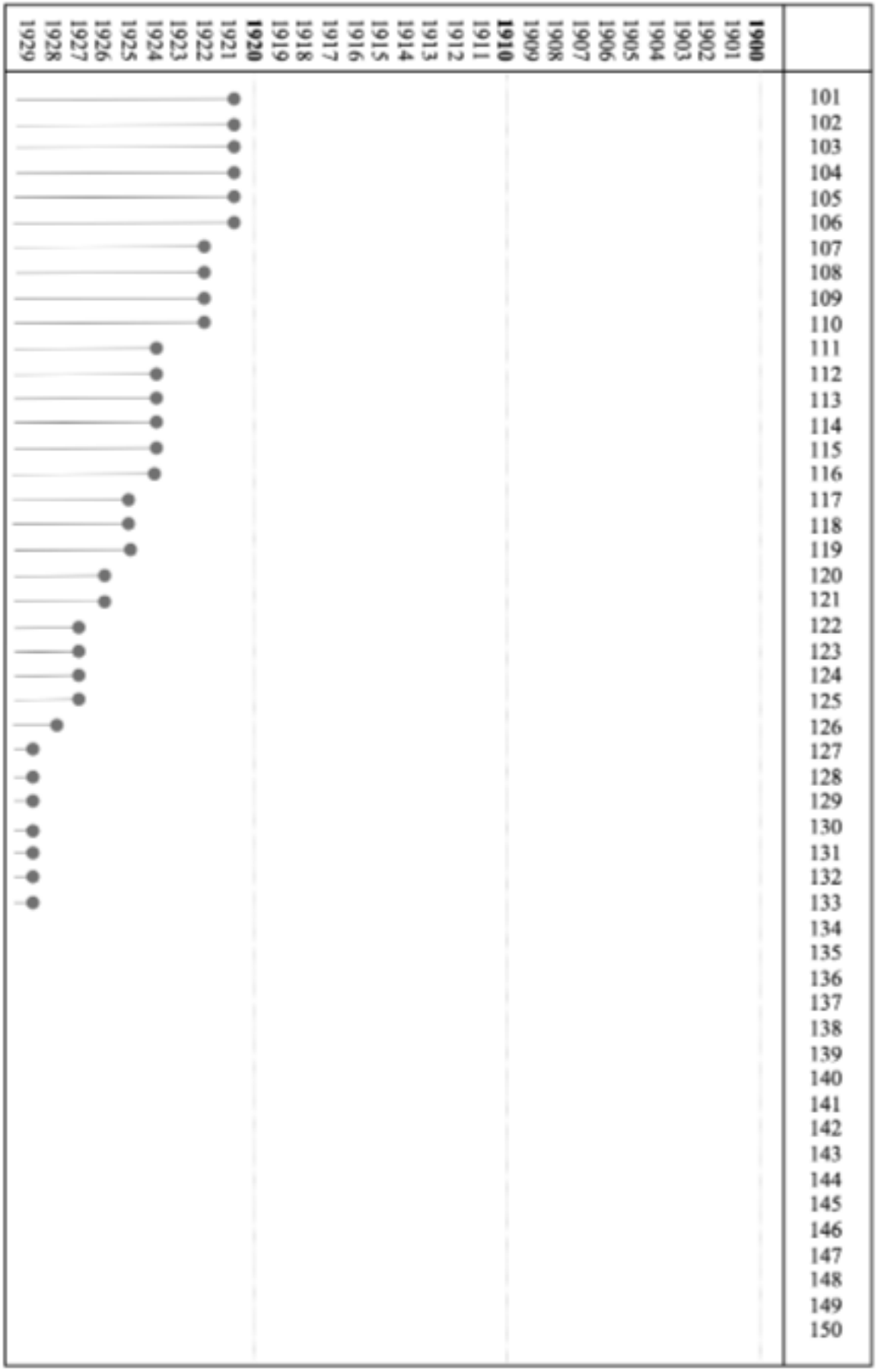
52	Panama Railroad Company Incorporated	77	U.S. Shipping Board
53	Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine	78	Director General of Railroads
54	Board of Road Commissioners for Alaska	79	U.S. Employees' Compensation Commission
55	U.S. Court for China	80	Aeronautical Board
56	Bureau of Militia	81	Council of National Defense
57	Bureau of Investigation	82	Federal Farm Loan Bureau
58	General Supply Committee	83	Division of Farm Products
59	Postal Savings System	84	U.S. Tariff Commission
60	Bureau of Mines	85	U.S. Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation
61	National Forest Reservation Commission	86	Federal Board for Vocational Education
62	Canal Zone Government	87	Office of Alien Property Custodian
63	Children's Bureau	88	National Screw Thread Commission
64	Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce	89	War Finance Corporation
65	Office of Naval Petroleum and Oil Shale Reserves	90	U.S. Housing Corporation
66	Arlington Memorial Bridge Commission	91	U.S. Employment Service
67	Rock Creek and Potomac Parkway Commission	92	Crop Production Loan Office
68	U.S. Conciliation Service	93	Fuel Yards
69	Alaska Engineering Commission	94	Seed Loan Office
70	Extension Service	95	Perry's Victory Memorial Commission
71	National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics	96	Board of Surveys and Maps of the Federal Government
72	U.S. Coast Guard	97	International Labor Organization
73	Naval Reserve	98	Federal Power Commission
74	Public Buildings Commission	99	Federal Office of Chief Coordinator Coordinating Service
75	Bureau of Efficiency	100	Bituminous Coal Labor Board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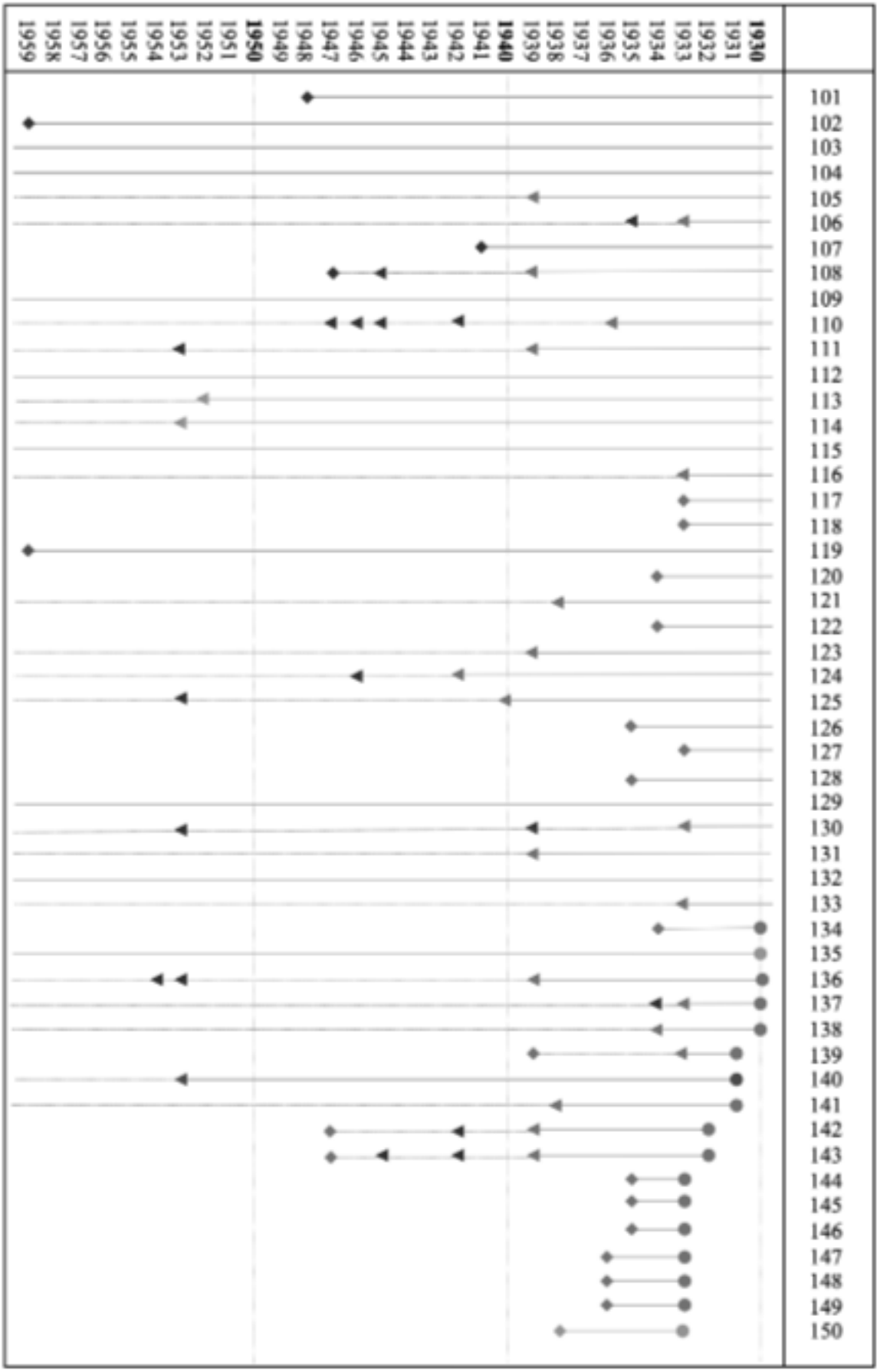
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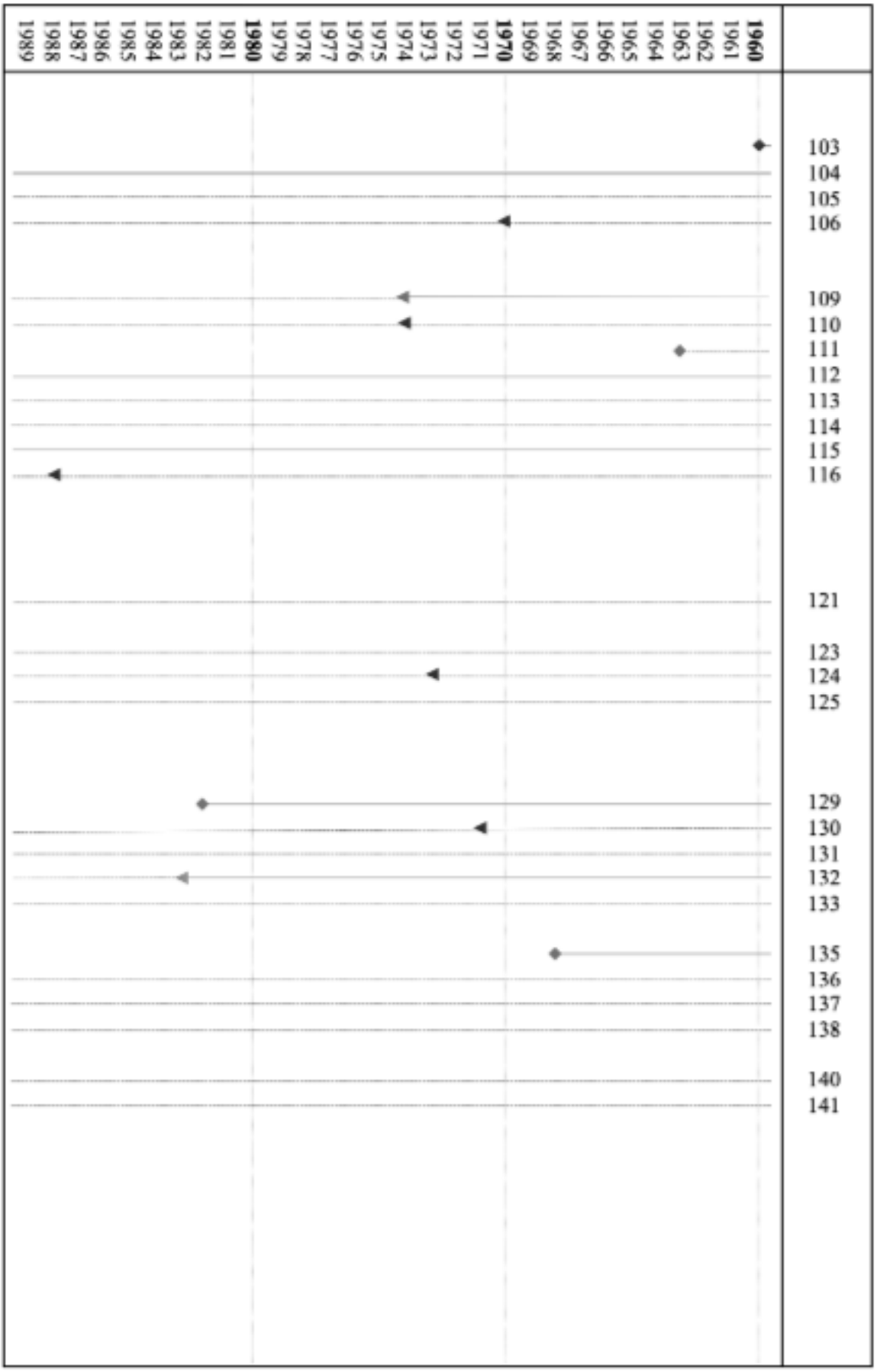
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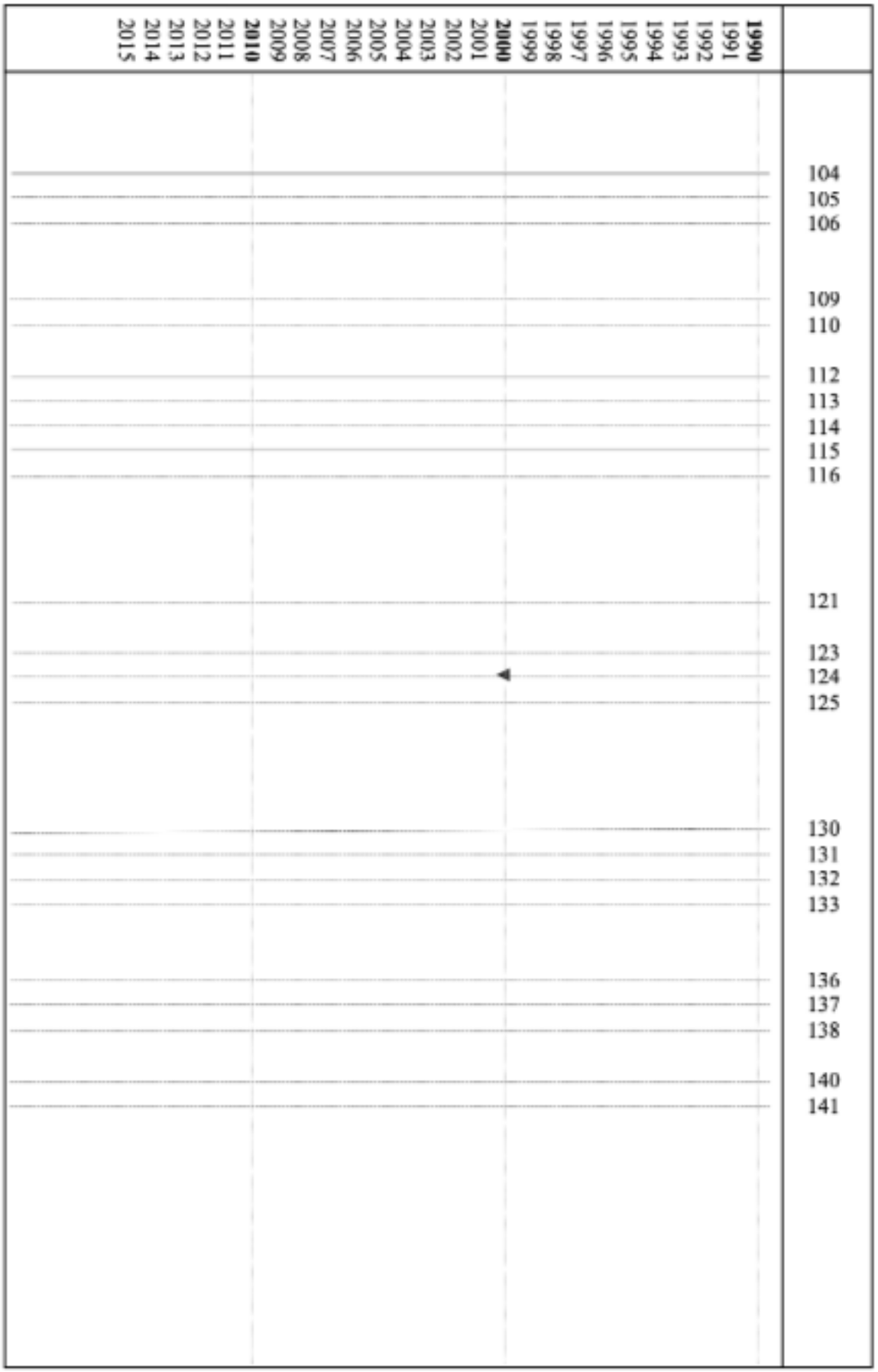
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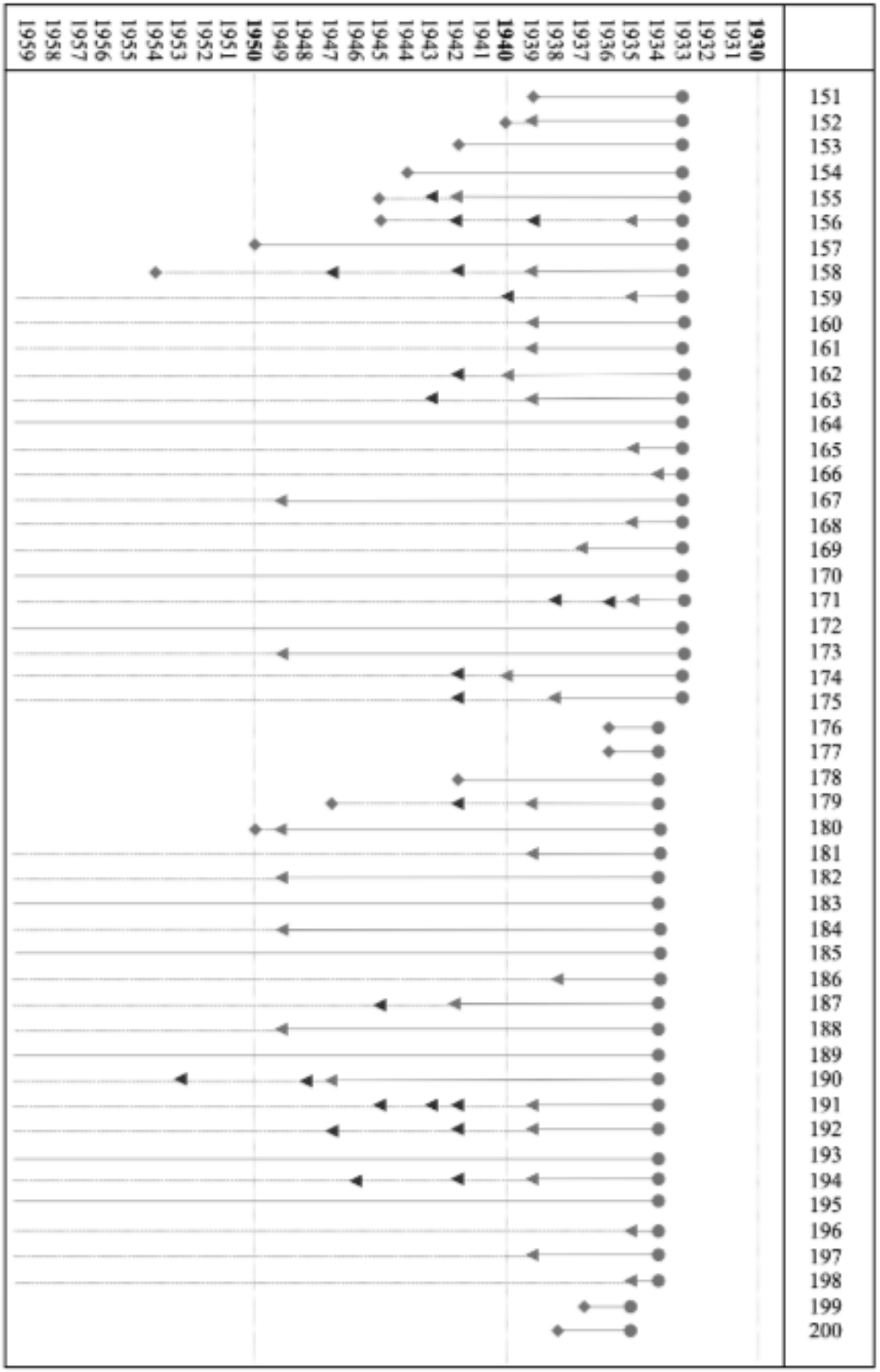
102	Bureau of Aeronautics	127	National Memorial Commission
103	Arlington Memorial Amphitheater Commission	128	Grain Stabilization Corporation
104	General Accounting Office	129	U.S. Court of Customs and Patent Appeals
105	Bureau of the Budget	130	Federal Farm Board
106	Federal Specifications Board	131	Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission
107	Mixed Claims Commission	132	Division of Radiation and Organisms
108	Joint Army and Navy Munitions Board	133	Stock Catalog Board
109	Commodity Exchange Commission	134	Cotton Stabilization Corporation
110	Grain Futures Administration	135	Bureau of Narcotics
111	Waterways Corporation	136	Foreign Agricultural Service
112	Army Industrial College	137	Bureau of Industrial Alcohol
113	National Capital Park Commission	138	Bureau of Prohibition
114	Bureau of Dairy Industry	139	Federal Employment Stabilization Board
115	Board of Tax Appeals	140	Bureau of Agricultural Economics
116	Veterans Administration	141	Bureau of Agricultural Engineering
117	Office of Public Buildings and Public Parks of the National Capital	142	Federal Home Loan Bank Board
118	National Committee on Wood Utilization	143	Reconstruction Finance Corporation
119	Alaska Game Commission	144	Federal Alcohol Control Administration
120	U.S. Board of Mediation	145	National Recovery Administration
121	Aeronautics Branch	146	Public Works Emergency Housing Corporation
122	Federal Radio Commission	147	Petroleum Administrative Board
123	Foreign Commerce Service	148	Petroleum Labor Policy Board
124	Bureau of Customs	149	Federal Coordinator of Transportation
125	Drug Food	150	Federal Emergency Relief Administration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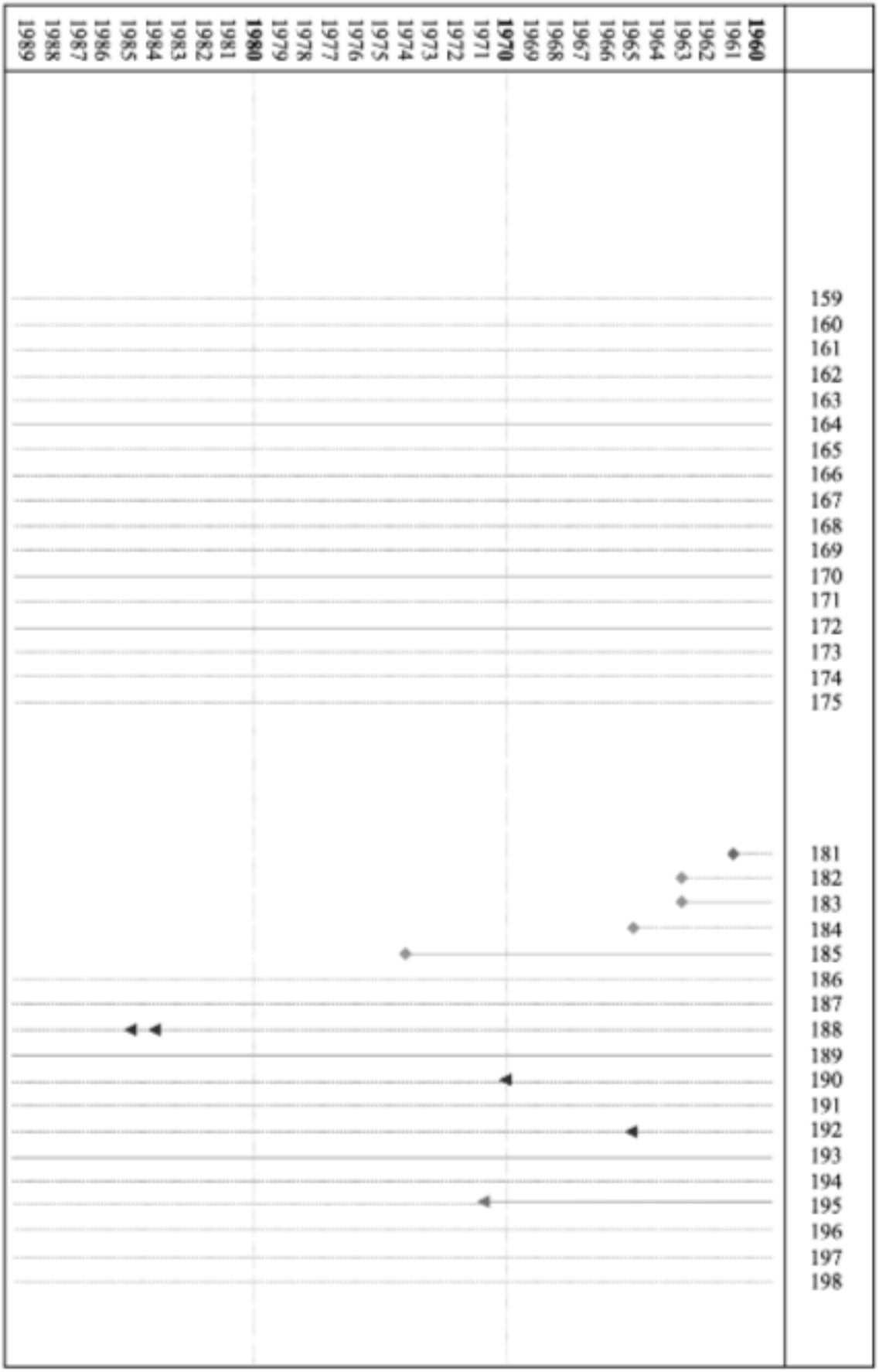
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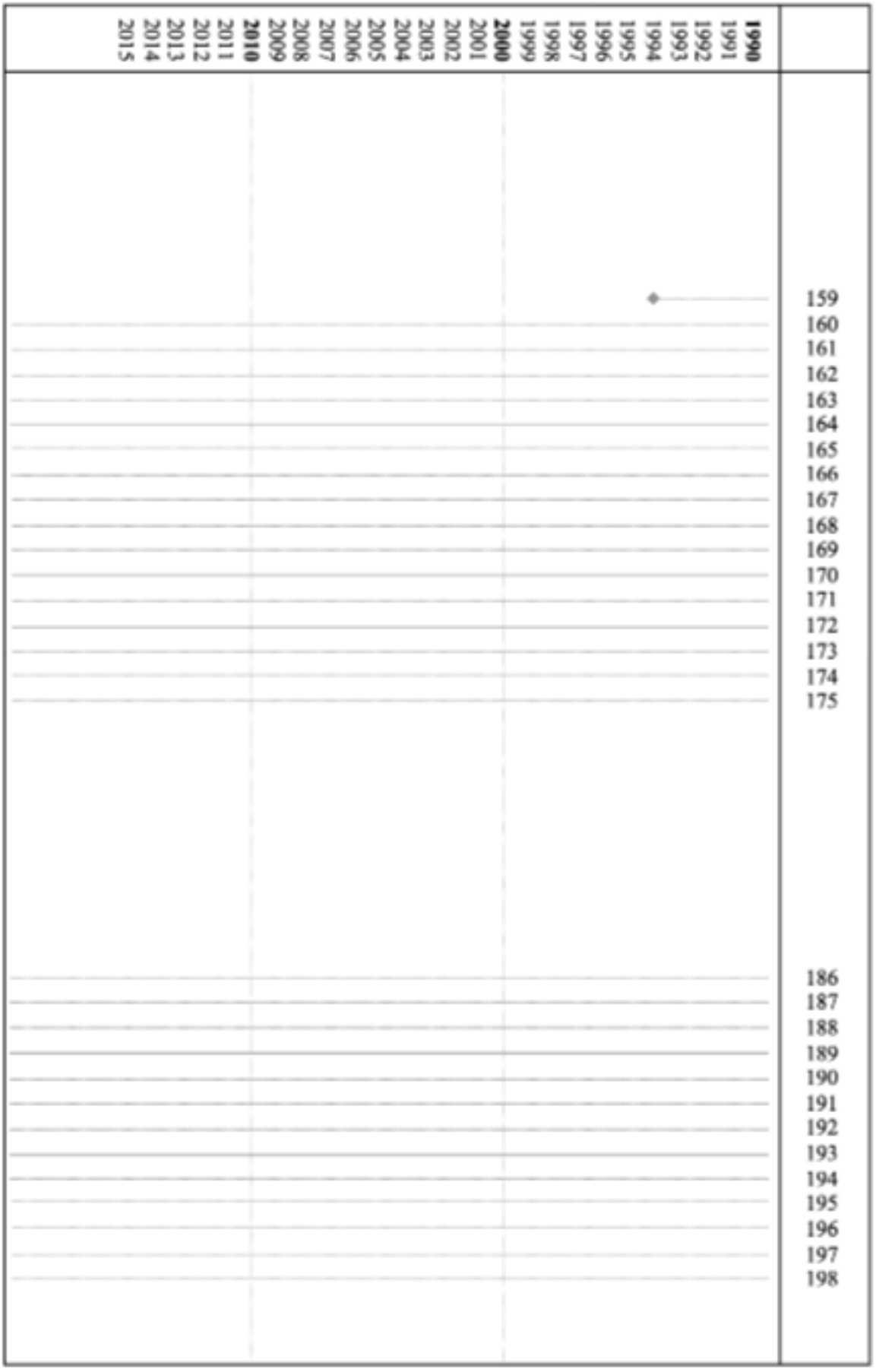
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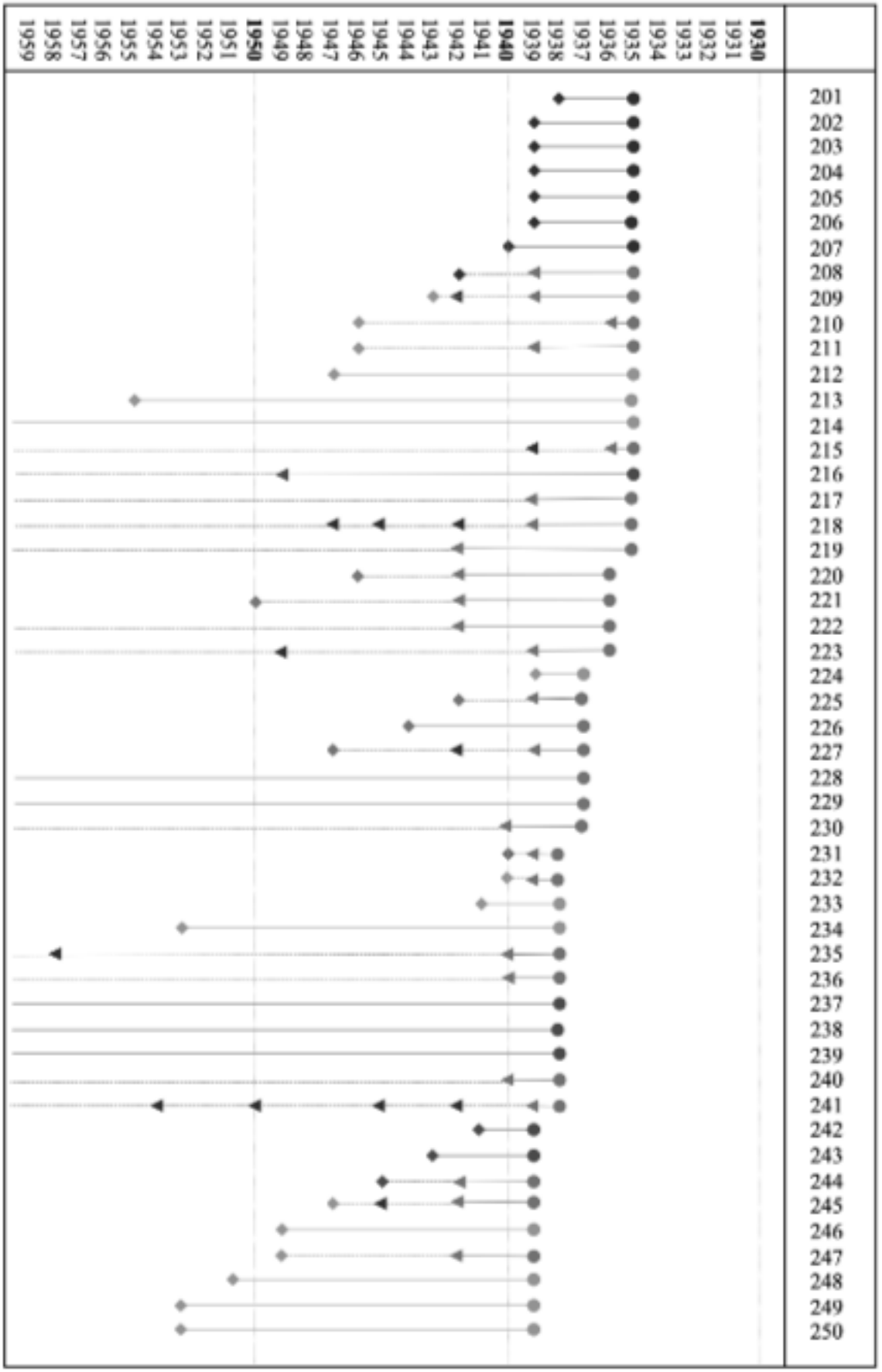
151	National Emergency Council	176	Committee on Economic Security
152	Central Statistical Board	177	DC Export-Import Bank of Washington
153	Division of Investigations	178	Bond and Spirits Division
154	Executive Committee on Commercial Policy	179	Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation
155	Agricultural Adjustment Administration	180	National Archives Council
156	Division of Press Intelligence	181	Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation
157	Office of Assistant Solicitor General	182	Committee for Reciprocity Information
158	Home Owners' Loan Corporation	183	Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements
159	Soil Erosion Service	184	Virgin Islands Company
160	Procurement Division, Public Buildings Branch	185	National Capital Housing Authority
161	Commodity Credit Corporation	186	Bureau of Air Mail
162	Division of Consumers' Counsel	187	Federal Committee on Apprenticeship
163	Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works	188	National Office of Archivist of the U.S. and National Archives Establishment
164	Emergency Conservation Work	189	National Cemeteries and Memorials in Europe
165	Office of Economic Adviser to National Emergency Council	190	Federal Credit Union System
166	Executive Council	191	Export-Import Bank of Washington
167	Federal Advisory Council	192	Federal Housing Administration
168	Division of Subsistence Homesteads	193	Industrial Emergency Committee
169	Housing Division	194	U.S. Information Service
170	Special Industrial Recovery Board	195	Bureau of Labor Standards
171	Board of Public Works, Land Program	196	Land Policy Section
172	Buildings Parks	197	Federal Prison Industries Inc.
173	Procurement Division	198	Rural Rehabilitation Division
174	Federal Surplus Relief Corporation	199	Coordinator for Industrial Cooperation
175	Sugar Division	200	Interdepartmental Committee on Civil International Aviation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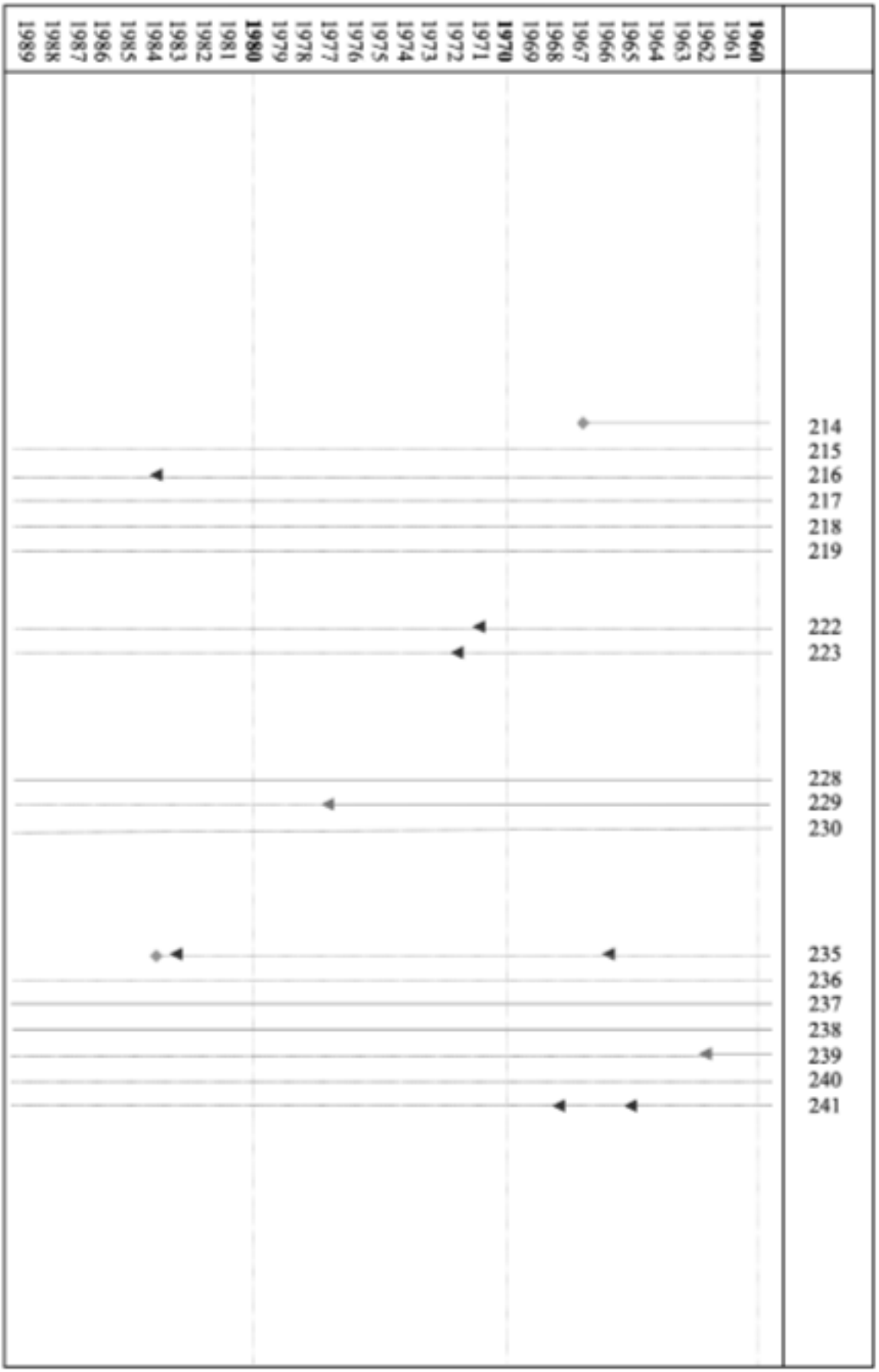
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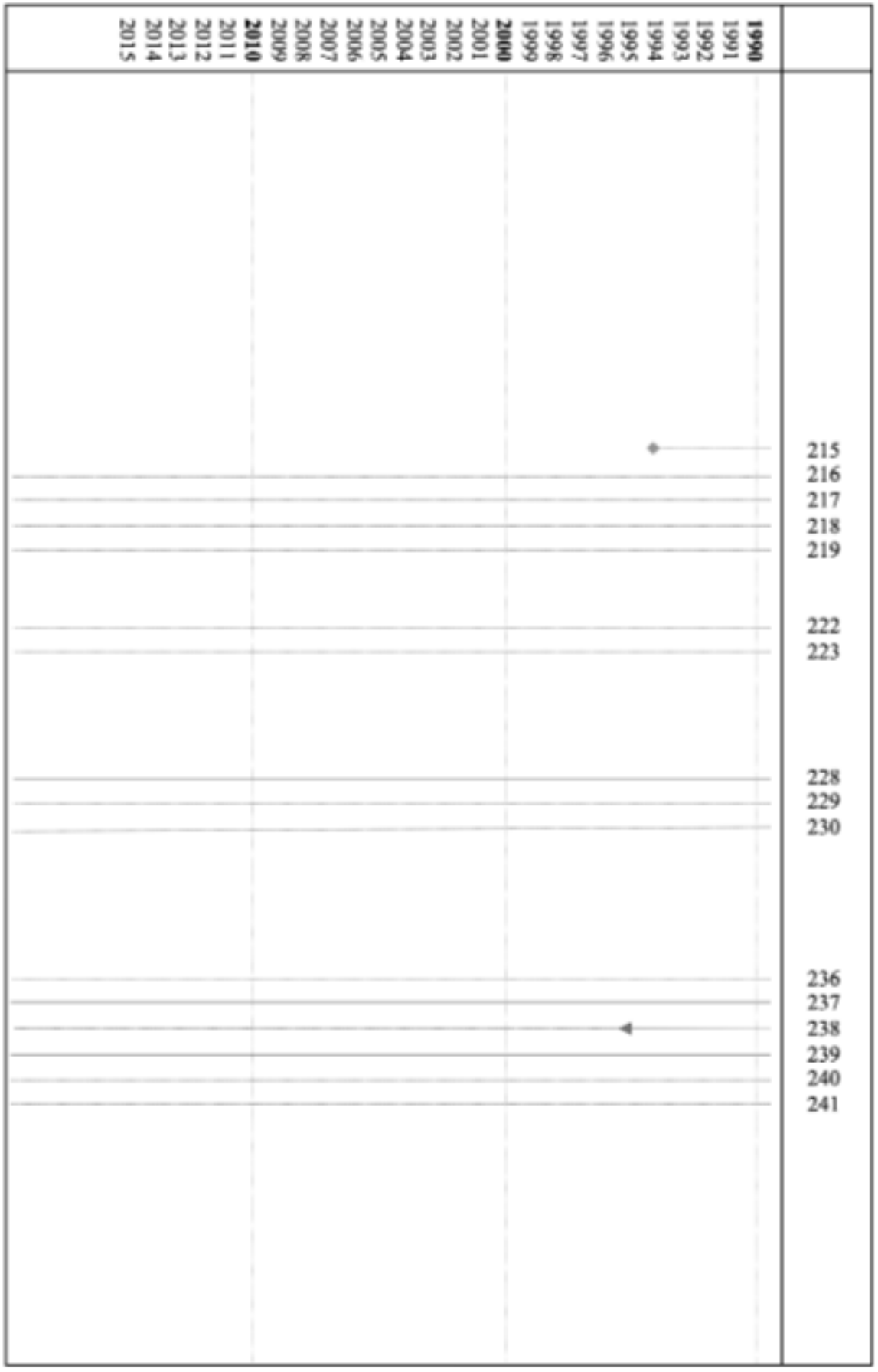
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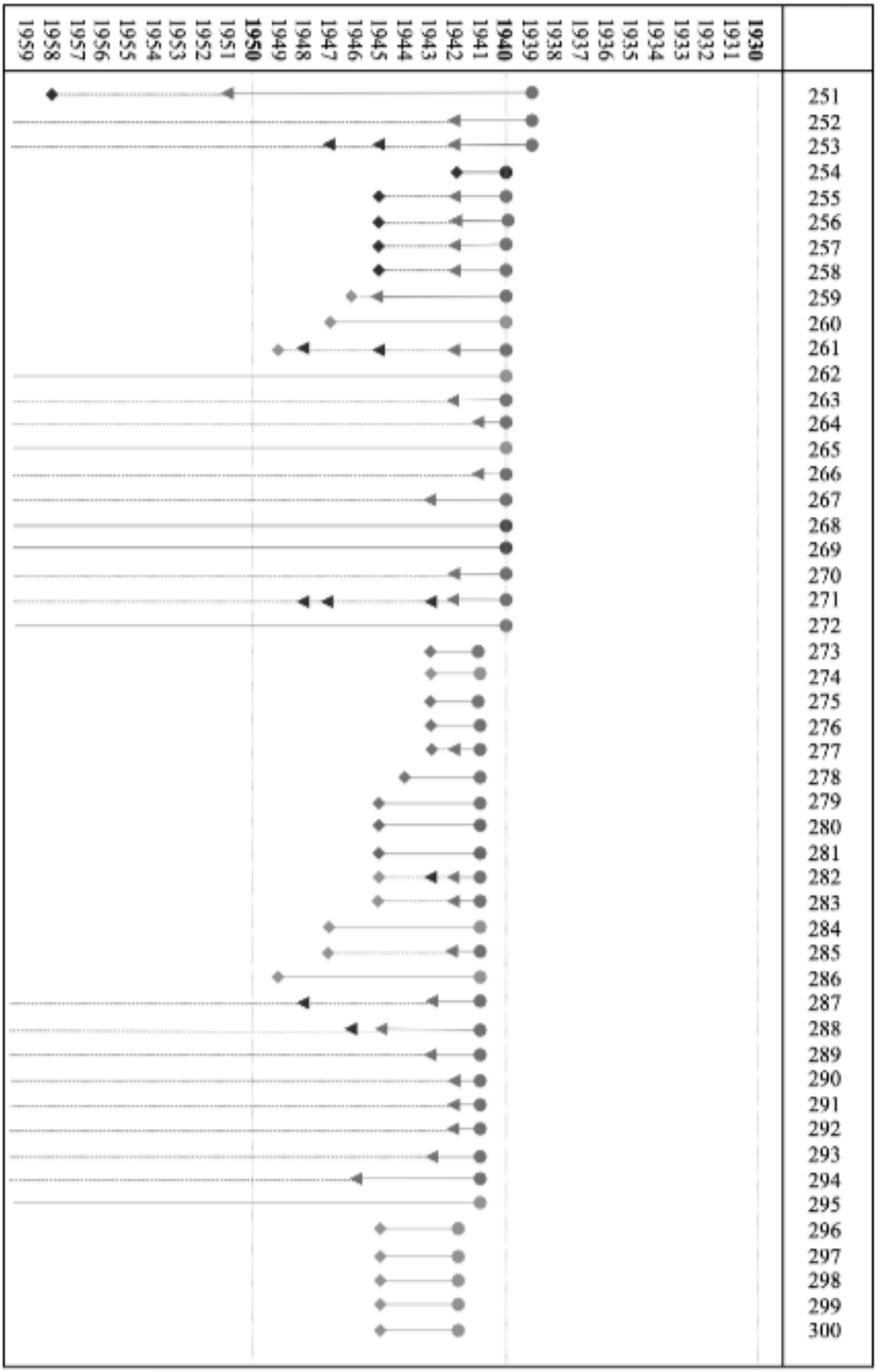
201	Special Mexican Claims Commission	226	Office of Land Use Coordination
202	National Bituminous Coal Commission	227	U.S. Housing Authority
203	Consumers' Counsel	228	National Collection of Fine Arts
204	Interdepartmental Committee of Health and Welfare Activities	229	Bonneville Power Administration
205	National Resources Committee	230	Division of Marketing and Marketing Agreements
206	Central Statistical Committee	231	U.S. Film Service
207	Prison Industries Reorganization Administration	232	Radio Division
208	Electric Home and Farm Authority Incorporated	233	Maritime Labor Board
209	National Youth Administration	234	Council of Personnel Administration
210	Resettlement Administration	235	Civil Aeronautics Authority
211	Social Security Board	236	Air Safety Board
212	U.S. Geographic Board	237	Committee on Purchases of Blind-made Products
213	Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration	238	Federal Crop Insurance Corporation
214	National Park Trust Fund Board	239	Defense and Civilian Mobilization Board
215	Rural Electrification Administration	240	Director of Forests
216	Division of the Federal Register	241	Federal National Mortgage Association
217	Goethals Memorial Commission	242	Interdepartmental Committee for Coordination of Foreign and Domestic Military Purchases
218	RFC Mortgage Company	243	Bituminous Coal Division
219	Works Progress Administration	244	Disaster Loan Corporation
220	Bureau of Navigation and Steamboat Inspection	245	Office of Government Reports
221	U.S. Maritime Commission	246	Public Buildings Administration
222	Public Contracts Division	247	Federal Works Agency
223	Federal Fire Council	248	Federal Real Estate Board
224	Codification Board	249	Liaison Office for Personnel Management
225	Civilian Conservation Corps	250	Federal Security Agency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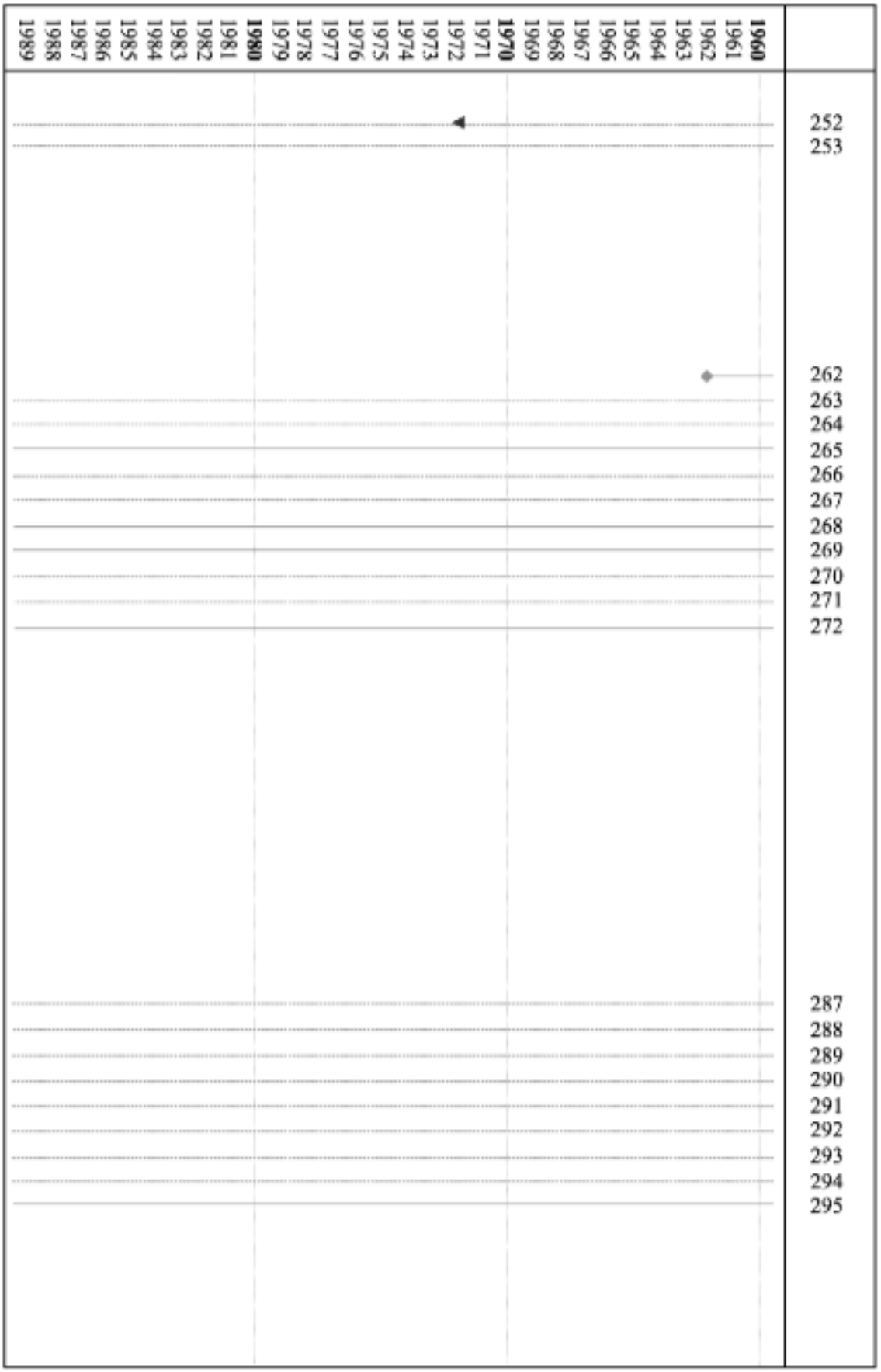
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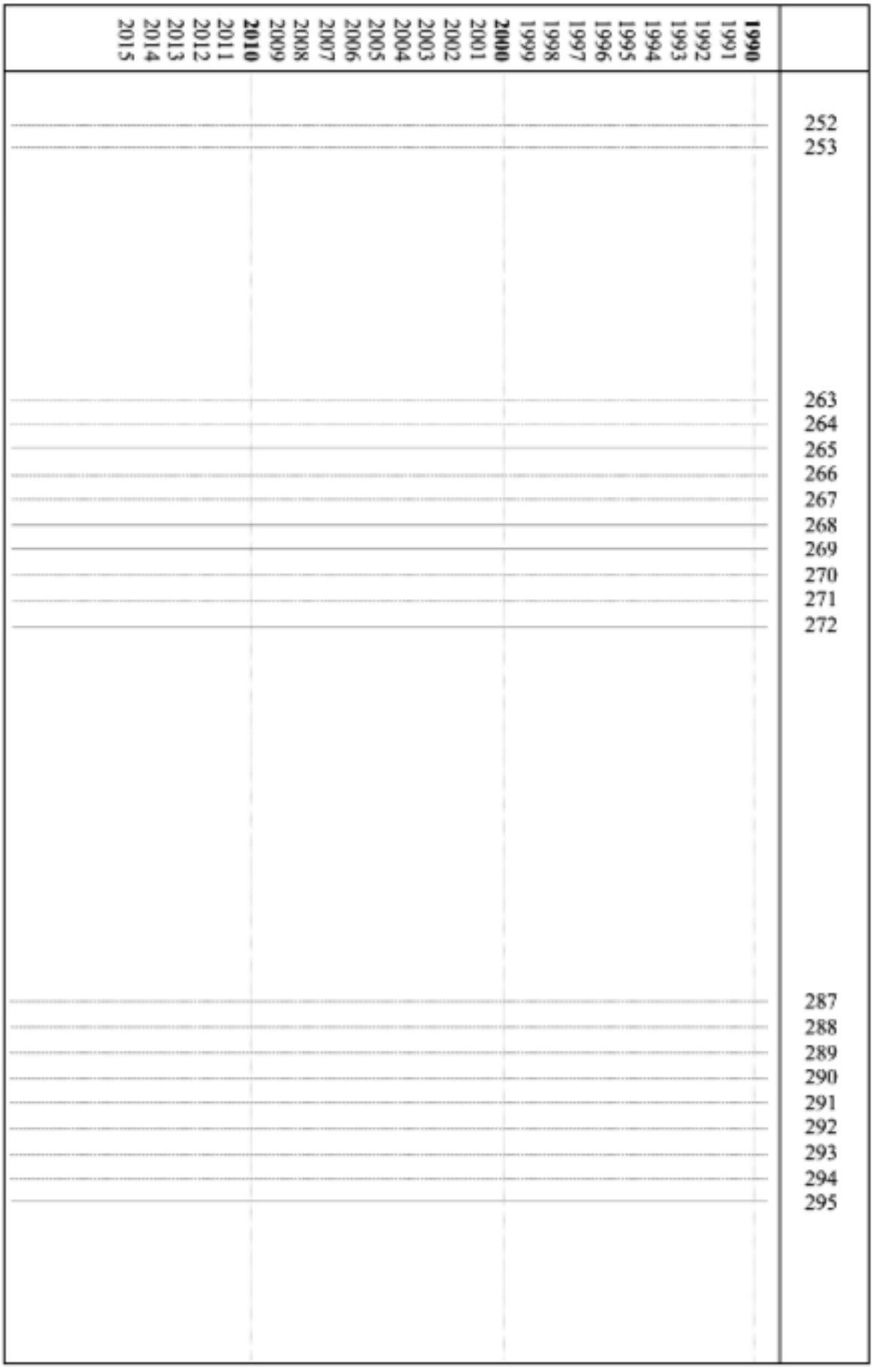
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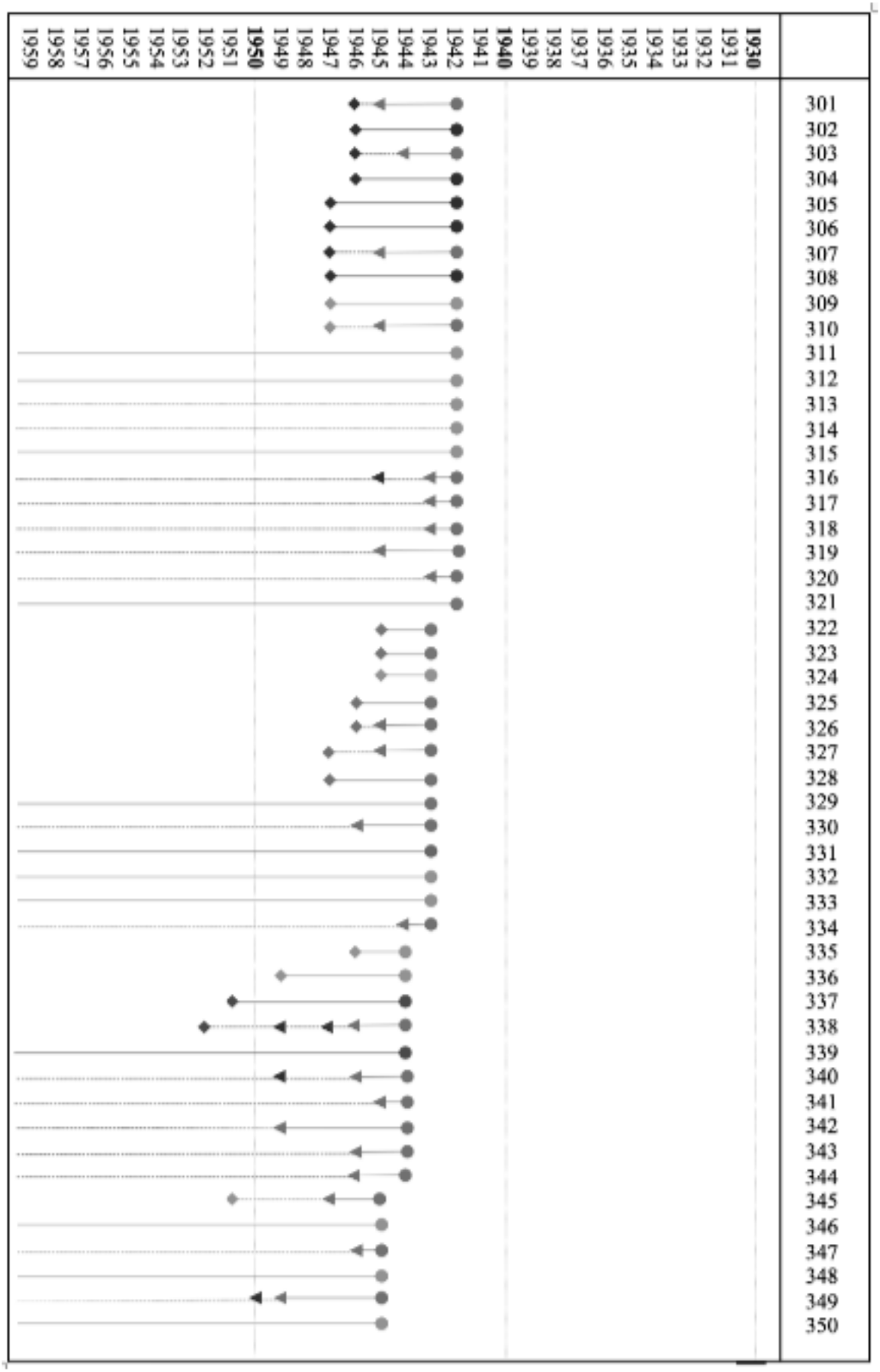
251	Trustees of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library	276	Board of Economic Operations
252	Agricultural Marketing Service	277	Joint Committee on Health and Welfare Aspects of Evacuation of Civilians
253	Federal Loan Agency	278	Division of Central Administrative Services
254	Defense Resources Committee	279	Office of Censorship
255	Defense Plant Corporation	280	Censorship Policy Board
256	Defense Supplies Corporation	281	Office of Civilian Defense
257	Metals Reserve Company	282	Committee on Fair Employment Practice
258	Rubber Reserve Company	283	Procurement and Assignment Service
259	Office for Coordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics	284	Office of Scientific Research and Development
260	Defense Communications Board	285	War Insurance Corporation
261	National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel	286	Office of Defense Transportation
262	Bureau of Ships	287	Civil Air Patrol
263	Defense Homes Corporation Incorporated	288	Foreign Broadcast Monitoring Service
264	Defense Housing Coordinator Office	289	Committee on Community Organization
265	Office for Emergency Management	290	Mutual Ownership Defense Housing Division
266	Fish and Wildlife Service	291	Office of Facts and Figures
267	Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services	292	Coordinator of Information
268	Health and Medical Committee	293	Office of Lend-Lease Administration
269	Board of Investigation and Research	294	Office of Price Administration
270	Surplus Marketing Administration	295	Committee on Social Protection
271	Selective Service System	296	Office of Economic Stabilization
272	Division of State and Local Cooperation	297	Office of Fishery Coordination
273	Office of the Bituminous Coal Consumers' Counsel	298	Office of War Information
274	Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services	299	War Manpower Commission
275	Economic Defense Board	300	War Production Board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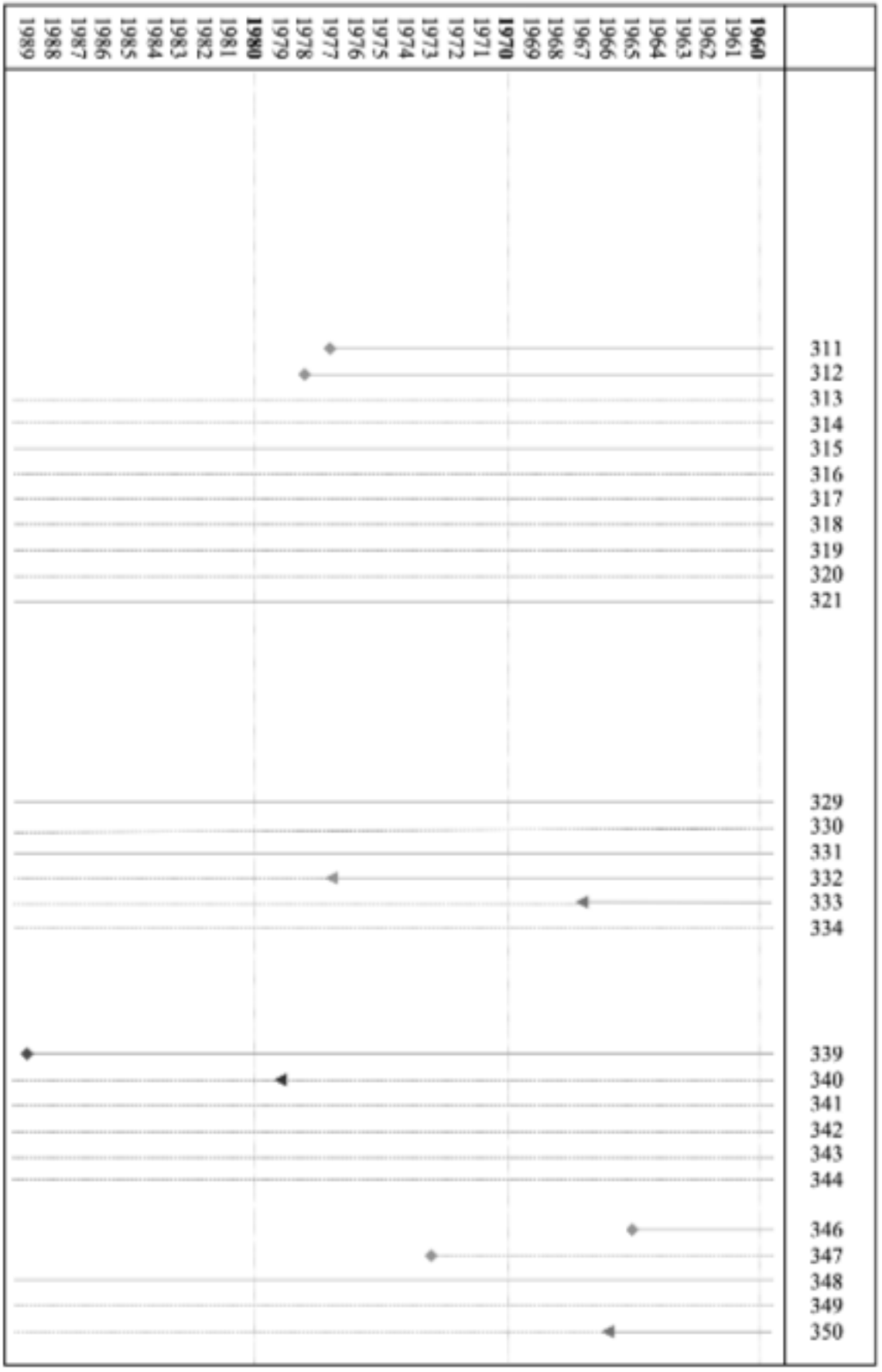
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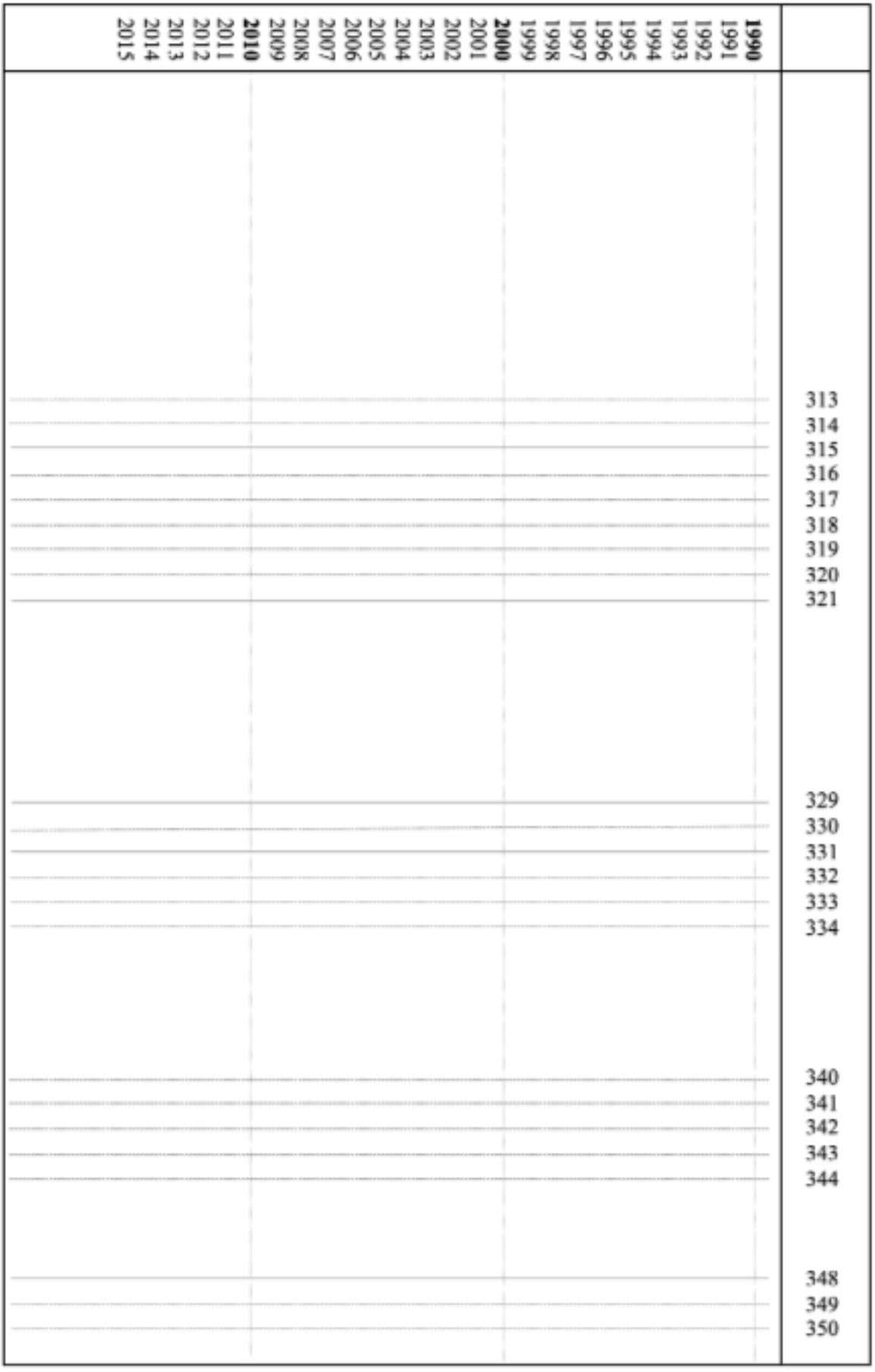
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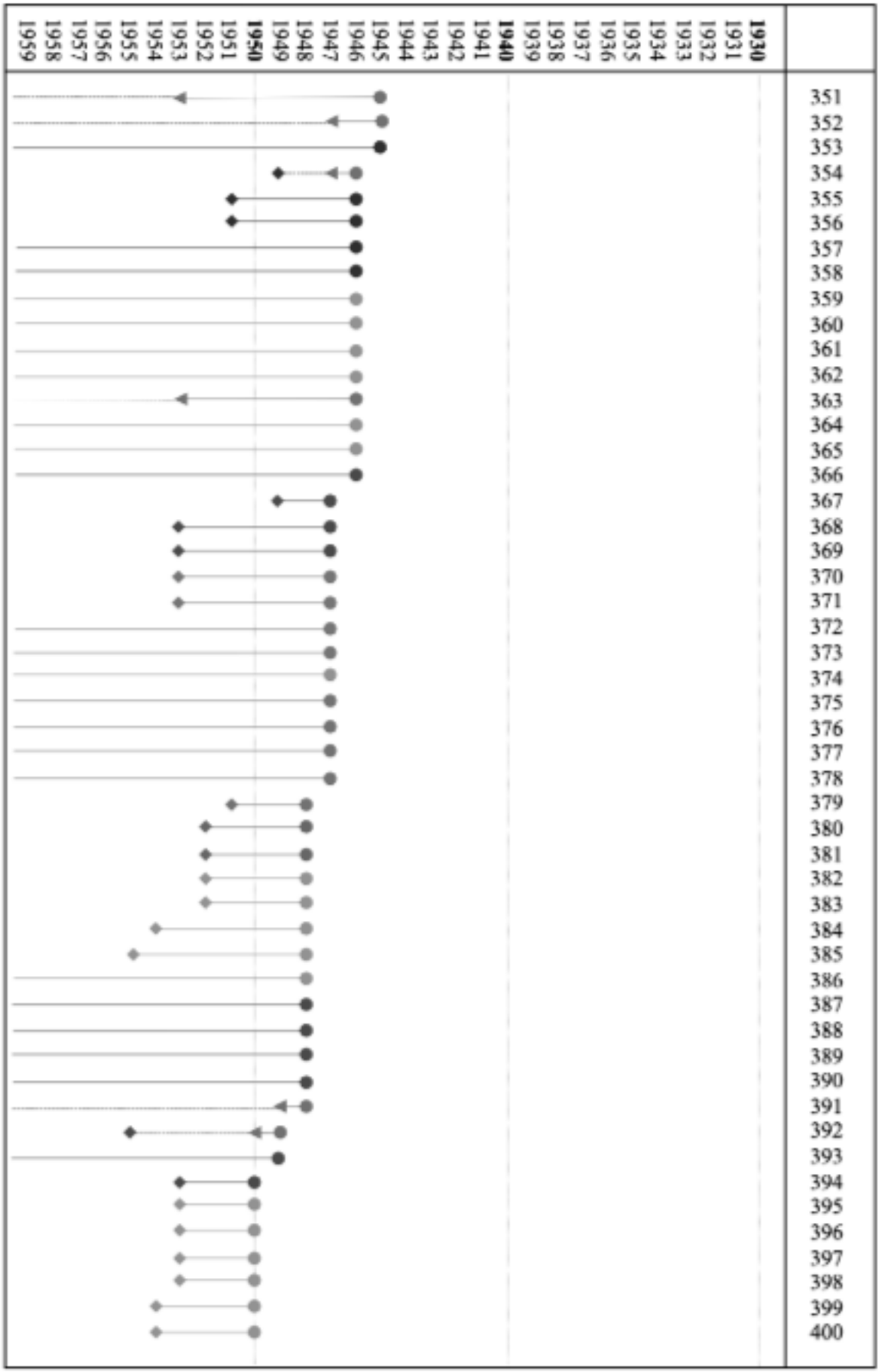
301	Economic Stabilization Board	326	Petroleum Reserves Corporation
302	U.S. of America Typhus Commission	327	Rubber Development Corporation
303	War Relocation Authority	328	Solid Fuels Administration for War
304	War Shipping Administration	329	Army and Navy Staff College
305	National Housing Agency	330	Joint Contract Termination Board
306	American Mexican Claims Commission	331	American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas
307	National Railway Labor Panel	332	Southeastern Power Administration
308	Shipbuilding Stabilization Committee	333	Office of Vocational Rehabilitation
309	Wage Adjustment Board	334	Office of War Mobilization
310	Smaller War Plants Corporation	335	Office of Contract Settlement
311	Joint Brazil-U.S. Defense Commission	336	Veterans Placement Service Board
312	Women’s Army Auxiliary Corps	337	War Contracts Price Adjustment Board
313	Agricultural Conservation and Adjustment Administration	338	Office of Contract Settlement Appeal Board
314	Agricultural Marketing Administration	339	National Council on Health Care Technology
315	Agricultural Research Administration	340	Contract Settlement Advisory Board
316	U.S. Commercial Company	341	Retraining and Reemployment Administration
317	Food Distribution Administration	342	Virgin Islands Public works programs
318	Food Production Administration	343	Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion
319	Federal Public Housing Authority	344	Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion Advisory Board
320	Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations	345	Office of the Housing Expediter
321	Women’s Reserve	346	National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems
322	Foreign Economic Administration	347	Internal Security Division
323	Administration of Food Production and Distribution	348	Civilian Production Administration
324	Committee on Physical Fitness	349	Bureau of Community Facilities
325	Community War Services	350	Office Industrial Relations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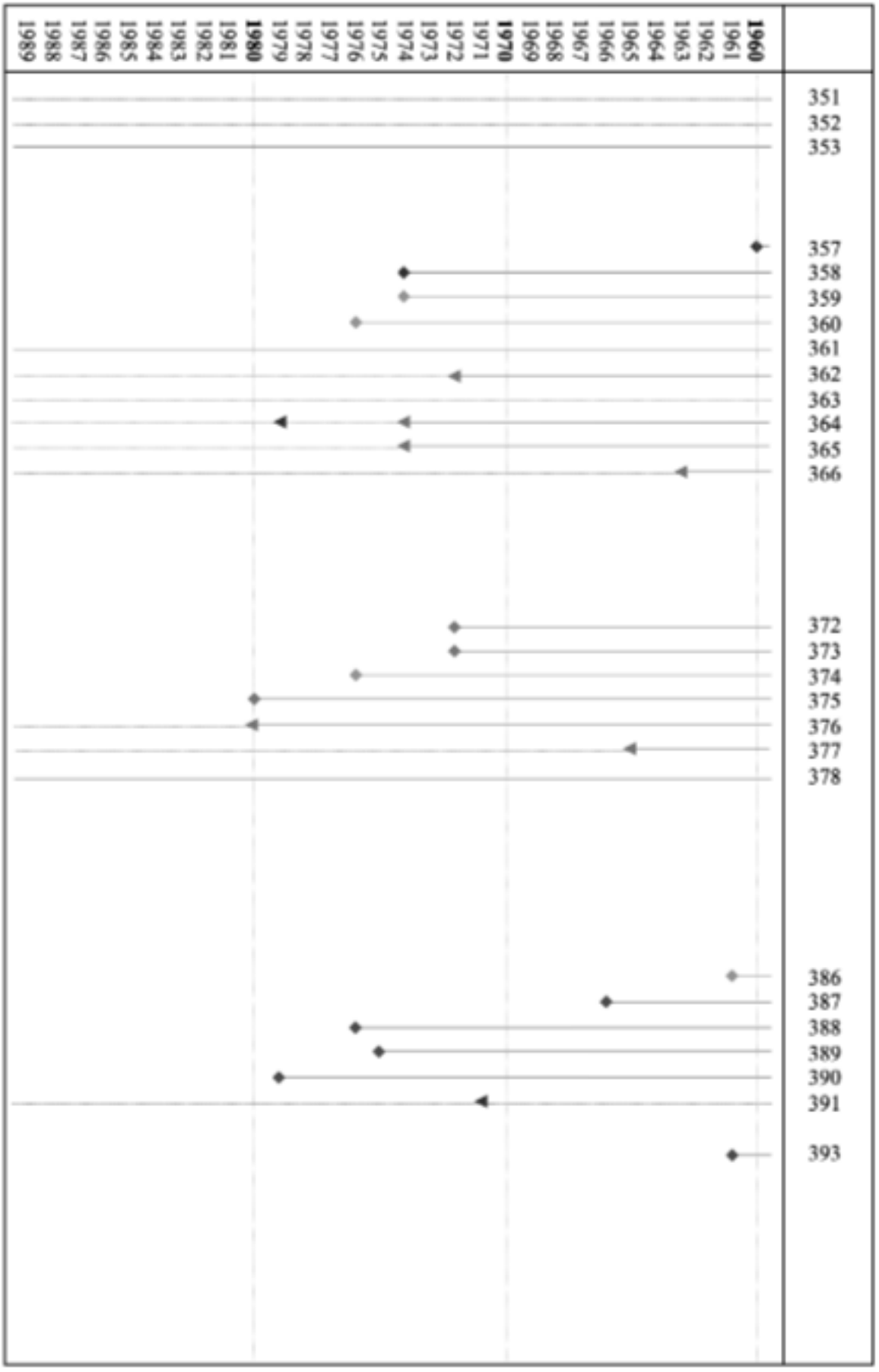
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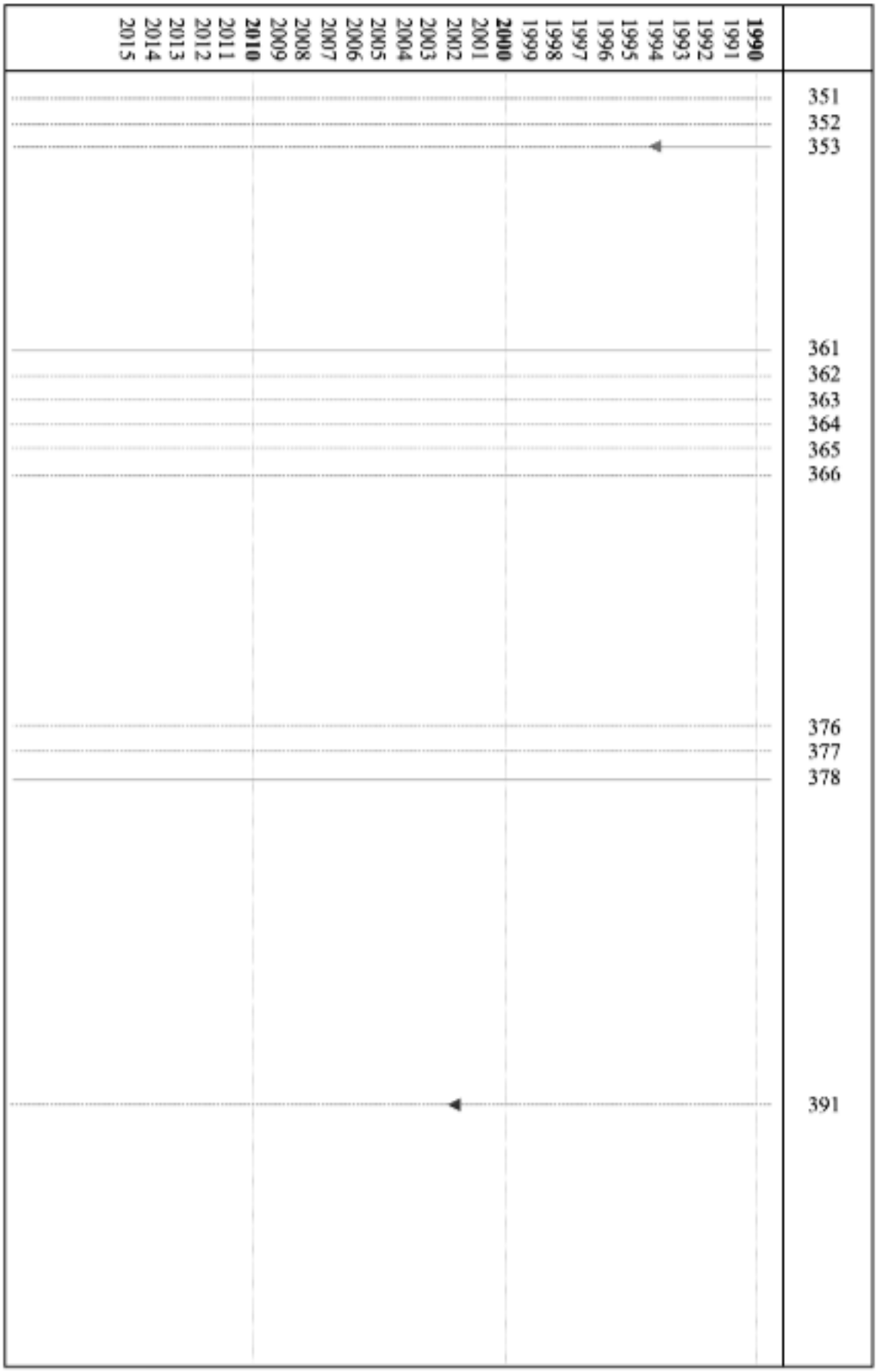
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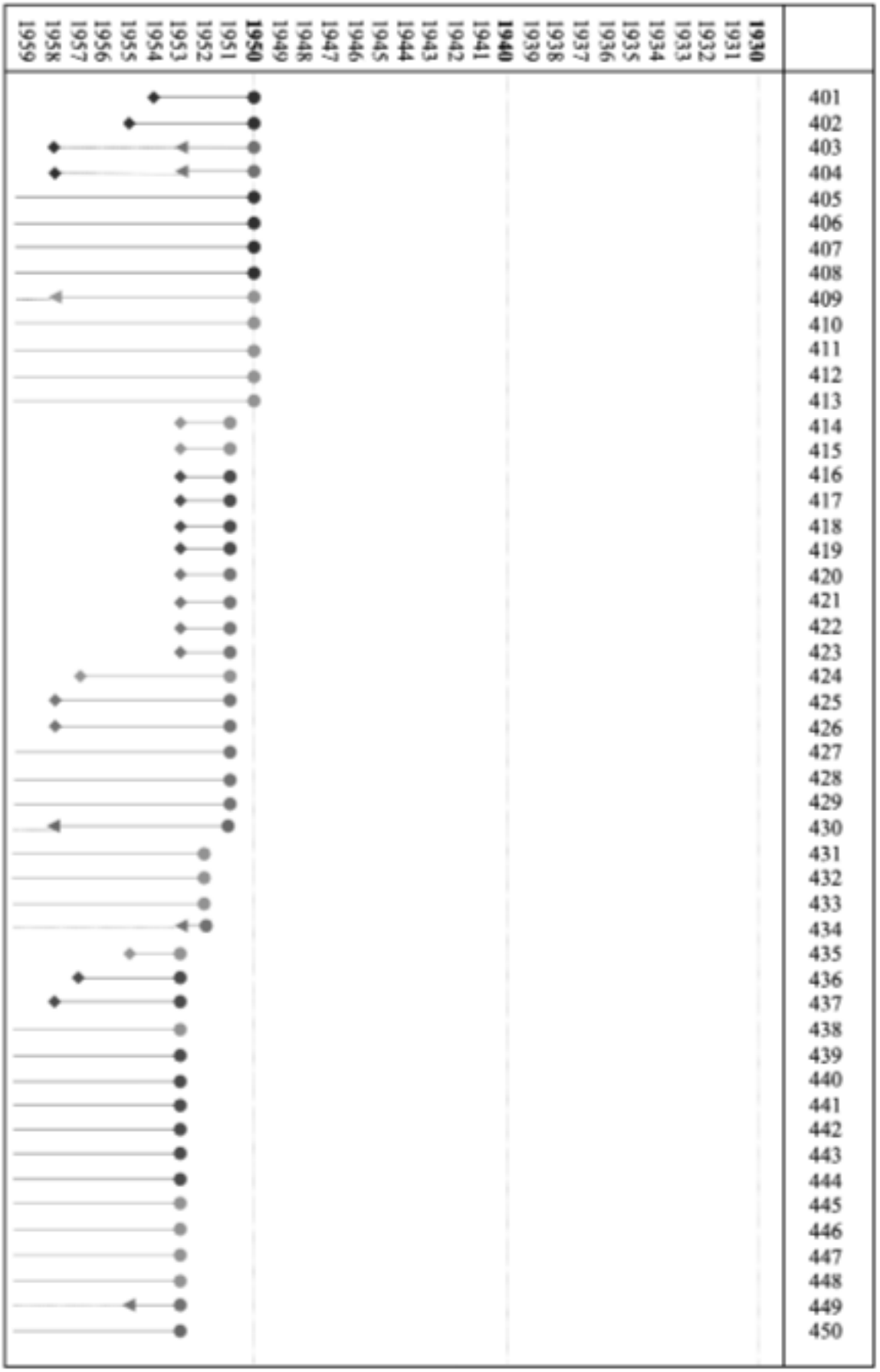
351	Production and Marketing Administration	376	National Center for Education Statistics
352	Surplus Property Office	377	Public Housing Administration
353	United States Savings Bonds Division	378	National Military Establishment
354	War Assets Administration	379	Economic Cooperation Administration
355	Philippine Alien Property Administration	380	Armed Services Renegotiation Board
356	Philippine War Damage Commission	381	Displaced Persons Commission
357	Air Coordinating Committee	382	Military Renegotiation Policy and Review Board
358	Atomic Energy Commission	383	Motor Carrier Claims Commission
359	District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency	384	War Claims Commission
360	Indian Claims Commission	385	Fair Employment Board
361	Industrial College of the Armed Forces	386	U.S. Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange
362	Office of Business Economics	387	Office of Naval Material
363	Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid	388	National Selective Service Appeal Board
364	National Institute of Mental Health	389	Board of Parole
365	Office of Oil and Gas	390	Panama Canal Company
366	Roosevelt Library	391	Federal Functions Protective Service
367	Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government	392	Veterans Tuition Appeals Board
368	Loyalty Review Board	393	Advisory Committee on Management Improvement
369	Munitions Board	394	Defense Electric Power Administration
370	Research and Development Board	395	Defense Fisheries Administration
371	National Security Resources Board	396	Defense Manpower Administration
372	National Housing Council	397	National Production Authority
373	Housing and Home Finance Agency	398	Wage Stabilization Board
374	Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific Research and Development	399	International Claims Commission of the United States
375	U.S. Marine Corps Memorial Commission	400	Defense Solid Fuels Administration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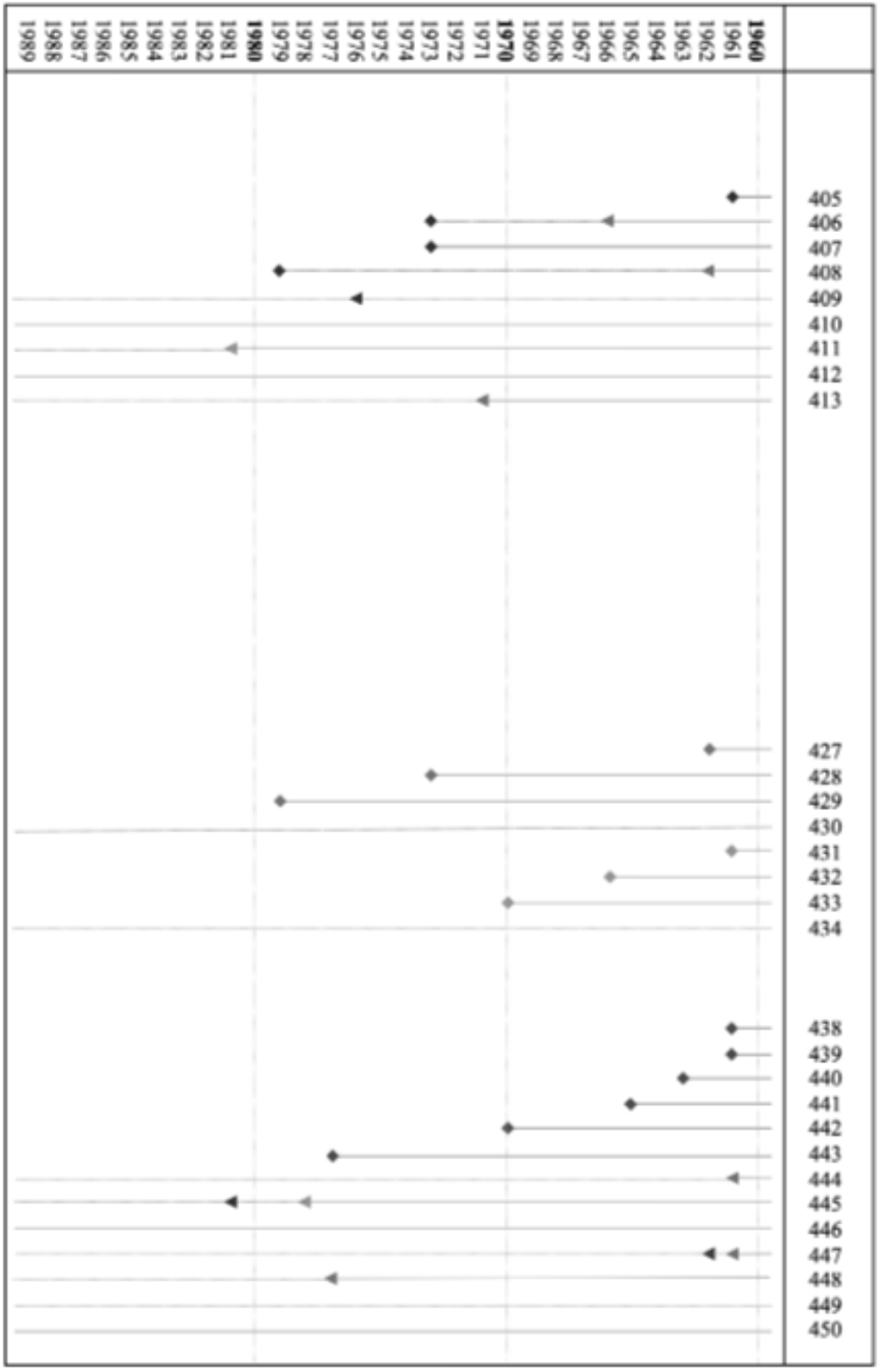
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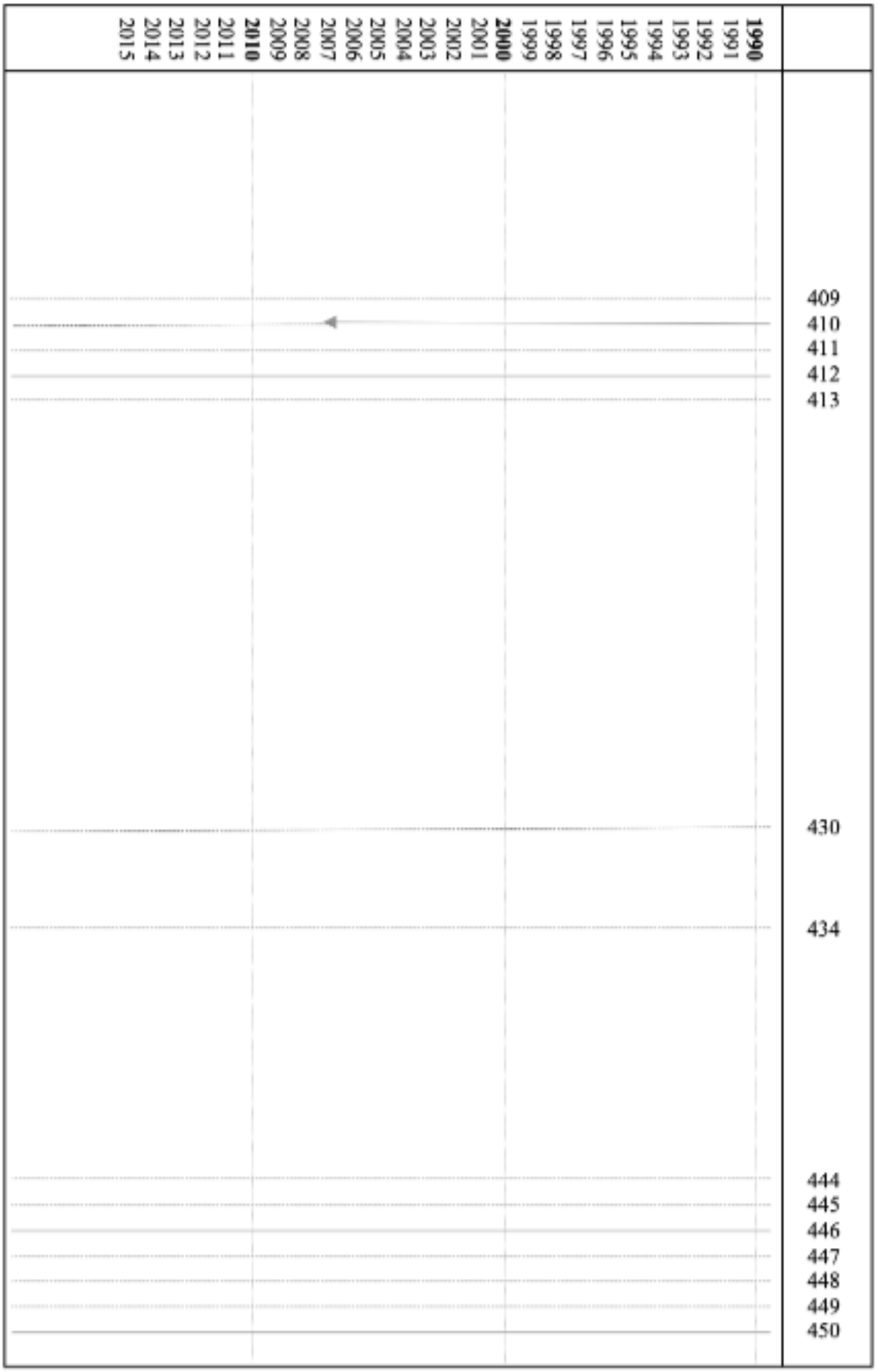
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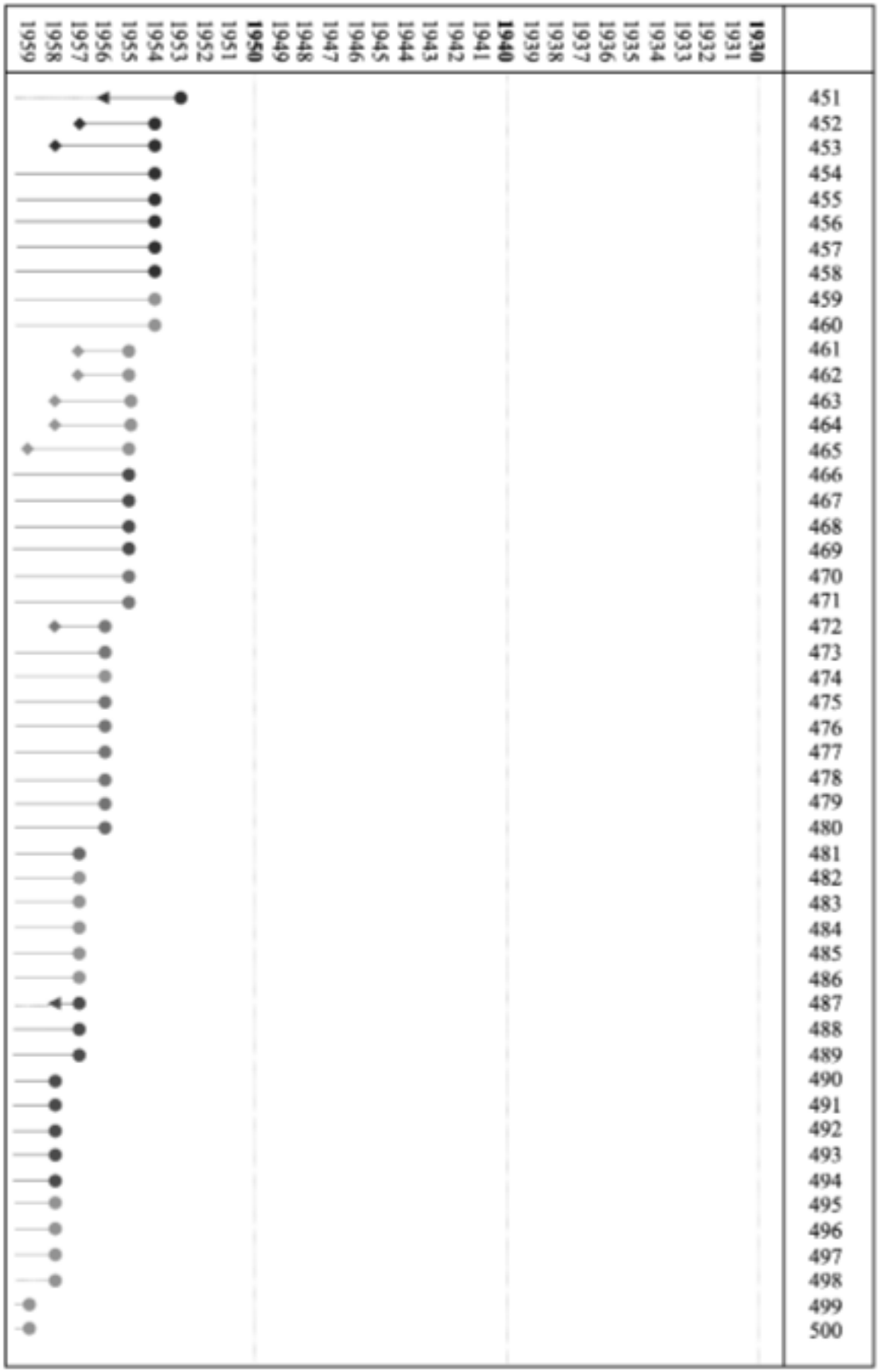
401	Petroleum Administration for Defense	426	National Advisory Board on Mobilization Policy
402	Defense Transport Administration	427	Defense Air Transportation Administration
403	Defense Minerals Administration	428	President’s Science Advisory Committee
404	Office of Defense Mobilization	429	Renegotiation Board
405	Government Patents Board	430	Civil Defense Advisory Council
406	Emergency Procurement Service	431	President’s Advisory Committee on Government Organization
407	Subversive Activities Control Board	432	National Capital Regional Planning Council
408	Office of Minerals Mobilization	433	Federal Coal Mine Safety Board of Review
409	Federal Civil Defense Administration	434	National Enforcement Commission
410	Library of Congress Police	435	Commission on Intergovernmental Relations
411	Maritime Administration	436	Advisory Committee on Weather Control
412	United States Court of Military Appeals	437	Jamestown-Williamsburg-Yorktown National Celebration Commission
413	Office of Territories	438	Bureau of Foreign Commerce
414	Committee on Government Contract Compliance	439	Operations Coordinating Board
415	Defense Materials Procurement Agency	440	Corregidor-Bataan Memorial Commission
416	Defense Production Administration	441	National Agricultural Advisory Commission
417	Economic Stabilization Agency	442	Business and Defense Services Administration
418	Office of Price Stabilization	443	U.S. Information Agency
419	Railroad and Airline Wage Board	444	Agricultural Conservation Program Service
420	Office of Rent Stabilization	445	Agricultural Research Service
421	Salary Stabilization Board	446	Commodity Stabilization Service
422	Mutual Security Agency	447	Advisory Board on Economic Growth and Stability
423	Telecommunications Adviser to the President	448	Farmer Cooperative Service
424	National Security Training Commission	449	Foreign Operations Administration
425	Defense Mobilization Board	450	Education Health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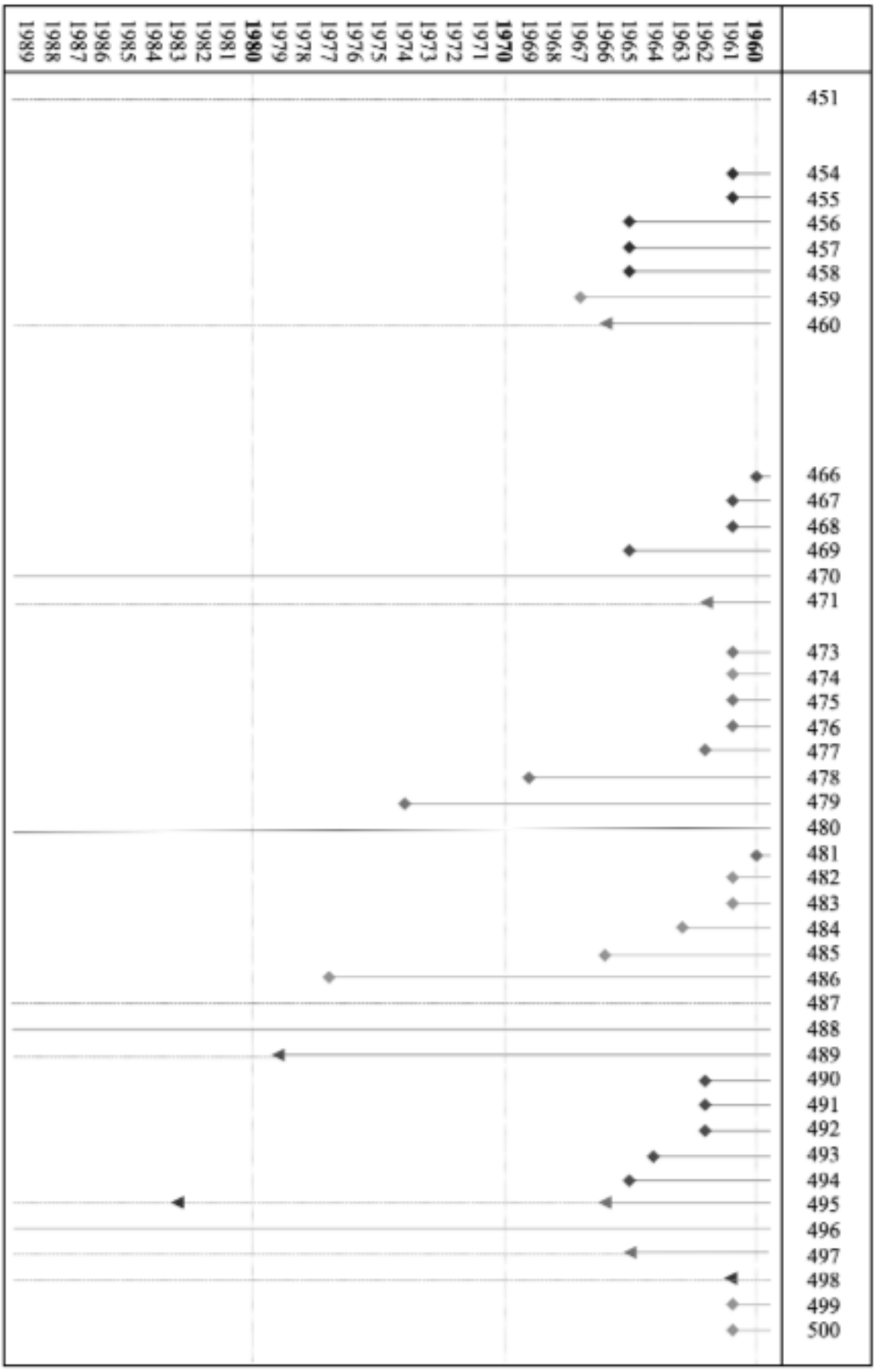
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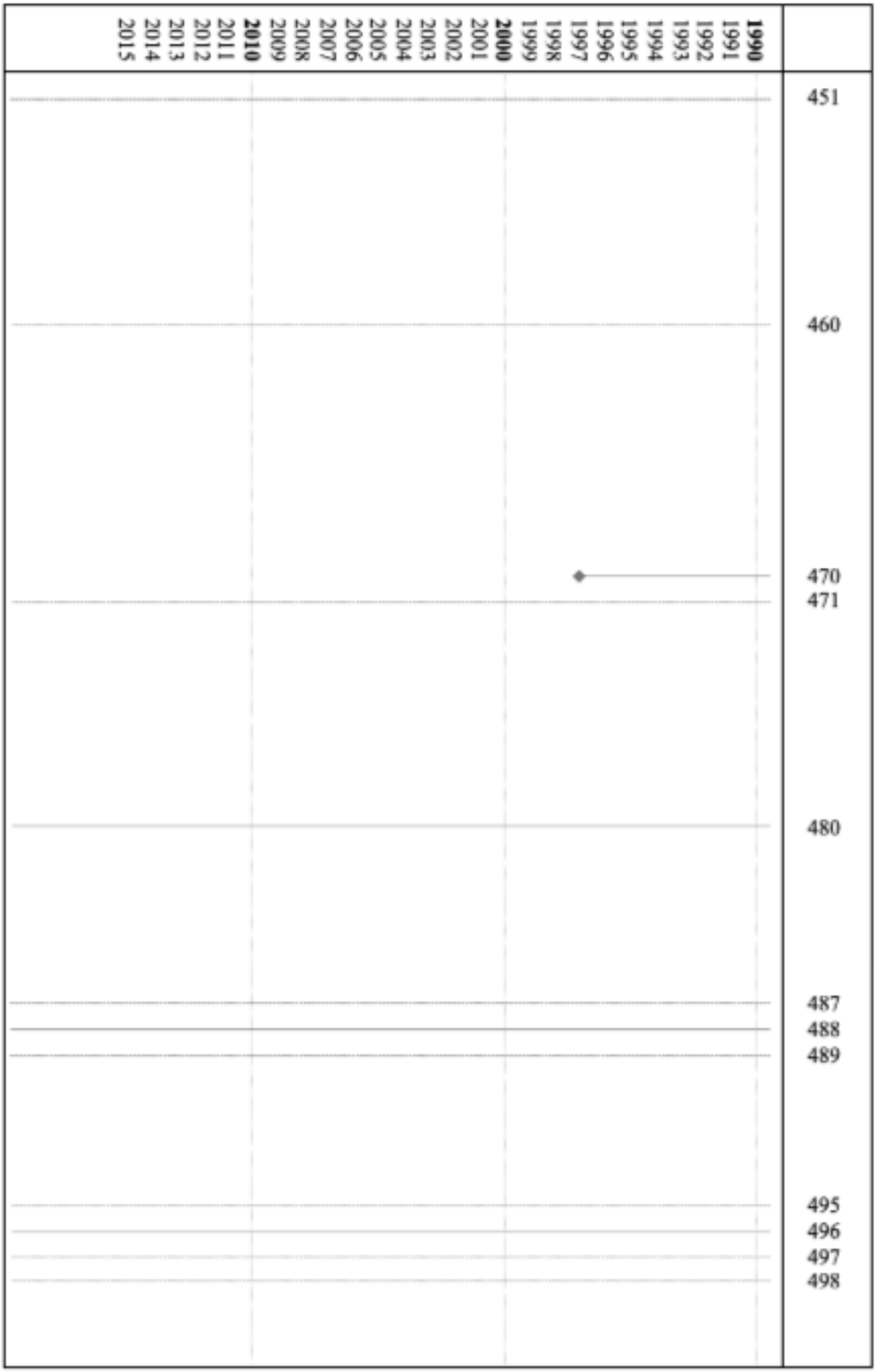
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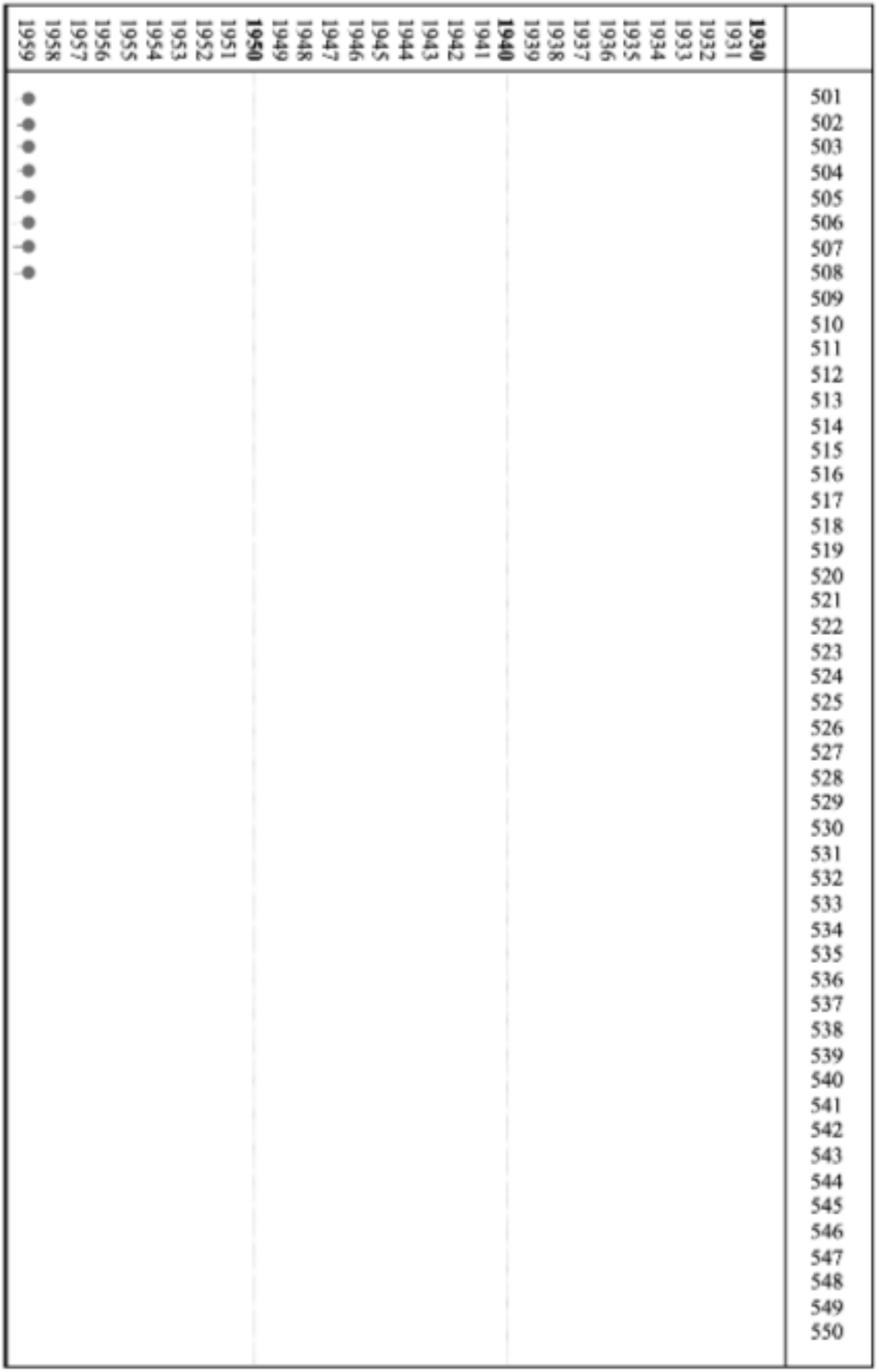
451	Rubber Producing Facilities Disposal Commission	476	President’s Board of Consultants on Foreign Intelligence Activities
452	National Monument Commission	477	Federal Council on Aging
453	Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Commission	478	Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue
454	Council on Foreign Economic Policy	479	Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife
455	Presidential Advisory Committee on Energy Supplies and Resources Policy	480	President’s Council on Youth Fitness
456	Community Facilities Administration	481	Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission
457	National Voluntary Home Mortgage Credit Extension Committee	482	President’s Committee on Fund-Raising Within the Federal Service
458	Urban Renewal Administration	483	Development Loan Fund
459	President’s Committee for Traffic Safety	484	Trade Policy Committee
460	Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation	485	Civil War Centennial Commission
461	District of Columbia Auditorium Commission	486	Distinguished Civilian Service Awards Board
462	Commission on Government Security	487	Airways Modernization Board
463	Civil Defense Coordinating Board	488	Commission on Civil Rights
464	President’s Special Committee on Disarmament Problems	489	Columbia Institution for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind
465	Theodore Roosevelt Centennial Commission	490	Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission
466	Boston National Historic Sites Commission	491	Neches River Basins
467	International Cooperation Administration	492	Savannah River Basins
468	Advisory Committee on Federal Public Works	493	Commission on International Rules of Judicial Procedure
469	Office of Aging	494	Loan Policy Board
470	Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission	495	Federal Aviation Agency
471	President’s Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped	496	Department of Medicine and Surgery
472	National Committee for the Development of Scientists and Engineers	497	Office of Minerals Exploration
473	Alaska International Rail and Highway Commission	498	Office of Defense and Civilian Mobilization
474	Cabinet Committee on Small Business	499	Cabinet Committee on Price Stability for Economic Growth
475	Federal Facilities Corporation	500	Committee on Government Activities Affecting Prices and Costs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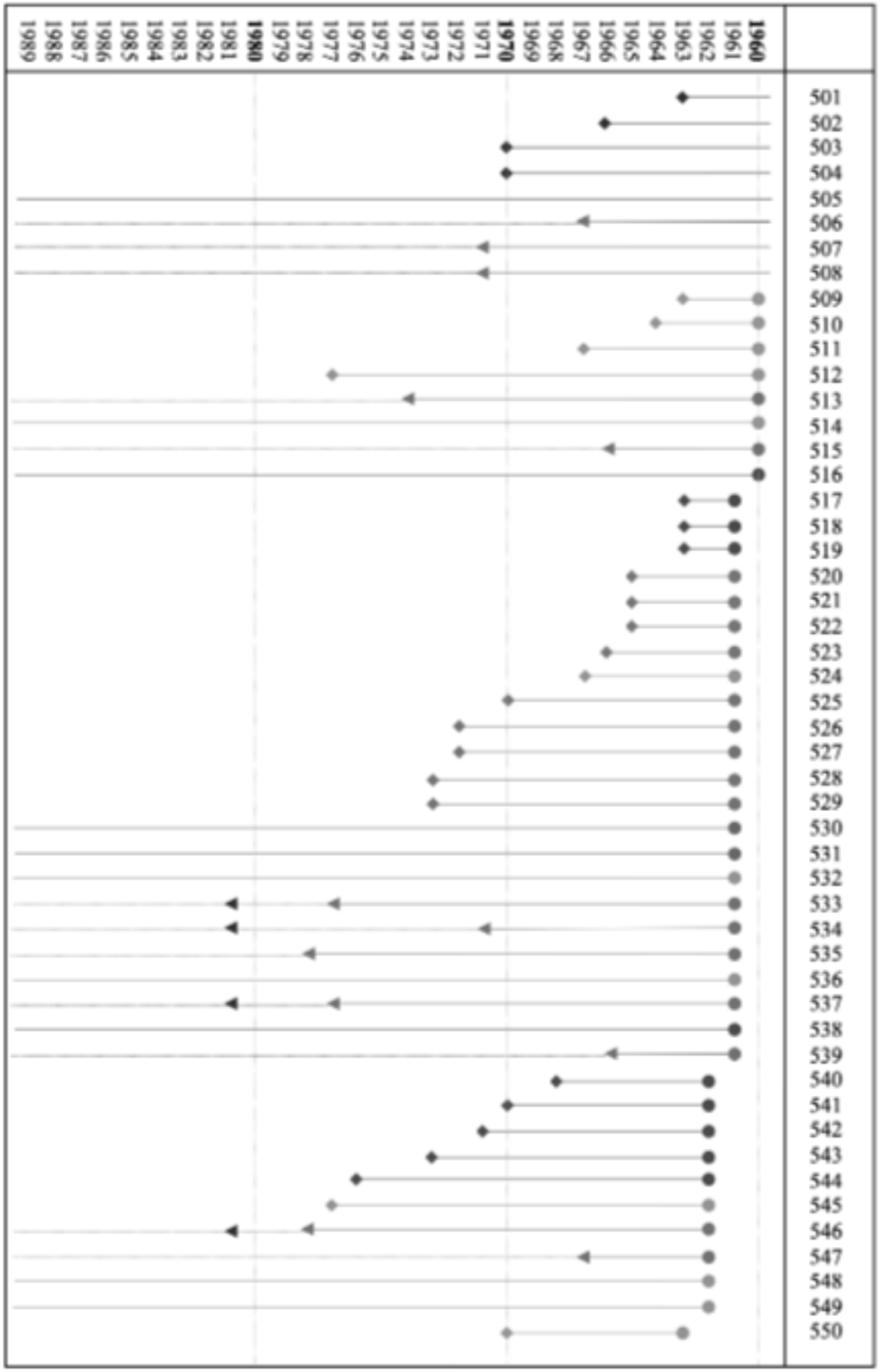
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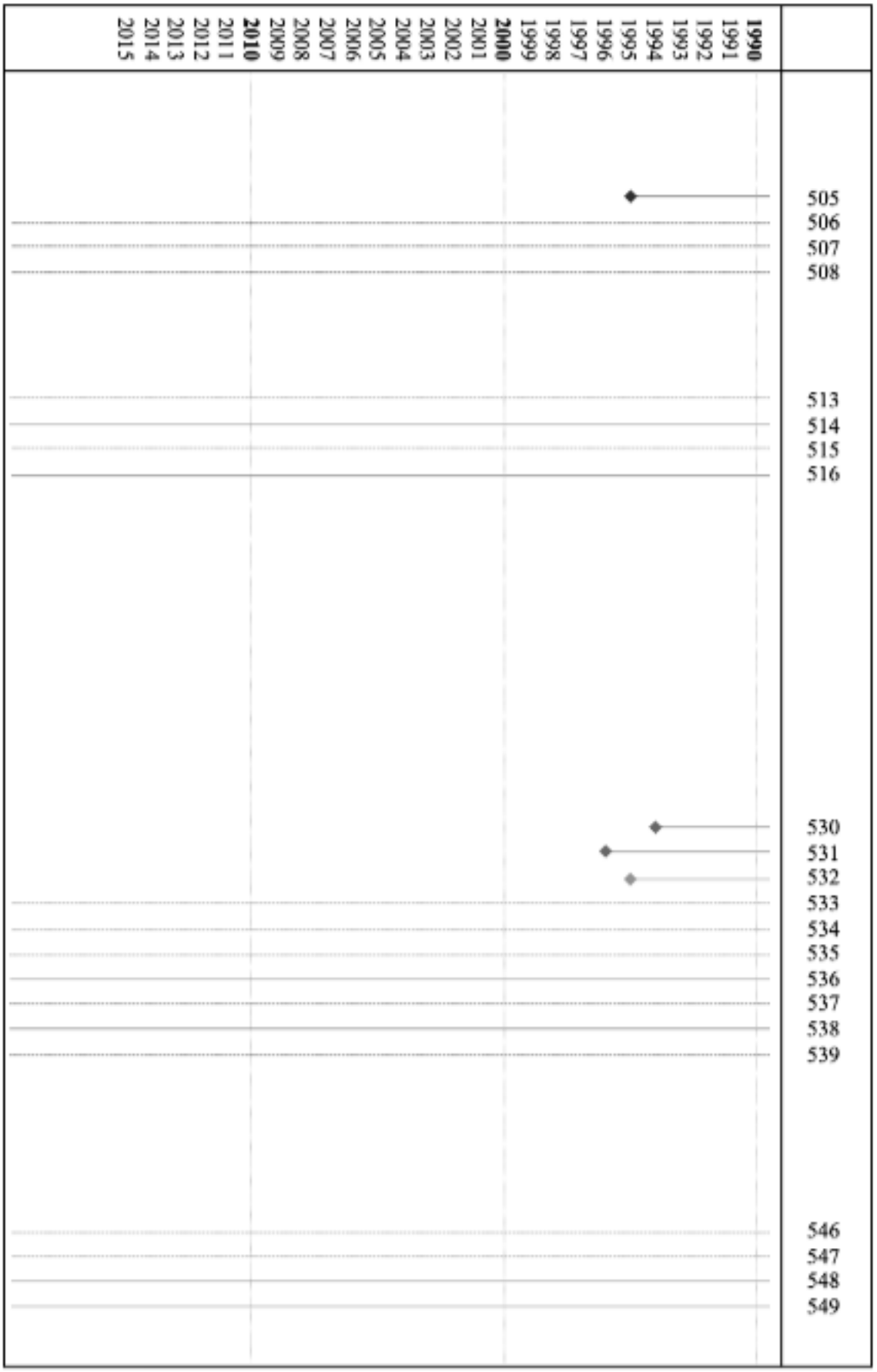
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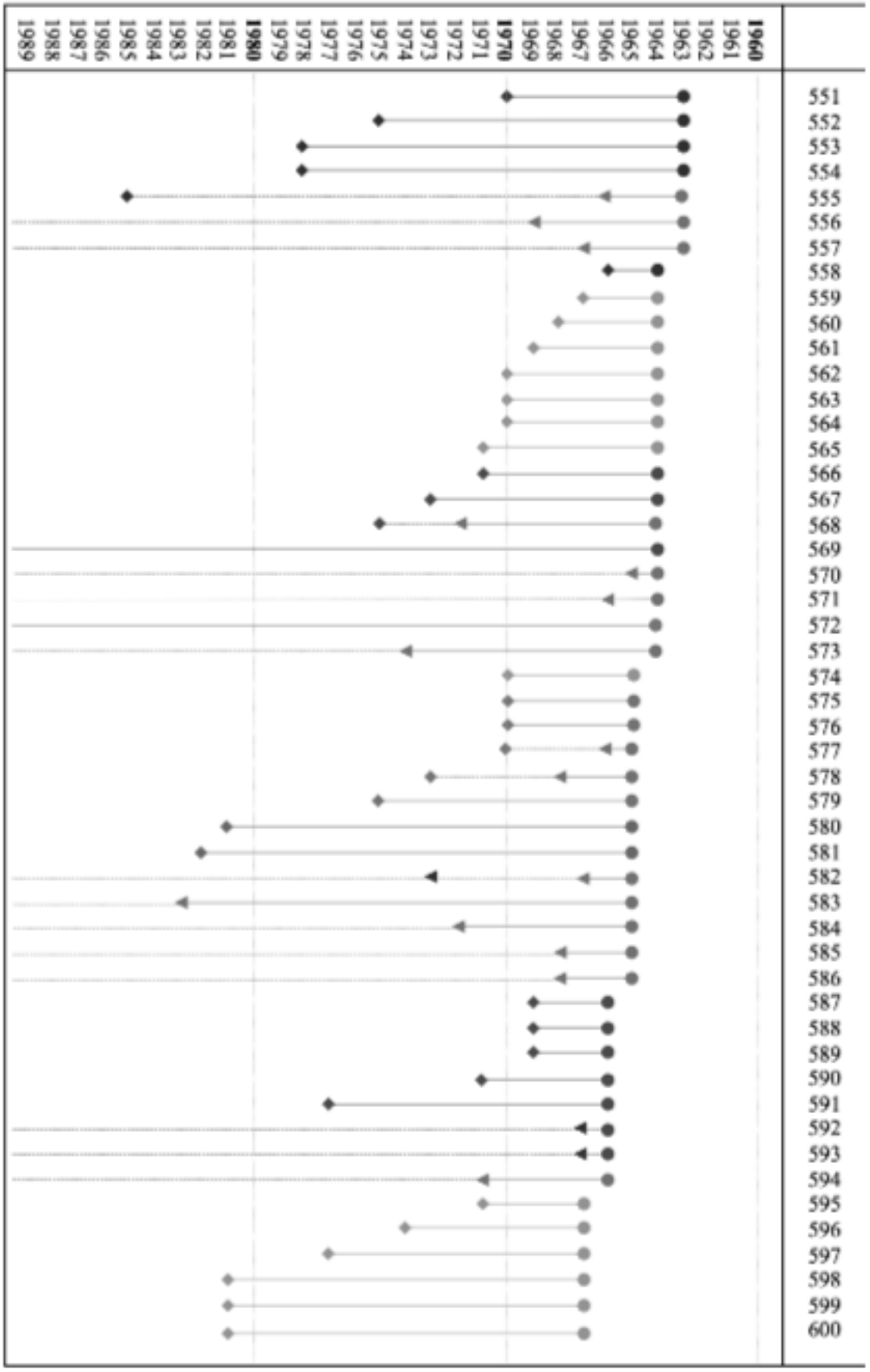
501	Committee for Rural Development Program	526	Advisory Committee on the Arts
502	Bureau of Naval Weapons	527	Transportation and Communications Service
503	Bureau of Commercial Fisheries	528	Office of Emergency Planning
504	Federal Radiation Council	529	President’s Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy
505	Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations	530	Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service
506	Interagency Committee on Oceanography	531	Scientific and Policy Advisory Committee
507	Oil Import Administration	532	U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
508	Oil Import Appeals Board	533	Economic Research Service
509	The Century 21 Exposition	534	Peace Corps
510	Committee on Migratory Labor	535	Cooperative State Research Service
511	National Capital Transportation Agency	536	Office of Rural Areas Development
512	Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs	537	Statistical Reporting Service
513	Office of Coal Research	538	Trade and Development Program
514	Defense Communications Agency	539	Utilization and Disposal Service
515	Great Lakes Pilotage Administration	540	President’s Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing
516	Government Printing Office	541	Director of Telecommunications Management
517	Bureau of International Business Operations	542	Office of Minerals and Solid Fuels
518	Bureau of International Programs	543	Office of Science and Technology
519	President’s Commission on the Status of Women	544	International Volunteer Service
520	Area Redevelopment Administration	545	President’s Council on Aging
521	Caribbean Organization Act	546	National Agricultural Library
522	President’s Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity	547	Bureau of Public Assistance
523	Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission	548	National Institute of Child Health and Human Development
524	Missile Sites Labor Commission	549	Defense Intelligence School
525	President’s Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime	550	Interagency Committee on International Athletics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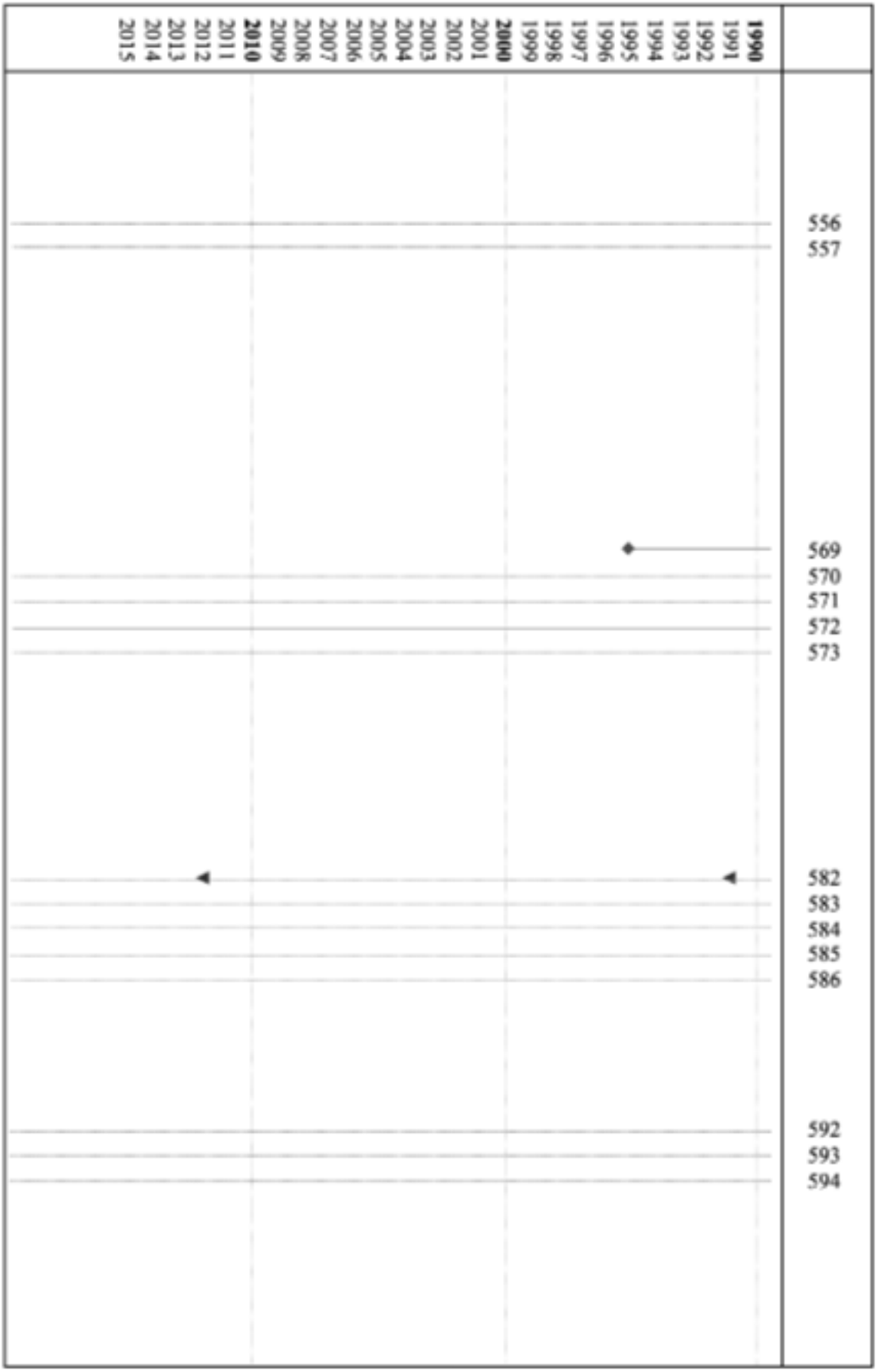
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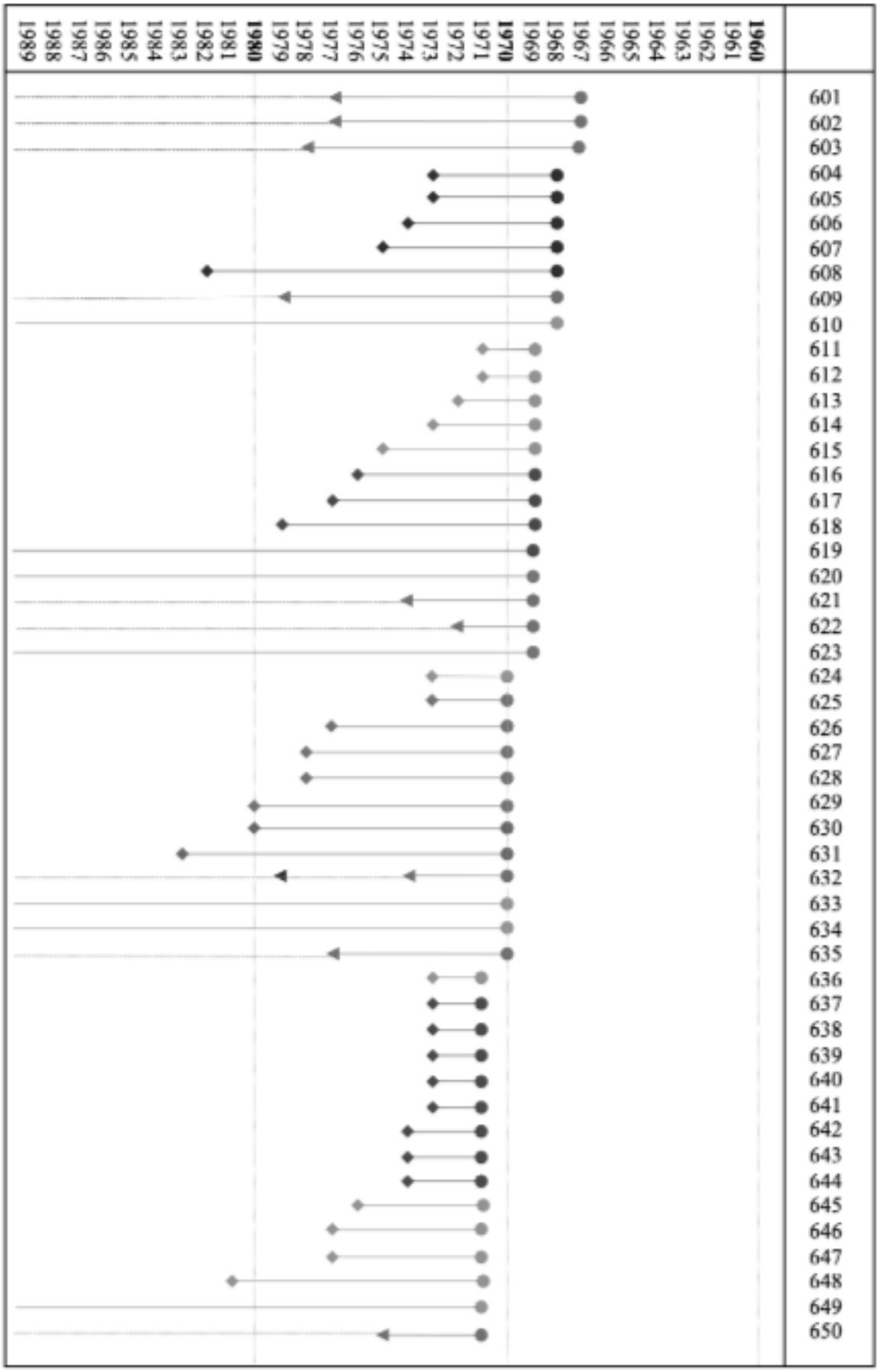
551	Office of Field Services	576	Office of State Technical Services
552	Trade Expansion Act Advisory Committee	577	Federal Water Pollution Control Administration
553	Bureau of Outdoor Recreation	578	Bureau of Drug Abuse Control
554	Interdepartmental Committee on the Status of Women	579	Joint Commission on the Coinage
555	Naval Material Support Establishment	580	Regional Action Planning Commissions
556	International Agricultural Developmental Service	581	Water Resources Council
557	Welfare Administration	582	Administration on Aging
558	Automation Technology	583	Chesapeake Bay Center for Environmental Studies
559	President’s Review Committee for Development Planning in Alaska	584	Consumer and Marketing Service
560	Maritime Advisory Committee	585	Urban Mass Transportation Administration Functions regarding urban mass transportation
561	Lewis and Clark Trail Commission	586	Office of Youth Programs
562	Atlantic-Pacific Interoceanic Canal Study Commission	587	U.S. Mexico Commission for Border Development and Friendship
563	Public Land Law Review Commission	588	Citizens’ Advisory Committee on Recreation and Natural Beauty
564	President’s Committee on Manpower	589	President’s Council on Recreation and Natural Beauty
565	Federal Field Committee for Development Planning in Alaska	590	National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development
566	President’s Committee on Consumer Interests	591	American Revolution Bicentennial Commission
567	Interagency Council on International Educational and Cultural Affairs	592	National Highway Safety Agency
568	Office of Economic Opportunity	593	National Traffic Safety Agency
569	Administrative Conference of the United States	594	Volunteers in Service to America
570	National Council on the Arts	595	President’s Council on Youth Opportunity
571	Community Relations Service	596	Interagency Committee on Mexican-American Affairs
572	Consumer Advisory Council	597	Social and Rehabilitation Service
573	Office of Water Resources Research	598	Great Lakes Basin Commission
574	Environmental Science Services Administration	599	New England River Basins Commission
575	Rural Community Development Service	600	Pacific Northwest River Basins Commission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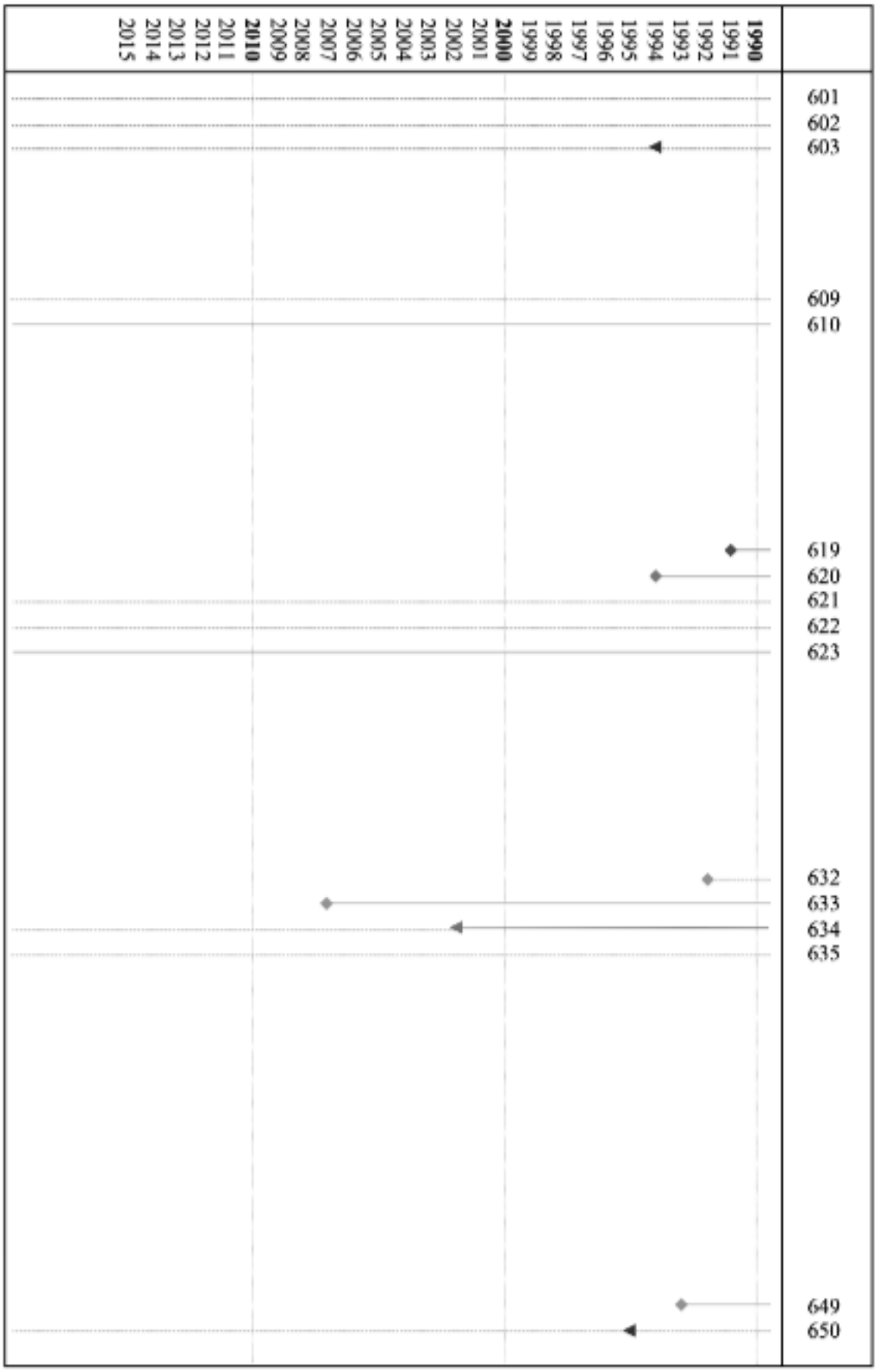
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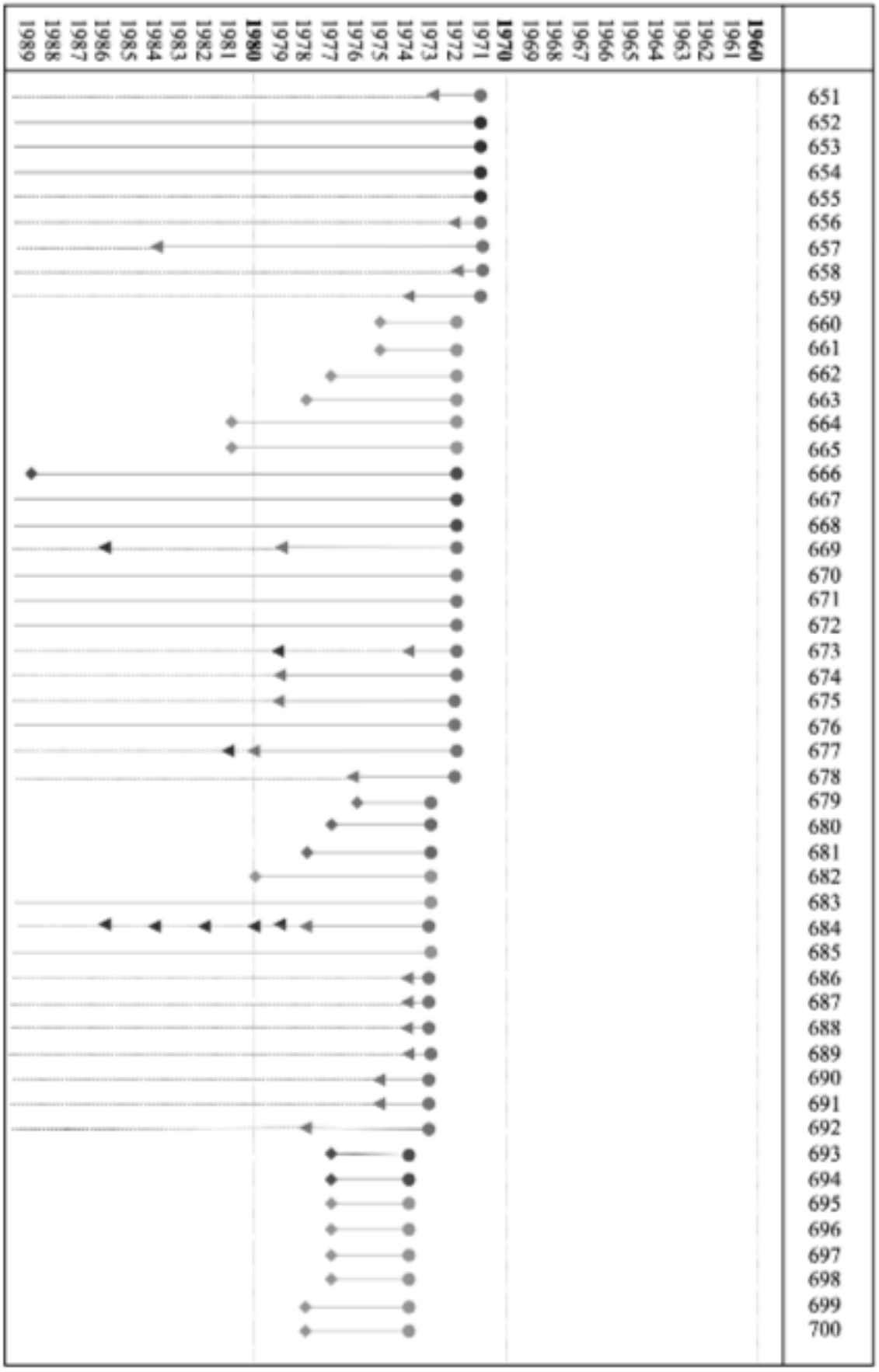
601	Alaska Power Administration	626	Office of Telecommunications Policy
602	Medical Services Administration	627	National Council on Organized Crime
603	Packers and Stockyards Administration	628	Domestic Council
604	Health Services and Mental Health Administration	629	Cost Accounting Standards Board
605	National Water Commission	630	Low-Emission Vehicle Certification Board
606	Office of Foreign Direct Investments	631	Community Development Corporation
607	National Visitor Facilities Advisory Commission	632	National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism
608	Law Enforcement Assistance Administration	633	National Commission on Libraries and Information Science
609	Federal Insurance Administrator	634	Consolidated Federal Law Enforcement Training Center
610	National Historical Publications Commission	635	Interdepartmental Committee for the Voluntary Payroll Savings Plan for the Purchase of U.S. Savings Bonds
611	President’s Advisory Council on Executive Organization	636	National Business Council for Consumer Affairs Staff
612	U.S. Training and Employment Service	637	Committee on the Health Services Industry
613	Foreign Economic Development Service	638	Pay Board
614	Commission on Government Procurement	639	Price Commission
615	National Center on Education Media and Materials for the Handicapped	640	Rent Advisory Board
616	Interim Compliance Panel	641	Committee on State and Local Government Cooperation
617	President’s Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board	642	Construction Industry Stabilization Committee
618	Federal Labor Relations Council	643	Cost of Living Council
619	President’s Commission on Personnel Interchange	644	Food Industry Advisory Committee
620	Food and Nutrition Service	645	Micronesian Claims Commission
621	Export Marketing Service	646	Council on International Economic Policy
622	Office of Intergovernmental Relations	647	Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control
623	Inter-American Social Development Institute	648	Ohio River Basin Commission
624	National Industrial Pollution Control Council Staff	649	Temporary Emergency Court of Appeals
625	President’s Advisory Council on Management Improvement	650	ACTION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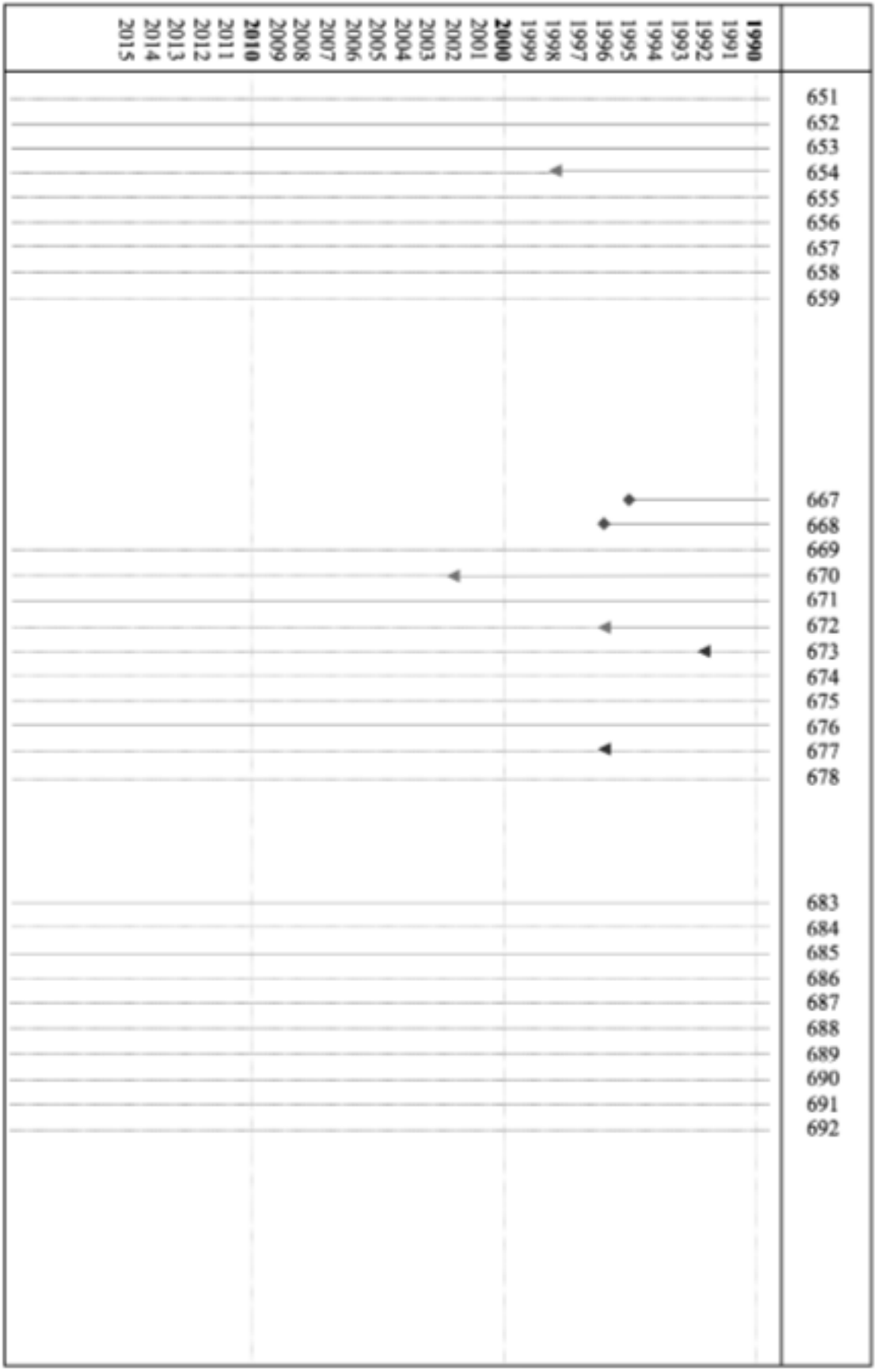
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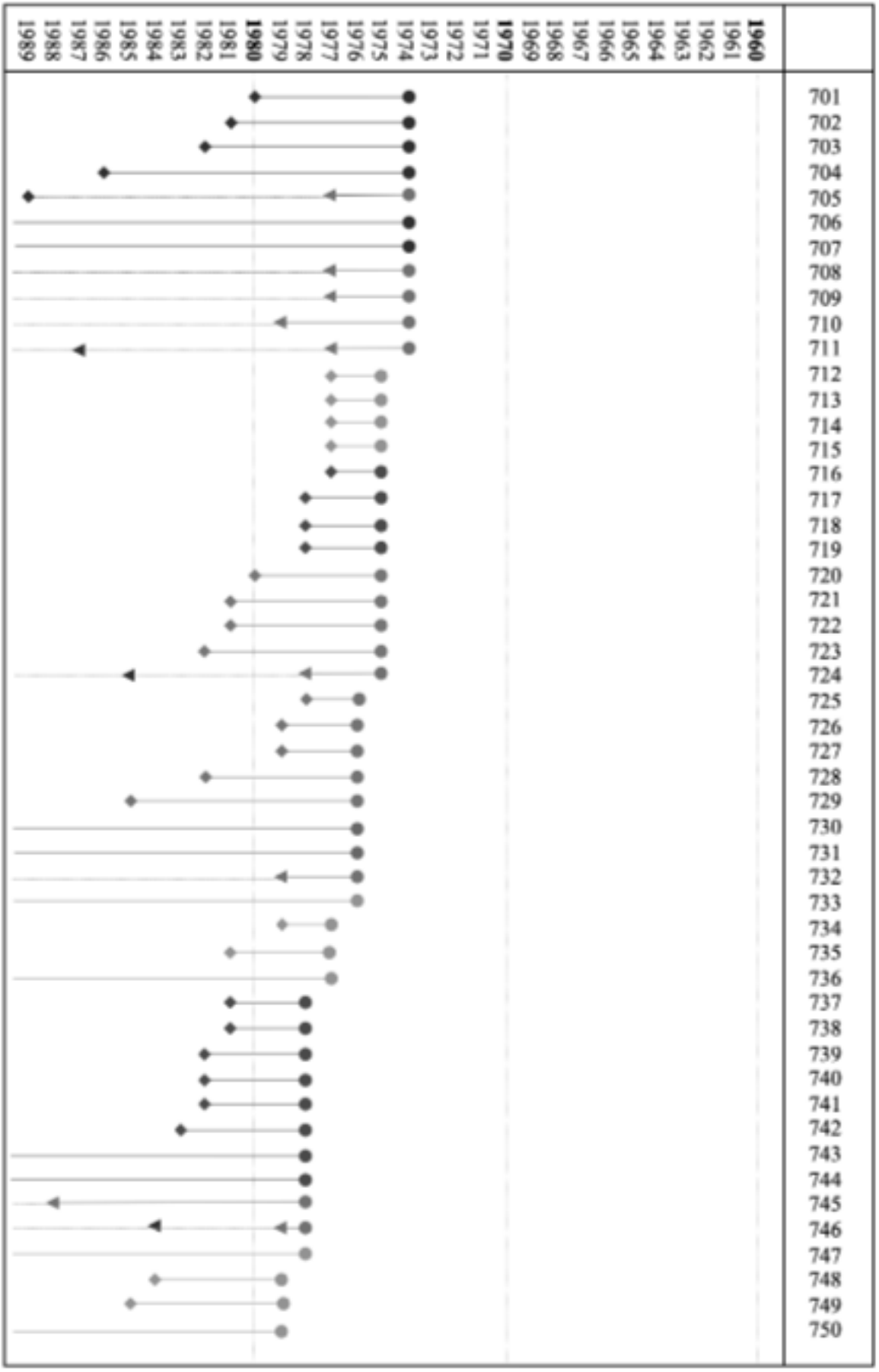
651	Office of Consumer Affairs	676	Office of Indian Education Programs
652	Defense Nuclear Agency	677	Institute of Museum Services
653	Defense Security Assistance Agency	678	Office of Revenue Sharing
654	Defense Special Weapons Agency	679	Office of Land Use and Water Planning
655	Freedmen's Hospital	680	Watergate Special Prosecution Force
656	Office of Import Programs	681	Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration
657	Executive Director of Regional Operations	682	Office of Territorial Affairs
658	Office of Textiles	683	National Cemetery System
659	Office of Saline Water	684	Committee Management Secretariat
660	Environmental Financing Authority	685	Center for Disease Control
661	Social and Economic Statistics Administration	686	Council on Economic Policy
662	Cabinet Committee To Combat Terrorism	687	Office of Energy Conservation
663	Interagency Classification Review Committee	688	Office of Energy Data and Analysis
664	Missouri River Basin Commission	689	Energy Policy Office
665	Upper Mississippi River Basin Commission	690	Active Corps of Executives
666	Federal Savings and Loan Advisory Council	691	Service Corps of Retired Executives
667	Office of Technology Assessment	692	Rural Development Service
668	Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation	693	President's Economic Policy Board
669	Drug Abuse Alcohol	694	Federal Energy Administration
670	Tobacco Alcohol	695	Energy Research and Development Administration
671	Defense Investigative Service	696	Energy Resources Council
672	Defense Mapping Agency	697	White House Conference on Handicapped Individuals
673	National Institute on Drug Abuse	698	National Commission on Supplies and Shortages
674	National Institute of Education	699	National Commission on New Technological Uses of Copyrighted Works
675	Education Division	700	Commission on Federal Paperwork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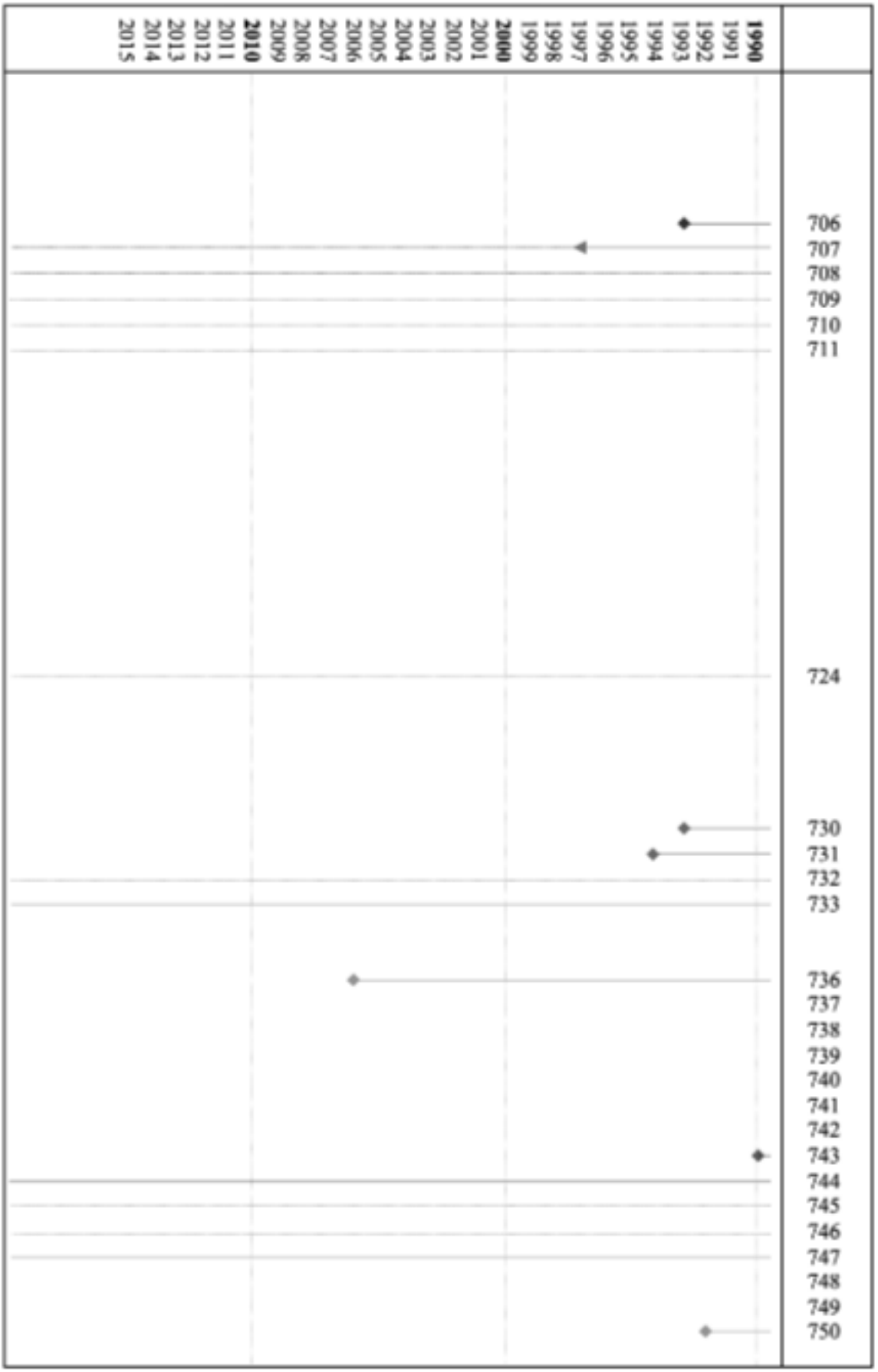
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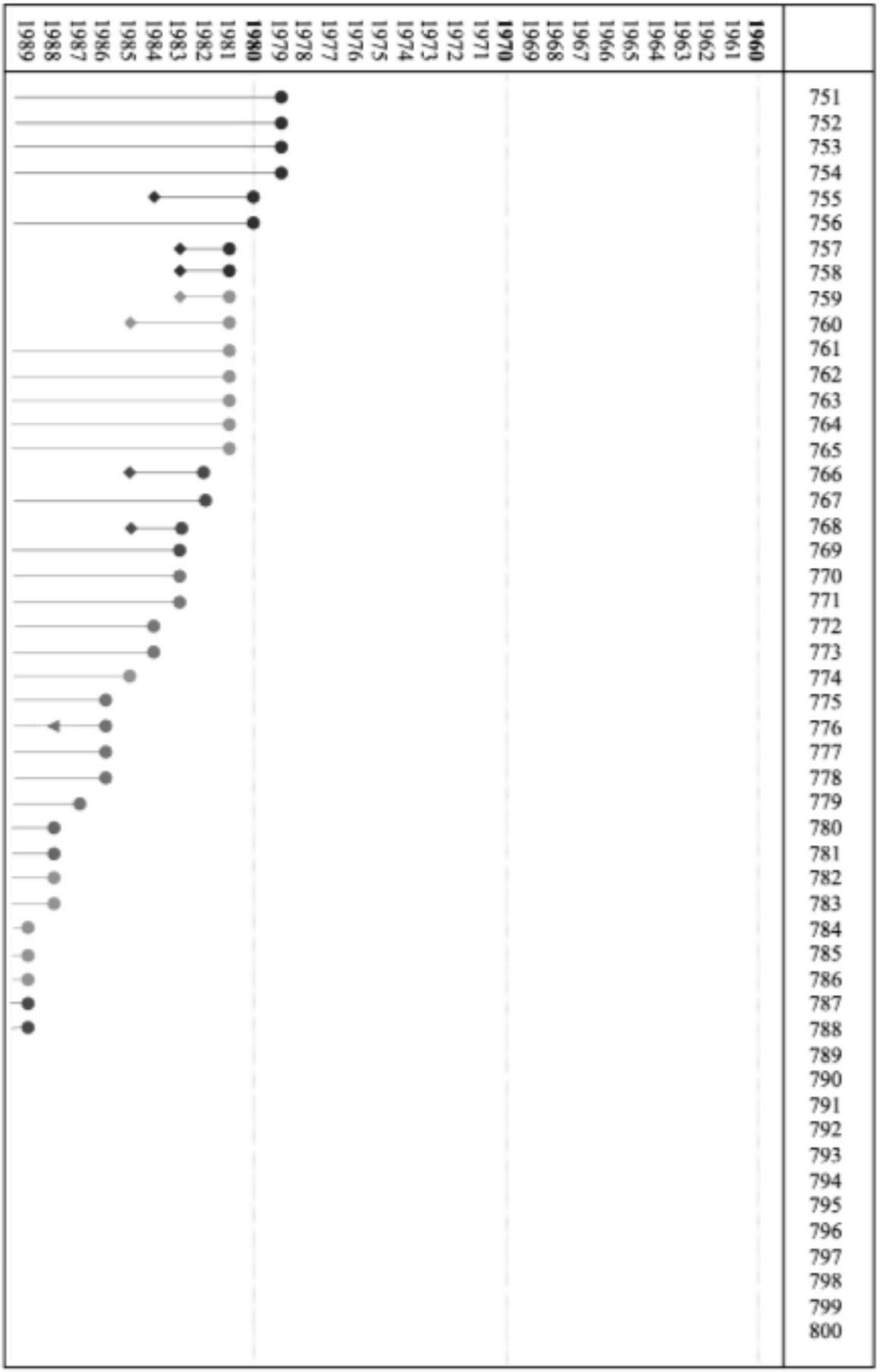
701	Reconciliation Service	726	Endangered Species Scientific Authority
702	Council on Wage and Price Stability	727	Office of Rail Public Counsel
703	Federal Water Pollution Control Administration	728	Defense Audit Service
704	U.S. Railway Association	729	Northern Mariana Islands Commission on Federal Laws
705	National Center for Health Services Research	730	Copyright Royalty Tribunal
706	Office of Federal Procurement Policy	731	Federal Grain Inspection Service
707	Office of Civilian Health and Medical Program of the United States	732	Office of the General Sales Manager
708	Community Services Administration Functions concerning Legal Services Program transferred to Legal Services Corporation by act of July 25	733	National Sea Grant Review Panel
709	Economic Management Support Center	734	National Commission on Neighborhoods
710	National Academy for Fire Prevention and Control	735	Statistical Policy Coordination Committee
711	National Center for Health Statistics	736	Office of Environemtn, Health and Safety
712	Committee on Mental Health and Illness of the Elderly	737	Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service
713	Office of Energy Programs	738	Office of Self-Help Development and Technical Development
714	American Indian Policy Review Commission	739	Interagency Information Security Committee
715	Lowell Historic Canal District Commission	740	Information Security Oversight Office
716	Federal Property Council	741	National Productivity Council
717	Collective Bargaining Committee in Construction	742	National Consumer Cooperative Bank
718	National Commission on the Observance of International Women’s Year	743	Office of Transportation
719	Productivity and Quality of Working Life	744	Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency
720	Ocean Mining Administration	745	Office of Government Ethics
721	Adjustment Assistance Coordinating Committee	746	National Council on the Handicapped
722	Community Services Administration	747	Office of Small and Disadvantaged Business Utilization
723	U.S. Metric Board	748	Research Justice Assistance
724	Air Force Management Engineering Agency	749	Defense Audiovisual Agency
725	Office of Drug Abuse Policy	750	Office of Federal Inspector of Construction for the Alaska Natural Gas Transportation System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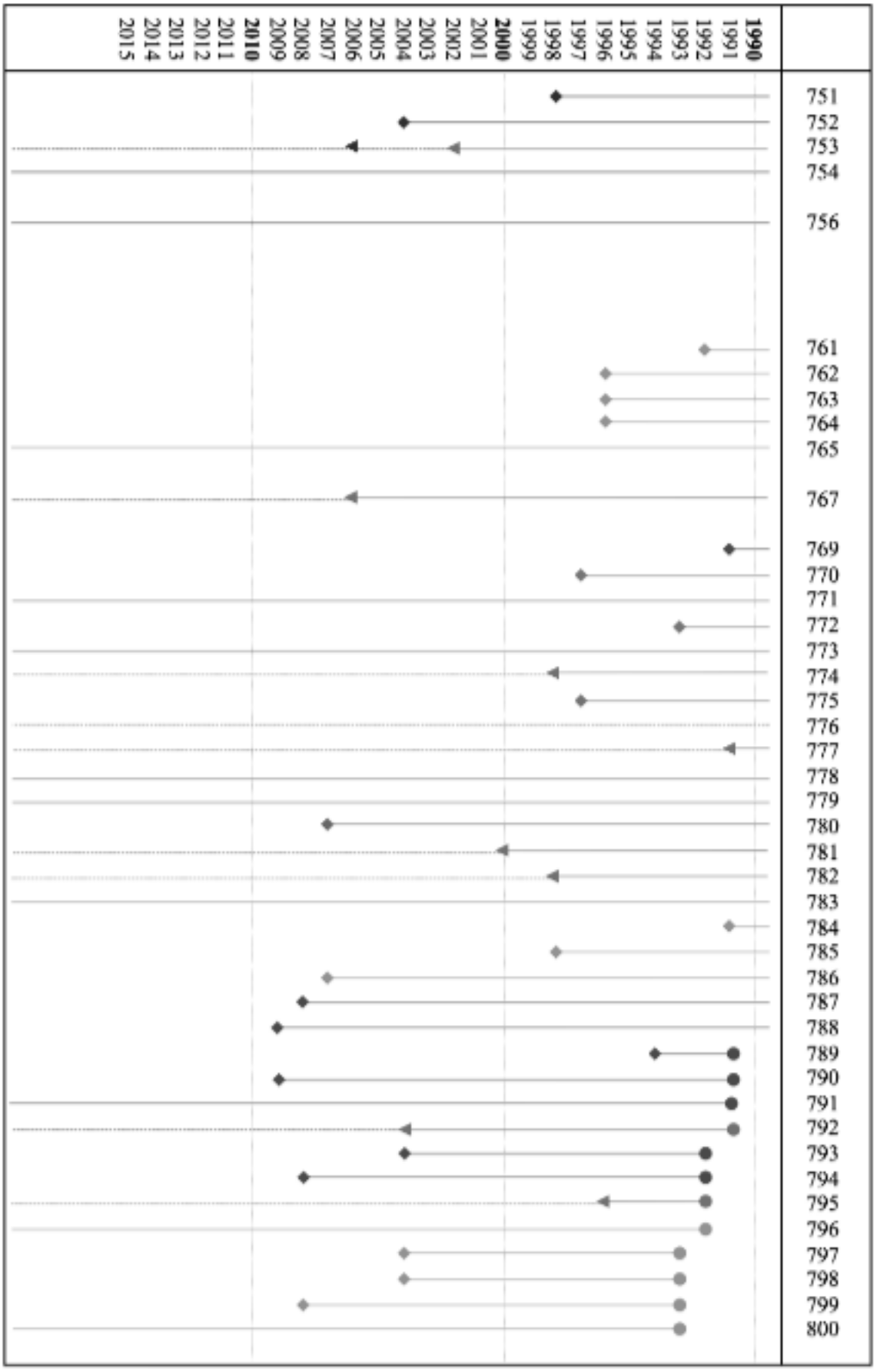
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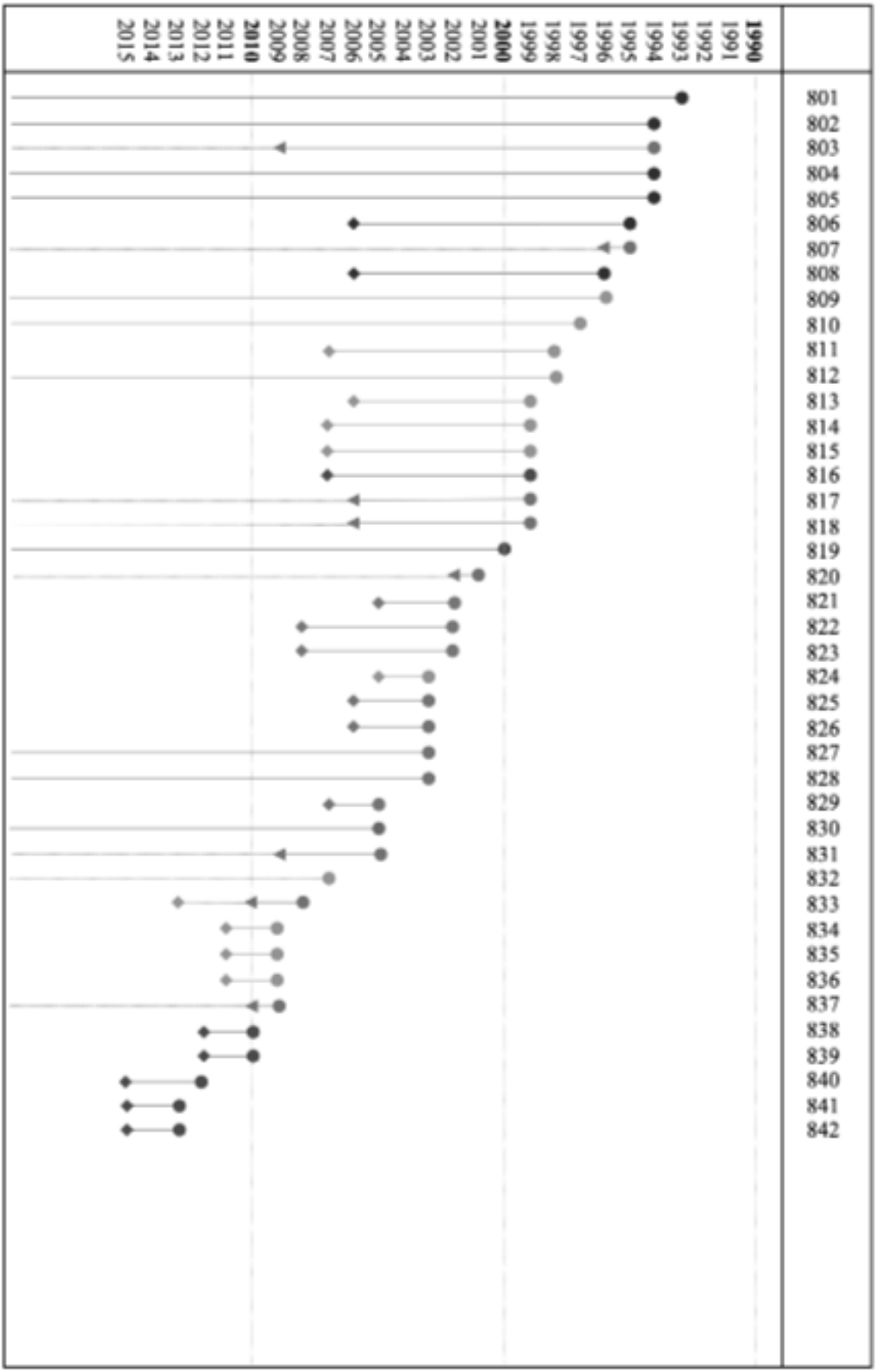
751	U.S. International Development Cooperation Agency	776	National Defense Stockpile Manager
752	Panama Canal Commission	777	Family Support Administration
753	Federal Emergency Management Agency	778	Strategic Defense Initiative Organization
754	Office of Vocational and Adult Education	779	Bureau of Export Administration
755	Bureau of Industrial Economics	780	Technology Administration
756	U.S. Synthetic Fuels Corporation	781	President's Committee on Employment of People With Disabilities
757	Federal Regional Councils	782	On-Site Inspection Agency
758	Presidential Task Force	783	U.S. Court of Veterans Appeals
759	Office of Water Policy	784	Resolution Trust Corporation
760	Emergency Mobilization Preparedness Board	785	Oversight Board (for the Resolution Trust Corporation)
761	President's Council on Integrity and Efficiency	786	American Forces Information Service
762	Office of Rural Development Policy	787	Federal Housing Finance Board
763	U.S. Travel and Tourism Administration	788	Office of Thrift Supervision
764	Travel and Tourism Advisory Board	789	Rural Development Administration
765	National Institute of Arthritis, metabolism and Digestive Diseases	790	National Institute for Literacy
766	Property Review Board	791	Rural Business and Cooperative Development Service
767	Minerals Management Service	792	Bureau of Transportation Statistics
768	Office of the Assistant Secretary of the—Electronics and Information Technology Treasury	793	Research and Special Programs Administration
769	Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution	794	Office of Federal Housing Enterprise Oversight
770	Prospective Payment Assessment Commission	795	Central Imagery Office
771	Defense Intelligence College	796	Morris K. Udall Foundation
772	National Critical Materials Council	797	Copyright Arbitration Royalty Panels
773	Office of Labor-Management Relations Services	798	Office of Treasury Under Secretary for Enforcement
774	Defense Technology Security Administration	799	President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board
775	Physician Payment Review Commission	800	National Biological Survey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801	Office of Defense Prisoner of War/Missing in Action	822	Office of the Chief Strategic Officer
802	Consolidated Farm Service Agency	823	Commission on Application of Payment Limitations
803	Education Cooperative and Extension Service State Research	824	Office of Global Communications
804	Farm Service Agency	825	Office of the Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction
805	Rural Housing and Community Development Service	826	Office of Security and Safety Performance Assurance
806	Office of Strategic Trade	827	Inspector General of the Coalition Provisional Authority
807	National Biological Service	828	Office of the Inspector General of the Coalition Provisional Authority
808	Chief Information Officers Council	829	President’s Advisory Panel on Federal Tax Reform
809	National Imagery and Mapping Agency	830	Office of Electricity Delivery and Energy Reliability
810	Office of Special and Regional Archives	831	Commission on the Implementation of the New Strategic Posture of the United States
811	Steering Committee of Greening the Government through Waste Prevention and Recycling	832	Iraq Transition Assistance Office
812	Joint Military Intelligence College	833	Defense Materiel Readiness Board
813	Office of Defense Nuclear Counterintelligence	834	President’s Economic Recovery Advisory Board
814	Advisory Committee on Biobased Products and Bioenergy	835	White House Office of Health Reform
815	Interagency Council on Biobased Products and Bioenergy	836	Ronald Reagan Centennial Commission
816	National Biobased Products and Bioenergy Coordination Office	837	Federal Coordinating Council for Comparative Effectiveness Research
817	Office of Counterintelligence	838	President's Advisory Council on Financial Capability
818	Office of Intelligence	839	Gulf Coast Ecosystem Restoration Council Task Force
819	National Center on Minority Health and Health Disparities	840	Advisory Committee for Aviation Consumer Protection
820	Transportation Security Administration	841	Response Systems to Military Adult Sexual Assault Crimes Panel
821	Office of Budget and Evaluation Management	842	Military Compensation and Retirement Modernization Commission

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